

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN BULGARIA
FROM THE VIEWPOINTS OF THE FRENCH TRAVELERS

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OCTOBER 2005

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN BULGARIA
FROM THE VIEWPOINTS OF THE FRENCH TRAVELERS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ENGİN DENİZ TANIR

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
HISTORY

OCTOBER 2005

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ABSTRACT

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN BULGARIA FROM THE VIEWPOINTS OF THE FRENCH TRAVELERS

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October 2005, 172 pages

This thesis deals with Bulgaria under the Ottoman rule in the second and third quarters of the 19th century. The sources used in this study are the works of 18 French travelers who have explored this region in that period. In this work the data collected by the French travelers, their impressions on the people and the region are evaluated. The thesis analyses Bulgaria under the last days of the Ottoman rule and assesses the outlook of Bulgaria regarding its demographic situation, the characteristics of its peoples, religious communities, and with the developments in agriculture, industry and trade through the French traveler's outlook.

Keywords: Bulgaria, Ottoman Empire, 19th Century, French travelers

ÖZ

FRANSIZ SEYYAHLARININ GÖZÜYLE 19. YÜZYIL ORTASINDA OSMANLI BULGARİSTANI

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Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi : Doç. Dr. Ömer Turan

Kasım 2005, 172 pages

Bu tezin konusu Fransız seyyahların gözüyle 19. yüzyılın ikinci ve üçüncü çeyreğinde Osmanlı hakimiyeti altındaki Bulgaristan'dır. Çalışmada kullanılan kaynaklar bu dönemde bölgeyi gezen 18 Fransız seyyahın eserleridir. Çalışmada Fransız seyyahların bölge üzerine topladıkları veriler, halklar ve bölge üzerindeki izlenimleri ele alınacaktır.

Tez, Osmanlı hakimiyeti altındaki son dönemde Bulgaristan'ı demografik durum, üzerinde yaşayan halkların karakteristik özellikleri, dini cemaatler, tarım, sanayi ve ticarete yaşanan gelişmeler bakımından Fransız gezginlerin bakışıyla ele almaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Bulgaristan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, 19. yüzyıl, Fransız seyyahlar

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all I would like particularly to thank my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ömer Turan for his support and insight during the preparation of this thesis. I also would like to thank Prof. Dr. Yasin Ceylan and Prof. Dr. Mehdi İlhan for kindly accepting to take part on my jury and for their critical contribution.

My sister Ebru Bodur, and my aunt Sema Kendir deserve a special thanks for spending their time to read and revise my thesis.

Many people have given me emotional and mental support in undertaking this thesis. My sincere thanks are to my family and my friends whose company and continuous support is unforgettable.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Balkanlar	Balkanlar'da Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusçuluk
Concise	A Concise History of Bulgaria
Considérations	Considérations sur l'Etat Social de la Turquie d'Europe
Contribution	Contribution A L'Histoire Du Commerce De La Turquie Et De La Bulgarie
La Bulgarie	La Bulgarie et son Peuple d'après les Témoignages Etrangers
La population	La Population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie Au XVIIIe et Au XIXe Siècle
Osmanlı	Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914)
Recueil	Recueil d'Itinéraires Dans La Turquie d'Europe
“Balkan”	“Le Balkan Central” in Bulletin de la Société de Géographie
“Commerce”	“French Commerce with the Bulgarian Territories from the Eighteenth Century to 1914”, in Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies from the Mid-Eighteenth Century to 1914
“Eski-Zagra”	“La Description Du Caza De Eski-Zagra” in Bulletin de la Société de Géographie
“Etat Actuel”	“Le Monde Gréco-Slave.-Etat Actuel, Moeurs Publiques et Privées des Peuples de la Péninsule” in Revue des deux Mondes
“Exploration”	“Exploration en Turquie d'Europe” in Bulletin de la Société de Géographie
“Islimnia”	“La Description Du District D'Islimnia” in Bulletin de la Société de Géographie
“Les Bulgares”	“Le monde Gréco-Slave: Les Bulgares” in Revue des Deux Mondes
“Mission”	“Mission de M.G. Lejean dans les Provinces Danubiennes,” in Bulletin de la société de Géographie
“Quezanlik”	“La Description de Quezanlik”, in Bulletin de la Société de Géographie

“Relations”	“Les Relations Commerciales Des Contrées Bulgares Avec Les Pays Occidentaux Et La Russie Au Cours De La Première Moitié Du XIX ^e s.”, in Etudes Historiques
“Roumélie III”	“Souvenirs de la Roumélie III- Philippopolis - Le réveil Bulgare,” in Revue des deux Mondes
“Shipping”	“Shipping and Trade on the Lower Danube in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries”, in Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies from the Mid-Eighteenth Century to 1914
“Society”	“Bulgarian Society in the Early 19th Century,” in Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence
“The Historical”	“The Historical Demography of the Ottoman Empire: Problems and Tasks” in Scholar, Patriot, Mentor: Historical Essays in Honor of Dimitrije Djordjevic
“Trade”	“From the History of Bulgarian Trade during the Third Quarter of the 19 th Century”, in Bulgarian Historical Review

INTRODUCTION

Since 14th century, from the time the Ottomans started to conquer Anatolia and Balkans, numerous European travelers explored Ottoman lands for different reasons and have written travel accounts. In Ottoman history writing, there are serious studies on the travelers' accounts between 14th - 17th centuries. The foremost among them is by Stephanos Yerasimos titled “Les Voyageurs Dans L’Empire Ottoman (XIVe-XVIe siècles) in which about 450 travelers and travel accounts can be found. Another important study is “Avrupalı Seyyahların Gözünden Osmanlı Dünyası ve İnsanları” by Gülgün Üçel Aybet which deals with 55 voyagers' accounts between the years 1530-1699.

In the 19th century, Ottoman Empire being the focus of the power politics of European states continued to receive European travelers. But to date there is not many bibliographic works done which amass the 19th century travelers' accounts. In this sense, the second volume of the catalog of Shirley Howard Weber published by the Gennadios library in Athens is significant containing most of the 19th century travel accounts to the Ottoman lands. Monographs on 19th century travel accounts are also few. Among these, Arzu Etensel İldem’s book titled “Fransız Gezginlerin Gözüyle Türkler ve Yunanlılar” on French voyagers to Ottoman lands in the first half of 19th century and their accounts is noteworthy.

The scarcity of works pertaining to 19th century was influential on the choice of the thesis subject. This work deals with the French travelers' accounts which had explored the European lands of Ottoman Empire in the second and third quarters of the 19th century but some use has also been made of some English travelers' accounts.

The region focused on in the work and termed as Ottoman Bulgaria or simply Bulgaria did not have any separate political entity during the time phrase of the work. Although used in official documents, Bulgaria was never an administrative division of the Ottoman Empire. This Bulgaria term was also adopted by some of the travelers. It corresponded to an area far beyond the legal boundaries of today. When not defined as something else, it includes regions like Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Dobrudja, and Upper Moesia.

The traveler accounts form a valuable source material for distinct part of Ottoman history and geography under the Ottoman rule. One of the main aims of this study is to collectively evaluate and to introduce the 19th century French travelers' accounts. These accounts are not totally objective. But in Ottoman history analysis, this material is an important source. Evaluated with secondary sources this accumulation forms an adequate supply of information for Ottoman studies. Another aim of this work is to display this asset.

This work is formed of five parts. The first part is on the political developments in the Ottoman Empire. The interest of European states on the Christians of Ottoman Empire is investigated. Also the failure of Ottoman Empire to hinder its dissolution is evaluated. To that end, centralizing reforms at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th are taking into consideration. Also the background of the Balkan revival is analyzed. The different processes encountered by three Balkan people will be emphasized. Through these, the general outlook of the Ottoman Empire and the European Turkey will be shortly explained.

In the second part, the lives and works of 18 French travelers will be portrayed. As it will be emphasized later, some among these writings do not fall into the travel account category. In this section, the French travelers' accounts and their contents will be collectively evaluated and defined. Finally, the outlook of the French travelers on the Ottoman world and the European Turkey will be presented.

The third part is on the demographic status of European Turkey and Bulgaria. The data in French travelers' accounts will be compared and assessed with the data from Ottoman sources. Also the epidemic diseases and migration which affect the Bulgarian population during the 19th century is mentioned.

Fourth section is about French travelers' outlook on the religious communities and nationalities in Bulgaria. In the analyses about religious communities, information on politic struggles about religious authority and missionary activities is given. The different nationalities in Bulgaria will be studied through their origins, languages and living styles. Also the interaction of these nationalities with each other is also investigated.

In the fifth and last part, the impressions of French travelers and developments in trade, economics and agriculture of Bulgaria is presented. After 1840 Bulgaria gained importance in the Ottoman economy. Its relations with the

European states were increased. Thus in this section, the outlook of the French travelers is evaluated as a part of these developments.

This thesis is on the general composition of 19th century Bulgaria through the outlook of French travelers. But it is not ambitious as to fulfill the lack in using 19th century travelers' accounts in exploiting as sources of Ottoman history even if there is just such a lack.

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE 19th CENTURY RELATED TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

1.1. The 19th century's world and the western traveler's concerns with Balkans

In the 19th century Western civilization had reached its highest point. Led by Great Britain and France, the European states dominated the world economy and policy in the 19th century. The supremacy of Europe was derived from its technological, economic and military power and led way to the colonization of a great portion of the earth during the 19th century. While the western powers held approximately 35% of the world in 1800, this percentage rose to 67% in 1878¹. Almost all of the non-European world was placed under the hegemony of Europe, the situation being somewhat different in the Eastern Europe.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire still ruled vast lands in Asia, Africa and Europe. Moreover, it was home to a large population of Christian society. About mid-nineteenth century, there were 10,640,000 Christians in European Turkey and 3,260,000 in Asia². The Christians formed the majority of population in European Turkey. The state of these Christians was amongst the main focuses of the 19th century's European diplomacy.

The long war years of 1768-1774 between Ottomans and Russians had come to an end with the success of the Russian side. The treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji, signed at the end of war, gave significant rights to Russia for realizing her future projects on the Ottoman Empire. By its provisions, Russia gained territorial acquisitions, economical, commercial and diplomatic privileges at Ottoman Empire's expense. Furthermore, the 7th and 14th articles of the treaty gave Russia the

¹ Edward Said, *Kültür ve Emperyalizm*, tr. Necmiye Alpay, 1st ed., Hil, İstanbul, 1998, p.43; from Harry Magdoff, "Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present", *Monthly Review*, New York, 1978, p.29 and 35.

² Jean-Henri-Abdolonyme Ubigini, *Letters on Turkey*, tr. Lady Easthope, Vol.I, John Murray, London, 1856 (new ed., Arno Press, New York, 1973), p.22.

controversial right to protect Orthodox Church and Orthodoxy's rights throughout the Ottoman Empire³.

This treaty marked a turning point which changed the balance of power in the Near East. Russia became a considerable power amongst others in European politics. The advance of Russia against the Ottoman Empire was several times arrested by Britain, France and Austria during the first three quarter of the 19th century⁴. It was the coincidence of Russia's rise and Ottoman Empire's decline that generated the essence of the "Eastern Question" which arose from the determination of all the Great Powers to deny Russia new gains from the decay of the Ottoman Empire where, if the stake was the Balkans, Austrian concern was paramount; and if the Straits and Constantinople, those of Britain and France⁵.

European Turkey was an important area where the interests of European Powers conflicted. Austrian and Russian interests were closer as a consequence of their geographical positions in contrast with those of Britain and France. These four powers were the most involved in Balkan affairs during the 19th century. After the promulgation of *Tanzimat*, they intervened in every occasion the Porte for the very application of its principles in favor of Christian subjects mainly living in the Balkans. Thus, by the 1840s, the European Turkey and the fate of its peoples became the primary focus of interest for the European Powers within the framework of the Eastern Question.

