

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF 1844's BURSA
ACCORDING TO *TEMETTUAT* REGISTER

by

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ABSTRACT

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History, M. A. Thesis

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Keywords: Occupational structure, History of Work, *Temettuat* Register, Income Inequality, Honorific Titles; *Ağrı*, *Bey*, *Derviş*, *Efendi*, *Hacı*, *Hafız*, *Molla*, *Seyyid*, *Şeyh*

This thesis presents a snapshot of 1844 Bursa's city center in terms of occupational structure, income inequality and social status. All the data was taken from Bursa's *temettuat* register. *Temettuat* registers consist of several different information including occupations, annual income, honorific titles, properties, rents, annual taxes, ethno-religious identities and employment statuses of each household head.

My analysis corroborates the hypothesis that there is a strong relation among occupational structure, income level and honorific titles. In this regard, this thesis first describes the relationship between occupational structure and income level. The second analysis concerns with income inequality within and among certain groups including occupational, income and ethno-religious groups. The third point will consider the relationship between having honorific titles, occupational structure and income level.

It must also be noticed that because silk industry had an important place for the economy of Bursa, my analysis about occupational structure, income inequality and social status will include silk sector as well.

ÖZET

TEMETTUAT DEFTERLERİNE GÖRE BURSA'NIN

SOSYO-EKONOMİK YAPISI

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Anahtar Kelimeler: Mesleki yapı, Meslek Tarihi, Temettuat Defterleri, Gelir Eşitsizliği, Ünvanlar; *Ağa, Bey, Derviş, Efendi, Hacı, Hafız, Molla, Seyyid, Şeyh*

Bu tez, 1844 yılı Bursa şehir merkezindeki nüfusu mesleki yapı, gelir eşitsizliği ve sosyal statü odaklı betimleyeci bir içerik sunmaktadır. Tüm veriler 1844 Bursa temettuat defterlerinden alınmıştır. Temettuat defterleri genel anlamda her hane reisi için mesleki bilgi, yıllık gelir, ünvan, mal, kiralardır, yıllık vergi, etnik dini kimlik ve çalışma statusu gibi bir takım bilgiler ihtiva eder.

Tezdeki analizler genel anlamda mesleki yapı, gelir durumu ve sosyal statü arasında bir ilişki olduğu yönündeki hipotezi destekler. Bunun için ilk olarak mesleki yapı ve gelir dağılımı üzerinde durulmuştur. İkinci analiz mesleki, gelir ve etnik-dini gruplar içinde ve arasında gelir eşitsizliğiyle ilgilidir. Üçüncü nokta ise ünvanlar, mesleki yapı ve gelir durumu arasındaki ilişkiyi tasvir etmeye yönelikdir.

Son olarak şunu da belirtmeliyim ki Bursa'nın ekonomik yapısı içinde ipek endüstrisinin önemi dolayısıyla mesleki yapı, gelir eşitsizliği ve sosyal statü ile ilgili analizler ipek sektörünü de içermektedir.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

19th century was an important milestone in Ottoman history when the Empire's struggle to survive is considered. My thesis presents a snapshot of socio-economic conditions of Bursa in that context, specifically of the 1840s. Analyzing the *temettuat* register of 1844 Bursa, ultimately, I aim to describe the economic conditions of ordinary people by looking their occupations, income level and social status.

The thesis will first discuss the occupations of 1844's Bursa in Chapter 2. Together with a description of the occupational structure, "the relation" between occupational structure and income level will be discussed as well. This chapter is built on certain factors such as employment status and ethno-religious identities which could have had effects on occupational choices and income levels to the extent that the *temettuat* register provides.

The second issue in the thesis, which will be dealt with in Chapter 3 concerns with income inequality among and within occupational, income and religious groups. Firstly, a general contextualization of Bursa in terms of income inequality will be described. Secondly, there will be observations from the *temettuat* register about income inequality within occupational, ethno-religious and title groups in 1844's Bursa. It will give an opportunity to compare income inequalities among certain groups. These will bring us to conclude that income was distributed unequally among the citizens of Bursa.

The fourth chapter will question whether there was a relationship between holding honorific title(s) and socio-occupational and economic condition, specifically occupational structure and income level. From the *temettuat* register, individual identification titles are analyzed in order to describe and compare occupations and income levels of the title holders and those who did not bear title. Thus, firstly; holding titles had bearing in occupational choices or occupational choices had a role in holding specific titles and secondly; income level had also served a function in title holding will be shown.

However, before dwelling upon these three points, I shall first briefly present related theoretical issues. Following the theoretical issues, I will describe the data on which this research is based and the methodology. Then, I will present an overview of the 19th century Ottoman political economy, and finally I will present a description of Bursa until 1840s.

1.1.Theoretical Approaches

Although the aim of this study is not about examining the validity of Kuznetsian Economic Growth hypothesis for Ottoman Bursa in the Early Tanzimat Era, I should notice that the literature about historical occupational structure and income inequality often stresses the importance of his ideas about the transition period between pre-modern and modern economies. The basics of his ideas about occupational structure and income inequality can be summarized as, first, occupational structure during the transition period shifted from agricultural occupations to non-agricultural occupations, and second, income inequality first increases during the early stages of Kuznets' U-Shape Curve.¹

However, I should stress that all the analyzes are not going to be connected with Kuznets' Modern Economic Growth Theory. Since I do not have an opportunity to show transformation because my sole source is *temettuat* register, I only want to describe 1844 Bursa's occupations and inequality "bearing in mind" the modern economic growth theory.

1.2.The Data

The basis of this thesis is the *temettuat* register of Bursa which includes more than 150 documents as booklets from Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives between ML.VRD.TMT.d7362 and ML.VRD.TMT.d17608 which was recorded only in 1844-45. All the data are taken from Mustafa Erdem Kabadayı's TUBİTAK project on introduction to the occupational structure of Turkey between 1840 and 1940.² Together with Bursa *temettuat* registers, registers of a number of other Anatolian and Balkan cities are currently being studied by M. E. Kabadayı within the scope of this project.

As for Bursa, basically, there are 7917 household heads who lived in the city center of Bursa recorded in the register. It can be estimated from the *temettuat* that 60.86 per cent of the total household heads were Muslim in 1844's Bursa. Table 1.1. shows the demographic structure of Bursa according to the *temettuat* registers.

¹Simon Kuznets and John Thomas Murphy, *Modern Economic Growth: Rate, Structure, and Spread* (Yale University Press New Haven, 1966)., *passim*

² Project Number: 112K271, Project Leader: Assoc. Prof. Mustafa Erdem Kabadayı, Project Title: *Yeni Yöntemler Ve Bakış Açıları Işığında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Meslekler Tarihine Giriş (1840 - 1940)* Institution: İstanbul Bilgi University History Department.

Table 1.1. Demography of Bursa according to the *temettuat* register

Demographic Groups	Population
Armenians	1621
Catholic Christians	98
Jews	364
Muslims	4818
Orthodox Christians	988
Others	28
Men Total	7379
Women Total	438
Grand Total	7917

New tax policies of Tanzimat Era can provide a meaningful understanding with regard to the reason why Porte needed these new records which had never been kept before or after 1844-45.³ In a typical “detailed” (*mufassal*) *temettuat* register, we find for each household the occupations and names and titles of the heads of the households, and, his father’s names and titles, annual income and tax, agricultural and animal properties and rents. There are also occupations recorded of other people living in the same house. According to Said Öztürk, the contents of *temettuat* registers can be grouped as four major parts. First, personal identifying information including the occupation(s) and title(s) of the head of the household, second, estates of each household head, third, incomes, and fourth, taxes.⁴ In most of the analysis below, I will base the information on occupations, incomes and titles of each household heads.

In the first part of this research, I will first review the occupational structure of 1844’s Bursa. It should be noted in the first place that the *temettuat* register provides 538 different occupations while the total population of the household heads is 7917. A more detailed analysis of occupations will be done in the second chapter.

³ Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal Ve İktisadi Tarihi Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri," *Belleten* 59, no. 225 (1995), pp.395-397

⁴ Said Öztürk, "Türkiye'de Temettuat Çalışmaları," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2003), p.288

Secondly, differences in income within different occupational, ethno-religious and employment groups will shed light to the distribution of total income that was earned annually by all people of Bursa. In that respect, the *temettuat* register indicates that 88.38 per cent of the total population had an income in 1844's Bursa.

As it was stated earlier, my third question revolves around titles and occupations, and through this, I will be examining whether we can say something about the relationship between social status and economic conditions of household heads. Through this question, I will compare nine different titles that we encounter in the *temettuat* register; namely *effendi*, *ağa*, *bey*, *şeyh*, *molla*, *derviş*, *hafız*, *hacı* and *seyyid*. There are 1469 people recorded in the *temettuat* register who bore at least one title. Although most of them hold one title, there are also some people who bore two and three titles at the same time. These numbers will be given in Chapter 4 in detail.

1.2.1. Women in the *Temettuat* Register

Men and women in this thesis were analyzed together because it seems that every woman household head was a widow and her name was linked to her dead husband, her man-child or her father. For instance; *mumâileyh hazretlerinin halilesi Hasibe hatun*, *merkumun zevcesi Ayşe Hatun bint Abdullah*, and *müteveffa Mustafa zevcesi Şerife Hatun*, can be three examples among 438 women as demonstrated in Table 1.1.

It should be noticed that 27.77 per cent of the women did not declare an income. In that regard, the average income of women household heads was 204.14 *guruş*. The *temettuat* register shows that all women in Bursa were unemployed and their annual income was far lower than men. Most probably, most of their annual incomes were from rents of inherited houses, shops or lands. It must also be noticed although there is no indication in the *temettuat* register that some of the incomes of women was from home production for the market.

The *temettuat* register shows that most of the women who were household heads were Muslims. It is interesting that there was no Catholic and Jewish woman recorded in the *temettuat* register of 1844's Bursa. Since the overall population of Catholics was few in number which is only 98 household heads, non-existence of Catholic women can be comprehensible. However, the explanations for the non-existence of Jewish women are open to speculations. Table 1.2. shows income levels and ethno-religious identities of women to the extent that they could be detected.

Table 1.2. Women in the *temettuat* register

Ethno-Religions	Average Income (<i>guruş</i>)	Population
Armenians	132.66	15
Catholic Christians	0.00	0
Jews	0.00	0
Muslims	182.62	349
Orthodox Christians	328.14	70
Others	180.00	4
Total Women	204.14	438
Overall Total	599.24	7917

Moreover, because all women in the *temettuat* register did not have an occupation, relationship between social status of women and occupations cannot be shown. Rather, social status of women can be described and connected with their income level.

Temettuat register shows on the one hand that non-muslim woman did not bear titles, or, their titles were not recorded. On the other hand, the great majority of Muslim women bore *hatun* title while there are very limited numbers of *hanım* titled women. While *hanım* could have used as name, as some examples shows in the *temettuat* register like "*mumaileyh hazretlerinin zevcesi hanım hatun*" it is obvious that *hanım* as a title or name used by wealthier women. The average income of *hanıms* was 520.00 *guruş* while all other Muslim women's average income was 165.50 *guruş*.

1.3.Methodology

In the second chapter, in order to group occupations according to their functions as professions, I used Cambridge PST system of classifying occupations. HISCO⁵ can be another tool for these kinds of works; however, due to pragmatic reasons I chose PST system of classifying occupations. PST groups all occupations according to their social and economic functions such as agricultural professions, religious professions, educational or service

⁵ MHD van Leeuwen, Ineke Maas, and Andrew Miles, *Hisco: Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002)., *passim*

industry.⁶ Moreover, PST system classifies occupations based on certain organizational principles. Primary, Secondary and Tertiary groups are the basics of this system. Simply, primary occupations refer to agriculture and forestry, secondary occupations refer manufacture and industry related occupations and tertiary occupations refer to services, dealers and sellers.

As for the method used in Chapter3, it should be mentioned that income inequality can be measured by several indexes like the Gini Coefficient, Theil Index, Mean Logarithmic Deviation and Standard Deviation of Logarithm. In this study, *Gini Coefficient* was used due to several reasons including its prevalence among some other works. This will give an opportunity to compare my analyses with global trends in the 19th century. On the other hand, a basic level of statistics was used in order to group titles in Chapter 4.

1.4.The Political Economy of 19th Century Ottoman Empire

The era on which my thesis focuses was an interesting period for Ottoman history in terms of its struggle to survive in the changing conditions in world politics due to imperialism and nationalism. Besides imperialism and nationalism, internal dynamics also affected the Empire's politics and economy.

Although the first half of “the longest century of the Empire” witnessed important changes in economy, politics and law, historians working on 19th century Ottoman economy generally, tend to assume that it changed only in the second half of the 19th century. However, there were many important changes which could have directly affected the economy in the first half of the 19th century. For example, while the Baltalimanı Agreement created a more open and liberal market to the Empire⁷, *Tanzimat* Edict's tax reforms also introduced important changes. In the great schema of things for the 19th century, Şevket Pamuk estimates a rupture for the political economy of the Empire starting from 1820s, specifically with the abolition of the Janissary Corps in 1826.⁸ During that period, there are also some attempts by the state to regulate ongoing economic deficiencies. In 1826 for instance, *Evkâf* and *İhtisab Nezâreti* were established as one of the most important components of economic affairs.

⁶ For detailed information, see; E Anthony Wrigley, "The Pst System of Classifying Occupations," *Unpublished paper, Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, University of Cambridge* (2011). Accessed from; <http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/britain19c/papers/paper1.pdf>

⁷ Zafer Toprak, "İktisat Tarihi," in *Türkiye Tarihi, Cilt Iii, Osmanlı Devleti (1600–1908)*, ed. Sina Akşin (Ankara: Cem Yayıncılığı, 2000)., p.222

⁸ Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık Ktisat Tarihi* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayıncılığı, 2012)., pp.62-90

Changes can also be identified in economic thought in the first half the 19th century. Liberal economic thought started to prevail among Ottoman intelligentsia in that period. In one of the first political economy books which were written in 1830s, Archigenes stressed the importance of liberal economy.⁹ Moreover, Sahak Abru's translation of *Traité d'économie Politique*¹⁰ into Ottoman language during that period gives an important clue on the changing nature of Ottoman economic thought at that time. Changes in economic discourse can give important information regarding the context on the political economy in the first half of the 19th century Ottoman Empire.

Moreover, when considered that changes in politics, law and economics were not independent of each other, political environment also seems to have affected the economic policy of the Sublime Porte. Especially nationalism must have affected the political economy because it is obvious that nationalism resulted in mass land losses for the Empire especially in the Balkans. In this regard, it can be suggested that cost of wars with nationalists and mass land losses especially from Balkans could have influenced the economy negatively. In all likelihood, economic situation could have affected the political economy in a way that this can be the reason why tax regulations of Tanzimat Edict were seen necessary. Moreover, like abolition of Janissary Army, and nationalisms, cost of wars with *Kavalali* had also affected the economy, so, it could have influenced the general political economy as well in this period.

1.5.Bursa

Bursa is located on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara. The most significant reason why this thesis focuses on Bursa is the importance of the city in the Ottoman history especially when its historical economic geography is considered. It was the first capital of Ottoman state between 1326 and 1402. The city had been one of the most important trade centers between east and west since medieval times. It can be said that adjacency to Constantinople/Istanbul increased the importance of the city during the eras of Byzantium and Ottoman Empires. Spices, sugar and dyes were important commodities for Bursa, however, the most important one was silk.

