

Regional and Ethnic Differences in the Welfare of Urban Societies during the Tanzimat Period (1844–1870).

A Comparative Analysis of Priština, Vučitrn and Some Rumelian and Anatolian Settlements¹

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Ottoman sources provide facilities to measure and compare the welfare of the local societies through temettuat defters (which contain the yearly income for each person in the urban communities), or through the analysis of probates (in sicils and terekes),² or based on documents containing the amount of taxes to be paid. Of course, researchers have to face with the methodological challenge, that these are not comparable to each other – the first source-type refers to yearly income and tells nothing about the profits or the wealth itself, thus narrowing the possibilities of a comparative analysis. Tax-registers cannot refer to welfare or income accurately, because only tithe-types taxes (ondalik) are levied proportionally on income, vergi-type taxes or head taxes were not always handled in the same manner. Furthermore, types of taxes and methods of taxation were changing, rendering temporal comparisons more difficult. The existence of tax-farming further aggravated the quantification of income, as the profit of tax-farmers often remains unknown beyond the collected 10–12%. Although cizye (as head-tax) was

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² Атанасов, Хр. В османската периферия: общество и икономика във Видин и околността през XVIII в. С., 2008.

collected based on wealth the proportion of the different categories of welfare were changing quickly even within 10–20 years,³ such as the amount of *cizye* per capita, not to mention its real value in silver, or value given in PPP. Furthermore, Draganova proved on the example of Pleven, that the extent of land is not in strong correlation with these *cizye* categories, which means that many villagers and urban dwellers had other sources of revenue beyond agriculture.⁴ And as Bilgi proved in the case of Salihli settlement, the proportion (%) of tax measured to revenues can vary between broad values within a community, depending on the origins of income (agriculture, industry, tertiary).⁵ These all create limits to comparison. In order to avoid the traps discussed above we decided to focus on the first type of documents, which rely on yearly income.

Another problem is the selection of an appropriate welfare index. Regional studies now tend to focus on measuring inequalities instead of direct wealth in their calculations, as the formers may destabilize a society.⁶ Growing inequalities are

³ For example, in 1841 the number of persons grouped into the *ala* (richest) category was 234 in Berkovitsa, 5978 were *evsat* and 1124 *edna*. In 1831 it was 227, 6247 and 2978 respectively. Demeter G. A *Balkán és az Oszmán Birodalom*. Vol I. Bp., 2014, 354–355. (PPP = purchase power parity)

⁴ Draganova, Sl. Documents of the 1840's on the Economic Position of the Villages in Central North Bulgaria. – BHR, 1988, N 2, 87–100.

⁵ Bilgi, N. A Developing Village in the Middle of the 19th Century: Salihli. – In: Imber, C., K. Kiyotaki, (Eds.). *Frontiers of the Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*. Vol. 1. London – New York, 2005, 149–167. The average tax was about 16–17% of the income in Salihli, but in the case of richest it varied between 25–50% depending on the main occupation or sources of income.

⁶ See: Coşgel, M., B. Ergene. *Inequality of Wealth in the Ottoman Empire: War, Weather, and Long-term Trends in Eighteenth Century*. Kastamonu Working Paper, <http://web2.uconn.edu/economics/working/2011-29.pdf>; also Canbakal, H., A. Filiztekin. *Wealth and Inequality in Ottoman Lands in the Early Modern Period*. AALIMS – Rice University Conference on the Political Economy of the Muslim World, 4–5 April 2013 (working paper) http://aalims.org/uploads/Rice_v1.pdf; further: Coşgel, M. *Estimating Rural Incomes and Inequality in the Ottoman Empire*. – *International Journal of*

more dangerous – even within a society getting richer and richer averagely – from the aspect of social stability, than increasing poverty with decreasing inequalities between different layers of society. Contrary to this approach we chose the income as welfare index, partly because these above mentioned investigations are usually based on wealth (not on income). While probates can supply the researcher with continuous sampling for temporal comparisons, temettuat defters cannot provide us the same possibility, as these are static data and make possible rather spatial comparisons than temporal ones. Second, income data are also apt for investigating inequalities, thus Gini-coefficient can be calculated from them. Third, we were also curious about the internal stratification, the differences between occupations, mahalle-quarters, etc. and it is easier to count group average, standard deviation or mode, than the Gini-coefficient, which is based on the previously mentioned variables representing the dataset.

