PROTO-INDUSTRIALIZATION

IN THE MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY BALKAN

COUNTRYSIDE: TEXTILE MANUFACTURING IN VILLAGES OF PLOVDIV

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2012

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Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

by

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Boğaziçi University

2012

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June 2012

Thesis Abstract

Fatma Öncel, "Proto-Industrialization in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Balkan Countryside: Textile Manufacturing in Villages of Plovdiv"

This study analyzes the rural manufacturing in the mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Balkans. Woollen-textile manufacturing in three villages of Plovdiv; Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot are examined for this purpose.

The thesis focuses on the conditions of the emergence of the rural industries and the organization of the manufacturing process. This study proposes that the proto-industrialization theses provide a useful approach for analyzing the emergence of the nineteenth-century Ottoman rural industries as well as the organization of labour and production.

Based mainly on the Income Surveys (*Temettuat Defterleri*), this study analyzes the textile sector in the selected villages through the extensive use of the qualitative and quantitative data, both at the macro and at the micro levels.

The study mainly argues that the combination of proto-industrialization theses with the information derived from the Income Surveys hold a great capacity to explain the causes of rural putting-out economies. It shows that proto-industrialization in Plovdiv villages emerged out of the specific geographic and demographic features of the region. It also points out that land shortage and lack of sufficient agrarian income directly stimulated the emergence of the rural manufacturing in these villages. The analysis of the labour organization and the commercial networks demonstrates that textiles became the dominant economic activity of Plovdiv villages in the context of a merchant-led, market-oriented putting out system. It also asserts that, based on the degree of influence created by the merchants, there were different types of proto-industries in Plovdiv villages.

Keywords: *Plovdiv, rural manufacturing, putting-out, proto-industrialization, Temettuat.*

Tez Özeti

Fatma Öncel, "On Dokuzuncu Yüzyıl Ortası Balkan Kırsalında Proto-Sanayileşme: Filibe Köylerinde Tekstil İmalatı"

Bu çalışma, on dokuzuncu yüzyıl ortasında Osmanlı Balkanları'nda kırsal imalatı inceler. Yünlü tekstil üretimi, Filibe'nin üç köyünde; Karlova, Kalofer ve Sopot'ta bu doğrultuda değerlendirilmektedir.

Bu tez, kırsal sanayilerin ortaya çıkmasını sağlayan koşullara ve imalat sürecinin örgütlenme biçimine odaklanır. Bu çalışma, proto-sanayileşme savlarının Osmanlı kırsal sanayilerin on dokuzuncu yüzyıl ortasında ortaya çıkışının yanı sıra, emek ve imalat örgütlenmesinin de incelenmesi için yararlı bir yaklaşım olduğu görüşündedir. Temel olarak Gelir Sayımları (*Temettuat Defterleri*)ne dayanan bu çalışma, seçilen köylerdeki tekstil sektörlerini nitel ve nicer veriyi kapsamlı bir biçimde kullanarak makro ve mikro seviyelerde inceler.

Bu çalışma, proto-sanayileşme savlarının Temettuat Defterleri'nden elde edilen bilgi ile birlikte incelenmesinin, kırdaki eve iş verme türü ekonominin temellerini açıklamaya son derece muktedir olduğunu savunur. Çalışma, Filibe köylerindeki proto-sanayileşmenin özgün coğrafi ve demografik koşullarında doğduğunu gösterir. Ayrıca, topraksızlığın ve yeterli tarımsal gelirin eksikliğinin, bu köylerde imalat sanayiinin ortaya çıkışında doğrudan etkili olduğuna işaret eder. Emek örgütlenmesinin ve ticari ağların incelenmesi, tekstilin Filibe köylerinin başat iktisadi uğraşı olmasının tüccar önderliğinde ve piyasaya yönelik eve iş verme sistemi bağlamında gerçekleştiğini gösterir. Bu çalışma ayrıca, tüccarların etkinlik derecelerine bağlı olarak, Filibe köylerinde farklı türlerde proto-sanayiiler olduğunu savunur.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Filibe, kırsal imalat, eve iş verme, proto-sanayileşme, Temettuat.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe thanks to a number of scholars, friends, and institutions for their enduring support and help during the course of this study. First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to Yücel Terzibaşoğlu. He has supported my enthusiasm for becoming a historian since I was an undergraduate student in the Political Science department. His courses have opened up new horizons for me and encouraged me to study Ottoman economic history. Under his supervision, I was able to enjoy both the full academic liberty of research and writing, and the safeguard against the dangerous charm of the bottomless well of the archives. Furthermore, he has kindly offered me a position in the research project entitled "Urban Taxes, Property Relations, Employment and Industrialization in the 19th-century Balkans and Anatolia" during my Master's studies. This unprecedented experience of working with him has immensely improved my Ottoman Turkish skills and my familiarity with the archival documents alongside with providing me with new perspectives to history.

A number of prominent scholars and institutions provided their valuable help. M. Erdem Kabadayı has carefully read and commented on an early version of this work. He gave me the chance to present the early version of the present work in an international conference whereby I could receive a number of important questions and comments which have significantly contributed to this study. He has kindly shared with me the documents he received from National Archives of the United Kingdom in addition to his notes from this archival research. Murat Güvenç has provided new insights for me in terms of data analysis methods. Meltem Toksöz has given significant recommendations since the beginning of the research. Noémi Lévy and Alp Yücel Kaya have kindly agreed to become members of my thesis committee. Jack Snowden provided his help for language editing. The above-mentioned position in the "Project of Developing Researcher Human Capital in Social Areas" is funded by State Planning Organization (DPT). The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) has granted me a generous scholarship for two years.

My dear friend, classmate and colleague Zeynep Küçükceran has accompanied the thesis writing process in both literal and figurative terms. Deniz Şahin, Dilşah Şaylan, Ekin Mahmuzlu and Rıdvan Aydınlı were always present in all academic and "non-academic" moments of my graduate student life.

I am forever indebted to my family for their love and support. My dear parents Feride and Nazım have always trusted me and encouraged me to follow my wishes. My beloved sister, friend and housemate Afet did everything to make this process as comfortable as can be.

Finally, I would like to present my deepest thanks to Kaan Yusufoğlu. His gracious being cherishes my every single breath and word.

To the memory of my mother, Feride Öncel

CONTENTS

TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The idea behind this study emerged in order to analyze the production and trade networks in the Ottoman Balkans in the period after the western-European Industrial Revolution. Economic transformations of the nineteenth century created irreversible changes in the social and economic organization of the Ottoman Balkan society. Ottoman urban and rural economies were being rearranged, not necessarily only because of the European commercial expansion, but also due to the institutional transformations within the Empire, as reflected in the profound economic, social and legal changes. They redefined the existing economic activities and created new ones. Therefore, this study aims at highlighting one certain sphere of this new social and economic environment, namely, rural textile industries.

The reason of taking rural textile industries for granted lies at my theoretical approach adopted towards the Ottoman economic history. Here, small-scale manufacturing represents a strong counter-argument against approaches of "Ottoman peripherialization" and "Ottoman decline".

Ottoman economic history in the nineteenth century has long been subjected to a "decline paradigm" and its political and administrative institutions were perceived in this way. It has been argued that the Ottoman system lagged behind European economic development either because of the incapability of its internal organization, or because of the impossibility of resisting European commercial expansion. The former claim has different interpretations. There are state-centred accounts

concentrated on mechanized, factory-based manufacturing and their demise.[1] Another version of the decline paradigm was in particular raised by national Balkan historiographies, based on the argument that Ottoman rule and institutions, i.e. "Ottoman yoke", was the reason of economic backwardness of the Balkans.[2] The latter claim, namely, dependency of Ottoman economies to industrializing Europe, was first elaborated by Wallerstein.[3] "From the Ottomanists's viewpoint, Wallerstein's approach has contributed substantially towards making Ottoman history a part of world history in its own right."[4] Nevertheless, this explanation, based on the argument of peripherialization of the Ottoman state due to its incorporation into the world economy, ignores the legal and administrative frameworks, as well as the social and economic conditions of the "peripheries" under study. İslamoğlu's contribution to the discussion is very important with respect to considering the interaction of local dynamics of the regions with the effects of European economic expansion.[5]

These explanations based on the decline paradigm are generally taking "Ottoman economy" as a single and homogeneous entity, and they are following a linear model of a "economic prosperity" with the ideal of the Western European model of industrialization. They usually conceptualize the "industrial decline" in a

[1] For example, see Ömer Celal Sarç, "Tanzimat ve Sanayiimiz," in *Tanzimat. Yüzüncü Yıldönümü Münasebetile,* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), pp.423-440; Rıfat Önsoy, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Sanayii ve Sanayileşme Politikası,* (Ankara: Türkiye İl Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1988).

[2] For example, see Traian Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds, The First and Last Europe,* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994).

[3] For further information on World Systems Theory, see Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System,* (New York: Academic Press, 1974, 1980, 1989).

[4] Suraiya Faroqhi and Fikret Adanır, "Introduction", *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography,* ed. Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p.21.

[5] Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, "Oriental Despotism in World System Perspective," in *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy,* ed.Huri İslamoğlu-İnan, (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York : Cambridge University Press ; Paris : Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1987), pp.1-26.

static way, which is assumed to begin with Anglo-Ottoman Trade Agreement of 1838. However, another group of authors developed a revisionist view on the question of nineteenth century Ottoman economic development.

Roger Owen has done one of the earliest studies highlighting the resistance and revival of nineteenth century Ottoman local manufacturers. He argues that "In most parts of the Middle East artisans showed themselves to be remarkably tenacious, adopting new techniques when necessary and discovering or even creating new markets for their products."[6] Following him, Donald Quataert has published his pioneering work on the Ottoman manufacturers.[7] He argues that, contrary to the common assumption, Ottoman textile manufacturing was not in an absolute decay, but reflects prominent examples of resistance and livelihood. According to him , Ottoman textile sectors were able to resist European competition due to the concentration on small-scale manufacturing in hand looms.

Michael Palairet, on the other hand, following Quataert's approach to Ottoman manufacturing, criticizes the peripherialization argument for disregarding the different economies in particular localities of the Ottoman Empire.[8] Furthermore, he argues that the claim of Ottoman de-industrialization, for instance Issawi's, was also making over-generalizations when saying Ottoman industries were in an absolute decay:

> The confusion had arisen because some industries which did decline, as for example, the old-established fine textile industries at Shkoder, Tirnavos, Salonica, Diarbekir, Brusa (Bursa) and Aleppo, were located in

[6] Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy,* (London ; New York : Methuen, 1987, c1981), p. 289.

[7] Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of Industrial Revolution,*(Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[8] Michael Palairet, *The Balkan Economies, c.1800-1914, Evolution without Development,*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 54.

> cities where their distress was highly visible to Europeans who wrote about them. On the other hand, the expanding sectors of industry were hidden in the small towns and the villages, particularly in the Balkan uplands; Ubicini, to whom Issawi sources his affirmation of industrial decline, neither knew nor wrote anything about them.[9]

This study, therefore, focuses on the rural industries at their "peak", in order to examine their organization and functioning in their most visible and clear period. Thus, it focuses on the small-scale industries in Balkan uplands. Examples of rural industries can also be observed in other Ottoman provinces as well. Nevertheless, Balkans were chosen due to a number of reasons. Firstly, secondary literature overwhelmingly points to this area for the best examples of the rural industries. Besides, especially for Ottoman Bulgaria, the proximity to Central Europe and to the Ottoman capital İstanbul would have proposed more dynamic commercial relations. The later demise of the rural industries by 1870s is another important area of study, yet, it remains out of the scope of this work.

The present study argues that rural manufacturing represents an important sphere of nineteenth century Ottoman economy. Furthermore, this study also proposes that proto-industrialization thesis is a useful approach for analyzing the emergence of the nineteenth-century Ottoman rural industries as well as the organization of labour and production.

The term "proto-industrialization" and its definition has been subjected to long discussions since it has been coined by Mendels. In his well-known article *Proto Industrialization: The First Phase of Industrialization Process*, he defines the term for explaining an early phase of industrialization which preceeded the modern

[9] Ibid.

industrial growth in Western Europe.[10] "Proto-industrialization is thus defined by the simultaneous occurrence of three ingredients within the framework of a region: rural industries, external destinations, and symbiosis of rural industry within the regional development of a commercial agriculture." [11] Mendels' thesis puts emphasis on the role of demographic growth for the emergence of rural industries. [12]

Throughout the following decades, his argument was being subjected to several revisions (by himself and other scholars) and critiques. A lively discussion flourished around the subject. A Marxist version of the proto-industrialization argument was developed by Kriedte, Medick, and Schlumbohm in *Industrialization Before Industrialization: Rural Industry in the Genesis of Capitalism* (1981). Kriedte, Medick and Schlumbohm criticize Mendels for his idealistic definition of "proto-industrialization" and argue that there were different kinds of proto-industries based on different local conditions. They claim that "regions and branches of industry by no means regularly passed from proto-industrialization to factory industrialization, but rather that in numerous cases rural domestic industries ended in de-industrialization and re-agrarization."[13] Discussions on agrarian and landholding practices, which were ignored by Mendels, are very significant for analyzing the origins of proto-industries. Schlumbohm defines the general characteristics of proto-industrialization as follows: "Industrial commodity-production in the countryside had

[10] Franklin F. Mendels, "Proto Industrialization: The First Phase of Industrialization Process," *The Journal of Economic History* 32, no. 1 (March 1972), pp. 241-261.

[11] Donald Cuthbert Coleman, "Proto-Industrialization: A Concept Too Many", *The Economic History Review* 36, no. 3. New Series (1983), p. 437.

[12] Mendels, p. 252.

[13] Jürgen Schlumbohm, "Proto-Industrialization as a Research Strategy and a Historical Period- A Balance Sheet," in *European Proto-Industrialization*, ed. Sheilagh C. Ogilvie and Markus Cerman, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 17.

a twofold origin. It rested, on one hand, on the special conditions in certain regions which prevented part of the rural population from earning a sufficient income from agriculture and, on the other hand, it depended upon the opening up of markets in other regions, countries and continents."[14] They highlight the significance of the existing institutional frameworks for the emergence of proto-industries. Some degree of legal order on freedom, equality and property were the characteristics of the proto-industrial regions.[15] Lack of tools for social cohesion, as guild organizations, became an advantage for rural areas. Apart from guild pressure; inelastic labour supply and high costs were two other obstacles against proto-industries, which were usually not existing in rural areas.[16]

For Kriedte, Medick and Schlumbohm, demographic growth, unlike Mendels claims, is not contributing through unemployment but has an indirect effect. It results in highland settlements and insufficiency of land, thus, creating rural manufacturing. [17] Related to this, they also emphasize the physical geography of the manufacturing villages. They argue that proto-industrialization is concentrated on "barren mountain regions" or "harsh mountainous areas".[18]

Mendels and Kriedte, Medick and Schlumbohm have been the key figures in the discussion of proto-industrialization. Nevertheless, other scholars contributed to

[14] Jürgen Schlumbohm, "Relations of Production –Productive Forces- Crises in Proto-industrialization" *Industrialization before Industrialization*, ed. Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, Jürgen Schlumbohm, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 117.

[15] Jürgen Schlumbohm, "Excursus: The Political and Institutional Framework of Proto-Industrialization" *Industrialization before Industrialization*, ed. Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, Jürgen Schlumbohm, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 126.

[16] Peter Kriedte, "The Origins, the Agrarian Context, and the Conditions in the World Market", *Industrialization before Industrialization*, ed.Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, Jürgen Schlumbohm, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 21.

[17] Ibid., p. 14.

[18] Ibid.

the discussion by their criticisms and revisions through new research in the following decades.[19] Under the light of this discussion, this study argues that proto-industrialization is not a universal theory, but a useful analytical method. It does not imply the existence of a transitory phase preceding full industrial growth. It is proposed here as the name of a process in which Ottoman rural textile industries were organized in the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, the thesis enables us to depict the dynamic relations among the demography, geography, agriculture, stockbreeding, landholding, labour, manufacturing and trade; and creates a meaningful picture from this complex matrix. Thanks to the proto-industrialization method, the human geography and the institutional setting of the Balkan villages under study can be considered as the basis of the emergence of the small-scale rural textile production for long-distance trade. In addition, the proto-industrial model depicts the similarities of Ottoman rural industries with their central and Western European counterparts, for whom the original theses were formulated. Thus, one may consider the nineteenth-century Ottoman economy as an integrated part of the European economy.

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This study is not the first one proposing the use of the proto-industrial model for Ottoman countryside. As Petmezas puts it, "Çağlar Keyder was the first to consider

[19] See, D.C. Coleman, "Proto-Industrialization: A Concept Too Many," *The Economic History Review* 36, no. 3, (1983), pp. 435-448; Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700-1820: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994); Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, *Manufacture in Town and Country Before the Factory*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Leslie A. Clarkson, and Economic History Society. *Proto-Industrialization: The First Phase of Industrialization?*, (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1985); Sheilagh Ogilvie and Markus German, *European Proto-Industrialization: An Introductory Handbook*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

applying the protoindustrial model to Ottoman history."[20] Nevertheless, Keyder is criticized for following a rigid definition based not on any empirical research.[21] Palairet, on the contrary, bases his claim of Ottoman proto-industrialisation on his research of Ottoman Balkans. However, he is criticized by Petmezas for being non-specific as regards both the locations and the reason of proto-industrialisation: "He simply goes on calling the all non-mechanized wool industries protoindustrial, regardless of their location and organization of labour."[22] In addition to Palairet and Petmezas, a number of authors described the rural manufacturing activities in the Balkans as "proto-industries" in their works.[23]

This study, on the other hand, for the first time connects the data from the Income Surveys with the emergence and organization of rural manufacturing. It is the first attempt to analyze the nineteenth-century Ottoman rural industries with this degree of detail about the landholding regime and agrarian practices. Textile sector in the selected villages are analyzed through the extensive use of the qualitative and quantitative data derived from the Income Surveys, both at the macro and at the micro levels. The overall economic portrait of the villages is depicted alongside with detailed descriptions of the economic activities and composition of selected households.

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[20] Socrates D. Petmezas, "Patterns of Protoindustrialisation in the Ottoman Empire. The Case of Eastern Thessaly, c. 1750-1860", *The Journal of European Economic History* 19, no. 1, (1990), p. 575.

[21] Ibid., p. 576.

[22] Ibid.

[23] See John R. Lampe, Marvin R. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950: From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); Svetla Ianeva, "XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Balkanların Orta Kısmında Zanaat ve Zanaatkarlar" in *Osmanlı*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, (Ankara: Semih Ofset, 1999); Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, vol I, (Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1983).

"Survey registers of real estate, land, animals, and income" (*"emlak, arazi, hayvanat ve temettüar tahrir defterleri")*, or, Income Surveys in short, constitute the main source of this study. There are in total 17,540 registers for a total of 543 *kaza*s; classified in the *Maliye Nezareti-Varidat Muhasebesi, Temettuat Defterleri* (ML.VRD.TMT) fonds, *Kamil Kepeci* (K.K.d.) fonds and *Maliyeden Müdevver* (M.M.d.) fonds of the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives.[24] Income Surveys were conducted in the first half of the nineteenth century in provinces included in *Tanzimat* reforms, as a result of the new tax regime designed and implemented at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This regime proposed the assessment of the tax according to ability to pay, which would eventually require cadastral surveys of property values and income.[25] "Instead [of a number of conventional tax], a single type of tax was put into practice, based on ability to pay, that is 'according to proportion of each individual's real estate (*emlak*), agricultural land (*arazi*) and income (*temettü*), and according to calculation of per thousand (*binde hesabı*)' ".[26] Thus, Income Surveys were prepared as a means of achieving this goal. Tevfik Güran was the first economic historian who worked on the Income Surveys in the Ottoman Archives and made a number of important publications . He classifies the survey information in four categories: Information related to person (name, status, and profession of the head of the household); Tax payments (the amount of *vergi-i mahsusa*, head-tax and tithe); movable and immovable properties (land, shop, mill,

[24] Tevfik Güran, "Introduction", *The Ottoman State and Societies in Change: A Study of the Nineteenth Century Temettuat Registers*, ed. Kayoko Hayashi and Mahir Aydın, (London: Kegan Paul, 2004), p. 6.

[25] Stanford J. Shaw, "The Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Tax Reforms and Revenue System," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6, no.4, (Oct.1975), p. 422.

[26] Tevfik Güran, "Introduction", p.5.

livestock with amount or numbers); income (estimated annual income yielded by the household).[27]

For the purpose of this study, three books from Income Surveys are selected. The first book includes registers of Muslim and non-Muslim (*reaya*) populations of Karlova.[28] This register is 253 pages in total. The second survey book consists of the registers of non-Muslim (*reaya*) populations in Kalofer. [29] The third survey book consists of the registers of non-Muslim (*reaya*) populations in Sopot.[30] Kalofer and Sopot registers are 216 and 181 pages respectively. A total of 650 pages have been transliterated from Ottoman Turkish to modern Turkish for this study. Registers for Muslim populations of Kalofer and Sopot were not available in the archives. Thus, this study refers to non-Muslims whenever Kalofer or Sopot are mentioned. [31] For Karlova populations, Muslims and non-Muslims are analyzed and presented as separate entities in this study in order to highlight the differences of incomes and economic activities between these two communities.

This extensively large and detailed information presented by the Income Surveys is currently being utilized by a number of studies.[32] However, with few successful exceptions, many of them are mere quantitative descriptions of a selected

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[27] Ibid., p. 7-8.

[28] BOA. ML. VRD. TMT. d. 5961.

[29] BOA. ML. VRD. TMT. d. 5962.

[30] BOA. ML. VRD. TMT. d. 5965.

[31] The reasons for the unavailability of the survey books for Kalofer and Sopot Muslims may vary. These records might either never been kept or might be lost or damaged.
The ethnic affiliations of the non-Muslims were not explained in the Income Surveys. However, the names of the heads of the households show that they were most probably Bulgarian.

[32] For important examples, see *The Ottoman State and Societies in Change: A Study of the Nineteenth Century Temettuat Registers,* ed. Kayoko Hayashi and Mahir Aydın, (London: Kegan Paul, 2004); Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri", *Belleten*, c LIX, (Ağustos, 1991).

village or town. The summary of the survey books and transcription of them into the text format constitutes the basis of these works. The present study, on the other hand, utilizes the Income Surveys in an analytical way for the pursuit of clearly defined research questions which has been explained above.

In addition, this study is also aware of the limitations inherent in the use of Income Surveys as a historical source. First of all, as it is required for all historical sources, the Income Surveys are analysed here critically. The aims, the context and the means of the preparation of the survey books were kept under consideration throughout this study. Secondly, the fields remaining out of direct interest of the survey inquiry were examined more cautiously. Since the survey was neither a census nor a factory ledger, the information presented by the survey books on the demographic setting and on several aspects of the manufacturing process were missing from the data and hence analysed accordingly. Available information in such areas is evaluated by comparing them with other relevant sources. In order to present a consistent and coherent study, the information presented in the surveys is complemented by the primary and the secondary literature. These include National Archives of the United Kingdom (Foreign Office), travellers' accounts and a number of selected documents from Ottoman archives, classified within *Sadaret* and *Hariciye* fonds.[33]

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Chapter 1 depicts the portrait of mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Bulgaria in general, of Plovdiv and three villages selected for this study (Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot) in particular. Special emphasis is placed upon the geographic, demographic, and

[33] I wish to thank M. Erdem Kabadayı for sharing with me the documents he received from the National Archives of the United Kingdom and allowing me to make use of his notes on these documents.

economic characteristics and the administrative organization. The first part of the chapter examines the physical and social setting out of which rural industries flourished. This study argues that the combination of the specific geographical and demographical features is one of the main reasons for the emergence of proto-industries. The studied villages are located between mountain ranges, which provided them with optimal conditions for protection and openness at the same time. This semi-sheltered location was densely populated due to the upland migration trend starting in the early nineteenth-century, which created favourable conditions for proto-industrialization in terms of the human geography.

The second part of Chapter 1 devotes a closer look to the economic geography of Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot. Based on the annual tax and income estimates in the Income Surveys, the village populations and the textile producers are analyzed in a comparative way. In addition, the income figures are compared with income levels of other contemporary villages and towns. In this part, it is argued that textiles - particularly woollen weaving- brought prosperity to its occupants. These villages were yielding incomes higher than agrarian settlements in the mid-nineteenth century Balkans. Textile producers were better off than the average trends in the respective villages. Furthermore, textile production was not subjected to additional or heavier taxes compared to other economic activities in these villages; which should have supported the development of proto-industries.

Chapter 2 discusses the landholding, agriculture and stockbreeding practices in Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot. The debates with respect to the landholding and agrarian issues on the Western European proto-industries are explained in order to connect the possible links with the Ottoman case. Supported with the quantitative data derived from the Income Surveys, access to land (with references to its particular forms) is

analyzed for the region. The research shows that textile producers were clearly deprived of land. The argument follows that land shortage was one of the possible reasons for choosing manufacturing as a source of living. Besides, the analyses on the agrarian production shows that agriculture was never an important economic activity for the textile producers. Although commercial farming was usually more common than subsistence or fodder farming, the income earned from this activity did not have an important share in total incomes. The amount of stockbreeding also marks a low level which would barely cover the daily needs. More importantly, it is argued that the lack of sheep-raising shows that woollen-textile producers were not producing their own raw materials and had to meet this need from other sources .

Chapter 3 explains the details of the multiplicity of the textile manufacturing processes in Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot. Firstly, the weight of the textile sectors is shown for each village in terms of its share in incomes and employment. After explaining the level of prosperity of the textile producers, the level of their subsistence through textiles is discussed. This general picture shows the importance of textile for each village. Secondly, the variety of textile professions is demonstrated with particular emphasis on professions related to woollen textiles. The role of technological achievements is further discussed with respect to the development of specific branches of woollen textiles. Third, various components of the textile revenues are explained in order to show the different patterns through which manufacturing was being carried out . This is done through showing the income sources for the textile production activity . Fourth, diversity in the labour organization is analyzed. It is argued that different types of manufacturing modes existed simultaneously in the Plovdiv proto-industrial villages. Besides, it is also claimed that access to the means of production was a strong determinant of the

producer's role within the production process. Alongside that, continuities and discontinuities with the guild institution contributed to the labour organization as well. It is argued that rural industries should also be analyzed within the framework of the "family economy", with special emphasis on female and infant labour. Finally, the principal effect of the commercial organization on the rural textile industries is analyzed. After mentioning the trading of Plovdiv textiles on a world scale, merchants' varying levels of involvement into the manufacturing processes is discussed. It is argued that, these different modes and degrees of contacts between merchants and producers created several modes of proto-*industries* instead of a single type of proto-industrialization.

CHAPTER II

OTTOMAN BULGARIA: A GEOGRAPHIC, DEMOGRAPHIC, ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC PORTRAIT

Introduction

This chapter introduces Plovdiv and its villages selected for this study within a broader social and economic framework . The first part of the chapter examines Ottoman Bulgaria with respect to its physical and human geography as well as its contemporary administrative organization. The physical geography of the region, including the topographical elements and the climatic conditions is explained. A particular emphasis is placed on the location of the villages selected for this study (Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot) because this study argues that there is a strong connection between their semi-sheltered locations and the emergence of the proto-industries there. After that, the human geography of the region will be described. Following the population estimates for the Ottoman Bulgaria and specifically for Plovdiv and its selected villages, the demographic effects over the proto-industrialization is discussed. The upland migration trend in the region and its possible causes is further analyzed in order to highlight the relation between the population density in the uplands and the emergence of proto-industries. Finally, the administrative scheme of mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Bulgaria is briefly explained and the place of the three selected villages within this scheme is described.

The second part of the chapter analyzes the general economic portrait of the villages in general, and of the textile producers in particular, based on the data presented in the Income Surveys. The incomes and taxes are two fields to be examined. In terms of the incomes, firstly the general framework is depicted as sums, means, minimum and maximums. Then, the households are divided with respect to a number of income intervals. Finally, the breakdown of incomes with respect to their types is presented. Comparative analyses are adopted both for intra-village (total village populations vs. textile producers) and inter-village (three selected villages vs. other village and towns) observations. Accordingly, the prosperous condition of these villages in general, and of the textile producers in particular, are underlined. Besides, the weight of manufacturing as the most important source of revenue is another argument of this part.

In terms of the taxes, two of the three taxes taking place in Income Surveys are analyzed: *Vergi-i mahsusa* (income tax) and *cizye* (head-tax) (The third type of tax, i.e. *aşar* (tithe) is studied in the Chapter 3). The tax payment amounts and their division into intervals are presented. Furthermore, the tax burdens over village inhabitants are represented both in absolute and relative values. Again, the intra-village and inter-village comparisons are followed. Based on their results, it is argued that textile production was not subjected to heavier taxations, compared to other economic activities.

Ottoman Bulgaria and Plovdiv: The Physical and Human Geography and the Administrative Organization

"Ottoman Balkans" refer to a wide geography encompassing a variety of different and changing social and economic organizations . Frequent administrative changes have also accompanied them throughout the nineteenth century. New governmental institutions have been built due to re-definition of frontiers and rearrangement of internal organizations. Even the naming of the region has been subjected to change; the term "Balkan" was coined as its name as late as in the nineteenth century.[34] Originally, "Balkan" meant " a pass through wooded and rocky mountains."[35] Therefore, a brief contextualization of both the nineteenth century Ottoman Balkans in general, and mid-nineteenth century Bulgaria in particular, is an essential part of this study before introducing the proto-industries in the Plovdiv countryside.

