

Industrial Development and Social Transformation in Ottoman Macedonia

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Significant textile industrialisation occurred in Macedonia from the 1870s to 1912, the end of Ottoman rule. Development was most prominent in the region surrounding the town of Naoussa. Focusing on the town, this article demonstrates the economic processes through which trade liberalisation in the 1830s eventually resulted in industrialisation led by private enterprise. It is further shown that the emergence of industrial capitalism relied on Christian communal institutions and mechanisms of power. These reflected sharp social stratification within the town and were relatively independent of the central Ottoman state. The article also demonstrates that there was no capitalist transformation of agriculture in the region, even though industrialists and merchants often owned large landed estates. Development reached a critical juncture towards the end of the period as expanding industrialisation transcended the narrow sphere of communal institutions.

1. Introduction¹

It is increasingly accepted within economic theory that development in the context of trade liberalisation requires social as well as economic underpinnings. Capitalist development draws not only on resources,

¹ Thanks are due, above all, to D. Quataert for unstinting advice and encouragement. Various drafts were read by O. Yildirim, Ş. Pamuk, K. Agriantoni, S. Petmezas, O. Türel, N. Petralias, T. Byres, B. Fine, C. Cramer, M. Itoh, M. Takenouchi, A. Saad-Filho, S. Skaperdas, and L. Hoggart. Help with Turkish terms as well as comments were given by G. Dedes and S. Aybar. The technical treatment of data was improved by A. Noor and G. Smith. Special mention should be made of A. Oikonomou for his early appreciation of the importance of Macedonian industrialisation. Finally, I wish to thank all those in Naoussa who have kept alive the tradition of local history. Needless to say, all errors are my responsibility.

skills and market institutions, but also on social contacts and reciprocal obligations that frequently have a communal dimension. Successful operation of markets, for instance, often presupposes communal self-organisation, as well as bridging and bonding practices among economic agents.

Industrial development in the late Ottoman Empire provides some insight into these issues. Significant development occurred in the Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century under conditions of trade liberalisation and bearing a strong communal aspect (Christian and Jewish). To be specific, spontaneous Ottoman industrialisation occurred mainly in mechanised cotton-spinning.² Fairly rapid growth took place after the 1870s, most prominently in contemporary central/western Greek Macedonia. This region stretches from the port city of Thessaloniki to the three provincial towns of Veroia (*Karaferye*), Naoussa (*Ağostos*) and Edhessa (*Voden*).³ Its economic history has been little studied, and interest has focused almost exclusively on Thessaloniki. However, industrialisation took place earlier and independently in the three provincial towns, while their textile capacity exceeded that of Thessaloniki when Ottoman rule ended in 1912. Moreover, their industrial development was largely an affair of the local Christian community.

This article throws light on the social and economic underpinnings of Ottoman industrialisation by examining the economic history of Naoussa. This approach (essentially a case study) is appropriate because private entrepreneurs from Naoussa led textile industrialisation in Ottoman Macedonia. The town possessed the first viable cotton-spinning mill in Macedonia and exported industrial capital to the rest of the region, including Thessaloniki. Families originating in Naoussa controlled approximately 30% of the total mechanised cotton-spinning capacity of

² D. Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, (Cambridge 1993), ch. 2, and M. Palairat, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, (Cambridge 1997), ch. 11.

³ Place names are a fraught issue in Macedonia. This article uses Greek names, often including original Turkish and Slavic names in Hellenised form. When greater precision is called for, names and other terms are also given in italicised Turkish or transliterated Greek. Naoussa was also commonly called Niaousta; its Slavic name is Negush.

the Empire in 1912. Much of the Empire's factory-produced woollen cloth was also in their hands.

The social and political structures of the Christian community of Naoussa were instrumental to the town's role in Ottoman industrialisation. During the final decades of Ottoman rule, a group of Christian landowners, industrialists and merchants, the *chorbaji* (*çorbacı*), dominated the town. Sections 2, 3 and 4 show that this social stratum controlled productive assets, as well as trade in cotton yarn and woollen cloth. Their ability to obtain investment funds, technology and market information relied on family and trade networks. It also depended on political and social power drawn from the mechanisms of Christian communal organisation and the institutions of the Orthodox Church. *Chorbaji* power dealt successfully with the social and economic frictions which accompanied the emergence of industrial capitalism. But its communal and provincial aspect made it less effective in confronting problems of further industrialisation.

Important in this respect were relations between the *chorbaji* and the Ottoman state. Following the Tanzimat proclamation of 1839, the Ottoman authorities re-centralised state power, restructured fiscal mechanisms, improved transport and communications infrastructure, and created a legal framework securing capitalist property. The authorities, meanwhile, kept aloof from spontaneous industrialisation processes. There was no question of industrial or other development policy. In this context, the *chorbaji* of Naoussa negotiated their relations with the local Ottoman state and became partially integrated into its lower reaches, while still maintaining control over communal mechanisms. Nonetheless, the *chorbaji* remained relatively remote from central Ottoman state power in Istanbul, and even in Thessaloniki.

Furthermore, textile industrialisation in central/western Macedonia took place while the agricultural plain lay firmly under landlord control. Landlords were typically Muslims, but a significant minority were Naoussa Christians who often had commercial and industrial interests. Sections 6 and 7 show that industrialisation in Naoussa was not accompanied by capitalist transformation of agrarian relations. The estates of Christian landlords did not become large agrarian capitalist concerns, and were probably less productive than Muslim-owned estates. The failure to bring

about capitalist transformation of agriculture weighed heavily on the prospects for further industrialisation in Macedonia.

Industrial capitalism thus emerged in Ottoman Macedonia against a background of trade liberalisation, political and institutional reform by the state, absence of industrial policy, and estate-dominated agriculture. The success of provincial Macedonia is consistent with Palairet's conclusion that late Ottoman institutions were not necessarily inimical to development.⁴ But it should also be noted that the achievements of provincial Macedonia remained precarious, despite the dynamism of its industrialists. In 1912 they faced fierce competition from cheap imported cotton yarn, unstable supplies of cotton, lack of advanced technology, and intense social and political tensions at home, as well as friction with Jewish capitalists in Thessaloniki. Confronting these challenges would have required political and social power greater than that available locally.

The European part of the Ottoman Empire collapsed in 1912 under the combined onslaught of the Balkan states. To the very end, the Christian entrepreneurs of Macedonia did not become – nor were they integrated into – a broadly based capitalist class. Instead they controlled community-based mechanisms that facilitated the emergence of industrial capitalism, in itself a remarkable feat. However, by 1912 they faced fresh problems of industrialisation in relation to which communal resources were of slender value. If the Ottoman Empire had survived longer in Europe, it is conceivable that the relationship between the Christian *chorbaji* and the central Ottoman state would have been placed on a different footing, notwithstanding the obstacles of religion and nationalism.

2. Natural environment and historical background⁵

Naoussa lies on the eastern flank of Mount Vermion (*Karakamen*), on the edge of the central Macedonian plain. It has a continental microclimate and is surrounded by deciduous forests. The river Arapitsa

⁴ M. Palairet, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, p. 356. For Palairet, moreover, the destruction of the Empire led to economic retrogression. Establishing the validity of this claim for provincial Macedonia is far from straightforward, and lies beyond the concerns of this article.

crosses the town, offering opportunities for hydraulic energy. Access to Naoussa is gained via a turning off the main Veroia - Edhessa road on the plain, and even today the town feels slightly remote. But in the late Ottoman period, remoteness was very real. Prior to the arrival of the railway in 1892, the trip from Thessaloniki (a distance of 80-90 kilometres) took fourteen hours.⁶ Trains cut the time to two and a half hours, but it took a further hour and a half by oxcart from the station, since Macedonian railways were typically built at some distance from towns.⁷

Naoussa is not an old town. There are legends connecting its founding to the Ottoman conqueror of Macedonia, Gazi Evrenos Bey, in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁸ However, it is more likely that the town was founded in the fifteenth century by his grandson, Ahmed Bey Evrenosoğlu, probably at the instigation of the influential dervish Sheikh İlahi.⁹ Naoussa seems to have been a settlement of Christians from the start, with rights of self-government and tax privileges.¹⁰ Its history before the early eighteenth century is little known, but perhaps it had a Greek public culture from early days. An interesting piece of information in this respect refers to a revolt in 1705, apparently against the practice of gathering Christian boys for Janissary service (*deüşirme*).¹¹

The town came under the administrative jurisdiction of the pasha of Thessaloniki. According to the traveller Evliya Çelebi, Ottoman power in the late seventeenth century was represented by a resident officer (*mütevelli*) of the *vakıf* (pious foundation) of Evrenos Bey, charged with collecting *vakıf* incomes.¹² There was also a *voevoda*, collecting incomes on behalf of

³ Primary material on the economic history of Naoussa is extremely scarce due to the burning down of local archives (including those of mills) in January 1949 in the course of the Greek Civil War. Analysis in this article uses data mostly from the obscure but reliable sources of E. Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', *Makedonikon Imerologion*, (1911), pp. 44-57, and P. Dekazos, *I Naoussa tis Makedonias*, (Athens 1913).

⁶ E. Stougiannakis, *Istoria tis poleos Naoussis*, (Thessaloniki 1993 [1924]), p. 25.

⁷ B. Gounaris, *Steam over Macedonia*, (New York 1993).

⁸ Stougiannakis, *Istoria tis poleos Naoussis*, pp. 37-44.

⁹ M. Kiel, 'Yenice Vardar (Vardar Yenicesi - Giannitsa)', *Byzantina Neerlandica*, 3 (1972), pp. 300-39.

¹⁰ Stougiannakis, *Istoria tis poleos Naoussis*, pp. 48-9.

¹¹ I. Vasdravellis, *Oi Makedones kata tin Epanastasin tou 1821*, (Thessaloniki 1967), pp. 20-1

¹² V. Demetriades, *I Kentriki kai Ditiki Makedonia kata ton Evliya Tselempi*, (Thessaloniki 1973), p. 246.

the sultan's mother, who had property in the area (*bass*), it is probable that the same person acted as both *mütevelli* and *voevoda*.¹³ Çelebi notes that Ottoman power was also represented by a low-ranking Muslim religious judge, a *naip*, who dealt with criminal and civil cases.¹⁴ By the early nineteenth century the lowly *naip* had been upgraded to a *kadi*.¹⁵

In practice Naoussa found itself under a large measure of Christian self-government – an unusual state of affairs for Macedonian towns and cities. As the authority of the central state declined across the Empire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, self-government depended on two institutions: local communal organisation and the Orthodox Church, both of which played an important role in the subsequent process of industrialisation. Christian power resided with a small band of notables (*demogerontes*) running the affairs of the town, one of whom (referred to as *archon* by the traveller Cousinery) was occasionally able to acquire tyrannical powers.¹⁶ The *archon*, supported by the notables, was in charge of sizeable Christian armed forces for the protection of the town,¹⁷ and could arrest and imprison opponents. Christian power also resided with the Church, and drew on the organisation of the community around parish churches and monasteries under the control of the bishop of Veroia.

Church and notables had judicial rights over Christian civil cases, including marriage, dowry, divorce and inheritance, though some property and inheritance disputes among Christians reached the *kadi*. The power of the notables also relied on control over the fiscal affairs of the community (primarily community tax payments), often combined with money-lending, as also happened in the Greek south.¹⁸ The church

¹³ Demetriades, *I Kentriki kai Ditiki Makedonia kata ton Evliya Tselempi*, pp. 30-34.

¹⁴ Demetriades, *I Kentriki kai Ditiki Makedonia kata ton Evliya Tselempi*, p. 248.

¹⁵ E.M. Cousinery, *Voyage dans la Macedoine*, (Paris 1831), p.73.

¹⁶ Cousinery, *Voyage dans la Macedoine*, pp.72-3.

¹⁷ E. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, (Paris 1826), vol. III, p.94.

¹⁸ S. Petmezas, "Christian Communities in 18th and Early 19th-Century Ottoman Greece: Their Fiscal Functions", in M. Green (ed.), *Parallels Meet: New Vistas of Religious Community and Empire in Ottoman Historiography*, Princeton Papers, *Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. XI, (2005), pp. 71-116.

¹⁹ V. Demetriades, 'Problems of Land-Owning and Population in the Area of Gazi Evrenos Bey's Vakıf', *Balkan Studies*, 22, (1981), pp. 43-57.

and lay constituents of Christian power were brought together in parish committees. Church and notables had the right to collect taxes from the Christian population in order to finance schools and other communal activities.