The following comparative investigation is based on the yearly income differences of taxable urban population and aims to trace:

- 1, the income differences between occupation-groups;
- 2, income differences depending on size and functional types of towns (did smaller towns have poorer society, is there any difference between their social stratification compared to larger town at different hierarchical level?)
- 3, differences in welfare of different religious communities (were Muslims richer in Ottoman Empire, what temporal and spatial patterns can be traced?);
- 4, local spatial differences (segregation) of urban dwellers based on their religion or wealth (differences between quarters, mahalles);
- 5, regional spatial differences regarding the welfare of

Middle East Studies, 40, 2008, N 3, 374–375; and Milanovic, B. P. H. Lindert, J. G. Williamson. Measuring Ancient Inequality. NBER Working Paper 13550, revised (2007), <http://www.nber.org/papers/w13550>.

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urban population (is there any difference between the welfare and social stratification of towns in Serbia, Kosovo, Bulgaria under Ottoman rule?);

6, the changes over time (how did the process of Tanzimat influence the livelihood of urban dwellers, did they become wealthy, more stratified or not?);

7, the role of migrant society: their wealth compared to autochthonous populations and identification of main source areas.

In the following pages I aim to analyze the validity of the statement whether the wheat producer Anatolian society was poorer compared to the Rumelian as for the 17th century Inalcik and Parveva pointed out, and to examine whether Tanzimat contributed to the enrichment of Christians or to the differentiation of Christian society, and whether these processes eliminated or enhanced material differences between Muslims and Christians in Rumelia. The investigations of Draganova and Berov put this debated question into another context, claiming that broad layers of Christian society were lucky enough to become rich compared to their previous status or compared with other regions. Whether it is the result of the activity of Midhat Pasha or not, or it is rather the consequence of favourable external circumstances (West Europe became the main consumer of Balkan wheat owing to the European division of labour, which implied manufactures for wheat, prior to the dumping of Russian and American crops) was not investigated.⁷

The investigation includes the following localities in Anatolia:

Salihli urbanized village, 278 conscripted in 1845	Anatolia
Silifke kaza (Konya), 567 conscripted in 1844	Anatolia
Kastamonu, Diyarbakir, Manisa , 1800–1820	Anatolia

and the following in Rumelia:

⁷ For this see Demeter G A Balkán és az Oszmán Birodalom. Vol. II. Bp., 2015. Sources used for this investigation: Osmanli Arsiv Belgelerinde. Kosova vilayeti. Istanbul, 2007, 363–413.

Priština: 1140 persons under taxation, 24% Christians, 1844	Kosova
Vučitrn: 282 persons under taxation, 40% Christians, 1844	Kosova
Provadija: 309 persons under taxation, Christians under 50%, 1870	Bulgaria
Anhialo-Pomorie: 200 persons fell under taxation in 1870, Christian predominance	Bulgaria
Majdanpek: 382 persons under taxation, 1862	Serbia
Veliko Gradište: 721 persons under taxation in 1862	Serbia
Kjotesh village: 81 taxable inhabitants, 33% Bulgarians, 1866	Bulgaria

INCOME DIFFENCES BETWEEN SOCIAL STRATA AND DIFFERENCES ORIGINATING FROM DIFFERENT HIERARCHICAL LEVEL OF SETTLEMENTS

Based on the summary of data illustrated in Table 1–2, and Figure 1–2, the following statements can be pointed out. Taxpayers at all categories of occupation were richer in Priština, than in Vučitrn with the exception of craftsmen, who were characterized by nearly the same per capita revenues (400–440 kurush) in the 2 towns. The income of administrative elite, soldiers and tradesmen was double in Priština compared to Vučitrn.

Craftsmen were underrepresented in Vučitrn with their 15% compared to the more urbanized Priština (40%). It is not surprising therefore, that land revenues were the major source of income in Vučitrn constituting 46+12% (while in Priština it was 14+8%), and peasants and landowners paid more tax compared to their proportion. Land revenues were of secondary importance in Priština: here only 10% of the taxpayers were free peasants or landowners, while in Vučitrn it exceeded 30%. Agricultural wage-labourers were also overrepresented in Vučitrn with their proportion of 26% compared to the 16% in Priština, but they were cheaper as well. The difference between the average income of the two settlements was more than 40%, people working in transportation earned 35% less in Vučitrn, teachers 50% less.