Since silk trade and production had been the most important economic activities in Bursa throughout the middle ages to the modern eras, most works that reference to economic

⁹ M Erdem Ozgur and Hamdi Genc, "An Ottoman Classical Political Economist: Sarantis Archigenes and His *Tasarrufat-ı Mülkiye*," *Middle Eastern Studies* 47, no. 2 (2011)., pp.329-341

¹⁰ Jean Baptiste Say, *Traité D'économie Politique: Ou Simple Exposition De La Manière Dont Se Forment, Se Distribuent Et Se Consomment Les Richesses*, vol. 9 (O. Zeller, 1846).

life of Bursa are either about silk trade, manufacture or production. For instance Ibn Batuta mentions in 1324 that Bursa was an important place for silk market even in the Byzantine era.¹¹ Çizakça presents Bursa as a very important center of silk trade and industry during the period 1550-1650.¹² He also mentions that the distinguishing character of Bursa's silk designs was the combination of many countries' characteristics and a most tasteful synthesis of all. The excellent quality of Bursa silk was coming from this.¹³ Halil İnalçık also stresses the importance of Bursa in terms of silk trade and industry.¹⁴ In the 16th century there were several foot-operated treadle-reels, *mancinik*, and spool-winders as well as hand-operated looms and silk twisting machines in the city of Bursa.¹⁵ These machines had maintained their importance until French capitalism was introduced to the economic life of Bursa in the 19th century.¹⁶ It can be said that international silk trade from Bursa maintained its importance during the 17th century although there seems to be a competition with Persian Silk. As far as the late 18th century is considered, it seems that Bursa's share of international silk trade decreased because silk from the Far East replaced Ottoman silk when European and English imports were concerned.¹⁷ Canbakal notices that during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Bursa encountered deindustrialization.¹⁸ However, Çizakça notices that this decline in European demand for Ottoman raw silk seems to have had positive effects on silk cloth production in Bursa because raw silk prices must have declined with exports fallings.¹⁹ This view is also supported by Mehmet Genç's analyses of silk cloth production in Bursa. He asserts that silk cloth production increased between 1750-1830.²⁰

¹¹ N Gunaydin and R Kaplanoglu, "Seyahatnamelerde Bursa," *Bursa Ticaret Borsası Yayınları, Altan Matbabacılık, Bursa* (2000), pp.20-25

¹² Murat Çizakça, "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550–1650," *The Journal of Economic History* 40, no. 03 (1980), p.533

¹³ "A Short History of the Bursa Silk Industry (1500-1900)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient Leiden* 23, no. 1-2 (1980), p.145

¹⁴ Halil Inalcik, "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire," *The Journal of Economic History* 29, no. 01 (1969).,*passim*

"Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (1960).,*passim*

¹⁵ Çizakça, "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550–1650."p.547

¹⁶ Leila T Erder, *The Making of Industrial Bursa* (University Microfilms, 1979)., Chapter 3

¹⁷ Ralph Davis, "English Imports from the Middle East, 1580-1780," *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East: from the rise of Islam to today. Oxford University Press, New York and London* (1970), p.197

¹⁸ Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin, "Wealth and Inequality in Ottoman Central Lands in the Early Modern Period," (2014), p.4

¹⁹ Çizakça, "A Short History of the Bursa Silk Industry (1500-1900).", p150

²⁰ Mehmet Genç, "Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikane Sistemi," *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri, Metinler/Tartışmalar* (8-10 Haziran 1973) (1975).p.291 cited in Çizakça, "A Short History of the Bursa Silk Industry (1500-1900).", p.150

Donald Quataert on the other hand, gives an important chronology for development of silk industry especially in the 19th century.²¹ Basically, what he estimates can be summarized as that during 1810s and 1820s, Bursa silk and mixed-silk cloth production reached record levels for the period c. 1750-1850 because of three factors:

"First, the Napoleonic wars gave Ottoman producers a respite from foreigners who had been buying up cocoons and raw silk and from the competition of European manufacturers. Second, new cloth fashions had emerged and were adopted by Ottoman weavers at the end of the 18th century... And third, there was a technological breakthrough in silk cloth finishing that took place just a little later, around the turn of the century. The technological innovation involved replacing the so-called fire-finishing process with stone-finishing."²²

As for 1840s, Quataert's findings from British consul reports show that between 1840-1857 Bursa annually produced 12.000-20.000 pieces of silk-cotton cloth for dresses and other products while it was 100.000 pieces during 1810s and 1820s.²³ So, it can be said that silk cloth production levels rose sharply in the 1810s and 1820s and then fell back down during the 1830s and 1840s. It should be noted that Çizaka explains that sharply rose during the 1810s and 1820s with declining raw silk prices with de-industrialization as it was stated above. However, Quataert's three factors about that sharply rose do not include the positive effect of de-industrialization to the domestic silk trade and silk cloth production.

What is important for the first half of the 19th century silk industry of Bursa, as all the literature mentioned including Quataert, Inalcık and Çizakça, is that mechanized silk production was introduced with the help of foreign investors,²⁴ especially, the French with 1830s.²⁵ For example, after the first silk factory was established in 1838, several factories were established through the 1840s, and in the middle of the 1850s, 3,800 people were employed at these manufactories.²⁶ Moreover, there were also several individual silk producers and traders in 1840s Bursa which can be observed from the *temettuat* registers in detail. However, in this study, not only silk producers and traders, but other occupations, from agriculturalists to people in service industry will be dealt with.

²¹Quataert, Donald. *Ottoman manufacturing in the age of the industrial revolution*. Vol. 30. Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp.107-133

²²Ibid., p.110

²³Ibid., p.110

²⁴Sevilay Kaygalak, *Kapitalizmin Taşrası: 16. Yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıla Bursa'da Toplumsal Süreçler Ve Mekansal Değişim* (İletişim Yayınları, 2008)., p.137

²⁵Çizakça, "A Short History of the Bursa Silk Industry (1500-1900).", p.150

²⁶"Bursa-Tarih," in *Yurt Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1982)., p.1645

Another issue about economic history of Bursa can be traced by the changes in individual fortunes. As far as they are considered, from 16th to the second half of the 19th century, Canbakal asserts that despite many fluctuations in total fortunes according to probate inventories during the period covered, Bursa remained one of the most important centers of commerce and manufacture in the Ottoman Empire.²⁷

Canbakal and Filiztekin's work which covers probate inventories of seven cities in Anatolia and Balkans enables a comparative analysis of Bursa from 16th century to the first half of the 19th century with Diyarbekir, Antep, Kayseri, Trabzon, Manisa and Manastir. They underlined four different periods from 16th century. Respectively; 1500-1560, 1580-1640, 1660-1760 and 1780-1840. It is important for Bursa while the mean wealth was upward in the first three periods (1500-1760), it is downward for the fourth period²⁸ which "somewhat" includes the period this thesis focuses. The estimations that there was a downward trend in net wealth between 1780 and 1840 can be attributed to the de-industrialization process. However, decrease in net wealth, de-industrialization and so the decline in European demand for raw silk seems to have paved way to more silk cloth production in the late 18th and early 19th century Bursa because raw silk prices must have declined with export fallings as stated earlier. Moreover, there are also some other factors in this growth especially during the 1810s and 1820s which Quataert mentioned as it was noticed earlier. So, with the combination of several factors, it is obvious that 1810s and 1820s Bursa encountered a boom in the silk cloth industry, but it declined again during 1830s and 1840s.

Therefore, in the period of early Tanzimat Bursa, it seems that net wealth was lower than that of a hundred years ago. Also, the importance of raw silk trade and silk cloth production were not as important as the period until the second half of the 18th century and during the silk cloth production boom in 1810s and 1820s. In return, this period is important in terms of mechanization of silk industry because 1840s were the first stages of the introduction of the mechanization of silk production.

All in all, one of the most significant reasons why this research is focused on 19th century Bursa is the importance of Bursa as one of the centers of international and domestic trade and manufacture in the Ottoman lands. Although there are several works on social and economic history of Bursa, the relationship between three specific issues have never been

²⁷ Hülya Canbakal, "Wealth and Inequality in Ottoman Bursa, 1500-1840," in *New Perspectives in Ottoman Economic History*, Yale University November 9th-10th (2012)., p.5

²⁸ Canbakal and Filiztekin, "Wealth and Inequality in Ottoman Central Lands in the Early Modern Period.", p.7

studied before, that is, occupational structure, income inequality and social status. My thesis is the first attempt to understand this relationship.

CHAPTER 2

Occupations and Income Level in early Tanzimat Bursa

In the introduction, socio-economic structure of Bursa from 1500s to 1840s was described. In this part, my study is going to be examined in another context of discussion which is also related to the socio-economic structure of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. To clarify, occupations and income levels of 1844's Bursa is going to be discussed to the extent that *temettuat* data enables. In order to describe Bursa's socio-economic conditions from the data which include several different occupations, the analysis will be done with bearing in mind the modern economic growth debates, the term that was coined by Simon Kuznets.

2.1.The Data

What were taken from the *temettuat* register are, as it was stated earlier, income, occupations, ethno-religious structure, employment status and social status of each household head. From the income data, not only average income of the total household heads but also the average incomes of each sectoral group can be estimated. Our database from the *temettuat* register allows us to study 6381 people who had at least one occupation. In other words, we can estimate that 77.47 per cent of the total population was employed in 1844's city center of Bursa.

In this chapter, occupations and income levels are going to be studied because it seems that there is a strong relationship between the two. It can be expected that income levels vary based on one's occupation but there are also certain factors such as ethno-religious identities, employment status and titles and social status that income level varies according to. These factors cut across income differences between sectors. However, titles and social statuses of the heads of the households will be discussed in Chapter 4. Thus, two major factors which played important roles in the varying income levels as far as each sector is considered will be dwelled upon here.

To sum up, the ultimate aim of this chapter is to describe the occupations of 1844's Bursa. I will first describe each sector. Secondly, I will examine income levels in each sector. Then I will discuss the factors that had a direct role on varying income levels. Lastly, I will dwell on the silk industry which was an important source of income for 19th century Bursa.

2.1.1. Limitations of the Source

First point which should be stressed is that all households in this research include the people who lived in the city center. People in the countryside are not included. On the one hand, this may cause certain problems related to the precise number of people in agricultural occupations when agricultural sectors are thought to be more common in the countryside. On the other hand, that the city center had an important place in the agriculture based occupations will be noted in this regard.

Another major problem for this study is that, since the *temettuat* registers were compiled only for once, in 1844-45, it is not possible to see the change in the population of each sector if the *temettuat* registers are our sole source. We can, instead, compare each occupational group with one another. However, we can mention some other censuses which make a chronological comparison about occupational change possible. 1830 population census is one of the most well-known examples which include some occupational data. Although it seems that occupational data seems to appear sporadic, Raif Kaplanoğlu's work on 1830 census of Bursa describes the population of certain occupations as examples. Unfortunately there is no work about all occupations recorded in 1830 census of Bursa. Table 2.1 describes the population of some occupations in 1830 and in 1844.

Table 2.1. Populations of certain occupations in 1830 and 1844

Occupations	1830 Census²⁹	1844 <i>Temettuat</i> Register	Rate of Increase (%)
Barleycorn Seller (<i>Arpacı</i>)	30	18	-40.00
Medical Services (<i>Attar</i>)	81	50	-38.27
Itinerant Dealer(<i>Ayak Tiiccarı</i>)	5	17	340.00
Grocer (<i>Bakkal</i>)	51	48	-5.88
Cameleer (<i>Deveci</i>)	92	15	-83.75
Peddler (<i>Çerçi</i>)	33	52	63.46
Junk Dealer (<i>Eskici</i>)	138	109	-21.01
Clog Maker (<i>Nalinci</i>)	8	10	20.00

²⁹ The sources of the data about 1830 Population Census is taken from Raif Kaplanoğlu's analyzes: Raif Kaplanoğlu, *1830-1843 Yılları Nüfus Defterlerine Göre Bursa'nın Ekonomik Ve Sosyal Yapısı* (Bursa: Nilüfer Belediyesi, 2013)., p.96

Forester (<i>Oduncu</i>)	101	125	23.76
Hardwareman (<i>Nalbur</i>)	1	5	500.00
Moneychanger (<i>Sarraf</i>)	2	2	0.00
Commercial Agent (<i>Simsar</i>)	15	16	6.66
Merchant (<i>Tüccar</i>)	79	67	-15.19
Small Trader (<i>Yaymacı</i> , <i>Pazarcı</i>)	30	75	250.00
Grand Total	666	609	-8.56

Table 2.1 shows that while the population of certain occupations changed within 15 years, some remained the same. While there were 92 cameleer in 1830's Bursa, in 1844 it decreased to 15. In return, it can be seen from the table above that the number of small traders (*yaymacı* and *pazarcı*) including itinerant dealers (*ayak tüccarı*) increased. Furthermore, the population of certain occupations like commercial agents and moneychanger remained the same. Therefore, although this kind of analysis would be interesting, the *temettuat* register does not allow such comparisons by itself. In that regard, the sectoral distribution of certain groups only in 1844's Bursa, as much as the *temettuat* register provides, are going to be compared.

2.2.A General Description of Occupations and Income Levels in 1844's Bursa

Theoretically, the occupational structure of a society can easily be associated with Kuznetsian modern economic growth.³⁰ Kuznets argues that modern economic growth was driven by technological change³¹ and that during the transition period between pre-modern and modern economy, agricultural occupations and labor were replaced by non-agricultural ones with the contribution of technological developments. As Leigh Shaw-Taylor and E.A.Wrigley assert:

“In Kuznets' analysis, once modern economic growth took hold, it tended to be sustained indefinitely and he identified the original development of modern economic growth with the industrial revolution in Britain. Drawing on data from a range of countries during the period of their industrialization, Kuznets stated that the onset of modern economic growth was associated with major changes in the structure of an economy. During the transition period both the workforce and output of an economy shifted away from the dominance of

³⁰L. Shaw-Taylor, & Wrigley, E., "Occupationalstructure and Population Change.", p.1

Accessed via; <http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/abstracts/>

³¹ Simon Smith Kuznets, *Economic Growth and Structure: Selected Essays* (Heinemann, 1966).

agriculture - a general characteristic of poor or ‘under-developed’ economies - to the dominance of the non-agricultural sectors in both employment and output.”³²

Although the output of the economy in each sector cannot be studied depending only on the *temettuat* registers, percentage of the workforce employed in agricultural and non-agricultural sectors can be easily seen in these registers. To be more specific, Table 2.2 shows the population of each group of occupations (Primary, Secondary and Tertiary) as well as the ones which were sectorally unspecific and the number of people who were unemployed.

Table 2.2. Population of occupations in 1844’s Bursa according to PST System

Sectors	Population	Per Cent
Primary	748	9.45
Secondary	3018	38.12
Tertiary	2209	27.90
Without occupation & Unstated	1654	20.90
Sectorally Unspecific Occupation	288	3.64
Grand Total	7917	100.00

The PST System of Classifying Occupations was theorized by Wrigley and Shaw.³³ As it was already stated in Chapter 1, the primary occupations refer to agriculture and forestry, secondary occupations refer to final products, that is; manufacture and tertiary occupations refer to services and professions. While the total population comprises 7917 household heads as stated earlier, occupations of 77.47 per cent are indicated in the *temettuat* register. Furthermore, as it can be observed in the Table 2.2, while the percentage of people in the primary occupations was 9.45, it is 38.12 per cent for secondary sector and 27.90 for tertiary occupations. In the following part, each sector will be examined separately.

As for the beginning, a more detailed analysis including income and ethno-religious diversities can be as the following in addition to the information in the Table 2.2. It will be

³²Shaw-Taylor, "Occupationalstructure and Population Change"., p.1 accessed via;
<http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/abstracts/>

³³Leigh Shaw-Taylor and EA Wrigley, "The Occupational Structure of England C. 1750-1871: A Preliminary Report," *Cambridge, England: Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure* (2008); Leigh Shaw-Taylor and Amanda Jones, "The Male Occupational Structure of Northamptonshire 1777-1881: A Case of Partial De-Industrialization?," Available as paper 5.; LeighShaw-Taylor and E.A. Wrigley. "OccupationalStructure and Population Change."

shown that the average income level varies depending on sectors. For instance, while the total average income of primary occupations was 501.80 *guruş*, for Armenians who labored in primary sector it is 428.60 *guruş* and for Orthodox Christians, it is 563.00 *guruş*. For secondary sector, while the average income of Catholic Christians was 333.30 *guruş*, the average income of Muslims in this sector was 682.90 *guruş*. Table 2.3. shows these comparisons:

Table 2.3. The average incomes (*guruş*) of ethno-religious groups on sectoral basis

Sectors	Armenians	Catholics	Jews	Muslims	Orthodox Christians	Total Average
Primary	428.6	0.0	378.0	497.7	563.0	501.8
Secondary	559.3	333.3	538.8	682.9	716.6	649.5
Tertiary Dealers	969.2	1414.0	1248.8	1045.9	2068.6	1076.8
Tertiary Sellers	849.5	681.4	462.9	633.0	1302.2	749.3
Tertiary Services	494.1	2755.3	536.3	797.3	898.0	761.5
Tertiary Transport	287.1	0.0	342.9	567.9	964.4	527.2
Total Average	564.9	909.5	448.0	594.1	703.3	599.2

The reason for the differences in the income levels of ethno-religious identities cannot be easily identified. However, the main question indeed is; can the differences in the income levels be attributed to the ethno-religious differences? In other words, can we say that ethno-religious identities had a role on income level? If so, there must be social bias in the market such as unequal pricing and unequal wage setting due to the religion. Such an argument seems not to be possible although the *temettuat* register shows that income level “varies” in each ethno-religions. The one and most consistent answer to this question can be this: specific religious groups tend to specialize in different occupations. For instance there are no people recorded in the *temettuat* register other than Jews whose occupation is *kazzaz tiüccari* which can be grouped under tertiary dealers. In that regard, since the revenue receipt is different in each occupation, it can be said that income levels of each ethno-religious group are different as far as each sector is considered.