With the intensification of the European Powers' political concerns, almost forgotten peoples of the Balkans were remembered. Before the 19th century, European public hardly knew the European Turkey's Christian communities. Even at the time of Greek insurrection, Europe knew only the Hellenes. All Balkan Christians were represented under the denomination of Hellenes or rather Greeks in

³ See for a reassessment of these two articles Roderic H. Davison, "Russian Skill and Turkish Imbecility: The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji Reconsidered" in *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774-1923*, 1st ed., University of Texas Press, Austin, 1990.

⁴ Russia's acquisitions were hampered generally by the diplomatic enterprise of Britain, France and Austria, but in the case of Crimean War, Britain and France made a military intervention to protect Ottoman Empire's integrity.

⁵ Barry Dennis Hunt, "The Eastern Question in British Naval Policy and Strategy, 1789-1913," in *Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies from the Mid-Eighteenth Century to 1914* (War and Society in East Central Europe Vol. XXIII), eds. Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, Constantinos D. Svolopoulos, Belá K. Király, Atlantic Research and Publications, New Jersey, 1988, p.49.

Europe⁶. The rediscovery of these peoples by Europe began in the last two decades of the 18th century.

After the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-74, anti-Turkish views spread out in Europe⁷. For the most part, the end of the Ottoman Empire was imminent. The fundamental problem was how it would be partitioned. The idea of expelling Turks from Europe revived. The creation of a Greek Empire as an alternative to the Russian and Austrian partition plans was suggested by Volney in his *Considérations sur la guerre des Russes et des Turcs*⁸. Towards the end of the 18th century, the Enlightenment, the increasing importance of the classical age in art and literature combining with the decline of the Ottoman Empire and rising curiosity of the West about the Orient, caused sympathy in Europe for Greeks who was considered as the descendants of the ancient Greece⁹. This sympathy turned into a philhellenism at the time of Greek insurrection. Europe's Greek admiration stemmed from the conviction that the ancient Greece was the basis of the European civilization. Thus, the Morea Peninsula, Thessaly, south Macedonia inhabited mostly by Greeks, was among the most visited regions by European travelers during the 19th century¹⁰.

However, after the establishment of an independent Greek Kingdom, political interest changed direction toward the Slavonic peoples of the Balkans. Henceforward, western travelers came to Balkans more than before to learn about these peoples. For Bulgarians, the Nish insurrection, which occurred in 1841, was an important event. This event aroused the interest of European governments towards them. Russia, France and Austria were the most involved powers, each sending a mission with different objectives after the insurrection¹¹. Thereafter, a Bulgarian Question became to be recognized amongst European Powers.

⁶ Eugène Poujade, *Chrétiens et Turcs*, Didier et C^e, Paris, 1859, p. 56.

⁷ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Hurst & Co., London, 1998, p.64.

⁸ Berkes, p.64.

⁹ Arzu Etensel İldem, *Fransız Gezginlerin Gözüyle Türkler ve Yunanlılar*, 1st ed., Boyut, İstanbul, 2000, p.39; Dennis P. Hupchick, *The Balkans: from Constantinople to Communism*, Palgrave, New York, 2002, p.222.

¹⁰ See. Shirley Howard Weber, *Voyages and Travels In the Near East Made During the XIX Century*, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, 1952. This is an annotated, chronological bibliography of over twelve hundred travel accounts, many of which deal with the Balkans.

¹¹ Igor Damianov, "La Russie et La Question Bulgare Pendant La Première Moitié Des Années 40 Du XIXe Siècle," in *Relations et Influences Reciproques Entre Grecs et Bulgares XVIII^e-XX^e siècles: art et littérature, linguistique, idées politiques et structures sociales: Cinquième colloque organisé par l'Institut des Etudes Balkaniques de Thessaloniki et Janina, 27-31 Mars 1988*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1991, pp.88-89.

Many English and French travelers came to Bulgarian lands after the 1830s. Among them were geologists, engineers, economists, cartographers, publishers. They observed the natural resources of the country, the production, the roads, the markets. They also sought possibilities of establishing cultural relations with the population to counterbalance the Russian influence on the Orthodox people of this country¹². Missionary activities of Protestants and Catholics also accelerated after the 1840s. Thus, Bulgarian lands were opened to the imperialistic activities of Britain and France. In this study, an attempt to assess the mid-nineteenth Bulgaria from the viewpoints of French travelers is made.

1.2. The General State of the Ottoman Empire

As a result of the process of decentralization during the 17th and 18th centuries, the central power lost its authority on the provinces. In other words, it was obliged to share its authority with a rising new class in the provinces. The *Ayans* emerged as a result of the changing economic and political conditions in the Ottoman Empire. The most important change was the transformation of the land tenure system. The *sipahi* system, by which a man was granted the income from an estate in return for military service, began to give way to the *çiftlik* system, under which the estate ceased to be a military fief but became the private property of the local landowners, with its economy towards production for the market¹³. The *Ayans'* rise was a result of this transformation. The weakening of the tie between the land ownership and military service strongly affected the Ottoman army. During the war period against Austria and Russia between 1787 and 1792, the Porte, lacking an effective centrally controlled army depended increasingly on the efforts of the *Ayans'* private armies¹⁴.

In the last two decades of 18th century and in the first decade of 19th century every corner of the empire was under the rule of powerful *Ayans*. In Balkans, the most famous amongst them were Ali Pasha of Janina, ruling over southern Albania and northern Greece and, Osman Pasvantoglu reigning in the Vidin region. During

¹² Christo Christov, "Le Mouvement National de Libération en Bulgarie et la Politique de la Russie et des Pays Occidentaux," *Etudes Historiques*, Sofia, 1960, p.301.

¹³ Mercia Macdermott, *A History of Bulgaria 1393-1885*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1962, p.64.

¹⁴ Michael Palairt, *The Balkan Economies c. 1800-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, p.36.

this period, the principal problem of the central power was to break the dominance of the *Ayans* in the provinces and restore its own authority. The first considerable efforts were made by Selim III to re-establish the authority of the central power. *Nizam-ı Cedid* was established by him to this end. However, the reform movement of Selim III failed because of the alliance of those who profited from the old order. Mahmud II continued the reform movement in a more consistent manner than that of Selim III. The first step towards centralization was the restoration of the central power in the provinces. By 1820, in the Balkans, almost all *Ayans* were subdued by the Porte. The second significant step was the suppression of the Janissaries in 1826 and the foundation of a new western style regular army. Thus, the way for more radical reforms was opened. In many fields, a reform program was carried out taking European institutions as model. The events of the 1820s and the 1830s –national and peasant movements in Balkans and the challenge of Mehmed Ali of Egypt threatening the existence of the Ottoman Empire- led the Porte to accelerate the reform process. In 1839, Abdülmecid, the successor of Mahmud II, inaugurated the great period of Ottoman reforms known as the *Tanzimat*¹⁵. In the Ottoman historiography, the word ‘Tanzimat’ was used as the name of the regime that took shape during the reigns of Abdülmecid (1839-61) and Abdülaziz (1861-76). The Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane was promulgated on 3 November 1839, proclaimed such principles as the security of life, honor, and property of the subject, the abolition of tax-farming and all abuses associated with it, regular and orderly recruitment into the armed forces, fair and public trial of persons accused of crimes, and equality of persons of all religions in the application of these laws¹⁶. The main goal of the *Tanzimat* was to extend the control of the central government to all aspects of Ottoman life in the provinces¹⁷. Another important aim was to ensure the reliance of Christian subjects to the state through the principle of equality under the law, and thus preserve and reinforce the unity of the Empire¹⁸. Thus, the Ottoman reformers aimed at creating a common Ottoman identity, or in other words a common

¹⁵ The word *tanzimat* is the plural of *tanzim* which means ordering. Hence, *tanzimat* meant a series of acts that would give a new order to the organization of the state. Berkes, pp.144-145.

¹⁶ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, London, 1968, p.107.

¹⁷ Stanford J. Shaw, “Local Administrations in the Tanzimat”, in *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, T.T.K., Ankara, 1992, p.33.

¹⁸ Halil İnalçık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi*, Eren, İstanbul, 1992, p.3.

citizenship, bringing together all the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of the Empire under equal duties and privileges. The majority of Muslim subjects in general did not like the concessions granted to the non-Muslims. Some of the non-Muslims, such as tax-farmers, bankers, usurers, notables and clergy, did not like the principles of *Tanzimat* too since they were deprived of their ancient exemptions and privileges¹⁹. However, in general, the state of non-Muslim subjects ameliorated with the *Tanzimat* reforms.

By the 1840s the rivalry of the European Powers, pursuing their own economic and political interests on the Ottoman lands, accelerated. The Crimean War in 1853 was the product of this rivalry. At the end of the war, a new reform charter, the *Hatt-ı Hümayun of Islahat*, was promulgated on 18 February 1856 by the Sultan. This Rescript reaffirmed the principles of the edict of 1839, again abolished tax-farming and other abuses, and laid down the full equality of all Ottoman subjects irrespective of religion²⁰. As a result of this charter, the Ottoman Empire was accepted to the Concert of Europe with the Treaty of Paris. Thus, the Ottoman Empire was recognized as a legitimate European Power and its territorial integrity was guaranteed collectively by Britain, France and Austria.

After 1856, the economical and political influence of European Powers on the Ottoman Empire increased. Comprehensive reforms made by the Porte did not satisfy the demand of the European diplomacy who claimed that promises of equality for the Christian subjects were not always implemented. Non-Muslim subjects too were not pleased with the rights that both *Tanzimat* and *Islahat* Rescripts brought. In the era of nationalism, these charters did not hinder but accelerated the national and social reactions²¹. The efforts of *Tanzimat* statesmen, aiming to create a common Ottoman identity failed and the Balkan Christians with the support of foreign powers obtained their independence.

1.3. European Turkey and Bulgaria in the 19th Century

In the 18th century, commercial contacts between the Ottoman Balkans and Europe increased. Treaties and concessions given by the Ottoman government

¹⁹ Salahi R. Sonyel, "Tanzimat and Its Effects on the Non-Muslim Subjects of the Ottoman Empire", in *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, T.T.K., Ankara, 1994, pp.368-369.

²⁰ Lewis, p.116.

²¹ İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 3d ed., Hil, İstanbul, 1995, p.103.

hastened the economic involvements of the European Powers. With the treaty of Passarowitz of 1718, the Habsburg subjects began to use Danube for commercial purposes. In the 1740s, France and Britain obtained trading concessions from the Porte, and the treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji of 1774 allowed the Russian commercial fleet to run in the Black Sea and to pass through the Straits into the Mediterranean. These developments caused the inclusion of Balkan territories to the network of European trade. Parallel to these developments, the *timar* lands merged into *çiftlik* estates which were more suitable for the new economic conditions than the former. As mentioned before, the Muslim notables called *Ayans* evolved into landlords within these circumstances. However, the Balkan Christians also profited from the increasing commercial dealings. They conducted the greater part of this trade relying on commercial networks with representatives in both the Ottoman Empire and European states²². A considerable number of middlemen and contractors evolved among the Balkan Christians, thanks to whom the European enterprisers could conduct their affairs. Thus, a nascent Balkan bourgeoisie emerged. Both in villages and cities, production for the foreign markets made some craft branches prosper. Some members of these crafts formed later a strong part of the Balkan bourgeoisie²³.

The contact of the nascent Balkan merchants with Europe, their familiarization with the bourgeois ways and habits and their contact with progressive European ideas played an important role in the introducing of a new ideology called nationalism. This Balkan bourgeoisie, affected from the Enlightenment and French Revolution's new concepts, formed a very small minority in comparison with peasantry, who represented an overwhelming portion of the Balkan population. The emergence of independent Balkan states was in some extent the work of a leading bourgeoisie and an uneasy peasantry because of the wars, banditry and oppression of tax-farmers. However, it should be noted that every Balkan nation experienced a different process from each other in attaining their independence.

First, the Serbians revolted in 1804. They obtained autonomy in 1830 and only after the Berlin Congress of 1878 a fully independent Serbian state was established. In comparison with the other Balkan states, the role of foreign powers in the stages of establishment of Serbia was relatively less important. The 1804 Serbian

²² Justin McCarthy, *The Ottoman Peoples and the end of Empire*, Arnold Pub., London, 2001, p.40.