Land ownership in the region was tightly bound with the descendants of Evrenos (*Evrenosoğulları*) based in Giannitsa (*Yenice Vardar*) from where the *vakıf* of Evrenos was overseen. The institution of the *vakıf* possessed a vast area extending from northeast of Thessaloniki to the river Aliakmon (*İnce Karasu*) in the west, and had the right to receive land taxes. It included lands in the vicinity of Naoussa, reaching into the town. In the eighteenth century the *vakıf* started to give way to chiftlik (*çiftlik*), that is, private estates held by landlords who were often absentee and engaged in usury.¹⁹ The precise pattern of chiftlik ownership in the broader area of Naoussa at the end of the eighteenth century is unknown.

Domestic manufacturing existed in Naoussa at the beginning of the nineteenth century, especially in linen towels, wool-fulling, silk, jewellery and weapons.²⁰ The town was on traditional caravan routes connecting southern Balkan fairs, and there were Naoussa merchants in central Europe.²¹ Naoussa was also famed for its wine, as it still is.²² Its wealth attracted the attentions of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha of Jannina, the effective ruler of south-western Balkans, who besieged it in 1795, 1798 and 1804. In 1822 the events of the Greek revolution encouraged Naoussa to revolt against the Porte, but the insurrection was crushed and the town was sacked. Official Ottoman documents record the names of 640 inhabitants, a large part of the mature male population of the town, who were executed, pardoned or exiled. Property, both urban and rural, was extensively confiscated.²³

¹⁹ Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, vol. III, p. 95; Cousinery, *Voyage dans la Macedoine*, p. 72; W. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, (Amsterdam 1967[1835]), p. 287; Stougiannakis, *Istoria tis poleos Naoussis*, pp. 56-7.

²¹ T. Stojanovich, 'The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant', *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 20, no. 2, (1960), pp. 234-313.

²² Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, vol. III, p. 95; Cousinery, *Voyage dans la Macedoine*, p. 72.

²³ Several documents have been published in Vasdravellis, *Oi Makedones kata tin Epanastasin tou 1821*, pp. 282-95, though the translation is far from satisfactory.

Recovery of population and economy started soon after the sack. The pardoned families possessed, in addition to land, a significant number of workshops, including some in wool-processing.²⁴ Christian immigration took place from the surrounding areas, and the authorities also invited Muslim immigrants, with the transparent aim of forestalling future rebellions. In the 1850s Aravantinos recorded the town's size as 'two thousand Christian families of Bulgarian race', but his information is problematic since he had not visited Naoussa personally.²⁵ Moreover, his figure is suspiciously similar to the 'two thousand houses' given by Pouqueville before the revolt.²⁶ The information given thirty years later by Skhinas, a Greek military officer engaged in reconnaissance, seems more reliable: he estimated the size of the town at 900 Christian and 120 Muslim houses.²⁷ Thus, population in the 1880s was perhaps in the region of 5,000 people.

During the last three decades of Ottoman rule, however, the town's population grew rapidly. At the end of the period, it was reported at 12,000 (including 1,500 Muslims) by Igglesis and Dekazos, though Stougiannakis gives a figure of 9,000.²⁸ Rapid population growth is commensurate with the advance of commercial and industrial capitalism in the town, as well as with the acquisition of large landed estates by Naoussa Christians on the plain.

3. The extent of capitalist industrialisation in Naoussa and the broader region

When Ottoman rule ended in 1912, Naoussa could legitimately be described as an industrial town. Evidence to back this claim comes mostly from Stougiannakis, who was the head of education in Naoussa, an ardent Greek nationalist and meticulous observer of the affairs of the town. Evidence also comes from Kofinas, Palamiotis, and Tsakalotos (much of

²⁴ Vasdravellis, *Oi Makedones kata tin Epanastasin tou 1821*, p. 291.

²⁵ P. Aravantinos, *Chronografia tis Ipirou*, (Athens 1856), vol. 2, p. 116.

²⁶ Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, vol. III, p. 94.

²⁷ N. Skhinas, *Odoiporikai simetoseis*, (Athens 1886), vol. I, p. 167.

²⁸ N. Igglesis, "Naoussa" in *Odigos tis Ellados*, 1910, reprinted in A. Goutas (ed.) *INaoussa ston 19o aiona*, (Thessaloniki 1999), p. 112; Dekazos, *INaoussa tis Makedonias*, p. 23 ; Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', p. 145.

whose work was reproduced verbatim by Anastasopoulos), who were connected in various ways to the Greek administration installed after 1912.²⁹ Their works are, in effect, official reports on Macedonia, and hence sharply critical of the shattered Ottoman regime. All sources are in substantial agreement regarding economic data, but Stougiannakis stands out for accuracy and coherence.

Textiles were the primary field of capitalist industrial activity in Naoussa, the extent of which is demonstrated in *Table 1* (see Appendix). The figures are consistent with Palairet's data for machine cotton-spinning for the whole of Macedonia in 1912.³⁰ Palairet records 10 mills with a total of 70,000 spindles, of which 3 (with 22,800 spindles) were in Thessaloniki and 7 (with 47,200 spindles) in the 'provinces', i.e. Naoussa, Edhessa and Veroia.³¹ Palairet's data do not include mill (4), which commenced operations after World War I under the name of Tsitsis. However, its land, plant and equipment had already been provided in 1911 by Kokkinos and Lapavitsas,³² though family quarrels prevented the concern from starting production. Even without mill (4), it is clear from *Table 1* that there were 3 cotton-spinning mills with 16,000 spindles in Naoussa in 1912.

The actual weight of Naoussa capital in Ottoman textile manufacture, however, was considerably greater. Of Palairet's remaining 4 'provincial' mills, 2 were located in Edhessa and 2 in Veroia. Both the Edhessa mills belonged to families originating in Naoussa, namely Tsitsis (established in 1895, possessing 16,500 spindles in 1912) and Lappas-Hajidimoulas (established in 1907, possessing 6,000 spindles in 1912).³³ The

²⁹ Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa'; G. Kofinas, *Ta oikonomika tis Makedonias*, (Athens 1914); G. Palamiotis, 'Georgiki ereuna tis Makedonias, Meros A., Ditiki Makedonia', *Bulletin of Greek Agricultural Society*, vol. 6, no 1-2, (1914), pp.1-75; E.D. Tsakalotos, 'Peri tis en Makedonia viomixanias kai tou mellontos autis', *Archimedes*, year IE, vol. 1, 2, (Athens 1914); G. Anastasopoulos, *Istoria tis ellinikis viomixanias, 1840-1940*, (Athens 1947).

³⁰ Palairet, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, p. 351.

³¹ There is broad agreement regarding the total of spindles for Macedonia: 'around' 70,000 by Kofinas, *Ta oikonomika tis Makedonias*, p. 221; 71,680 by Anastasopoulos, *Istoria tis ellinikis viomixanias*, p.911; 73,100 by A. Oikonomou, "I viomixania sti Naoussa apo ton 19o ston 20o aiona" in *Naoussa, 19os-20os aionas*, (Naoussa 1999), p. 340.

³² Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', p. 150.

³³ Tsakalotos, 'Peri tis en Makedonia viomixanias kai tou mellontos autis', quoted in Anastasopoulos, *Istoria tis ellinikis viomixanias, 1840-1940*, p.911, gives 18,500 spindles for the Tsitsis mill.

entrepreneur who initiated the process of industrialisation in Edhessa was Kyrtis from Naoussa. By 1912 the transformation of Edhessa had proceeded so far that the town could similarly be described as industrial. According to local tradition, moreover, Naoussa entrepreneurs were instrumental in starting the Veroia mills. Finally, of the 3 mills based in Thessaloniki, one belonged to a Naoussa family, namely Tourpalis (established in 1910, possessing 4,900 spindles in 1912). The remaining two Thessaloniki mills belonged to Jews.³⁴ Thus, capitalists with Naoussa roots controlled 6 out of 10 cotton-spinning mills and 43,400 out of roughly 70,000 spindles in Macedonia in 1912, without even counting mill (4). This amounts to approximately 30% of the Empire's total cotton-spinning capacity, given that Macedonia possessed about half of the latter.³⁵ Machine cotton-spinning in the late Ottoman Empire was pretty much the business of Naoussa.

The importance of Naoussa capital in Ottoman textile manufacturing becomes even more evident when the wool sector is considered. Bulgaria produced most machine-made woollen cloth in the Balkans in the late nineteenth century, but significant mechanisation took place in Macedonia in the 1900s, for reasons discussed in the next section. There were four wool-weaving mills in the European parts of the Empire in 1912, two of which were located in Naoussa (*Table 1*) and two in Thessaloniki (as well as a further mill producing hosiery).³⁶ One of the Thessaloniki mills also belonged to Naoussa capitalists, namely Tourpalis-Kazazis (with 28 horsepower and 30 workers).³⁷ In all, 80% of the horsepower and 90% of the employment in the mechanised woollen-

³⁴ Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, p. 45, notes that, of the 10 spinning mills of Macedonia, 8 belonged to Christian Greeks and 2 to Thessaloniki Jews. The evidence here shows that families with Naoussa roots owned 6 of the 8, and perhaps played a role in establishing the remaining 2.

³⁵ C. Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914*, (Chicago and London 1980), p. 310, records 82,000 spindles left in the Empire in 1914 – after the loss of Macedonia – 68,500 of which were active. Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, p. 44, notes that Macedonia possessed 28,000 more spindles than Adana in Anatolia, the second-largest area of cotton-spinning in the Empire.

³⁶ Tsakalotos, 'Peri tis en Makedonia viomixanias kai tou mellontos autis', quoted in Anastasopoulos, *Istoria tis ellinikis viomixanias, 1840-1940*, p. 913.

³⁷ Kofinas, *Ta oikonomika tis Makedonias*, p. 228.

cloth sector in the European part of the Empire was controlled by Naoussa capitalists.³⁸

Finally, in 1912 Naoussa continued to produce significant volumes of shayak (*şayak*), a felt-like woollen cloth manufactured domestically, with an annual output of 66,640 metres and a value of 3,000-4,000 Ottoman £.³⁹ At that time the town also possessed three large water-mills (the largest operating separately within the spinning mill of Longos-Kyrtsis-Tourpalis), two saw-mills, one electrically-powered saw-mill, a mechanised tile works, a sizeable silk-processing plant, as well as dozens of smaller water-mills, sesame presses and wool-fulling workshops.

It is important to note, however, that this capacity represented a very small industrial base compared to European competitors in 1912. There were, for instance, 140,000 workers employed in Bohemian mechanised cotton-spinning and printing circa 1850, while even relatively backward Spain had 10,000 workers in 91 cotton mills in 1805.⁴⁰ Despite their considerable dynamism, Naoussa capitalists had not created deep foundations for the industrial transformation of Macedonia by 1912. The economic, social and political reasons for the precariousness of industrial development are analysed in the following paragraph.

4. Familial and communal origins of industrial transformation

Ownership and control of Naoussa enterprises were in the hands of a few families that often pooled together the equity of each concern. Bonds between families were cemented through marriage. Without family networks of money capital, land assets, skills and information, capitalist production would have been impossible in Naoussa. *Table 2* (see Appendix) lists the major shareholding families of Naoussa-owned mills during the period from 1875 to 1912.

³⁸ Tsakalotos, 'Peri tis en Makedonia viomixanias kai tou mellontos autis', quoted in Anastasopoulos, *Istoria tis ellinikis viomixanias, 1840-1940*, p. 912, gives 24 horsepower and 15 workers for Lanaras-Pehlivanos.

³⁹ Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', p. 152.

⁴⁰ D. Quataert, *Manufacturing and Technology Transfer in the Ottoman Empire, 1800-1914*, (Istanbul, Strasbourg 1992), p. 28.

Approximately twenty families supplied the bulk of industrial equity investment during the period, some providing land, others money capital and some both. Several families were involved in more than one concern. The overlap was often due to different branches of the same family becoming involved in separate concerns by inheriting parts of the family fortune, marrying into another family, or simply setting up on their own. The families in *Table 2* belonged to the dominant social group of the town, the Christian chorbaji, though some were long-established members of the group and some fairly new entrants. The chorbaji also included large landowners, merchants and owners of urban real estate.