However, before taking occupational structure into consideration in detail, one more important point about the relationship between occupations and historical economic geography³⁴ should be added in order to understand the primary, secondary and tertiary occupations of 1844's Bursa. It is possible that occupations in Ottoman lands vary based on geography. There were differences in professions in Bursa and the other cities throughout the Empire. For instance, as noted earlier, Bursa had been specialized for silk trade from medieval times. When we think of the occupational structure, the role of silk industry cannot be underestimated. For example, while there were several rice cultivators in Filibe, in Bursa there was not even one household head who earned his keep with rice agriculture. Therefore, studying occupational structure cannot be independent from historical economic geography. While describing what primary, secondary and tertiary occupations were in 1844's Bursa, this issue must be paid a close attention.

2.3.Primary Occupations

As stressed above, Kuznetsian growth model anticipates that in the transition period between pre-modern and modern economies, workforce in the agricultural sector shifts to the non-agricultural sector. It is not possible to follow the evolution of the agricultural sector from pre-modern to the modern era with the help of the *temettuat* register. However, it can be estimated that agricultural sector had an important place in Ottoman Bursa even though we focus on urban residents only. For example, when agricultural sector in Bursa is compared to the British case according to the 1841 census in Britain, Bursa's percent of primary occupations seems lower. According to the census in 1841, 22.2% of the total population in Britain had primary occupations³⁵ while this percentage was 9.91% in the city center of Bursa. However, this comparison would be meaningless only if it is considered that British figure includes only countryside data. However, what we can estimate for Bursa is that, even 9.91 per cent shows that there was an active agricultural activity in the city center as well. Again, although we cannot know the exact number of people in primary occupations without studying countryside, there will be speculations about this issue in the remaining part of the present chapter; however the main goal of this part is to describe primary occupations of Bursa in 1844. To do so, the following table gives the average incomes and population of people who worked in the primary occupations in detail.

³⁴ Pierre-Philippe Combes, Thierry Mayer, and Jacques-François Thisse, *Economic Geography: The Integration of Regions and Nations* (Princeton University Press, 2008), *passim*

³⁵ LeighShaw-Taylor and E.A. Wrigley. "Occupational Structure and Population Change", p.1 taken from; <http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/abstracts/>

Table 2.4. Primary Occupations

Primary Occupations	Average Income	Population	Per Cent
Land Owner	1195.80	14	1.87
Laborer	468.90	510	68.18
Fisherman	317.50	8	1.07
Forester	466.50	131	17.51
Gardener	881.30	36	4.81
Shepherd	411.50	39	5.21
Stoneman	543.30	6	0.80
Others	1192.50	4	0.53
Total	501.80	748	100.00

First of all, it is important to ask what actually primary occupations were. According to the data of the *temettuat* register, in Bursa, there were approximately 538 different occupations. However, only 29 occupations can be described as primary occupations. It is possible to classify them all as follows: land owners or farmers (*erbâb-ı ziraat*, *eshâb-ı ziraat*, and *eshâb-ı çiftlikât*) laborers (*rençber*, *belci*, *işçi*, *gündelikçi*), fishermen (*balıkçı*), foresters (*ormancı*, *oduncu*, *hatab-kat’i*), gardeners (*bahçeci*, *bahçevan*, *bağcı*), shepherds (*coban*) and stonemasons (*taşçı*, *çakılçı*). Table 2.4 shows the population and average income of primary occupations according to this classification.

It is striking but not surprising that nearly 70 per cent of the population in the primary occupations was employed as laborers. On the other hand, only 1.87 percent of the population in the agricultural sector was land owners. Most probably, it was the difference between city center and countryside for Bursa. In the countryside, that most of the population in primary occupations were probably landowners would not be surprising. Not only in the countryside, but also in cities like Filibe, Edirne, Konya and Manisa, the registers show that the percentage of landowners was higher in the primary sector. Does this prove that Bursa was way ahead of many cities in terms of modern growth? This question cannot be answered easily, at least within the limits of this study. However, other parts of this study about non-agricultural sectors will shed light on this issue.

On the other hand, within primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, the average income fluctuates due to important factors other than land ownership, as already stated above. Studying employment status (i.e.being master, apprentice or journeyman) is useless in primary sector because there were not apprentices or journeymen in the primary occupations. Instead, we can group employment status in the primary occupations as laborers and business owners. Together with the income levels in the primary occupations that can be seen in the Table 2.4, the average incomes of employment statuses in the primary occupations (laborers and business owners) can be seen as well. Nevertheless, within primary occupations, average income changes according to one's ethno-religious identity. Table 2.5. shows ethno-religious variations in the average income in primary occupations.

Table 2.5. The average income of primary occupations according to ethno-religious factors

Primary Occupations	Average Income	Population
Armenians	428.60	54
Jews	378.00	5
Muslims	497.70	576
Orthodox Christians	563.00	113
Total	501.80	748

According to the table above, 77.00 percent of the population in the primary sector was Muslim. Furthermore, Orthodox Christians seem to have the highest income level when compared with other ethno-religious groups. However, the differences are not very apparent among ethno-religious groups in the primary occupations. It should also be noted that there was no Catholic Christian in the primary sector.

On the other hand, creating a table which includes percentages of each religious group based on the number of people in the primary sector is also useful. In other words, when religious groups were separately examined, what percentage of the described ethno-religious group labored in primary, secondary and tertiary occupations can be seen. So, Table 2.6. shows the percentages of household heads in primary sector according to their religions:

Table 2.6. Percentages of ethno-religious groups according to primary occupations

Sectors	Armenians	Catholics	Jews	Muslims	Orthodox Christians
Primary	3.33	0.00	1.37	11.96	11.43
Other	96.67	100.00	98.63	88.04	88.57
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The difference between Table 2.5 and Table 2.6 is that Table 2.5 gives total population in primary sector and it shows the distribution of primary occupations based on religions. However, in the Table 2.6, the total population in a religious group is taken according to primary, secondary and tertiary occupations and shows what percent of the specific ethno-religious population worked in the primary sector. Secondary and tertiary occupations are shown as other occupations. Table 2.6 gives more clear information about the total distribution of primary occupations among religions. For instance, when 11,43 percent of the total orthodox Christian population was in primary occupation, only 1,37 percent of the total Jewish population labored in primary occupations.

To sum up, the average income in primary occupations changes firstly according to employment status, being laborer or land/business owner, then according to one's ethno-religious status and finally according to titles and social statuses. As a result, most of the population who were employed in the primary occupations in the city centers of Bursa can be estimated as day laborers, approximately 70%. Most probably, they were going to the countryside either as seasonal workers or part-time workers. So, can they be seen as a part of working force in the city center or were they part of workforce in the countryside as they lived in the city centers? Moreover, it is not also possible to know whether the landowner's lands were in city center or in countryside. Thus, the distinction between working force in the countryside and city centers is blurred in terms of primary occupations. However, it can be assumed that working force in the secondary and tertiary occupations were both living and working in the city centers, contrary to the working force in the primary occupations for which even having an assumption would not be possible.

2.4.Secondary Occupations

The importance of Kuznetsian growth model in the studies around history of occupations was stressed above. By that, it was important to separate occupations as agricultural and non-agricultural. Secondary occupations were one of the most distinguished pieces of non-agricultural occupations. They basically reflect manufactual production, i.e. occupations which comprise industries in which the raw materials are converted into finished products.³⁶

In addition to craftsmen or artisans, people who were working on food industry, like soup makers, butchers and bakers can be the most prevalent examples secondary occupations. Moreover, millers, oil millers, confectioners, coffee makers, tobacco manufacturers, silk manufacturers, cloth makers, etc. can also be counted as secondary occupations. In 1844's Bursa, there were 297 different occupations which can be associated with secondary occupations. Unfortunately, unlike primary and tertiary occupations, it is not possible to divide secondary occupations into subgroups.

However, it should be noted that the difference between primary and secondary sector can be confusing. Similar occupations can be parts of different sectors. For example, while the cultivation of tobacco (i.e. tobacco worker-*duhan ırgatı*) is an example of primary production, tobacco manufacturing (i.e. *duhan kiyicisi*) is under the title of secondary sector. Therefore, secondary sector is basically producing the final product.

The secondary sector was one of the most populous occupational groups in 1844's Bursa. As Table 2.2 shows, 38.12 percent of the total population in the urban centers of Bursa was working in the secondary sector. This number gives an important insight into Bursa's manufacturing industry. When this percentage is compared with the British case, according to 1841 census of Britain, it is seen that 40.50% of the total labour force (not only in city centers but also in countryside) was in the secondary sector.³⁷ If one would have an opportunity to add Bursa's countryside data from the *temettuat* registers, the percentage of secondary occupations would probably decrease contrary to primary occupations. Even without countryside data, the percentages of secondary occupations in Bursa did not exceed the percentage of the British case in the secondary occupations.

³⁶ E.A Wrigley, The PST System of Classifying Occupations., p.9 taken from;
<http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/britain19c/papers/>

³⁷ Shaw-Taylor, "Occupationalstructure and Population Change"., p.1

Another important point is that income level in the secondary occupations changes according to three important factors as it was stressed for primary occupations as well. As mentioned above, social status also had an important role, but it will be discussed in another chapter. Hence, for now there are two important factors according to which income levels of a household varies as far as secondary sector is considered.

Firstly, employment status is an important consideration which could have had a role on income level. By employment status, as it was mentioned above for primary occupations, being laborer, apprentice, journeymen, master and being business owner is meant. It can be suggested based on the data taken from the *temettuat* register that income level in the secondary occupations varies according to one's employment status. Contrary to primary occupations, apprenticeship and being journeyman was prevalent in the secondary sector as it can be expected. Table 2.7 shows the average income and population of people in the secondary occupations according to their working status.

Table 2.7. Employment status in the secondary occupations

Employment Status	Average Income	Population
Business Owners	759.70	2080
Apprentices	269.00	217
Journeymen	439.30	704
Masters	746.60	16
Total	649.50	3017

As expected, business owners had higher average income than others. Moreover, average income of business owners was approximately two times of average incomes of apprentices and journeymen together. In a hierarchical order, from business owners to apprentices, income level decreases gradually. It should also be noted for masters that thinking that many of the business owners in the secondary sector were also masters in their own businesses, we can speculate that most of the masters were business owners and very few of them were wage laborers who work for another master's business. However, it should be noted that there is no indication in the *temettuat* register whether a business owner was a

master or not. However, it is probable that many of them were masters especially among occupations regarding manufacturing.

Secondly, another factor which income level varies according to, is ethno-religious factors. As it was stressed for primary occupations, ethno-religious factors had an important role on one's choice of sector and occupation. Table 2.8 shows the income levels of different ethno-religious groups in the secondary occupation.

Table 2.8. Income levels of ethno-religious groups in the secondary occupations.

Ethno-Religions	Average Income	Population
Armenians	559.20	672
Catholic Christians	333.30	40
Jews	538.80	141
Muslims	682.90	1629
Orthodox Christians	716.60	532
Total	649.50	3017

It seems that a large proportion of the total incomes from secondary occupations was shared among Muslims, Orthodox Christians and Armenians. However, Muslims and Orthodox Christians had higher income levels than Armenians. Interestingly, although their populations were very close in number, Orthodox Christians had higher income level when compared to Armenians.

Furthermore, it is also important to question what percentage of an ethno-religious group was working in the secondary sector. The percentages in Table 9 do not show this, instead, it shows the percentages of the total population in the secondary sector according to its ethno-religious basis. However, Table 2.9 below shows what percentages of the each ethno-religious group worked in the secondary occupations.

Table 2.9. Percentages of ethno-religious groups in the secondary occupations.

Sectors	Armenians	Catholics	Jews	Muslims	Orthodox Christians

Primary	3.33	0.00	1.37	11.96	11.43
Secondary	41.39	40.81	38.73	33.81	53.84
Other	55.28	59.19	59.90	54.23	34.73
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

While nearly one-third of the total Muslim household heads worked in the secondary occupations, more than half of the Orthodox Christian household heads worked in the secondary sector. Although primary occupations was not common among Armenians, Catholics and Jews, it can be seen that secondary sector constitutes approximately 40.00 per cent for Armenian, Catholic and Jewish households. Thus, Table 2.9 can give important information with regard to enterprising tendencies and occupational choices of each ethno-religious group.

Last point for the secondary occupations can be silk production in the city centers of Bursa region. Silk industry had been an important resource for the people in Bursa since medieval times in terms of historical economic geography. Records from the *temettuat* register prove that the occupation which is related to the silk production was one of the most populous professions when compared to the other 538 occupations. Also, it demonstrates that the average income in the silk production was more than many occupations in the secondary occupations. Within the total occupations related to the silk industry, there were 86 household heads whose professions were about silk production. It seems that the center of silk production in Bursa was *Kuruçeşme* neighborhood the inhabitants of which were totally Jewish people. This is why while the majority of the *kazzazs* were Jews, none of them were Orthodox, Catholic and Armenian. While 58.14 per cent of the total *kazzaz* population was Jew, 41.86 per cent of it was Muslim. So, it can be said that silk production, as an occupation, was shared between Jews and Muslims.

It should also be noticed that silk producers (*kazzazs*) was belonged to the secondary sector while there were also people whose occupations were related to the silk trade (*ipek tüccarı, harir tüccarı*) whose occupations can be grouped under tertiary occupations. For the secondary occupations, on the one hand, the average income of *kazzazs* was 921.00 *guruş* while the total average income of the secondary occupations was 649.50 *guruş*. The most

interesting information on the other hand is about ethno-religious diversification of the *kazzaz* population. Moreover, tertiary occupations belong to another non-agricultural sector. The same analysis in the secondary occupations can also be done to tertiary occupations.

2.5.Tertiary Occupations

Basically, tertiary occupations refer to services. Like the secondary group, tertiary sector is a huge group as far as 1844's Bursa is considered. According to the creators of the PST system of classifying occupations, tertiary occupations are more miscellaneous than the other sectors:

"The tertiary sector is more miscellaneous, including all other occupations. A major element in the tertiary sector consists of activities which are 'downstream' from the output of primary and secondary industry --- the transport of raw and finished products to their places of manufacture or consumption, and the employment in wholesale and retail activities which make the products available to consumers. Transport was also essential, of course, at every stage of material production, facilitating both primary and secondary activity; and the same was true of employment in a range of financial, legal, and other services. There were also, however, there are many tertiary occupations which are much less closely related to the primary and secondary production; for example, personal services; communication other than transport, such as postal services; hotels and pubs; government administration; the armed forces; and the professions, teaching, medicine, religion, and the law."³⁸

According to Wrigley, tertiary occupations include not only transport and services but also trade, selling and dealing. Depending on this classification, tertiary services can be classified into four different groups; tertiary dealers, tertiary sellers, tertiary servicemen and professionals, and transporters.³⁹

What actually these four refer is important to question. While merchants can be a good example of tertiary dealers, tertiary sellers, however can be exemplified as shopkeepers, fruit sellers, grocers, peddlers, market salesman etc. Tertiary services and professions can be *imams*, clerks, moneylenders, bankers, accountants, servants etc. Table 2.10 describes how

³⁸ E.A Wrigley, The PST System of Classifying Occupations., p.9
cited from; <http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/britain19c/papers/>,
³⁹ Ibid., pp.15-16

many people worked in the tertiary occupations and their average annual income level in 1844's Bursa:

Table 2.10. Tertiary occupations and income levels of people in the tertiary sector

Tertiary Occupations	Average Income	Population
Dealers	1076.79	380
Sellers	749.26	533
Services and Professions	761.51	1102
Transport and Communication	527.25	193
Total	792.21	2208

As for income levels, first of all, average income varies according to occupational structure as it was pointed out for primary and secondary occupations before. Income levels in the same group of occupations can be seen with this analysis. It seems in the first place that merchants had higher incomes than all other occupations in 1844's Bursa. When the importance of silk trade is considered, the higher average incomes of merchants are not unexpected. On the other hand, the average income in the services and professions group which includes teachers, people who had religious occupations, clerks, moneylenders etc. also had a remarkable income level. It seems that lowest income level group belonged to transport and communications in the tertiary group.