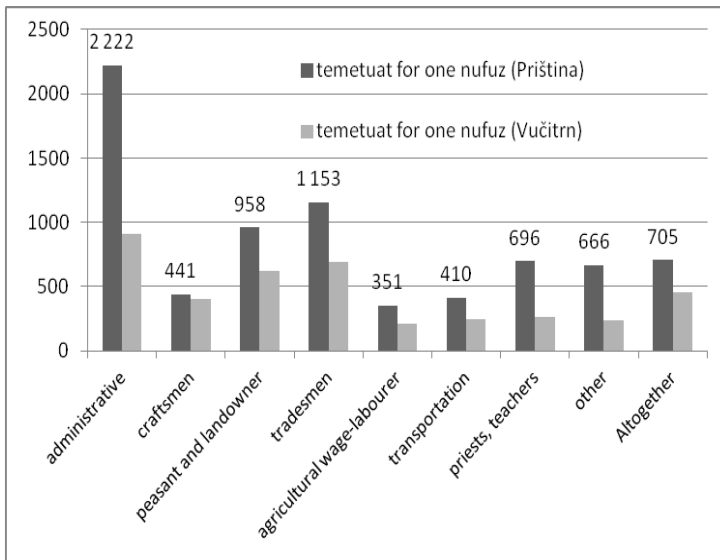
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Tab. 1–2. Distribution of income under taxation based on occupations in Priština és Vučitrn in 1844.

Priština, 1844	temetuat (kurush)	income in %	persons	persons in %	income for one tax payer	welfare index: *income in % / nüfus in %
local administration and soldiers	226 669	28.06	102	8.9	2222	3.2
craftsmen	200 596	24.83	455	39.7	441	0.6
peasants, landowners	113 076	14.00	118	10.3	958	1.4
merchants	81 846	10.13	71	6.2	1153	1.6
agricultural wage-labourers	64 517	8.00	184	16.06	351	0.5
transportation	37 736	4.67	92	8.03	410	0.6
teachers, priests	18 091	2.24	26	2.27	696	1.0
other	65 262	8.08	98	8.55	666	0.9
altogether	807 793	100	1146	100	705	1.0
Vučitrn, 1844						
local administration and soldiers	19 091	14	21	7	909	2,0
craftsmen	17 065	13	42	15	406	0,9
peasants, landowners	60 063	46	97	33	619	1,4
merchants	11 055	8	16	6	691	1,3
agricultural wage-labourers	15 426	12	74	26	208	0,5
transportation	2 658	2	11	4	242	0,5
teachers, priests	1 846	1	7	2	264	0,5
other	4 713	4	20	7	236	0,6
altogether	131 934	100	288	100	458	1,0

The role of administrative personnel was greater in Priština than in Vučitrn regarding both the percentage values (9 vs. 7%) and their proportion from the income as well (28% vs. 14%). The welfare index, which was calculated by using the proportion of income measured to the total, divided by the proportion of population group was extremely high in the case of administrative personnel in Priština, even higher than in Vučitrn, which means that inequalities based on social strata/ occupation were greater in the vilayet center. This is not surprising. Canbakal and Filiztekin proved the same: after the turn of the 18th–19th centuries, the inequality grew between civil society and the administrative elite. The latter was three times richer than the group average, as in Priština (Fig. 3).⁸

Fig. 1. Differences in wealth of strata (average revenues in Priština and Vučitrn).



⁸ Canbakal, H., A. Filiztekin, Op. cit.

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Fig. 2. Differences in social stratification and welfare of strata in the two Kossowar towns.

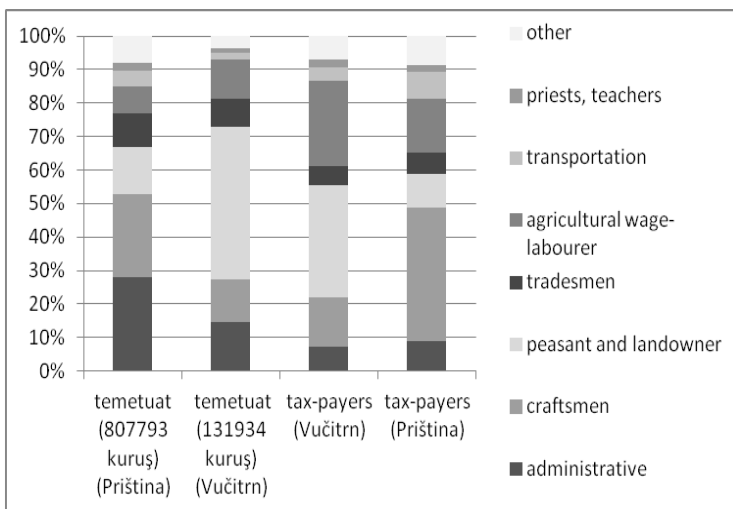
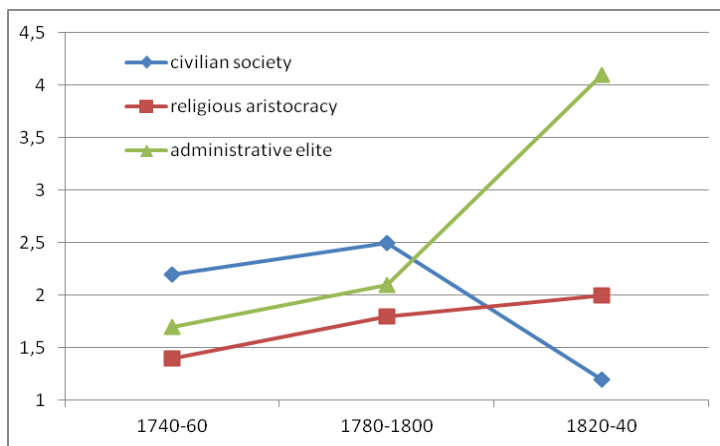


Fig. 3. The changes in wealth of different social layers in Manisa, Bursa and Diyarbakir measured to the average (=1).