²³ Nikolai Todorov, "Social Structures in the Balkans during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in *Etudes Balkaniques*, Vol. 4, (1985), p. 58.

revolt began as a social peasant movement against the crucial janissaries gathered around the rebellious *ayan* of Vidin, Pazvantoglu Osman, and later on turned into an independence war²⁴. The leaders of the Serbian independence struggle were local Christian notables, called *knez*, dealing with livestock trade. Rural notables, peasantry, former Austrian volunteers, *hayduks* and Serbian clergy took part in this struggle. Ottoman-Russian Wars and Serbia's geographical position contributed to the achievement of an autonomous Serbia, almost completely independent after the treaty of Adrianople. Though a strong bourgeoisie and also a national consciousness did not exist in Serbia, this struggle attained its purpose through popular support.

Unlike the Serbian revolt, which made little impression on general European diplomacy, the Greek revolt became the main international problem of the 1820s²⁵. Russia, Britain and France had a vital role in the success of this revolt. In 1827, the fleets of these three powers destroyed the Egyptian-Ottoman fleet in Navarino. This turned the Greek revolt to the rebel's favor. Finally, after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-29, under the guaranteed protection of Britain, Russia and France, an independent Greece was established.

The Greek national movement had its origins in two separate spheres: the outer world of the merchant, the Phanariote and the Diaspora, and the inner world of the mainland of Greece with its military elements and its peasant people²⁶. The Greek revolution began in two different places as distinct movements from each other. The second revolutionary movement was more important than Ypsilanti's attempt in the Danube Principalities. It began in 1821 in Morea. In this revolt, lower clergy, peasants, bandits and republican intelligentsia played a much important role than the merchant class living in abroad²⁷. Local Greek notables called *kocabaşı* and higher clergy in general were not against the Ottoman authority. They were for the existing order in the maintenance of which they had vested interests²⁸. The insurgents took them as their target as well as the Ottoman rule. Although the

²⁴ Kemal H. Karpat, *Balkanlar'da Osmanlı Mirası ve Ulusçuluk*, tr. Recep Boztemur, İmge, Ankara, 2004, pp.113-114.

²⁵ Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804-1920*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, London, 1977, p.38.

²⁶ Charles and Barbara Jelavich, p.39.

²⁷ This commercial Greek bourgeoisie played more effective role in Ypsilanti's revolt through the revolutionary Philike Hetairia society that was established in Odessa by Greek merchants in 1814. Ypsilanti was the leader of this society.

²⁸ Charles and Barbara Jelavich, p.43.

existing popular support, this revolt met with success only with foreign intervention as mentioned above.

Bulgarian national movement developed slower than the others. The late revival of the Bulgarian people can be explained by their close location to the capital of Ottoman Empire. As in the case of the Greeks, the Bulgarian national movement was conducted mainly by a wealthy Bulgarian merchant class living especially in abroad and a revolutionary intelligentsia. The role of the Bulgarian peasantry was much less significant than its Serbian and Greek counterparts. The peasant movements were periodically seen after the 1830s. However, they were rather regional revolts stemming from the bad socio-economic conditions. The main difficulty the Bulgarian intelligentsia faced was to get support from the middle class and the peasantry in his revolutionary program²⁹.

The economic revival of the Bulgarians through the rapid growth of commerce and handicrafts in the early 19th century caused a cultural awakening. The struggle against the Greek domination in schools, church and culture was an important factor creating a common sense among the Bulgarians. In the revival of the Bulgarian culture, schools had a vital role. Modern schools using the Bulgarian language spread rapidly after 1835. These schools marked the beginning of the end of the Greek cultural hegemony³⁰. In the second half of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th century, there was a unified written culture in Greek throughout the Balkans and this dominance was ironically broken by a non-Greek intelligentsia educated in Greek schools³¹. The dominance of Greeks mainly stemmed from the privileged position of the Phanar Patriarchate on the Orthodox subjects of the Porte. The struggle of Bulgarians against the dominance of the Patriarchate to establish an independent Bulgarian Church especially after the 1860s was also an important stage of the Bulgarian national movement.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Bulgarians were the largest ethnic group that remained under the rule of the Porte. All the reforms made by the Ottoman government primarily aimed at improving the conditions of the Bulgarians. The visits of Mahmud II and his successor Abdülmecid to Bulgaria in 1837 and in 1846 show the interest of the Ottomans in the social unrests of this region³². After the

²⁹ Karpat, *Balkanlar*, p.123.

³⁰ L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, C. Hurst & Co. Pub., London, 2000, p.371.

³¹ Peter Mackridge, "The Greek Intelligentsia 1780-1830: A Balkan Perspective," in *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, ed. Richard Clogg, Barnes & Noble Books, Totowa, New Jersey, 1981, pp.76-77.

³² İnalçık, p.43.

achievement of the Greek independence and of the Serbian and the Romanian autonomy, Bulgaria became the focus of the Ottoman reform program. They believed that an administrative achievement in Bulgaria to be important also for the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire's unity. The Bulgarian peasant movements of 1830s were an important factor accelerating the initiation of the *Tanzimat* reforms³³. In 1864, a new provincial law was accepted. The Danubean Province under the Midhat Pasha's governance became the first province where this new system was applied. The reforms of Midhat Pasha improved the conditions of all the inhabitants of this province. This policy of the Ottoman government hindered the achievement of the revolutionary movements of Bulgarian intelligentsia. The separatist plans of this latter could not find enough support by the peasantry and the middle class. To some extent the middle class was satisfied and prosperous due to reforms, even two years before the establishment of a Bulgarian Principality in 1878. As in the case of Serbia and Greece, this principality was also established through an Ottoman-Russian War.

In the 19th century the European lands of the Ottoman Empire became the scene for the political struggles of the European states and the freedom movements of the Balkan people. From the beginning of the century, the nationalistic ideology spreading amongst the Balkan people developed under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals was rising as a threat to the state's existence. The Ottoman statesman have noticed that the Empire was about to be disintegrated. After 1840, the *Tanzimat* statesmen have strived to unite the multi-national Empire under the identity of being Ottoman but these attempts failed. In these failures, the support of the European states especially that of Russia to the Balkan people played an important role. It is probably sufficient to say that all of the Balkan states were formed after any one of the Ottoman-Russian wars. As noted by a French traveler, the problem of the Balkan people lays at the heart of the Eastern Question at the 19th century³⁴. Especially starting with the 1840s, the interest in Balkan people other than the Greeks and specifically in Bulgarians has increased. But no such increase is seen in the amount of the travelers coming to Bulgaria or in works pertaining to Bulgarians. Even so, it can be said that at this period, both the French and the English became more active in this region. They sought to balance the rising power of Russia and to learn more about Balkan people and its economic potential.

³³ Karpat, *Balkanlar*, p.121.

³⁴ Cyprien Robert, "Le Monde Gréco-Slave.-Etat Actuel, Moeurs Publiques et Privées des Peuples de la Péninsule", *Revue des deux Mondes*, 4e série, Vol.29, Janvier-Mars 1842, p.384.

CHAPTER II

19th CENTURY'S FRENCH TRAVELERS IN EUROPEAN TURKEY AND BULGARIA

In the 19th century, European Turkey and Bulgaria were visited by more Europeans in total than in the other centuries due to better traveling accommodations and relationship of Europe and the Ottoman Empire³⁵. These Europeans wrote their observations of the places visited. There is a considerable amount of such travels and their accounts starting with the 14th century in the West about the Ottoman Empire. In this study only a minor part of this collection is handled, namely the French traveler's accounts in the second and third quarters of the 19th century. It must be mentioned that this work does not encompass all of the French traveler's accounts who visited Bulgaria under the Ottoman rule, but it is not through lack of trying. Some references may have escaped the writer's notice, some could not be reached and some were left out. The references used were accessed mainly through the anthology of Bulgarian historian Michoff *La Bulgarie et Son Peuple d'Après Les Témoignages Etrangers* and the researches at the website of French National Library. In the first section, the lives and works of the eighteen authors is introduced. The general evaluation of the works is done. Finally the outlook of these French travelers to the Ottoman world and the European Turkey is analyzed.

2.1. The Presentation of the French travelers and their accounts

Of the 18 French writers which are evaluated in this section, all except Cousinéry and Malte-Brun, have either visited Bulgaria or worked there after the second quarter of the 19th century. The first visit of Cousinéry to Bulgaria was at the end of the 18th century and the second was after 1815. However, since an exact date is not given in the text it is not possible to know accurately the precise date of his

³⁵ Due to usage of steam boats especially, there was an increase in the amount of voyages to Ottoman Empire ports from Europe. Another important development may be the installation of railroads on the Ottoman lands in the second part of the 19th century. Since 1850's railroad constructions have been started in the Balkans. About the railroads constructed in Balkans see, Vahdettin Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, Eren, İstanbul, 1993.

second travel. His work was included in this study due to the fact that it was published in 1831 and contained some original data. The exceptions to the dates after 1830's include Cousinéry's travels and the account of Malte-Brun that was edited and republished in 1845 by J.J.N. Huot.

Accounts other than that of Lamartine are generally focused on European Turkey and Bulgaria. But since Bulgaria was not a separate political identity apart from the Ottoman Empire, it is not possible to say that these travels were only centered on Bulgaria. Of the 18 accounts, only those of Blanqui, Poyet and Allard contain the phrase Bulgaria in their titles. On the other hand, there are no accounts on distinct cities in Bulgaria other than that of other travels to Stara Zagora, Kazanlik, and Sliven than of Poyet's or over Plovdiv other than that of Dumont's account of his travel to Roumelia. Also only two among the works of these 18 travelers are directly focused on Bulgarians. One of these is the article of Robert on Bulgarians published in *Revue des deux Mondes* and the other is Poyet's work *La Bulgarie Dans Le Présent et L'Avenir* which was published in 1860.

The works of the 18 travelers and their accounts acknowledged in this study do not encompass all of the French travelers and their accounts after 1830. The works not used or attained in this study include the works given in the footnote below³⁶. The travelers' accounts are given in chronological order as they were published. Most of the travelers chosen for the study were people who explored the region either as a part of their functions or are people whose accounts have been made of use to their governments.

Conrad Malte-Brun: A French geographer (1775-1826). He was known by his masterpiece *Précis de la Géographie Universelle* (Paris, 1810-1829, 8 vol.)³⁷. Malte-Brun died in 1826 before he could finish his work. This voluminous work which encompasses all parts of the world was completed by J.J.N. Huot. The fourth volume

³⁶ M. Boucher de Perthes, *Voyage A Constantinople*, 1855; Destrilhes, *Confidences sur la Turquie*, Paris, 1855; Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, 4 vols., Paul Bertrand, Paris, 1854-1860; B. C. Collas, *La Turquie en 1861*, Imprimerie Ch. Jouaust, Paris, 1861; B. C. Collas, *La Turquie en 1864*, E. Dentu, Paris, 1864; A. Synvet, *Traité de Géographie de l'Empire Ottoman*, Typ. Et Lith. Centrales, Constantinople, 1872; A. Ubicini and Pavet de Courteille, *Etat Présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, J. Dumaine, Paris, 1876; Leroy Beaulieu, *Les Réformes de la Turquie*, 1876; F. Bianconi, *La Question d'Orient dévoilée*, 1876; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, 1876; Ivan de Woestyne, *Voyage au Pays de Bachi-Bouzoucks*, Librairie ancienne et moderne Bachelin-Deflorenne, Paris, 1876.

³⁷ Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.78.

of this work, under the title of *Description de l'Europe et de l'Asie Occidentale*, mentions the European Turkey and Bulgaria as a part of it to a limited extent. This work contains the information about the history, geography, cities, population, communities of the European Turkey. It touches very shortly on Bulgarians as well as other communities. The fifth edition of this work was published in 1845 by the revision of J.J.N. Huot.