Secondly, another important variable in the average income level in the tertiary occupations is employment status. In the table 2.11, employment statuses and average incomes are shown. However, unlike the case of secondary occupations, it is preferable to name business owners as the people who were without status. In other words, "Without status" referred to the people who were not journeymen, apprentices and masters. On the other hand, there was only one master in the tertiary occupation. This is why masters are not taken into consideration.

Table 2.11. Average income (*guruş*) of tertiary working groups according to employment status

Tertiary Occupations	Without Status	Apprentices	Journeymen
Dealers	1118.90	296.88	183.33
Sellers	808.23	351.95	481.88
Services and Professions	803.01	253.50	333.25
Transport and Communication	535.39	176.66	370.00
Total	835.87	300.06	388.06

Although there were very few journeymen and apprentices in number, it seems that being a journeyman or an apprentice was not very profitable. On the other hand, people who were without status and dealers seem to be the wealthiest ones in terms of average income when primary, secondary and tertiary occupations were considered together. Sellers and people who worked in service had an approximate income level while the people in the occupations related to the transport and communication had the lowest incomes.

The third factor according to which the average income is varied in the tertiary occupations is ethno-religious identities. Table 2.12 shows the average incomes of tertiary groups according to the ethno-religious factor:

Table 2.12. Average incomes of tertiary groups according to ethno-religious factors

Tertiary Occupations	Armenians	Catholics	Jews	Muslims	Orthodox Christians
Dealers	969.17	1414.00	1248.75	1045.87	2068.61
Sellers	849.55	681.43	462.87	633.05	1302.17
Services	494.07	2755.31	536.32	797.26	898.00

Transport and Communication	287.08	0.00	342.94	567.90	964.38
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Orthodox Christians' average income in the tertiary dealers, tertiary sellers and tertiary transport and communications groups seems higher than the other ethno-religious groups. However, it should also be noted that very few of the total Orthodox Christian population worked in the tertiary sector. Their population constituted only six percent of the total tertiary occupations. The following chart shows the total tertiary population:

Table 2.13. Population and Average income in the Tertiary Occupations

Ethno-Religious Groups	Population	Average Income
Armenians	537	736.72
Catholic Christians	42	1680.79
Jews	167	501.17
Muslims	1300	775.89
Orthodox Christians	161	1182.80
Total	2208	792.21

The last point for the tertiary occupations is about silk traders of 1844's Bursa. As it was stated earlier, there was a regarding difference in income levels of the silk producers when compared with other secondary occupations. As for the silk traders, this difference seems more apparent.

Being *harir tüccarı - dellali* and *ipek tüccarı* were two occupations which are directly related to the silk trade. It should be noted in the first place that they were the wealthiest people in 1844's Bursa together with money lenders, stock brokers (*mubayaacı*) and capital holders (*erbâb-ı temettü*). As far as it can be located, there were 18 silk traders in Bursa and they all lived in the city center of Bursa, not in the countryside. In that respect, *nefs-i Bursa*

was the most important place for silk trade in the Bursa region as it is expected. It can be said that silk production and trade was located only in the *Nefs*.

As for the income levels of silk traders, it is interesting but it can be expected that the average incomes of silk traders was more than five times higher than the total average incomes of tertiary occupations. While the average income in the tertiary occupations is 792.21 *guruş*, the average income of the silk traders was 4283.10 *guruş*. It is also higher than the average incomes of the silk producers (*kazzazs*) which was dwelled upon under the secondary occupations.

Furthermore, there is a group of people whose occupations are about dealing raw silk to the silk producers, namely *kazzaz dellali*. They can be grouped under silk traders but I examined them in another group because different than *harir tüccarı*, *ipek tüccarı*, and *dellali*, their profession is not about the trade of finished silk production. They provided silk worm (*koza*) for *kazzazs*. It must be noted that there were 20 people whose occupation was *kazzaz dellali* and all of these small traders were Jewish whose average incomes were 367.00 *guruş*, which seems not as profitable as *harir delalis*.

2.6. Conclusion

All in all, present chapter has three important purposes. First of all, it was aimed to show what primary, secondary and tertiary occupations actually are and what kind of occupations they include. The second goal of this chapter was to describe the income levels of people worked in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors according to certain different factors. The third aim of this chapter was to describe occupations which are related to the silk industry.

What can be suggested in the first place about 1844's Bursa as far as primary, secondary and tertiary sectors are considered is that the *temettuat* register estimates a comparable analysis of Bursa as a city center with the British case. Although there seems to be a problem which stems from the scarcity of countryside data, it can be said that the problem in this kind of a comparison is only about the primary sector. For secondary and tertiary sector, however, a comparison of 1844's Bursa and 1841 British census is much more meaningful because it can be estimated that the great majority of the people in these two sectors in Bursa lived in the city center. It is obvious that the percentile of the population worked in secondary and tertiary sectors seems to be lower than the British case. If one could

have an opportunity to add countryside data, it will probably be far lower than the current analyses in the present chapter.

A more descriptive analysis on occupations of 1844's Bursa showed that there is a strong correlation between income level and occupational structure. An increasing income level from primary to tertiary sector was demonstrated. Moreover, that the income levels of the people in three sectors vary according to one's ethno-religious identity, employment status and social status was showed. It seems that while Orthodox Christians in the tertiary occupations had higher income levels than the others, the income level of the Jewish people seems to be the lowest. On the other hand, it appears that being an apprentice in all three sectors was not a profitable employment status.

Thirdly, because of the historical economic geography of Bursa, occupations related to the silk industry deserve a specific attention. Analyzes in the present chapter about silk industry showed that there were three kinds of occupations related to the silk industry. The first one is the least profitable one which is *kazzaz dellali*. Their occupation is related to the dealing raw silk *koza* to the silk producers, so, *kazzazs*. Before deindustrialization process of Bursa, their income was most probably more than that of 1844 because international trade of raw silk was very important until the second half of the 18th century. Being a *kazzaz* on the other hand seems more profitable occupation when being *kazzaz dellali* and other occupations in the secondary sector are considered.

The most profitable occupation within silk industry is silk traders, so, *harir dellali* and *harir tüccari*. Their income levels are more than not only other occupations which were related to the silk industry but also all other occupations in 1844's Bursa including even moneylenders (*mubayaaci* and *sarraf*). Together with European investments and state interventions⁴⁰, one of the most important factors on establishment of new silk factories throughout 1830s until 1870s can be the capital accumulations of silk cloth traders (*harir dellali* and *tüccari*) especially started from the late 18th century. On the one hand, the decreasing prices of raw silk could have enabled silk traders to make more money. On the other hand, this could have had a role on industrialization of silk after 1830s because lower prices of raw silk must have drawn attentions of foreign investors.

⁴⁰Ayhan Aktar, "Bursa'da Devlet Ve Ekonomi," in *Bir Masaldı Bursa*, ed. Engin Yenal (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996)., p.123

It seems that first silk factories were not established by local silk traders. Rather, most of them were established by foreign traders (especially the French) with the partnership of some local people in Bursa.⁴¹ It is high probability that most of these partners were local silk traders (*harir tüccarı*) or capital owners. *Temettuat* register enables to trace these local people. For instance Sarim Manas Paşa was the owner of a silk factory which had 960.000 *franc* endorsement in the beginning of 1860s.⁴² *Sarim* could be the sobriquet of İbrahim Sarim Paşa and his family which means being brave. Although Sarim Manas Paşa's name cannot be found in the *temettuat* register, it is because he was probably a close relative (maybe son) of İbrahim Sarim Paşa who had been the governor of Hübavendigar, Bursa from 1839 to 1851. *Temettuat* register shows that he was the wealthiest household head in 1844's Bursa in terms of annual income whose income was 90.000 *guruş* annually. After İbrahim Paşa's death in 1853, Sarim Manas could have benefited from İbrahim Sarim Paşa's treasury in order to establish such a large factory, however, only if they were relatives.

Moreover, as a second example, *temettuat* register shows that Catholic Christians had higher income levels than that of Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Jews and Armenians as far as Tertiary Dealers are considered. Also, income inequality within Catholic Christians was higher than other ethno-religious groups as it was noticed in Chapter 3. In that regard, it can be suggested that most of the wealthy Catholics in *temettuat* register were mostly the French who came Bursa for silk trade with the industrialization of silk, after 1830s. *Temettuat* registers can enable to trace these people as well.

As for the last point for the present chapter, Table 2.14 shows 46 different occupations. These occupations seem to be the most popular occupations in Bursa because while there were 538 different occupations according to *temettuat* registers, half of the total household heads in Bursa was distributed only among 46 occupations. In other words, the population of the 46 most populous occupations in 1844's Bursa included the half of the total household heads in 1844.

⁴¹ ibid., pp.122-123

⁴²Leila Erder, *The Making of Industrial Bursa.*, p.109

Table 2.14. Some Occupations and Number of Household Heads

Occupation	Number of People
ploughman (<i>rençber</i>)	407
tailor (<i>terzi</i>)	251
stitcher (<i>dikici</i>)	254
cupboard maker (<i>dolapçı</i>)	270
boatman (<i>sandalci</i>)	187
forester (<i>oduncu</i>)	125
barber (<i>berber</i>)	185
draper (<i>bezzaz</i>)	135
carpenter (<i>dülger</i>)	117
junk dealer (<i>eskici</i>)	109
manservant (<i>hizmetkâr</i>)	90
joiner (<i>doğramacı</i>)	94
porter (<i>hamal</i>)	69
imam (<i>imam</i>)	67
spader (<i>belci</i>)	60
saddle maker (<i>semerci</i>)	76
locksmith (<i>çilingir</i>)	65
worker (<i>amele</i>)	52
shoe maker&seller (<i>haffaf</i>)	50
medical service (<i>attar</i>)	50
jeweler (<i>kuyumcu</i>)	61
tobacconist (<i>duhancı</i>)	59
mukhtar (<i>muhtar</i>)	82
butcher (<i>kasap</i>)	75
tanner (<i>debbağ</i>)	68
cofeehouse keeper (<i>kahveci</i>)	63
fARRIER (<i>nalband</i>)	73
greengrocer (<i>manav</i>)	46
hoer (<i>çapacı</i>)	40
colorist (<i>basmacı</i>)	68

furrier (<i>kürkçü</i>)	52
clerk (<i>kâtib</i>)	40
shepherd (<i>çoban</i>)	37
loincloth maker&seller(<i>peştemalci</i>)	44
peddler (<i>çerçi</i>)	52
dyer (<i>boyacı</i>)	40
grocer (<i>bakkal</i>)	48
mudarris (<i>müdderris</i>)	47
bibliopole (<i>sahaf</i>)	26
coppersmith (<i>bakırcı</i>)	26
miller (<i>değirmenci</i>)	30
tinner (<i>kalaycı</i>)	38
plasterer (<i>sivacı</i>)	19
priest (<i>papaz</i>)	21
harness maker (<i>saraç</i>)	19
merchant (<i>tüccar</i>)	72

CHAPTER 3

Income Inequality in 1844's Bursa

As it was stated above, the historiography of the studies around occupational structure is based on a theoretical approach of Kuznets' 'Modern economic growth'. He concluded that workforce in the beginning of the modern economic growth shifted from agricultural occupations to non-agricultural occupations especially for underdeveloped economies.⁴³ The second important conclusion of his ideas paved way to the historiography of income inequality in the 19th and 20th centuries. According to his findings, in the beginning of the modern economic growth, income inequality increased.⁴⁴ Van Zanden states:

"The historiography of the development of income inequality in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has gained a measure of conceptual unity by means of Kuznets' curve, a hypothesis dating from 1955. During the first phase of the 'modern economic growth' Kuznets found an increase in income inequality."⁴⁵

Income data is one of the three taken data from the *temettuat* register together with occupations and titles. In the scope of the *temettuat registers*, one of the aims of this research is to show the relationship between occupational structure and income level as described in Chapter 2. Another goal of this research which is going to be debated in this chapter is to show socio-economic differences via income inequality.

The *temettuat* register makes analyses with regard to income inequality possible. Firstly, we can see a general income inequality with the help of the total declarations of income in 1844's Bursa. It should be noted here that while there were 7917 households in the city center of Bursa, 920 household heads did not declare an income. It is a remarkable per cent for this kind of data that 88.38 per cent of the total population declared an income. Secondly, rather than describing a general income inequality of Bursa, income inequality inside certain groups such as occupational and religious groups can be described in an easier way. Accordingly, as the third point, social differences can be traced with income inequality by listing wealthiest and poorest 10% of the total population and their occupations and

⁴³ Kuznets, *Economic Growth and Structure: Selected Essays*.passim

⁴⁴ Simon Kuznets, "Economic Growth and Income Inequality," *The American economic review* (1955)., passim

⁴⁵ Jan Luiten Van Zanden, "Tracing the Beginning of the Kuznets Curve: Western Europe During the Early Modern Period," *The Economic history review* 48, no. 4 (1995)., p.643

religions. Lastly, the income inequality between the titled and the non-titled group of people can be compared.

The major points of this chapter will be as the following: After a general literature survey on inequality, first of all, certain comparisons will be shown in terms of inequality with different parts of the world in 1800s, including global trends, Netherlands, Great Britain, Prussia, Japan and USA with Bursa. Secondly, income inequality among certain occupational groups in 1844's Bursa will be described. Thirdly, income inequality within ethno-religious groups is going to be shown. The fourth point will be the income inequality according to employment status and the fifth point is income inequality based on social status. Lastly, the comparison of the wealthiest 10% and poorest 10% of the population is going to be handled in terms of their occupations, employment status and social status.

Methodologically, income inequality can be measured by certain indicators. While Gini Coefficient is most prevalent among them, there are also some scholars who use more detailed indexes like Thail Index, Mean logarithmic deviation and Standard Deviation of Logarithm. In this study, Gini Coefficient was used due to pragmatic reasons including its prevalence. In other words, most of the analyses about income inequality benefited from Gini coefficient. In order to compare the *temettuat* data for Bursa with some cities throughout the World, Gini coefficient was used in this research.

3.1. The Literature

The first question which is related with income inequality can be as follows: Can we talk about an increasing income inequality in Bursa before and during the 19th century? Data from the *temettuat* register cannot alone enable us to answer this question. However, Canbakal's work about probate inventories between 16th and 19th century Bursa paves an important way about the change in the inequality level of wealth.⁴⁶ It should be noted that Canbakal's work is based on inequality of wealth while the data from the *temettuat* register can only enable us to work income inequality. However, Canbakal's analyzes used as a base because it shows us a general trend of inequality from 1500s to 1840s for Bursa. Canbakal's findings from the probate inventories estimate that the overall trend in inequality from 1500 to

⁴⁶ Canbakal, "Wealth and Inequality in Ottoman Bursa, 1500-1840.", p.8

1840 is upward.⁴⁷ However, it is interesting in Canbakal's findings that when the analysis of 1820-40 is compared with the data from 1660 to 1820, Gini is lower in 1820-40.

The growth in the distribution of income levels in the 19th century will be the second question. As it was stated in the beginning of the Chapter 3, Kuznets states that the market forces increased inequality in the transition period between pre-modern and modern economies and then economic inequality level decreased in 1920s. Therefore, Kuznets' U-Shape curve hypothesis basically indicates an increasing inequality level in the transition period between pre-modern and modern economies, specifically in the 19th century.⁴⁸ However, Van Zanden's ideas on the economic inequality reflect that there was an ongoing increase in the inequality level in the early-modern period as well.⁴⁹ Besides the growth in the income inequality is obvious in the 19th century, certain scholars assert two augmentation of the economic inequality in the early modern period; the first was in the 16th and the second was in the 18th century.⁵⁰

As far as 19th century is concerned, there are several descriptive works on global trends in income inequality as well. For instance, Joerg Baten, Peter Foldvari, Bas van Leeuwen, and Jan Luiten van Zanden give a global analysis of income inequality in their co-works.⁵¹ Bourguignon and Morrison assert that the distribution of well-being among the world citizens during the last two centuries, from 19th century to WWII, worsened as Kuznets asserted before.⁵² On the other hand, Williamson⁵³ indicates that 'the stabilization' of income inequality level which had been increasing from 18th century onwards, started approximately in 1850s and the decline started in 1910s for England, Wales and Great Britain. For USA, Lindert and Williamson show an increasing inequality trend between 1792 and 1860 as far as

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.8

⁴⁸ Kuznets, "Economic Growth and Income Inequality.", *passim*

⁴⁹ Van Zanden, "Tracing the Beginning of the Kuznets Curve: Western Europe During the Early Modern Period.", pp.643-646

⁵⁰ Philip T Hoffman et al., "Real Inequality in Europe since 1500," *The Journal of Economic History* 62, no. 02 (2002)., pp.322-355

⁵¹ Joerg Baten et al., "World Income Inequality 1820-2000" (paper presented at the Paper for session on Global Inequality, XVth World Economic History Congress, Utrecht, 2009)., *passim*

⁵² Francois Bourguignon and Christian Morrisson, "Inequality among World Citizens: 1820-1992," *American economic review* (2002)., *passim*

⁵³ Jeffrey G Williamson, *Did British Capitalism Breed Inequality?* (Routledge, 1985). p.68

thirteen colonies are concerned.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Japan's experience in the economic inequality was compared with Western European cases in Saito's analysis as well.⁵⁵

All these works show a common point about inequality; there was a growing income inequality from early modern period until WWI. The growth rate in inequality level in the early modern period seems more fluctuating (but the general trend shows it is increasing) than the sharper increase in the 19th century. The time in which the *temettuat* register was kept coincides with the emergence of the sharply growing income inequality throughout the world.