The Physical Geography

The Balkan peninsula, "an area of land surrounded by Black, Aegean, Ionian, and Adriatic seas", corresponds to a mountainous region divided by the river systems of the Danube, the Vardar, the Struma, the Maritsa.[36] Mountains, as evident from the name of the region itself, and the rivers are the most significant topographical elements of the peninsula. These geographical formations had direct effects on the

[34] Mark Mazower, *The Balkans, A Short History*, (New York: Modern Library, 2000), p. xxvi.

[35] James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, (Constantinople : Printed for the American mission by A.H. Boyajian, 1890), p. 335.

[36] Jelavich, vol. I, p.1.

emergence of the rural and urban settlements and on the development of the trade networks among them. The valleys between mountain ranges were isolated enough for making of the relatively semi-autonomous and unique economic organizations. "Occasionally hill settlements enjoyed the right mix of seclusion, water, and raw materials to permit what economic historians call proto-industrialization." [37] Nevertheless, the isolation alone was not the geographical prerequisite of the proto-industries, indeed, an alienation from the trade routes was not suitable for that type of economy. Proto-industries flourished and existed through their export-oriented characteristic. Thus, these hill settlements marked with the proto-industries had an adequate proximity to the major centres in order to establish commercial links to them. Bulgaria, in particular, was close to the Ottoman centre Istanbul; as it was also not far from Central Europe. Therefore, it was not a coincidence that these major centres were of the important customers of the textiles produced in Plovdiv countryside. (See Chapter 4 for outward commercial relations of Plovdiv).

[37] Mazower, p. 23.

Map 1: The Balkan Peninsula: Topographical [38]

The city of Plovdiv is settled on a lowland with the similar name. It is surrounded by mountain ranges. Studied villages of this city, namely, Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were situated on the north of the centre of Plovdiv. These villages lie between two mountain ranges; Balkan Mountains (Stara Planina) on the north and Sredna Gora on the south. The Maritsa, although close to the centre of Plovdiv, but not to the villages, has a vital importance for the region.

[38] Mark Mazower, The Balkans, A Short History, New York: Modern Library, 2000, p. xvii.

Map 2: Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot [39]

Karlova was established at the southern skirts of Mount Kalofer, on the Valley of Karlova, surrounded by high hills of Balkan Mountains.[40] The valley has a mild continental climate.[41] At the south-eastern side of Karlova village, there was Kalofer village. Kalofer was located at the skirts of Mount Kalofer, as well; at the foot of Botev Hill and near the shore of Tunca River.[42] Sopot was situated at the western side of Karlova. It stands on the southern skirts of Troyan-Kalofer part of Balkan Mountains.[43]

[39] Ezilon Maps. *Bulgaria Physical Map*. Retrieved 1 March 2011, from http://www.ezilon.com/maps/

[40] M. Türker Acaroğlu, *Bulgaristan'da Türkçe Yer Adları Kılavuzu,* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1988), pp. 225-226.

[41] Ibid., p. 226.

[42] Ibid., p. 205.

[43] Ibid., p. 59.

As being surrounded by these high ranges, these villages remained remote from major centres, yet, offer favourable conditions for their inhabitants. Contemporary travellers and present historians refer to Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot with respect to the close link between their specific location and the emergence of the proto-industries in these villages. The region between two mountain ranges has historically been one of the most stable settlements there.[44] "Enclosed as they are by protective barriers on nearly all sides, these favored valleys rarely experienced the fierce, dusty gales that often in the winter months ravage the plains farther to the north."[45] Favourable climatic and geographical conditions contributed to the establishment of the manufacturing centres in the region between Sredna Gora and Stara Planina in the form of the cottage industries based on woolen cloth. [46]

The Human Geography

The population estimates for the Balkan peninsula is quite controversial. As Karpat quotes from Urquhart's account based on 1831 census and other sources, there were 10,676,000 people living in the Ottoman Balkan territories in 1831.[47] For the period 1820-1840, the population of Ottoman Bulgaria was estimated 1,500,000.[48]Similarly, another estimate derived from Ubicini assumes that the population for Edirne *eyalet*

[44] George Hoffman, "Transformation of Rural Settlement in Bulgaria", *Geographical Review* 54, no. 1, (Jan. 1964), p. 48.

[45] Henry J. Bruman, "The Bulgarian Rose Industry", *Economic Geography* 12, no. 3, (Jul. 1936), p. 273.

[46] Nikolai Todorov, Lubomir Dinev, Luben Melnichki, *Bulgarie: Aperçu Historique et Geographique.* (Sofia: Sofia Presse, 1969), p. 176.

[47] Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics,* (London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 22.

[48] Ibid., p. 23.

(the *eyalet* that Plovdiv was linked) had a population of 1.2 millions.[49] Nevertheless, there is a higher unanimity for saying that majority of that population was living in rural settlements at least until the beginning of the twentieth century.[50] Only 15-percent of the Bulgarian population was living in towns of 2,000 or more inhabitants by 1860s.[51] "The farming smallholder remained the mainstay of the Balkan world for more than a millennium –outlasting the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires."[52]

The ethnic composition of the Balkans has been, and still is, quite non-homogenous. According to the above mentioned account of Urquhart for the year 1831, approximately 37 percent of the people in Ottoman Balkan territories were Muslims (Turks, Albanians, Bosnians, Pomaks), 63 percent were Christians (Greeks, Slavs, Albanians, Vlahs), and 0.6 percent were of other groups as Jews and Armenians. [53]

The population estimates gets even more controversial when the scope gets narrow. For Plovdiv and its three villages, Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot, there has been a number of population estimates both from official figures and from Western travellers. Different sources depict the demographic data quite differently. The reason for the vast and contradicting differences was not only the lack of accurate demographic data, but also the concerns of the national historiographies.[54] For instance, in year 1868, Bulgarian activist Ivan Bogorov states that the population of

[49] Palairet, p. 9.

[50] Ibid., p.25.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Mazower, p.16.

[53] Karpat, p. 22.

[54] Neriman Ersoy*, XIX. Yüzyılda Filibe Şehri, (*Ph.d diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2003), p. 34.

Karlova was about 15,000.[55] This estimation is quite dubious because the population of the town of Plovdiv itself was estimated on a range from 30,000 to 90,000 by a number of travellers visited the city in mid-nineteenth century.[56] For another source referring to 1870s, the population of Karlova was around 8,000-9,000; Kalofer's was 5,000-7,000; and Sopot's was 6,000-8,000.[57]

In the year 1878, the journal Courrier d'Orient published the "*Ethnographie des Vilayets d"Andrinople, de Monastir et de Salonique*", which is highly important because it included the population figures of not only large towns, but also small villages, and the source was reflecting similarities with the Ottoman population estimations.[58] According to that, the population of town of Plovdiv was around 28,000-30,000, population of Karlova was 13,000 and of Sopot it was 8,000.[59] Ersoy, inferring the data in *Courrier d'Orient,* puts that the ethno-religious composition of the *sancak* of Plovdiv consists of Muslims, Bulgarians, Gypsies, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and Vlahs.[60] The Orthodox Greeks were setting the intellectual and cultural milieu of the region, alongside with their commercial superiority.[61] Greek language was used in commercial life, whereas Turkish was used for official correspondences

[55] Nikolai Todorov, *The Balkan City 1400-1900,* (Seattle: University of Washignton Press, 1983), p. 529.

[56] Ersoy, pp. 39-41.

[57] Raina Gavrilova, *Bulgarian Urban Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1999), p.31-32.

[58] Ersoy, p. 45.

[59] Ersoy, p. 45-46.

[60] Ersoy, p. 45.

[61] Jelavich, vol. I, pp.95-97

with the government and Bulgarian was widespread among the everyday lives of the villages.[62]

The Income Surveys may also help us to deduce the demographical information. Although it was not a population census, it is a unique source with respect to the demographic data it presents. Every household was counted and registered in the Income Surveys. The name of the head of the household was stated, but neither the names nor the numbers of other household members were given. Thus, calculation of the total population through the available data on the Income Surveys is not without shortcomings. "Registers are not explicit as to size and composition of households, since this is not the purpose of the fiscal registration."[63] Nevertheless, studies on Ottoman Bulgaria which utilize the household data of the Income Surveys estimate that an average household includes five persons.[64] This enables us to make a population estimate for the villages. According to the Income Surveys, the number of households were 552; 942; 851 and 693 respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot in the year 1260. Therefore, the estimated total populations were as follows: Karlova Muslims were 2,760; Karlova non-Muslims were 4,710, Kalofer non-Muslims were 4,255 and Sopot non-Muslims were 3,465 people. It is worth noting that, registers for Muslim households are not available for Kalofer and Sopot.

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[62] R.J. Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 38.

[63] Svetla Ianeva, "Samokov: An Ottoman Balkan City in the Age of Reforms," *The Ottoman State and Societies in Change,* ed. Hayashi Kayoka and Mahir Aydın, (London: Kegan Paul 2004), p. 53.

[64] Ibid.; and Mahir Aydın, "Tatarpazarcığı: Socio-Economic Condition of Muslim Urban Residents", *The Ottoman State and Societies in Change,* ed. Hayashi Kayoka and Mahir Aydın, (London: Kegan Paul 2004), p. 82.

The Income Survey registers for non-Muslim inhabitants also included the number of head-tax payers in each household. Adult male members of the family were accepted as the head-tax payers. This corresponds to the all non-Muslim males of 15-60 years of age.[65] The number of head-tax payers can be accepted as approximately one-third of the total population.[66] Therefore, this information can also be utilized as a demographic data. There were 1,660 head-tax payers in Karlova, 1,546 in Kalofer and 1,309 in Sopot. Consequently, the head-tax based population estimations for non-Muslim populations are as follows: 4,980 people in Karlova, 4,638 in Kalofer, 3,927 in Sopot.

The population estimations are not only controversial, but also remain unfruitful unless they are evaluated within the population movements of the era. Despite the fact that there is not a consensus over accurate numbers, one might argue that Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were densely populated villages. Güran's study of nine villages of Koyuntepe, based on the Income Surveys constitutes a valuable point of reference in many respects.[67] Because, this study also covers a number of Plovdiv villages for the same year (1260/1844) from the same source, i.e., Income Surveys. The villages covered in that study were mostly agrarian settlements. The number of households varied from 22 to 175 in these nine villages.[68] Remembering that the number of households in Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were respectively 1,494; 851; 693; the enormous difference becomes clearly visible.

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[65] Karpat, p. 20.

[66] Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade, and the Struggle for Land, 1600-1800,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 83.

[67] Tevfik Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı Üzerine Araştırmalar,* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1998), pp. 179-228.

[68] Ibid., p. 208.

Therefore, the reason behind this exceptionally dense rural settlement practice and its consequences in terms of the emergence of the proto-industries must be evaluated. Two interrelated points are worth mentioning: The general trend of population growth and the upland migrations.

There was a rapid population growth in Ottoman Europe, starting by the late eighteenth century and proceeding throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. [69] "After slow growth at around 0.5 per cent per annum until the 1820s, Balkan population grew till mid-nineteenth century at around 1.3 per cent per annum."[70] Alongside with that, the population in lowlands had moved to uplands. "Between 1580 and 1800 the urban population of the Ottoman Balkans doubled. The total rural population, on the other hand, may have declined by 600,000-1,600,000. These two factors in combination, namely, urban growth during a period of rural population decline- along with the withdrawal of non-Muslim populations from the lower highlands and plains to mountain retreats- required a shift from farming to stockbreeding." [71]

The upland migration trend had multiple reasons. First of all, people were gradually refraining from working and living in lowlands due to the heavy tax burdens. [72] It was not a local phenomenon, but a general trend for peasants in Bulgaria to seek refuge from lowlands towards "the foothills of the Sredna Gora, the

[69] Palairet, p.7.

[70] Ibid., p. 19.

[71] Stoianovich, p. 340.

[72] Lampe and Jackson, p. 142.

Rhodopes, and the terraces and higher slopes of the western basins, particularly the Sofia Basin."[73]

The migrations have already started by the seventeenth century due to oppressions of *ayan* and *kircali*s.[74] The movement has reached its peak by the early nineteenth century. *Çiftlik* formation in particular had a significant role in that process. The pressures of *çiftlik* agriculture created unrests and consequently, peasant flight. "The most common peasant response to these burdens of taxation and *çiftlik* obligation was to leave the crop-growing disperse into upland hamlets." [75] "The peasant population of Ottoman Europe in the early modern period had tended to recede into the hill areas, and this tendency was strengthened between 1790 and the 1830s by the land annexing activities of the *ayan*s and the depredations of the *k'rdzhalijas.*"[76]

These disorders were not mere individual abuses but consequences of the landholding institution. Monetization of land created large-scale and long periods of upland migrations.[77] Thus, the landless peasants had to establish new settlements for themselves. The relation between the land question and the upland proto-industries is further discussed in Chapter 3 of this study.

The long-term results of the climatic change was also influential. With the Small Ice Age lasting until the 1870s, the lowlands became marshy lands, which

[73] Hoffman, p. 54.

[74] Palairet, p. 38.

[75] Lampe and Jackson, p. 38.

[76] Palairet, p. 51.

[77] Faruk Tabak, *Solan Akdeniz, 1550-1870, Coğrafi-Tarihsel Bir Yaklaşım*, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınlar, 2010), p. 292.

created unfavorable conditions for health and agriculture.[78] Mosquitoes and marsh have invaded the lowlands. Upland migration was not solely bound to the disorders and fiscal oppressions. "When population density was low or falling and land abundant, the hills offered a more salubrious climate than the marshy lowlands, their soil was easier to clear, and supplies of water and timber more ample."[79]

Migration to the highlands had direct consequences on the emergence of the proto-industries in Ottoman Bulgaria. It was not a coincidence that a high number of manufacturing centres of Bulgaria were small and remote mountain towns and villages. "They were preferred to the large cities such as Sofia, Varna, and Ruschuk, which were located on the main routes and vulnerable to the disorders of the time."[80] Settlements along the Sofia-Istanbul route were especially avoided by the refugees since it was a major route of that period.[81]

The ongoing population flow to the highlands, together with the old-established crafts making tradition and the institutional framework of the landholding regime, reached the suitable conditions for making of the proto-industries by the middle of the nineteenth century:

> Thus one of the fundamental building blocks for proto-industrial development was put into place- concentrated peasant communities in hill areas with an inadequate supply of farmland. Moreover these communities had already been developing their industries in the eighteenth century, and a corresponding industrial culture, which Bulgarian historians associate with the 'early renaissance'. [82]

[78] Ibid., p. 290.

[79] Palairet, p. 38.

[80] Leften Starvos Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453*, (London: Hurst, 2000), p. 368.

[81] Hoffman, p.54.

[82] Palairet, p. 51

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The Administrative Organization

The Ottoman conquest of the present-day Bulgarian lands in the 14th century, was followed by a rule of approximately five hundred years. Following the Russo-Turkish War, the Principality of Bulgaria and the Ottoman *vilayet* of Eastern Rumelia were created in the year 1878. In 1885, the Principality of Bulgaria annexed the *vilayet* of Eastern Rumelia.[83] Finally the independence of Bulgaria was announced in 1908.

The present study focuses on the mid-nineteenth century period, i.e. the period of the rise of proto-industries in Bulgarian countryside (For further information about the selection of the period, please see the introduction of this study). Therefore, for the scope of this study, the administrative scheme described below encompasses only the period mentioned.

In the contemporary Ottoman administrative system, the organization of Ottoman Bulgaria was in the following fashion, in a descending order: *eyalet, sancak, kaza, nahiye, karye*. This study analyzes the villages in the town of Plovdiv. [84] Among its numerous names throughout the history, one may count Eumolpias, Peneropolis, Trimontium, Philippopolis, Filibe (فلبه).[85]

The administrative definition of "Plovdiv" had different implications in the nineteenth century Ottoman context. It was name of both the *kaza* and the *sancak.*

[83] Ersoy, p. 32.

[84] "Plovdiv" was named as "Filibe" in contemporary and current Turkish. The Ottoman sources, including the Income Surveys named the kaza as Filibe. In this study, the English name "Plovdiv" is utilized.

[85] Konstantin Georgievich Mostras, *Dictionnaire Géographique De l'Empire Ottoman,* (St.-Pétersbourg : Commissionaires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1873, p.131.

The *sancak* of Plovdiv became a sub district of *eyalet* of Edirne in the year 1849.[86] The *sancak* of Plovdiv included five *kaza*s, as a record from 1850 shows: Filibe, Pazarcık, Hasköy, Zağra-i Atik, Kızanlık.[87] The *kaza* of Plovdiv can be considered as the town centre in that context. This kaza had five *nahiye*s: Rupçoz, Koyuntepe, Konuş, Karacadağ, and Göpsi (Küpsi, Küpse).[88] The villages studied in this work were subjected to the *nahiye* of Göpsi; they were then named Karlova, Kalofer and Akçakilise.[89]

Karlova was also called "Karlıova" in Ottoman sources; in Bulgarian it is currently named as "Karlovo" and it has also been named as "Levski-grad" between 1953-1962.[90] Kalofer was named "Kalufer" as well.[91] Akçakilise is currently named in Bulgarian as "Sopot", it has been named "Vazovgad" between 1950-1965.[92]

The distances of the villages to each other and to the centre of Plovdiv in terms of hours was as follows, as a contemporary Ottoman source demonstrates: [93]

Table 1: Distances (Hours)

	Centre of Plovdiv	Karlova	Kalofer	Sopot
Centre of Plovdiv	-	12 hours	12 hours	12 hours
Karlova	12 hours	-	3 hours	0.5 hours
Kalofer	12 hours	3 hours	-	4 hours
Sopot	12 hours	0.5 hours	4 hours	-

[86] Ersoy, p. 126.

[87]Ibid., p. 143.

[88]Ibid., p. 102.

[89] This study utilizes "Sopot" in place of "Akçakilise".

[90]Acaroğlu, p. 225.

[91]Ibid., p. 205.

[92]Ibid., p.59.

[93] Ersoy, p. 142. (The original source is BOA, YEE, nr. 24/46).

Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were named as "*karye*" (village) in the Income Surveys, yet, the Ottoman conceptualization of a village has been a controversial point. All of these villages were quite larger than many Ottoman towns of that period. "[S]mall but economically, culturally, and politically active Bulgarian towns situated in the densely populated valleys along either side of the Balkan Mountain" as Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were officially "villages"; their proximity to the large towns was an important reason for that.[94] Nevertheless, their relative high population numbers was not sufficient for becoming town centres. They were rural settlements in a semi-isolated geography. It may be fair to claim that Karlova was pushing the limits of the concept "village". However, Kalofer and Sopot were "regarded as villages in official and other documents, as well as by their inhabitants."[95]

Incomes and Taxations

The general framework of the human geography of Plovdiv and the selected villages have been discussed in the previous section. Following that introduction to the historical context, this section takes a closer look to the economic portrait of Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot. These villages constituted a rather exceptional case within the milieu of "agrarian rural societies" because their economies relied on textile production (For the conceptualization of the term "textile production", see Chapter 4). Textile producers constituted the majority of Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot. Except Karlova Muslims, half of the households were occupied with textiles (Table 2). Out of 942 households among Karlova non-Muslims, 473 were textile producers (50.2

[94] Gavrilova, , p. 28.

[95] Ibid., p. 41.

percent of the population). Out of 851 households in Kalofer, 420 were textile producers (49.3 percent of the population). Out of 693 households in Sopot, 344 were textile producers (49.6 percent of households).

Table 2: Number of Households

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
total village populations (nr of households)	552	942	851	693
textile producers (nr of households)	55	473	420	344

The aim of this section is to compare the textile producers with the total village populations with respect to incomes and taxes. This comparison highlights the possible differences created by textile production. Whether textile producers were earning better than the general population and whether textile production furthers the income gaps within the society are a number of questions raised. Besides, the breakdown of the income types demonstrates whether textile producers were concentrated on different revenue sources than the general population trends. In terms of the taxes, *vergi-i mahsusa* and head-tax *(cizye)* will be analyzed again separately for total populations and for textile producers. *Vergi-i mahsusa* was levied from income generating economic activities other than agrarian production (Tithe [*öşür*], was the tax levied from agrarian production and will be discussed in the Chapter 3). Therefore, a comparative analysis of *vergi-i mahsusa* payments will demonstrate whether textile producers were being taxed higher than the general population; in other words, textiles, and manufacturing in general, was under a specific attention of fiscal authorities or not.

The head-tax *(cizye)* was levied from adult male non-Muslim Ottoman inhabitants. Therefore, the analysis of head-tax excludes Karlova Muslims. Nevertheless, the available data gives important proofs with respect to the demographic trends of the non-Muslim population, and more importantly for our case, of the textile producers. The population estimations, deduced from the number of head-tax payers give two important results: Firstly, they enables us to highlight the population density in these rural areas (For the head-tax based population estimations, please see the first part of this chapter). Secondly, they also gives an idea about the average family size. Therefore, through comparing the size of the textile producer families with the general trend, the relation between the family size and the economic activity can be discussed. (See Chapter 4 for the further discussion on family economies in proto-industrial production).

Head-tax data is not only fruitful for the demographic studies, but also for identifying the income differentiation within the society. Since the head-tax was levied on three income levels, the amount of tax levied can be calculated and the income differentiations within the society can be analyzed.

Incomes

Counting the estimate annual incomes of each household was the major preliminary aim of the Income Surveys (The final aim was the effective tax collection, based on the survey results). Therefore, the survey data is highly detailed and useful with respect to incomes. More than thirty possible income sources were named and the tiniest amount to be yielded for each was recorded for each household. Besides, the total annual estimate income was added at the end of each entry. However, clerks did

some mistakes when calculating the total sum of revenues. They were few, nevertheless, for the precise accuracy, I have calculated the total annual estimated income for each household. Therefore, I have used my own calculations for the total sums and means of the incomes.

Table 3 and Table 4 demonstrates the mean of incomes of the households, the minimum and maximum income in respective village and the total sum of the incomes of the households. Table 3 represents the income profiles of the general village populations whereas Table 4 concentrates on the income profiles of the textile producers.

Table 3: Incomes of Total Village Populations (*Guruş*)

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Mean	702.9	949.1	1,119.9	1,210.1
Minimum	0	0	0	0
Maximum	6,425.5	5,150	5,990	6,000
Sum	388,003	894,083.5	953,077.5	838,646

Table 4: Incomes of Textile Producers (*Guruş*)

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Mean	639.6	1,010.1	1,263.7	1,298.8
Minimum	120	250	400	450
Maximum	1,650	3,400	5,990	4,955
Sum	35,182	477,804.5	530,754.5	446,815.5

The mean of the incomes of the households is given in the first rows. Thus, a household was earning in average 702.9 *guruş*; 949.1 *guruş*; 1,119.9 *guruş*; 1,210.1 *guruş* per year respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer, Sopot (Table 3). The contemporary data from other centres shows that these villages were in a prosperous condition. For instance, a study based on the 1845 Income

Surveys of Samokov depicts the average annual income per household as 432.2 guruş.[96] Another example based on the 1845 Income Survey results of Tatarpazarcığı (Plovdiv) states that average annual income per household was 724.6 guruş.[97]

For the textile producers, the average annual income per household was higher than the average annual income of total village populations (except Karlova Muslims): 639.6 *guruş*; 1,010.1 *guruş*; 1,263.7 *guruş*; 1,298.8 *guruş* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer, Sopot (Table 4). It means that textile production yielded an income better than the average. For instance, the average income of a household in Kalofer was 1,119 *guruş,* whereas the average income of a textile-producer household in Kalofer was1,263 *guruş.*

The minimum income was 0 *guruş* for all total village populations. It was because of the fact that some households without any income were also recorded in the survey. They were either ill, disabled or elderly people, living upon aid or lost inhabitants. Since textile producers were composed of economically active people, their minimum income was never zero. It was 120 *guruş*; 250 *guruş*; 400 *guruş*; 450 *guruş* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot textile producers (Table 4).

Contrary to the higher scores in average incomes, textile producers were not earning the highest incomes of their villages (Kalofer constitute an exception in that respect. The highest-earning household of Kalofer was a textile-producer household). The highest incomes were 6,425.5 *guruş*; 5,150 *guruş;* 5,990 *guruş* and 6,000 *guruş* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot. Whereas the highest income yielded by textile producers were 1,650 *guruş*; 3,400

[96] Ianeva, "Samokov," p. 67.

[97] Aydın, p.99.

guruş; 5,990 *guruş*; 4,955 *guruş* for respective villages. It was because of the fact that the households which earn most were in general textile merchants; which were excluded from the group of textile producers in this study. The textile merchants will be dealt further in the fourth chapter of this study.

Table 5 and Table 6 represent the distribution of the households with respect to their incomes. Table 5 belongs to the general village populations whereas Table 6 belongs to the textile producers. In order to be representative for less-earning households, the distribution was divided by intervals of 500 *guruş*. Therefore, the following two tables demonstrate the number of households earning annually from 0 to 500 *guruş*, from 500 to 1,000 *guruş*, from 1,000 to 1,500 *guruş*, from 1,500 to 2,000 *guruş*, from 2,000 to 2,500 *guruş*, from 2,500 to 3,000 *guruş* and 3,000 *guruş* or more.

There was a polarization of incomes towards low income levels. The general village populations were concentrated in the first two intervals, i.e. in the income range from 0 to 1,000 *guruş* (Table 4). In other words, more than half of the households were earning 1,000 *guruş* or less per year (87 percent of Karlova Muslims, 70 percent of Karlova non-Muslims, 52 percent of Kalofer, 50 percent of Sopot). Another way of looking at these results is comparing them with average incomes. Remembering that the mean income was 702 *guruş*, 949 *guruş*, 1,119 *guruş*, 1,210 *guruş* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot; it appears that majority of the Kalofer and Sopot remains below the average income of their villages.

The number of households are decreasing as the income per year stated for each interval is increasing. Only a small segment of the societies, varying from 1.3 percent to 3 percent of households, were earning 3,000 *guruş* or more per year.

Table 5: Distribution of Households with respect to Their Incomes (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr of households	%	nr of households	%	nr of households	%	nr of households	%
0-500 *guruş*	214	38.8	204	21.7	90	10.6	53	7.6
500-1,000 *guruş*	266	48.2	456	48.4	397	46.7	300	43.3
1,000-1,500 *guruş*	49	8.9	157	16.7	186	21.9	168	24.2
1,500-2,000 *guruş*	9	1.6	74	7.9	96	11.3	96	13.9
2,000-2,500 *guruş*	5	0.9	23	2.4	41	4.8	41	5.9
2,500-3,000 *guruş*	2	0.4	15	1.6	19	2.2	14	2.0
3,000 *guruş* or more	7	1.3	13	1.4	22	2.6	21	3.0
total	552	100	942	100	851	100	693	100

Table 6 shows the distribution of textile producer households with respect to their annual incomes. Differently from the general trend, the overwhelming majority of them were concentrated within the first three intervals. In other words, most of the households had an annual income of 1,500 *guruş* or less (98.2 percent, 85.6 percent, 73.3 percent, 70.3 percent of the textile producers in Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer, Sopot.) The distribution towards the intervals of higher incomes was probably due to the better earnings of textile producers than the general populations.

Table 6: Distribution of Households with respect to Their Incomes (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr of households	%	nr of households	%	nr of households	%	nr of households	%
0-500 *guruş*	22	40.0	76	16.1	29	6.9	19	5.5
500-1,000 *guruş*	24	43.6	234	49.5	170	40.5	136	39.5
1,000-1,500 *guruş*	8	14.5	95	20.1	109	26.0	87	25.3
1,500-2,000 *guruş*	1	1.8	38	8.0	60	14.3	57	16.6
2,000-2,500 *guruş*	0	0.0	18	3.8	24	5.7	24	7.0
2,500-3,000 *guruş*	0	0.0	8	1.7	15	3.6	9	2.6
3,000 *guruş* or more	0	0.0	4	0.8	13	3.1	12	3.5
total	55	100	473	100	420	100	344	100

The Income Surveys state the names of each and every source of income together with the amount of income yielded from each source. There were more than thirty revenue sources indicated for each village. The present study summarizes these revenues into eight groups: Agriculture; stockbreeding; crafts and production; trade; transportation; rental revenues; *tımar* and tax-farming revenues; wages. Table 7 demonstrates the breakdown of incomes for total village populations, and Table 9 makes this analysis for the textile producers.

The category of "agriculture" reflects agrarian revenues. Revenues from arable fields; fields converted to agriculture*;* fields rented from landowners; vineyards and gardens are included in this category.[98]

The category of "stockbreeding" shows the revenues from animal raising and other related revenues as meadow revenues (possessed or rented from someone else), revenues of shepherds and fishermen (fishermen were settled in other cities, usually in İstanbul).