Esprit-Marie Cousinéry: He was born in Marseille (1747-1833). He made a diplomatic career. He was successively chancellor at the Consulate of Trieste in 1771, consul general of Salonika in 1773, consul in Rosette in 1774, vice-consul of Smyrna in 1779, and finally consul general in Salonika in 1786. He was known by his works on numismatic and especially by his *Voyage Dans La Macedoine* published in 1831, Paris³⁸. This account consists of two volumes. Although Cousinéry does not give an exact date for his travels in Macedonia, there are some clues in the text proving that this account was a product of more than 30 years sojourn. His function as a consul general in Salonika two times, provided the background of his knowledge about Macedonia. French revolution put an end to his mission. He could see this country again only at the time of *Restauration*, that is to say, after 1815³⁹. In his new excursions, probably lasting until the late 1820s, he traveled again in Macedonia, from Vodena to Seres. His work combined earlier and recent observations on Macedonia. As a famous numismatist, Cousinéry especially focused on antiquities, coins and medals of the ancient Macedonia. He also dealt with the ancient and modern history of the region considering its dwellers. He gave information about the geography, ancient and new establishments, occupations of habitants, communities living there etc. Although Bulgarians were rarely mentioned in the text, there are some interesting information about their characteristics, villages and cities habited by them etc.

Alphonse-Marie-Louis de Prat de Lamartine: One of the greatest French poets and a famous politician (1790-1869). In the summer of 1832, he left his country to travel to the countries of the Orient. He published the *Voyage en Orient, Souvenirs*,

³⁸ Nicholas V. Michoff, *La Bulgarie et son Peuple d'après les Témoignages Etrangers*, Imprimerie Du Léman, Lausanne, 1918, p.15.

³⁹ E.M. Cousinéry, *Voyage Dans La Macédoine*, Vol.I, Imprimerie Royale, 1831, Paris, pp.4-5.

Impressions, Pensées et Paysages, in 1835, two years after the end of his voyage. In 1850, Lamartine returned to the Ottoman Empire to carry out a project of agricultural colonization. He was granted a large estate to operate in the region of Smyrna in 1849 by the Sultan, but could not afford necessary amounts to do so⁴⁰. In 1854, he published his *Histoire de la Turquie*. Lamartine, narrates in his book *Voyage en Orient, Souvenirs, Impressions, Pensées et Paysages* basically the Arab lands under Ottoman sovereignty. The traveler passes through cities such as Adrianople, Plovdiv, Tatar Pazardjik, Sofia, and Nish on the road from Constantinople to Belgrade, on his way back to France. Lamartine, staying for 20 days in a Bulgarian village called Yeniköy because of his illness, tells about his impressions of the Bulgarians he met there.

Ami Boué: A French geologist. He was born in Hamburg in 1794 and died in Vienna in 1881. He was from a protestant French emigrant family. He traveled throughout Europe, explored especially the European Turkey. He lived for a long time in Paris where he presided over *La Société de Géologie*. He published two important works as a conclusion of his travels in the European Turkey. The first one, published in 1840, was *La Turquie d'Europe*, and the second one was *Recueil d'Itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe* which was published in 1854⁴¹.

La Turquie d'Europe with its four volumes is a voluminous work. As Boué noted in the introduction,⁴² his travels throughout the European Turkey were different from the other voyagers who preferred a voyage in ordinary stations like Athens, Smyrna, Constantinople, Broussa, Ruse, Sofia and Belgrade. Unlike them, he traveled to the remotest villages, the wildest mountains and described the vast resources of the Balkan Peninsula and its peoples with the objective of forming complete and correct notions of the European Turkey hitherto incomplete and faulty in the mind of Europeans⁴³. In the more favorable conditions of the 1830's, he embarked upon his researches through the European Turkey⁴⁴. *La Turquie d'Europe* was the product of these explorations. In the first volume, Boué treated the

⁴⁰ Jean-Claude Berchet, *Le Voyage en Orient*, 5th ed., Robert Laffont, Paris, p.1088.

⁴¹ Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.27.

⁴² Ami Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.I, Arthus Bertrand, Paris, 1840, p.X.

⁴³ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol. I, p.VII

⁴⁴ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.I, p.VIII.

geography, geology, vegetation, fauna and meteorology of the European Turkey. The second volume is on its inhabitants, their languages, characteristics, customs, costumes, habitations, furniture, etc. In the third volume he talked on agriculture, industry, commerce, administration, military situation, justice, clergy and religions, public instruction, medicine and diseases of the European Turkey. The last volume is on the political and military importance of various provinces of the European Turkey and political positions of all its communities. He also evaluated mutual political position of Slavs and Greeks and the position of the Porte in relation to its subjects and to Great Powers. Undoubtedly, this is one of the most important and comprehensive work about the European Turkey and its peoples.

The account of Boué, *Recueil d'Itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe*, consists of two volumes. This work stemmed from the same voyage that enabled him to write *La Turquie d'Europe*. Turkey was represented in this work as it was 14 years before its publication⁴⁵. All the itineraries of Boué, with the villages and cities on it, were described considering their topography, geography and populations living there. There is considerable information about the distribution of population in the cities. This is a useful source to know the lands inhabited by the Bulgarians, and by the other communities in the European Turkey.

Jérôme Adolphe Blanqui: A famous French economist. He was born in Nice in 1798, died in 1854. In 1833, he became professor of political economy at the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, and in 1838 was elected a member of the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*. In 1838, appeared his most important work *Histoire de l'Economie Politique en Europe*. He was very thorough in research, and for the purposes of his economic inquiries traveled over almost the whole Europe and visited Algeria and the Orient. In 1841, soon after the end of Nish revolt, assuming a mission from the French government to investigate and report the real causes of this revolt, he came to the European Turkey. He especially collected information about the situation of the Bulgarians. In 1843, he published *Voyage en Bulgarie* as a conclusion of his above mentioned travels. In 1842, he also published a

⁴⁵ Ami Boué, *Recueil d'Itinéraires Dans La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.I, W. Braumüller, Vienne, 1854, p.IX.

pamphlet, *Considérations sur l'Etat Social de la Turquie d'Europe*, a product of the same voyage⁴⁶.

Blanqui's *Voyage en Bulgarie* was a report of a mission given by French government to investigate the real causes of the Nish revolt. Blanqui set out on 8 august 1841 from Paris. He described every city and village on his road. When he arrived in Belgrade, he began his investigations. He conversed with Prince Michel, Prince of Serbia and with Princess Lioubitza, mother of Prince Michel and wife of former Prince Milosch. He also visited consul general of Russia and Kamil Pasha, the governor of the fortress of Belgrade. At Vidin, Blanqui was accommodated by Hüseyin Pasha, who was the governor of the day and known through the suppression of the Janissaries. He left Vidin to go to Nish, passing through Belogradchik, Pirot and Bela Palanka (Mustapha Pasha Palanka). The Nish revolt had broken out in the valley between Pirot and Nish. In Nish, he visited the governor of the day, İsmet Pasha, and also the extraordinary intendant of the Porte, Yakup Pasha who was endowed with unlimited power at that time. The last station of his investigation was Nish. He accomplished his mission through his observations on the area of revolt and through dialogues with the above mentioned authorities. Thus, half of his book was devoted to the elucidation of the Nish revolt. Blanqui's travel continued from Sofia to Constantinople. He described the characteristics of the Bulgarians, comparing them with Greeks. He mentioned the situation of the Orthodox Church and of its believers. One chapter was on the agriculture, industry and commerce of Bulgaria.

In his *Considérations Sur L'Etat Social De La Turquie D'Europe*, Blanqui communicates his reflections on the social situation of the communities living in the European Turkey. He reveals his thoughts on the Ottoman administration and on the social positions of the Christian subjects of the Porte in comparison with the Muslims. He points out to the importance of the eastern Christians issue for the European power balance. This pamphlet is not a travel account but is the political thoughts of Blanqui based on his observations concerning the European Turkey.

Cyprien Robert: A French man of letters. He was born in Angers in 1807. He was a professor of language and Slavic literature at the *Collège de France* known with his

⁴⁶ "JEROME ADOLPHE BLANQUI" *LoveToKnow 1911 Online Encyclopedia*. LoveToKnow. http://13.1911encyclopedia.org/B/BL/BLANQUI_JEROME_ADOLPHE.htm, (accessed February 21, 2005)

works on Slavonic peoples. In 1844, he published one of the most significant works under the title of *Les Slaves de Turquie*. It consists of two volumes. Same work also appeared in *Revue Des Deux Mondes* under the title of *Le Monde Gréco-Slave* in 1842. In the long introduction of the first volume, Robert revealed his political thoughts on the Balkan Peninsula and exposed the actual state of its peoples touching on their social life, religion, customs, relations with each other etc. Montenegrins and Serbians were the subject of the first volume. In the second volume, Robert dealt with Bosnians, Albanians and finally Bulgarians. In this work, Robert gave information about the history, characteristics, customs, cities, social life of the Bulgarians under the Ottoman rule in a very detailed manner. Based on his travels through the Balkan Peninsula, Robert's account is one of the most comprehensive and detailed work on Balkan peoples. While the knowledge of the author on Slavic languages and culture enriches this account, his antagonism towards Ottomans and conversely his obvious sympathy towards Bulgarians weakens his objectivity.

Robert, in 1847 and 1851 published two other books related to Slavs and Slavism, *Les Deux Panславisme* and *Le Monde Slave*⁴⁷.

Jean-Henri-Abdolonyme Ubicini: A French historian and publicist (1818-1884). In 1846, he went to Italy, later came to the Orient and traveled successively in Greece, and in the Ottoman Empire. At the time of the 1848 insurrection, he was in Bucharest, and there was secretary of provisional government for a while. He particularly was known with his *Lettres sur la Turquie (1847-1853)*. Before its publication as a book, these letters were published in installments, as from 1850, in a French newspaper called *Le Moniteur Universel*⁴⁸. This account consists of two volumes. The first volume was published in 1851, Paris. A revised edition of the same work was published in 1853. This first volume deals with the religious, political, social, financial, agricultural and commercial state of the Ottoman Empire. The second volume was published in 1854. In this volume, Ubicini assesses the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire their organization –ecclesiastical, governmental, administrative etc. - on the basis of religion. Ubicini's account draws a

⁴⁷ Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.37.

⁴⁸ *Le Moniteur Universel* was an important French newspaper founded by the famous Parisian bookseller Charles Joseph Panckoucke in 1789 and from 1796 became the official news organ of the French government. See, Taner Timur, *Osmanlı Çalışmaları*, 3d. ed., İmge, Ankara, 1998, pp.105-106.

complete picture of the Ottoman Empire of the time. It is, therefore, one of the principal sources related to the 19th century's Ottoman Empire to which the historians frequently refer. Ubicini's work is also translated to Turkish⁴⁹. In the present study, an English translation was made use of⁵⁰.

The other works of Ubicini also focused on political and institutional developments in the Ottoman Empire and on the Eastern Question. He successively published *La Question d'Orient devant l'Europe* in 1854; *La Question des Principautés Danubiennes devant l'Europe* in 1858; *Etude Historique sur les Populations Chrétiennes de la Turquie d'Europe* in 1867; *Les constitutions de l'Europe Orientale* in 1872; *La Constitution Ottomane Expliquée et Annotée* in 1877; and he wrote a book together with Pavel de Courteille under the title of *L'Etat Présent de l'Empire Ottoman* in 1876⁵¹.

Aristide-Michel Perrot: A French geographer (1793-1879). He published in 1855 his *Itinéraire de la Turquie d'Europe*⁵². In this work, taking Constantinople as a starting point, Perrot describes sixty roads in the European Turkey and thirty in the Danubean Provinces. He gives information about the cities on his way. He especially talks on the situation of the roads and the fortifications of the cities. Thus presents the military situation of the Ottoman Empire's European lands that had been exposed to wars from the beginning of the 19th century. Perrot's aim was to provide the military intelligence that would be required for the troops in campaign, in the case of a war.