The transformation of Ottoman institutions during the Tanzimat entailed more secure property rights, and gradually conferred equal rights in court and firmer political rights to Christians and Jews. In Naoussa, these changes facilitated social transformation that led to the rise of the chorbaji in the 1840s and 1850s. There is little overlap between the families in *Table 2* and the families that were pardoned after the rebellion of 1822. It is probable that the majority of the chorbaji were immigrants who moved into the town when repopulation began after the catastrophic events of 1822.⁴¹ Urban and agricultural land was going cheap, and the newcomers were able to acquire productive assets. They also proved adept at entering the nascent domestic manufacture of shayak. Around the middle of the century, several chorbaji began to acquire land on the nearby plain, leading to the emergence of large Christian landownership, discussed in sections 6 and 7.

During the Tanzimat, Ottoman authority in the town became far more organised and coherent. In the 1850s, the Ottoman state was locally represented by a resident civilian officer, a *müdüir*, as well as a *kadi*, both of whom were charged with implementing Tanzimat reforms.⁴² The *müdüir* remained the leading official until 1912, supported by lower-ranking administrators for forestry, post and telegraph services, tobacco

⁴¹ A. Goutas, 'Kalokairi tou 1936. Sizitiseis me ton Constantino Hatzimalousi', *Niaousta*, vol. 10, no. 81, (1997), pp. 10-12. This source is an extremely sketchy record of an interview with Hajimalousis, the first democratically elected mayor of Naoussa, whose private archive is extant but not in the public domain.

⁴² B. Nicolaidy, *Les Turcs et la Turquie Contemporaine*, (Paris 1859), vol. 2, p. 281.

monopoly and the police.⁴³ At the same time, self-government for the Christian community was re-established and, already in the 1850s, the 'aristocracy' of the town comprised ten Greek Christian notables.⁴⁴ An archon was elected through limited popular vote in 1849 after intercession by the bishop of Veroia with the Ottoman authorities.⁴⁵

Christians obtained even more power in local politics following the imperial rescript (*Hatt-i Hümayun*) of 1856, which allowed formal Christian participation in local authority. The legislation remained in abeyance in Naoussa for more than a decade, probably due to local Muslim opposition. But it was enforced in 1868, and a Christian mayor was elected with limited suffrage: he had formal power over town affairs and was entitled to an armed guard. By the time of the first mayor's election, the chorbaji had become well versed in dealing with the local Ottoman state, and capable of negotiating relationships that suited their economic and social interests. The mayor was a cog in the official Ottoman state machine, as well as the titular head of the Christian community.

The chorbaji of Naoussa controlled the office of the mayor from the first election in 1868 until the late 1900s. They also dominated an array of important communal mechanisms and institutions, including the electoral college, the council of notables, the education committees, the hospital committee, the committee for dowry contracts, not to mention parish and charity committees. Control over education was important since it was the leading communal activity of the Christians of Naoussa, improving the quality of the labour force and strengthening the bonds that kept the community together as well as separate from its Muslim neighbours. Education also forged national and cultural links with the kingdom of Greece, which proved vital for industrialisation.

Chorbaji domination of parish committees, furthermore, led to control over communal funds and provided opportunities for money-lending, in which the chorbaji generally engaged. It is probable that communal funds were a ready source of working capital in a town sorely lacking

⁴³ Iggleis, "Naoussa" in *Odigos tis Ellados*, 1910, p. 112.

⁴⁴ Nicolaidy, *Les Turcs et la Turquie Contemporaine*, vol. 2, p. 282.

⁴⁵ G. Stoyoglou, "I ekklesia kai ta sxoleia sti Naoussa", in *Naoussa, 190s-200s aionas*, (Naoussa 1999), p. 46.

in formal financial institutions.⁴⁶ More broadly, control of communal committees afforded power that could be deployed to influence economic affairs, such as access to the waters of Arapitsa. The river was a vital economic resource and subject to a multitude of conflicting demands, as is shown below. Finally, the availability of formal and informal power probably played a role in the chorbaji acquiring communal land, as well as land that was close to the river and therefore suitable for industrial purposes.⁴⁷

5. Economic and social forces of capitalist transformation

The economic background of capitalist transformation against which the Naoussa chorbaji acquired and wielded power was determined in large measure by the Free Trade Treaties of the late 1830s between the Empire and the European powers. The Treaties forced the opening of Ottoman markets to imports bearing a low tax of 5% (raised to 8% in 1861). The implications for domestic textile-manufacturing were dramatic and complex.⁴⁸ Existing domestic cotton-manufacturing, especially the spinning of cotton yarn, shrank rapidly in the face of British competition.⁴⁹ But new commercial possibilities also emerged in textile products that often used imported yarn. In the Balkans there was a market in cheaper cloths (woollen and cotton) for low-income urban families, the army and the peasantry. These cloths were domestically produced and of sufficiently good quality to resist imports. The segmentation of the textile market eventually created a field for capitalist industrialisation in Naoussa.

⁴⁶ There is little evidence regarding the role of organised finance (trade credit and banking) in Naoussa and across provincial Macedonia. Since textile production typically relies on short-term credit, it is likely that important findings would result from research in bank archives.

⁴⁷ Goutas, 'Kalokairi tou 1936. Sizitiseis me ton Constantino Hatzimalousi'.

⁴⁸ D. Quataert, *Manufacturing and Technology Transfer in the Ottoman Empire, 1800-1914*, (Istanbul, Strasbourg 1992), pp. 16-25; see also Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, ch. 2 and Palairt, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, ch. 2.

⁴⁹ Though there is room for argument regarding the extent of the decline of homespun production, judged far less severe by Quataert in *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, than by S. Pamuk in 'The Decline and Resistance of Ottoman Cotton Textiles, 1820-1913', *Explorations in Economic History*, 23, 1986, pp. 205-25.

The broad economic forces at work were evident in the upland towns of Bulgaria, where domestic production of woollen cloth (shayak as well as the coarser *aba*) increased strongly in the mid-nineteenth century. Bulgarian woollen cloth prevailed in the Ottoman markets from the 1860s onwards, especially after the mechanisation of production in Gabrovo and Sliven following Bulgarian independence in 1878.⁵⁰ Along similar lines, the traveller Nicolaidy reported significant shayak production in Naoussa in the 1850s: 'There is here a factory producing thick woollen cloth, quite similar to felt, which is called Saïak'.⁵¹ Unfortunately, information is scarce regarding the volume of shayak production up to 1912, except for Stougiannakis's figure for 1911, quoted in section 3 above.

On the other hand, a large market for cheap woollen cloth did not exist among Macedonian or other peasants, who met their needs mostly by weaving their own wool at home, in traditional style. Peasant self-sufficiency in woollen cloth created a demand for coarse cotton yarn to combine with wool in domestic weaving. Furthermore, handloom-produced coarse cotton cloth resisted imports with considerable success after the 1880s, its production approximately doubling between 1880 and 1914.⁵² There was large production of this type of cloth in the region of Giannitsa and elsewhere in Macedonia.⁵³ Similar sources of demand for cotton yarn also existed in Albania, Bulgaria and other parts of the Balkans. Until the 1870s this demand was met by homespun (also commercially supplied) and coarse imported yarns.

In the 1870s it became profitable to mechanise the supply of coarse cotton yarn in Macedonia. The opportunity perhaps arose as falling international prices for cotton made raw materials cheaper, while declining incomes encouraged the consumption of domestic goods.⁵⁴ An attempt to mechanise cotton-spinning was made in Thessaloniki in the 1860s by the Allatini, a prominent Jewish family, and two further attempts were

⁵⁰ Palairot, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, ch. 9.

⁵¹ Nicolaidy, *Les Turcs et la Turquie Contemporaine*, vol. 2, p. 282.

⁵² Pamuk, 'The Decline and Resistance of Ottoman Cotton Textiles, 1820-1913'.

⁵³ Palairot, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, p. 352.

⁵⁴ Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, p. 41.

made in the vicinity of Thessaloniki, but without lasting results.⁵⁵ In contrast, the Naoussa mill of Longos-Kyrtis-Tourpali, established in 1875,⁵⁶ survived and proved a catalyst for further industrialisation.

Mechanisation of wool weaving developed later. Bulgarian exports of manufactured woollen cloth dominated the Ottoman market towards the end of the nineteenth century, but started to diminish in the 1900s because producers had allowed quality to decline. The declining quality of Bulgarian cloth was especially problematic for the Ottoman army, and the loss of the Ottoman market became catastrophic for Bulgarian producers after the imposition of duties in 1910.⁵⁷ Entrepreneurs in Naoussa and Thessaloniki took advantage of these openings and established woollen cloth mills in the 1900s. The large and advanced Hajilazaros mill in Naoussa dominated the sector and acted as chief supplier to the Ottoman army.⁵⁸

Naoussa capitalists were able to grasp the opportunities for industrialisation in the 1870s because of the existence of significant shayak production in the town. Shayak manufacture provided the opportunity to accumulate capital. This is evidently true for the early cotton-spinners who were heavily involved in the domestic manufacture of shayak. The manufacture and trading of shayak, furthermore, created networks that provided technology and information about textile markets. These networks drew on cultural and national affinities, considering that the main export destination for Naoussa shayak was the kingdom of Greece in the south. The link proved important as mechanised cotton-spinning emerged and grew rapidly in the Greek port of Piraeus during the period from 1868 to 1875.⁵⁹

The leading exporters of shayak to Greece from “the days of old” were Longos, Tsitsis and Lapavistas.⁶⁰ There is a direct connection,

⁵⁵ D. Zografski, *Razvitokot na kapitalistichkite elementi vo Makedonija*, (Skopje 1967), pp. 481-2.

⁵⁶ Though some productive capacity was already in place by 1874.

⁵⁷ Palairat, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, p. 257.

⁵⁸ Stougiannakis, ‘Naoussa’, p. 151.

⁵⁹ Ch. Agriantoni, *Oi aparxes tis ekvriomixanisis stin Ellada ton 19o aiona*, (Athens 1986), pp. 114-188.

⁶⁰ Stougiannakis, ‘Naoussa’, pp. 147-8.

therefore, with the owners of the first Naoussa spinning mill, Longos, Kyrtsis and Tourpalis. In 1874-5, the shayak-makers-become-cotton-spinners bought the equipment of the smallest of the new mills in Piraeus (which had recently failed), shipped it to Thessaloniki by boat, and transported it to Naoussa by oxcart over appalling roads. A Greek engineer from Patra installed the spindles and built the wooden turbine to set them in motion.⁶¹ Greek engineers continued to repair the machinery and transfer technical know-how in the following years.

Naoussa capitalists were also able to take advantage of the technical knowledge available in the town. Apart from technical skills in domestic textile manufacturing, the town had skills in harnessing the waters of Arapitsa for hydraulic energy. The first two spinning mills were established on the sites of already existing water-mills. The family of Bilis, instrumental in starting the second mill, remained in possession of still other water-mills until the end of the Ottoman period. After its establishment, the Longos-Kyrtsis-Tourpalis mill provided further training ground for the skills and customs necessary for industrial capitalism.⁶²

The supply of water to set the machines in motion was largely free, but this has a more complex significance than appears at first sight. Free water certainly offered a competitive advantage with regard to the cotton-spinners of Thessaloniki, who used coal. However, obtaining a share of the flow of Arapitsa was far from straightforward in view of the dozens of competing industrial, agricultural and urban uses. Indeed, water access was carefully regulated, entailing social conflict and the exercise of power.⁶³ It also put a premium on the ownership of land, as factory sites had to be reasonably close to the course of the river. Reduced flow in the summer, moreover, forced the mills to curtail production. Without the social and political power of the chorbaji it would have been difficult for the cotton-spinners to obtain stable and free supplies of water. Finally,

⁶¹ Ch. Hajiosif, *I giraia selini: I vivomixania stin elliniki oikonomia, 1830-1940*, (Athens 1993), p. 40.

⁶² Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', p. 149, calls it an 'industrial Academy'.

⁶³ In response to the application to establish the first mill the Ottoman authorities stipulated that the supply of water to the fields should not be affected (Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, p. 169). This is probably a distant echo of social friction engendered by access to the waters of Arapitsa.

taking advantage of the waters of Arapitsa waters required significant initial and maintenance investment (blocking and redirecting the river, channelling the water and creating a drop).⁶⁴

The emergence of industrial capitalism also relied on the broad trading networks and commercial knowledge available to Naoussa. Wine, dairy products and preserved meats were regularly traded with Thessaloniki, but also with Bosnia and Egypt. Trade with Egypt, initially in wine and foodstuffs, was particularly important in the mid-nineteenth century, leading to substantial emigration and the setting up of trading offices in Cairo and Alexandria after the early 1860s.⁶⁵ In 1911 the town possessed 12 'large' (20,000 Ottoman £) and more than 20 'smaller trading houses' (8,000 Ottoman £).⁶⁶ A provisional list of families with significant commercial capital in 1911 is reported in *Table 3* (see Appendix).