The category of "Crafts/production" includes the economic activities of craftsmanship and manufacturing. Namely, rose oil producers *(gül yağcısı),* oil producers *(yağhane)*, revenues from shops (possessed or rented from someone else), revenues from *gaytan* wheels *(çark), aba* looms, and flour mills (further information about *gaytan, aba, gaytan* wheels and *aba* looms will be provided in Chapter 4), and revenues from craftsmanship. The Income Surveys are not clear about the categorical differences between the shop revenues and revenues from wheels and looms; and about "craftsmanship" revenues. Craftsmanship revenues were included as a final note to related entries. After counting the incomes and possessions of a household and before concluding the entry with the total sum of incomes, it was stated that the household has also incomes from a certain type of craftsmanship, and the revenue yielded was indicated ("*abacılığından 1000 guruş*", for instance). It was highly probable that "craftsmanship" revenue was reflecting the payments for labour. More than half of the revenues counted as "craftsmanship revenue" (*abacılığından*, for instance) were earned by journeymen and apprentices, who were probably working

[98] "Fields converted to agriculture" was named as "*ziraate verilen tarla*" in the Income Surveys. An explanation does not take place about this term in relevant sources. Here it is assumed that it was a type of land which was later used for agrarian purposes.

at a master's shop. (For the further discussion on the organization of labour, see Chapter 4).

The category of "trade" includes revenues from trading activities. As in the "craftsmanship" revenues, trade revenues were also included in each entry as a final note of non-categorized income. It was stated together with the amount of revenue, and also usually with the place where the revenue was earned ("*Deraliye'de tüccarlığından 3000 guruş*", for instance). For most of the cases, merchants were not settled in the respective villages but incomes earned in large towns and cities (For further information about traders of Plovdiv villages, see Chapter 4).

The category of "transportation" is composed of the incomes from carriage and transportation. The income-earners were called "*kiracı*". It was a small-scale task; they were usually undertaking this service through one ox they had.

"Rental revenues" consists of the revenues earned by the rentiers. In the villages studied, they were renting out fields, meadows, shops, houses, rooms, *gaytan* wheels, *aba* looms and flour mills.

The category of "*timar and* tax-farming revenues" included the revenues earned from a number of state-related duties. *Timar* (fief) revenue was stated as *"ba-berat-ı ali mutasarrıf olduğu tımarından",* which means "from holding of a timar through an official document presenting privileges". The holders of such privilege were few in number. Thirteen of them were among Karlova Muslims and one was a Karlova non-Muslim. Tax-farming (*iltizam*) was another state-led privilege which gives the right to tax-collection to its holder. In the registers studied there was two tax-farmers (*mültezim*), both were Karlova Muslims.

The category of "wages" includes the incomes of paid workers. They were labourers *(hizmetkar/hizmetçi),* day labourers *(gündelikçi),* watchmen, *imams*, and

priests. The actual definitions for servants and day labourers did not exist in the survey registers. Therefore, one can only make hypothetic statements about them. The difference between their income levels reflect that servants were occupied in more qualified works, whereas day labourers were most probably undertaking domestic services. Servants are of a specific importance with respect to the textile production in the region. A remarkable number of them had revenues from textile production. Furthermore, based on the official requests of Plovdiv merchants, it is also highly probable that the servants were assisting and accompanying the merchants travelling in and around the region.[99]

[99] For examples of "labourers" as assistants of the Plovdiv merchants, please see BOA. C. İKTS. 2-72, 20/M/1254; BOA. A. DVN. 36-21, 05/C/1264; BOA. A. DVN. 27-64, 16/B/1264; BOA. A. MKT. NZD. 58-27, 20/Za/1268; BOA. C. İKTS, 3-113, 10/M/1249; BOA. C. İKTS. 2-72, 20/M/1254.

Table 7: Breakdown of Incomes (*Guruş*) (for Total Village Populations)

		Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Agriculture	Arabe field	7,362.5	19,810	45,975	77,670
	Field converted	0	0	20	0
	Field rented	1,100	1,930	6,245	1,620
	Vineyard	20,136.5	94,02.5	19,910	27,720.5
	Garden	0	0	150	27,787.5
Stockbreeding	Animals	12,359.5	4,595	13,935.25	2,251
	Meadows possessed	1,671	172.5	45,228.75	12,043
	Meadow rented	0	0	2,215	0
	Shepherding	2,100	8,836	25,370	19,600
	Fisheries	0	20,000	8,380	2,450
Crafts/Production	Rose oil producer	2,392	620	4,805	925
	Oil producer	0	1,000	0	0
	Shop revenue	71,375	121,460	29,020	49,840
	Shop rented	27,920	58,765	4,070	15,445
	Wheel/loom/ mill	4,260	176,752.5	129,380	84,335.5
	Craftsmanship	142,906.5	244,803	364,568.5	364,403
Trade		8,150	20,375	47,020	20,847.5
Transportation		1,6805	38,285	67,695	25,610
Rental revenues	Field	532	990	270	413
	Meadow	0	0	100	0
	Shop	4,585	1,175	1,800	1,570
	Houses/rooms	2,909	3,614	1,600	0
	Wheels/looms/mills	0	280	0	0
Tımar, tax-farming revenues		41,594	4,995	0	0
Wages		19,845	156,223	135,320	104,115
Total		388,003	894,083.5	953,077.5	838,646

Table 8 clearly shows that there was not a homogeneous distribution of incomes in terms of their sources. The income category of **"**crafts and production" constitutes

the most important revenue source for all villages. It constituted 64.1 percent, 67.4 percent, 55.8 percent, 61.4 percent of total annual incomes respectively of Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer, Sopot. This result emerges because of the fact that these villages were important textile centres. An overwhelming majority of the crafts conducted in all of these villages were textile-based professions. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the "crafts and production" income of Karlova Muslims was quite less compared to the other villages. Woollen textile production was quite uncommon among them, unlike the inhabitants of other villages. As textiles, particularly the woollen textiles were creating high revenues, their absence resulted with low "crafts and production" revenues there.

Through a comparative approach as well, the extraordinary weight of crafts and production becomes evident. In other eight villages of Plovdiv studied by Güran, most of which were agrarian settlements, the share of "manufacturing and production" was less than 8 percent of total incomes (varies from 0 percent to 7.8 percent of total incomes of these eight villages); only in one village it rises to 45.6 percent .[100]

"Wages" is in general the second important revenue source for total village populations. As stated above, it is composed of the incomes of labourers*(hizmetçi),* day labourers *(gündelikçi),* watchmen, *imams,* and priests. Again, the high share of the "wages" revenue is most probably due to the labourers' textile-related earnings.

[100] Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı,* p. 211.

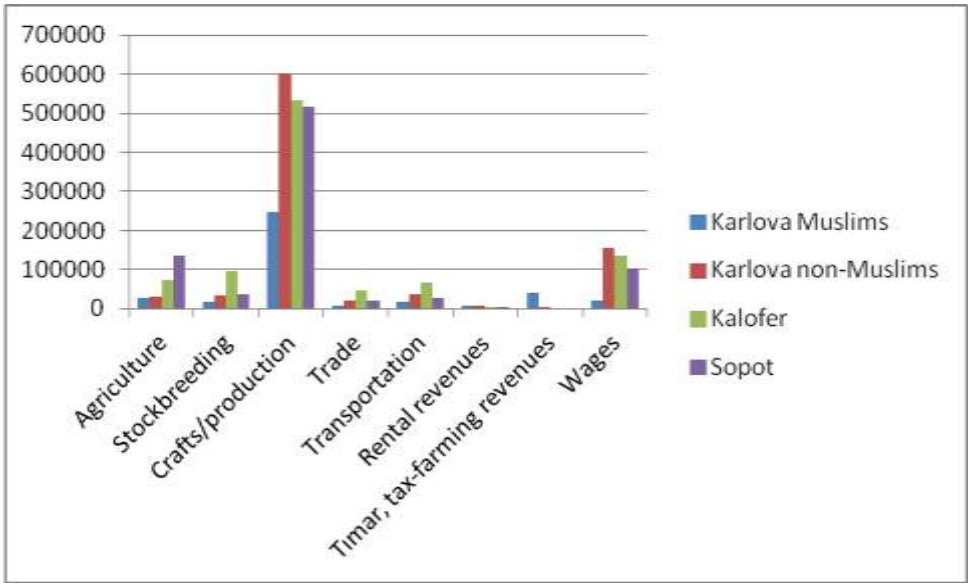

Table 8: Bar Chart of the Breakdown of Incomes (*Guruş*) (for Total Village Populations)

Table 9: Breakdown of Incomes (*Guruş*) (for Textile Producers)

		Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Agriculture	Arabe field	850	5,465	13,165	18,330
	Field converted	0	0	0	0
	Field rented	0	0	610	0
	Vineyard	2,395.5	6,297.5	9,980	18,355
	Garden	0	0	100	17,642.5
Stockbreeding	Animals	645	1,600	5,372	544
	Meadows possessed	0	100	22,736	6,435.5
	Meadow rented	0	0	265	0
	Shepherding	0	0	0	0
	Fisheries	0	1,330	500	0
Crafts/Production	Rose oil producer	360	470	3,315	350
	Oil producer	0	1,000	0	0
	Shop revenue	9,550	61,890	13,480	27,740
	Shop rented	1,300	11,920	2,600	6,550
	Wheel/loom/ mill	0	175,725	127,543	83,011
	Craftsmanship	18,327	161,363	293,899	251,415
Trade		0	9,565	18,210	4,925
Transportation		0	4,150	4,000	1,700
Rental revenues	Field	0	400	235	223
	Meadow	0	0	85	0
	Shop	1,625	200	1,670	555
	Houses/rooms	130	1,739	1,000	0
	Wheels/looms /mills	0	90	0	0
Tımar, tax-farming revenues		0	0	0	0
Wages		0	34,500	11,990	9,040
Total		35,182.5	477,804.5	530,755	446,816

The breakdown of incomes are even less homogeneously distributed for the textile producers. The overwhelming majority of the incomes were concentrated in the

"crafts and production" segment. This result emerges because of the fact that textile was the major income source for its producers; it was not practiced as a by-occupation. These villages were definitely non-agrarian settlements (This issue is further discussed in Chapter 4). Again, the case of Karlova Muslims constitute an exception to them. Their textile earnings were lower than the other villages, as also their total incomes. In terms of trade revenues, it is again worth noting that this analysis includes only manufacturers and manufacturer-cum-merchants. The merchants will be dealt with separately in Chapter 4. Overall, trade revenues seem quite low in the present analysis.

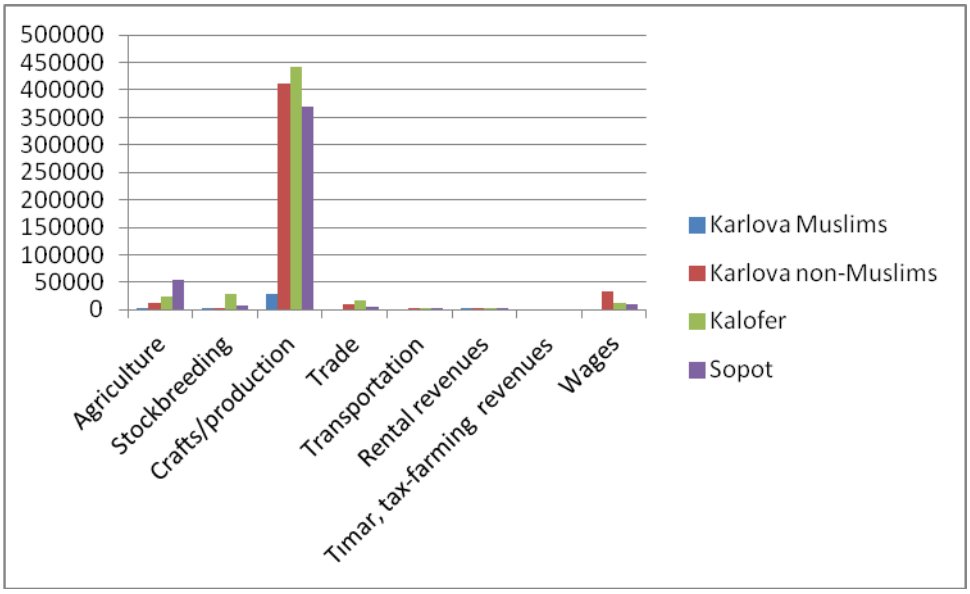

Table 10: Bar Chart of the Breakdown of Incomes (*Guruş*) (for Textile Producers)

Taxation

The underlying motivation for the preparation of the Income Surveys was to collect information about a new, more efficient, income-based taxation system. Therefore, one important aspect of the surveys was the counting of incomes and properties, but the other and even more important dimension was the statement of the amount of tax paid in the previous year.

The Income Surveys of Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot presented information about three types of taxes: *Vergi-i mahsusa* (income tax), *cizye* (head-tax), and *aşar* (tithe). In this section, the first two of these taxes will be evaluated. Tithe is the subject of a longer debate on the agrarian practices, which is discussed in Chapter 3 in detail.

The Income Surveys state the amount of *vergi-i mahsusa* (income tax) paid in previous year by each household. *Vergi-i mahsusa* was an income tax.[101] It has a specific importance in the case of these villages because crafts and manufacturing activities were taxed through *vergi-i mahsusa*. As manufacturing constituted the most important income source of these villages in general, and of textile producers in particular (Tables 7-10), the amount of *vergi-i mahsusa* represents the tax burden over this vital economic activity.

The following two tables (Table 11 and 12) show the distribution of households with respect to *vergi-i mahsusa* payments. The former explains the total village populations and the latter shows the textile producers.

[101] Tevfik Güran, "19. Yüzyıl Temettuat Tahrirleri", *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik*, (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), p.77.

For these two tables below, *vergi-i mahsusa* payments are divided into six intervals: From 0 to 20 *guruş,* from 20 to 50 *guruş,* from 50 to 100 *guruş*, from 100 to 200 *guruş*, from 200 to 500 *guruş*, 500 *guruş* or more. The number of the households falling in each interval is stated. The reason for unequal ranges is the attempt to represent the lower segments in detail since the weight is cumulated on them.

Similar to the patterns of income distributions, the tax payments are concentrated in the first three intervals (Table 11). 92.2 percent of Karlova Muslim households were paying 100 *guruş* or less for *vergi-i mahsusa*. After adding up the number of the households in first three intervals, it was 80.7 percent of Karlova non-Muslims, 82.6 percent of Kalofer, and 74.5 percent of Sopot who were paying *vergi-i mahsusa* of 100 *guruş* or less. Tax payment amounts were concentrated on lower levels, since the incomes were low as well.

Table 11: Distribution of Households with respect to *Vergi-i Mahsusa* Payments (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr of households	%	nr of households	%	nr of households	%	nr of households	%
0-20 *guruş*	155	28.1	74	7.9	108	12.7	33	4.8
20-50 *guruş*	236	42.8	365	38.7	293	34.4	147	21.2
50-100 *guruş*	118	21.4	321	34.1	302	35.5	336	48.5
100-200 *guruş*	39	7.1	167	17.7	124	14.6	144	20.8
200-500 *guruş*	4	0.7	15	1.6	23	2.7	33	4.8
500 *guruş* or more	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.1	0	0.0
total	552	100	942	100	851	100	693	100

Average *vergi-i mahsusa* payment per household was 44.4 *guruş*, 66.1 *guruş*, 66.1 *guruş* and 85 *guruş* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot. Thus, one can calculate the proportion of *vergi-i mahsusa* to the total annual incomes in order to show the tax burden over earnings. The rate of *vergi-i mahsusa* was 6.3 percent, 7 percent, 5.9 percent, 7 percent of the total estimated annual incomes of respective villages. The question whether the tax burden is dependent on the type of economic activity can be answered through a comparative approach. A sound comparison may be done between Karlova, Kalofer, and Sopot on the one hand, and nine villages of Koyuntepe studied by Güran on the other hand. Because, as stated previously, the study of Güran also covers Plovdiv villages of the same period from the Income Surveys, yet, these were agrarian settlements. Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were slightly less taxed compared to agrarian Koyuntepe villages,

whose *vergi-i mahsusa* payments were on average 8 percent of their incomes. [102] Therefore, it may be rightfully argued that manufacturing was not being taxed heavier than agriculture. This comparison between the manufacturer and agrarian villages of Plovdiv demonstrates that the former has a smaller tax burden in terms of *vergi-i mahsusa.*

Table 12 demonstrates the distribution of households with respect to their *vergi-i mahsusa* payments. Textile producers were earning better than the general population, thus, their taxes were also spreading through the higher levels. They were heavily concentrated in the first four tax intervals (Table 12). Adding up the shares of households in first four intervals, it appears that 100 percent of Karlova Muslim textile producers were paying 200 *guruş* or less tax. It was 99 percent of Karlova non-Muslims, 97 percent of Kalofer and 94 percent of Sopot textile producers.

Table 12: Distribution of Households with respect to *Vergi-i Mahsusa* Payments (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr of households	%	nr of households	%	nr of households	%	nr of households	%
0-20 *guruş*	8	15	24	5	39	9	10	3
20-50 *guruş*	31	56	170	36	133	32	69	20
50-100 *guruş*	11	20	173	37	146	35	166	48
100-200 *guruş*	5	9	101	21	90	21	77	22
200-500 *guruş*	0	0	5	1	11	3	22	6
500 *guruş* or more	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
total	55	100	473	100	420	100	344	100

[102] Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı,* p. 220.

Average *vergi-i mahsusa* payment per household was 48.4 *guruş*, 70 *guruş*, 75 *guruş* and 90 *guruş* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot. Based on these results, the proportion of *vergi-i mahsusa* paid by textile producers to the total estimated annual incomes of respective villages was 7.6 percent, 6.9 percent, 6 percent, 6.9 percent. Here, one can make an analysis of the dependency between the tax burden and the type of economic activity based on a comparison within the villages. As stated above, the share of *vergi-i mahsusa* for total village populations was 6.3 percent, 7 percent, 5.9 percent, 7 percent of their incomes for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot. These proportions are almost identical with the proportions for the textile producers in respective villages. In other words, the tax burden over a textile producer household was equal to the tax burden over an average household in the village. Therefore, one may again claim that that the tax burden over the manufacturing was not heavier than other economic activities.

Head-tax has always been another important revenue source for the state. Furthermore, it represents the number of active male population among the non-Muslims. "As is well known, the cizye tax was collected from the male non-Muslim population in three categories: superior (*alâ*), 60 kuruş; middle (*evsat*), 30 kuruş; and inferior (*edna*), 15 kuruş."[103] The amount of head-tax payments was calculated on this information. Multiplying the respective amounts with the number of head-tax payers represented in Table 13, total amount of head-tax was found: 894,084 *guruş* for Karlova, 953,078 *guruş* for Kalofer and 838,646 *guruş* for Sopot. In order to observe the burden of head-tax, these figures were proportioned to the total incomes.

[103] Ianeva, "Samokov," p.69.

The result is the following: Head-tax made 5.9 percent, 5.2 percent and 4.9 percent of the incomes registered respectively for Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot. The overwhelming majority of the head-tax payers were of the middle level *(evsat)* in all three villages.

Table 13: Number of Head-Tax Payers (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr of people	%	nr of people	%	nr of people	%
ala	124	7.5	135	8.7	93	7.1
evsat	1,458	87.8	1,373	88.8	1,148	87.7
edna	78	4.7	38	2.5	68	5.2
total	1,660	100	1,546	100	1,309	100

Similar to the general trend, the majority of the textile producers were also paying head-tax in the middle level *(evsat)*. (Table 14). Following the same calculation method explained above for the general village populations; the amount of total head-tax payments were found. They were 477,805 *guruş*, 530,755 *guruş*, 446,816 *guruş* respectively for Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot textile producers. Therefore, the head-tax payments of the textile producers constituted 5.7 percent, 4.9 percent, 4.7 percent of their incomes registered respectively for Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot.

Table 14: Number of Head-Tax Payers (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr of people	%	nr of people	%	nr of people	%
ala	72	8.5	103	13.3	53	8.0
evsat	734	86.4	658	84.9	579	86.9
edna	44	5.2	14	1.8	34	5.1
total	850	100	775	100	666	100

Conclusion

Regional studies yield meaningful results as long as they are studied within the broader historical context they took place within. The degree of divergences of a certain region from the general trends reflect its own characteristics. Based on these similarities and differences, the economic geography of this region can be depicted. Furthermore, these local descriptions contribute to conclusions for larger level. Thus, these continuous references between the micro and the macro levels enables us to maintain an understanding of the social and economic history in the light of empirical data. This study proposes this approach to the study of Ottoman Balkans. Based on the examples of Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot, a specific type of economic organization is analyzed in order to contribute to the Ottoman economic history of nineteenth century.

This chapter, based on this approach, expresses the economic geography of Ottoman Bulgaria in and around mid-nineteenth-century on various spheres. The geographic, demographic, administrative and economic characteristics of the region are introduced in order to explain the setting out of which Plovdiv proto-industrial villages flourished. It is here argued that physical and human geography of the Plovdiv countryside created a favourable location for the emergence and development of the rural putting-out industries.

Firstly, geography is an important component of this picture. Namely, the topography of the Balkans marked with mountain ranges and valleys created the semi-preserved (thus, semi-open) geography of these three villages. The locality of the villages were also vital for their economic presence; they were both close enough

to İstanbul and Central Europe to sustain commercial links, and far enough to major city centres to be protected from their competition and regulations.

Secondly, demography constitutes another vital part of this structure. The human geography of these villages has been marked with high population density. Different population estimates -although carrying a number of contradictions among themselves - show that the populations of Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were even higher than many town centres of the era. (Thus, this study is the aware of the controversies in the definition of the term "village" and discusses them in this chapter in the part explaining the administrative scheme of the region). Immense population growth in the Balkans by the late-eighteenth, early-nineteenth century has also included Plovdiv area as well. More importantly, the upland migration trend has characterized Ottoman Bulgaria in early nineteenth century due to various reasons. Fiscal and economic obligations over peasants in the lowland economies pushed them to move uplands. Besides, insecurity created by local armed troops was another source of oppression. The landholding regime of the era created the systematic and institutional basis for this upland migration trend. Climate also stands as a variable stimulating the upland migration, especially in the earlier periods. Mountains were favourable than marshy lowlands for most of the region. Nevertheless, this very interesting point of relation between climatic change and settlement practices in Balkans in the long run needs further studies.

Alongside with the analysis of Plovdiv villages within Balkan context, this chapter provides also a more closer look to the human geography of these villages. The income and taxation figures are given in order to demonstrate the general economic prosperity of these textile villages. It is shown that Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were wealthier than many other contemporary settlements. The source of this

wealth was heavily stemmed from textiles, and consequently textile producers were better-off than average of the respective villages. The taxation figures are also reflecting the high incomes of the villagers; as they were proportioned to each other. Furthermore, a deeper analysis of the tax payments follows the different tax burdens on different economic activities. *Vergi-i mahsusa* payments prove that there was not an additional fiscal burden over manufacturing activity. Instead, agriculture was being taxed heavier than textiles. This lighter tax burden on manufacturing may also be considered as a reason for spread of the proto-industrialization in the region.

CHAPTER III

LANDHOLDING, AGRICULTURE AND STOCKBREEDING

Introduction

Proto-industrialization theses devote a high emphasis on the formation of the putting-out villages with respect to their institutional formation. Among a high number of variables, landholding regime and agriculture practices stand as two key institutions at the basis of the proto-industries. This chapter follows this claim and proposes a detailed survey of the landholding and agrarian structure of these villages. Theoretical debates concerning the issue and the historical scope of larger social, economic and legal transformations of the nineteenth century are combined with the presentation of highly detailed empirical data of the respective villages. Through this method, the actual practices in these villages are connected to the contemporary framework and attempted to provide a coherent picture of the basis of the proto-industrial production.

The chapter is divided into three interrelated parts. The first part analyzes the landholding regime on several respects. In order to historicize and theorise the question of land shortage, the discussions in the original theses of proto-industrialization of Western European villages are reviewed. These discussions are re-evaluated through the issue of access to land in Ottoman Balkan context. The particular features of the land regime, which created the landless peasant masses are

highlighted. Under the light of these discussions, the quantitative data on landholding figures, yielded from the Income Surveys, are presented. The empirical research shows that Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot are characterized by landless peasants and small landholdings. Therefore, this study argues that land shortage was one of the major reasons for the emergence of proto-industrialization in the region. Peasants without adequate land sized had to seek their subsistence though manufacturing activities. Land regime in the region is demonstrated with respect to both similarities and divergences with the mid-nineteenth-century landholding and land usufruct practices in other Balkan provinces. Land size, land types, land tenancy and land possession in neighbouring villages are specific points to be expressed.

The second part of this chapter explains the agrarian practices in Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot. Again, the proto-industrialization literature and Ottoman agrarian economy literature are analyzed. For the Ottoman context, a particular emphasis was placed on the new agrarian tax regime of the nineteenth century. The discussion is followed by the presentation of the data on the agricultural production in Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot. Agrarian revenues presented in the Income Surveys are analyzed both from land revenues and from tithe payments. Furthermore, different types of agrarian productions are compared in order to follow the possible relations between the commercial farming and proto-industrialization in this case. The research shows that the agrarian revenues remained very insignificant. Thus, it is argued that inhabitants of these villages had to subsist on non-agrarian economic activities and manufacturing developed out of this need.

The final part of this chapter examines the stockbreeding activities in these villages, which is also a part of the institutional formation of the proto-industrialization. The revenues from the animals and the amount of animals raised

are shown. These figures demonstrate that animal raising, similar to the agriculture, did not have a significance as an economic activity. Thus, it appears that Plovdiv villages who lacked land and had to choose a non-agrarian activity preferred manufacturing instead of stockbreeding. Stockbreeding also has a particular importance in this discussion with respect to its possible relation with the manufacturing. The primary manufacturing activity in these villages is woollen-textiles. Therefore, sheep raising is an important point to observe to understand the raw material provisioning in the region. Nevertheless, the data shows that textile-producers did not possess a significant number of sheep, as well as other inhabitants of the region. This brings us to the idea that it was not a closed economy; wool was provided to them from outside.

Landholding

The original discussions on the emergence of Western European proto-industries principally focus on the relationship between access to land and rural manufacturing. Land shortage has long been associated with the emergence of proto-industries. The original theory of Mendels, discussing the eighteenth century European land regime, argues that land shortage characterizes the proto-industrial regions. "[T]he peasants who became weavers were at the bottom of the social scale and remained there. They were those who had not enough land to make out a living for their family after rent and taxes were deducted from gross output."[104] This argument of Mendels was further elaborated by Kriedte, Medick and Schlumbohm: "By the eighteenth century, the bulk of the rural population consisted not of full-scale farmers in control of

[104] Mendels, p.242.

enough land to feed their households but of smallholding and occasionally landless substratum which was made up of several groups [...] most of whom possessed only a house and a small piece of land."[105] Therefore, this "landless substratum" had to be supplemented by income from crafts and trade.[106]

Land shortage has been detected in the nineteenth century Ottoman Bulgaria as well. As Bruce McGowan puts forth for the early nineteenth century Bulgaria, 40% of the peasants were landless there.[107] Due to the new land regime of the era, many peasants lost their use-rights over the land and they were transformed into tenants. Accordingly, those who could not meet their subsistence through tenancy, or those who were even deprived of any kind of land use due to their inability to pay rents, had to seek alternatives elsewhere.

> One essential reason for the difficult position of the Bulgarian peasants, which was also a factor in their flight from the village, was the relative shortage of land in agriculture. This land shortage was only partly the result of the peasant's own self-restraint in land utilization (a self-restraint produced by the peasant's failure to see the point of farming in the face of the government's exactions, and by the many difficulties that stood in the way of cultivation of the so-called empty lands) [...] The relative land shortage and social differentiation within the village led either to peasant demand for arable land or to a flight from the village and to pauperization of some peasants. [108]

Another reason for land shortage in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Bulgaria was the fact of partible inheritance. After the partition of land, and consequently partition of the agrarian capital equipment (harness and fertilizers); if the agricultural output did

[105] Kriedte, p. 15.

[106] Ibid., p. 16.

[107] McGowan, p. 71.

[108] Todorov, *The Balkan City*, p. 197.

not provide the subsistence of the peasant family, they could only earn their livings in non-agricultural economic activities.[109]

Together with the pressure of high taxation and rents, land shortage was a reason motivating peasants to move towards remote uplands. For the peasants who stayed in their diminishing lands, agrarian production hardly covered their subsistence, and, in many cases, remained below their subsistence. Given that the taxes were mostly in money form in the nineteenth century; these peasants could not afford to pay the taxes with their low level of agrarian production.[110] After paying taxes and rent, the remaining amount of output was not enough for their subsistence.

Thus, the institutional framework of the nineteenth century landholding regime is one of the reasons of the origins of proto-industries in Plovdiv rural area. In that respect, the Income Surveys of 1845 have a great significance. Their uniqueness comes from the fact that, they include the economic activities and the landholding patterns of each household all together. Hence, the land possession and land use of manufacturers, presented in the Income Surveys, offers the possibility of explaining the institutional basis of proto-industrialization.

The Income Surveys include different types of information in terms of land use. The unit of measurements used were *dönüm* and *evlek.* One *dönüm* makes approximately 916.8 square meters, and one *evlek* makes a quarter of a *dönüm.* In this study, *evlek* measures are converted into *dönüms.* In the surveys "the size of garden, vineyard or pasture cultivated or fallowed, and belonging to the household, stated in *dönüm*; the size of land rented out or let out for rent by the household, in

[109] Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı,* p. 189.