Pierre-Henri Mathieu: A French politician (1793-1872). In 1857, he published his work under the title of *La Turquie et ses différents peuples*⁵³. This work consists of two volumes. In the first volume, Mathieu treats the history of the Turks until the reign of Abdülmecid. In the second volume, he focuses on the peoples of the Ottoman Empire giving information about their history, geography, characteristics,

⁴⁹ See. *Türkiye 1850*, tr. Cemal Karaağaçlı; and *1855'de Türkiye*, tr. Ayda Düz, 1977, Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser.

⁵⁰ Jean-Henri-Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, tr. Lady Easthope, John Murray, London, 1856 (new ed., Arno Press, New York, 1973).

⁵¹ Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.46.

⁵² Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.56.

⁵³ Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.58.

customs, social conditions, etc. He also deals with slavery, the Koran, ulema, dervishes, legislation, Sultan, government, justice, finances, commerce, industry, sciences, arts, army and reforms. Mathieu's work is a study on the Ottoman Empire rather than a travel account. He largely makes use of the other traveler's accounts and several sources on the Orient. There is no indication in the text of the time of his travels. All of these raises doubt upon the work's originality.

Eugène Poujade: A French diplomat (1815-1885). In 1859, he wrote a book which dealt with political, military and religious life in the Orient, based on his reminiscences and experiences from his career as a diplomat in Orient. The title of his work was *Chrétiens et Turcs*. Poujade's work was published in 1859, Paris. In the introduction, Poujade evaluates the political position of France, Great Britain and Russia considering their relations with the Ottoman Empire. He dwells upon the religions and the races of the Ottoman Empire, taking into account their relations with each other. Turks, Vlachs, Greeks, Albanians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, Serbians, Montenegrins and Bulgarians, briefly all main peoples of the European Turkey are mentioned in the text. Poujade evaluates the political events of the 1850's, the attitude of the Ottoman government towards its subjects and the impact of the European Powers on the internal affairs of the Porte. He also mentions the Crimean War and the political situation in the Danubean Principalities before and after the war. He gives information about the social situation of Bulgarians, the annual revenues and expenditures of Bulgaria for 1851, the distribution of the population etc. All this information is restricted to the proper Bulgaria, i.e. the north Bulgaria.

C.F. Poyet: A French doctor. He lived in the Ottoman Empire for twenty-three years, and traveled to Egypt, Arabia, Sudan and the European Turkey. He could speak Turkish to such perfection that he was regarded as a Turk among the Turkish population and gained their confidence⁵⁴. He took part both in the establishment and the suppression of the quarantine in the Ottoman Empire. He was appointed sanitary and epidemic doctor in several provinces and districts. Due to his knowledge of the Turkish language and the trust gained in the eyes of the Ottoman dignitaries, he had

⁵⁴ Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.67.

the chance to go to rarely visited regions and thus could accumulate many interesting data⁵⁵. He wrote three letters in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* in 1859 where he described the districts of Sliven, Stara Zagora and Kazanlik. He gives information about the distribution of population, educational establishments, agricultural and animal productions, annual tax revenues and expenditures, geography, aspect of the cities, climate, flora and fauna, diseases, characteristics of the habitants of these districts. Poyet also assesses the involvements of the European Powers in this region. His close relation with the authorities and his knowledge of Turkish enables him to obtain very detailed and rare data.

In 1860, he wrote *La Bulgarie dans le Présent et l'Avenir* which tells about the political revival of the Bulgarians and implies their progress towards independency. He mentions their intellectual movement, religious struggle against the Phanar Patriarchate. He implies that all the conditions are ripe for their independence. Poyet's work is very original and interesting with the information it contains.

Guillaume Lejean: A French explorer, cartographer and geographer (1821-1871). He set out on several voyages and accomplished important missions in the Balkans, Asia and Africa. Between the years 1857-1858, he traveled to the European Turkey, and studied the distribution of races in this area. The results of his researches were exposed in his *Etnographie de la Turquie d'Europe* both in French and German, in 1861. Unfortunately, this work could not be attained. He had also several articles on the European Turkey, especially on Bulgaria, published in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* between the years 1858-1870⁵⁶. All of these are the reports of his travels through European Turkey. In these articles, he mentions very shortly some Bulgarian cities like Chiprovets, Turnovo, Elena and also the villages on his itinerary. He gives information about the distribution of the Bulgarians, Turks and other communities in the regions where he traveled to. He also speaks of the Bulgarian colonies in the north of the Danube.

⁵⁵ C.F. Poyet, "La Description du caza de Eski-Zagra," *Bulletin de la société de Géographie*, 4e série, Vol.18, no:103-108, Juillet-Décembre 1859, p.147

⁵⁶ Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.69.

Camille Allard: A French doctor (1832-1863). In 1855, he took part as a sanitarian in a French mission who constructed a road between Hirsova and Kustendji⁵⁷. Thus, he had information about the eastern Bulgaria. He was known by his accounts of travels. He left three accounts which contain his impressions and reflections on the European Turkey, especially on eastern Bulgaria. The first was published in 1859 under the title of *La Dobroutcha*; the second, *La Bulgarie Orientale*, was published in 1864; and the last one, *Les Echelles du Levant*, was published in 1864⁵⁸. Allard's account, *La Bulgarie Orientale*, was published after his death in 1864, Paris. This work contains his travels through the shores of Black Sea from Varna to the mouth of the Danube, and through the regions called Deliorman and Dobrudja from Silistra to Kustendji. Allard talks about the communities living in these areas. He speaks about their characteristics, physiognomies, social life, etc. He also gives detailed information about the diseases and sanitary conditions of these regions.

Auguste Viquesnel: A French geologist and geographer (1800-1867). In 1833, Viquesnel was accepted to the membership of *Société Géologique de France* where he was appointed, in 1858, to the seat of presidency. Besides this, he had been since 1853 member of the *Société Philomatique*, and one of the founders of the *Société Météorologique de France* of which he became the president in 1862⁵⁹. Viquesnel was known through his comprehensive works on the European Turkey. From 1836 on, he traveled through Serbia, Upper Moesia and Macedonia together with Boué and de Montalembert. Two years later, he embarked upon a second voyage again with Boué, this time through Albania, Epirus and Thessaly. Consequently, Viquesnel published in 1842 and 1846 his *Journal d'un Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe* in which he revealed in a detailed manner the itineraries through which they traveled. In 1847, Viquesnel traveled this time through Thrace in order to achieve his researches on the European Turkey. As a result of his voyage, appeared his *Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe ou Description Physique et Géologique de la Thrace* with its two volumes and an atlas composed of 34 sheets. This significant work was published in installments from 1855 on. The whole of his work could only be published in 1868,

⁵⁷ Camille Allard, *La Bulgarie Orientale*, Adrien Le Clere, Paris, 1864, pp.11-12.

⁵⁸ Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.79

⁵⁹ Auguste Viquesnel, *Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.I, Arthus Bertrand, Paris, 1868, p. XV.

soon after his death⁶⁰. In the first volume, Viquesnel examines the various peoples living in the European Turkey. He gives statistical information on the population of the Ottoman Empire and on its land. Administrative division of the empire, *Tanzimat*, Koran, origin and character of the political power, origin and nature of property, the religious society of the Ottomans, the religious and civil society of the non-Muslim subjects, municipalities, legislation, administration of justice, public instruction, army, finances, agriculture, industry, commerce are the other chapters of this volume. He also deals with the political situation and the aspiration of the Christian subjects. Thus, he reveals a complete aspect of the Ottoman Empire. In the appendix, he touches on the general history of the Slavonic peoples and on the Turks and Finns. In the second volume, the first part is devoted to meteorology. The second part is on the geography of Thrace. This part contains the whole itinerary of Viquesnel during his travels through Thrace from 20 May 1847 to 2 January 1848. The last part, deals with the geology of Thrace. In the appendix, he presents a report to the general director of the tobacco administration in France on the cultivation and commerce of tobaccos in those provinces of the European Turkey that are situated around the Rhodope Mountains and in the inland of this massif. This volume is the product of his scientific researches in Thrace, in contrast to the first volume, which is a compilation from several other sources. Viquesnel when he died in 1867, was an honorable scientific man of France, especially known with his examinations and works on the European Turkey.

Albert Dumont: A French archaeologist (1842-1884). He was known through his scientific researches and his missions in the Orient, especially in Thrace and Macedonia. Aside from his archaeological publications, he published in 1873 a book titled *Le Balkan et l'Adriatique*. It is mainly on the rivalries of peoples in the Balkan Peninsula⁶¹. The second edition dated 1874 and was published in Paris. In this work, Dumont gathered all his accounts that had appeared in *Revue Des Deux Mondes* in 1872. He examines the four peoples of the Balkan Peninsula: Turks, Albanians, Slavs and Greeks. In the first three chapters, he talks about Greeks, Turks, and Bulgarians, observed in his travels in Roumelia during 1869. The second chapter is devoted to

⁶⁰ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p. VI., X and XIV.

⁶¹ Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.88.

Bulgarians under the title of *Le Réveil Bulgare*. Dumont, during his travels in the province of Plovdiv observes the Bulgarians focusing on their character, physiognomy, domicile, culture etc. He also mentions their cultural movement and their religious struggle against the Phanar Patriarchate. He gives information about the Pomaks and the Catholic Bulgarians of Plovdiv. The last three chapters deal with other Slavonic peoples and Albanians and mentions Greek supremacy over the other Christian communities of the Empire.

Auguste Dozon: A French consul and a man of letters (1822-1891). He made his career at the consulates, in Salonika, Mostar and Plovdiv. He was nominated correspondent of the *Institut de France* and fellow of Russian in the *Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*. He was the author of some works on popular poetry and songs of Balkan peoples: *Poésies Populaires Serbes Traduites sur les Originaux* (Paris, 1859); *Les Chants Populaires Bulgares* (Paris, 1874) which was in fact a report on his literary mission in Macedonia; *Chansons Populaires Bulgares Inédites* (Paris, 1875); *Contes Albanais* (1881), etc.⁶². His *Rapports sur une Mission Littéraire en Macédoine* was published in 1874, Paris. It focuses on popular Bulgarian songs collected from the Rhodope Mountains. In the first part, Dozon examines the authenticity of these songs. In the second part, he presents some Bulgarian songs and analyzes them. Dozon also speaks of the Bulgarian tribes living in Macedonia. He gives some information about the Pomaks. Due to his knowledge of Bulgarian, Dozon could contact Bulgarians and could collect the verses of the songs from them.

Louis-Gabriel-Galdéric Aubaret: A French sailor and Orientalist (1825-1894). He participated in the war in China, and then he made a career in diplomacy. He served as a consul at the French consulates in the Orient among which there were Scutari, Ruse. He wrote, in 1876, a pamphlet on the administrative division of the Danubean Province under the title of *Province du Danube*⁶³. Aubaret's work appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* in August 1876. This work is on the administrative division of the Danubean Province. First of all, he draws the

⁶² Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.94.

⁶³ Michoff, *La Bulgarie*, p.96.

boundaries of the province, and then describes the sub-provinces and its dependent districts. He gives information about the population, means of transport, agricultural productions and other resources of the districts. He also gives data about the exportation and importation of these districts. Aubaret's work is very compact showing the general aspects of the Danubean Province.

Victorin Galabert: A French religious man and missionary (1830-1885). He studied medicine in Montpellier, and obtained a doctorate in the same field in 1854. In the same year, he took part in a nascent congregation, *Assomptionnistes*, under the auspices of Papacy. In 1862, he was sent to Constantinople by Père d'Alzon, the founder of this congregation, with a mission to establish his congregation in Bulgaria, in accordance with the desire of Pope Pie IX⁶⁴. For 22 years, he endeavored to propagate Catholicism amongst Orthodox Bulgarians. He traveled to every corner of Bulgaria and during his stay there kept a journal which was published recently in 1998 by the University of Sv. Kliment Okhridski in Sofia under the title of *Vingt-Deux Années Parmi Les Bulgares*. This bilingual work, in French and Bulgarian, was a product of the cooperation of French and Bulgarian archivists. This publication contains only the years between 1862 and 1866 of Galabert's journal. The whole journal of Galabert is not published yet. As a Catholic missionary, Galabert mainly focuses on the problem of establishment and propagation of Catholicism amongst Bulgarians. He writes about the internal disputes of the catholic society in the Ottoman Empire. The struggle between Patriarchate and the Bulgarians that refuse its authority was among the main subjects in his notes. His journal is also very informative with respect to Catholicism's importance amongst the Bulgarians. Traveling through Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thrace, Galabert collected information in every village, town and city about the Catholic Bulgarians. Galabert's journal with its explanatory footnotes is a very interesting source about the Catholic existence and activities in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thrace.