It is notable that almost all trading families were involved in cotton-spinning and the production of woollen cloth. The overlap is partly inevitable, since textile output had to be marketed. But it also suggests a degree of primitive accumulation of capital in commerce that was subsequently directed to industry. The Goutas family provides an example: having originally engaged in trade in Egypt in the 1860s, they subsequently set up a spinning mill in Naoussa in 1903. Even Goutas, however, established the mill after contracting a marriage with Karatzias, who was a shayak trader.

The emergence of a group of industrial capitalists in Naoussa was inevitably accompanied by the creation of a sizeable working class. In 1912, there were probably between 2,000 and 3,000 wage labourers in a total population of about 10,000, including 815 directly employed in the textile mills (*Table 1*). However, wage labourers were often also engaged in cultivating their own smallholdings, as is discussed below. The process of the creation of this urban class is obscure. It is certain, though, that mill employees in 1912 were mostly women: Kyrtis-Longos-

⁶⁴ A. Oikonomou, 'To palio viomixaniko sigkrotima Longou-Kirtsis-Tourpali sti Naoussa', *Mnimeio kai Perivallon*, (Thessaloniki 1994), pp. 65-82, gives a detailed description of the relevant technical arrangements of Longos-Kyrtis-Tourpali.

⁶⁵ A. Goutas, 'Naoussaioi metanastes stin Aigipto', in *Naoussa, 190s-200s aionas*, (Naoussa 1999), pp. 179-90.

⁶⁶ Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', p. 148.

Tourpalis employed 200 women out of a total of 270, while Bilis-Tsitsis had 'mostly' female workers (160), as did the other mills.⁶⁷ Children were also commonly employed.⁶⁸ Finally, it is certain that, even in 1912, a significant proportion of workers came from villages around Naoussa.

It can be reasonably assumed, therefore, that most of the 80 workers initially employed by Longos-Kyrtsis-Tourpalis were young girls recruited from surrounding villages. Factory employment was unsuitable for the married women of Naoussa, who for the most part produced shayak domestically. Indeed, one of the official concerns of the Ottoman state regarding the establishment of the first mill were its implications for women's domestic employment.⁶⁹ Thus, young peasant girls from the surrounding villages were drafted to work for a few years prior to marriage. Since mill operations slackened in the summer as the flow of Arapitsa lessened, workers could combine urban and rural work. In later years, barracks and other housing were constructed for workers in both Naoussa and Edhessa.

Exploitation and conflict-ridden relations characterised employment in the mills. Wages were very low, offering a major competitive advantage to Naoussa capitalists: Quataert notes that wages in Thessaloniki may have been three times higher than those in Naoussa in 1913.⁷⁰ Working hours were long – from 'sunrise to sunset' according to the British traveller Upward,⁷¹ or 'dawn to dusk' according to Quataert, exactly the same

⁶⁷ Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', pp. 149-51.

⁶⁸ Zografski, *Razvitokot na kapitalistichkite elementi vo Makedonija*, p. 482.

⁶⁹ Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, p. 169. It is interesting to note that according to Stougiannakis in 'Naoussa', p. 148, the founders of the first mill faced considerable 'difficulties' and 'obstacles', associated with 'prejudices and superstition' against the 'unprecedented and odd' enterprise. His elliptical writing suggests the presence of social conflict rather than mere 'superstition'.

⁷⁰ Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, p. 163.

⁷¹ A. Upward, *The East End of Europe*, (London 1908), pp.188-9). Upward was appalled by labour conditions: 'It is progress, it is civilisation, but even when the Turk has gone there will still be something left for the Labour Party to do in Niausta'. But his greatest surprise came when he realised that 'in this small Greek town away in the Macedonian highlands, people regularly engaged in 'English football'. Here was the unmistakable sign of the working class.

⁷² D. Quataert, "The Workers of Salonica, 1850-1912", in D. Quataert and Zürcher E. (eds), *Workers and the Working Class in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, 1839-1950*, (London 1995), p. 70; Goutas 'Kalokairi tou 1936. Sizitiseis me ton Constantino Hatzimalousi'.

expression as in Hajimalousis' interview published by Goutas.⁷² Worker organisation was also weak compared to that in Thessaloniki. Armed goons were employed by mill-owners to police clocking-in times and intimidate workers.⁷³ Nevertheless, a grassroots movement emerged in the 1890s, the "Poupoulo", which had populist and socialist sympathies, as well as a constitution that demanded better conditions for workers.

There was intense political struggle between the "Poupoulo" and the *chorbaji*, focusing on control of the mayor's office, with all that this implied for the economic and social life of the town. Payment of community taxes and charging for water appear to have been further focal points of conflict.⁷⁴ Regular social conflict also occurred over the finances and curriculum of schools. Divisions constantly emerged among the *chorbaji*, often relating to control of the institutional and political mechanisms of the community, and possibly exacerbated by their struggle against the "Poupoulo". The church hierarchy was itself divided, partly siding with the "Poupoulo", which had strong religious leanings. Eventually the "Poupoulo" prevailed and its leader was the first mayor elected with full male suffrage, following protracted political friction between 1909 and 1911.⁷⁵ Despite strongly resisting this challenge to their power, the *chorbaji* were forced to loosen their grip on the financial and political resources of the community.

It is important to note that such conflicts often unfolded without recourse to the mediating services of the Ottoman state. Thus, a bitter dispute in 1896 between the church and some powerful Naoussa *chorbaji* regarding teacher appointments was eventually resolved by the bishop of Thessaloniki.⁷⁶ More significantly, the conflict between the "Poupoulo" and the *chorbaji* was partly fought out in the pages of Athens newspapers, and involved mediation by the Greek consul in Thessaloniki.

At the same time, the *chorbaji* of Naoussa had close relations with the local representatives of Ottoman state, and knew how to take advantage

⁷² Goutas, 'Kalokairi tou 1936. Sizitiseis me ton Constantino Hatzimalousi'.

⁷³ Goutas, 'Kalokairi tou 1936. Sizitiseis me ton Constantino Hatzimalousi'.

⁷⁴ Similar struggles over local government took place in Bulgaria after the 1860s, involving the "chorbadziia" and the artisan/merchant social stratum, see J. Lampe and M. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950*, (Bloomington 1982), pp. 146-8.

⁷⁵ Stoyoglou, 'I ekklesia kai ta sxoleia sti Naoussa', pp. 120-2.

of Ottoman reform of politics and society. There are parallels here with the process of negotiated interaction between the Ottoman state and local trader-notables in other parts of the Empire.⁷⁷ To be sure, the dominant ideology among the *chorbaji* was Greek nationalism coupled with Christian Orthodoxy, which put them in a different position to similarly placed Muslim social groups within the Empire. But it is interesting to note that the memoirs of Mazarakis-Ainian – an army officer who led the Greek armed irredentist struggle in the region of Naoussa during its peak in 1904-5 – are replete with bitter complaints against the Naoussa *chorbaji*.⁷⁸ Mazarakis accused them, above all, of wanting to maintain good relations with the Turks in order to protect their economic activities. According to the officer, the *chorbaji* were simultaneously subservient to and influential over the Ottoman authorities.⁷⁹

Nonetheless, the central Ottoman state remained relatively remote from these Christian provincials to the end. The British traveller Baker – who visited the first mill soon after its establishment and met its founders, Longos and Kyrtis – conveys the distant and troublesome aspect of the central Ottoman state for the capitalist entrepreneurs: a three-month stay in Istanbul to obtain the licence, bribes for various officials, as well as administrative and tax difficulties with customs authorities in Thessaloniki over the import of machinery.⁸⁰

For most of the late Ottoman period, Naoussa *chorbaji* controlled the social and political mechanisms of their community, using them to facilitate capitalist development. The *chorbaji* were also integrated into the lower reaches of Ottoman local administration, thus increasing their

⁷⁷ As shown for provincial Palestine by B. Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1995), pp. 111-4 and 216-7.

⁷⁸ K. Mazarakis-Ainian, *O Makedonikos Agon*, (Thessaloniki 1963). The officer's memoirs were originally published in 1937. Posthumous editions in 1963 and 1984 were doctored along lines more compatible with official Greek perceptions of the national character of Slavic speakers in Macedonia, as is shown by S. Karavas, 'To palimpsesto ton anamniseon tou Kapetan Akrita', *Historica*, vol. 16, no. 31, December, (1999), pp. 291-330. The doctored does not impinge on the points made here. Mazarakis, incidentally, noted the acute social struggles in Naoussa but could only interpret them from the standpoint of his blinkered nationalism.

⁷⁹ K. Mazarakis-Ainian, *O Makedonikos Agon*, pp. 61-2.

⁸⁰ J. Baker, *Turkey in Europe*, (London, Paris, New York 1877), pp. 408-9.

political power. But the advance of industrialisation across Macedonia brought complex problems which revealed the limits of chorbaji power. This issue is more fully considered in the next section.

6. Expansion in the 1900s and the limited power of provincial Macedonian capitalists

A surge in industrial capacity took place in the wider region of Naoussa in the 1900s. The spinning operations of Longos-Kyrtsis-Tourpalis were fully renovated in 1902 and reached 7,000 spindles by 1912. Cotton-weaving capacity had already been installed (40 looms) and an annex to the mill built by the second half of the 1890s. The new Goutas mill (established in 1903) had a horsepower of 500, of which it used only 200. A further mill was started by Kokkinos and Lapavistas in 1911, though it operated after the First World War under the name of Tsitsis. By 1911, all mills produced a range of yarns from low to fairly high grade (4-24).⁸¹ None produced grades higher than 32, but the extent of technological progress can be gauged by noting that in 1875 Longos-Kyrtsis-Tourpalis had 1,500 spindles and produced only the coarsest yarn.⁸² However, the technology used (typically British imports) was often second-hand, and not of the most advanced type.

In the 1900s, moreover, Naoussa industrialists expanded their activities to woollen cloth manufacture, a more technically demanding field than cotton-spinning. Substantial capacity was added in the form of three new Naoussa-owned mills (one in Thessaloniki). In particular, Hajilazaros was the largest wool-making mill in the Empire and quite advanced technically.⁸³ Finally, Naoussa-related cotton-spinning capacity was also created during the same period in Edhessa (Lappas-Hajidimoulas, established 1907) and in Thessaloniki (Tourpalis, established 1910). Most notably, the Tsitsis mill in Edhessa grew into the largest spinning mill of the Empire in 1912 (16,500 spindles), and also possessed weaving capacity.

The surge in the provinces was partly due to lower costs compared

⁸¹ Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', pp. 149-50.

⁸² Zografski 'Razvitokot na kapitalistichkite elementi vo Makedonija', p. 482.

⁸³ Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', pp. 150-51.

to those in Thessaloniki. Worker organisation was more effective in Thessaloniki and the 1900s witnessed significant wage increases.⁸⁴ In 1911 Jewish-owned spinning mills in Thessaloniki were already beset by serious problems of profitability and debt.⁸⁵ A boost was also given to the provinces by the expansion of Ottoman railways in the 1890s that connected the hinterland to Thessaloniki. But it is notable that higher labour costs did not prevent the Tourpalis family from Naoussa from opening a new spinning mill in Thessaloniki in 1910. Thus, there were deeper processes behind the shift in the industrial balance, which also led to cartelisation among Christian-owned concerns.

To be specific, Ottoman cotton exports to Bulgaria shrank after 1908, forcing producers to concentrate on the domestic (Macedonian and Albanian) markets.⁸⁶ At the same time, competition in domestic markets became fiercer as cheap imported yarns, mostly Italian, gained market share. Competition was sharpened still further by the instability of raw cotton supplies, particularly as the Serres region of Macedonia shifted agricultural production from cotton to tobacco. The intensification of competition led to losses for Jewish-owned mills in Thessaloniki because they had higher wage and energy costs than provincial mills. It also encouraged the formation of Christian-owned cartels which partly aimed at stabilising raw cotton supplies. In 1911 Longos-Kyrtis-Tourpalis in Naoussa and Tsitsis in Edhessa merged, thereby creating the largest spinning concern in the Empire, which also possessed some weaving capacity.⁸⁷ The emerging cartel began to put in place vertical integration. Anatolian cotton was imported, and steps were taken to secure supplies by developing steam-powered cotton-ginning capacity in Kato Joumaia (for Serres cotton) and in Thessaloniki (for Anatolian cotton).⁸⁸

⁸⁴ C. Issawi, "Wages in Turkey: 1850-1914", in O. Okyar and H. Inalcik (eds), *Social and Economic History of Turkey, 1071-1920*, (Ankara 1980), pp 263-270, and Palairot, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, pp. 352-4. However, D. Quataert 'The Economic Climate of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908', *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 51, no. 3, (1979), pp. D1147-D1161, has claimed that real wages in Thessaloniki did not rise.