[110] Ibid., p. 187.

dönüm; the identity of the leaseholder or tenant" were indicated.[111] In addition, the yield from land was also given. Five types of land were registered for Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot; cultivated fields (*mezru tarla*), uncultivated fields (*gayrı mezru tarla*), meadows (*çayır*), vineyards (*bağ*), vegetable gardens (*soğan/börülce bahçesi*) and rose oil producers (*gül yağcısı*).

The Income Surveys define the possession status over the land as well. Rent from the land was registered together with the size of land rented out. The nineteenth-century landholding regime reduced many peasants into tenants, and forced many peasants to give their lands to rent for monetary income. In the Income Surveys, the tenancy status was kept as follows: If the contrary was not indicated, the land would belong to the respective household. When the household had a tenancy status, this information was attached to the related land. For instance, if a peasant household was tenant on an arable field, this field was registered upon them as "the arable field rented "*(kiracı olduğu mezru tarla).* Likewise, there were other households who were renting out their land. Since that would yield a rental income for them, this information was registered as, again for the arable field, "the arable field rented out " *(kiraya verdiği mezru tarla)*.

As well as the intra-village relations on land, the Income Surveys also show the inter-village land relations. There were a number of households possessing land in neighbouring villages. The Income Surveys included information on whether a household possessed land in a neighbouring village, and if so, the type of the land and the name of the village it was located . Though in such cases, neither the size of land, nor the revenue yielded from it was indicated. This gives us an important clue

[111] Tevfik Güran, "Temettuat Registers as a Resource about Ottoman Social and Economic Life", *The Ottoman State and Societies in Change,* ed. Hayashi Kayoka and Mahir Aydın, (London: Kegan Paul, 2004), p.8.

for understanding the logic behind the Income Surveys. These registers were counting the revenues earned *within* the village. Thus, it was not an income register purely on a household basis. If a household was earning an income out of the village they lived in, this income was counted as a revenue of the village where it was earned/located. Yet, there still was a household-based understanding as well. In order to separate the incomes of the village inhabitants from the outsiders' income, the register books were organized in the following way: After each household unit of the concerned village was registered in terms of their incomes and possessions, a new section was added. This section was entitled as "The possessions of the inhabitants of the (other) villages in (the presently registered) village." Their names, possessions and revenues from these possessions were listed under this heading.

By making the use of data supplied by the Income Registers, this study evaluates the land issue in various ways. Firstly, the landholding sizes are analyzed in landholding brackets . This analysis helps us understand the share of landlessness as well as the common pattern of landholding; whether small-scale landholding was prevalent there or not. Afterwards, the breakdown of land, according to the land types, is described. The size of land and the number of households possessing respective type of land is indicated. Then, the number of land tenants are given. Finally, the number of households possessing land in neighbouring villages, with the land types and village names, are presented.

Landholding Sizes

Table 15 shows the distribution of land in each village. The first column of the table shows the size of land per household, in terms of *dönüms*: 0 *dönüm* (landless

households), 0-2 *dönüms,* 2-5 *dönüms,* 5-10 *dönüms,* 10-20 *dönüms,* 20-50 *dönüms,* 50 *dönüms* or more. Since the size of landholdings are very small in these villages, the size below 10 *dönüms* is divided into four intervals.

The columns titled "nr" refer to the numbers of household falling within each interval. The columns titled "%" refer to the share of each interval within total number of population.

With the exception of Karlova Muslims, landless households constitute the majority of the population. 71.4 percent, 33.6 percent, 37.7 percent of Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot respectively, did not have any access to land. Among Karlova Muslims, 31.5 percent of the households were landless. Out of 3,038 households in these four villages, 1,394 households were totally landless.

For each village, the overwhelming majority of the landholders have less than 5 *dönüms* of land per household. On average, approximately half of the landholders (755 of 1,644 landholder households) have less than 2 *dönüms* of land. It is clear that landlessness and small landholdings were a common pattern for the region. The landholding regime has been a key component of the proto-industries in Plovdiv and its neighbouring area as well.

Average size of land per household was 1.8 *dönüms,* 1.1 *dönüms,* 5.7 *dönüms,* 4.7 *dönüms* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot. In order to outline the contemporary landholding context in primarily agrarian regions of Plovdiv, one could compare these results with Tevfik Güran's pioneering work on nine villages of Koyuntepe, Plovdiv. In the villages he studied, which

heavily rely on agrarian production, average size of land per household varies between 21 and 40 *dönüms.*[112]

Table 15: Distribution of Land (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
Size of land (*dönüm*)	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
0	174	31.5	673	71.4	286	33.6	261	37.7
0-2	280	50.7	149	15.8	132	15.5	194	28.0
2-5	60	10.9	66	7.0	149	17.5	94	13.6
5-10	20	3.6	33	3.5	148	17.4	62	8.9
10-20	13	2.4	17	1.8	92	10.8	44	6.3
20-50	2	0.4	4	0.4	40	4.7	30	4.3
50 +	3	0.5	0	0.0	4	0.5	8	1.2
	552	100	942	100	851	100	693	100

Table 16 demonstrates the analysis of landholding size distribution for the textile producers. In the table below, the share of landlessness and small landholdings of textile producers, as important characteristics of proto-industries, are clearly evident. "Thus this region constituted one of the few parts of the Ottoman Empire which may be called proto-industrial; here the inhabitants of outlying hill villages with little agricultural land lived largely by textile manufacture." [113]

Landlessness of textile producers follows the similar pattern with the total population results give in Table 15. Landless households constitute the majority of the textile producers for Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot (respectively, 68.9 percent, 31.2 percent, 36.9 percent of textile producers). Again, for the landowners,

[112] Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı*, p. 192.
[113] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Declines and Revivals in Textile Production," *The Cambridge History of Turkey, Volume 3: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, (Cambridge: Cambrigde University Press, 2006), p.374.

small landholdings were the common pattern among textile producers. Average size of land per textile producer household was 2.9 *dönüms,* 0.8 *dönüms,* 5.1 *dönüms*, 3.6 *dönüms* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot.

Table 16: Distribution of Land (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
Size of land (*dönüm*)	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
0	8	14.5	326	68.9	131	31.2	127	36.9
0-2	32	58.2	95	20.1	79	18.8	115	33.4
2-5	9	16.4	40	8.5	83	19.8	51	14.8
5-10	2	3.6	5	1.1	79	18.8	26	7.6
10-20	3	5.5	6	1.3	32	7.6	12	3.5
20-50	0	0.0	1	0.2	14	3.3	9	2.6
50 +	1	1.8	0	0.0	2	0.5	4	1.2
	55	100	473	100	420	100	344	100

Land Types

Another way of looking at landholding is the breakdown of land types. In this way, the patterns of land use can be observed through the size of land allocated to each land type.

Table 17 shows the breakdown of land types for each village. In this table, land is classified into types according to the titles given in Income Registers. They are cultivated field (*mezru tarla*), field converted to agriculture *(ziraate verilen tarla),* (uncultivated field (*gayrı mezru tarla*), field rented (*müstecir olduğu tarla*), vineyard (*bağ*), rose oil producer (*gül yağcısı*), meadow (*çayır*), meadow rented (*müstecir olduğu çayır*) and vegetable gardens (*soğan/börülce bahçesi*). Number of households

possessing each type of land, and the total size of land these households possessed is given. This analysis enables cross comparisons among both the land types and the villages.

Following the main purpose of the Income Surveys, one should note that these are the land types which yield, or have the possibility to yield, income to the households. Commons, forests, marsh areas were excluded. Thus, the total land sizes given in Table 17 (1,991.5 *dönüms*, 4,836 *dönüms* and 3,228.5 *dönüms* for Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot, respectively) include only the income-yielding lands possessed by households.

Table 17: Breakdown of Land Types (for Total Village Populations)

		Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Cultivated field	Nr of households	39	76	212	182
	Size (*dönüm*)	152	320	987	1,116
Field converted to agriculture	Nr of households	0	0	1	0
	Size (*dönüm*)	0	0	2	0
Uncultivated field	Nr of households	101	143	349	196
	Size (*dönüm*)	369	569	1,622	929
Field rented	Nr of households	4	9	32	8
	Size (*dönüm*)	18	45	129	21
Vineyard	Nr of households	339.5	135	95	229
	Size (*dönüm*)	334	82.5	680	170
Rose oil producer	nr of households	18	3	22	5
	Size (*dönüm*)	30.5	3	45	101.5
Meadow	Nr of households	25	5	429	54
	Size (*dönüm*)	63	6	1,272	102
Meadow rented	Nr of households	0	0	24	0
	Size (*dönüm*)	0	0	98	0
Vegetable gardens	Nr of households	0	0	3	68
	Size (*dönüm*)	0	0	1	789
Total size of lands (*dönüm*)		966	1,025.5	4,836	3,228.5

For a clearer view, Table 18 gives the breakdown of land types in terms of the share of each land type within the total size of lands. For Karlova and Kalofer, uncultivated fields constitute the highest size of land. 38.2 percent, 55.5 percent, 33.5 percent of

all lands, respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims and Kalofer, were uncultivated fields. The uncultivated fields should have been probably either laid fallow and/or used as pasture. They are followed by different types of land depending on each village. The high share of the sum of uncultivated fields and meadows, particularly in first three populations, raises the possibility of stockbreeding there. However, it was not the case for proto-industrial Plovdiv villages; stockbreeding remains in the subsistence level as it will be seen later in this chapter.

Table 18: Breakdown of Land Types (%) (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Cultivated field	15.7 %	31.2 %	20.4 %	34.6 %
Field converted to agriculture	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
Uncultivated field	38.2 %	55.5 %	33.5 %	28.8 %
Field rented	1.9 %	4.4 %	2.7 %	0.7 %
Vineyard	34.6 %	8.0 %	14.1 %	5.3 %
Rose oil producer	3.2 %	0.3 %	0.9 %	3.1 %
Meadow	6.5 %	0.6 %	26.3 %	3.2 %
Meadow rented	0.0 %	0.0 %	2.0 %	0.0 %
Vegetable gardens	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	24.4 %
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

In all three villages, there was not an "advanced process of reclamation of the land suitable for cultivation."[114] They could not fulfill their agrarian potential. The sum of cultivated fields, vineyards and gardens varies between nearly 40 percent and 70 percent of all lands counted in each village (55 percent, 43 percent, 38 percent, 68

[114] Stefka Parveva, "Rural Agrarian and Social Structure in the Edirne Region during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Village, Town and People in the Ottoman Balkans, 16th – mid-19th Century*, ed. Stefka Parveva, (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2009), p. 31.

percent of counted lands were cultivated respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer, Sopot). The agrarian activities will be discussed in more detail in the second part of this chapter.

The similar analysis of the breakdown of land types is given for the textile producers in Table 19. The total size of land held by textile producers are given, with respect to each land type. In addition, the number of textile producer households, holding respective type of land, is also presented.

Table 19: Breakdown of Land Types (for Textile Producers)

		Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Cultivated field	Nr of households	5	33	78	64
	Size (*dönüm*)	10	95	288	304
Field converted to agriculture	Nr of households	0	0	0	0
	Size (*dönüm*)	0	0	0	0
Uncultivated field	Nr of households	16	73	180	84
	Size (*dönüm*)	58	230	772	297
Field rented	Nr of households	0	0	5	0
	Size (*dönüm*)	0	0	10	0
Vineyard	Nr of households	42	85	49	122
	Size (*dönüm*)	86	54	375	96
Rose oil producer	Nr of households	3	2	15	3
	Size (*dönüm*)	6	2	29	99
Meadow	Nr of households	0	2	227	27
	Size (*dönüm*)	0	3	644	47
Meadow rented	Nr of households	0	0	4	0
	Size (*dönüm*)	0	0	16	0
Vegetable gardens	Nr of households	0	0	2	52
	Size (*dönüm*)	0	0	1	404
Total size of lands (*dönüm*)		160	384	2,135	1,247

The landholding sizes of textile producers are summarized in Table 20. This table presents the breakdown of lands held by textile producers, in terms of their share within total size of lands. The degree of textile producers' use of agrarian potential resembles the general pattern: They use from 32 percent to 72 percent of lands

counted in the survey. Yet, regional differences should be noted. Textile producers in Sopot were cultivating 72 percent of lands they possessed, which is quite high compared to their contemporaries elsewhere.

Table 20: Breakdown of Land Types (%) (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Cultivated field	6.3 %	24.7 %	13.5 %	24.4 %
Field converted to agriculture	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
Uncultivated field	36.3 %	59.9 %	36.2 %	23.8 %
Field rented	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.5 %	0.0 %
Vineyard	53.8 %	14.1 %	17.6 %	7.7 %
Rose oil producer	3.8 %	0.5 %	1.4 %	7.9 %
Meadow	0.0 %	0.8 %	30.2 %	3.8 %
Meadow rented	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.7 %	0.0 %
Vegetable gardens	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	32.4 %
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

As it has been explained throughout this chapter, Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot has been marked with landlessness and small landholdings. Textile producers were following this trend as well; their access to land was limited in villages which were already landless in general. Nevertheless, a further elaboration of the link between access to land and the existence of proto-industries can be constructed through looking at the share of textile producers' land within total size of land in respective village. In other words, what is the degree of textile producers' access to land? How much of the land in each village is held by textile producers? Were they the "rural landless substratum" [115]? Table 21 answers these questions. This table presents the proportion of textile producers' lands to the total size of lands in respective villages. Consequently, the possible link between manufacturing activity and landholding size

[115] Kriedte, p. 15.

can be understood. It is worth noting that some categories are marked as “n/a” in the Table 21, because such information was not available for the related categories. For instance, since there were already no land converted to agriculture in Sopot, textile producers would consequently not hold such type of land.

Table 21: Share of Textile-Producers' Lands (% of Lands in Village)

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Cultivated field	6.6 %	29.7 %	29.2 %	27.2 %
Field converted to agriculture	n/a	n/a	0.0 %	n/a
Uncultivated field	15.7 %	40.4 %	47.6 %	32.0 %
Field rented	0.0 %	0.0 %	7.8 %	0.0 %
Vineyard	25.7 %	65.5 %	55.1 %	56.5 %
Rose oil producer	19.7 %	66.7 %	64.4 %	97.5 %
Meadow	0.0 %	50.0 %	50.6 %	46.1 %
Meadow rented	n/a	n/a	16.3 %	n/a
Vegetable gardens	n/a	n/a	100 %	51.2 %
Total size of lands (dönüm)	16.5 %	37.4 %	44.1 %	38.6 %

Based on Table 21, the worst off in terms of land possession was Karlova Muslim textile producers. They were possessing 16.5 percent of the lands registered for the Karlova Muslim population. Karlova non-Muslim textile producers follow with holding 37.4 percent of lands of Karlova non-Muslims. Sopot textile producers hold 38.6 percent of lands in Sopot. Finally, as the best off among all, Kalofer textile producers hold 44.1 percent of lands in their village.

As a result, Table 21 clearly shows that textile producers, compared to the village population in general, had limited access to land. Although constituting majority of the population in respective villages, they were holding less than half of the total size of lands (See Chapter 2 for population figures). Thus, there emerges a

close link between land shortage and type of economic activity. It is highly probable that land shortage was one of the causes of the heavy concentration on textile manufacturing.

Kriedte argues that there are two strategies for peasant families with land shortage; either securing their subsistence minimum by using their land more intensively, or trying to supplement income from agriculture with income from non-agricultural labour. He states that the former is inapplicable for very small holdings; because, "as the holdings became smaller, the marginal returns decreased more rapidly and the point where the total yield could no longer be increased was reached faster."[116] Thus, peasant families in Plovdiv, with very small landholdings, had probably adopted the second strategy. Intensive use of land should not have yielded additional incomes to them after a point, since the size of land is limited. "Hence, households whose land-labour ratio was very unfavourable because of the small size of their holdings turned to industrial commodity production which was labour-intensive in contrast to land-intensive agricultural production. As the marginal product of their agricultural labour was rapidly approaching zero, they shifted part of their labour power to more productive activities, and rural industry provided them with an opportunity to do so."[117]

[116] Ibid., p. 16.

[117] Ibid.

Land Tenancy

Nineteenth century landholding regime has created land shortage as well as changes in the landholding status. (See the beginning of this part for a discussion on the land shortage). Due to increasing debts stemming from the monetized economy, many peasant families had to rent their lands to tenants. Similarly, a high number of peasant families were deprived of their land after the bifurcation of usufruct and possession rights. Thus, they were transformed into tenants on their lands. However, the analysis below shows otherwise for the Plovdiv area, the reasons of which should be further investigated.

Table 22: Number of Tenant Households (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
Cultivated fields	4	0.7	9	1.0	32	3.8	8.0	1.2
Meadows	0	0	0	0	24	2.8	0	0

In Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot, there were two types of land rented out: fields and meadows. Thus, Table 22 shows the number of tenant families for both land categories. Accordingly , tenancy was not very common in the Plovdiv rural area. In Karlova and Sopot, around 1 percent of the population had tenancy status over the land. In Kalofer, the share of land tenants was relatively high; they were consisting of 6 percent of the population. Furthermore, the existence of tenancy over the meadows was only observed in Kalofer .

Among the textile producers, land tenancy was almost non-existent. The mere exception was Kalofer, the village with the highest share of tenants. There, land tenancy was observed for 2.2 percent of textile producers.

Table 23: Number of Tenant Households (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
Cultivated fields	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	1.2	0.0	0.0
Meadows	0	0	0	0	4	1.0	0.0	0.0

Land Possession in Neighbouring Villages

The Income Surveys, as explained above, include the income registers on a village basis. Thus, if there were any households possessing land in another village, that land was not being registered upon the survey book of the village where the household was settled. It was registered in the book of the village where land itself was located. Nevertheless, the existence of these holdings was shortly mentioned by their names in the survey books where households were settled. Hence, through the Income Survey books of Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot, we can observe the extra-village landholdings of the village inhabitants.

The Income Survey books note such possessions with the name of village they were located and with the type of possession. Based on this information, Table 24 was prepared. For this table, land possessions are classified into four groups: field, meadow, vineyard and others.

Table 24: Households Possessing Land in Other Villages (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
Field	97	17.6	75	8.0	0	0	2	0.3
Meadow	195	35.3	78	8.3	3	0.4	3	0.4
Vineyard	87	15.8	157	16.7	6	0.7	23	3.3
Other	21	3.8	8	0.8	1	0.1	1	0.1
Total	400	72.5	318	33.8	10	1.2	29	4.2

Table 24 demonstrates that there was not a single pattern of extra-village land possession among four populations. 72.5 percent of Karlova Muslim households had lands in other villages, whereas only 1.2 percent of Kalofer households did so. This result also supports the claim that non-Muslims who were occupied in textile sector were usually deprived of land. As they did not have important landholdings in their villages, they also did not have such possessions in other villages. On the other hand, relatively large Muslim landholdings out of the village shows that Muslims were involved in the landholding network of the region, which does not contradict with the fact that landowners in the Balkans were generally Muslims.

Furthermore, the most common type of extra-village landholding also varied. Majority of the Karlova Muslims with extra lands were holding meadows, whereas non-Muslims preferred vineyards.

Table 25: Households Possessing Land in Other Villages (for Textile producers)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
Field	5	9.1	39	8.2	0	0	0	0.0
Meadow	21	38.2	36	7.6	1	0.2	27	7.8
Vineyard	12	21.8	95	20.1	4	1.0	7	2.0
Other	0	0.0	4	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	38	69.1	174	36.8	5	1.2	34	9.9

Textile producers follow the general population trends with respect to extra-village land possession (Table 25). Karlova Muslim textile occupants had the highest number of households who were possessing lands in other villages (38 out of 55 textile producer households.). On the other hand, the share of extra-village lands diminishes for Kalofer and Sopot textile producers respectively to 1.2 percent and 9.9 percent.

Agriculture

The type of agrarian structure was a decisive factor on the causes and effects of the proto-industrialization, and the agrarian structure was thus formative for the existence or absence of proto-industrial activity . The possible causal relation between agriculture and proto-industrialization reveals the fact that there is no single type of rural manufacturing, but there are several different ones. The basic question of "why peasants manufacture?" has more than one answer. There are different agricultural conditions resulting in industrial activity of peasants. Besides, there is an ongoing discussion about the agricultural type creating conditions favourable for

proto-industries. In other words, it is debated whether subsistence or commercial agriculture is common in proto-industrial regions. The answer is, it depends on the location.

Mendels has a limited account on the agrarian base of proto-industrialization. He analyzes this question on the basis of "regional specialization", which involves the allocation of labour force and food supply. "Proto-industrialization and regional agricultural specialization go hand in hand; that is, proto-industrialization leads to agricultural surpluses and reduces the price of food."[118]

For him, peasants were gradually taking part in manufacturing when they were not occupied with agriculture. "The adoption of industry by a growing number of peasants during proto-industrialization meant that labor previously unemployed or underemployed during a part of the year was put to work on a more continuous basis."[119] In Mendels' account, manufacturing of peasants is an activity for spare seasons. He claims that manufacturing was a seasonal activity, or a by-occupation of peasants.

Mendels' thesis, though, does not primarily focus on the agrarian basis of proto-industrialization, and it stands as a weak point of his argument. The relationship between proto-industry and agriculture also remained unclear. It was pointed out that proto-industries were practised in the same region as many different kinds of agriculture, including both subsistence and commercial farming. Moreover, proto-industries derived their food and raw material supplies both from their own farming and from that of neighbouring or more distant regions of surplus. By-

[118] Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures*, p.57.

[119] Mendels, p. 242.

employment in proto-industry and agriculture was not the norm, but rather was sometimes present and sometimes absent.[120]

There are some other views arguing that manufacturing is a matter of choice. "In a region with fertile soils and easy access to land people had good potential earnings in agriculture, and the opportunity cost of working in proto-industry was high; infertile soil of institutional restrictions on access to land lowered the opportunity cost of proto-industrial labour."[121]

Clarkson, as another example, analyzes peasants as a cheap labour force for manufacturing, therefore producing goods which are competitive in the market through their low costs. [122] Thus, he assumes that all workforce is either manipulated by merchants, or totally independent for making a choice of dual-occupation. However, it is not always the case. People who do not possess enough land and contact with merchants would make manufacturing for their own living.

In many areas of rural industry there is no doubt that historical developments encouraged the growth of a poor populace which was forced to seek a supplementary source of income. In other areas of rural manufacture it appears that this pressure 'from below' was not just an escape from starvation but what Hey has described as 'a vigorous response to additional opportunities for profit'.[123]

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[120] Sheilagh C. Ogilvie and Markus Cerman, "The Theories of Proto-Industrialization," *European Proto-Industrialization: An Introductory Handbook,* ed. Sheilagh C. Ogilvie and Markus Cerman, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.10.

[121] Sheilagh C. Ogilvie, "Social Institutions and Proto-Industrialization," *European Proto-Industrialization: An Introductory Handbook.* ed. Sheilagh C. Ogilvie and Markus Cerman, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,) 1996, p.26.

[122] Clarkson, p.10.

[123] Maxine Berg, Pat Hudson and Michael Sonenscher, "Manufacture in Town and Country before the Factory" in *Manufacture in Town and Country before the Factory*, ed. Maxine Berg, Pat Hudson and Michael Sonenscher, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 23.

This relatively inadequate explanation on cheap workforce was advanced through the concept of "regional specialization". According to this view, "the increasing specialisation of areas of proto-industrial production was accompanied by the complementary development of adjacent regions to supply agricultural products. A symbiotic relationship between regions, based on comparative advantage, thus ensued, so that agricultural change was viewed as an integral part of the proto-industrialisation process."[124]

However, the comparative advantage model of regional specialization has a weakness: "its assumption of individual and social rationality in the various farming regions, and the implication that production will always adjust to comparative advantage in the long run. In reality regional specialisation was fundamentally affected by custom and tradition, embodied in the motivations and practice of economic actors, and in the variety of institutional environments."[125]

Apart from providing the labour force, agriculture has other important contributions to manufacturing. It creates a food surplus for growing population, widens the markets and provides capital.[126]

Marxist approaches have further elaborated the discussion over the subject. Their argument has both a micro and a macro level. On the one hand, they focus on the family economy during the transformation from feudalism from capitalism. On the other hand, they underline the existence of new market conditions and the social structure accompanying that.

[124] Ibid., p. 17.

[125] Ibid., p. 21.

[126] Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures*, p.68.

In particular, Kriedte's account on the agrarian context of proto-industries is quite revealing. For him, there are three factors accounting for agricultural intensification in proto-industrial regions:

> Firstly it was important how much the agrarian income contributed to the family's total income. The smaller that proportion was, due to the small size of the family's holding, the more petty industrial producers developed a tendency to neglect agriculture altogether and to devote their labour to industrial production. Forced by necessity, they had at first turned to the intensification of agriculture only to abandon it in favour of rural industry when the possibility had arisen[...] Secondly, the degree to which the petty industrial producers as a group shared in the total arable land must be taken into account. In general, they cultivated their land quite intensively, despite the marginal case mentioned above. But if their share in the total arable was small in a give region, only a small amount of land became subject to intensive tillage and their influence on the agrarian structure of that region remained insignificant[...] Thirdly, the social framework which regulated the utilization of the land must be considered. Where it was sufficiently flexible, agriculture could achieve a high degree of intensity despite its subsistence character. Where this was not the case and agriculture was made inflexible by a rigid three-field system with compulsive rotations, it maintained its extensive character. Under such conditions, domestic industry and agriculture were difficult to combine, and the proto-industrial family might prefer the easy work done inside the home to the arduous labour in the fields.[127]

According to that, the decision for making agriculture or manufacturing is shaped by the social and economic context, not by rational choice of individuals as liberal accounts assume. They had to be wage labourers to sustain their subsistence, and in some cases, they cannot accomplish even their subsistence :

Industrial producers who still had a partial agrarian base could survive under these relations of production even when they offered their labour 'below cost'. Landless industrial families, on the other hand, worked under conditions where the prices of products, but not the value of the labour power, were equalized through

[127] Kriedte, pp. 26-27.

general competition. Therefore, in order to have access to the market, they had to work for an income which tended to be below the subsistence threshold.[128]

Although critical to the Marxist approach in certain respects, Lampe and Jackson also claim that in mid-nineteenth century Bulgaria, "the household manufacture of textiles, leather and ironware had probably started to supplement the peasantry's insufficient money income from agriculture, in a fashion similar to the experience of the belgian peasantry in the early modern period."[129]

Medick analyzes the gradual dependence of agrarian structure to the market as a cause of proto-industrialization. As he puts, a group of marginal smallholders and sub-peasant producers were integrated into market and money economy, thus became vulnerable against market conditions. [130] In the years of bad harvest and high prices, their situation got worse. Thus, they were oriented towards manufacturing, since its marginal productivity was higher:

> When, due to these circumstances, the landless and land-poor agrarian producers took on labour-intensive industrial commodity production, they attempted, by earning an additional money income in the market-place, to close the subsistence gap which resulted from the loss or deficiency of the decisive productive factor- land[...] Under these conditions, their marginal productivity was higher in the handicraft sector than in agriculture.[131]

Hence, the question of agrarian surplus; how much and by whom it was extracted has been key to understanding rural societies. From the eighteenth century onwards, notables were extracting a high portion of the agrarian surplus in the form of tax and

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[128] Hans Medick, "The Proto-Industrial Family Economy," *Industrialization before Industrialization*, ed. Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, Jürgen Schlumbohm, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.51.

[129] Lampe and Jackson, p.142.

[130] Medick, p. 44.

[131] Ibid., p.45.

rent. It was heavily in cash form; thus, they became prepared to the highly monetized environment of the nineteenth century. Parveva defines this process through the example of the eighteenth century Arcadia as "obligatory commercialization and monetization of surplus."[132]

The Income Surveys devoted a great attention to the agrarian activities. The reason behind is that agrarian taxes still constituted a significant share of state revenues in the nineteenth century, albeit in new and more efficient ways. By the nineteenth century, the Ottoman agrarian tax regime acquired a new form. The institutional legacy of the previous centuries was now being transformed into a new one through the new political and legal framework. The nineteenth century governments, including the Ottoman state, has prioritized centralization rather than de-centralization . A new administrative, legal and fiscal apparatus was being shaped in order to consolidate the authority and the governance of the central state. The centre wanted to control its subjects, and consequently attempted to create a direct relation with them. Thus, the nineteenth century was shaped by the ongoing struggle to implement a direct taxation regime. Apparently, together with the political reorganization, the new legal framework has also shaped the new taxation regime. "Modern administrative rulings or codes (as well as the modern cadastre) represented continually negotiated texts; they represented sites of contestation, resistance by groups whose interests were no longer accommodated by the general formulations of the law."[133] Unlike the early modern codes, nineteenth century legal framework was

[132] Stefka Parveva, "Agrarian Land and Harvest in South-west Peloponnese in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Village, Town and People in the Ottoman Balkans, 16th – mid-19th Century*, ed. Stefka Parveva, (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2009), p.93.

[133] Huricihan İslamoğlu, "Property as a Contested Domain: A Reevaluation of the Ottoman Land Code of 1858," *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East*, ed. Roger Owen, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 20.

excluding "particularistic injunctions" –as İslamoğlu calls them-; it was no longer seeking to respond to individual interests. Thus, the cadastres and the surveys, as the Income Surveys of 1840-45 were, products of this new institutional setting.