2.2. The General Evaluation of the French Travelers' Accounts

The French travelers of whose life and works were introduced in the previous section were from diverse walks of life and occupations and, have visited the

⁶⁴ Victorin Galabert, *Vingt-deux Années Parmi Les Bulgares*, Vol.I, Université SV. Kliment Okhridski, Sofia, 1998, p.LIX.

European Turkey for a number of different reasons. For example Blanqui, an economist sent by the government to Bulgaria, was there to search the cause of the Nish revolt. Cousinéry, Poujade, Dozon and Aubaret were in the diplomatic service and through this they have had the chance either to visit Bulgaria or work there. Viquesnel, Boué and Lejean have traveled to scientifically survey and learn the geography of Bulgaria along with European Turkey. Viquesnel and Lejean have also drawn the geographic and topographic maps of the places they have visited. It is possible to consider the voyages of these three travelers as purely scientific. Galabert, a missionary, has traveled to Bulgaria and European Turkey to specifically spread Catholicism. Allard was a doctor in the French missionary that had overtaken a road construction in east Bulgaria and has written an account on this less known part of Bulgaria. Dumont, an archeologist, describes the reason for his travel as the need to know the real Turkey separate from the misleading reality of Constantinople. Also he wants to see the practical effects of the reforms and observe the situation of the *reaya* specifically in the countryside⁶⁵. In short, all travelers other than that of Lamartine⁶⁶, who defined his work as poetry of East rather than that of a voyage book, have written their travel accounts for a specific reason.

The travelers generally are agreed that the European Turkey is not well known. Some among them remarked that this geographical region nearby Europe is known even less than America⁶⁷. Viquesnel uses the term *terra incognita* for the Rhodope Mountains⁶⁸. In the article series published in 1871 on the *Revue des deux Mondes*, Dumont remarked on the very first sentence that European Turkey is still known very little. It is possible to elaborate such examples. One common aim of these travelers was to learn about this little known geography and to introduce it to the others in a particular way. In this context, travelers provided a chance to learn about this region to the Europeans who could not visit this place. This is an important function of actual voyage accounts. A geography unknown, or who the Bulgarians or the Turks were and how do they live were learned through these travelers' pen by the

⁶⁵ Albert Dumont, "Souvenirs de la Roumélie I- Les Communautés Grecques et Les Paysans Turcs", *Revue des deux Mondes*, 2e période, Vol.94, Juillet-Août 1871, p.418.

⁶⁶ Alphonse de Lamartine, *Souvenirs, Impressions, Pensées et Paysages pendant un Voyage en Orient, 1832-1833*, Paris, 1861, p.5.

⁶⁷ Jérôme Adolphe Blanqui, *Considérations sur l'Etat Social de la Turquie d'Europe*, W. Coquebert, Paris, 1842, p.6.

⁶⁸ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.XXIV.

European readers. Thus a vast majority of the images and impressions about this geography is formed through the accounts, experiences and stories told by the travelers.

Most of the works written were not composed as voyage memoirs. The works of Cousinéry, Lamartine, Blanqui, Robert, Allard, Lejean, Dumont and Galabert fit more to this template and others can be considered as outside of this type. For example *Province Du Danube* by Aubaret is more like a report on the population and economic resources of the Danubean Province. Dozon's work is a scientific effort on the Bulgarian folk songs. *Lettres sur la Turquie* by Ubicini is a treatise on the structure, population, sects and governing bodies of the Ottoman Empire. Hence, most of the works comprise a specialized and researched field more than general descriptions, and personal remembrances and experiences.

The travelers have generally read the accounts of the others who visited those regions before them, and have made use of these. The first volume of Viquesnel's *Voyage Dans La Turquie d'Europe* is a review formed from data acquired from Ubicini and Boué among others. Without actually referring to it, Robert has made tremendous use of Boué's *La Turquie d'Europe Etat Actuel* in his article titled *Moeurs Publiques et Privées des Peuples de la Péninsule* in *Revue des deux Mondes*. Mathieu also did the same thing in the book *La Turquie et ses Différents Peuples* by using *Voyage en Bulgarie* without mentioning it at all. On the other hand, originality is a concept that travelers pay attention to. Most of them have tried to lay out the aim and the difference and divergence of their work from the others, either in the preface or the introduction of their account. For instance, Boué explained the reason for publishing his book *Recueil d'Itinéraire de la Turquie d'Europe* in which he described the itinerary of his travels to European Turkey 16 years after his voyage, as there being no new work to fill the place of his own work⁶⁹. Viquesnel emphasized in the preface of his book that with the exception of the first part, his work is formed of completely new materials in the field of science once again stating the importance of originality⁷⁰. Mathieu said the exact following in the introduction of his book: " I will not tell all I know but rather what is before untold and is worth yet telling".⁷¹

⁶⁹ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.V.

⁷⁰ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.XXVI.

⁷¹ Pierre-Henri Mathieu, *La Turquie et ses Différents Peuples*, Vol.I, E. Dentu, Paris, 1857, p.XXIII.

Travelers have always gone to this geography with certain prejudices and naturally compared the nature, people, and the life with their native countries. They saw themselves as representatives of Christians and an advanced Western Europe country. Thus in evaluating this geography under the rule of Muslims they could not isolate themselves from an Orientalist outlook. Hence they could not make impartial assessments. This Orientalist outlook will be elaborated in the next section.

Some of the travelers referred to the importance of European Turkey and Bulgaria for their country. They have made comments about the politics of their country and offered some advice. For instance, Robert was against the idea of protecting the entity of the Ottoman Empire. He wanted his country to be a more active in view of the Balkan people. He believed through this, the influence of Russia on these people could be overcome. Robert suggested three different ways to win the Bulgarian sympathy and thus gain power over them. The first one was to increase the explorations into Bulgaria and form economic bonds with the Bulgarian people. Another one was to force the Ottomans to do reforms for the good of Bulgarians. The last one was to support the development of Bulgarian literature⁷². Although we do not know the extent of the interest arisen from Robert's suggestions, it is probable to have caused a point for discussion to the French politicians. Poyet also mentioned the importance of such regions such as Sliven and Stara Zagora for the French trade and suggested the opening of consulates to further trade relationships⁷³. In this manner, the French travelers have performed a mission in pointing out to their country's good.

An important fact which aided the travelers in communicating with the people living in the region without any intermediary was knowledge of the language spoken there. It seems that only a few had such privilege. Boué knew both the Slavic languages and Turkish. Robert was a professor of Slavic language and literature hence had mastered both the language and the culture. Poyet had resided as a doctor for a long time in the Ottoman Empire and thus could speak Turkish as well as a native. Though not overtly mentioned, other travelers have had to use interpreters to interact with the local people. For example Viquesnel had a student from the

⁷² Cyprien Robert, "Le monde Gréco-Slave: Les Bulgares", *Revue des deux Mondes*, 4e série, Vol.30, Avril-Juin 1842, pp.934-937.

⁷³ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.178; C. F. Poyet, "La Description Du District D'Islimnia," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 4e série, Vol.18, no.103-108, Juillet-Décembre 1859,p.44.

Galatasaray High school as an interpreter and reported that through this means he could form intimate and perfect communication with both the Christian and the Muslim people⁷⁴. Blanqui had as interpreter a young attaché, of Bulgarian origins working in the Ottoman Embassy in Paris. During his travels he owed his contact with both the legal authorities and the public to him⁷⁵. On the other hand, Boué remarks that the travelers and the public could not communicate very efficiently through the interpreters named *drogman*. According to Boué, these interpreters being Orientals, get fed up with the questions and strange demands of the travelers and generally do not translate what is said to them efficiently⁷⁶.

The travelers have generally been looked after during their voyages by the Ottoman authorities. For instance, Blanqui and Viquesnel traveled with the *buyuruldu* given to them by the high officials⁷⁷. Viquesnel wrote that through a *buyuruldu* which named him as a functionary for a mission in the name of Ottoman Empire allowed him to do his researches very easily⁷⁸. In this document, it was explicitly mentioned that special accommodation be given to the travelers and that help should be provided for everything needed during the voyages⁷⁹. Though it had basically the same function as *buyuruldu*, *ferman* given by the central government was even a better document. Another document named *teskere* had fewer priorities than *buyuruldu* and was basically a kind of low rating passport. However, any voyager who wanted travel in the Ottoman Empire had to have this document at least. *Teskere* contained the names and route of the travelers⁸⁰. Also when the voyagers traveled from one town to another, they were given armed guardians named *kavas* for their protection by the town authorities.

⁷⁴ Viquesnel, Vol.I, pp.XXIV-XXV.

⁷⁵ Jérôme Adolphe Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, W. Coquebert, Paris, 1843, p.IX.

⁷⁶ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, IV, p.455.

⁷⁷ *Buyuruldu* is a written order given by an high Ottoman official such as grand vizier, vizier, *beglerbegi*, *defterdar*, etc., to a subordinate. The term is derived from the word *buyuruldi*, 'it has been ordered', in which the order usually ends and which gradually developed into a conventional sign. *Buyuruldu*s deal with various administrative matters, especially appointments, grants of fiefs, economic regulations, safe, passage, etc. U. Heyd, "Buyuruldu", *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, I, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960.

⁷⁸ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.XXXVII.

⁷⁹ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.IV, p.445.

⁸⁰ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.IV, p.445.

2.3. The Look of the French Travelers to the European Turkey and Bulgaria

In the 19th century Europe established an absolute hegemony all over the world. In this century, the lands under the sovereignty of Islam, rivals to Europe over a thousand years, begun to feel the effect of this supremacy. The Orient was a term rather corresponding to the lands under the sovereignty of Islam. The Orient, which in fact bore a more cultural meaning rather than geographic, was a contrasting image that the West created to define itself⁸¹. Orientalism, which emerged in the 19th century in the West as a branch of science, examined the Orient in all its aspects on one hand. On the other hand it had the characteristics of being a style of thought, a discourse emphasizing the superiority of West based on an Orient-West contrast⁸². As Timur has stated, the mission of the Orientalists was to get acquainted with different cultures and to introduce them. Thus it was aiming to reveal the superior and unique character of the western culture⁸³. The 19th century French travelers also have looked upon the Ottoman world, which represented the Orient, with a feeling of superiority and have reflected this in their discourses.

The French travelers considered the Ottoman Empire above all as a definite border, separating the West and East civilizations or Christianity and Islam. The travelers found nothing in common with their own world. It is possible to see this sudden and unexpected change from the memoirs of many travelers. Pertusier emphasized that Bosnia situated at the west border of the Ottoman Empire, was a rampart between the Christian world and Islam. The peoples here presented a distinct boundary to the West with their physiognomy, traditions and customs⁸⁴. According to Pertusier, the crossing of this border caused a European to find himself transported to the middle of Asia, as if by magic⁸⁵. Blanqui stated that the river Sava was the border between civilization and barbarism⁸⁶. Likewise, Boué assessed the city Belgrade as the border to the European civilization and stated that crossing this

⁸¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 3d. ed., Penguin Books, London, 2003, pp.1-2, 4.

⁸² Said, *Orientalism*, pp.2-3.

⁸³ Taner Timur, *Osmanlı Kimliği*, 3d. ed., İmge, Ankara, 1998, p.210.

⁸⁴ Charles Pertusier, *La Bosnie Considérée Dans Ses Rapports Avec L'Empire Ottoman*, Librairie de Charles Gosselin, 1822, p.63.