Source: Canbakal, H., A. Filiztekin. Wealth and Inequality in Ottoman Lands...

INCOME DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN OCCUPATION GROUPS

The prestige of different occupations can be estimated based on the yearly revenues, which enables us to group them: the coloured background in Table 3 represents the different social strata and occupations assigned to these categories. Barbers, carpenters, tailors and abadzhis were characterised of low income, while shopkeepers, peasants, bakers, bakals were among the richer. The difference between the two towns was significant: certain occupations (like Muslim priests) belonged to different social classes based on their yearly income. However it is true that we do not know anything about the costs of living and the differences in costs of living for the 2 towns, therefore we cannot analyze differences of purchasing power and the index of livelihood.

According to the internal stratification (based on the distribution of income) Priština was definitely richer than Vučitrn (Fig. 4).

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

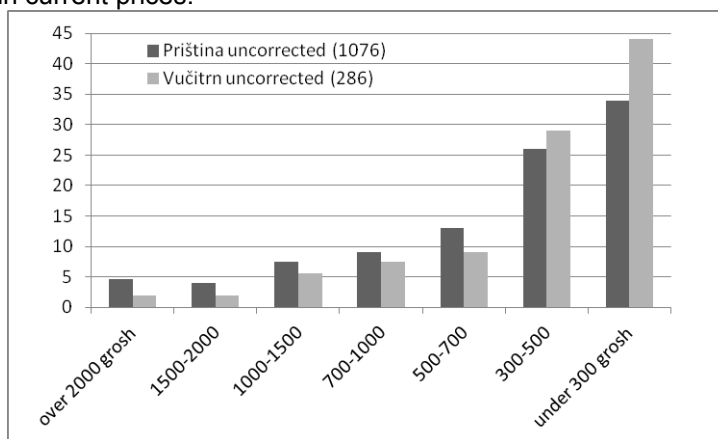
The internal stratification of the population can be examined further by defining religious sub-groups. It is evident that the Moslem population was the wealthiest religious community in Kosovo according to the temetuat defters in 1844. In Vučitrn among the 20 wealthiest tax payers (7%), one can find only 2 Christians (10%, compared to their 40% in the whole sample). The wealthiest Moslems were landowners, timar rentiers or tenants (14), the mukhtar himself and only 2 merchants (compared to Bulgarian lands their proportion was very low). 10 of the richest were living in Gazi Ali bey mahalla, but the generally poorer Hürrem mahalla also gave 7 persons. Richest Christian merchants were living in the Kasaba ranked 21-25th place. Among the poorest 25 (10%) only 8 Christians were enumerated, a little bit underrepresented (33%) compared to their proportion from the whole society.

In Priština among the wealthiest 50 persons (4,5%) with

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income above 2000 grosh were 20 timarli rentiers, 2 çiftlik owners, 5 ‘peasants’ and only 7 merchants besides the naib and the leaders of zaptie. Only 3 Christians and 1 Jew was enumerated in this group (2 of them are merchants). They were not concentrated in one district but rather dispersed: 13 were living around the Great Cami and 9 in Aliüaddin mahalla, 4 in Hasan Emin. Among the poorest 100 (under 160 grosh) one can find 33 Christians, a bit overrepresented compared to their 25% in the whole society. 36 were living in the outskirts, 13 in Ramazanije mahalle, 16 in Jusuf Celebi quarter.

Fig. 4. Internal stratification of Priština and Vučitrn based on taxable income in 1844 (% and grosh-kurush). Data are given in current prices.



A two sample t-test proves statistically, that inhabitants of Priština were significantly richer than their compatriots in Vučitrn. The statement is true for religious groups as well: Christians and Moslems in Priština were richer, than in Vučitrn considering the average income (Tab. 4). Regarding the median value, differences between religious groups were also diminishing compared to average values. Canbakal and Filiztekin also pointed out that among the richest differences in wealth originating from

religious differences were eliminated between 1720–1820 people, meaning that the elite became religiously heterogeneous.⁹ Differences within the identical religious group in different localities were also smaller if median is used as index. Standard deviation was great, meaning that both Christian and Muslim society was very differentiated in 1844. Differences within religious groups were even greater than differences between different denominations.