⁸⁵ Kofinas, *Ta oikonomika tis Makedonias*, p. 216.

⁸⁶ Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 45-6.

⁸⁷ Hajiosif, *I giratia selini: I viomixania stin elliniki oikonomia, 1830-1940*, pp. 90-5.

⁸⁸ Kofinas, *Ta oikonomika tis Makedonias*, p. 220, and Anastasopoulos, *Istoria tis ellinikis viomixanias, 1840-1940*, p. 910.

Thus, in the 1900s the Macedonian provinces emerged as the pre-eminent textile region within the Empire. This is a remarkable development in view of the vicious nationalist struggle for Macedonia during precisely the same period. It also attests to the provincial Macedonian industrialists' energy and drive to accumulate. However, these industrialists faced major challenges at the very peak of their success: they confronted sharpened competition from European imports, narrowing markets, lack of advanced technology, uncertain cotton supplies, and intense social and political struggle at home. It is significant that no domestic capacity in capital goods had emerged after four decades of industrialisation. Machinery and equipment were typically second-hand and imported from Western or Central Europe.

To tackle these problems provincial Macedonian capitalists needed greater financial, technological and political resources than those already available to them. In other words, they had to become a fully-fledged capitalist class with a direct presence in Thessaloniki. Their actions in the 1900s indicate that they were probably conscious of this requirement. Some of them formed cartels and began to integrate vertically (Longos, Kyrtsis, Tourpalis, Tsitsis); others diversified into wool-weaving (Hajilazaros, Lanaras, Pehlivanos); still others developed textile capacity in Thessaloniki in both cotton-spinning and wool-weaving (Tourpalis). For some (Longos, Platsoukas and either Tsitsis or Kyrtsis), diversification was even more striking: they built the second, and most advanced, industrial brewery of Thessaloniki (the first belonged to Jewish entrepreneurs), and also acquired substantial commercial property in the city.⁴⁹ These activities in textiles, brewing, commerce and real estate created further friction with the better-connected Jewish capitalists of Thessaloniki.

By 1912 Naoussa capitalists had outgrown their small town, where the command of social and political power had sustained their emergence as industrialists, and where they now faced strong political opposition. New and more complex problems of industrialisation required access to broader mechanisms of social and political power. To acquire such power

⁴⁹ Kofinas, *Ta oikonomika tis Makedonias*, pp. 80-2; Anastasopoulos, *Istoria tis ellinikis viomixantias, 1840-1940*, p. 914.

it is probable that they would have had to build a new relationship with the Ottoman state, an uncertain and tricky prospect.

Additional insight into this issue can be gained by examining the agrarian sector of the local economy. The development travails of local agriculture reveal further obstacles faced by Macedonian industrialists in becoming a fully-fledged capitalist class.

7. Absence of capitalist transformation of agriculture

Information on the evolution of agrarian relations in this region of Macedonia during the final period of Ottoman rule is scanty. Nonetheless, the data collected by Dekazos – an agriculturist sent by the Greek state to survey the agrarian economy of the newly incorporated region – allow for some powerful conclusions, especially when combined with data from Stougiannakis. Not surprisingly, Dekazos thought of the old Ottoman regime as deleterious to agriculture, but his fieldwork produced valuable data, reconstructed in *Table 4* (see Appendix).

There were two distinct agrarian sectors in the region of Naoussa in 1913. The first was small in area, comprising the gently rising land in the immediate vicinity of the town, while the second was vast and comprised the plain beyond. The distinction could also be found in 1822 and, much ameliorated, exists even today. In 1912, the total area of the former sector was parcelled out among town inhabitants, 'almost all' having some connection with agriculture.⁹⁰ Naoussa inhabitants cultivated their smallholdings themselves, or rented them out, but rarely used hired labour. Muslim inhabitants owned perhaps 1/7 of the land, rented much of the rest, and were reputedly the best farmers. Crops included mostly vines and mulberry trees cultivated without fertiliser, though agricultural skills were reasonably high. In short, the sector close to the town comprised typical Balkan smallholding agriculture aimed at the market – grapes, wine and mulberry leaves for silkworm. The only direct result of the emergence of industrial capitalism in the town was that agricultural income and urban wages frequently complemented each other.

⁹⁰ Dekazos, *I Naoussa tis Makedonias*, p. 23; Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', pp. 145-6.

The plain was a different world, far from the town and dominated by chiftlik estates. Chiftlik were formed across the European parts of the Empire in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.⁹¹ Chiftlik formation received a boost from rising grain prices in the 1840s and 1850s that made exports more attractive.⁹² Local Muslim notables (*ayan*) and their descendants held much of the chiftlik land, often brought under their control through tax farming and extra-economic power. It is shown below that almost half the Muslim chiftlik owners of the plain near Naoussa resided in Veroia, where *ayan* were extremely powerful already from the second half of the eighteenth century.⁹³ Veroia and Edhessa *ayan* probably took advantage of the collapse of the *vakif* of Evrenos in the plain, which had commenced in the eighteenth century and continued unabated in the nineteenth. According to Demetriades, a higher proportion of chiftlik land emerged on Evrenos's *vakif* than elsewhere in the Empire,⁹⁴ as is also clear from the distribution of chiftlik across Macedonia.⁹⁵

Table 4 reconstructs Dekazos's data for the 29 'villages' of the 'police district' of Naoussa in 1913. This was a large part of the Macedonian plain, bordering Mount Vermion and the marshy lake of Giannitsa. Entries 20-29 were forest and grazing land, thinly populated and hilly or mountainous. Of those entries, 27, 28 and 29 were proper villages belonging to their inhabitants, though 27 and 29 had only recently been bought from landlords. Entry 26 comprised the estates of a local monastery. Entries 20-25 were sparsely inhabited chiftlik forests or grazing fields, except for Osliani, which belonged to an Istanbul Greek and was exploited by the British Miller Tracing Company for railway timber. The Osliani estate certainly represented advanced capitalist activity, but it affords too narrow a basis on which to draw conclusions about agrarian relations. For the latter we turn to entries 1-19, which were chiftlik villages that held about 95,000 "Turkish" *stremmata* (15,000 hectares) of arable

⁹¹ Lampe and Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950*, pp. 33-7.

⁹² Palairot, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, p. 43.

⁹³ A. Anastasopoulos, *Imperial Institutions and Local Communities: Ottoman Karaferye, 1758-1774*, (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge 1999).

⁹⁴ Demetriades, 'Problems of Land-Owning and Population in the Area of Gazi Evrenos Bey's Vakif'.

⁹⁵ P. Dekazos, *Ai georgikai sxeseis tis Makedonias*, (Athens 1914), p. 53.

land.⁹⁶ This is a large sample of the chiftlik economy of Ottoman Macedonia, though admittedly it focuses on a single region. To appreciate the sample's significance, note that the total arable land in the part of Macedonia annexed by Greece (i.e. more than half of the Ottoman province) has been estimated at around 230,000 hectares.⁹⁷

Several conclusions follow immediately from *Table 4*. First, the villages were large land units by Ottoman standards: the averages for available arable and cultivated land per village amount to, respectively, 8,700, 5,000 and 2,700 *stremmata* (or 1,390, 800 and 430 hectares). However, villages generally had several chiftlik owners. Without double counting, there were at least 40 Muslim and 12 Christian chiftlik owners in total. If the private holdings of villagers were disregarded, the averages for available, arable and cultivated land per owner of chiftlik would amount to, respectively, 3,200, 1,800 and 1,000 *stremmata* (or 510, 290 and 160 hectares). These are not out of line with the rest of the Balkans, though toward the higher end of the spectrum.⁹⁸ Absentee landlordship was not prevalent: of the Muslims, 17 came from Veroia, 15 from Edhessa, a few from other towns and none from Naoussa; of the Christians, 8 came from Naoussa, 2 from Veroia and 2 from Edhessa.

Second, the agricultural population was relatively small. The chiftlik villages had a total of 600 families, although these were sizeable groups of 3-4 and 5-7 mature men and women, respectively. The average cultivated land per family amounted to 87 *stremmata* – varying from 125 in Yantsista (which seems excessive) to 41 in Tsarmorinovo – while the average for arable land stood at 158. Considering that the soil of the region is generally fertile, these were very high ratios.⁹⁹ Clearly, there was

⁹⁶ Following Dekazos in *1 Naoussa tis Makedonias*, the "Turkish" *stremma* (*dönüm*) is taken as 1600 sq. m., which is certainly larger than the usual definition of 40x40 steps. The Greek "royal" *stremma* is 1000 sq. m. None of the conclusions below hinges on these definitions.

⁹⁷ S. Petmezas, "Rural Macedonia from Ottoman to Greek Rule, 1900-1920", in *Bridging the Gap: Economy and Society in Both Shores of the Aegean*, (Osmanli Bankasi editions, Istanbul 2007) (forthcoming).

⁹⁸ Lampe and Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950*, pp. 280-4.

⁹⁹ Certainly compared to the figure of 60-80 dönüm (920 sq. m.) of fertile arable land per peasant household quoted by H. Inalcik, "The Emergence of Big Farms, çiftlik: State, Landlords and Tenants", in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, (London 1985), p. 106.

a shortage of labour. A wave of emigration towards the end of the nineteenth century, to the USA as well as to other countries, contributed to the labour shortage.¹⁰⁰

Third, land was not very intensively cultivated: 43% of the available land was not used for agriculture, while 46% of the arable lay fallow. Both unused and fallow land produced an income through forestry, hay making, or by being rented to transhumant shepherds for grazing. Plentiful land and a labour shortage made for low land prices on the plain: 1-2 Ottoman $\text{£}/\text{stremma}$ compared to 2-4 Ottoman $\text{£}/\text{stremma}$ in the vicinity of Naoussa.¹⁰¹ Cultivated land was used overwhelmingly for the production of grain – more than 95% of the total. The balance went to garden crops, and negligible proportions to cotton, rice, mulberry trees and tobacco. This mixture of crops was typical of Ottoman chiftlik of the period.¹⁰²

Sharecropping prevailed, but there was also fixed-rent tenancy as well as immigrant hired labourers (*aylıkçı*) who were brought in when the crop had to be gathered.¹⁰³ The landlord typically provided the land, the seed and housing, while the peasant supplied animals, a cart and labour. For winter wheat, the crop was divided in half, after subtracting the seed and the tithe. For maize, the landlord received a fixed (quantity) rent per *stremma* that varied with the fertility of the soil. Peasants retained the remaining output, and so had a strong incentive to raise maize production. The landlord and his estate manager displayed force, including violence, usually at the time of the division of the crop. But the peasant was protected by labour shortage and had considerable freedom in selecting fields and types of cultivation.

Dekazos notes the absence of mechanisation and fertilisers, and bemoans the poor technique of the peasants, including the nearly universal use of primitive wooden ploughs.¹⁰⁴ Fields belonging to different

¹⁰⁰ Dekazos, *Ai georgikai sxeseis tis Makedonias*, p. 38.

¹⁰¹ Dekazos, *I Naoussa tis Makedonias*, p. 17.

¹⁰² Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914*, pp.199-200; see also the discussion in Petmezas, "Rural Macedonia from Ottoman to Greek Rule, 1900-1920".

¹⁰³ Dekazos, *I Naoussa tis Makedonias*, pp.16-22 ; Dekazos, *Ai georgikai sxeseis tis Makedonias*, pp. 47-52.