⁸⁵ Pertusier, p.63.

⁸⁶ Blanqui, *Considérations*, p.7.

border would take one completely out of Europe⁸⁷. Mathieu reported that the Ottoman Empire, though shown on the Europe map, did not contribute to general advancement and philosophical foundations of Europe⁸⁸. In short, the geographical existence of this Asian state in Europe and its centuries long relations with Europe was not enough to make it European.

The French travelers saw the Ottoman Empire as an obstacle to the expansion of European civilization. Talking about the holy mission of Europe to expand its borders of civilization Boué commented about the situation of the Ottoman Empire. He said Europe should not be hindered of this mission by its tricks⁸⁹. Just as Boué, Blanqui also spoke of the great tasks that Europe should carry out in the Ottoman Empire⁹⁰. Not only were the French of the opinion that Muslims administrations prevent the spread of civilization. It was shared by all Western travelers. The clearest formulation of this opinion belonged to the British traveler Samuel White Baker:

In the advanced stage of civilization of the present era, we look with regret at the possession by the Moslem of the fairest portions of the world- of countries so favored by climate, and by geographical position, that, in the early days of the earth's history, they were the spots most coveted; and that such favored places should, through the Moslem rule, be barred from the advancement that has attended lands less adapted by nature for development. There are no countries of the earth so valuable, or that would occupy so important a place in the family of nations, as Turkey-in-Europe, Asia Minor, and Egypt, under a civilized and Christian Government⁹¹.

Boucher de Perthes, one of the French travelers to Bulgaria, wrote that the inevitable consequences of the Turkish regime would be destruction, depopulation and misery but if administered properly Bulgaria would be as fertile as the Normandy region of France⁹². To him, it was most distressing that such beautiful land and hard working people here would remain under the yoke of this torpid administration, which could not provide development and which terminates both the

⁸⁷ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.3.

⁸⁸ Mathieu, Vol.I, p.XI.

⁸⁹ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.X.

⁹⁰ Blanqui, *Considérations*, p.76.

⁹¹ Samuel White Baker, *Albert N'Yanza, The Great Basin of the Nile and Explorations of the Nile Sources*, Vol.I, Macmillan and Co., London, 1866, p.XXIX.

⁹² M. Boucher de Perthes, *Voyage A Constantinople*, Vol.II, Treuttel et Wurtz Librairies, Paris, 1855, pp.349-350, 404.

day and the tomorrow⁹³. The other French travelers shared this point of view in general.

The French travelers saw the Orient as inert and underdeveloped. It was a well established idea in the 18th century Europe that in other parts of the world, the world was static and history did not make any progress at all⁹⁴. The historical emergence of Islam was also considered as an obstacle to the development of universal civilization and to the diffusion of Christianity in Europe and in Asia⁹⁵. Right at this point, Europe teamed together with Christianity represented change and progress defined itself as the contrast of the Orient and Islam. According to Poujade, if Turks had adopted Christianity instead of Islam, they would have been one of the greatest powers of the world⁹⁶. The 19th century French travelers mentioned frequently the backwardness of Islam in contrast to civilized Christianity. According to Poujade, the advance of Christianity in the Orient was delayed through the inertia of Islam; all the Christians under the sovereignty of Muslims were in decline until the European influence was felt⁹⁷. The reason of this decline was expressed as such in Robert's narratives: "The Turks made a clean sweep of everything in Bulgaria; the Slavic archeological treasures, literature, national history all vanished"⁹⁸. Wandering in lands under Turkish sovereignty like Roumelia Robert wrote that, one might feel himself right in the middle of Arabia⁹⁹. European Turkey, a rich land in every aspect was driven to poverty through the Turkish or Islam sovereignty. By using such terms as Asia and Arabia for European Turkey, this belief was expressed by the travelers. They implied that the European Turkey would be re-gained to the "civilized world" when the Turks were thrown out.

The travelers evaluated the relation of the Ottoman administration and the Christian peoples on the basis of the oppressor-oppressed, conqueror-defeated or master-slave distinction. Blanqui stated openly that this was not an administrator-

⁹³ Boucher de Perthes, Vol.II, p.404.

⁹⁴ İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı'da 18. Yüzyıl Düşünce Dünyasına Dair Notlar", in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, vol.1, 5th ed., İletişim, İstanbul, 2003, p.37.

⁹⁵ Poujade, p.26.

⁹⁶ Poujade, p.25.

⁹⁷ Poujade, p.33.

⁹⁸ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.892.

⁹⁹ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.892.

citizen relation but a master-slave relation¹⁰⁰. According to some of the travelers, the peoples living in the European Turkey were being ruled by cruel, egoistic and corrupt administrators. All travelers except those like Ubcini and Viquesnel who had more positive views on the Ottoman administration, assessed the *Tanzimat* reforms as deceitful. Blanqui said that the pashas in Bulgaria, where he traveled right after the *Tanzimat*, did not implement the reforms stipulated¹⁰¹. Mathieu called both the *Tanzimat* and *Islahat* edicts as stillborn documents, never executed¹⁰².

The French travelers assessed all Christian communities they met in the European Turkey as Orientals. They stressed the distinctions between the Christians under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire from the Muslims, but considered them as regarding their history and geographical positions as inclined towards the Orient. According to Robert, the Orthodox communities of east Europe were very different from those of the west in traditions, customs and principles; hence, it was only natural to call them Orientals¹⁰³. Boué, who was of the same opinion with Robert, saw Serbians and Bulgarians as part of the Ottoman world. According to him, the contrast between Serbians, Bulgarians, and Asian Muslims was not striking as it is between them and Europeans¹⁰⁴.

In conclusion, the interest of France in European Turkey and in Christian communities living in Bulgaria was an imperialistic interest to increase its influence in this region. State policy of France following 1840 was to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the travelers stressed that France should not be content with this policy. It should at the same time support material and spiritual development of all Christians. Naturally France did not refrain from such activities after 1840. Some travelers advocated that France should have a share in revival of the Christians in European Turkey. Robert even stated that France could acquire more advantageous position than Britain and Russia by facilitating the liberation of the peoples in these regions and establishing powerful armies from them¹⁰⁵. A reasonable approach to pursue as stated by French travelers was to support those

¹⁰⁰ Blanqui, *Considération*, p.24.

¹⁰¹ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, pp.170-171

¹⁰² Mathieu, Vol.II, p.321.

¹⁰³ Robert, "Etat Actuel", p.381.

¹⁰⁴ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.3.

¹⁰⁵ Robert, "Etat Actuel", p.383.

people likely to break away from the Ottoman Empire before its disintegration. The following words of Robert are striking in the sense that they reflect the imperialistic point of view of the French: “To re-establish peoples, one should know their distinguishing characteristics, social structures, the things that they sympathize with or repulsed by”¹⁰⁶. Although one can not claim that all the travelers share the same point of view, the interest of France in European Turkey and Bulgaria was not only to undertake the protection of Christians. France helped the peoples as a part of the plan to gain superiority over the other great powers. The French travelers, as Robert stated above, actually served the interests France in this region, by getting acquainted and introducing these peoples.

¹⁰⁶ Robert, “Etat Actuel”, pp.383-384.

CHAPTER III

DEMOGRAPHY AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY'S EUROPEAN TURKEY AND OTTOMAN BULGARIA

Until the 19th century, in a modern sense, it was not taken any regular census in the Ottoman Empire. *Tapu-tahrir defterleri* which were the registers of the fiscal administration, before the 19th century, were more or less the main reliable source containing demographic data. These records kept by the central government generally for every sub-provinces were containing the list of taxables. Though they were useful for the demographic studies, these sources did not represent the sum total of the population because they exclude different non-taxed segments of the male population, while women were left out altogether unless they were widow¹⁰⁷; these records were influenced by accidental circumstances; and in most cases did not indicate the number of individuals taxed, but only the number of households¹⁰⁸.

In the 19th century more comprehensive and regular records were kept as a consequence of modernizing and centralizing reforms of the Ottoman Empire. Beginning in 1831, several censuses, taking into account only the male population, were conducted for military and administrative purposes connected with the Tanzimat reforms¹⁰⁹. From the end of the 1860s *salname* (statistical annuals) began to be published. These annuals were containing information from the general censuses conducted at different times in the separate provinces. Though all of these new statistical materials were not completely accurate they were useful for the demographic studies and consequently were widely put to account by European travelers, statisticians and demographers concerning in Ottoman Empire's population. Apart from the Ottoman sources there were some other sources containing information on the Ottoman population. These were European sources composed of

¹⁰⁷ Suraiyha Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Tarihi Nasıl İncelenir?*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001, p.87.

¹⁰⁸ Nikolai Todorov, "The Historical Demography of the Ottoman Empire: Problems and Tasks" in *Scholar, Patriot, Mentor: Historical Essays in Honor of Dimitrije Djordjevic*, ed. R. B. Spence & L. L. Nelson, Boulder, C.O: East European Monographs, 1992, p.153.

¹⁰⁹ Todorov, "The Historical", p.153.

consular reports, diplomatic correspondance etc., and ecclesiastical sources deriving from the institutions of the local millets. These sources too, were used by European travelers and demographers in their estimations of the population especially for given regions and periods.

In this part, the figures given by French travelers on the Ottoman population in the European Turkey and specifically in the Ottoman Bulgaria will be evaluated. The distribution of population according to the races or ethnic families and religions in this latter region will also be investigated. Another subject of this part will be the fact of emigration, which had inevitable impact on the demographic and social structure of the Ottoman Bulgaria throughout the century. The impact of some epidemic and common diseases seen in Ottoman Bulgaria will also be dwelled upon.

3.1. Sources of Demographic and Ethnographic Data on European Turkey and Ottoman Bulgaria

Some of the 19th century's French travelers gave figures on the Ottoman population, comprising all the territories of the Ottoman Empire in their accounts. These figures were classified according to regions, races or ethnic families and religions. Boué and Ubicini's figures¹¹⁰ were among the most known and referred ones on the Ottoman population. Mathieu's figures¹¹¹ and Viquesnel's estimations¹¹² based on the critics of Boué, Boré¹¹³ and Ubicini's figures can also be mentioned. Poujade¹¹⁴ and Aubaret¹¹⁵ gave figures only on the proper Bulgaria, i.e. Danubean Province's population. In addition, some of the French travelers accounted their estimations on the population living in the Balkan cities and villages, sometimes giving the numbers of houses and sometimes giving the number of the individuals according to their religions or ethnicity. French travelers also gave some important

¹¹⁰ For the figures of Boué, see, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.II, pp.31-32; for the figures of Ubicini, see, *Letters on Turkey*, Vol.I, pp.18-24.

¹¹¹ See, Mathieu, Vol.II, pp.44-46.

¹¹² See, Viquesnel, Vol.I, pp.42-55

¹¹³ Boré was a religious man who lived for many years in the Ottoman Empire. He was superior at Bebek College from 1851 till 1866 and also the member of the *Comité de l'Union bulgare*. Boré published the data on the Ottoman Empire population in *Almanach de l'Empire Ottoman pour l'année 1849-1850* (Constantinople, 1849-1850). For the figures of Boré, See, Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.44.

¹¹⁴ See, Poujade, p.260.

¹¹⁵ See, Louis-Gabriel-Galdéric Aubaret, "Province Du Danube," *Bulletin de la société de géographie*, Vol.12, Août 1876.

information about the distribution of population according to races or religions in the regions through which they traveled.

Almost every French traveler concerned in demography uttered that the results which they reached were not completely accurate. Because of the lack of official documents on the demographic statistical data, they regarded diverse considerations as point of departure, for example, the tithe income or capitation etc.¹¹⁶. However, with such type of calculations only approximate results could be obtained. Those who were exempt from the taxes could not be counted in these calculations.