When investigating the differences between the social stratification of local Muslims and Christians in Kosovo it became evident, that Christians with their 33% proportion among the poorest were overrepresented in Priština (their proportion from the total population was about 25%), while they constituted only 8–15% of the richer (Tab. 5). In the case of middle classes the proportion of Christians was similar to their proportion from the total population. While 33% of the Muslim community earned more than 666 groshes at corrected prices, it was only 15% in the Christian society. 60% of the Christians were classified into the poorest categories, while among the Muslims this was only 38%.

In Vučitrn the 2 millets showed relatively balanced structure, although the proportion of Muslims among the poorest was 13% greater than in Priština (the proportion of Christians was even higher in the category under 333 grosh). Among richer (1000–1333 piastres yearly income) the Christians were overrepresented. So, while the Bulgarian and Muslim society was very similar at the end of the Tanzimat regarding their social differentiation (Tab. 4, Kjetesh), in the beginning of the reform process significant differences were observable in the western part of the peninsula between the two millets.

Tab. 3. Social position (based on yearly income) of different occupations in Priština and Vučitrn, 1844.

⁹ Religion explained only 10% of the differences in 1820 and dropped back from 22%. Canbakal, H., A. Filiztekin, Op. cit.

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Vučitrn, 1844	persons	taxable income (kuruş)	for one person
tailor of textiles	4	1225	305
arabadji	6	1897	316
shopkeeper	2	1300	650
barber	3	945	315
barber assistant	3	987	329
chapaldji	2	305	153
peasant	93	51 636	555
landowner	4	8426	2107
carpenter	2	400	200
baker	3	1440	480
moslem priest	4	1113	278
tailor of clothes	4	1551	388
tailor assistant	5	2050	410
spahi	1	500	500
timarli rentier	7	7962	1137
gendarmerie	6	1763	294
trader	15	10 855	724

Priština, 1844	persons	taxable income (kuruş)	for one person
pasha	1	78 000	78000
tailor of textiles	4	1640	410
arabadji	63	24 092	382
shopkeeper	44	31 469	715
barber	21	9010	429
<i>bojadji</i>	6	2990	498
<i>choban</i>	4	1170	293
peasant	54	65 312	1209
landowner	15	29 019	1935
carpenter	8	2246	281
baker	16	7701	481
moslem priest	16	11 954	747
tailor of clothes	76	34 004	447
<i>dervish</i>	3	300	100
<i>hamam keeper</i>	2	555	278
<i>coffee maker</i>	11	4235	385
timarli rentier	76	130 000	1711
gendarmerie	12	6582	549
trader	61	65 497	1074
<i>muezzin</i>	3	1116	372
<i>mukhtar</i>	8	7278	910

Tab. 4. Income inequalities of religious groups in Priština and Vučitrn towns (1844) and in Kjøtesh village (Bulgaria) (1866) in current prices (piastres).

<i>riština</i> (1078)	Average income (<i>kuruş</i>)	Standard deviation	Median	Vučitrn (287) Average income	Standard deviation	Median	Kjøtesh village (83)	Average income	Sta. deviation	Median
Christian	427	414	300	367	259	291	Bulgarian (27)	402	184	300
Moslem	707	828	420	518	641	315	Ottoman (8)	456	280	300
Jewish	811	1021	395				Tatar (46)	348	186	300
Total	630	748	375	459	530	300	Total	392	216	300

Source: Osmanli Arsiv Belgelerinde. Kosova vilayeti. Istanbul, 2007, 363–413, and Драганова, Сл. Материали за Дунавския вилает. С., 1980, 242–245. (Tab. 163.) The pasha is omitted from the investigation.

LOCAL PATTERN OF DIFFERENCES (SEGREGATION)

Local income differences within settlements can also be traced. Richest quarters (based on mean income), mahalles were all Muslims in Priština (Cami, Jararçeri) and also characterised by mediocre homogeneity, referring to a differentiated local society (Tab. 7). The Muslim and Christian suburbs and the Muslim Yusuf Celebi district were poor and relatively homogenous. Districts of middle classes were not homogenous, while the districts of lower classes showed no real stratification. It seems that the greater the income, the smaller the homogeneity was. The average income in the wealthiest mahalle in Vučitrn did not exceed the welfare of mahalles of mediocre wealth in Priština, Christian mahalles were even poorer (Tab. 6).

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Tab. 5. Social stratification of Christian and Muslim societies based on differences of income in Kosovo.