¹⁰⁴ Dekazos. *Ai georgikai sxeseis tis Makedonias*, pp. 43-6 ; Palamiotis, 'Georgiki ereuna tis Makedonias, Meros, Ditiki Makedonia, ch. VI, IX', makes similar observations.

landlords lay indiscriminately next to each other, further reducing productivity. However, the yields were generally respectable: the seed yield stood at 1:8.5 for winter wheat, 1:11 for barley, 1:14 for oats, 1:17 for rye, 1:25 for maize, 1:17 for millet, 1:15 for moha and 1:15 for sesame; the land yield (okka/stremma) at 170 for winter wheat, 200 for barley, 250 for oats, 200 for rye, 250 for maize, 100 for millet, 80 for moha and 60 for sesame.¹⁰⁵ These were comparable to yields in the rest of the Empire.¹⁰⁶

Despite producing for the market, the chiftlik sector as a whole showed few signs of capitalist transformation, such as regular use of wage labour, integration of dispersed strips of land, improved rotation and seeds, mechanisation and use of chemical fertilisers. This was undoubtedly related to the lack of security in the countryside, since the nationalist struggle for Macedonia was at its most acute in the local area. It is possible, however, that the absence of aggregate transformation concealed important underlying changes. To be specific, industrial capitalism in provincial Macedonia was mostly a Christian affair, led by Naoussa entrepreneurs. Naoussa Christians also had substantial chiftlik holdings. Perhaps they had started to transform their estates in a capitalist direction, in line with the industrial and commercial activities thriving in the town. If so, we would expect higher productivity and more extensive value-adding activities in Christian-owned than in Muslim-owned chiftlik. This issue is considered in the next section.

8. Christian-owned versus Muslim-owned chiftlik

Regular acquisition of chiftlik by Naoussa Christians probably started around the middle of the nineteenth century, and received a boost from the Land Code of 1858, which strengthened property rights in land in an effort to reorganise land taxation. Estimating the extent of Christian landownership is a necessary first step in order to assess its impact on

¹⁰⁵ Dekazos, *I Naoussa tis Makedonias*, p. 16-7. The okka is almost 1300 gr.

¹⁰⁶ Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914*, pp.214-5; Palairet, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, p. 343.

agrarian relations. Dekazos gives the total area of chiftlik villages and the names of Christian landlords, but not the area they owned individually. However, Stougiannakis lists Naoussa landlords and their estates by monetary value.¹⁰⁷ On this basis, and given the previously quoted average price of land on the plain at 1.5 Ottoman £/stremma, *Table 5* presents estimates of Christian landownership in chiftlik villages held jointly by Muslims and Christians (see Appendix and, for the method of estimation, see Notes).

Tables 4 and *5* together show that the bulk of agricultural land on the plain lay firmly in Muslim hands in 1913: Christians possessed only 19% of the entire arable land, though that rose to 43% of the arable land in villages with mixed ownership. There is no evidence that the fertility of soil possessed by the two groups differed systematically. It is notable that Naoussa landlords (8 in total) owned nearly 3/4 of the Christian share. Four of them (Kokkinos, Lapavistas, Platsoukas and Pehlivanos) were heavily involved in shayak manufacture and trading, as well as in mechanised cotton-spinning. Thus, Naoussa families which had accumulated profits in shayak and in other trading also invested in land in the second half of the nineteenth century. This is not surprising since, around 1900, Macedonian chiftlik were highly profitable, generating returns of 18-25%.¹⁰⁸ Profitability was probably boosted by tax-farming of the tithe, widely practised among the chorbaji of Naoussa.¹⁰⁹ On these grounds, it seems plausible that Christian-owned estates might have engaged in capitalist transformation.

Unfortunately, the data do not allow for differentiating between purely Christian- and purely Muslim-owned chiftlik in terms of crops, labour and animals. However, since it was estimated that Christians held 43% of the arable land in villages with mixed ownership, it is reasonable to partition the sample into a group of purely Muslim-owned villages, 1-10, and a group of villages with mixed ownership, 11-19. Mixed-ownership villages could then be treated as proxy for Christian-owned chiftlik. Even so, the paucity of the data rules out econometric testing; moreover, there are so few observations that meaningful statistical testing is also not possible.

¹⁰⁷ Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', pp. 146-7.

¹⁰⁸ Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914*, p. 208.

¹⁰⁹ Goutas, 'Kalokairi tou 1936. Sizitiseis me ton Constantino Hatzimalousi'.

The best approach in the circumstances is to use descriptive statistics that shed light on analytical arguments.

Comparison of *Figures 1* and *2* shows that both groups suffered similar labour shortages (see Appendix). Given universal labour shortage, draught animals were of critical importance for productivity. Draught animals represented by far the largest capital outlay and typically belonged to the peasant. Here the difference between the two groups was pronounced: *Figures 3* and *4* (see Appendix) show that Muslim-owned villages had greater availability of draught animals. On this basis, productivity was probably higher in Muslim-owned chiftlik.

The large numbers of draught animals in some of the Muslim-owned villages suggest that cattle ranching also took place (and possibly horse breeding) as was observed in chiftlik elsewhere and in past centuries.¹¹⁰ The herds would have produced a marketable output of animal products and probably belonged to both landlords and peasants. *Figures 5* and *6* (see Appendix) further show that Muslim-owned villages had higher numbers of sheep/goats and pigs. It is clear that some commercial sheep herding also took place.

The patterns of cultivation were very similar between the groups, cereals occupying at least 95% of the land under the plough for both. However, *Figures 7* and *8* (see Appendix) reveal a further significant difference: garden crops were more common among Muslim-owned villages. These crops represented far higher value-added than grains, and were generally sent to Macedonian urban centres using the railway.¹¹¹ On this score too, Muslim-owned villages probably generated more commercial opportunities and wealth for owners and peasants.

To recapitulate, it appears that purely Muslim-owned chiftlik villages had higher productivity than villages of mixed ownership, hence higher productivity than Christian-owned chiftlik. They also offered greater opportunities for the accumulation of wealth by the peasants. On these grounds, the hypothesis that Christian chiftlik owners commenced a capitalist transformation of agrarian relations can be rejected.

¹¹⁰ Inalcik, "The Emergence of Big Farms, çiftlik: State, Landlords and Tenants", p. 111.

¹¹¹ Dekazos, *Ai georgikai sxeseis tis Makedonias*, p. 87.

This conclusion is surprising but also significant. It is well known that capitalist agrarian transformation is a widely varied historical process.¹¹² In this part of Ottoman Macedonia there is no evidence of agrarian transformation led by chiftlik owners, even when the latter were industrial and commercial capitalists from Naoussa. Christian landlords appear to have treated their estates as sources of surplus to be extracted partly through non-economic means, and to be invested perhaps in urban commerce and industry. But even if they had the desire to undertake a capitalist transformation of their estates, they would have been hampered by lack of social and political power on the plain, where Muslim landlords were predominant. Landlord power, furthermore, was generally undermined by the armed nationalist struggle on the plain. In these circumstances, radical action by the Christian landlords was unlikely, though by no means impossible.

Failure to transform agriculture was an obstacle to further industrial development, even though it did not prevent the emergence of industrial capitalism in the town. Thus, Naoussa capitalists were unable to achieve integrated production of raw cotton and cotton yarn, despite often possessing huge expanses of land. Unstable supplies of cotton remained a perennial handicap in competition against imported yarns. Moreover, successful agrarian transformation could have improved productivity and agricultural incomes, thereby augmenting the domestic market for textiles and providing scope to beat imports.

There are tantalising indications, however, that some agrarian transformation had begun to take place across Macedonia in the 1900s independently of chiftlik owners. Muslim landlords undertook a wave of selling toward the end of Ottoman rule. Heavy speculation in chiftlik land took place, much of it by Jewish capitalists from Thessaloniki.¹¹³ Nationalist unrest was the most probable cause of these developments as frightened Muslims left for Anatolia. The buyers frequently were peasant collectives that proceeded to re-divide the land. The peasants had monetary wealth, supplemented through emigrant remittances from the USA, and were prepared to invest in land.¹¹⁴

¹¹² T. Byres, *Capitalism from Above and Capitalism from Below*, (London 1996).

¹¹³ Demetriades, 'Problems of Land-Owning and Population in the Area of Gazi Evrenos Bey's Vakif'.

The selling trend was certainly present in the Naoussa region and affected Christian landlords. Thus, entries 27 and 29 in *Table 5* were bought by their inhabitants – the former from a Muslim landlord, the latter from a Naoussa landlord.¹¹⁵ Entry 20 was sold by its Muslim landlord to an Istanbul Greek. Land sales by Christian landlords also took place in chiftlik villages 9, 11 and 14 (see Notes on *Table 5*). It is certain that peasants, both Muslim and Christian, held significant arable land in villages 9, 17 and 19. Agriculture was stirring from below in the 1900s but, on current evidence, it is impossible to tell the path that it might have taken.

9. Conclusion

Industrialisation in Ottoman Macedonia is an aspect of European history that has been inadequately researched, and yet it offers general insights into economic development. This article has examined the rise of industrial capitalism in Naoussa, a provincial town that played a key role in Ottoman industry. It has been shown that industrialisation emerged without trade protection and state industrial policy; it relied on infrastructure improvements and institutional reforms by the Ottoman state, including secure property rights; it occurred, finally, in the absence of capitalist agrarian transformation. Under these conditions, industrialisation was slow and precarious compared to that in other European countries and regions.

It has further been shown that provincial Macedonian industrialisation relied on the social and political resources of the local Christian community. These communal resources made possible the social and economic transformation of the region, thus sustaining the emergence of industrial capitalism. But they had limited effectiveness in confronting problems of growth and mounting economic complexity.

To be more specific, trade liberalisation in the 1830s segmented the Ottoman textile market, creating opportunities for domestic production of coarse cotton yarn and woollen cloth, shayak. Cotton spinning was

¹¹⁴ Dekazos, *Ai georgikai sxeseis tis Makedonias*, p. 41.

¹¹⁵ Dekazos, *I Naoussa tis Makedonias*, pp. 41-3.

mechanised in Naoussa in the 1870s by drawing on capital and skills already accumulated in shayak manufacture. Systematic export of shayak, moreover, made possible the import of cotton-spinning equipment and technology. Further advantages were provided by free water supply and very low wages. In the 1890s and 1900s industrialisation spread from Naoussa to the rest of the local region.

The Tanzimat reforms of the Ottoman state and the communal organisation of the local Christians provided broader underpinnings for industrialisation. A dominant social group emerged, the chorbaji, who controlled the institutional and political resources of the Christian community. Chorbaji power dealt with thorny economic and social issues, including conflict with the nascent working class. The chorbaji were adept at dealing with the local Ottoman state, to the extent that they became integrated into its lower reaches. However, their access to the centre of Ottoman power and decision-making remained limited.

In 1912 provincial Macedonia stood out as the leading area of textile industrialisation in the Empire, its rise facilitated by economic and social transformation. Macedonian industrialists diversified their activities and took advantage of changes in domestic demand. Nevertheless, their industrial base was small, their equipment imported and mediocre, and their supplies of raw materials unstable. In short, they were precariously placed compared to their European competitors. Moreover, agriculture in the region lay in the grip of large landed estates, mostly Muslim-owned and showing no signs of capitalist transformation. It is notable that a significant minority of landlords were Christian chorbaji with industrial and commercial interests, who also failed to transform agrarian relations.

Despite their remarkable energies, the provincial industrial capitalists of Ottoman Macedonia remained a Christian group with local power, little influence over the central state, and surrounded by a sea of landed estates. For industrialisation to advance further, it is likely that they would have had to seek a new relationship with the Ottoman state. Given the ideological turmoil of the times, such a prospect would have been riddled with uncertainty. But the issue never properly arose as the Balkan wars ended five and a half centuries of Ottoman rule in Macedonia.