Definitely, the only motive behind the direct taxation regime was not only the attempt for building the modern central state. The state budget was still in need of cash. The urgency of the situation was getting even deeper through the need for the financing of the new administrative reforms. Thus, the central government attempted to eliminate the intermediary tax-collectors. The intermediaries were enjoying a high share of the taxes they collected as their dues, and were sending the rest to the central budget. In addition, they had privileges in the form of tax exemptions. The elimination of these tax-farmers would eventually raise the incomes of the state budget. Eventually, "these attempts failed, tax farming remained the prevailing mode of tax collection, while vakıf and mülk holders continued their control over land." [134] Nevertheless, these Income Surveys, covering almost all territories of the state, reflects the decisiveness of the institutional transformation.

The nineteenth-century taxation regime, in general, was increasing the burden over the agrarian classes. Together with the immense trend of monetization and commercialization, tax burdens and rents resulted with pauperization of the peasants. Their agricultural production, after paying the monetary dues, was getting even below their subsistence. For example, in the nine villages of Koyuntepe in mid-nineteenth century, monetary taxes were constituting 68 percent of total tax payments, and they were paying 13 percent- 18 percent of their total incomes as taxes. [135] Agrarian income was the highest taxed source of revenue in these villages.

[134] Ibid., p. 29.

[135] Güran, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Tarımı,* p. 200.

Together with the problem of land shortage discussed above, the increasing amount of taxes not only created social unrests, but also pushed agrarian classes to seek alternative economic activities. They moved towards relatively less taxed fields, like stockbreeding and manufacturing. The latter was important because under convenient circumstances it evolved into proto-industries.

Agrarian data exists in the Income Surveys in great detail. The land revenues, or the amount of yield extracted from land, has already been explained above. However, in this present study, rosaries and meadows are not included in agrarian production. The former is classified as small manufacturing, and the latter as included in stockbreeding. Thus, the revenue yielded from fields, vineyards and gardens are presented here as agrarian production.

In addition , Income Surveys also count agricultural production on the basis of each crop. As it has been explained above, the nineteenth century tax regime put great emphasis on efficient tax collection. Therefore, tithe to be levied upon each crop was separately calculated and listed in the surveys. This study makes use of tithe levels both in terms of number of tax-payers, and the amount of payments. Tithe payments have an essential significance because they reflect the dominant mode of agrarian production; whether it was subsistence, fodder or commercial.

Agrarian Revenues

Table 26 shows the agrarian revenues of total village populations. The table demonstrates the type of agrarian revenues, income from each revenue source, and the share of each revenue type within total estimated income for the village. The agrarian revenues were classified into five groups in the Income Surveys; cultivated

fields, fields converted to agriculture, fields leased, vineyards and gardens. Ottoman clerks recorded the revenues on two-year basis: the actual revenue of the previous year (1260/1844) and the estimated revenue of the present year (1261/1845). These survey clerks have calculated the mean of two revenues and added this mean to the total sum of revenues. Because, in that period, fallowing every two years was the most commonly practised method in Bulgaria to increase productivity in one of each two year was the mostly practiced method in Bulgaria to increase agrarian productiveness, thus Income Registers were usually prepared accordingly. [136] Besides, the agrarian revenues may change yearly due to a bad harvest. Hence, they have probably though that taking the average of last two years would possibly create more reliable results It should be noted that this careful calculation method applied by clerks of Plovdiv survey was not followed in the surveys of all other provinces. Some Income Registers in other Ottoman provinces were not prepared upon the two-year basis of yield, which created shortcomings of the agricultural revenue calculations for these survey books: "The greatest problem with respect to data on agricultural production arises from the issue of whether the year 1844 was a normal year of production or not. If the year 1844 had been a productive year, agricultural production figures would be higher than usual; if an unfruitful year, they would be lower." [137]

Table 26 and Table 27 shows the types of agrarian revenues, their amounts and share of each within total incomes of respective villages, based on the data from the Income Surveys. The former table observes the total village populations whereas the latter looks at the textile producers. The survey data specify each agrarian revenue by

[136] Halime Kozlubel Doğru, *1844 Nüfus Sayımına Göre Deliorman ve Dobruca'nın Demografik, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durumu,* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2011), p. 253.

[137] Güran, "Temettuat Registers," p. 9.

name. Accordingly, these revenues are classified as revenues from fields (either from cultivation of fields possessed, or fields converted to agriculture, or fields rented from landowners), revenues from vineyards and from gardens. The columns titled "*guruş*" in Tables 26 and 27 correspond to the average of the agrarian incomes of years 1260 and 1261. (Incomes for the year 1260 was the actual revenue yielded, whereas the incomes for the year 1261 was the estimated revenue of the present year.) Although the survey data indicate the mean of two respective years' revenues, I have re-calculated the means following the method of Ottoman clerks, i.e. taking the mean of the revenues of two years. I have used my own calculation for reaching the sums of agrarian revenues, since the clerks occasionally made some mistakes in their calculations. The column "%" refers to the share of each type of agrarian income within total income of respective village.

Table 26: Agrarian Revenues (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	guruş	%	*guruş*	%	*guruş*	%	*guruş*	%
Cultivated field	7,362.5	1.9	19,810	2.2	45,975	4.8	77,670	9.3
Field converted	0	0.0	0	0.0	20	0.0	0	0.0
Field rented	1,100	0.3	1,930	0.2	6,245	0.7	1,620	0.2
Vineyard	20,136.5	5.2	9,402.5	1.1	19,910	2.1	27,720.5	3.3
Garden	0	0.0	0	0.0	150	0.0	27,787.5	3.3
Total	28,599	7.4	31,142.5	3.5	72,300	7.6	134,798	16.1

According to Table 26, the share of agrarian revenues within total incomes was 7.4 percent, 3.5 percent, 7.6 percent, 16.1 percent respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer, Sopot. Thus, agrarian revenues hold the most

important position in incomes of Sopot, compared to the other villages. On the other extreme, there was Karlova non-Muslims. The share of their agrarian revenues is lower than other three groups.

Table 27: Agrarian Revenues (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	guruş	%	*guruş*	%	*guruş*	%	*guruş*	%
Cultivated field	850	2.4	5,465	1.1	13,165	2.5	18,330	4.1
Field converted	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Field rented	0	0.0	0	0.0	610	0.1	0	0.0
Vineyard	2,395.5	6.8	6,297.5	1.3	9,980	1.9	18,355	4.1
Garden	0	0.0	0	0.0	100	0.0	17,642.5	3.9
Total	3,245.5	9.2	11,762.5	2.5	23,855	4.5	54,327.5	12.2

Table 27 demonstrates the agrarian revenues for textile producers. The share of the agrarian revenues within their total incomes diverges from the trend of total village populations, yet, with the exception of Karlova Muslims. 9.2 percent of the incomes of Karlova Muslim textile producers come from agriculture. It is higher than the respective figure for total village populations. Whereas for textile producers among Karlova non-Muslims, agrarian revenues were only 2.5 percent of total incomes; the share was 4.5 percent for Kalofer and 12.2 percent for Sopot. Therefore, one might argue that agricultural revenues were not contributing much to textile producers' earnings. (See Chapter 2 for all income sources and their weights within total incomes).

Tithe Payments

After the administrative and fiscal reforms of the nineteenth century, "the tithe continued to be the most important single state revenue under the new system."[138]

Income Surveys include information on tithe in two ways. The first one is "the amount and financial return of the tithes (*âşar)* paid in kind with respect to the products" and the second one is "the amount of the tithes paid in cash."[139] Therefore, the conversion of tithe in kind into cash; and the overwhelming dominance of direct cash tithes reveal the immense monetization of the economy. Even the tithe, a tax by its nature collected in kind, was being transformed into cash form.

In three villages studied, the crops, depending on being taxed in kind or in cash, can be classified as follows: Crops from which tithe was paid in kind were corn (*mısır*), barley (*şair*), rye (*çavdar*), vetch (*burçak*), and wheat (*hınta*). Crops from which tithe was paid in cash were grass (*gıyah*), grape (*üzüm*), rose (*gül*), vineyard (*bağ*), beehive (*kovan*), onion (*soğan*), and black eyed peas (*börülce*).

Tithe payments reflect production amounts for each crop as well. Accepting that each crop was being taxed in the same proportion (approximately 10 percent of the production), tithe payments became apportioned with the production. Thus, different types of agrarian production can also be observed. Crops can be classified as subsistence farming, fodder and commercial farming; and the amount of each type of agrarian production can be calculated.

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[138] Shaw, p. 428.

[139] Güran, "Temettuat Registers," p.7.

This classification is very significant in terms of highlighting the causal relationship between the type of agrarian production and degree of involvement in manufacturing. In the discussion over the agrarian context of Western European proto-industries, type of agricultural activity is a key question. A number of scholars claim that it is subsistence and fodder, whereas others argue it is commercial farming that constitutes the agrarian basis of proto-industrialization. Again, it is worth mentioning that it depends on the local context being studied. Subsistence farming exists in some areas of rural manufacturing, commercial farming in some others. The point is, to analyze what determines the choice of either subsistence or commercial farming. The sufficiency of the food supply may be the answer: [140]

The distinguishing feature between proto-industrial regions with subsistence farming and those with commercial agriculture was the fact that the latter were largely self-sufficient with regard to their food supply (not including stock-raising regions), whereas the former needed food imports. The feature which both had in common was the subsistence character of the agricultural pursuits of petty industrial producers. Their agricultural activities had no other goal but to contribute, in whichever form, to the food needs if the individual family and the need for flax and hemp in the case of a family of spinners.

However, unlike Kriedte, most of the scholars classified proto-industries related to one agrarian pattern or other. Mendels, for instance, argued that the rule of "regional specialization" requires that, petty industries and commercial agriculture would develop in different regions in a symbiotic relationship: [141]

[140] Kriedte, p. 27.

[141] Mendels, p. 245.

A market was created during this phase for agricultural goods among the growing section of the population that was no longer entirely self-sufficient in food. The specialization which resulted from the fact that some regions turned to industry, while others developed their commercial agriculture to supply the needed food surpluses, set the stage for the next phase; here industrialization was accompanied by large-scale urbanization and the food surpluses, therefore, had to be much larger.

Mendels defines a regional division of economic activities; he claims that villages making commercial agriculture provided the food supply of manufacturing villages. Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether an industrial region would not make agricultural production at all, and, if they do so, what type of agrarian activity they would follow.

Different local studies yield different results in terms of the agrarian structure of proto-industrialization. For instance, Gullickson's study on rural industries in the fertile agricultural region of Pays de Caux claims that "Proto-industrialization did not occur only in subsistence farming or pastoral areas. On the contrary, the seasonal nature of most traditional agricultural work created a need for cottage industry as a supplementary source of income even in commercial grain regions."[142] He concludes that "seasonal unemployment and landlessness, not subsistence agriculture, were the distinguishing features of proto-industrial regions."[143]

Similarly, pastoral farming alone may not have been the decisive factor for the emergence of proto-industries. Gender and season have also possibly been prominent factors in terms of shaping the division of labour between agriculture and industry:

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[142] Gay L. Gullickson, "Agriculture and Cottage Industry: Redefining the Causes of Proto-Industrialization," *The Journal of Economic History* 43, no. 4 (Dec. 1983), p. 849.

[143] Ibid., p.831.

> Early studies of the location of rural industries in England stresses their association with the areas of pastoral farming and less fertile soils where growing populations could not be sustained by the agrarian sector alone[...]The importance of pastoral settings has also been emphasized because of the degree of seasonal complementarity in labour demands between agriculture and industry, but this was by no means always the case. Often the seasonality of farming, whether arable or pastoral, coincided with the seasonality of manufacture and the division of labour between agriculture and industry was as likely to be determined by gender as by season. Proto-industries were also found in areas which were not primarily pastoral or upland. [144]

Tithe Payment Levels

Table 28 shows the distribution of tithe payments for total village populations, and Table 29 repeats this analysis for the textile producers. Tithe payments are divided into six intervals, the number of people who did not pay tithe is also stated.

Accordingly, tithe payment amounts are distributed as follows: 0 *guruş,* from 0 to 10 *guruş*, from 10 to 25 *guruş,* from 25 to 50 *guruş*, from 50 to 100 *guruş,* from 100 to 200 *guruş,* 200 *guruş* or more. The number of households falling into each interval is stated alongside with their shares in total number of tithe payers.

[144] Pat Hudson, "Proto-Industrialization in England," *European Proto-Industrialization: An Introductory Handbook*, ed. Sheilagh Ogilvie and Markus Cerman, *(*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.55.

Table 28: Distribution of Tithe Payments (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
Tithe payment (*guruş*)	Nr of households	%	Nr of households	%	Nr of households	%	Nr of households	%
0	200	36.2	737	78.2	321	37.7	295	42.5
0-10	285	51.6	120	12.7	202	23.7	105	15.1
10-25	43	7.7	50	5.3	138	16.2	92	13.2
25-50	19	3.4	24	2.5	107	12.5	74	10.6
50-100	4	0.7	8	0.8	65	7.6	67	9.6
100-200	1	0.1	3	0.3	18	2.1	51	7.3
200 +	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	1.3
Total	552	100	942	100	851	100	693	100

According to Table 28, a significant number of people were not paying the tithe; their share was 36.2 percent of Karlova Muslims, 78.2 percent of Karlova non-Muslims, 37.7 percent of Kalofer and 42.5 percent of Sopot. Not paying tithe should have meant not making any agricultural production at all. For those who were producing crops, the amount and monetary value of production was so low that, they were paying very small amounts of tithes. For instance, among Karlova Muslims, 80 percent of tithe payers were paying 10 *guruş* or less as tithe. Tithe payments did never exceed 200 *guruş* for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, and Kalofer. Only in Sopot, there exists nine households paying more than 200 *guruş* as tithe.

As a result, Table 28 proves again that agrarian activities remain at insignificant levels, if not absent, for these villages. This result has also been achieved previously as shown by Table 26.

Table 29: Distribution of Tithe Payments (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	Nr of households	%	Nr of households	%	Nr of households	%	Nr of households	%
0	13	23.6	365	77.2	155	36.9	148	43.0
0-10	36	65.5	72	15.2	120	28.6	55	16.0
10-25	3	5.5	28	5.9	76	18.1	55	16.0
25-50	3	5.5	5	1.1	48	11.4	40	11.6
50-100	0	0.0	2	0.4	18	4.3	26	7.6
100-200	0	0.0	1	0.2	3	0.7	19	5.5
200 +	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.3
total	55	100	473	100	420	100	344	100

Table 29 shows that tithe payments of textile producers almost reproduce the picture of total village populations, represented in Table 28. Majority of the households (except Karlova Muslims) were not paying tithe since they were probably not making agrarian production. Namely, 77.2 percent, 36.9 percent, 43 percent of Karlova non-Muslim, Kalofer and Sopot textile producers were not making tithe payments. The number of households in each interval decreases as the amount of tithe increases. As large-scale agriculture was not existing, large amounts of tithe payments did not appear as well. There was only one household, again in Sopot, which pays the tithe of 200 or more *guruş.*

Tithe Payment Amounts

Income Registers list crops raised in each village name by name. Therefore, it is possible to classify the crops raised in Plovdiv villages into three groups. I assume that subsistence crops are wheat and corn. Fodder crops are barley, rye, vetch and grass. Commercial crops are rose, grape, onion, black eyed peas, vineyard, and beehive.

Tithe payments on each crop, paid by total village populations, are given below in Table 30 and these results are summarized in Table 31.

Table 30: Amounts of Tithe Payments (for Total Village Populations)

		Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Subsistence	Wheat	462	476	2,682	7,641
	Corn	111	78	791	93
Fodder	Barley	104	260	361	928
	Rye	104	386	2274	826
	Vetch	0	0	10	535
	Grass	242	27	5,115	1,317
Commercial	Rose	172	77	464	90
	Grape	2,101	1,045	2,257	2,852
	Onion	0	0	0	3,468
	Black eyed peas	0	0	30	1,028
	Vineyard	49	0	87	239
	Beehive	0	0	63	0
Total		3,345	2,349	14,134	19,017

Table 31: Summary of Tithe Payments (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	Amount (*guruş*)	%	Amount (*guruş*)	%	Amount (*guruş*)	%	Amount (*guruş*)	%
Subsistence	573	17.1	554	23.6	3,473	24.6	7,734	40.7
Fodder	450	13.5	673	28.7	7,760	54.9	3,606	19.0
Commercial	2,322	69.4	1122	47.8	2,901	20.5	7,677	40.4
Total	3,345	100	2349	100	14,134	100	19,017	100

Table 31 demonstrates that there was not a single agrarian characteristic applicable to all the four villages. Each village concentrated on different types of crops and accordingly the production of each village differed. The dominant agrarian pattern was commercial farming for Karlova Muslims and non-Muslims (69.4 percent and 47.8 percent of total agrarian output). It was fodder for Kalofer (54.9 percent of total output) and subsistence farming for Sopot (40.7 percent of total output). The causes of these different patterns might have been quite complicated, as discussed in the beginning of this part of the chapter. Further analysis of this aspect of agrarian production is beyond the scope of this study due to the limitations of the available data.

Average tithe payment per household was 6.1 *guruş*, 2.5 *guruş,* 16.6 *guruş,* 27.4 *guruş* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot. The high degree of agrarian activity is already evident through the share of agrarian lands in Sopot. Particularly on wheat and onion production, Sopot exceeds other three villages.

Tithe payments on each crop, for textile producers, are given in Table 32 and are summarized in Table 33.

Table 32: Amounts of Tithe Payments (for Textile Producers)

		Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Subsistence	Wheat	42	378	654	2,044
	Corn	12	24	288	21
Fodder	Barley	12	124	42	132
	Rye	8	88	500	132
	Vetch	0	0	0	91
	Grass	25	9	2,453	675
Commercial	Rose	16	57	291	50
	Grape	233	630	1,064	1,786
	Onion	0	0	0	1,727
	Black eyed peas	0	0	20	582
	Vineyard	15	0	84	172
	Beehive	0	0	42	0
Total		363	1,310	5,438	7,412

Table 33: Sum of Tithe Payments (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	Amount (*guruş*)	%	Amount (*guruş*)	%	Amount (*guruş*)	%	Amount (*guruş*)	%
Subsistence	54	14.9	402	30.7	942	17.3	2,065	27.9
Fodder	45	12.4	221	16.9	2,995	55.1	1,030	13.9
Commercial	264	72.7	687	52.4	1,501	27.6	4,317	58.2
Total	363	100	1,310	100	5,438	100	7,412	100

The characteristic of agricultural activity is similar between textile producers and total populations for each village. Commercial farming dominates the tithe payments of Karlova textile producers as it did the general population (commercial crops constituted 72.7 percent of production by Muslim textile households, 52.4 percent of production by non-Muslims textile households). Fodder crops were important for

Kalofer textile producers as well they were for Kalofer population in general (fodder constituted 55.1 percent of agrarian production by textile households in Kalofer). The only difference emerges in Sopot; the share of subsistence falls and commercial crops dominate alone (commercial crops constituted 58.2 percent of production by Sopot textile households). (Table 33).

Among textile producers, average tithe payment per household was 6.6 *guruş,* 2.8 *guruş*, 12.9 *guruş*, 21.5 *guruş* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot. The ranking of per household tithe payment for textile producers is the same with the results of total population. The payments of Sopot textile producers, although less than the share for total village populations in Sopot, again exceed other villages in that respect.

Stockbreeding

The Income Surveys give detailed information about animal raising in rural areas. Livestock owned by each household were registered with their number and with the income yielded from them.

Animal raising was not an important source of income in the four villages of Plovdiv analysed here. It was highly probable that stockbreeding was not done on a commercial basis , but was for subsistence. Both the low level of income obtained from the animals and the small number of animals raised verify this result. In the regions where livestock was not important as a source of income and labour, "for almost all households, the animals seem to have been only a complementary, secondary source of revenues (for milk, cheese, butter, meat, etc.). Only for the transporter *(arabacı),* who usually were registered with only one ox or a pair of oxen,

was the ownership of these animals closely related to the main professional activity and probably essential for its exercise."[145]

Animal Raising Revenues

The income-yielding animals are listed in Table 34. They are milch goat, goat, milch sheep, sheep, milch buffalo cow, milch black cattle cow, calf, and beehives. Based on the total amount of revenues obtained from these animals, the mean value was calculated. Accordingly, the average annual revenue from animal raising per household was only 22.4 *guruş,* 4.9 *guruş,* 16.4 *guruş* and 3.2 *guruş* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot (Table 34).

Table 34: Revenues from Animals (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
	guruş	*guruş*	*guruş*	*guruş*
Milch goat	398	65	529	0
Goat	190	30	64	76
Milch sheep	1,010	1,075	2,888	0
Sheep	343	445	1,375	895
Milch buffalo cow	5,180	530	215	480
Milch black cattle cow	5,214	2,360	7,865	720
Calf	25	0	0	0
Beehive	0	90	1,000	80
Total	12,360	4,595	13,936	2,251

The importance of animal raising gets even less for textile producers. Average annual revenue from animal raising per textile producer household was 11.7 *guruş*, 3.4

[145] Ianeva, "Samakov," p.75.

guruş, 12.8 *guruş,* 1.6 *guruş* respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot (Table 35).

Table 35: Revenues from Animals (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
	guruş	guruş	guruş	guruş
Milch goat	0	0	185	0
Goat	0	0	0	9
Milch sheep	0	35	592	0
Sheep	0	90	111	90
Milch buffalo cow	415	270	60	140
Milch black cattle cow	230	1,205	3,875	305
Calf	0	0	0	0
Beehive	0	0	550	0
Total	645	1,600	5,373	544

Amount of Animals

The animals listed in the Income Registers are classified here for Table 36 and Table 38 in three categories. Harness and carriage animals are donkey (*merkep*), horse (*bargir*), mare (*kısrak*), mule (*katır*). Sheep and goats are milch goat (*sağmal keçi*), goat (*boz keçi*), yean (*oğlak*), milch sheep (*sağmal koyun*), sheep (*boz koyun*), sheep 2 (*koyun*), lamb (*kuzu*). The rest is labelled as "others": female black cattle heifer (*dişi kara sığır düğesi*), male black cattle bullock (*erkek kara sığır tosunu*), milch buffalo cow (*sağmal manda ineği*), milch black cattle cow (*sağmal kara sığır ineği*), sterile black cattle cow (*kısır kara sığır ineği*), buffalo bullock (*manda tosunu*), female buffalo heifer (*dişi manda düğesi*), black cattle ox (*kara sığır öküzü*), calf (*buzağı*), hog (*canavar*), beehive (*kovan*). Amount of each animal is stated in

respective tables, the former belongs to the total village populations and the latter belongs to the textile producers.

Table 36: Numbers of Animals (for Total Village Populations)

		Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Harness and carriage	Donkey	82	22	55	41
	Horse	66	75	72	67
	Mare	0	1	5	3
	Mule	0	2	6	1
Sheep and goats	Milch goat	145	20	278	95
	Goat	75	10	22	70
	Yean	93	18	8	40
	Milch sheep	129	216	781	647
	Sheep	111	56	664	263
	Sheep2	25	0	110	0
	Lamb	101	101	447	318
Others	Female black cattle heifer	11	15	115	15
	Male black cattle bullock	5	5	108	6
	Milch buffalo cow	58	5	5	8
	Milch black cattle cow	109	50	154	12
	Sterile black cattle cow	19	8	125	45
	Buffalo bullock	1	0	0	0
	Female buffalo heifer	15	0	8	1
	Black cattle ox	82	81	211	137
	Calf	10	0	0	0
	Hog	0	0	86	79
	Beehive	0	3	29	2

Table 37 summarized Table 36 and presents the breakdown of amount of animals. It clearly shows that the number of sheep and goats has the highest share among all animals. For any village, around 60 percent or more of total number of animals were sheep and goats (Sheep and goats constituted 59.7 percent of animals possessed by Karlova Muslims, 61.2 percent by Karlova non-Muslims, 70.2 percent by Kalofer and 77.5 percent by Sopot residents). Nevertheless, the absolute numbers, represented in Table 36 shows that the total amount of sheep raising was not adequate for a large-scale wool provision for the region.

Table 37: Distribution of Animals (for Total Village Populations)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
Harness and Carriage	148	13.0	100	14.5	138	4.2	112	6.1
Sheep and goats	679	59.7	421	61.2	2310	70.2	1433	77.5
Others	310	27.3	167	24.3	841	25.6	305	16.5
Total	1,137	100	688	100	3,289	100	1,850	100

Tables 38 and 39 repeats the same analysis for the textile producers. The question of animal possession has a particular importance here in terms of the possible link between textile manufacturing and sheep and goat raising. Since textile sectors of Plovdiv rural area was a woollen-based activity; if the manufacturers had been supplying their own raw material, the level of sheep raising is expected to be high. However, the following two analyses demonstrate that it was not the case. The Plovdiv textile producers were not raising significant amounts of sheep. The number

of sheep raised by each household, if any, hardly exceeded two. This was an amount barely covering daily needs of the household in nineteenth century Balkans.[146]

Table 38: Numbers of Animals (for Textile Producers)

		Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Harness and carriage	Donkey	13	10	24	9
	Horse	3	34	44	35
	Mare	0	0	0	2
	Mule	0	0	6	0
Sheep and goats	Milch goat	0	0	83	15
	Goat	0	0	0	5
	Yean	0	0	2	0
	Milch sheep	0	7	161	84
	Sheep	0	3	132	42
	Sheep2	0	0	0	0
	Lamb	0	5	58	43
Others	Female black cattle heifer	1	4	49	5
	Male black cattle bullock	0	2	51	1
	Milch buffalo cow	4	3	1	2
	Milch black cattle cow	5	25	74	6
	Sterile black cattle cow	2	3	68	14
	Buffalo bullock	0	0	0	0
	Female buffalo heifer	3	0	1	1
	Black cattle ox	2	6	25	14
	Calf	0	0	0	0
	Hog	0	0	26	28
	Beehive	0	0	19	0

[146] Doğru, p. 67.

Table 39: Distribution of Animals (for Textile Producers)

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
Harness and carriage	16	48.5	44	43.1	74	9.0	46	15.0
Sheep and goats	0	0.0	15	14.7	436	52.9	189	61.8
Others	17	51.5	43	42.2	314	38.1	71	23.2
Total	33	100	102	100	824	100	306	100

Table 38 shows that sheep and goats were not of a significant amount in all three villages. As one observes Table 39 for the distribution of the animals, textile producers in Karlova (both Muslim and non-Muslim) were not possessing sheep or goats. In Kalofer and Sopot, on the other hand, the majority of the animals possessed by textile producers were sheep and goats. However, their relative high share within animal breakdown is not meaningful alone. The real indicator of the relationship between sheep raising and textiles can be understood from the share of the number of textile producers' animals within total number of animals in village. Thus, as Table 40 shows, textile producers were holding a minor amount of animals. Their possession was even less with respect to amount of sheep and goats. Textile producers among Karlova Muslims did not possess and sheep or goats. Textile producers among Karlova non-Muslims had only 3.6 percent of total amount of sheep and goats in the village, in Kalofer they had 18.9 percent and in Sopot 13.2 percent.

Table 40: Share of Textile Producers' Animals within Total Number of Animals in Village

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Harness and carriage	10.8 %	44.0 %	53.6 %	41.1 %
Sheep and goats	0.0 %	3.6 %	18.9 %	13.2 %
Others	5.5 %	25.7 %	37.3 %	23.3 %
total	2.9 %	14.8 %	25.1 %	16.5 %

The low level of sheep raising is also meaningful for another respect. Ottoman Balkans have long been associated with the provision of raw materials to the West European textile markets. Not necessarily associated with the peripherialization debate, export of raw materials was still seen as proof of the "backwardness" of the Balkans:

> The general trend in agriculture away from arable farming to livestock raising could have been stimulated by changing trade patterns. With respect to the expanding animal husbandry in the Balkans, for example, McGowan highlights the growing significance of the wool trade. In his opinion, European demand for wool was a stimulus that contributed to "changing modes of using the land" on the Balkans.[147]

The Plovdiv countryside -at least its three selected villages- on the contrary, was not a raw material exporter, as it was not a wool producing region at all. It was producing manufacturing goods for selling them to the distant markets. Thus, these villages constitute an outstanding exception of manufacturing and trading activities. They found an alternate and innovative way to adapt themselves into these "changing trade patterns" through organizing themselves as proto-industries.

[147] Fikret Adanır, "Traditional and Rural Change in South-Eastern Europe During Ottoman Rule," *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe: Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages Until the Early Twentieth Century,* ed. Daniel Chirot, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p.145.

Animal Breeding for Wool?

Table 40 proves that textile producers were not breeding significant amount of sheep. It gives us the clue that textile producers were not producing their wool required for manufacturing. The analysis below makes a more detailed and accurate survey which supports this argument. As it has been explained in Chapter 4, the conceptualization of "textile producers" includes a variety of different occupations. Thus, the textile producers who possess sheep may not have a wool-based occupation. For instance, there is the possibility that the textile producers who have had 18.9 percent of the sheep in Kalofer (Table 40) have occupations not based on wool, as tailors or dyers. Hence, for the Table 41, I have checked the occupation of the owner of each sheep and goat.