Priština	Muslim	Christian	Muslim %	Christian %	Muslim society %	Christian society, %
above 1333 grosh	105	9	92,11	7,89	13,3	3,0
1000–1333	51	9	85,00	15,00	6,5	3,0
666–1000	83	25	76,85	23,15	10,5	8,3
333–666	247	79	75,77	24,23	31,4	26,4
under 333	299	177	62,82	37,18	38,1	59,2
Vučitrn	Muslim	Christian	Muslim %	Christian %	Muslim society %	Christian society, %
above 1333 grosh	14	0	100,00	0,00	8,1	0,0
1000–1333	5	7	41,67	58,33	2,8	6,1
666–1000	13	9	59,09	40,91	7,5	7,8
333–666	48	24	66,67	33,33	27,6	20,9
under 333	90	75	54,55	45,45	51,7	65,2

Source: Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde. Kosova vilayeti, 363–413.

Tab. 6. Income differences of mahalles in Vučitrn according to religion and social homogeneity in 1844.

mahalle	Average (kuruş)	Standard deviation	Median	Relative wealth	Homogeneity of mahalle (St. dev. / Average)
Gazi Ali bej (M)	665	822	373	++++	*, 1.23
Hürrem (M)	486	404	337	+++	***, 0.82
Kasaba (Ch)	368	238	300	++	****, 0.62
Kibtiyani ¹⁰ (Ch)	138	69	125	+	****, 0.49
Mahalle (Ch)	427	293	303	++	****, 0.68
Average	459	530	300	+++	*, 1.15

¹⁰ Christian gypsies.

Tab. 7. Income differences of mahalles in Priština: wealth and social homogeneity.

mahalle	Average (kurush)	Standard deviation	Median	Relative wealth	Homogeneity of mahalle (St. dev. / Average)
Alaüddin (M)	786	711	525	+++	**, 0.9
Cami kebir (M)	1195	1164	770	++++	**, 0.97
Hasanbey (Ch)	535	464	355	++	***, 0.86
Hasan emin (M)	827	1383	405	+++	*, 1.67
Hatuniye (M)	581	498	400	++	***, 0.85
Yarar (Ch)	413	280	280	++	***, 0.67
Yararçeri (M)	1109	991	821	++++	**, 0.89
Yunus (M)	755	714	500	+++	**, 0.94
Yusuf Celebi (M)	337	275	250	+	***, 0.81
Kasaba (Ch)	459	477	325	++	**, 1.03
Küçükcamı (M)	1151	942	900	++++	***, 0.81
Suburb (Ch)	207	58	200	+	****, 0.28
Suburb (M)	240	88	225	+	****, 0.36
Mehmed bey (M)	470	355	360	++	***, 0.75
Pirnazir (M)	698	1085	504	+++	*, 1.5
Ramazanije (M)	544	567	400	++	**, 1.04
Average	630	748	375	+++	*, 1.18

Source: Osmanlı Arsiv Belgelerinde. Kosova vilayeti. İstanbul, 2007, 363–413. Richest mahalles are indicated by gray background, Christian mahalles are indicated by bold letters. * = least homogeneous, **** = homogeneous.

REGIONAL SPATIAL DIFFERENCES

The regional differences regarding the welfare of towns can also be measured by applying the same income classification, however it raises (1) the question of rescaling the data published by Nikolay Todorov, who used a different grouping, (2) the problems concerning the real prices of Thalers given for Serbia (B. Katić), and (3) the changes in silver content and in the prices of goods within the investigated 25 years. Thus a regrouping and correction of original data was required (Tab. 8).

Since both the prices and the silver content of kurush changed during the investigated time interval, this required the introduction of purchasing power substituting the different currencies. Within 20 years the prices grew by 50%, while the piaster's silver content was slowly increasing. This means, that 2000 grosh in 1866 equalled with 1333 grosh in 1844. In this way the data on Vučitrn and Priština were rescaled in order to make them comparable with Bulgarian and Serbian towns from the later periods.

Among the compared towns the small Pomorie was the richest followed by Priština – regarding the proportion of wealthy layers. The latter was very similar to the stratification of the small Provadija. These were followed by Vučitrn which had a more differentiated society with larger proportion of rich and poor and with a thinner middle-class compared to the 2 Serbian towns.

The proportion of persons earning more than 1000 grosh a year was 20% in Provadija, 50% in Pomorje, only 26% in Priština and 17% in Vučitrn using the corrected values (but only 16% and 10% without the usage of PPP). The Anatolian Silifke kaza around Konya in 1845 was as rich as Pomorie in the 1870s. Urban Bulgaria was wealthier during the last decade of the Ottoman rule, than urban Kosovo in 1844 or Serbia in the 1860s. The fact that in Vučitrn only 1 merchant, but 3 farmers-landowners had more than 2000 grosh yearly revenue, while in Pomorje–Anhialo 25 persons or 95% of this stratum was

composed of merchants, clearly enlightens the changes over time and the differences in the way of living and in these two regions of Ottoman Empire. During these 25 years a new, wealthy stratum emerged in Bulgaria. In Priština this latter category of wealthiest people comprised 50 men including 23 farmers, çiftlik owners and timariots (46%) and only 6 merchants (12%). Especially middle class was weak in Kosovo (32 and 25% between 333–666 grosh), while in Bulgaria this layer was strengthening its position (42%, 500–1000 grosh).