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Appendix

Industrial Development
and Social Transformation
in Ottoman Macedonia

TABLE 1. Textile capacity located in Naoussa, 1912

Mill	Year Estab- lished	Horsepower in Use	Spindles	Output Volume (Packets)	Output Value (Ott. £)	Workers
COTTON						
(1)Longos-Kyrtsis-Tourpalis	1875	270	7,000	95,000	50,000	270
(2)Bilis-Tsitsis	1891	148	4,000	65,000	32,500	160
(3)Goutas-Karatzias	1903	200	5,000	50,000	25,000	160
(4)Tsitsis	1911	220		200,000		130
Total excluding (4)		618	16,000	210,000	107,500	590
WOOL (Metres)						
(1)Hajilazaros	1907	300	1,080	100,000	40,000	150
(2)Lanaras-Pehlivanos	1910	75		90,000	8,500	75
Total		375	1,080		48,500	225
<p>Source: Constructed from Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa'; Kofinas, <i>Ta oikonomika tis Makedonias</i>; Palamiotis, 'Georgiki ereuna tis Makedonias, Meros A, Ditiki Makedonia'; and Anastasopoulos, <i>Istoria tis ellinikis viomixanias, 1840-1940</i>. The cotton output of the Tsitsis mill is in <i>okka</i>, equivalent to nearly 1,300 gr. The woolen output of the Hajilazaros mill had a width of 1.4m, while that of Lanaras-Pehlivanos 0.33m. The spindles of Goutas-Karatzias are given as 5,000 by both Anastasopoulos, <i>Istoria tis ellinikis viomixanias, 1840-1940</i>, p.911 and Kofinas, <i>Ta oikonomika tis Makedonias</i>, p.218, but as 3,200 by Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', p. 150.</p>						

TABLE 2. Equity of Naoussa-owned mills, 1875-1912

Mill	Location	Shareholding Naoussa Families
(1)Longos-Kyrtsis-Tourpalis	Naoussa	Longos, Kyrtsis, Tourpalis
(2)Bilis-Tsitsis	Naoussa	Bilis, Tsitsis, Kokkinos, Tourpalis Sefertzis, Tsiomis, Boyatzis
(3)Goutas-Karatzias	Naoussa	Goutas, Karatzias, Tourpalis
(4)Tsitsis	Naoussa	Kokkinos, Lapavitsas, Bilis, Tsitsis, Sefertzis, Kyrtsis, Longos
(5)Hajilazaros	Naoussa	Hajilazaros, Angelakis, Lamnides
(6)Lanaras-Pehlivanos	Naoussa	Lanaras, Pehlivanos, Kyrtsis
(7)Lappas-Hajidimoulas	Edhessa	Lappas, Hajidimoulas
(8)Tsitsis	Edhessa	Tsitsis, Kokkinos, Kyrtsis, Sefertzis, Longos, Platsoukas
(9)Tourpalis-Kazazis	Thessaloniki	Tourpalis
<p>Source: Constructed from Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa', and Oikonomou, 'I viomixania sti Naoussa apo ton 19o ston 20o aiona'.</p>		

TABLE 3. Commercial capital in Naoussa, 1911

Area of Trading	Family
Ottoman Empire	Kyrtsis, Longos, Tourpalis, Platsoukas, Pehlivanos, Angelakis, Lamnides, Lanaras, Petridis, Tsitsis
Egypt	Goutas, Lappas, Mathaiou, Kokkinos, Pehlivanos
Bosnia	Sefertzis, Gourgouliatos
Greece	Lapavitsas, Longos, Tsitsis

Source: Constructed from Igglelis, 'Naoussa' in *Odigos tis Ellados*, Goutas, "Naoussaioi metanastes stin Aigipto", and Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa'.

TABLE 4. Chiftlik economy in the region of Naoussa, 1913

Village/Chiftlik	Muslim Landlords	Christian Landlords	Peasant Families	Arable Land	Available Land	Cultivated Land	Cereals (Land Area)	Garden Crops (Land Area)	Draught Animals	Sheep Goats, Pigs
1) Vetista	4		60	13,500	7,500	2,890	2,580	200	1,750	1,000
2) Lykovitsa	3		23	8,000	5,500	1,170	1,170		120	180
3) Zervohori	2		25	8,000	3,000	1,355	1,025	350	1,620	1,800
4) Rizovo	2		25	8,000	4,000	1,610	1,570	15	45	2,450
5) Bania	2		6	3,000	1,000	530	530		46	1,065
6) Palasnitsiovo			22	10,000	4,000	2,005	1,655	350	2,045	2,100
7) Aghia Marina	3		30	9,000	6,000	2,960	2,960		200	2,300
8) Kameniki	3		50	8,000	5,720	5,720	5,600	80	600	61
9) Arseni	3		60	13,000	7,100	7,100	6,600	400	1,700	823
10) Yantsista	5		30	10,500	9,000	3,760	3,760		430	10,250
11) Tsarmorinovo	3	1	30	8,000	3,000	1,220	1,180	30	240	1,055
12) Golo Selo	1	2	60	5,000	3,000	2,930	2,630	300	1,545	1,110
13) Giannakovo		1	18	15,000	1,050	1,050	1,050		18	1,000
14) Diavornitsa	1	2	25	4,500	4,000	1,870	1,520		140	1,580
15) Ano Kopanos	1	1	26	6,500	6,500	2,480	2,450		150	1,100
16) Monospita	3	2	30	8,000	6,000	3,275	3,250		197	1,100
17) Kato Kopanos	3	2	30	11,000	10,000	3,300	3,220		260	1,010
18) Golesiani	1	1	15	5,000	3,000	1,685	1,645		40	1,055
19) Episkopi	4	1	35	11,000	5,500	5,000	5,000		600	700
20) Osliani		1	17	forest		200	180		68	1,295
21) Marousa				forest						
22) Kaliva-Seli				forest						
23) Skotina				forest						
24) Golema Reka				forest						
25) Fetitsa		1		grazing	500					
26) Prodomos				3,000	400	115			40	100
27) Arkoudhokhori			80	forest					102	2,000
28) Tsornovo				forest	3,000				102	2,500
29) Horopani			135	grazing	1,750					

Source: Constructed from Dekazos, *I Naoussa tis Makedonias*. Land is measured in "Turkish" *stremmata* (1600 sq. m). For construction and other details, see Notes.

NOTES ON TABLE 4

Further information relevant to *Table 4* is as follows. Marginal crops were (in stremmata): Rye (100 in Diavornitsa), rice (250 in Diavornitsa, 40 in Golesiani), mulberries (80 in Kato Kopanos, 30 in Ano Kopanos, 25 in Monospita, 30 in Vetista), cotton (10 in Tsarmorinovo, 100 in Arseni, 40 in Kameniki, 50 in Vetista, 15 in Rizovo), tobacco (30 in Vetista, 10 in Rizovo), beans (20 in Osliani), vines (1,000 in Tsornovo), and hay (10,000 bales in Zervohori, 10,000 bales in Palasnitsiovo). Cereals included mostly winter wheat and maize but also barley, oats, millet, moha, vetch and sesame. Garden crops included melon fields and vegetables.

Draught animals included mostly oxen, buffaloes and cows, but also significant numbers of horses and donkeys. The owners of Palasnitsiovo were not given by Dekazos (1913: 38) but they were almost certainly Muslim. For Arseni, Kameniki and Giannakovo, Dekazos's (1913: 31-33) figures for arable land were actually less than the totals by type of cultivation. The figures for arable land have been adjusted accordingly in the table.

It is worth noting that Dekazos's labour figures are suspiciously clustered around 30. His figure for Kameniki (25) is incredibly low, given the cultivated land, and has been adjusted to 50. The labour figures for Yantsista and Rizovo are estimates on the basis of arable land.

TABLE 5. Christian landlordship in the region of Naoussa, 1913

Village/Chiftlik	Christian-owned Arable Land	Christian Landlords	Muslim-owned Arable Land	Muslim Landlords
1) Diavornitsa	2,000	2	2,000	1
2) Kato Kopanos	4,000	2	6,000	3
3) Ano Kopanos	3,250	1	3,250	1
4) Monospita	2,200	2	3,800	3
5) Episkopi	1,100	1	4,400	4
6) Giannakovo	1,050	1		
7) Tsarmorinovo	1,500	1	1,500	3
8) Golesiani	1,500	1	1,500	1
9) Golo Selo	1,800	2	1,200	1
Total	18,400		23,650	

Source: Constructed from Dekazos, *I Naoussa tis Makedonias and Stougiannakis*, 'Naoussa'. Land measured in "Turkish" *stremmata* (1600 sq. m.). For construction see Notes.

NOTES ON TABLE 5

All references below are to Stougiannakis, 'Naoussa' and to Dekazos, *Naoussa tis Makedonias*. Table 5 was constructed as follows.

For Diavornitsa, Stougiannakis (p. 147) notes that 1/2 belonged to the sisters of Bellas from Naoussa, a powerful chorbaji with interests in silk and wool fulling. Dekazos (p. 25), on the other hand, mentions that the whole of the estate belonged to Salfatas and Hajjogogos, Christians from Veroia. We shall use Dekazos's information, and assume that the estate was bought by the Veroia Christians during 1911-3.

For Kato Kopanos, Dekazos (p. 26) notes that Kionses and Petsos – Christians from Edhessa – shared ownership with 3 Muslim landlords.

For Ano Kopanos, Stougiannakis (p. 146) mentions that 1/2 belonged to Pehlivanos from Naoussa, while Dekazos (p. 25) simply notes that ownership was shared between Pehlivanos and a Muslim landlord. It is worth stressing that Stougiannakis records the value of Pehlivanos's estate at 5,000 Ottoman £, which is independent confirmation of our method of area estimation.

For Monospita, Stougiannakis (p. 146) notes that it belonged to Kokkinos and Platsoukas from Naoussa, while giving the total value of their holdings at 3,500 Ottoman £. Dekazos (p. 27) mentions that there were also 3 Muslim landlords. Allowance must be made for non-arable land. Given that the chiftlik of Fetitsa (entry 25) comprised 6,500 *stremmata* of mostly non-arable (grazing) land (Dekazos, p.40) and was valued at 1,500 Ottoman £ (Stougiannakis, p. 147), the price of non-arable land will be taken as 0.25 Ottoman £/*stremma*. Assuming that the proportion of non-arable to arable for each landlord was the same as for the village as a whole, the Christian share of the arable land at Monospita was 2,200 *stremmata*.

For Episkopi, Stougiannakis (pp. 146-7) mentions that it belonged to Lapavitsas from Naoussa, whose estate is valued at 2,500 Ottoman £. However, he also notes that Lapavitsas's estate included part of Arseni. On the other hand, Dekazos (pp. 30-1) mentions a further 4 Muslim landlords in Episkopi, but no Christian interest in Arseni. We will assume that Lapavitsas's share of Arseni amounted to 1/4 of the value of the family's estate, and was sold between 1911 and 1913. Using the same method as for Monospita, the Christian share of the arable in Episkopi is thus 1,100 *stremmata*.

For Giannakovo, both Stougiannakis (p. 146) and Dekazos (p. 33) note that it belonged entirely to Hajjimitriou from Naoussa.

For Tsarmorinovo, Dekazos (p. 34) notes that Hajjimitriou owned 1/2, though Stougiannakis (p. 146) states 'the whole'. It is probable that the family sold the other 1/2 between 1911 and 1913. This assumption is in line with the 'recent' sale of the forest of Horopani (Dekazos, p. 43), which had also belonged to Hajjimitriou (Stougiannakis, p. 146).

For Golesiani, Dekazos (p. 34) mentions 1 Christian (Hajinotas from Naoussa) and 1 Muslim landlord.

FIGURE 1. Cultivated land per family, Muslim-owned villages

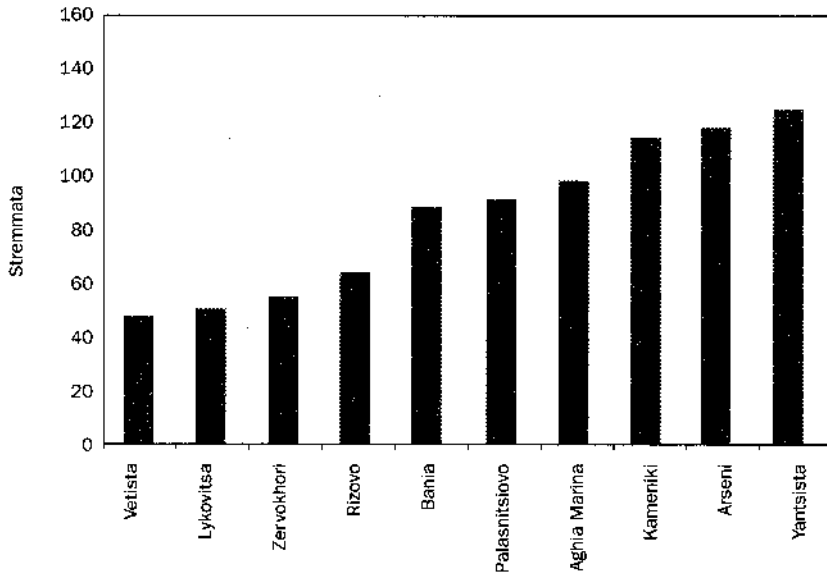
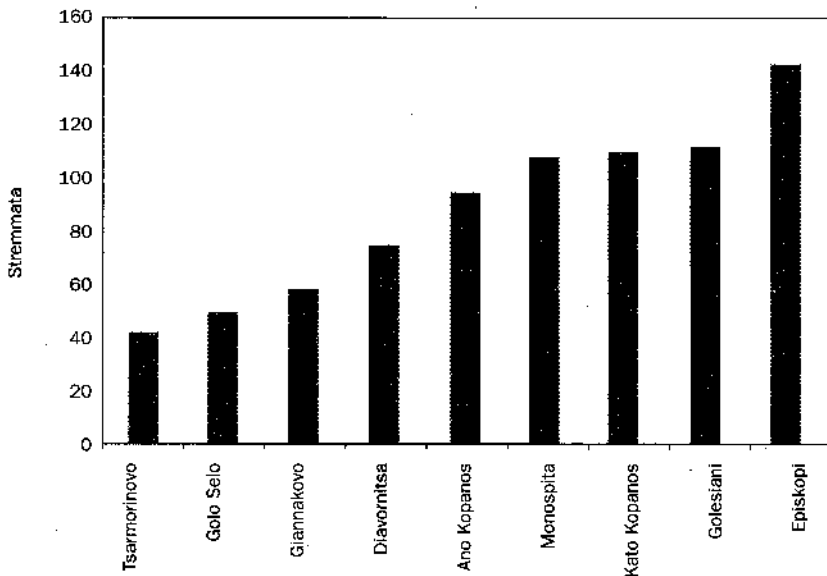