Table 41: Number of Sheep-Breeding Households Whose Occupations Require Wool

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Milch sheep	0	1	18	6
Sheep	0	1	7	1
Lamb	0	1	4	5
Total	0	3	29	12

Table 41 gives the number of household for each village, whose occupations require wool as the raw material and meanwhile who raise sheep. The occupations counted as the ones require wool are spinning, making of woollen braid lace *(gaytancılık),* making of a coarse woollen cloth *(abacılık)* and wheeling *(çarkçılık)*. According to that, the overwhelming majority of the households with these occupations were not producing wool. For instance, there were 333 households among Karlova non-

Muslims who were producing woollen textiles. Whereas, only 3 households among them were raising sheep. It means that 99 percent of them were not producing their own raw material. Thus, it is highly probable that the textile manufacturers in Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were not able to meet the need of the raw material by themselves.

The similar analysis was applied for the raw material provision of *muytabs* (goat woollen cloth makers). The goat raising *muytab* households were searched, but there was not any. Muytabs were not raising goats at all. Consequently, they were not meeting the raw material needs by themselves either.

Conclusion

The combination of proto-industrialization theses with the information derived from the Income Surveys hold a great capacity to explain the causes of rural putting-out economies. This study aims at utilizing this analytical tool and re-evaluates the landholding and agriculture components of the original proto-industrialization thesis for the Ottoman context, under the light of data presented in the Income Surveys. Proto-industrialization theses have been pointing the causal links between landholding and land use regimes on the one hand, and the emergence of rural manufacturing on the other, since the beginning of the formulation of the discussion in 1970s. Although many contradictory views emerged, they usually agreed on the point that land shortage was an important characteristic of the proto-industrial villages. In order to discuss this phenomenon for the Ottoman case, hitherto existing studies lack sufficient empirical data in terms of land issue. Nevertheless, this study proposes to fill this gap through the use of the Income Surveys data. The immensely

detailed information about land types, sizes and revenues presented in the survey books create the chance to study the local economies in relation to their land regimes. The empirical research shows that Plovdiv countryside was characterized by small landholdings and landless peasants.

Furthermore, this study aims at explaining the phenomenon of landless peasants within the broader social and economic framework of the nineteenth century. Legal and political revolutions dating back to the beginning of the eighteenth century –or even earlier- have influenced all Europe with irreversible results. Ottomans were not alienated from this trend. The land enclosures and emergence of different forms of properties (as a path towards the private property) has been witnessed over Europe, yet in different forms and with different consequences in each region. The Ottoman case had its own characteristics as well. The existence of different levels of local notables created many forms of oppressions on peasants; they varied from explicit coercion to economic burdens. Besides, the fiscal and political crisis that central government had to face since the mid-eighteenth-century increased the pressure over agrarian societies. One of the many means to solve the budget deficit was to increase the agrarian taxes. Traditional Ottoman premise of provisioning of the society was gradually being replaced by a market economy. An expression of this change can be witnessed from crop cultivation patterns. Self-sufficient local economies were disappearing. For instance, a high portion of Plovdiv rural inhabitants were not making agricultural production at all. They were exchanging their manufactured goods in the market in return for food. In the nineteenth century Balkans, land and food were transformed into commodities. Furthermore, commercial farming also did not take place in Plovdiv countryside in a large scale. Absence of sufficient land size may be one reason. Institutional agrarian

setting -with heavy tax, rent and labour obligations- should have also made manufacturing more profitable for the rural inhabitants, instead of agrarian production.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATION OF MANUFACTURING

Introduction

The rural industries in Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were organized in a dynamic way; multiplicity of production patterns took place with varying degrees of involvement of different social actors, namely, manufacturers and merchants. This chapter aims at describing the organization of manufacturing with reference to this complex network with several dimensions. The first three parts of the chapter depicts a general picture of the textile sector. In the first part, the weight of the textile sector in the local economy is explained with respect to its share in incomes and employment. After explaining the level of prosperity of the textile producers, the level of their subsistence on the textiles is discussed. These analyses demonstrates the significance of textiles in the village economies. Majority of the incomes and employment was relied on textile manufacturing. Besides, textile was the main occupation of its occupants. The second part depicts the variety of the textile professions in these villages. Here, it becomes evident that woollen textiles constitute the most important activity. Thus, particular emphasis is put on the historical contextualization of the woollen weaving, namely, *aba* and *gaytan* manufacturing. The third part explains the textile-related revenue sources. Shops, tools, craftsmanship and trading are analyzed as these revenue sources.

The final two parts have a more closer look to the internal organization of textile manufacturing and trade. The fourth part analyzes the diversity in the labour organization. Here, It is argued that different types of manufacturing modes existed simultaneously in the Plovdiv proto-industrial villages. It is also claimed that access to means of production was a strong determinant of the producer's role within the production process. Continuities and discontinuities with the guild institution contributed to the labour organization as well. Finally, family economy is an important component of the proto-industries. The fifth part analyzes the effect of the commercial organization on the rural textile industries. After mentioning the trading of Plovdiv textiles on a world scale, merchants' varying levels of involvement into the manufacturing processes is discussed. It is argued that, these different modes and degrees of contacts between merchants and producers created several modes of proto-*industries* instead of a single type of proto-industrialization.

The Weight of the Textile Sector in the Local Economy: Its Share in Incomes and Employment

Plovdiv villages studied here has one feature in common: all three can be defined as "textile villages". The textile sector has a significant weight in terms of both its contribution to the village revenues and in the employment of village households. The term "textile sector" refers to the textile manufacturers for the scope of this study. As it is explained below, spinning and weaving activities, particularly of wool, was the dominant branch of textiles in these villages. (For other types of textile production and further information about the sub-fields of woollen manufacturing, please see Table 46 in this chapter).

The existing literature also supports the claim that Plovdiv countryside has been marked by textile manufacturing. Several examples from the existing literature will be presented later in this chapter. Here I will first draw a general picture of the textile sector in Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot.

First of all, the number of textile-producer households are presented in Table 42. According to the data from the Income Surveys, with the exception of Karlova Muslims, approximately half of the population in these villages was composed of textile producers. (The criteria for defining "textile producers" are based on the textile-related revenues stated in the Income Surveys; namely, revenues from textile shops, revenues from textile tools, revenues from textile craftsmanship and trade. Further information about these categories will be presented through Table 47, later in this Chapter). Among Karlova Muslims, the number of textile producers was limited to 55, out of 552 households. Among Karlova non-Muslims, there were 473 textile producer households (out of a total of 942), among Kalofer there were 420 (out of a total of 851) and among Sopot there were 344 (out of a total of 693). Their share was 9.9 percent, 50.2 percent, 49.3 percent, 49.6 percent of the population respectively for Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot.

Table 42: Textile-Producer Households

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Textile producers (nr of households)	55	473	420	344
Total village populations (nr of households)	552	942	851	693
Share of textile producers within total populations	9.9 %	50.2 %	49.3 %	49.6 %

Table 43 shows the sum of annual estimated incomes of textile producers and their share within the total of annual estimated incomes of the total village populations. The 55 textile-producer households among Karlova Muslims were estimated to have an annual income of 35,182 *guruş* in total. The sum was 477,804.5 *guruş* for 942 textile-producer households among Karlova non-Muslims, 530,754.5 *guruş* for Kalofer and 446,815.5 *guruş* for Sopot. The sum of the incomes of textile producers' was more than half of the total incomes in respective villages (except Karlova Muslims). Textile producers' total annual incomes were 53.4 percent, 55.7 percent, 53.3 percent of total annual incomes of total village populations respectively for Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer, and Sopot. The total incomes of Karlova Muslim textile producers were limited to 9.1 percent of total incomes yielded by all Karlova Muslims. Therefore, comparing the population and income figures; it can be claimed that textile producers were earning better than the total village populations in general. The share of the sum of their earnings within the total earnings is higher than the share of their population within the total population.

Table 43: Total Annual Incomes of Textile Producers

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Total annual incomes of textile producers (guruş)	35,182	477,804.5	530,754.5	446,815.5
Total annual incomes of total village populations (guruş)	388,003	894,083.5	953,077.5	838,646
Share of textile producers' incomes within total populations' incomes	9.1 %	53.4 %	55.7 %	53.3 %

The weight of the textile sector in the local economy can be further explained through two types of quantitative data deduced from the Income Surveys. Firstly, the total amount of textile-related incomes and its share in total revenues of textile sector, and also its share in total village revenues is given in the above table. Secondly, the number of households subsisting on only textiles, i.e. those for whom textile manufactures was the sole income-generating activity is also given in the above table. Both of these analyses demonstrate that textile manufacturing has been the most important economic activity of these villages, and there was a particular concentration on this activity.

Table 44 shows the economic contribution of textiles in respective villages. The total annual amount of textile-related revenues are presented in the first row. The share of textile-related incomes are shown both within total incomes of the textile sector, and within the total incomes of the total village populations in the following rows. Textile-related incomes are conceptualized as follows: Shops, *gaytan* wheels, *aba* looms, craftsmanship, and trade. The names of these revenue sources, as well as the amount of annual revenues for each source were given in the Income Surveys. Detailed information about these components of the textile activity, together with the revenue from each, will be presented in the next part of this chapter (Table 47).

Textile producers had surely sources of income other than textiles. They were earning from agriculture and stockbreeding to limited degrees, as explained in the previous chapters. For instance, the share of revenues from agrarian production was 9.2 percent, 2.5 percent, 4.5 percent, 12.2 percent of total incomes of textile producers in Karlova Muslims, Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot respectively (Table 27 in Chapter 3). (For all sources of incomes for textile producers, please see Table 9 in Chapter 2. For further information about the agrarian

revenues of the textile producers, please see Table 27 and Table 33 in Chapter 3). Therefore, it is important to define how much the peasants relied on textiles for earning their living. In other words, what is the share of textile-related incomes within the total incomes of textile producers? Table 44 provides the answer.

Table 44: Share of Textile-Related Incomes within Total Incomes of Textile Sector

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Textile-related total incomes (guruş)	29,177	419,013	452,499	371,276
Textile-related incomes as % of total incomes of textile sector	82.9 %	87.7 %	85.3 %	83.1 %
Textile-related incomes as % of total incomes of total village populations	7.5 %	46.9 %	47.5 %	44.3 %

Table 44 shows that textile was the most important economic activity for the textile producers. Textile-related incomes created the overwhelming majority of the incomes of textile producers. 82.9 percent of incomes of Karlova-Muslim textile producers were yielded by textiles; 87.7 percent for Karlova non-Muslims, 85.3 percent for Kalofer, 83.1 percent for Sopot. In other words, textile producers in these villages were earning more than 80 percent of their incomes from textiles. Textile manufacturing and trade was the primary source of their income. These villages provide a unique example: Traditional rural activities, i.e. agriculture and stockbreeding, did not have an economic significance for them. Their agricultural activity remains in the subsistence level, as it has been explained in Chapter 3.

Table 44 also shows that textile manufacturing was very important in terms of its contribution for the village economy. It is clear that, for each village, except Karlova Muslims, textile earnings alone created approximately half of the total

annual revenues in respective villages. The share of textile-related incomes within total incomes of the villages was 46.9 percent, 47.5 percent, 44.3 percent respectively for Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot. For Karlova Muslims, who were not concentrated on textiles as much as producers in other villages, textile revenues was limited to 7.5 percent of total revenues earned by all Karlova Muslims.

Hence, textiles created the majority of incomes for textile producers. Though, a number of households were totally depended on textile production. These textile producers were not involved in any economic activity other than textile production. Table 45 presents the number of these households. In the calculation of their numbers double counting was avoided for those involved in more than one textile-related occupation. There were many households who were involved in two different textile professions. For instance, a household may be *abacı* and *gaytancı* at the same time. Such households are counted only once for the table below). The number of textile producer households which had at least one of the non-textile income sources (agriculture, stockbreeding, transportation, rents, *timar*-tax farming, paid works) were counted and subtracted from the total number of textile producers (For further information about these income sources, please see Chapter 2).

Table 45: Households Subsisting on Only Textiles

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Nr of households subsisting on only textiles	11	283	132	139
Total nr of textile producers	55	473	420	344
Share of households subsisting on only textiles within total nr of textile producers (%)	20.0 %	59.8 %	31.4 %	40.4 %

As Table 45 demonstrates, a significant number of households subsisted only on textiles. Their share vary depending on the village: 20 percent of Karlova Muslims, 59.8 percent of Karlova non-Muslims, 31.4 percent of Kalofer and 40.4 percent of Sopot textile producers had only textiles as their source of income. It is a strong challenge against Mendels' argument that proto-industrialization emerged as a by-occupation of the peasants. This claim would be definitely correct for certain regions. However, in the Plovdiv context, these villages demonstrate that proto-industrialization was not "the labor of peasants working in their spare time."[148] It was their primary occupation.

Textile Professions

Textile was the most developed economic activity in the Plovdiv villages examined here. Half of the population of Karlova non-Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot was occupied with textiles. This part conceptualizes the term "textile sector", presents the occupations making this sector and makes a comparative analysis among these occupations.

The Income Surveys depict a lively picture of the contemporary professional structure. The surveys list the name of the occupation (or occupations, if there are more than one) for the heads of each household. Besides, the occupations of the family members who earned additional income for the household were also stated. In this study I only focus on the textile professions listed below.

[148] Faroqhi, "Declines and Revivals," p.374.

Table 46: Members of Textile Professions

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
Maker of a coarse woolen cloth *(abacı/aba dolabcı/abacı)*	1	1.8	58	9.2	251	47.3	21	5.1
Maker of a woollen braid lace *(gaytancı)*	0	0	251	39.8	175	33	134	32
Wheeler *(çarkçı)*	7	12.7	156	24.8	73	13.7	69	17
Cotton dealer *(pamukçu)*	14	25.5	0	0	0	0	1	0.2
Goat woollen cloth maker *(muytab)*	24	43.6	12	1.9	3	0.6	0	0
Yarn spinner *(iplikçi/iplik bükücüsü)*	0	0	6	1	1	0.2	47	11.4
Tailor/Sewer *(terzi/dikici)*	9	16.4	48	7.6	10	1.9	10	2
Furriery *(kürkçü/kaftancı)*	0	0	27	4.3	2	0.4	18	4
Lining maker *(astarcı)*	0	0	37	5.9	1	0.2	7	2
Block printer (*basmacı)*	0	0	25	4	0	0	100	24
Dyer *(boyacı)*	0	0	10	1.6	15	2.8	7	1.7
Total	55	100	630	100	531	100	414	100

It should be noted that, the numbers of textile occupations given in Table 46 are higher than the actual total number of textile producer households. This is because, in Table 46, the unit of analysis is not the household but the occupations. There were a number of households with dual occupations. For instance, the overwhelming majority of the wheelers *(çarkçı)* were at the same time makers of woollen braid lace *(gaytancı).* Consequently, when more than one profession was registered for a

household, the number of members of respective professions would eventually increase.

Table 46 demonstrates the professional divisions among four populations. There were eleven occupations composing the textile sector. It can be argued that, compared with the previous century, the number and variety of occupations has immensely increased in small mountainous towns as Koprivshstitsa, Kotel and Karlova.[149] Hence, different textile occupations were adopted in villages with different characteristics. This study argues that the type of textile (based on wool, goat hair or cotton) defines the degree of economic prosperity in Plovdiv villages. It is claimed that woollen textiles brought prosperity to its occupants. Consequent to their low earnings from woollen textiles, Karlova Muslims were worse off than the other villages. Concentration on goat hair cloth making *(muytablık)* separates Karlova Muslims from other villages. Here, 43.6 percent of textile professionals were goat woollen cloth makers. On the other side, goat hair cloth makers were almost absent in other villages; their share did not exceed 2 percent of textile producers in respective villages (There were only 12 *muytabs* among Karlova non-Muslims, 3 among Kalofer and none in Sopot). The second important textile profession for Karlova Muslims was cotton trade; 25.5 perccent of textile producers were named *"pamukçu",* what is assumed to be a cotton dealer. Similarly, this profession was almost non-existent in all other villages. There was only one *pamukçu* in Sopot, none in other villages.

Therefore, this chapter further analyzes the woollen textiles, which has been the dominant activity of Plovdiv rural industries. Woollen textiles brought a significant economic contribution to the centres they were produced. "Woollen

[149] Ianeva, "XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Balkanların Orta Kısmında Zanaat ve Zanaatkarlar," p. 533.

manufacturing was the largest of the upland proto-industries." [150] Making of woollen braid lace *(gaytancılık),* making of a coarse woollen cloth *(abacılık)* and wheeling *(çarkçılık)* were the most important textile professions for Karlova non-Muslims, and for Kalofer and Sopot.[151] This study claims that *gaytancılık* and *çarkçılık* were similar professions; because 88 percent of the people whose occupation was registered as *çarkçı* were producing *gaytan.* However, in order to highlight the slightest professional differences, the number of *çarkçı*s and *gaytancı*s are presented separately in Table 46. It is evident that the *çarkçı-gaytancı* combination has been the dominant textile branch; compared to *abacılık.* Only in Kalofer, these two branches had an equal importance. 47.3 percent of textile producers were *abacı*s, whereas 33 percent *gaytancı* and 14 percent *çarkçı.* This was not a mere occurrence that *gaytan* prevails over *aba;* but the result of the technological and economic progress of gaytan making by the early nineteenth century.

Industries and the industrial culture, marking the "early renaissance" of Bulgaria, were already developing in Plovdiv uplands from the previous centuries.[152] The region had a well-known reputation for textile production. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, both *aba* and *gaytan* were of high importance for Bulgarian geography.

Aba was a "heavy (800 grams per m²) fulled woollen cloth from carded yarn."[153] "*Aba* first appeared in archival documents during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Already at that time the commercialization of this fabric

[150] Palairet, p. 69.

[151] After this point, only the Turkish names of these professions will be utilized.

[152] Palairet, p. 51.

[153] Ibid., p. 70.

must have been widespread."[154] *Aba* trade of Plovdiv has been counted as one of the most prosperous ones in the seventeenth-century wool sector.[155] By the nineteenth century, Plovdiv, together with Salonica, were two centres where *aba* the of highest quality was produced.[156] The relative low prices of *aba* increased the demand for this product while the wool prices were increasing in the domestic markets due to wool exports. [157] "Preparation of *aba* and braid was one of the oldest and most widespread of the handicrafts."[158] Besides, *aba* of Plovdiv was demanded also by export markets, particularly of Central European ones.[159] The observations of Jérôme-Adolphe Blanqui for the year 1841 have particular importance in this sense. Blanqui was a French economist who undertook the official duty of reporting the causes of Nish Revolt (1841) through visiting Ottoman Europe.[160] Throughout his visit, he was able to observe the manufacturing in Bulgaria; and he notes that the quality of *aba* cloth produced in Bulgaria was very high and the products of Bulgarian textile workers could compete with Vienna and London.[161]

However, *gaytan* has later prevailed. "In the early nineteenth century a new territorial specialization took shape in the *aba*-related trades. Whereas the *abacı*s of

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[154] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople Under the Ottomans,* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), p.164.
[155] Faroqhi, "Declines and Revivals," p.363.

[156] Doğru, p. 72.

[157] Abdülkadir Buluş, Osmanlı Tekstil Sanayii Hereke Fabrikası, (Ph.d diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2000), p. 60.

[158] Todorov, *The Balkan City,* p, 209.

[159] İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840-1880),* (Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000), p. 181.

[160] Engin Deniz Tanır, The Mid-nineteenth Century Ottoman Bulgaria from the Viewpoints of French Travellers (Ph.d. diss, METU, 2005), p.18.

[161] Jérôme- Adolphe Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie pendant l'année 1841,* (W. Coquebert: 1845), p. 234.

Plovdiv dealt with the sewing of garments and the artisans of the Rhodope villages wove the *aba* itself, the settlements in the foothills of the Balkan mountains became the centre of a newly independent craft, braidmaking *(gaitandzhiistvo).*"[162]

Image 1: Illustration of a scene from *gaytan* manufacturing [163]

Gaytan making has rapidly increased not only because *gaytan* was a popular accessory for men's contemporary clothing, but also unlike *aba*, its production did not require large looms.[164] Thus, it was easy to produce *gaytan* in households with small spaces. Besides, *gaytan* was utilized to connect woollen cloth pieces. "Because of the limitations of the peasant loom, most [cloth] was woven to the narrow widths

[162] Todorov, *The Balkan City*, p, 210.

[163] Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan, Historisch-geographisch-ethnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1860‑1876*, 3 vols.(Leipzig: Hermann Fries, 1875‑79), vol. 2, p. 127. (I wish to thank Suraiya Faroqhi for letting me know about this book).

[164] Doğru, p. 122.

of 27-40 cm and when tailored it needed to be seamed with large quantities of woollen *gajtan*."[165]

A study on contemporary economic activities of Samokov indicates the rising significance of *gaytan* making and their particular attribution to the Plovdiv villages:

> Thus Samokov Temettuat Registers reaffirm their [woollen braid laces'] importance as a rich source for the study of the local economy and society, testifying to the development in this city of braid lace making, a relatively new and quite profitable branch of the woollen textile manufacturing. The registers also suggest the possible place from which this craft was "imported". As previously mentioned, one of the registered *perakende* was a maker of woollen braid laces from Karlovo, the most famous center of this craft, from which this craft was probably brought to Samokov.[166]

Technological achievements have also contributed to the process of specialization. "The introduction of the iron-toothed wheel –-the machine used to prepare braid- in the second quarter of the nineteenth century transformed *gaitandzhiistvo* into one of the most important branches of the textile industry in the Bulgarian lands, and this activity acted as a powerful lever for the economic upsurge of Kalofer, Karlovo, Sopot, and Kazanluk."[167] Textile technology had a rapid movement around the continent of Europe. Innovations for tools were transferred to these remote mountain villages through several means. "The larger Gabrovo manufacturers had apparently introduced foot-powered German looms to Karlovo early in the century, importing them from Brasov in Transylvania. Gabrovo continued to provide them to many of the town's artisans into the 1860s."[168]

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[165] Palairet, p. 70.
[166] Ianeva, "Samokov," p. 72.

[167] Todorov, *The Balkan City*, p. 210.

[168] Lampe and Jackson, p. 143.

Apart from woollen cloth making, other textile professions had also shares – although less than woollen textiles- in varying degrees for each village. For instance, Sopot had its own characteristics. Yarn spinning and block printing consisted of respectively 11 percent and 24 percent of all textile professions in this village. Block printing industry of Sopot began by 1820s; and it was applied on the calicos produced in Karlova.[169]

The number of tailors was not very high, with the exception that they constituted 16 percent of Karlova Muslim textile sector. Their relative absence could be interpreted as an indicator of export-oriented manufacturing of woollen yarn and cloth. In small and closed economies producing for the domestic markets, the tailors should have been the primary consumers of these goods. For instance, Eski Cuma, a small *kaza* of Deliorman and Dobruca, where low-quality woollen cloth was produced in households, tailoring was the most widespread occupation and the tailors were the major customers of these home-manufactured woollen cloth.[170] Whereas in export oriented Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot proto-industries; outputs were probably been sold to distant markets than to local tailors.

Textile Sector: Sources of Incomes

"Textile-based incomes" can be defined up to the categories in the Income Surveys. The information about crafts and manufacturing was included into surveys through different ways. Firstly, "if the household possessed immovable property such as a mill, shop or winter quarters, the number and size of the property in question" was

[169] Palairet, p. 69.

[170] Doğru, p. 95.

written down.[171] Furthermore, the income earned from these properties was also indicated. This kind of income earned in shops are named as "shop revenues" in this study. Possession of a shop was not quite common and was a sign of wealth and prosperity. Around 10 percent of the textile sector possessed shops (124 out of 1,292 households) and their income levels were higher than the average households. An *abacı* shop "cannot be bought with money" in Samokov [172], neither in Plovdiv.

In addition to shops, productive tools were also considered as the property of the household and registered in the survey. Again, the revenue derived from these tools was also registered in the survey. In terms of textiles, the Income Registers name two different tools: *aba* loom and *gaytan* wheel.

The second source of textile-incomes was the "income received from artisanship, trade and labour by the head of the household and family members."[173] The surveys did specify the type of crafts or trade done by name, thus, we can understand the variety of incomes and professions.

Here, though, one should note that the division between crafts and trade was unfruitful and indeed misleading for the nineteenth century context.[174] The Income Surveys were specifying the source of income by name ("income from craftsmanship" or "income from trading"). However, the clear-cut division disappears through the definition of the professions. In these villages, there were a number of "craftsmen", as they were registered so, who were involved in trading activities; and vice versa.

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[171] Güran, "Temettuat Registers," p.8.

[172] Ianeva, "Samokov," p. 49.

[173] Güran, "Temettuat Registers," p. 8.

[174] Gabriel Baer, "The Administrative, Economic and Social Functions of Turkish Guilds", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1, no.1, (Jan.1970), p.31.

The exact difference between the "shop revenue" and "craftsmanship revenue" has not been explained in the Income Surveys. (One should note that "shop revenue" is different from rent revenue from a shop. Shop rent revenues were counted under the title "*dükkan icarı*", whereas "shop revenue" as "*dükkan hasılatı*".) Since they are counted as different categories in the Income Surveys, we also count them separately here. A possible explanation is, revenues counted as "shop revenue" (*"aba dükkanı hasılatı",* for instance) was yielded by shop-keeping masters. "Craftsmanship revenue", on the other hand, was the payment for labour. More than half of the revenues counted as "craftsmanship revenue" (*abacılığından*, for instance) were yielded by journeymen and apprentices, who were probably working at a master's shop (Further explanation on labour payments is presented in the next part of this chapter).

Similarly, the reason for classifying the revenues from textile tools and shop revenues separately cannot be clarified through the available data. Nevertheless, this classification also enables us to find traces of proto-industrial mode of production in the survey books. The textile tools may have been counted separately probably because they were not taking place in shops, but in houses. Accordingly, the existence of such tools may support the claim of house-oriented proto-industries. The revenues from the tools within the shops, on the other hand, might have been counted within the shop revenues.

Table 47 gives the contents of the sum of textile-related incomes presented previously in Table 44. The textile-related incomes are calculated based on the income sources listed in the Income Surveys. Accordingly, there were five types of incomes with respect to textiles; shop revenues (derived from owned or rented shops), *gaytan* wheel revenues (derived from owned or rented wheels), *aba* loom

revenues, craftsmanship revenues, trade revenues. It is important to note that these trade revenues counted here were the ones yielded by manufacturer-cum-merchants. Those who were only traders are excluded from this calculation; because here the concern is on manufacturers (for incomes of merchants, please see the related part in this chapter).

Table 47: Textile-Related Incomes

		Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
		guruş	%	*guruş*	%	*guruş*	%	*guruş*	%
Shop revenues	owned	9,550	32.7	61,890	14.8	13,480	3	27,740	7.5
	rented	1,300	4.5	11,920	2.8	2,600	0.6	6,550	1.8
Gaytan wheel	owned	0	0	165,615	39.5	122,500	27.1	80,646	21.7
	rented	0	0	0	0.0	160	0.0	0	0.0
Aba loom		0	0	8,660	2.1	1,650	0.4	0	0.0
Textile crafts		18,327	62.8	161,363	38.5	293,899	65	251,415	67.7
Textile trade		0	0	9,565	2.3	18,210	4.0	4,925	1.3
Textile-related total incomes (*guruş*)		29,177	100	419,013	100	452,499	100	371,276	100

Breakdown of textile-related incomes (Table 47) reflects that craftsmanship was a highly important source of textile revenue. For Karlova Muslims, Kalofer and Sopot, more than 60 percent of textile-related income was composed of craftsmanship incomes. Another important revenue source was *gaytan* wheels, particularly for Karlova non-Muslims, and also for Kalofer and Sopot as well. Following the claims presented above, the high amount of craftsmanship and wheel incomes support the

argument that there was a labour-oriented and house-based proto-industrial manufacturing organization. The following part elaborates further on these features of the manufacturing process.

Organization of Textile Labour

Access to Means of Production

"Means of production" is conceptualized here as possession of textile shops (as owner or tenant), possession of *gaytan* wheels (as owner or tenant), and possession of *aba* looms. Bulgarian proto-industries were generally based on houses and simple tools. The existence of workshops was quite exceptional; manufacturing was a house-centred activity. Furthermore, the tools for textile production were simple hand looms and wheels. A French traveller visiting the Bulgarian countryside in 1841 notes that textile industry was fully based on non-mechanized processes : "*Il n'y a point de machines a vapeur en Turquie, pas de filature ni de tissage a la mécanique, point d'ingénieurs civils, point de constructeurs instruits et exercés, point d'horlogers."*[175] Theoretically speaking, it should not have been difficult to afford them. However, in practice, it was not the case.

[175] Blanqui, p. 234.

Table 48: Possessors of Means of Production among Textile Producers

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
Nr of households possessing any means of textile production	15	304	180	116
Total nr of textile producer households	55	473	420	344
Share of MoP possessors within total nr of textile producer households (%)	27.3 %	64.3 %	42.9 %	33.7 %

The analysis above demonstrates the number of households which were in possession of any one of the means of production. Table 48 shows that among Karlova Muslims, only 27.3 percent of producers had access to means of production. In other words, 72 percent of textile producers earned only from their labour force. Level of access to the means of production was higher for Karlova non-Muslims; 64.3 percent of the textile producers had at least one of these tools. The share was 42.9 percent for Kalofer, and 33.7 percent for Sopot. Thus, with the exception of the Karlova non-Muslim population, majority of the textile producers were deprived of any means of production. They were contributing to the manufacturing activity through their labour; either as apprentices and journeymen or, as piece-wage earners.