Another question derives from the place of Bursa in world-wide context in terms of income inequality.

3.2. Contextualizing Bursa's Income Inequality with World-wide Comparisons

Measures of income inequality from different regions of the world come from different researches as stated above. Surely, those who have studied income inequality incline to compare their findings with other works. These kind of comparative works give us an opportunity to compare Bursa's income inequality with certain regions and cities throughout the world.

It should be noted in the first place that Bursa's income inequality in 1844 is very close to the measures of global trends in the 19th century. In that respect, what this research enabled is comparable not only with Western Europe's income inequality but also with global income inequality trends. For instance, on the one hand, the *temettuat* register of Bursa shows that Bursa's *Gini* in 1844 was 0.521. On the other hand, Joerg Baten, Peter Foldvari, Bas van Leeuwen and Jan Luiten van Zanden in their co-works about global inequality trends from 1820 to 2000 estimate that while global *Gini* in 1820 was 0.47, in 1850 it became 0.50.⁵⁶ Their population sample comprises approximately a billion people. Moreover, Bourgignon and Morrison state that the world *Gini* in 1850 was 0.532.⁵⁷ Christian Morrison and Wayne Synder produces a *Gini* of 0.59 for late eighteenth century France.⁵⁸ Lindert and Williamson

⁵⁴ Peter H Lindert and Jeffrey G Williamson, "American Incomes 1774-1860," (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2012)., p.36

⁵⁵ Osamu Saito, "Income Growth and Inequality over the Very Long Run: England, India and Japan Compared" (paper presented at the First International Symposium of Comparative Research on Major Regional Powers in Eurasia, 2009)., *passim*

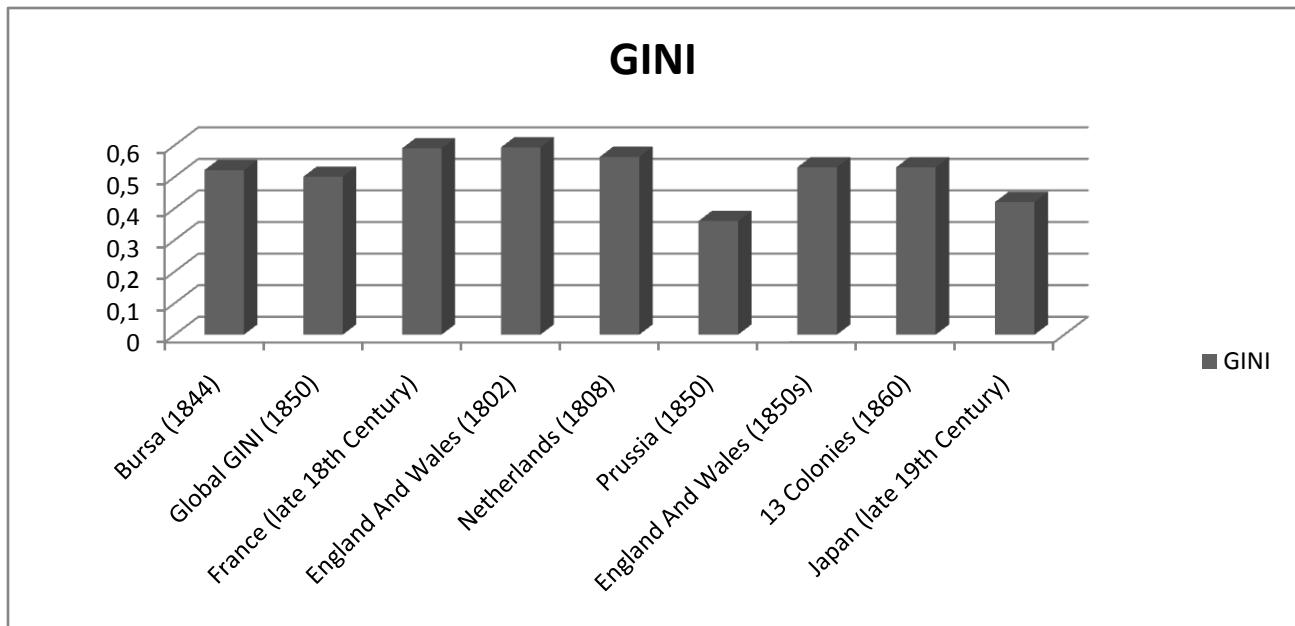
⁵⁶ Baten et al., "World Income Inequality 1820-2000.", p. 16

⁵⁷ Bourguignon and Morrisson, "Inequality among World Citizens: 1820-1992.", p.731

⁵⁸ Christian Morrisson and Wayne Snyder, "The Income Inequality of France in Historical Perspective," *European Review of Economic History* 4, no. 1 (2000)., p.69

estimate a *Gini* of 0.593 for England and Wales in 1802 and for Netherlands in 1808 *Gini* was 0.563.⁵⁹ They also produce a *Gini Coefficient* of 0.53 for thirteen colonies in 1860.⁶⁰ J. G. Williamson states a *Gini* between 0.51-0.58 for 1850s England and Wales.⁶¹ R. Dumke estimates a *Gini* for Prussia in 1850 was 0.36.⁶² For Asia, Minami's analysis of late 19th century Japan produces a *Gini* of 0.42.⁶³

Figure 3.1. 19th century *Gini Coefficients* of some regions in the World



It is important to note since this research's database comprises only urban centers, (Bursa), our estimation of *Gini* would be lower if countryside data was added. Therefore, we can estimate that the total *Gini* of Bursa region -together with countryside data- would be very close to the estimations of 19th century Japan and Prussia. However, it can also be dedicated that urban areas in Bursa were comparable with Western Europe and Original Colonies as well, although Bursa's estimated *Gini* was lower. Studying income inequality only for urban centers in Bursa region gives an important knowledge of how the urban areas were fit into world context in the first place. Secondly, it is important to see the distribution of

⁵⁹ Lindert and Williamson, "American Incomes 1774-1860.", p.31

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.32

⁶¹ J. G. Williamson. *Did British Capitalism Breed Inequality?* London: George Allen and Unwin, (1985) p.68

⁶² R. Dumke, "Income Inequality and Industrialisation: The Kuznets Curve Re-Examined," in *Income Distribution in Historical Perspective*, ed. Y. Brenner, Kaelbe, H. and Thomas M. (Cambridge: CUP, 1991)., p.129

⁶³ Ryoshin Minami, "Economic Development and Income Distribution in Japan: An Assessment of the Kuznets Hypothesis," *Cambridge journal of economics* 22, no. 1 (1998)., p.45

income among certain groups within the urban centers. The remaining part of this chapter will concentrate on how income was distributed among certain groups in the urban centers of Bursa region.

3.3. Sectoral Based Income Inequality

In the Chapter 2, primary, secondary and tertiary occupations of 1844's Bursa were described. The aim of this part, rather, is to describe income inequality within each sector and then compare them with other sectors. Through this, income distribution of 1844's Bursa according to occupational structure will be demonstrated.

First of all, when the sectoral structure is focused, the ultimate result and the most remarkable observation about income distribution can be that inequality increases from primary occupations to tertiary occupations. In other words, income distributed more equally among primary occupations than secondary and tertiary occupations. While the *Gini* of total income data for 1844's Bursa was 0.521, it is 0.356 among primary occupations, 0.422 for secondary occupations and 0.556 for tertiary occupations. Furthermore, people who did not declare an occupation produce a *Gini* of 0.701. Inequality among people who did not declare a job seems higher than the total *Gini* of Bursa. This can be the reason why some of these people were capital holders, rentiers or loaners who are wealthy but officially they did not declare an occupation.

Secondly, the data from the *temettuat* register can provide a more detailed analysis. We can subgroup each sector based upon their wealth as top 1%, top 5%, and top 10%, top 20% and next 40% and lastly bottom 40%. For primary occupations for instance, 5.48 per cent of the total income in the primary sector was shared among the top 1% wealthiest people. This percentage is 7.82 for people in the secondary occupations and 19.30 for the people who are in tertiary occupations, 20.26 for people those who either did not declare their occupation or unemployed, and 12.93 for total population. While 27.18 per cent of the total income was shared among top 10% wealthiest people who labored in primary occupations, for secondary occupations it is 33.82 per cent, it is 46.03 per cent for tertiary sector, among unemployed people it is 51.46, and it is 40.52 per cent for total population. For the people who are in between top 20% wealthiest and bottom 40% poorest, 38.47 per cent of the total income shared by people who labored in the primary occupations. This percentage is 34.07 for secondary sector, 28.63 for tertiary sector, 31.55 for the people who were unemployed or did not declare an occupation and 32.44 for total population. Bottom 40% of the population

shared 11.59 per cent of the total income when total population is concerned. In primary occupations this percentage is 19.40, for secondary it is 16.73, for tertiary it is 11.25 and for the unemployed people it is only 0.06.

The reasons for the difference in both *Gini* and the distribution of incomes among the people who either did not declare an occupation or unemployed are open to speculations. Most of the wealthiest in this group were *erbâb-ı temettü* which can be explained as capital holders who live on income from investments or capital stock. It is possible that some of them were credit loaner as an occupation but they did not choose to declare it. Moreover, it is also possible that some of the wealthiest were not working because of their wealth. Furthermore, some of these wealthiest were children who inherited from their father but the money they had were not managed by these children. In such cases, they seemed as unemployed. On the other hand, as for the poorest, it is interesting that 40% of the unemployed population (741 household heads) had only 2372 *kuruş* in total. In other words, these 741 household heads at the bottom 40%, shared 0.06 per cent of the total incomes which were made by unemployed or people who had not declared an occupation.

In terms of primary, secondary and tertiary occupations, as *Gini* and the distribution of total income among wealthiest and poorest show, inequality is more apparent among tertiary occupations. It is a regarding percentage while the top 1% wealthiest people took 19.30 per cent of the total income, bottom 40% of the population took only 11.25 per cent. We can also estimate that the income distributed more equally in the primary and secondary sectors. The summary of these can be as follows in the Table 1:

Table 3.1. Percentile Distribution of Income According to PST

Sectors	<i>Gini Coefficient</i>	Top 1%	Top 5%	Top 10%	Top 20%	Next 40%	Bottom 40%
Primary	0.356	5.48	16.86	27.18	42.41	38.47	19.40
Secondary	0.422	7.82	22.53	33.82	49.26	34.07	16.73
Tertiary	0.556	19.30	34.83	46.03	60.12	28.63	11.25
W/O	0.701	20.26	38.37	51.46	68.38	31.55	0.06
Total	0.521	12.93	28.89	40.52	55.97	32.44	11.59

The aim of this part was to show that there were regarding differences in the distribution of income as far as each sector is concerned. The best way to summarize this would be saying that from primary occupations to secondary and to tertiary occupations, inequality in the distribution of income increases. In the following part, it is going to be shown that inequality changes according to ethno-religious differentiations as well.

3.4. Income Inequality According to Ethno-Religious Differentiations

Etho-religious identities of each household heads are among the data taken from the *temettuat* register of 1844's Bursa. Luckily, as stated earlier, all of the household heads' religious identities were recorded in the *temettuat* register.

In chapter 2, it was stated that the average income changes according to one's ethno-religious identity. In this part, income inequality differences within and across ethno-religious groups are going to be described. In other words, while income distributed more equally within some ethno-religious groups, it will be shown that income inequality within the other ethno-religious groups were more apparent. By doing so, we will have an opportunity to compare ethno-religious groups in terms of their income inequality.

First of all, as far as the *temettuat* register shows, it seems that the income distributed most equally among Jews. Estimations of this research produce a *Gini* of 0.396 for Jews. We can also assert that *Gini* was lower among Armenians and also among Orthodox Christians. For Armenians it is 0.459 and for Orthodox Christians it is 0.491. When these three groups' *Gini* is compared with the total *Gini* of Bursa in 1844 which is 0.521, it can be concluded that income distributed more equally than Muslims and Catholic Christians. For Muslims, *Gini Coefficient* can be estimated as 0.546 which seems higher than total *Gini* of Bursa as well as Jews' Orthodox Christians' and Armenians' *Ginis*. As for Catholic Christians, we can mention the highest income inequality which is 0.683 as *Gini*.

Secondly, the *temettuat* register also enables a more detailed analysis of inequality. As it was shown for sectoral based income inequality, we can subgroup all the data according to their wealth. For instance, identifying the shares of top 1% and top 10% wealthiest and bottom 40% poorest of the Armenians, Muslims, Jews, Orthodox Christians and Catholics from the total income gives an important opportunity to compare these subgroups based on their religions. As an example, firstly the income shares of Jews, the group in which income distributed the most equal, and secondly the income shares of the Catholics in which

inequality is most apparent is going to be described. While the *Gini* of the former is 0.396, it is 0.683 for the latter. On the one hand, inside Jewish population, top 1% wealthiest of the population shared 10.66 per cent of the total incomes which were yielded only by Jews. On the other hand, bottom 40% of the population inside the Jewish population shared 19.29 per cent of the total incomes. As for Catholics, these percentages are 35.74 per cent for the former and 7.46 per cent for the latter. It means that more than one third of the total incomes, which was yielded only by Catholics, were shared among only top 1% of the population while 40% of the population shared only 7.46 per cent. For Muslims, however, while 13.96 per cent of the total incomes were shared among wealthiest 1%, this percentage is 29.98 for top 5%, 41.74 per cent for top 10% and 9.60 per cent for the bottom 40%. For the middle class which is between top 20% and bottom 40% shared approximately 33-34 per cent of the total incomes for all ethno-religious groups except Catholics. For Catholics this percentage is 20.62. The following table summarizes all these above;

Table 3.2. Percent Shares of Total Income According to Ethno-Religious Differentiations

Ethno-Religious Groups	Gini Coefficient	Top 1%	Top 5%	Top 10%	Top 20%	Next 40%	Bottom 40%
Armenians	0.459	9.30	24.81	36.30	52.26	32.39	15.35
Catholic Christians	0.683	35.74	49.74	59.18	71.92	20.62	7.46
Jews	0.396	10.66	25.53	34.28	46.37	34.33	19.29
Muslims	0.546	13.96	29.98	41.74	57.20	33.20	9.60
Orthodox Christians	0.491	10.81	26.70	38.71	54.36	32.14	13.50
Total	0.521	12.93	28.89	40.52	55.97	32.44	11.59

It should be noted that higher income inequality of Catholic Christians is comprehensible while the historical context of the silk industrialization in Bursa after 1830s is considered. It is obvious that many French merchants and businessmen came to Bursa in order to trade silk cloth with the industrialization of silk after 1830s.⁶⁴ Also, there were already several French rich families were living in Bursa as well. In many partnerships of new factories which were established after 1830s, French names are very common. In that regard,

⁶⁴ Kaygalak, *Kapitalizmin Taşrası: 16. Yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıla Bursa'da Toplumsal Süreçler Ve Mekansal Değişim.*, *passim*

the huge gap between wealthier Catholic newcomers, or rich families and ordinary Catholic people can be expected in that context.

3.5. Income Inequality According to Employment Status

Employment statuses of each household head are also among the data taken from the *temettuat* register of 1844's Bursa. Basically, as it was stated earlier, employment status refer to one's status as master, journeyman or an apprentice. According to the information from the *temettuat* register, we could catch 1161 household heads whose statuses were masters, apprentices or journeymen.

The average incomes of these three groups were compared in Chapter 2. In this part, the income inequality among these three is going to be described. Moreover, we will have an opportunity to compare the income inequalities of these three working groups with some other estimation like total inequality of Bursa which was shown before.