FIGURE 2. Cultivated land per family, Muslim/Christian-owned villages



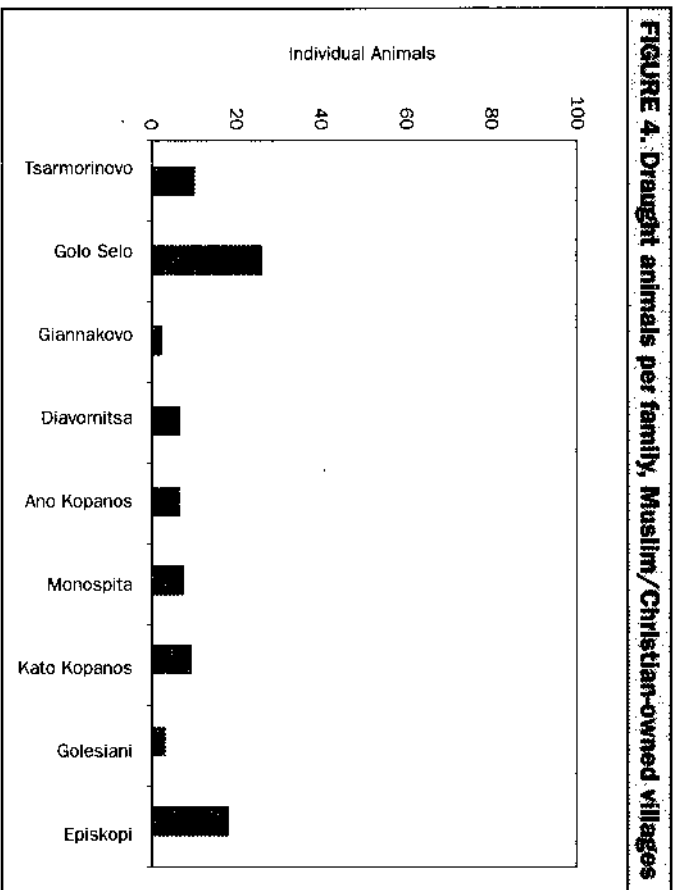
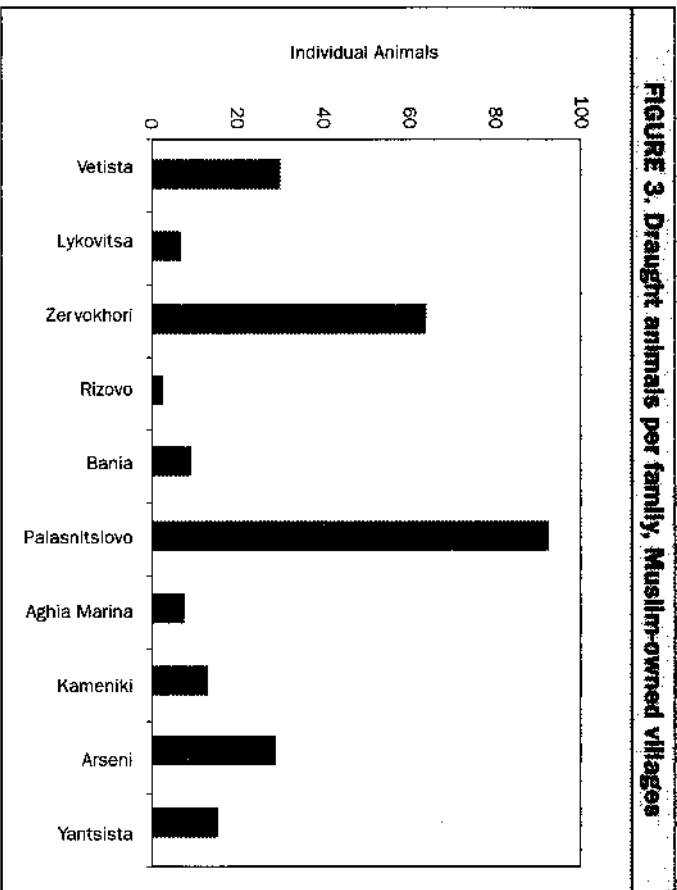


FIGURE 5. Sheep, goats, pigs per family, Muslim-owned villages

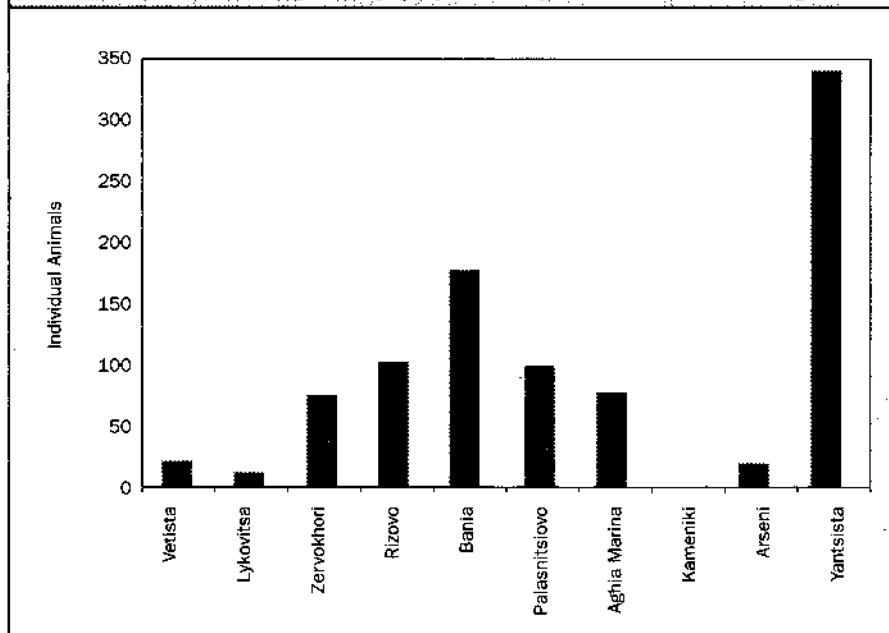


FIGURE 6. Sheep, goats, pigs per family, Muslim/Christian-owned villages

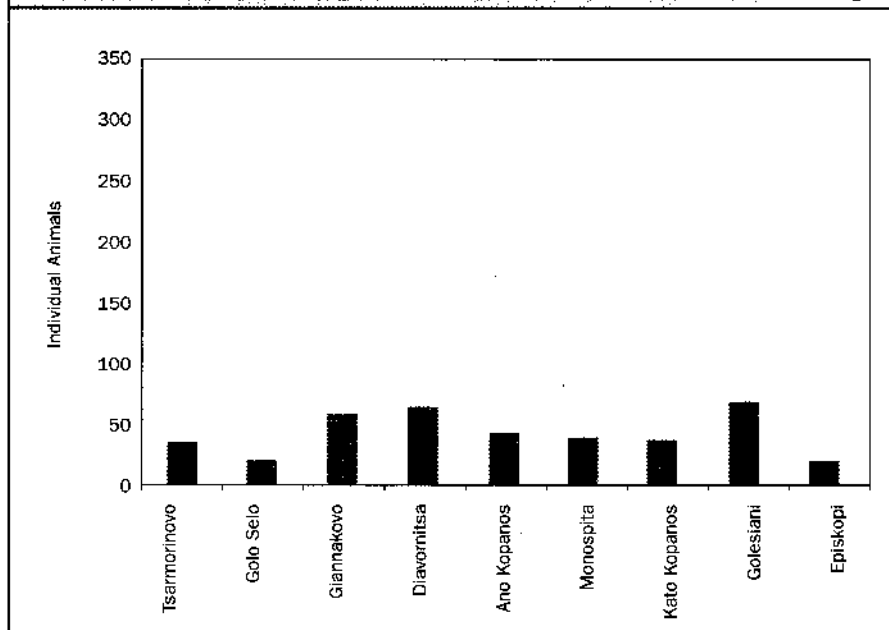


FIGURE 7. Land given to garden crops, Muslim-owned villages

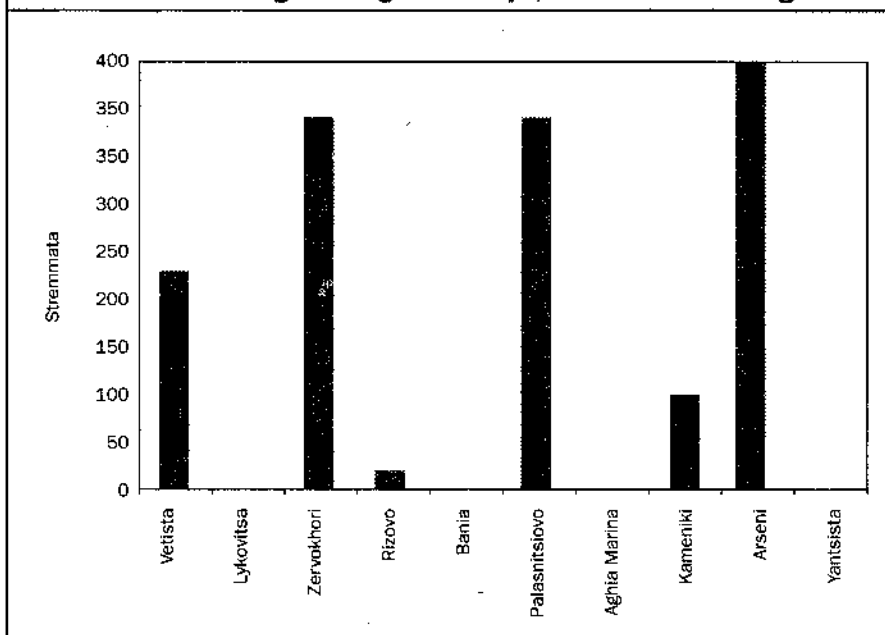
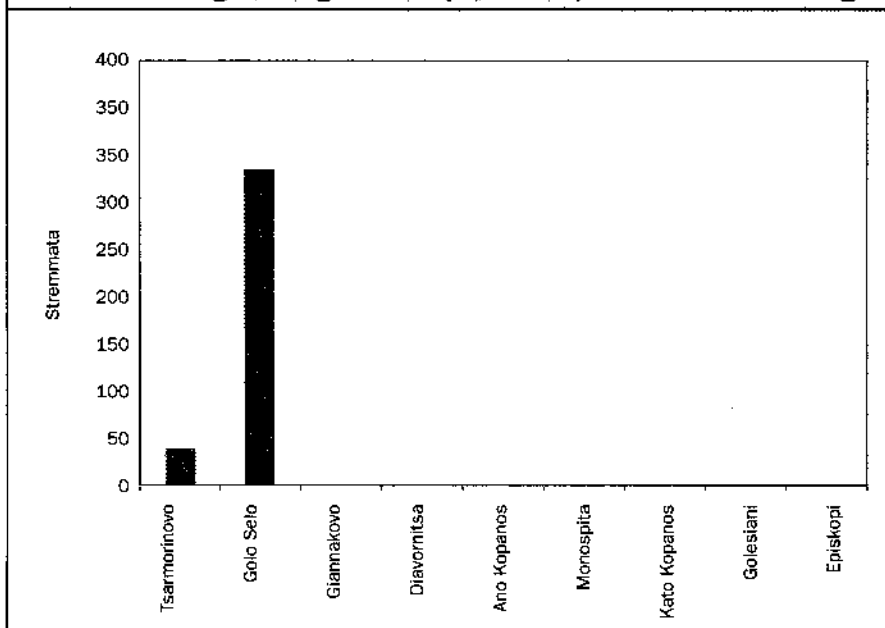


FIGURE 8. Land given to garden crops, Muslim/Christian-owned villages



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