Since the Income Surveys presented the estimate incomes for the present year, the question is how were labour payments estimated and calculated. The issue should have been further complicated in terms of the piece wages. The method for calculating the production-based payments might have been difficult to estimate since the amount of orders should have been unpredictable beforehand. The existing data in the Income Surveys is silent about these points. Besides, other available data is not explanatory about these details of labour organization. Nevertheless, within

these limitations, an observation from 1870s Anatolia is very valuable in giving an idea.[176] A report in the year 1870 for the British Foreign Office states that, in Erzurum putting-out weaving industries, the labourers were being paid in advance. Following the payments, they were preparing the orders. Thus, such an application might also be possible for Plovdiv villages. If the labourers were receiving the payments in advance, it should have been possible for them to declare their labour earnings to the survey clerks.

Continuities and Discontinuities with the Guild Institution: Journeymen and Apprentices

Ottoman guild structure, as well as the other social and economic institutions, was under a process of transformation during the course of the nineteenth century. Existing debate overwhelmingly concentrates on whether the guilds had disappeared in the nineteenth century or not. First of all, localities matter in order to answer this question. Secondly, instead of a "decline paradigm", the nineteenth century guilds should be examined within the transformation . Hence, this study argues that in the mid-nineteenth century Bulgarian textile guilds were probably able to conserve their presence in the rural sphere, although in a limited way and under the rules of the market.

For Blanqui, guilds in Bulgaria had still full control over the crafts by 1840s, and, unlikegrea manufacturing countries, were able to protect the workers from the "abuses of the capitalist". [177] It is a matter of debate whether Blanqui could observe

[176] F.O. 83/337, 1870.

[177] Blanqui, pp. 234-235.

all guilds in Bulgaria, for each craft in both urban and rural spheres, in order to reach that conclusion.[178] Besides, the penetration of capital and guilds' resistance against that influence could not be easily understood in a short time . Nevertheless, his account is still telling about the fact that guilds had not completely disappeared from Bulgaria by the mid-nineteenth century.

The reports of the British Foreign Office argue for the existence of guilds in the region of Epirus (Western Greek mainland) even by 1870s, yet in a quite loose form than Blanqui defines:

> Handicrafts here nominally organized in guilds [...] There is no restrictions with regard to wages, hours of work, terms of contract, or any other particular connected with labour of business [...] Every man has full liberty to act as he likes in the disposal of his labour and to make the best conditions he can himself."[179]

This "state of liberty" or the inefficiency of the guilds can both be explained by the time and space that observation was done. Still, it is interesting to see the traces of guilds –although in a decline- as late as the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

The *aba* guild of Plovdiv had been a very old and prominent institution, which had its own written registers (*kondiki*) spanning the past 300 years.[180] However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century the market rules started to penetrate the Plovdiv textiles and threatened the established norms of the guilds. Apart from the spread of new economic structure, one can also count the abolishment of Janissaries in 1826, who had protected and supported –particularly urban- guilds, as a cause of

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[178] Tanır, p.131.

[179] F.O. 83/337, 1870.

[180] Todorov, *The Balkan City*, p, 227.

the weakening of the guilds.[181] Consequently, the guilds of Plovdiv were alerted to protect the status quo.[182] However, their efforts were not enough to limit the new employment organizations and new commercial relations:

> Despite the provisions restraining capitalist trends in the guild, the 1805 declaration of the Plovdiv *abacı*s opened the way for such tendencies to be manifested in the commerce in *aba* goods in other regions of Ottoman Empire. As a result, monetary capital as accumulating in the hands of some *abacı*s, the differentiation of their property was increasing, and foreign market conditions were convincing these incipient entrepreneurs to organize the kind of production that would yield a mass output of goods of a standard type.[183]

Hence, the Plovdiv guilds were still -to an extent- influential over the production and trading processes, as long as they have adapted themselves to the new capitalist tendencies. "Guild membership did not exclude putting-out activities: apparently the most prosperous merchants-cum-artisans might own their workshops and also have peasants and peasant women work for them."[184] The most well-known merchants and heads of proto-industries, as Gümüşgerdans, were also guild members.[185]

The professional status of the manufacturers within the crafts represent both the continuities and discontinuities within the guild system. *Kalfa* (journeyman) and *çırak* (apprentice) status still existed in the Income Surveys. Nevertheless, the new mode of production has attached them different meanings. The socio-economic status of the journeymen and apprentices has gained new forms. They became partners with

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[181] Palairet, p. 52.

[182] Nikolai Todorov, "19.cu Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bulgaristan Esnaf Teşkilatında Bazı Karakter Değişmeleri", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 27, no.1-2, (Oct 1967-Nov 1968), p.21.

[183] Todorov, *The Balkan City*, p. 226.

[184] Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire*, p.165.

[185] Among a number of studies over Gümüşgerdans, for a pioneering and prominent example, see, Nikolai Todorov, "The Capitalist Entrepreneur," *The Balkan City, 1400-1900.* pp. 238-276.

the master shop-keeper, though in an unequal relationship.[186] Journeymen run the shop while the new entrepreneur master was away for trading.

Income Surveys present occupational information about the heads of households combined with their professional status. If they were among the craftsmen; it was indicated whether they were journeymen, or apprentices. The masters were not separately signified; we claim that a person is a master and/or owner of the shop if anything contrary was not indicated. The status of journeyman and apprentice was of particular importance in order to reflect the divisions within the textile manufacturing sector. Thus, Table 49 states the number of journeymen and apprentices and their share in the total number of textile producers. Accordingly, around 25 percent to 35 percent of textile sector was composed of journeymen and apprentices (25.5 percent of Karlova Muslims, 23.8 percent of Karlova non-Muslims, 31 percent of Kalofer, 35.4 percent of Sopot).

Table 49: Number of Journeymen and Apprentices among Textile Producers

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%	nr	%
Journeymen	14	25.5	102	22.3	123	30	117	34.2
Apprentices	0	0	7	1.5	4	1.0	4	1.2
Total nr of textile producers	55	100	458	100	410	100	342	100

Table 50 presents the average income for journeymen and apprentice households compared with the general trends. The first row reflects the average income per journeyman household. The second row reflects the average income per apprentice

[186] Todorov, "19.cu Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bulgaristan Esnaf Teşkilatında Bazı Karakter Değişmeleri", p.24.

household. The third row shows the mean of the incomes of all textile producer households. Therefore, the columns show the proportion of journeyman and apprentice earnings to the average textile producer earning. Through this analysis, it is examined whether they were earning either less or more than an average textile producer household.

Table 50: Average Incomes by Journeymen and Apprentice Households

	Karlova Muslims		Karlova non-Muslims		Kalofer		Sopot	
	guruş	%	*guruş*	%	*guruş*	%	*guruş*	%
Journeymen	529	82.7	790	78.2	1,050	83.1	1,147	88.3
Apprentices	n/a	n/a	525	52.0	952	75.3	521	40.1
Income of average textile producer household	640	100	1,010	100	1,264	100	1,299	100

Table 50 shows that for all villages, journeymen and apprentices were earning less than an average textile producer household. For instance, in Karlova non-Muslims, a journeyman household was earning 82.7 percent of the income of an average textile producer household there. In other words, on average, this household was earning % 17.3 less than an average textile producer. For journeymen in other villages, the proportion of their income to the average income is as follows: 78.2 percent for Karlova non-Muslims, 83.1 percent for Kalofer and 88.3 percent for Sopot. Furthermore, the income gap gets wider in terms of the apprentices. Among Karlova non-Muslims, they were earning 52 percent of the average income, among Kalofer the proportion was 75.3 percent. In Sopot, they were earning only 40 percent of the average textile-household income.

Family Economy

Household, as an economic unit, was highly significant for the proto-industrial model. It was closely attached to the market incentives, yet pursued its own rational as well. "Even under capitalist relations of production, the family economy remains a pre-capitalist preserve."[187] It gained a dualistic structure: The agrarian base of production, consumption and generative reproduction disappeared. They were started to be determined by the market, but at the same time remained within an ongoing familial structure.[188] Maximization of gross produce rather than net profit is the rationale of family economy; "even when his products enter market and money relations and produce a 'surplus' for merchant capital, his own relationship to commodity production and commodity exchange remains that of a producer of use values."[189] Nevertheless, as the rural industries in Plovdiv were triumphing, market incentives were gradually increasing their level of influence at the expense of this claimed rationale of the family, as well as at the expense of the guild institution. The workforce has been exploited through different means.

The Income Surveys have both advantages and disadvantages for studying family economies. On the one hand, as the unit of analysis was the household, we can see belongings and earnings of the whole family. The total annual estimated income reflects the yields of all family members' economic activities. On the other hand, though, this resource is quite limited because only the head of the household was specified by name. Additional information about other members was not

[187] Medick, p.41.

[188] Ibid., p. 40.

[189] Ibid., p.41.

indicated. Nevertheless, there are some exceptions which seriously contribute to composition of a demographic data. First of all, the surveys of non-Muslim neighbourhoods included the number of head-tax payers, i.e. the number of adult males. More or less, the number of head-tax payers was the one-third of total population.[190] (The population estimations based on the number of head-tax payers are presented in Chapter 2).

Alongside with the number of tax-payers, the earnings of male family members were included in the surveys; though, neither names nor numbers were given. Their professions and incomes were indicated. For most of the cases, all members of the respective family were occupied with the same crafts. A study on Samakov Income Registers demonstrate that *abacı* families constituted an economic unity as the large families and continuity of the crafts within the family reveal.[191]

The women and infants were not represented by their names, but indirectly through the yields of their labour. Besides, additional sources prove their existence. Their labour was not only invisible, but also over-exploited by the market, through direct or indirect contact of the merchants:

> In some cases, putting-out merchants did business with fully fledged artisans, but in other instances women and children were employed in greater numbers than had been true in earlier times. At least in theory the earnings of females and juveniles were not supposed to support a family; therefore merchants could easily justify paying them mere pittances […] In other cases women and children were not directly employed by the putting-out merchant, but aided their husbands and/or fathers who had contracted for the family's labour; in this case, members of the workmen's families might toil away without any remuneration at all.[192]

[190] McGowan, p. 83.

[191] Ianeva, "Samokov," p. 67.

[192] Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire*, p.187.

The exploitation of the women in the market had certain forms in terms of textile industries. Division of labour within the process created "gendered" tasks, proceeding alongside with the traditional guild-based organization:

> This [*gaytan*] yarn was prepared by hand by women spinners whom the machine owners gradually transformed into an army of intensely exploited workers. A considerable stratification occurred, with the women spinners standing in sharp contrast to the small producers who were organized in the guild and owned the machines.[193]

As the available resources are quite limited on the issue, one can examine the other regions in Balkans in order to have some impressions about the family economy in rural industries. For instance, Foreign Office reports state the existence of the labour-intensive textile manufacturing activity in the region of Epirus in the year 1870. There, "domestic labour contributes largely to the industrial produce of the country."[194] Female labour was concentrated on reeling, spinning, knitting, weaving, sewing; surplus of which was bartered or sold in the market.

At the same period, the observations on Anatolian weaver families are quite striking in revealing the exploitative effect of the market:

> The real great drawback in their condition is the only one they do not seem to feel at all, namely that they are, as stated before practically the slaves of capitalist and must work his own terms without any hope of improving that condition or that of their children and in consequence of the gradual but certain decrease in the demand for their work it is impossible they can never emerge from the state they are now in.[195]

[193] Todorov, *The Balkan City*, p. 228.

[194] F.O. 83/337, 1870.

[195] F.O. 83/337, 1870.

Trade

The city of Plovdiv has historically been a commercial centre and its hinterland has also benefitted from that. In the nineteenth century, though the context of commercial relations gained new forms, Plovdiv could preserve this reputation. Besides, the emergence of the proto-industries has reshaped the nature of the trade within and around the region. More importantly, commercial organization had a principal effect over the proto-industries. The production process was heavily relied on, and in a sense was dependent on, the commercial organization in the region. The local and foreigner traders controlled, organized, and upheld the textile production in rural households in varying degrees. Up to the degree of influence created by the merchants, there were different types of proto-industries in Plovdiv villages.

This part firstly draws the general picture in terms of the commercial relations of Plovdiv textiles, and then elaborates on the relationship between commerce and manufacturing there.

Plovdiv Textiles on a World Scale

Plovdiv woollen textiles have definitely exceeded the limits of local consumption. By the mid-nineteenth century, they were being exported to a number of distant markets. There were a high number of *beratlı* merchants from Plovdiv, who were dealing with long-distance trade. *"Beratlı"* refers to having been granted official privileges such as tax exemptions; most of the *beratlı* Bulgarian merchants were

settled in Plovdiv, as well as Veliko Tırnovo, Nish, Sofia and Shumen.[196] The official documents also reflect the far-reaching scope of commercial activities by *beratlı* Plovdiv merchants; they were trading with Europe and even with remote regions as Iran and India.[197]

Istanbul and Anatolian cities were the major customers. Ottoman state, in particular, had a high and long enduring demand for Plovdiv wools. The *aba* cloths were being utilized for military uniforms of the Ottoman army[198] "Inspired by the regularity of the official demand for their products, several wool merchants established modern textile mills".[199] Furthermore, the *aba* traders of Plovdiv were to be found in places such as Syria and even India.[200] Thus, the demand for woollen textiles of Plovdiv was an important factor for its world scale circulation. [201]

> Also encouraging commerce beyond the local marketplace was the presence by mid-nineteenth century of over a half a million Bulgarians living outside the broadest definition of the Bulgarian lands. About 25,000 lived on Habsburg territory, 50,000 in Istanbul, and 100,000 in Bessarabia and the Ukraine. The several hundred thousand in Wallachia were by far the largest contingent.[202]

[196] Hüdai Şentürk, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bulgar Meselesi: 1850-1875*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), p.33.

[197] For some examples on world-scale activities of beratlı Plovdiv merchants, please see BOA. HAT. 1445- 59407, 29/Z/1249; BOA. C. İKTS. 20- 972, 27/B/1250; BOA. C. İKTS. 27-1315, 29/Ca/1256.

[198] Stoianovich, p.100.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Faroqhi, "Declines and Revivals," p.374.

[201] Lampe and Jackson, p.139.

[202] Ibid., p.140.

They have formed "wealthy Bulgarian colonies" in significant Ottoman ports such as in İstanbul, İzmir, Salonica, and in European centres such as Vienna, Moscow, and St.Petersburg.[203]

The Bulgarian "colonies" may also be examined through the Income Surveys. The surveys state the place of residence of the head of the household when it is different from the respective village. Thus, Table 51 shows the number of heads of the households who were living in places different than the respective village. In the villages analyzed for this study, they were generally settled in Istanbul. Particularly for Kalofer, the result is striking. 36 percent of the heads of the Kalofer households (153 people) were settled in Istanbul. It is worth noting that a significant amount of them were merchants.

Table 51: Number of Heads of the Households Settled in Places Other Than the Village in Which Their Incomes Were Registered

	Karlova Muslims	Karlova non-Muslims	Kalofer	Sopot
İstanbul	0	14	153	5
Edirne	0	1	0	0
Ahsırlı (?)	0	1	0	0
Palir (?)	0	0	1	0
Pervese (?)	0	0	1	0
İzlari (?)	0	0	0	1

Then, the question arises why the registers of these people were kept in Karlova, Kalofer or Sopot. One possible explanation is, these people were sending their incomes back to their families settled in these villages. Another possibility is, these people settled out of these villages were working and probably trading between their village and large cities. One final, and strong possibility is that, the income

[203] Halil İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1943), p. 21.

registered in Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot was not being earned by the head of the household who was living somewhere else. These incomes were probably yielded by other family members, who may constitute the family labour discussed above.

Merchants and Producers: Different Types of Proto-Industries

Proto-industries, though including several different versions, have definite characteristics of production. It is separated from other early modern and modern manufacturing activities through these characteristics. Yet, it is debated whether it was a model by itself (as Mendel argues) or it was a sum of different production patterns in a transition period, "standing between agrarian economy and merchant capitalism."[204] Mendels' thesis of proto-industrialization was criticized on the ground that "the immense variety of organizational and industrial structures is ignored and the corresponding diversity of accumulation and change is glossed over."[205]

Although Mendel coined the term, he did not elaborate much on the internal dynamics of the process. This task was undertaken by later versions, particularly by neo-Marxist school represented by Kriedte, Medick, and Schlumbohm. Their account of the organization of manufacturing is linked to the debate "transition from feudalism to capitalism." According to their view, rural manufacturing is organized in two ways: *Kaufsystem* and *Verlagsystem.*

In *Kaufsystem*, rural manufacturers were usually not able to reach distant markets by themselves. "Either merchants bought the products from the rural producers and arranged for their sale, or some of the producers themselves as well as

[204] Kriedte, p. 37.

[205] Clarkson, p. 23.

other wealthy villagers, assumed that function for all producers."[206] Here, we should open a parenthesis for the latter, i.e. intermediary producers and other wealthy villagers. They emerge out of the producers and undertake a significant function in *Kaufsystem* process.

> Wealthy, business-minded peasants and members of the village bourgeoisie often assumed a strategic function in the proto-industrialization process. They became the middlemen between domestic producers and the merchant. They constituted the personnel of the putting-out system's infrastructure. Occasionally, they became involved in the finishing of products. Often they are after than the large putters-out in the cities, became the true agents of the industrialization process.[207]

Kaufsystem, thus, was divided into two spheres. On the one hand, the sphere of production was ruled by the manufacturer. The manufacturer was using his own raw materials, tools, and labour force of himself and his household. The costs for the tools were affordable for most of the producers. The sphere of circulation, on the other hand was ruled by the laws of capital. It created a partial dependence of producers to merchants. "Consequently, the *Kaufsystem*, while not attacking the formal independence of the petty producer in the area of production, nonetheless entailed a considerable amount of 'exploitation through trade'".[208]

In *Verlagsystem*, the boundary between the sphere of production and sphere of circulation disappears. Capital penetrates into the sphere of production; "when the petty producer worked only upon being commissioned by a trader under the putting-out system (*Verlagsystem*), he lost the formal equality with which he had offered his

[206] Schlumbohm, "Relations of production –productive forces," p. 99.

[207] Kriedte, p. 29.

[208] Schlumbohm, "Relations of production –productive forces", p. 99.

products to the merchant under the *Kaufsystem*." [209] The merchant is often the possessor of raw material, and tools for production as well; thus, in some cases, producers remain only in a position of selling their labour power for piece wages. [210]

Berg underlines the fact that *Kaufsystem* and *Verlagsystem* are not the mere options. "Between these poles existed a broad spectrum of organisational forms with their associated mix of agriculture and industry and their different household and property structures."[211] Besides, these organizational forms may coexist in the same area. Thus, it is quite significant to examine the real practice in Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot; as any type of pre-industrial mode of production requires.

Merchants of Plovdiv

Under the light of this discussion, a deeper analysis of Plovdiv merchants and their role in manufacturing is quite telling. There were 52 textile merchants in total, registered in Income Surveys; 6 among Karlova Muslims, 18 among Karlova non-Muslims, 19 among Kalofer, and 9 among Sopot. The head of household is counted in these terms if his occupation was registered as "merchant", "*aba* merchant", "*gaytan* merchant", "dye merchant", "*yapağı* merchant". Although the term "merchant" does not clearly prove that the person was a textile merchant, it is assumed to be so since the dominant trading activity in the region was based on

[209]Ibid., p. 101.

[210] Ibid., p. 102.

[211] Pat Hudson, "From Manor to Mill: The West Riding in Transition" in *Manufacture in Town and Country before the Factory*, ed. Maxine Berg, Pat Hudson and Michael Sonenscher, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 125.

textiles. (There were only three merchants in the region who were not dealing with textiles).

Among these 52 textile merchans, 17 were solely trading; remaining 35 were both trading and producing textiles. 7 people were entitled "*beratlı*", and 8 were entitled "*fermanlı*" merchants.

Merchants of Plovdiv villages were generally the wealthiest people among their residents. Their income was overwhelmingly coming from trading activities; manufacturing was in the second rank. Most of them were not holding any land in the villages; thus not making agrarian production.

This study argues that rural textile manufacturing in Plovdiv countryside reflects the coexistence of different production and circulation patterns. The process of manufacturing is dependent on the merchants in varying degrees. Firstly, merchants were involved in manufacturing as providers of raw materials. As it has been explained in the previous chapter, majority of the Plovdiv textile producers were not raising sheep (Table 41). Therefore, the lack of raw materials should have been satisfied by two means; either they directly sold their agricultural produce in exchange for wool, or merchants provided them with wool. The data shows that the level of their agricultural production was so low that it would cover barely their subsistence. Thus, most probably a merchant/merchants were providing them with raw materials.

Nevertheless, this is the general result deduced from aggregate data. Individual cases provide examples of other models in which manufacturers are independent in production or trading, or in both in some cases. The existence of independent producers becomes possible most probably through their wealth and their

connections to remote markets. There was not a single way of manufacturing, but multiple ones.

This was also a signal of regional specialization. Smaller villages in the Balkans were concentrated on wool production, and the larger ones were using this wool for yarn and cloth manufacturing. [212] Bulgaria has long had a reputation for being a great sheep raising geography.[213] Furthermore, "while local wool was used, this did not satisfy demand, and traders started to bring in extra raw material from Moldavia and Wallachia." [214] Not only insufficient in quantity, the Bulgarian wool was also inferior in quality, thus the manufacturing highly relied on imported raw material. [215] Wool production was also subject to a merchant-led organization, whereby the merchants demanded from the wool producers a certain process of cleaning and preparation of the product.[216]

There was only one person whose profession was registered as a lamb wool merchant in the villages studied. Panço, son of Toro, was from Kalofer. [217] He was a *fermanlı* wool merchant, with annual estimated income of 3,410 *guruş*. Together with wool trade, he was also occupied with *gaytan* making, with his four wheels. Evidently, Panço alone could not provide the whole sum of raw material needed in Kalofer, needless to say in Karlova and Sopot. There were definitely outside

[212] For further information about sheep-breeding in mid-nineteenth century Bulgaria; Andreas Lyberatos, "Men of the Sultan: The 'Beğlik' Sheep Tax Collection System and the Rise of a Bulgarian National Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth-Century Plovdiv", *Turkish Historical Review* 1, no.1, (May 2010), pp.55-85.

[213] Stoianovich, p.100.

[214] Faroqhi, "Declines and Revivals," p.374.

[215] Joseph S. Roucek, "Economic Geography of Bulgaria", *Economic Geography* 11, no.3, (1935), p.318.

[216] Doğru, p. 72.

[217] BOA. ML. VRD. TMT. d. 5962.

merchants who were supplying the raw material required. In addition to the issue of raw material, provision of the productive tools is another important point to address. There were manufacturers who possessed shops and *aba* looms or *gaytan* wheels. Although, the majority of the textile producers did not possess any productive tools (Table 46). It remains unclear whether they were utilising the tools provided by merchants or were working with the tools of other manufacturers, as apprentices and wage labourers. Nevertheless, it is evident that most of the producers possessed nothing but their labour.

Another mode of organization is depicted in the unity of production and circulation of the products. Though quite few in number in the villages studied, there were wealthy manufacturers who probably afforded to finance the manufacturing and selling their own products to distant markets. Individual examples deduced from survey data give detailed information about these wealthy manufacturers. For instance, Hristo, son of Petko, from Kalofer, represents an interesting case.[218] He was the wealthiest person in his village, with an annual income of 5,990 *guruş* (average income for Kalofer was 1,120 *guruş*). He was an *aba* producer and trader. He had possessions in Kalofer; cultivated fields, meadows and vineyards, a milch black cattle cow. He was a tenant of a *meyhane,* and owner of an *aba* loom as well. He was registered as "*fermanlı aba* merchant in İstanbul" *(deraliyede fermanlı abacı tüccarı).* An overwhelming share of his income, namely 5,000 *guruş*, was yielded by producing *aba* in İstanbul *("deraliyede abacılığından").* He and his household members (one adult male member was registered as *"ala"* head-tax payer) were producing *aba* probably in Kalofer and he should have been bringing this product to

[218] BOA. ML.VRD. TMT. d. 5962.

Istanbul. It was highly probable that he was also circulating the products of other producers in Kalofer.

There were examples of trader-manufacturers in other villages studied. For instance, Dimitri, son of Birdon, was registered as *"abacı tüccarı"* in Karlova Income Surveys.[219] His only possession in Karlova was a horse, a house he rented to someone else. In his household, there are two head-tax payers, i.e. two adult males, one in the *ala* level, other in the *evsat* level. He owns an *abacı dükkanı* in Istanbul. The available data proves that an *abacı dükkanı* is the place where *aba* was produced. However, we don't know the revenue yielded in this shop since this economic activity was taking place in Istanbul, thus not registered in the Karlova Income Surveys. More interestingly, apart from his rental income in Karlova, he has one source of revenue. That was the revenue of 3,000 *guruş* coming from his *"abacılığından."* With his total annual income of 3,040 *guruş*, he was one of the wealthiest residents in the village. (Average annual income per household was 949 *guruş* for Karlova non-Muslims).

Dimitri's case is a good example highlighting one type of manufacturing and trade in the region. It is an open question whether his 3,000 *guruş* of income, yielded by *"abacılığından",* indicates *aba* manufacturing or trade, or both. In more clear cases, that usually meant *aba* manufacturing; since the means of manufacturing (shops and tools) were attached to them. Income coming from trade has been separately specified in many other examples. Since he did not have an *aba* shop in Karlova, the highly possible explanation is that he was conducting trading activities between Karlova and Istanbul. The reason for the ambiguity in his revenue sources is, his intermediary position does not clearly fit the categories in the Income Surveys.

[219] BOA. ML. VRD. TMT. d. 5961.

He was probably acting as an intermediary merchant who was also a manufacturer himself. As in the previous case, he would also be trading goods of other Karlova residents, yet, the nature of Income Surveys is not appropriate to prove these relations.

"Europe Merchants"

"Europe merchants" *(Avrupa tüccarları)* constitute an important phenomenon for mid-nineteenth century regional and international trade. They were non-Muslim Ottoman merchants to whom several exemptions were provided. In addition to them, other foreign merchants, without such exemptions, were also found in the Plovdiv economy. In terms of the Plovdiv textile trade, they replaced the petit merchants of the villages and organized a large scale manufacturing and circulation network.

Through the petitions, one can observe the degree of influence of Europe merchants and other foreign merchants over rural manufacturing in Bulgaria. For instance, Greek merchants have a particular dominance over the Bulgarian trade. "As initially most merchants were Greeks, who continued the long Greek tradition of seafaring and trade, the Greek language steadily developed into the lingua franca of Balkan commerce."[220] In a petition presented to the Ministry of Fiscal Affairs, we can observe them ordering *aba* from *abacı* craftsmen of Zağra-i Atik *kaza* of Plovdiv and were requesting tax exemption for these cloths. [221]

[220] Raymond Detrez and Barbara Segaert, *Europe and the Historical Legacies in the Balkans*, New York: Peter Lang, 2008), p.35.

[221] A. MKT. MHM. 308-95, 1281/Ra/9.

These merchants were involved in credit relations. Through their increasing wealth, they acted as creditors. For instance, Europe merchants Avadik and his son Bağosan wrote a petition in the year 1264 in order to collect the 32,508 *guruş* they had lent to Yusuf from Plovdiv. [222] In another example from the same year, Gümüşgerdanoğlu Mihalaki addresses his complaint to the court, about an unreturned debt of 45,000 *guruş* he had lent to *aba* producer Vasil from Plovdiv. [223] One other example is about a resident of Karlova, Mestan Ağa, who has borrowed 16,086 *guruş* from the Europe merchant Hristo, but could not pay it back.[224]

The merchants were borrowing debts as well in order to finance their activities. When they failed to pay, they were subjected to complaints, as Varnalı Mihalaki and Gümüşgerdan oğlu Dimitraki were.[225] In the year 1265, they have borrowed 8,990 *guruş* for their yarn and wool firm (*ticarethane-i iplik ve yapağı*) but did not pay the amount on time to their creditor Dimitri from Plovdiv. In another example, entire residents of a village represent a collective entity of a creditor, since the amount of the debt was very large. *Aba* producer Deymo has borrowed 70,726 *guruş* at interest, from the residents of Avratalan (Koprivstitsa) village in Plovdiv. Claiming that he was unable to pay the loan, he requested a debt relief. [226]

Hence, nineteenth century Bulgarian textile production was subject to a complex network of institutions. There were different modes of production in the same region. Not only production, but also financial relations were shaped through

[222] A. DVN. 41-57, 1264/ Z/29.

[223] A. MKT. 116-59, 1264/R/19.

[224] HR. MKT. 227-68, 1274/ R/1.

[225] A. DVN. 46-81, 1265/C/17.

[226] A. DVN. 14-82, 1262/ Ra/4.

this network of merchants and producers. Concurrent existence of different proto-industries in the same region also refutes the claim of a progressive and linear development through either an absolute Verlagsystem or a factory-based production.[227]

Conclusion

A number of rural economies of the Ottoman Balkans, as well as other various provinces of the state, gained new forms in the nineteenth century . Due to a number of reasons discussed in the previous chapters, they were separated from their traditional agrarian basis. Manufacturing gradually replaced agriculture in a number of rural settlements in the Balkans. Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot were also among them. Textile production alone was the dominant economic activity of these villages. The majority of their population subsisted on textiles.