Tab. 8. Social stratification of Bulgarian, Serbian, Kossovar and Anatolian towns in %.

Yearly income in kuruş	Pomorje (200: 1870 k)	Provadija, with agricultural wage-labourers (309: 1870 k)	Majdanpek, (382: 1862)	Veliko Gradište (721: 1862)	Priština, 1844 uncorrected (1077)	Vučitrn, 1844 uncorrected (287)	Silifke kaza (Konya), uncorrected (567)	Rescaled based on purchase parity %	Priština, 1844 corrected (1077)	Vučitrn, 1844 corrected (287)	Silifke kaza in Anatolia (Konya), corrected (567)
above 2000	13	20	1	3	4.6	2	2	above 1333	10.5	5	11.5
1500–2000	10		1	5	4.2	2	9	1000–1333	6	4	33
1000–1500	28		6	16	7.6	5.2	33	666–1000	10	8.5	17
500–1000	48,5	42	72	39	22.6	16.4	55	333–666	32	25	25
under 500		38	19	36	61	74.2		under 333	42	57	13

Taxpayers and year in brackets. Serbian Thaler is counted at 6 kurush. Katić, B. Štruktura stanovništva Velikog Gradišta i Majdanpeka. – Istorijski časopis, 35, 1988, 119–131; Тодоров, Н. Из демографията на гр. Анхиало (Поморие). – ИБИД, 1967, 159–181; the same, Социално-икономически облик на Провадия. – ИГр, 1963, № 2, 68–85.

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Tab. 9. Income of different settlements in Silifke kaza (case number in brackets).

Settlement types	Silifke muslims (84)	Silifke non-muslims (15)	villagers in plains (191)	villagers in mountains (132)	nomads (149)	altogether (567)
Average income in kuruş in 1845 (per tax-payers)	808	434	1110	1009	610	900

Based on Yalçın, A. Temettuat defterlerine...

Was the Rumelian town/village richer, than the Anatolian town or village? Establet and Pascual in Damascus pointed out, that 75% of the population accumulated less than 500 grosh wealth (in 1720 it equals with 8000 gramms of silver, in 1780–1800 with 4000 gramms), which is similar to the values in Vidin calculated after Atanasov.¹¹

In Kastamonu town, the average heritage was 1800 kurush in 1820 and has doubled since 1720. Unfortunately our data refer to yearly income, therefore not comparable. But in western Anatolia in the urbanized Salihli village the average income per household was 830 grosh (although agricultural income constituted only 55% of the total income, and agricultural taxes constituted 15% of the total taxes levied); in Marmara it was 1935 piastres (here 77% of revenues came from agriculture), and in Saruhan it was 1780 piastres in 1844. The latter two settlements were definitely richer than Priština and Vučitrn in the same era, while Salihli was similar to the Kosovar towns. Average income was around 1200 piastres¹²

¹¹ Establet, C., J. P. Pascual. Damascene Probate Inventories of the 17th and 18th Centuries. Some Preliminary Approaches and Results. *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 24, 1992, 375–376.

¹² Counted after the yields and animal population given by Draganova before the increase of wheat prices.

in Bulgaria in the vicinity of Pleven (for estates between 2–5 hectares, for larger estates it was even higher) in the 1840s (higher than in Priština), but it was around 2000 groshes in Kjustendil and above 3000 in rural Berkovica in the 1870s.¹³ Neither the silver content of the piaster, nor costs of living did change significantly over that time,¹⁴ which means that rural Bulgaria became richer by the end of the Tanzimat (Tab. 10). The Anatolian kaza of Silifke (Konya), where agriculture produced 75% of the income (in Priština it was 26 %, in Vučitrn it was 60%) was also poorer in 1845, than Pleven, where 20% of tax-payers had more than 2000 groshes yearly income, while in Silifke kaza it was only 2% (see also Tab. 11).¹⁵ (Pleven lived from animal-husbandry prior to the great upswing of wheat export). Of course, Silifke was poorer than the Bulgarian towns in the 1870s, but not poorer than Priština or Vučitrn in 1844, or Kjotesh in the 1860s (see Tab. 9). The average income in the kaza was around 900 piastres, and Christians were the poorer (450 piastres). Even local leaders (mukhtars) had the same income (900–1400 kurush) as the administrative elite in Priština.