The ultimate result of what this research estimates about income inequality according to employment status can be that the income distributed most equally among masters, apprentices and journeymen when these three are compared with former estimations. For instance, while the estimations of the total inequality of Bursa produces a *Gini* of 0.521, the *Gini Coefficient* of masters, journeymen and apprentices is between 0.232 and 0.293. The reason for this gap can be speculated as that masters, journeymen and apprentices were mostly wage laborers that what they will earn was approximately assured and determined.

The *Ginis* of the people who were grouped by their employment statuses can also be comparable to each other. While the *Gini* of the masters can be estimated as 0.232, this is 0.280 for journeymen and 0.293 for apprentices. Among these three, apprentices' income inequality seems highest and masters' is lowest. Inside masters, top 1% of the wealthiest shared 2.46 per cent of the total income which was yielded only by masters. This percentage is 3.72 for journeymen and 4.1 for apprentices. The middling group within masters and journeymen groups took approximately same percentages from the total income. The shares of the middling group of the apprentices seems to be a bit higher than masters' and journeymen's shares. It is 39.52 per cent for masters, 38.90 per cent for journeymen and 43.12 per cent for apprentices. As for the bottom 40% of the masters, it can be suggested that they shared more than the journeymen and apprentices. Bottom 40% of the masters shared 26.10 per cent of the total income which was earned only by masters. This percentage is 23.78 for

the journeymen and 21.17 for the apprentices. In the Table 3, the shares of total income within each group which was sub grouped as masters, journeymen and apprentices is shown:

Table 3.3. Percent Shares of Total Income According to Employment Status

Employment Status	Gini Coefficient	Top 1%	Top 5%	Top 10%	Top 20%	Next 40%	Bottom 40%
Masters	0.232	2.46	12.29	18.94	31.89	39.52	26.10
Journeymen	0.280	3.72	13.87	22.96	37.32	38.90	23.78
Apprentices	0.293	4.10	14.38	22.56	35.71	43.12	21.17
Total	0.305	4.20	14.43	23.97	38.62	40.09	21.37

3.6. Social Status and Income Inequality

Although the relationship among social status, occupations and income will come up in the next chapter, the borders of this chapter also include the social status in terms of income inequality.

The *temettuat* register enables us to work on social status as well. With occupations, employment statuses and incomes, the names and titles of each household head were recorded in it. As it is going to be shown in the next chapter, household heads in 1844's Bursa who bore titles seem wealthier in terms of total annual income than those who did not. Canbakal, in her study on Ayntab, asserts that titled people were wealthier than those who did not bear titles.⁶⁵ Moreover, the income difference is more distinct if household heads bear two and three titles at the same time.

Rather than describing the average incomes of these people (which will be discussed in the next chapter), the aim of this part is to show that there is also inequality in income when titled and non-titled people are concerned. It should also be noted that there are also differences in income inequality among people who bear one, two and three titles at the same time.

⁶⁵ Hülya Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town:'Ayntāb in the 17th Century*, vol. 36 (Brill, 2007)., p.93

The ultimate result of this part can be that income inequality measures are higher among people who bore titles than those who did not. Also, there is a positive correlation between the numbers of titles and income inequality. To exemplify, the *Ginis* of the three titled people were higher than two and one titled people and the *Gini* of two titled people is higher than one titled people. We can estimate that income inequality increases when the number of titles increased.

To clarify, while the *Gini* of the people who did not bear title is 0.492⁶⁶, *Gini* of those who bore title(s) is 0.559. The *Gini* of those who had one title is 0.517. For two titled people, estimations of this research produce a *Gini* of 0.592. On the other hand, the highest *Gini* was among people who bore three titles at the same time. Their *Gini* according to the *temettuat* register is 0.633.

In the following table, the per cent shares of total income within titled and non-titled groups are shown:

Table 3.4. Percent Shares of Total Income According to Social Status

TITLE	Gini Coefficient	Top 1%	Top 5%	Top 10%	Top 20%	Next 40%	Bottom 40%
One Titled	0.517	10.05	25.75	38.07	54.88	34.46	10.66
Two Titled	0.593	11.23	29.72	42.32	60.18	33.39	6.43
Three Titled	0.633	19.55	24.04	41.83	62.28	34.99	2.73
Total Titled	0.559	11.42	28.88	41.70	59.05	32.08	8.96
Without Titles	0.492	11.85	24.49	35.11	50.88	38.71	10.45
Muslim	0.546	13.96	29.98	41.74	57.20	33.20	9.60
Grand Total	0.521	12.93	28.89	40.52	55.97	32.44	11.59

The percent shares of total income, which was yielded annually by each group, shows the differences in income shares between people who bore titles and those who did not. It can be seen from the Table 4 that top 1% wealthiest of the three titled people shared 19.55 of the total income which was earned annually by all three titled people. On the other hand, bottom 40% of these people shared only 2.73 per cent from the total income of three titled people. For

⁶⁶ Since the people who bore titles were Muslims, the analysis in this study includes only Muslim people.

two titled people, the difference in income inequality can be traced by examining top 5%, top 10% and top 20% of its population.

To sum, for the people who bore one title, we can estimate that income shared most equally when it is compared with two and three titled people. This can be the reason why on the one hand that three and two titled people were commonly labored in certain occupations such as dealers and manufacturers in tertiary and secondary occupations competitive capacity of which is apparent when it is compared with other occupations in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. So, more competitive capacity could have led more people who make loads of money. On the other hand, there are many three and two titled people in the *temettuat* register who were in the level of average earnings within tertiary occupations like the people who were in the religious services. Thirdly, there are also some three titled people who had reputable religious positions like dervishes and sheiks who earned even below the average level of incomes. While these three important issues are considered together, it can be expected that two and especially three titled people shared income more unequally.

3.7. Polarization of the Society in Terms of Income Inequality

The polarization of the society by comparing occupations, religions and social statuses of wealthiest 10% and poorest 10% of the total population in 1844's Bursa is going to be examined as the concluding remarks. Firstly, that the wealthiest top 10% of the populations and poorest bottom 10% of the population had different kinds of occupations is going to be described. Secondly, what percentage of an ethno-religious community belonged to the group of wealthiest and poorest 10% will be demonstrated. As the third and last point, percentages of the people who were situated in top 10% or bottom 10% in terms of their titles will be described.

First of all, income inequality based on occupations was described earlier. The aim of this part is to differentiate the population according to their incomes as top 10% and bottom 10%. The occupational structure of these two groups will be described here. For instance, while the percentage of the people who were unemployed was 6.97 inside top 10% wealthiest, this percentage is 40.00 inside bottom 10% poorest. For primary occupations and occupations related with transportation, it seems that the percentages of the wealthiest and poorest did not change. The difference between the wealthiest and poorest is more pronounced in secondary

and tertiary occupations. For the wealthiest 10% of the population, the percentage of the people who labored in tertiary occupation was 42.73 while it is 21.82 for the poorest. As for the secondary occupations, while 43.03 of the wealthiest were labored in secondary occupations, this percentage is 28.33 for the poorest.

It should also be noted that other than the poorest 10%, there was another group of people who did not declare an income. The differences are more pronounced when they were added to these comparisons. The following table summarizes best what was aimed:

Table 3.5. Percentages of People in Different Sectors According to Income Polarization

Sectors	Wealthiest 10%	Poorest 10%	No Income Indication
Primary	4.30	5.91	4.46
Secondary	43.03	28.33	8.48
Tertiary	42.73	21.82	13.48
Without Occupation	6.97	40.00	70.43
Other	2.97	3.94	3.15
Grand Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

The second point is about the ethno-religious differences of the wealthiest and the poorest. As for Armenians, while 8.01 per cent of the total Armenians were part of the group of the wealthiest top 10%, 9.62 per cent of them were among the poorest. For Catholic Christians, whose income inequality was the most pronounced when they were compared with the other ethno-religious groups, 12.24 of them were among the wealthiest and 12.24 of them were among the poorest. For Jews, whose total income distributed most equally, while 3.35 per cent of them were among the wealthiest, only 0.82 per cent of them were among the poorest. For Muslims, these percentages are 8.41 for the former and 9.05 for the latter. For Orthodox Christians, we can mention that there were very few of them who can be seen as poorest while most of them belonged either to the middle class or the wealthiest. Table 6 shows these differences:

Table 3.6. Percentages of the people in Different Ethno-Religious Groups According to Income Polarization

Sectors	Wealthiest 10%	Poorest 10%
Armenians	8.01	9.62
Catholic Christians	12.24	12.24
Jews	3.85	1.10
Muslims	8.41	9.05
Orthodox Christians	11.44	5.16

Thirdly, we can mention the differences of the social status when the wealthiest and the poorest 10% of the population are compared. For example, while 71.60 per cent of the wealthiest 10% of the population bore titles, it is only 13.11 percent for the poorest. For the people who did not declare an income, there were not any people who bore title. The following table summarizes the relationship between having titles and being wealthy or poor:

Table 3.7. Percentages of title holders and people who did not bear title According to Income Polarization.

Sectors	Wealthiest 10%	Poorest 10%	No Income Indication
One titled	45.15	11.89	0.00
Two Titled	23.54	0.73	0.00
Three Titled	2.67	0.49	0.00
Total Titled	71.60	13.11	0.00
Without Titles	28.40	86.89	100.00

CHAPTER 4.

Social Status as a Determinant for the Occupational Structure and Income Level

Together with income and occupational data, the names and the honorary titles of each household head are among the data which were taken from the *temettuat* register of 1844's Bursa. Honorifics or honorary titles appear in the *temettuat* register as parts of the household heads' names. The importance of these titles is that they distinguish an individual from others in the absence of such identification markers as surnames or family nicknames. According to Cosgel and Ergene;

"In the absence of surnames and along with other markers of identification (such as birthplace, family nickname and personal traits), they distinguish individuals with reference to their affiliation with the provincial administrative structure and relative positions within the community."⁶⁷

In other words, it can be suggested that two points highlight the importance of the honorary titles. First, the absence of surnames and scarcity of other markers of identifications made honorifics more important in distinguishing individuals, especially for members of non-elite households. Therefore, in this regard, honorifics can be seen as the social marker of an individual.⁶⁸ Secondly, titles are important for an individual to gain a place in the society. In other words, titles help people shape their individual social status within a society.⁶⁹ In this chapter, titles of 19th century Bursa will be described in terms of the relationship between bearing title(s) and, firstly, occupational structure, and secondly, income level.

4.1. The Data

The main aim of this chapter is to describe the social statuses by the studying titles of household heads of 1844's Bursa. As a reminder of what was mentioned in Chapter 1, some information must be recalled in order to understand the borders of this chapter. In our database, there are 1469 Muslim people who bore titles. Since only Muslims had title(s), other ethno-religious groups were excluded from the analyses in this chapter. As it was stated earlier in the Chapter 1, in the scope of the *temettuat* register, nine different titles could be

⁶⁷ Metin Coşgel and Boğaç A Ergene, "Intergenerational Wealth Accumulation and Dispersion in the Ottoman Empire: Observations from Eighteenth-Century Kastamonu," *European Review of Economic History* 15, no. 2 (2011)., p.264

⁶⁸ Norman H Dawes, "Titles as Symbols of Prestige in Seventeenth-Century New England," *The William and Mary Quarterly: A Magazine of Early American History* (1949)., pp.63-76

⁶⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Harvard University Press, 1991)., p.70

detected as it was stated in Chapter 1. These are; *ağa*, *bey*, *derviş*, *effendi*, *hacı*, *hafız*, *molla*, *seyyid*, and *şeyh*. I did not take into consideration the titles which were directly associated with a person's job like *bezzaz Osman* and *berber Mehmed*. Moreoever, *paşa* and *hoca* titles were not studied because there are only one paşa titled person who was İbrahim Sarım paşa, governer of Bursa during that period. There are only two people who bore *hoca* title and this is why I needed to exempt these two titles. Those I considered as titles were taken by anybody from any occupation. Furthermore, it must be noticed that women are excluded from the analyses below (although most of them bore *hatun* title and there are also very limited number of *hanım* title) because of several reasons which was described in the introduction.

It should also be noted that 30.49 per cent of the total Muslim population bore at least one of these nine titles. If we exclude the women population, it can be estimated that 32.49 per cent of the total Muslim men population in 1844's Bursa bore at least one title. Moreover, most of the people who bore title(s) in 1844's Bursa held only one title. While 1182 of the title holders were only one titled, 262 of them bore two titles at the same time and only 25 of them had three titles. In other words, while my database provides that 17.84 per cent of the titled people bore two titles at the same time, there were also people who bore three honorifics at the same time like “*es-seyyid Hacı Mehmed Ağa*” although they were only 1.70 per cent of the total titled people. The summary of the data can be seen in the Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. The data about titled people

Group	Population
Muslim Total	4817
Muslim Men	4468
Muslim Women	349
Titled Men	1469
Men Without Titled	2999
One Titled	1182
Two Titled	262
Three Titled	25

It is interesting that there are no people recorded in the *temettuat* register who bore *çelebi* and *beşe* titles which were eminently common before the 19th century.⁷⁰ The absence of *beşe* title in the 19th century can be attributed to the abolition of Janissary Army because *beşe* title was generally borne by the members of the Janissary Corps while there is not an obvious reason for the disappearance of *çelebi* titles. Moreover, probably, there were more people in the 19th century who held *effendi* title as compared to the 18th and 17th centuries. It can be suggested that *effendi* title substituted *çelebi* title in 19th century.

4.2. Description of Ottoman Titles and Revisiting the Literature

In the present part, each honorary title will be described respectively without grouping them as religious or military. Although each title could have had a religious or military background etymologically, it cannot be suggested that all title holders in the 19th century had a relation with religious or military offices. It is going to be asserted here that it is not possible to group titles neither as religious or military nor as civil titles. There is not even a direct relationship between “a title” and “an occupation”. Therefore, in order to do a meaningful analysis, titles should be studied separately and independent from other titles and so-called title groups like religious or military titles.

Ağa is the first honorary title which is going to be discussed here. According to Faruk Sümer, etymologically, *ağa* comes from a Mogolian word *aka* which means “the big brother”.⁷¹ The Ottoman usage of this title is generally associated with the people in the military services.⁷² Gustav Bayerle in his book *Pashas, Begs and Effendis*, mentions that *ağa* was generally used by military officials in the Topkapi Palace, specifically by Janissary commanders.⁷³ As far as 19th century is considered, abolition of Janissary Army could have paved way to a new usage of *ağa* title. Accordingly, Harold Bowen asserts that *ağa* title started to be common among illiterate officers in the 19th century.⁷⁴ However, my dataset shows that *ağa* was neither used among illiterate officers nor otherwise. It mostly prevailed

⁷⁰ Boğaç A Ergene and Ali Berker, "Wealth and Inequality in 18th-Century Kastamonu: Estimations for the Muslim Majority," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 01 (2008).*passim*
Canbakal, *Society and Politics in an Ottoman Town:'Ayntab in the 17th Century*, 36.

Zozan Pehlivan, "The Rich and the Poor: Wealth Polarization in Late Eighteenth-Century'ayntab" (Master's Thesis, Sabancı University, 2008)., pp.16-19

⁷¹ Faruk Sümer, "Ağa," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988).

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Gustav Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire* (Isis Press, 1997)., p.2

⁷⁴ Bowen, H.. "Agha." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. [Reference](#). 13 June 2014

among people who were in the secondary, that is, manufacturing sector. Although, the usage of *ağa* cannot be attributed to a specific occupation as it was suggested earlier, it should also be speculated that they could have maintained at least a symbolic affiliation with the army for which unfortunately the *temettuat* register cannot provide the answer.

Bey or *beg* is another title which is common among people in 1844's Bursa. According to Boğaç Ergene, it is one of the military/administrative titles like *ağa* and *beşe*.⁷⁵ Etymologically it refers to a leader of a community⁷⁶. The title *bey* in my database generally used for people who are wealthy and unemployed. In other words, capital holders who did not have an occupation used the title *bey* very frequently. As it will be discussed after a while, the average income of the people who bore *bey* title was one of the highest when compared to that of the holders of other eight titles. It should also be noticed that although there are many examples of *timar beyi* in the early modern context which can be attributed to military and administrative origins, the *temettuat* register shows that they were neither part of the military nor administrative classes in the 19th century.

There are also certain titles which can easily be associated with an occupation. *Derviş* and *şeyh* are two of them. According to Tahsin Yazıcı, *derviş* refers to a person who is linked to a sheikh in a dervish order.⁷⁷ However, according to the *temettuat* register, there were very few numbers of dervishes who had *derviş* title. Many of them who had *derviş* title labored in the secondary occupations. For sheikhs, it is true that most of them bore *şeyh* title, however, there are also some people in my database who were not sheikh but still bore the *şeyh* title.