There had always been rural and urban manufacturing centres in the previous centuries. However, mid-nineteenth-century rural manufacturing was greatly different from the former examples. It formed under totally new circumstances, besides, it also functioned in different ways. The production and trading organization gained new forms under the market-oriented economies of the nineteenth-century. Labour organization, provision of productive tools and material, trading of the goods represented a complex network including several actors. Manufacturing surpassed the limits of small-scale local crafts. There was a process of specialization; woollen-textile weaving dominated the manufacturing sector. Textiles became the core of the

[227] Ianeva, "XIX. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Balkanların Orta Kısmında Zanaat ve Zanaatkarlar," p. 536.

economies of these villages. There were a high number of inhabitants who overwhelmingly or totally subsisted on textiles. In addition, textile products of Plovdiv villages were targeting long-distance trade. Plovdiv merchants were acting in regional as well as global markets.

The empirical research in this study shows that textile manufacturing provided an economic prosperity for these villages. Their income levels are significantly higher than contemporary agrarian societies. Nevertheless, the income inequalities draw attention to the groups benefitting from this prosperous condition. Textile producers, woollen-textile producers in particular, constituted the wealthy groups in the society. The wealthiest people in each village were the textile merchants. It was not a mere coincidence. Textile merchants had a principal role in the rural putting-out villages. They were actively involving in the manufacturing and trading of the goods. Their level of influence was different for each case. Some merchants were purchasing the finished good from the manufacturer to sell them in market. Whereas some other merchants were also involved in the production process. In some cases, they were providing a number of productive tools and material. In other cases, they were also actively organizing the labour.

Dynamism of the labour organization is closely related to the penetration of market incentives into the settled economies. Existing institutions either gained new forms or totally disappeared. Guild formation continued to a limited extent alongside with the wage-labour or piece-wage systems. Household division of labour also coexisted with these two means of labour organization. This invisible labour was extremely vulnerable against the new economic organization and its actors. Thus, the prosperity of these villages was reached at the expense of masses of people who were

deprived of means of production and whose labour was intensively utilized for the competitiveness of the villages.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study originally emerged in the pursuit of the question of the effects of the Industrial Revolution in the Ottoman Empire. Technological achievements in the manufacturing and the commercial expansion of manufactured goods through the market incentives created significant changes over all Europe, including the Ottomans as well. Nevertheless, this transformative fashion of the nineteenth century Ottoman economy has long been perceived as a result of a direct implementation and infusion of Western European economic benefits. This point of view has been theorized in different ways, with the common point of concentration of Ottoman peripherialization and decline. With respect to manufacturing, the incapability of Ottoman producers to adapt themselves to the new economic order or the impossibility of Ottoman products to compete with the European imports have been emphasized by the defenders of the "decline paradigm." The demise of a number of established urban crafts, a phenomenon frequently observed by contemporary travellers, has dominated the narrative of nineteenth century Ottoman manufacturing history. Besides, the Anglo-Ottoman Trade Agreement of 1838 has been defined as a direct and irreversible attack against the Ottoman manufacturing sectors. However, less-observed rural economies actually presented a totally different picture in that respect.

The present study, thus, argues that regional studies provide a coherent and consistent explanation of the nineteenth century Ottoman economies. Regional studies supported with quantitative and qualitative information proves a challenge to the "decline paradigm"; they represent prominent examples of the livelihood and success of Ottoman manufacturing sectors. Rural studies are highly important in the context of manufacturing, since they have followed a different evolutionary path than established urban centres. Agrarian societies were under a transformation at least since the eighteenth century; this process had reached its peak by the early and mid-nineteenth century. Different rural economies evolved into separate forms due to institutional basis of their own. In addition, nineteenth-century rural manufacturing was organized in a totally different way compared to their early precedents. Inclusion of market premises into the sphere of production and trading of the products created a totally new way of organization of production; which has consequently changed the lives of the producers themselves. In summary, manufacturing rural societies of the mid-nineteenth century constitute a new phenomenon due to this new social and economic context.

This study, focusing on the economic history of three villages, can also be perceived as a work of micro-history. The approach of the present study to the micro-history is applying the research on certain localities to point a larger reality outside of this micro scope. The greater framework of social and economic transformation of the nineteenth century can be explained through the example of the rural manufacturing in three villages. Therefore, instead of a mere description of a socioeconomic structure of a given area, this study analyzes Plovdiv villages in order to elaborate a certain question concerning a larger economic context. This preliminary question is mainly based on the effects of market-oriented economies

and foreign competition on the Ottoman Balkans. Rural manufacturing in Plovdiv villages constitutes one dimension of the multi-faceted economic setting of the nineteenth century. This study proposes a contribution to exploration of the novel forms of economic activities in Ottoman Europe; studies on other manufacturing sectors and other fields of rural and urban production are required to complete the picture.

This study also claims that combination of a suitable analytical method with a comprehensive historical source can yield a new and fruitful approach to the study of Ottoman rural manufacturing. This ideal combination is attempted to be reached by the analysis of proto-industrialization theses under the light of the Ottoman Income Surveys of 1845. Proto-industrialization is claimed in this study not as a universal theory, but a useful analytical method. After reviewing several versions of the proto-industrialization discussions, this study formulates the most appropriate means of using this method for analyzing Ottoman rural manufacturing. The conceptualization of proto-industrialization here does not imply the existence of a transitory phase preceding full industrial growth. It is proposed here as the name of a process in which Ottoman rural textile industries were organized in the mid-nineteenth century. Therefore, the thesis enables us to depict the dynamic relations among the demography, geography, agriculture, stockbreeding, landholding, labour, manufacturing and trade; and creates a meaningful picture from this complex matrix. A number of existing studies attemped to use proto-industrialization for the Ottoman countryside; however, they lacked sufficient data to analyze the components of rural manufacturing counted above. This study, on the other hand, for the first time connects the data from the Income Surveys with the emergence and organization of rural manufacturing. The textile sectors in the selected villages are analyzed through

the extensive use of the qualitative and quantitative data derived from the Income Surveys, both at the macro and at the micro levels.

Income Surveys, as a historical source, are regarded in this study with a critical approach to the extent that any historical material requires. The survey registers are analyzed in consideration of the historical context in which they were written. Besides, a number of limitations originated from the source are recognized. The survey was prepared for fiscal purposes; therefore, utilizing the data for explaining the manufacturing organization requires an additional effort for a careful analysis. The survey data is processed in a dynamic way which created several combinations from the vast number of qualitative variables presented in the survey books. The connections between even the most -seemingly- non-related variable pairs (for instance, sheep breeding and names of the occupations) are combined to find out the details of the manufacturing organization. The content of each variable is carefully studied, sums for each analysis are computed and re-computed for reaching the precise quantitative results.

Furthermore, the validity and reliability of the survey data is ensured through comparing them with a number of contemporary sources. Income Surveys remain as the most detailed and accurate database available in this field, another source with that much comprehensiveness does not exist. Nevertheless, a number of official population surveys and travellers' accounts helped to complement the demographic data. These accounts also contributed to explaining some technical details of the manufacturing process, as well as its social organization. Commercial organization is further analyzed through a number of documents in the Ottoman archives. Further studies and new data sources are required to shed light on this complex process of manufacturing and trade.

Time and space limitations are both necessary for the sake of analysis and compulsory due to availability of the sources. Its necessity stems from the focal point of this study: Rural manufacturing is preferred to be analyzed in its triumph. In other words, the full functioning of the manufacturing and trade organization is desired to be studied. This corresponds to the period of mid-nineteenth century for Ottoman Bulgaria, which is the region with the highest representative capacity for the examples of rural manufacturing in Ottoman Europe. Certainly, the emergence and development of these rural industries was not limited to the cases selected for this study. There had been other villages in the Balkans as well as other Ottoman provinces organized in similar fashions. Further research in this field will greatly contribute to this lesser known field of Ottoman economic history and the possible contributions or corrections for the present study proposed by other researchers would be appreciated.

The compulsion derived from the sources is the time span covered by the Income Surveys. This extensively large and detailed survey has been conducted only once for each province where it took place. For Plovdiv, it presents a snapshot of the year 1845. Discovery of this kind of quantitative databases covering the subsequent decades will be appreciated in order to construct a time-series analysis. Textile proto-industries of Ottoman Bulgaria started to decline in 1870s but factors underlying this decline remains out of the scope of this study. In this context, it is quite significant to note that rural manufacturing in Plovdiv (and in general in the Balkans) lost its prosperity by the 1870s, an issue which has been studied by a number of historians and still strongly needs to be examined and discussed in forthcoming studies.

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As it is explained above, the preliminary purpose of this study to elaborate the outcomes of Industrial Revolution on the Ottoman Balkans; and it has started with a working hypothesis: European competition was the main reason for emergence of small-scale Ottoman manufacturing as a reaction against them. Nevertheless, through the course of the research, the attention has shifted towards the internal dynamics. It was not a mere effect of the origin of the sources, which were written by Ottoman clerks. Rather, it is a matter of the theoretical approach adopted towards Ottoman economic history. Social, economic, and legal institutions are emphasized more with respect to their capacity to form new modes of manufacturing activities. Therefore, the second and third chapters of this study are devoted to explain the internal factors which led to the emergence of the proto-industries.

Chapter Two contextualizes Plovdiv villages in the broader economic geography in which they are located. Here, it is argued that the physical and human geography provided the ideal setting for the emergence of proto-industrial manufacturing in these villages. They were located in high valleys between mountain ranges, which were not very far from important commercial centres. This semi-sheltered location enabled two contradictory facilities at the same time: On the one hand, they sustained necessary commercial links for exports, on the other hand they had room for protection from foreign competition and also from urban craft regulations. This ideal location was combined with necessary population density. Existing demographic figures of the period show that Plovdiv villages were quite densely populated compared to many other rural, and even urban, centres. This was definitely not coincidental; demographic growth starting with the late eighteenth century and the upland migration movement created these densely populated upland villages.

Furthermore, this study shows that the fiscal burdens on manufacturing were not heavier than for agriculture; and in some cases even lighter. Manufacturers did not make extra tax payments. Thus, it may also stand as an explanation of concentration on manufacturing in the context of nineteenth century, since the new fiscal regime increased the tax burdens on agrarian classes in this period.

These exceptional settlements represent a total break from traditional agrarian societies. Their economies were relied heavily on manufacturing and they were highly prosperous compared to many agrarian villages. The income and taxation figures of these villages clearly demonstrate their wealth. These figures also show the source of this wealth; the economic activity creating the highest revenues was manufacturing. A particular branch of textile production was the most profitable among them, namely, weaving of woollen-textiles. Therefore, this result also proves that ethno-religious biases on wealth was not true for this context. Non-Muslim inhabitants of Karlova were wealthier than Muslims not because of their religious affiliation, but because of their concentration of woollen textiles.

Nevertheless, the question of prosperity should be evaluated with respect to different classes. The study underlines the income inequalities within the populations. Although the average annual incomes around 1000 *guruş* represents a good condition for this era, one must notice that majority of the population was concentrated on lower income levels. Furthermore, this was the total revenue of the household, in other words, sum of the revenues of an unknown number of people constituting the household labour. Considering the population density, average income per person should have remained quite lower. One can fairly claim that the prosperity yielded through textiles was enjoyed by a few outside this household labour.

Chapter Three analyzes the landholding regime and the agrarian practices in order to explain the institutional basis of the proto-industries. It is mainly argued that land shortage and lack of sufficient agrarian income directly caused the emergence of manufacturing in these villages. Proto-industrialization theses have been pointing the causal links between landholding and land use regimes on the one hand, and the emergence of rural manufacturing on the other. Karlova, Kalofer and Sopot also prove this trend. Thanks to the Income Surveys, the immensely detailed information about land types, sizes and revenues create the chance to study the local economies in relation to their land regimes.

The institutional context stimulating this land regime is explained by giving specific references to legal and political revolutions dating back to the beginning of the eighteenth century, or even earlier. Commodification of land and agrarian production constituted the main pillar of this process. Strengthening of the local power holder-cum-landlords by the fiscal crisis led to deprivation of many peasants from their land. The empirical research shows that Plovdiv countryside was characterized overwhelmingly by landlessness. A high proportion, and in some villages the majority, of the population was totally deprived of land. For the rest, small landholding was prevalent. Average size of land per household was around 3 *dönüm*s.

Consequently, landless peasants were incapable of making adequate amount of agrarian production. Agriculture could fulfil neither subsistence level, nor commercial purposes. Traditional Ottoman premise of provisioning of the society was gradually being replaced by a market economy. People could not provide food by their own production. A high portion of Plovdiv rural inhabitants were not making agricultural production at all. Besides, local economies of Plovdiv villages were also

incapable of meeting food demand. Self-sufficient local economies were disappearing. Total amount of agrarian production remained in a very low level to feed the village populations. These people were exchanging their manufactured goods in the market in return for food. Similarly, this inadequate agrarian supply also eliminated commercial farming as an option for making a living. The amount of agrarian output cannot be expected to meet commercial aims, since it could hardly cover the subsistence of its producer. A further analysis on the types of crops also supports this claim. Commercial crops did not constitute an important part of the total agrarian output of Plovdiv villages. Another way of analysis of the agrarian economy is the degree of merchants' involvement in transaction of agrarian outputs. Survey data shows that within the total populations of these three villages, there was only one merchant dealing with commercial agriculture, who was trading rice. Due to the institutional agrarian setting -with heavy tax, rent and labour obligations-, manufacturing should have been more profitable compared to agrarian production.

Chapter Four depicts a comprehensive portrait of the organization of rural manufacturing in Karlova, Kalofer, and Sopot. Income Surveys provide a significant level of qualitative and quantitative information in terms of the weight of textiles in village economies as well as the internal components of the textile sector. Namely, the specialization for different branches within the textile sector, economic composition of the textile-related earnings, labour organization, and the commercial networks are analyzed. It is argued that textiles became the dominant economic activity of Plovdiv villages in this context of merchant-led, market-oriented putting out system.

This study shows that textile production alone has been the dominant economic activity of these villages. The sum of the textile manufacturing incomes constituted

almost half of the total incomes in respective villages. In addition, the majority of the workforce was occupied in textile production. There were also a significant number of households subsisting only on textile production. These mountain villages demonstrate a totally different social and economic organization compared to the agrarian villages in the Balkans.

The internal organization of textile manufacturing represents a colourful and vivid portrait of an economic organization in the mid-nineteenth century. It also demonstrates the differences of these cases from earlier examples of rural manufacturing. These proto-industrial villages are heavily concentrated on a specific type of textile production, namely, woollen weaving. Specialization enabled large-scale production and thus competition in outward markets. *Aba,* and especially *gaytan* acquired a significant demand not only from regional Balkan markets, but also from Istanbul, Central Europe, Russia and even overseas markets. Therefore, the production and trading organization gained new forms under the market-oriented economies of the nineteenth century. Labour organization, provision of productive tools and material and trading of goods represented a complex network including several actors with various degrees of involvement.

Labour force occupied in Plovdiv putting out industries demonstrated at least three interrelated and coexisting modes of labour organization. The first one can be analyzed according to the access to means of production. Possession of shops and production tools was an important indicator for the placement of labour force in the production process. Shopkeepers were usually very few and represented the wealthiest group. Majority of the textile occupants, on the other hand, did not have any access to means of production. Their income was declared as “from his craft”, which probably corresponded to wage-labour or piece-wages as a source of living.

The second type of labour organization stemmed from the guild system. Although in a decline in mid-nineteenth century, guild organization was trying to adapt itself to the market incentives. Guild membership continued among the putting-out merchants. Master-apprentice relations remained, though in novel forms in which master evolved into a status of entrepreneur-cum-merchant and apprentice was being diminished into a wage labourer. Income inequalities among those of different status were deepening. The third form of labour organization was the family economy. Putting-out industries were usually settled within households, thus, family members actively participated in the production process. They were gradually getting bound to market incentives, yet, with an effort to preserve the subsistence of the family. Female and infant labour were probably the most vulnerable parts of the labour force. Adaptation of the rural economies to the new setting of the nineteenth century was clearly based on a high human cost.

This study argues that commercial organization had a principal effect over the Plovdiv proto-industries. The production process was heavily relied on, and in a sense was dependent on, the commercial organization in the region. The local and foreigner traders controlled, organized, and upheld the textile production in rural households in varying degrees. Up to the degree of influence created by the merchants, there were different types of proto-industries in Plovdiv villages. Some merchants were purchasing the finished good from the manufacturer to sell them in market. They were only acting as intermediaries between producer and the market, whereas some other merchants were also involved in the production process. In some cases, they were providing a number of productive tools and material. The most powerful merchants were semi-industrial entrepreneurs. They were dealing with the organization of the workforce within households or small workshops. The available

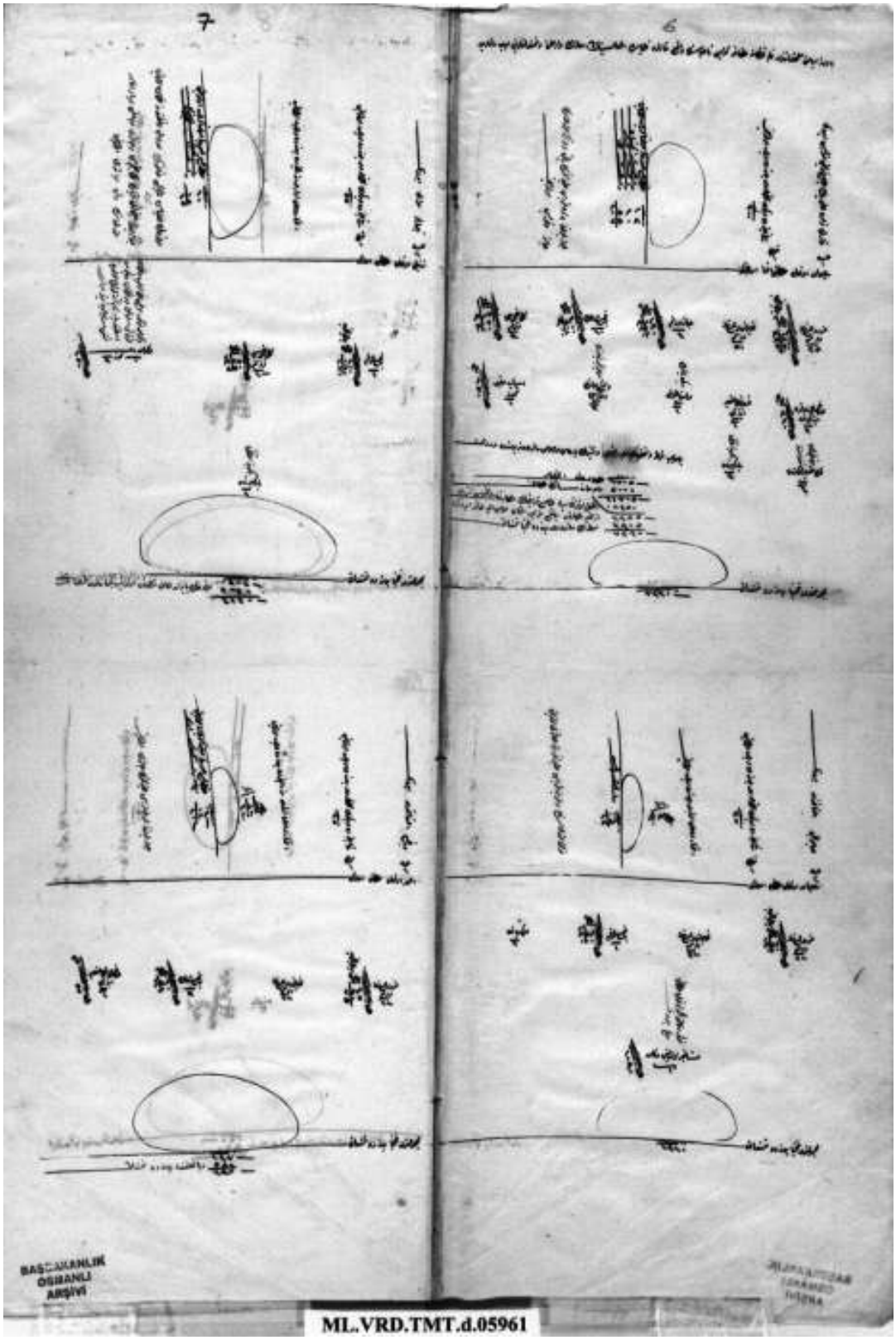
research shows that merchants and producers were in a complex interaction including credit relations and large-scale orders. Further studies could provide new insights to the relations between actual merchants and producers in this organization.

APPENDICES

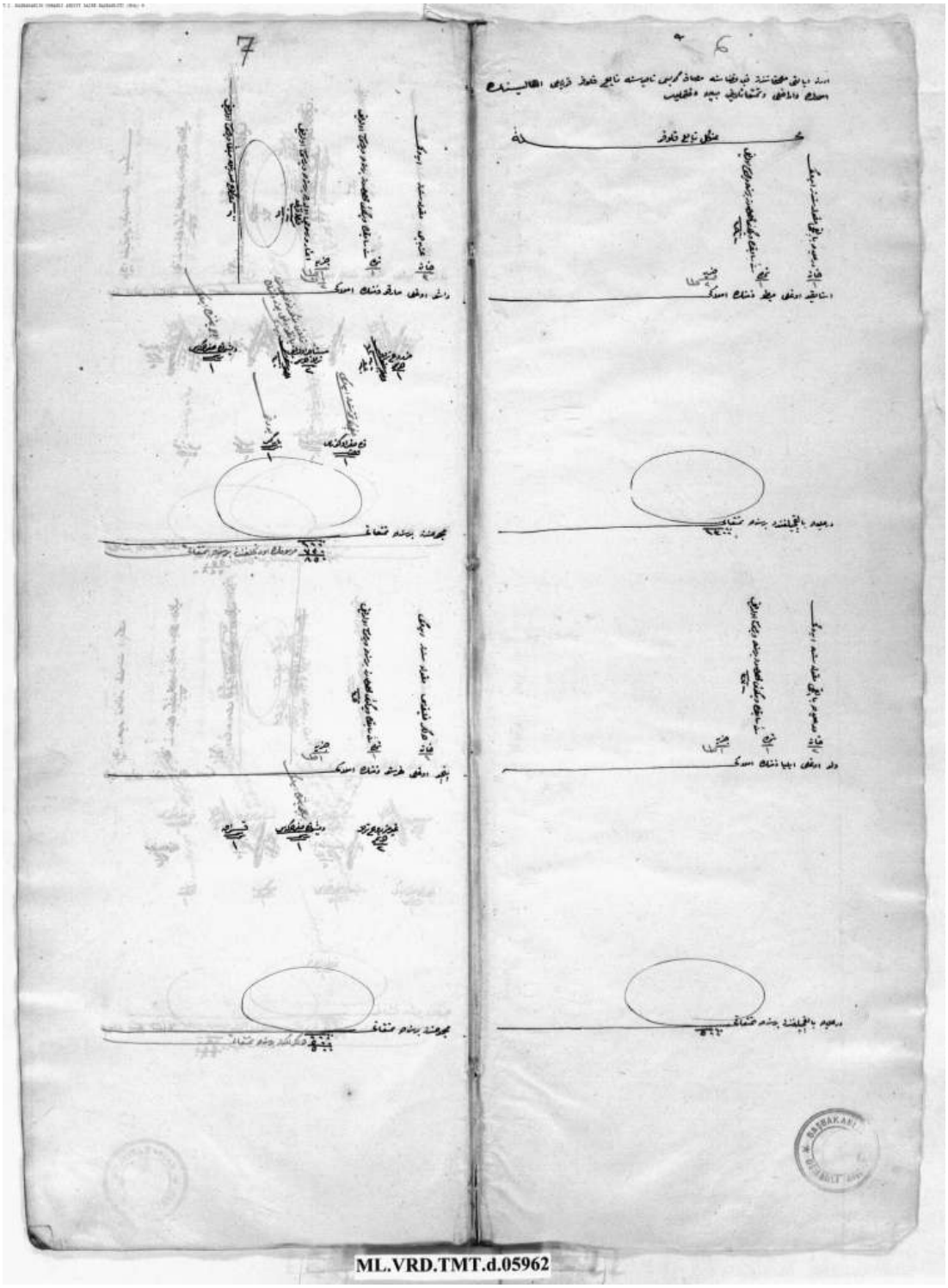
APPENDIX A: A Detail from the Map of Plovdiv

1. A detail from the map of Plovdiv, which shows the *nahiye* of Göpsi, dated 1279/1863. Karlova, Kalofer and Akçakilise [Sopot] are pointed on the map. (BOA. HRT. h. 220.)

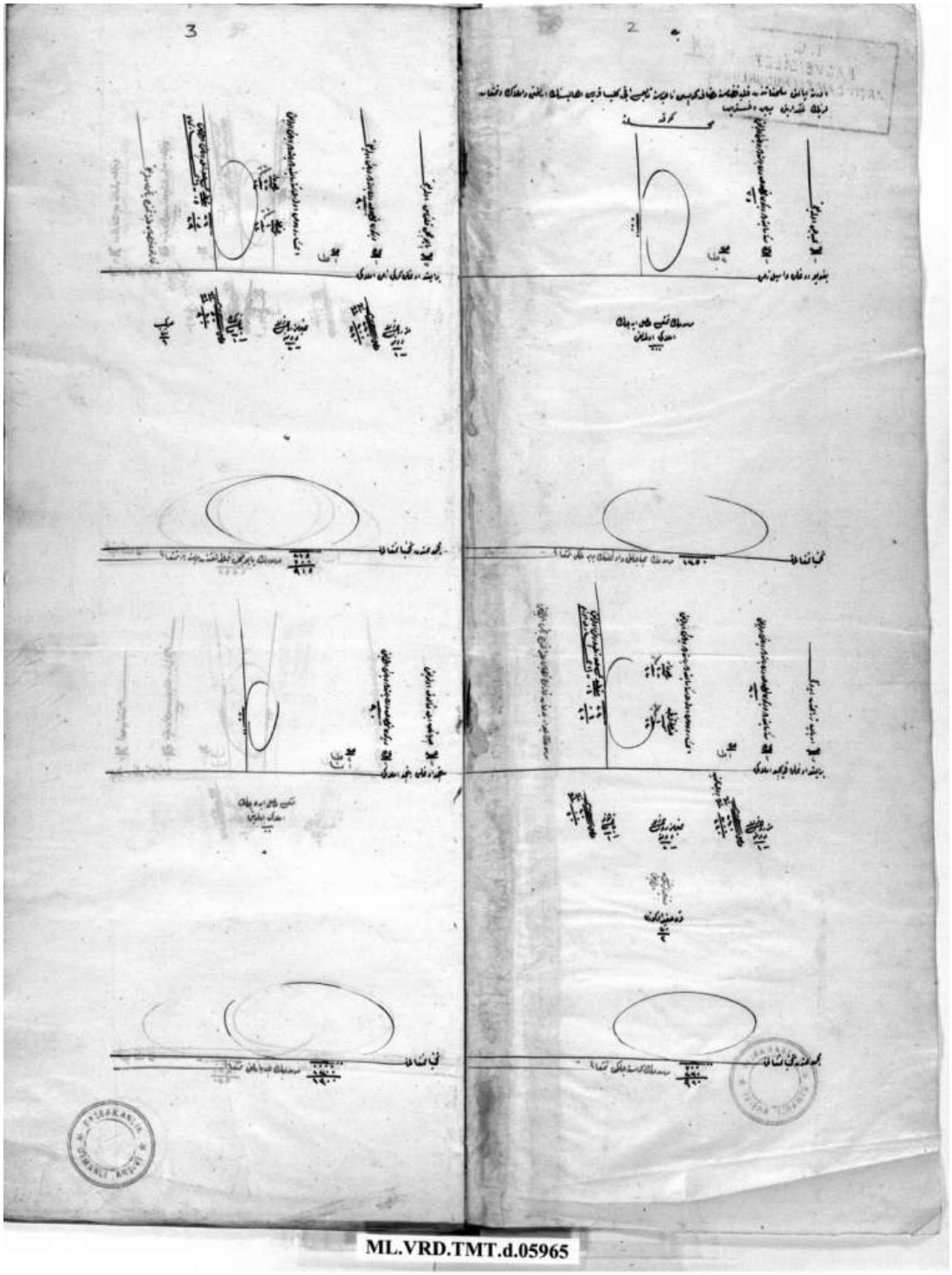
APPENDIX B: Selected Pages from the Income Surveys



1. The first page of Karlova survey book. (BOA. ML. VRD. TMT. d. 5961).



2. The first page of Kalofer survey book. (BOA. ML. VRD. TMT. d. 5962).



3. The first page of Sopot survey book. (BOA. ML. VRD. TMT. d. 5965)

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A. MKT. 116/59.

A. MKT. MHM. 308/95.

A. MKT. NZD. 58/27.

C. İKTS. 2/72.

C. İKTS. 3/113.

C. İKTS. 20/972.

C. İKTS. 27/1315.

HAT. 1445/59407.

HR. MKT. 227/68.

HRT. h. 220

ML. VRD. TMT. d. 5961.

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