Rural Anatolia was not significantly poorer than Bulgarian towns with the exception of the proportion of the richest layers. The middle class showed similar frequency values (in percentage) both in Bulgarian towns in the 1870s and in rural Anatolia in the 1840s. So, from economic aspects the Tanzimat strengthened

¹³ See the works of Sl. Draganova: Драганова, Сл. Берковското село в навечерието на Освобождението: статистическо изследване според османските данъчни регистри. С., 1985; the same, Кюстендилски регион, 1864–1919: Етнографско и социално-икономическо изследване. С., 1996.

¹⁴ The costs of living were decreasing while earnings were increasing between 1840–1870 in Constantinople. See: Özmucur, S., S. Pamuk. Real Wages and Standards of Living in the Ottoman Empire, 1489–1914. – *The Journal of Economic History*, 62, 2002, N 2, 301.

¹⁵ Yalçın, A. Temettuat defterlerine göre 19. Yüzl Ortalarında Silifke kazasının sosyal ve ekonomik yapısı. – OTAM. 15. 2004, 13–87.
<http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/19/1272/14643.pdf>

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mainly the class over 2000 piasters yearly income in the towns of the Danubian provinces. It is also evident that incomes in rural Bulgaria were increasing, exceeding the values characteristic for Priština and often Anatolia.

Tab. 10. Average income of different settlements in Rumelia and Anatolia in the 1840s and 1870s during the Tanzimat era.

Settlement types	Berkovica (1870s)	Kjustendil (1870s)	Pleven (1840s)	Salihli (1840s)	Marmara (1840s)	Saruhan (1840s)	Priština (1840s)
Average income in kuruş (per households)	3000–3500	2000	1200	850	1900	1700	750

Tab. 11. The differences in stratification of social layers in urban Bulgaria (1870s, in %) and rural Anatolia (1840s).

Yearly income in piastres	Pomorie (200: 1870s)	Silifke kaza, 1845
above 2000	13	2.1
1500–2000	10	9
1000–1500	28	33
under 1000	48,5	55

Based on the raw data of Todorov and Yalçın.

MIGRATION PROCESSES

Based on their names more than 80 Muslim and 10 Christian newcomers were identified in Priština, which is only 9% of the population. Of course the proportion of not indigenous population might be greater, but could not be identified as many of the names did not refer to the place of origin, but to occupation. Based on these available data, Christian society tended to be less mobile towards the vilayet seat, as the number of Muslim immigrants exceeded that of the Christians by 8 times, while

among the total population the ratio between the two millets was 3:1. This might be explained by the fact, that among Christians peasants settled on land were overrepresented and for them migration was forbidden. Furthermore, the ethnic proportions also show that the town was not among the most favoured destinations of Christians as ethnic replacement has already taken place by that time not only in Priština, but in Kosovo as well (this process accelerated in 1878, when 25% of the inhabitants were conscripted as Muslim muhadjir refugees from Bosnia). Those who were conscripted with the name Yanovali (8 persons) were all Muslims, although formerly Yanova was the centre of Catholic Slavs in Kosovo with strong trading relationship with Ragusa in the earlier centuries. More interestingly, among the source areas of Muslims immigrating to Priština one can find Novobrdó (15 persons), the last capital city of medieval Serbia. This place is followed by Vučitrn (5), Prizren (4), Ipek (3), Lipjan (3), Zaskok (2), so most of the immigrants arrived from the nearest neighborhood. Djakova and Gilan gave 1-2 immigrants. Outside the borders of Kosovo the main source areas were Dupnica (2), Shkodra (2), the Serbian Retkošer (3) and Trstenik (2). Beyond these Mitrovica (2) Skopje, Niš, Belgrade (1-1-1) can be mentioned. The main source of Christian immigrants was Vučitrn (3) followed by Prizren, Štip, Mitrovica, Ipek (1). It is surprising that the yearly income of immigrating Christians did not lag behind that of the immigrant Muslims (540 piastres), who were poorer than local Muslims (700 piastres). The latter fact is even more surprising if we analyse the occupational structure of Muslim newcomers: among the one can enumerate 8 timar and 2 çiftlik owners or rentiers/tenants/leaseholders and several richer peasants (only 3 of them had lower income than 1000 piastres). But the reason of the relative poverty of Muslim immigrants is that most of them were agricultural wage-labourers, chapaldjis, bostandjis (8), or sekbans (5), wagoners (6), whose yearly taxable income was between 300–400 piastres (the 2 merchants had 750 piastres each, which is lower

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than the local average). The reason for the relative wealth of immigrant Christians is the high income of merchants that modified the average, which would have been around 400 kurush anyway.