The fifth title to be discussed is *effendi*. Harold Bowen argues in the Encyclopedia of Islam that after the abolition of Janissary Corps, *ağa* title started to be used among people who are illiterate officers while literate officers used *effendi* title.⁷⁸ Many scholars highlight the importance of the *effendi* title in terms of its usages among literate and intellectual people especially in the 19th century.⁷⁹ Moreover, as far as Ottoman history is concerned, *effendi* title was an important title which was given to the high ranking Ottoman statesmen.

⁷⁵ Coşgel and Ergene, "Intergenerational Wealth Accumulation and Dispersion in the Ottoman Empire: Observations from Eighteenth-Century Kastamonu.", p.265

⁷⁶ Orhan F. Köprülü, "Bey," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992)., pp.11-12

⁷⁷ Tahsin Yazıcı, "Derviş,"ibid. (İstanbul1994).p.188

⁷⁸ Bowen, H.. "Agha." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. [Reference](#). 13 June 2014

⁷⁹ Keith David Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton University Press, 2006)., passim

Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford University Press, 2010)., passim

Before and during the 19th century, it is possible to see *effendi* title among high ranking statesmen of Ottoman Empire. Mehmet II referred to himself as *efendi* in an edict which was given to the people of Galata.⁸⁰ Moreover, Kara Rüstem called Çandarlı Halil as *effendi* according to Aşıkpaşazade.⁸¹ Bayerle stresses that in the 19th century, *effendi* title was used among the princes of the Ottoman dynasty.⁸² As for the 18th century, the sons of the pasha bore *effendi* title.⁸³

With the 15th century, *effendi* title also became prevalent among the people who had religious positions as well.⁸⁴ According to Bernard Lewis, members of the scribal and religious classes, as opposed to the military class, held *effendi* title very frequently.⁸⁵ However, this alone is not enough for classifying *effendi* as a religious/administrative title as Boğaç Ergene and Gustav Bayerle did.

The *temettuat* register shows that *effendi* title was mostly used among the people who are literate and had religious and administrative positions in Bursa. However, there are also several people who bore *effendi* title in the primary and secondary sectors. There are even people with *effendi* titles who declared their occupations as beggar (*sail*). In that regard, in the context of the 19th century, it seems not to be possible to classify *effendi* title under religious/administrative titles from the *temettuat* register.

The sixth title to be discussed was also seen as a part of the religious titles by Ergene.⁸⁶ It is true that *hacı* title was borne by people who visited the holy places of Mecca and Medina.⁸⁷ However, it is important to question whether all of the people who bore *hacı* title were actually pilgrims or not. As far as I observed from the *temettuat* registers, many people who had *hacı* title did not have an economic power to perform the *hacc*. Zozan

⁸⁰ Orhan F. Köprülü, "Efendi," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994).

⁸¹ ÂŞIK PAŞAZÂDE, "Tevârih-ı Âl-i Osmân," *Hazırlayan: Kemal Yavuz-Yekta Saraç. İstanbul: Gökkubbe Yayınları* (2007)., p.54

⁸² Bayerle, *Pashas, Beks, and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*.p.114

⁸³ Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1974).

⁸⁴ Köprülü, "Efendi."

⁸⁵ Lewis, B.. "Efendi." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. [Reference](#). 14 June 2014

⁸⁶ Boğaç A Ergene, Atabey Kaygun, and Metin Coşgel, "A Temporal Analysis of Wealth in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Kastamonu," *Continuity and Change* 28, no. 01 (2013)., passim

Coşgel and Ergene, "Intergenerational Wealth Accumulation and Dispersion in the Ottoman Empire: Observations from Eighteenth-Century Kastamonu.", passim

Ergene and Berker, "Wealth and Inequality in 18th-Century Kastamonu: Estimations for the Muslim Majority." "Inheritance and Intergenerational Wealth Transmission in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Kastamonu: An Empirical Investigation," *Journal of family history* 34, no. 1 (2009)., passim

⁸⁷ "Hadji." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online, 2014. [Reference](#). 14 June 2014

Pehlivan asserts that “*hacı* title was neither a military-administrative nor a religious-intellectual title; it was only a civil title.”⁸⁸ Therefore, if we consider that many of these people did not perform *hacc*, we can conclude that *hacı* title cannot be a religious title. It can be suggested that it was a civic or social title like the other eight titles.

Hafız is another title which can easily be grouped under religious titles. *Hafız*, as a title, is supposed to be held by the people who can recite the Qur'an from memory.⁸⁹ However, it is not possible to know whether these people were really *hafız* or not. On the other hand, *seyyid* is another title which cannot be known whether the title holder was a descendant of the Prophet or not. It is also known that false claims of *seyyidization* were prevail not only among people in Arabic peninsula but in Anatolia as well.⁹⁰ Moreover, according to Boğaç Ergene, *seyyid* was a religious title while Canbakal works add that in 17th century, *sâdat* were also members of the ‘*askeri* as well.⁹¹ As for the *temettuat* register, similar to the other titles, *seyyid* was held by various people ranging from agriculturalists to imams.

To sum up, classifying honorary titles under religious or military groups can be misleading as far as 19th century is considered. What the *temettuat* register provides supports this argument. According to our dataset, any title holder whose title is considered as religious or military could have come from any socio-economic background. For instance, there is no person with *ağa* title in the *temettuat* register whose occupation is either a soldier or an officer although it was seen as a military title. Rather, most of them were labored in the secondary sector. In that regard, *effendi* title is another example which was held by any person from any layer of the society. Therefore, rather than classifying as religious or military, we can suggest that because they were somehow indicators of one’s socio-economic positions in which occupations and income level had an effect on, I prefer to call them all as “civic-economic” titles.

In the remaining part of this chapter, the correlation between social status, occupational structure and income level will be discussed. To put it in other words, one’s occupation(s) and income level change according to his social status, and vice versa. To

⁸⁸ Pehlivan, "The Rich and the Poor: Wealth Polarization in Late Eighteenth-Century'ayntab.", p.18

⁸⁹ "ḥāfiẓ." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Glossary and Index of Terms*. Edited by: P.J. Bearman, Th. Banquis, C.E. Boworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs Boworth. Brill Online, 2014. Reference. 14 June 2014

Nebi Bozkurt, "Hafız,"ibid. (İstanbul1997).Nebi Bozkurt, "Hafız,"ibid. (İstanbul1997).Nebi Bozkurt, "Hafız,"ibid. (İstanbul1997).Nebi Bozkurt, "Hafız,"ibid. (İstanbul1997).

⁹⁰ Hülya Canbakal, "The Ottoman State and Descendants of the Prophet in Anatolia and the Balkans (C. 1500-1700)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52, no. 3 (2009)., p.565

⁹¹ Pehlivan, "The Rich and the Poor: Wealth Polarization in Late Eighteenth-Century'ayntab.", p.17

discuss this, (1) the relationship between titles and occupational structure, (2) the relationship between titles and income level (3) the link between the employment status and the titles will be examined.

4.3. The Relationship between Social Status and Occupations

When the observations from the *temettuat* register are taken into consideration, there seems to be a strong relation between one's status and occupation. As far as the *temettuat* database enables, this relationship can be traced with three different analyses. First of all, each title will be examined separately in order to show its distribution in different sectors. The second analysis is to show each sector separately. This will describe not only what percentage of the population in each sector bore titles but also the distribution of nine different titles in each sector. As for the third analysis, the number of the titles borne by title-holders will be examined.

Before analyzing one, two and three titled people separately, it is important to compare the occupations of the titled people as a whole to those who did not bear any title(s). It will also give an opportunity to compare the occupational structures of one, two and three titled people with the total titled people and the people who did not hold any title. For example, while the percentage of the total titled people in the primary sector was 5.04, it is 14.99 for the people who did not bear titles. For the secondary sector, titled and non-titled people seem to be in the same ballpark in terms of the percentages of the population. For both cases, approximately 33.75 per cent of their population labored in the secondary sector. As far as tertiary sector is considered, there seems to be a marked difference between titled and non-titled people. While the percentage of the total titled people, who labored in the tertiary sector, was 40.98, it is 20.90 for those who did not bear titles. On the other hand, when people who did not declare an occupation or were unemployed were considered, we can conclude that the percentage of the people who did not bear titles seems to be higher than those who bore titles.

In addition to these three, the last part will be about the relationship between silk sector and social status. Because silk industry had an important place in Bursa as stated in Chapter 1, social status of the people in silk industry deserves a separate analysis in. This will give an opportunity to state the socio-economic place of the people in the silk industry.

First, we will look at the distribution of the Muslims with titles in different sectors. For instance, while the percentage of the primary sector among the people who bore *ağa* title was 2.06, it was 13.93 per cent for *seyyid* titled people and 0.00 per cent for *şeyhs*. For secondary

sector, while 42.94 per cent of the *ağa* titled people was in secondary sector, only 9.89 per cent of the people who bore *efendi* title labored in the secondary occupations. Moreover, while 67.51 per cent of the people who held *efendi* title were working in occupations related to the tertiary sector, *bey*s had the lowest percentage as far as tertiary sector is concerned. However, for *bey* titled people it can be said that more than one third of their population did not declare an occupation. As far as *seyhs* and *hafizs* were considered, it seems that most of their population labored in the secondary sector. Table 4.2. summarizes the result.

Table 4.2. Sectoral distribution of the Muslim heads of households with titles (%)

Title	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	W/O	Other	Total
<i>Ağa</i>	2.06	42.94	33.24	16.76	5.00	100.00
<i>Bey</i>	6.56	18.03	32.79	37.70	4.92	100.00
<i>Derviş</i>	4.65	39.53	37.21	13.95	4.65	100.00
<i>Efendi</i>	1.41	9.89	67.51	18.93	2.26	100.00
<i>Hacı</i>	4.72	40.66	37.37	12.94	4.31	100.00
<i>Hafız</i>	2.88	33.65	46.15	15.38	1.92	100.00
<i>Molla</i>	4.47	42.46	34.64	15.08	3.35	100.00
<i>Seyyid</i>	13.93	31.34	36.32	19.93	4.48	100.00
<i>Seyh</i>	0.00	8.33	41.67	50.00	0.00	100.00

It should be noted that W/O in the Table 4.1 refers to the people who did not declare an occupation. It means that these people either chose not to declare an occupation consciously, or were unemployed. On the other hand, there are also some people whose occupations are sectorally unspecific and unknown. These people were grouped under the category of “Others”.

As for the second analysis for the present part, I will look at the relation between titles and sectors from the other end. First, I will examine the percentage of people with titles in each sector. Then, I will examine the distribution of these people according to different titles.

Firstly, it must be noted that from the primary occupations to the secondary and tertiary occupations, the percentage of the people who held at least one title increases. While 12.85 per cent of the Muslim households in the primary sector bore titles, it is 30.18 per cent

for the Muslim people in the secondary sector and it is 46.24 per cent for the Muslim household heads who labored in the tertiary occupations. For those who did not declare an occupation, the percentage of the people who bore title(s) among Muslim people is 20.88.

Secondly, it is important to see the distribution of nine titles within each sector. While it seems that *seyyid*, *hacı* and *molla* titles were the most frequent titles in the primary sector, *hacı* and *ağa* titles seem to be the most popular titles among the people who labored in the secondary sector. For the tertiary sector, on the one hand, *effendi* title constitutes approximately one third of the total titles. On the other hand, 24.04 per cent of the total titled people in the tertiary occupations used *hacı* title. For the people who did not declare an occupation, more than 60.00 per cent of the titled population used *ağa*, *effendi* and *hacı* titles. Table 4.3. describes them all as follows:

Table 4.3. Distribution of titles among titled people in different sectors (%)

Title	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	W/O	Total Muslim
<i>Ağa</i>	8.75	25.00	14.93	19.18	19,09
<i>Bey</i>	5.00	1.90	2.64	7.88	3,43
<i>Derviş</i>	2.50	2.93	2.11	2.05	2,41
<i>Efendi</i>	6.25	6.03	31.44	22.95	19,88
<i>Hacı</i>	28.75	33.97	24.04	21.58	27,34
<i>Hafız</i>	3.75	6.03	6.34	5.48	5,84
<i>Molla</i>	10.00	13.10	8.19	9.25	10,05
<i>Seyyid</i>	35.00	10.86	9.64	9.59	11,29
<i>Şeyh</i>	0.00	0.17	0.66	2.05	0,67
Total Average	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

The third analysis is about the number of the titles which an individual bore. For instance, a household head could have two or three titles at the same time, for example *seyyid hacı Mehmed Efendi*. There are 25 people in my database who bore three titles at the same time in the city center of Bursa.

As for the occupations of the three titled people, it is interesting to note in the first place that there were not any people who labored in the primary sector. Approximately half of the population of the three titled people labored in the tertiary occupations while 28.00 per cent of them were in the secondary sector. 24.00 per cent on the other hand was unemployed or did not declare an occupation.

The household heads who bore two titles at the same time had the highest percentage in the tertiary occupations when compared to one and three titled people. In other words, 50.00 per cent of the people who held two titles worked in the tertiary occupations. For the people who bore only one title, it can be asserted that it is the group in which people chose secondary and primary sectors more than two and three titled people as far as each group is considered.

Table 4.4. summarizes the distribution. In order to do a more meaningful comparison, total Muslim population was added to the information above:

Table 4.4. Percentages of the titled population within each sector according to title numbers

Number of Titles	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	W/O	Other	Total
Three Titled	0.00	28.00	48.00	24.00	0.00	100.00
Two titled	2.29	28.63	50.00	16.03	3.05	100.00
One Titled	5.75	34.77	38.83	16.07	4.57	100.00
Total Titled	5.04	33.56	40.98	16.20	4.22	100.00
Without Titles	14.99	33.95	20.90	26.90	3.25	100.00
Total Muslim	11.96	33.85	28.02	23.64	3.55	100.00

The titles of the silk traders (*harir tüccari*, *harir dellali*, *ipek tüccari*) and producers (*kazzaz*) is the last point which should also be stressed. It must be noted in the first place that silk producers and traders held titles more frequently than other people who had different occupations in 1844's Bursa. While the percentage of the people who bore title(s) in Bursa was 30.49 among Muslim population, among Muslim silk producers, the percentage of the title holders was 66.11 and it is 91.67 for the silk traders. The second interesting difference as far as silk traders and producers are considered is about title numbers. While 54.55 per cent of the titled silk traders held two titles at the same time, there were not any people who bore

three titles at the same time. The third interesting point is that *ağa*, *hacı* and *molla* titles were most frequently used titles both by producers and traders. The following table gives the percentages of titles which were held by the people in the silk sector:

Table 4.5. Percentages of the titled population within the silk sector

Titles	Silk Producers	Silk Traders
<i>Ağa</i>	40.91	23.53
<i>Bey</i>	9.09	0.00
<i>Derviş</i>	0.00	0.00
<i>Efendi</i>	9.09	17.65
<i>Hacı</i>	18.18	29.41
<i>Hafız</i>	0.00	11.76
<i>Molla</i>	22.73	11.76
<i>Seyyid</i>	0.00	5.88
<i>Seyh</i>	0.00	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00

4.4. The Relationship between Social Status and Income Level

This section examines the income levels of the title holders. In order to show the change in the income levels of the title holders, there will be two different analyses; the first will focus on nine titles separately and the second will be about the number of titles borne by individuals.

First of all, it can be observed from the *temettuat* register that there is a correlation between the income level and their titles. However, one major problem which is not going to be discussed here is that we can only speculate which one affected the other. In other words, whether income level varies according to titles or titles vary according to income level requires a causal analysis and that is outside scope of this study.

The average income of the people who bore at least one title is 920.61 *guruş*, while it is 450.90 *guruş* for those who were Muslims but did not bear titles. Therefore, it can be said that having titles means two times higher average income than those who did not have any. On the other hand, the average incomes of some titles like *derviş* and *seyh* are below the

average income of the people who did not hold titles. Our estimations show an average income of 340.23 *guruş* for *derviş* titled people and 371.67 *guruş* for those who bore *şeyh* title. If we could exclude *şeyh* and *derviş* titled people, we could have said that having titles means more income level when it is compared to the people who did not hold titles. However, although the average income level of the “total” titled people is higher than non-titled people, we cannot automatically say that having titles can always be correlated with higher income level.

The *temettuat* register shows a higher average income level for the people who bore *bey* and *ağa* titles. According to the records, while the average income of the people who bore *bey* title is 1404.60 *guruş*, the average income of the *ağa* titled people is 1402.60 *guruş*. For the people who hold *hacı* title, *temettuat* registers provides an average income of 1198.50 *guruş*. It is 965.46 *guruş* for *effendi* titled people, 791.51 *guruş* for *hafız* titled people, 677.67 for *seyyid* titled people, and 598.57 *guruş* for the people who bore *molla* title. As it was stated earlier, the average income of *derviş* titled people is 340.23 and 371.67 for *şeyh* titled people. Table 4.6 shows the population and average income of each title:

Table 4.6. The number and average incomes of people who bore titles

Title	Total Titles	Average Income (<i>guruş</i>)
<i>Ağa</i>	360	1402.60
<i>Bey</i>	61	1404.60
<i>Derviş</i>	43	340.23
<i>Efendi</i>	354	965.46
<i>Hacı</i>	487	1198.50
<i>Hafız</i>	104	791.51
<i>Molla</i>	179	598.57
<i>Seyyid</i>	201	677.67
<i>Şeyh</i>	12	371.67
Total Titles	1781	1029.07
Total People	1469	920.61

The number of titles an individual holds is an important indication of one’s income level. Accordingly, the second analysis is about the relationship between the quantity of the

titles and income level. According to the *temettuat* register, average incomes increase from one title to two and three titles which an individual bears at the same time. In other words, it can be said that the more titles an individual held, the higher annual income he earned.

The *temettuat* register demonstrates that the average income of the people who hold one title is below the average income of the total titled people. The average incomes of the two and three titled people on the other hand are higher when compared to the average income of the total titled people. The *temettuat* register provides an estimation of average incomes of one, two and three titled people as follows;

Table 4.7. Average incomes of one, two and three titled people

Number of Titles	Average Income (<i>guruş</i>)
Three Titled	1739.50
Two Titled	1501.70
One Titled	774.50
Total Titled	920.61
Without Titles	450.90
Total Muslim	594.10

The last point which is going to be discussed in the present part is the income levels of the silk producers and silk traders who bore title(s). It must be noted before analyzing the data that there are very limited numbers of people in a specific industry, generalization of this data set below about titles in the silk sector can be mistakable. Nonetheless, it might provide a tentative sense about the titles of the people in the silk sector.

It seems that there was a huge difference in terms of income level between titled and non-titled people who worked in the silk sector. For instance, while the average income of the total titled silk traders is 5802.40 *guruş*, it decreases to 1040.00 *guruş* for non-titled silk traders. There is also a difference in income levels between silk traders and silk producers who had the same titles. For example, while the average income of the silk producers who held *ağa* title is 1976.70 *guruş*, it is 7057.50 *guruş* for the silk traders who bore *ağa* title. The difference is more apparent when *effendi* title is considered. While the average income of the silk producers who keep *effendi* title is 585.00 *guruş*, it is 8330.00 for the silk traders who bore *effendi* title. The following table summarizes what is meant:

Table 4.8. Average income within the Silk Sector

	Silk Producers		Silk Traders	
	Population	Average Income	Population	Average Income
<i>Agā</i>	9	1976.70	4	7057.50
<i>Bey</i>	2	1670.00	0	0.00
<i>Derviṣ</i>	0	0.00	0	0.00
<i>Efendi</i>	2	585.00	3	8330.00
<i>Hacı</i>	4	1834.80	5	4357.00
<i>Hafız</i>	0	0.00	2	6520.00
<i>Molla</i>	5	1083.00	2	1100.00
<i>Seyyid</i>	0	0.00	1	15000.00
<i>Şeyh</i>	0	0.00	0	0.00
Average Titled⁹²	22	1493.90	17	5802.40
Average Total⁹³	36	1158.50	12	5405.50
Av. Non-Titled	17	783.50	1	1040.00

To sum, average income of the title holders seems quite different than those who did not bear titles. However, the most important contribution of the present part was that although the average income of the total titled people seems higher, we can observe that there are some titles like *şeyh* and *derviṣ* in which the average income of people was below even the average income of the total Muslim people. As far as dervish and sheikh life styles are considered, poverty can be said to have an important place especially for the former. There can be an affinity between modest income lever and dervishhood. Therefore, bearing titles do not necessarily mean a higher income level, or, it does, but with exceptions.

4.5. The Relationship between Social Status and Employment Status

This section examines social statuses of apprentices, journeymen and masters. The *temettuat* register provides interesting information with regard to the relationship between titles and employment status. Firstly we observe that there are a very limited number of titled people who were apprentices, journeymen and masters. According to the register, while 13.98

⁹² Because a person might have two and three titles at the same time, it includes total titles rather than people.

⁹³ Average income of the total muslim people who worked in the silk sector.

per cent of the total Muslim journeymen bore title(s), it is 11.26 per cent for Muslim apprentices and 13.33 per cent for Muslim masters.

Table 4.9. Percent shares of titles of apprentices, journeymen and masters

Title	Apprentices	Journeymen	Masters	Total ⁹⁴
<i>Ağ'a</i>	5.88	4.35	0.00	4.55
<i>Bey</i>	0.00	1.45	0.00	1.14
<i>Derviş</i>	5.88	5.80	0.00	5.68
<i>Efendi</i>	0.00	5.80	0.00	4.55
<i>Hacı</i>	23.53	17.39	50.00	19.32
<i>Hafız</i>	0.00	10.14	0.00	7.95
<i>Molla</i>	11.76	15.94	50.00	15.91
<i>Seyyid</i>	52.94	37.68	0.00	37.77
<i>Seyh</i>	0.00	1.45	0.00	1.14

First of all, it is interesting to notice that *seyyid* title was very popular among apprentices and journeymen. While 52.94 per cent of the titled apprentices bore *seyyid* title, it is 37.68 per cent for the titled journeymen. The reason why *seyyid* title prevailed among apprentices and journeymen is open to speculations. The *temettuat* register alone is not sufficient to answer this question. However, it can easily be said that apprentices and journeymen were neither a part of religious nor military classes. In that regard, when we turn back to the question of classifying titles, we cannot say that *seyyid* was a religious or military title in the context of the 19th century Bursa.

Secondly, it is also interesting that there was not any apprentice, journeyman or master who bore three titles at the same time. As seen in Table 4.10, while very few of the journeymen bore two titles, apprentices and masters used only one title. Therefore, the great majority of title apprentices, journeymen and masters bore only one title. On the other hand, most of the total population did not hold titles.

⁹⁴ It includes only the people who were apprentices, journeymen and masters together.

Table 4.10. Percentages of the titled population according to title numbers

Title	Apprentices	Journeymen	Masters	Total ⁹⁵
One Titled	100.00	95.45	100.00	96.47
Two Titled	0.00	4.55	0.00	3.53
Three Titled	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total Titled	11.26	13.98	13.33	13.32
Without Title	88.74	86.02	86.67	86.68

The third point about the social status of apprentices, journeymen and masters is that average incomes of their titled and non-titled population are different. Nevertheless, the difference is not as apparent as the average incomes of the total titled and non-titled population. For example, while the average income of the journeymen who bore at least one title is 416.00 *guruş*, for those who did not hold titles, it is 412.90 *guruş*. Between titled and non-titled apprentices, it can be said that the difference is more pronounced. The following data shows the average incomes of titled and non-titled apprentices, journeymen and masters:

Table 4.11. Average incomes according to employment status

Employment Status	Titled (<i>guruş</i>)	Non-titles (<i>guruş</i>)
Apprentices	350.30	235.80
Journeymen	416.00	412.90
Masters	700.00	632.30

4.6. Conclusion

The main question of the present chapter was to ask whether or not there was a relationship between social status, occupational choices and income level. Classifying all titles as civic-economic rather than military, administrative, religious or civil was essential in order to realize the importance of the titles in socio-economic life. Accordingly, the *temettuat*

⁹⁵ It includes only the people who were apprentices, journeymen and masters together.

findings indicate that all the titles in the 19th century Bursa had a similar characteristic; like a chicken and egg situation, they “determined” the socio-economic position of an individual, or, they “were determined by” the socio-economic position of an individual. Although socio-economic positions more likely had an effect on bearing specific titles, there could be interaction in some cases. This is why I prefer to call all titles as civic-economic titles, rather than classifying them as religious, administrative or military.

The remaining part of the present chapter focused on the relationship between firstly; occupational structure and social status, and secondly; income level and social status. This kind of research is done in order to assert that social status had an important role on occupational structure and income level. What can be inferred as a result is that both occupational structure and income level varies according to titles which an individual bore.

Although specific titles cannot be associated with a specific occupation, when these occupations are grouped into sectors, it is obvious that certain titles can be attributed to certain sectors. This was the first reason why I called titles as civic-economic titles as far as occupations and sectors are thought to be both social and economic indications of one’s socio-economic position.

The second reason why I called titles as civic-economic titles is about their relationship with income levels. It should be noted in the first place that on the contrary to my expectations, income level does not necessarily increase when an individual bears title(s), although it is true that total titled people’s average income is higher than those who did not bear title. For instance, as it was discussed above that the average incomes of the people who bore *derviṣ* and *şeyh* titles are even below the average income of the people who did not bear titles. Also, the average income of those who held *molla* title is approximately same with the total average income of the people lived in 1844’s Bursa. It should be noted that the modest income levels of *derviṣ* and *şeyh* can be attributed to their life styles especially for the former. However, it is true that the *temettuat* register indicates higher income levels of the people who bore *ağa*, *bey*, *hacı*, *effendi*, *seyyid* and *hafız* titles. In that regard, it can be asserted that having titles means higher income level but with exceptions. At least it can be said that while some titles were indications of wealth, some of them indicate modest income level when they compared with total average income of the total population in 1844’s Bursa.

As a result, these analyses are important because they give an opportunity to estimate an average income level and sectoral structure of people who had specific title(s). For

instance, a person who had *hacı* title was most likely worked in secondary or tertiary sectors who earned approximately up to 1000 *guruş*. For *effendi* titled people, as another example, it can be estimated that most probably he worked in the tertiary occupations with about 900 *guruş* annual earn. For *beys* and *şeyhs*, it can be estimated that they were without occupation in quasi-liability.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

To sum up, it can be said that this study was a snapshot of 1844 Bursa. The main aim of this descriptive study was to provide some answers for late Ottoman economic history, especially of Bursa. I expect that this study will also pave way to what is deficient about Bursa and Ottoman socio-economic history at the heat of the early *tanzimat* era.

First of all, as it was touched upon in Chapter Two, Chapter Three and Chapter Four, there seems to be a strong correlation among occupational choices, income levels, and social status. In that regard, while the second chapter was about to describe the relationship between occupational structure and income level, the third chapter was about the income inequality within and among certain groups including occupational and ethno-religious groups in 1844's Bursa. This provided an important description of shares and polarization of incomes in the context of late Ottoman Bursa. Chapter Four on the other hand focused on social statuses of people in Bursa. In that regard, relationship between titles and occupational and income groups were analyzed. Therefore, it is obvious while there seems to be a strong correlation among occupational structure, income level and social status as it was noticed earlier, together with occupational structure and social statuses, income level and income inequality was one of the main components of this thesis in order to describe income levels and income inequality within and among certain groups.

Secondly, it should also be noticed that at the end of each part above, the place of silk industry were discussed within the limits of current chapter. For instance, how to group occupations related to silk production and silk trade was discussed in Chapter 2. Also, the differences in income level in each occupation related to silk industry, i.e. *kazzaz dellali*, *harir dellali*, *harir tüccari*, *kazzaz*, was described in that part. It was estimated that the highest income level was earned by silk traders in tertiary occupations, specifically by *harir dellali* and *harir tüccari*. However, the lowest income level was also belong to an occupation which can be grouped under tertiary occupation; *kazzaz dellali*. It is comprehensible while the historical context of silk industry was studied. On the one hand, it was suggested above that since raw silk trade lost its former importance in the 18th century, lower income of *kazzaz dellali* can be comprehensible because the profession of being *kazzaz dellali* was about dealing raw silk (*koza*). On the other hand, declining raw silk prices in the last quarter of the 18th century had a positive effect on production of silk cloth in the beginning of the 19th

century as it was stated earlier. This could be why the income level of *harir dellali* and *harir tüccari* was higher than all other occupations including even *sarrafs* and *mubayaaci* who were money lenders. Furthermore, income inequality in the tertiary and secondary sector can also be attributed to the silk industry as well. The reason why the Ginis in the tertiary occupations is higher can be that there is a huge gap in income level between silk traders and professions about tertiary services. The difference between silk traders and other occupations is also apparent as far as their social status is considered. As it was discussed in Chapter 4, while the percentage of titled people among Muslims was 30.49, it is 91.67 per cent for Muslim silk traders.

As for third point, it can be important to mention about what I was expecting from the beginning and what I have found. It must be stated in the first place that the literature about history of Bursa shows that Bursa was one of the most important trade and manufacture centers like Diyarbekir, Antep and Kayseri in the Ottoman Empire. When Bursa is compared with Manisa, Manastır, Filibe, Edirne and such cities that agricultural sector surpassed the economy of the city, my findings corroborates the accepted opinion about manufacture and trade in Bursa. According to 1844 *temttuat* register of Bursa, secondary and tertiary occupations were not only predominant in number, but also income levels of these two sectors were much higher than the primary sector. Also, as it was described earlier, the great majority of the people who worked in primary occupations were agricultural laborers, not land owners. It can be speculated from this information that since there is a very restricted amount of agricultural lands in the vicinity of the city center, agricultural laborers worked in countryside as day laborers or seasonal workers but they were living in the city center. If it is supposed that they were the people who did not work in the center, it can be said that primary occupations, as the percentage among secondary and tertiary occupations, would constitute much lower percentage than that of mentioned in the Chapter 2.

Another important point is that I did not expect income inequality would be higher among the people who did not declare an occupation. However, this is meaningful when it is thought that some of the capital owners did not either worked or declared an occupation. Also there could have been some people like *mubayaaci*, *sarraf*, so ,money lenders who are wealthy but did not want to declare their occupation because of social pressure on brokers. Social pressure on some people who lend money cannot be underestimated because Islam restricts it.

I did not also expect such a higher income inequality level of Catholic Christians, however, when it is considered that during first half of the century, many European traders and manufacturers came Bursa in order to establish silk filatures⁹⁶, it would be more meaningful why income inequality among Catholics were higher.

Another point that must be stressed is about income level of ethno-religious groups. On the contrary to the general belief that Armenians and Jews were wealthier than Muslims, *temettuat* register shows that Muslims were wealthier than Armenians and Jews as for annual income. Even, as far as income level is considered, Armenians and Jews were in the bottom of the society.

Moreoever, I was thinking before I started my analysis about the relationship between social status and income level that titles were one of the most important indications of one's social status and people who bore at least one of the titles could be wealthier than those who did not. However, 1844 *temettuat* register of Bursa showed that although there is a positive correlation between having title(s) and income level in most cases, I saw that some titles like *şeyh* and *derviş* was an indication of modest life style, so, lower income level. So, rather than relate having titles with more income level (although it can be true but, with some exceptions), it would be more meaningful to relate titles with indications of one's economic status. Now, we know that while bearing some titles was an indication of lower income, most of the title holder's earnings were much more than average people who did not bear title. Moreover, it must be noted according to *temettuat* register that classifying titles as religious, military or administrative as far as 19th century is concerned is meaningless. Also, it is interesting that the usage of some titles like *çelebi* and *beşe* which were common before 19th century disappeared in the 19th century.

The fourth point can be about the deficiencies of the thesis. It is important to note that lack of countryside data might be misleading about analyzes related to the income inequality and occupational structure when these all were compared with other cities throughout world. It was indicated in each chapter about this problem. However, I think that even this could have given an important notion of the city center of Bursa in the context of 1840s in terms of comparable inequality level and occupational structure with Western Europe. In that regard, it was estimated that while the inequality level in the center was very close to that of Western Europe and 13 Colonies, if we had a chance to add countryside data, most probably we could

⁹⁶ Aktar, "Bursa'da Devlet Ve Ekonomi.", *passim*

have mentioned that inequality of Bursa region was very close the inequality levels of Prussia and Japan.

Another deficiency might be that *temettuat* register does not alone enable to show transformation in terms of income inequality and occupational structure. This is why the validity of Kuznetsian “Modern Economic Growth” theory for Ottoman Bursa could not be dwelled on. It should be noticed that I wanted to stress Kuznets’ ideas because the literature around inequality and occupational structure constantly mentions him.

All in all, this study gives a brief idea about Bursa in the early stages of its industrialization of mechanized silk industry. It is a descriptive snapshot of the city at a static moment in time. This study is also important in terms of methodological usage of *temettuat* register. In other words, this thesis introduces new methodological usages of *temettuat* register which had never done until now especially analyzes about income inequality and honorific titles are considered.

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