Another method of calculation to find the number of the inhabitants of a city or village was to take into consideration the number of houses or families. However, “every family did not have only one house as it was in France, especially in the regions inhabited by Slavs. An enclosure contained very often two houses in the cities, and two, three, or even four small houses in the country, such that ten, twenty, thirty, and even forty individuals lived in the same enclosure”¹¹⁷. Therefore, faultless population estimation was not possible.

European demographers, statisticians, travelers made also use of ecclesiastical sources in their estimations. However, their statistical values were disputable. Ubicini calls attention to the unreliability of the civil status registers recorded by village leaders in the Christian villages.

To return to the kodja-bachi. It his duty likewise to attend to the civil registration of his district. He draws up annually a report of the births and deaths which take place within his jurisdiction; this he transmits to the bishop, with whom he is constantly in communication, and the bishop transmits it to Constantinople. The verification of these reports is made by in the offices of the patriarchate, and a duplicate is sent to the Porte. These documents, however, become a of very little value in the way of general statistics, because, the annual contribution which the bishops are obliged to furnish to the patriarch being in proportion to the number of families in their several dioceses, they are accustomed to make their returns fall short of the reality¹¹⁸.

Ottoman sources were also used by some of the Europeans who were concerned in Ottoman population. The main sources from which they benefited were

¹¹⁶ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.42

¹¹⁷ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.II, pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁸ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.187.

the Ottoman censuses and yearbooks. The census of 1831¹¹⁹ was known as the first census. This was carried out exclusively for fiscal purposes and included only the male population. Another census was taken in 1844, to reorganize the army and alter the method of recruitment¹²⁰. However, some historians claim that the Porte did not enumerate the population but only contented with periodic updates of its registers in 1831, 1835, 1838, 1844 and 1857, and probably in 1864¹²¹. No matter what the features of these registers are it is known that they were used by some Europeans. The results obtained from the census of 1831 were reached and used together with some official information by William Eton, David Urquhart and Georg Hassel¹²². Although not published by the Ottoman administration, the result of the 1844 census was accessed and published by Eugène Boré in his *Almanach de l'Empire Ottoman pour l'année 1849-1850* and by Ubicini with very little modifications in his *Lettres sur la Turquie*¹²³. Ubicini's modifications were based on several other sources communicated by Ahmed Vefik Efendi who was the ambassador of the Porte at Teheran and who also presided at the publication of the first volumes of the *Yearbooks*¹²⁴.

Besides the censuses, the second group of Ottoman sources from which some Europeans benefited was the yearbooks. The publication of the yearbooks began in 1847 for the whole realm of the Ottoman Empire. The first provincial yearbook was published in 1866 for Bosnia. The first yearbook of the Danube Province was published in 1868. By 1877, ten yearbooks had been produced. Aubaret, the French consul in Ruse, in his *Province Du Danube* appears to have benefited from these yearbooks. His figures are similar to those of the 1874 yearbook of the Danube Province when the number of females is added. Indeed, at the last pages of his work he shows the central administration as the source of his information¹²⁵.

¹¹⁹ The results of this census was first published by Enver Ziya Karal. See. Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İlk Nüfus Sayımı 1831*, İstatistik Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Ankara, 1943. For more detailed information about the census of 1831 also See; Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914)*, tr. Bahar Tırnakçı, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003, pp.56-61.

¹²⁰ Ubicini, p.24.

¹²¹ Palairret, p.3.

¹²² Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.56.

¹²³ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.62; Viquesnel, Vol.1, p.43

¹²⁴ Ubicini, p.22; Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.43.

¹²⁵ Aubaret, p.182.

Among the above mentioned French travelers, Mathieu and Poujade did not impart their source of information in their works. Similarities between their figures and the other sources could not be found. Boué's figures were based on the comprehensive statistical information which was obtained by him¹²⁶. Ubicini, Aubaret and Boré, on a large scale, made use of the Ottoman sources mentioned above. Ubicini and Boué's figures were revised and offered with some alterations by Viquesnel in his work together with his own evaluations¹²⁷.

3.1.1. General Data on the Population of European Turkey and Ottoman Bulgaria

French travelers gave approximate figures on the total population of the European Turkey in their accounts. According to Ubicini, in 1840s the total population of the European Turkey was 15,500,000 including the tributary provinces of Europe (Moldo-Wallachia and Serbia)¹²⁸. In Viquesnel's work, Ubicini's revised figure for the European Turkey was 15,184,105¹²⁹. Boré's data, which was published in 1850, for the same area was 15,511,000; however, the addition of the partial sums gave a result of 14,511,000¹³⁰. According to Boué, at the end of 1830s, it was between 14,577,532 and 15,372,400¹³¹. As will be seen in Table 1, with the exception of the number of tributary provinces, the total population of the European Turkey was approximately between 9,500,000 and 10,600,000. Mathieu's data involved only the immediate provinces and his total population estimation was less than those of the others, with 8,900,000¹³².

French travelers classified the population according to regions, ethnic families or nationalities and religions. Ubicini, Boré and Mathieu made the classifications of population by regions in their accounts. While Ubicini and Boré's figures encompasses the whole provinces of European Turkey, the figures of

¹²⁶ Karpaz, *Osmanlı*, p.61.

¹²⁷ Viquesnel's work was published after those of Boué and Ubicini. Thus, he could publish the corrections of them which were based on the new documents that Boué and Ubicini could obtain after the publications of their works.

¹²⁸ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.18

¹²⁹ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.44.

¹³⁰ Viquesnel, Vol.I., p.44.

¹³¹ Boué, Vol.II, pp.31-32.

¹³² Mathieu, Vol.II, p.44

Mathieu contains only the immediate provinces. Table 1 displays their given data comprising only the immediate provinces of European Turkey.

It should be pointed out that the term Bulgaria used in the table above corresponds only to the northern part of present-day Bulgaria, in other words, the area between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains where the Danubean Province was established in 1864. In any case, Bulgaria was the most populated area in the European Turkey regarding the figures of Ubicini. In contrast to that of Ubicini, Bulgaria was not the most populated area according to Boré and a great difference is observed related to Bulgaria's population. Thrace was highly less populated in comparison with Ubicini's figures as well. This low figure was compensated with higher figures for Albania and Montenegro.

Table 1. The distribution of population by regions in the immediate provinces of Ottoman Empire's European possessions according to French Travelers, in 1840s and 1850s

Designation of Regions	Ubicini ¹³³	Ubicini* ¹³⁴	Boré ¹³⁵	Mathieu ¹³⁶
Thrace	1,800,000	2,000,000	1,000,000	1,900,000
Roumelia and Thessaly	2,700,000	2,200,000	2,000,000	1,810,000**
Bulgaria	3,000,000	2,818,000	2,000,000	3,000,000
Albania	1,200,000	1,500,000***	2,200,000***	980,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,100,000	1,500,000****	1,600,000****	960,000*****
Islands	700,000*****	250,000	700,000*****	250,000
Total	10,500,000	10,268,000	9,500,000	8,900,000

* Ubicini's revised figures reoffered by Viquesnel.

** In his classification, Mathieu separated Roumelia and Thessaly from each other.

*** Including Montenegro.

**** Including Croatia.

***** This figure was given only for Bosnia.

***** Including Cyprus and other Islands of Asia.

¹³³ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.18.

¹³⁴ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.44.

¹³⁵ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.44.

¹³⁶ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.44.

In Mathieu's classification, when compared with Boré and Ubicini's figures, Roumelia and Thessaly were less populated, and so was Albania. Thrace's population was close to that of Ubicini. According to Mathieu's figures, Bulgaria's population was similar to that of Ubicini and formed more than one third of the immediate provinces of European Turkey. Disregarding Boré's figures, it can be said that Bulgaria was the most populated region within the confines of the European Turkey's immediate provinces.

French travelers classified the population of European Turkey by nationalities or ethnic families also. Table 2 displays the figures given by Boué¹³⁷, Ubicini¹³⁸, Mathieu¹³⁹ and Engelhardt¹⁴⁰. Boué's data concern the late 1830s, those of Ubicini 1840s and those of Mathieu probably the 1850s. Engelhardt was the French consul of Belgrade when he published his estimations in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* in 1872. There was no a common view shared by all of them in the classification of nationalities by ethnic families. In Viquesnel's book, Greeks, Albanians and Moldo-Wallachians were presented within the Greco-Latin family while in the ethnographic division made by Engelhardt they were separately evaluated. In Table 2, the classification of population according to ethnic families prepared by Viquesnel¹⁴¹ was used with the exception of Albanians excluding from the Greco-Latin family.

According to the population estimations given in Table 2, Slavs were the most numerous ethnic family in European Turkey. Disregarding Mathieu's estimations comprising only the immediate provinces of Europe, the total population of Slavs was between 5,613,000 and 7,592,000. Bulgarians formed more than half of this ethnic family with their 3,000,000 to 4,500,000 souls. Viquesnel, who criticized the estimations proposed by Boué and Ubicini for the Bulgarians, claimed that their real number should be between 3 and 4 millions¹⁴². Though there is not a precise figure on the population of Bulgarians in European Turkey, their number were

¹³⁷ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.II, pp.31-32; Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.46.

¹³⁸ Ubicini, Vol.I, pp.19-22; Table 2 contains Ubicini's revised figures. See, Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.46.

¹³⁹ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.45.

¹⁴⁰ Edouard Engelhardt, "Division Ethnographique De La Turquie D'Europe," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Vol.3, Janvier-Juin 1872, pp.327-328.

¹⁴¹ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.46.

¹⁴² Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.47.

generally estimated between 4,000,000 and 5,500,000 by Europeans. However the speculations about their total population continued during the 19th century¹⁴³.

Table 2. The distribution of population by nationalities or ethnic families in the European Turkey according to French Travelers

Ethnic Families and Nationalities		Boué	Ubicini	Mathieu	Engelhardt
TURKS	Ottomans.....	710,400 to 822,800	2,080,000	1,000,000	2,060,000
	Turkomans and Yörüks.....	-----	8,000	-----	-----
	Tatars of Dobrudja.....	-----	12,000	30,000	50,000
TOTAL		710,400 to 822,800	2,100,000	1,030,000	2,110,000
SLAVS*	Serbians of the principality.....	886,000 to 889,600	1,004,000	-----	1,000,000
	Serbians of Bulgaria and Albania.....	-----	300,000**	-----	780,000
	Bosnians.....	700,000 to 800,000	1,300,000***	840,000	920,000
	Herzegovinians.....	300,000 to 400,000	-----	-----	224,000
	Croatians.....	200,000	-----	-----	-----
	Montenegrins.....	100,000	-----	-----	135,000
	Bulgarians.....	4,500,000	3,000,000	2,800,000	4,500,000
	Cossacks.....	-----	9,000	-----	-----
	Russians.....	-----	-----	-----	25,000
Polish.....	-----	-----	-----	8,000	
TOTAL		6,686,000 to 6,889,600	5,613,000	3,640,000	7,592,000
GRECO-LATINS	Greeks.....	900,000 to 1,000,000	975,000	2,540,000	1,320,000
	Moldo-Wallachians.....	4,121,132 to 4,450,000	4,112,105	-----	4,450,000
TOTAL		5,021,132 to 5,450,000	5,087,105	2,540,000	5,770,000
ALBANIANS	Albanians.....	1,600,000	1,400,000	850,000	1,300,000
ARMENIANS	Armenians.....	100,000	400,000	400,000	400,000

¹⁴³ Some European travelers, consulars, geographers and demographers estimated the total population of Bulgarians within the European Turkey in the period from 1800 to 1876 from 500,000 up to 8,000,000 people. See for a comprehensive study gathering these individual estimations: Nicholas V. Michoff, *La Population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie au XVIIIe et au XIXe siècles*, 5 vol., Imprimerie de l'Etat, Sofia, 1915, 1922, 1924, 1968.

Table 2: Continued

SEMITIC	Arabs.....	-----	-----	-----	3,000
	Jews.....	250,000	70,000	300,000	94,000
TOTAL		250,000	70,000	300,000	97,000
INDIAN	Gypsies.....	150,000 to 200,000	214,000	80,000	390,000
OTHER	Germans.....	-----	-----	-----	90,000
	Hungarians.....	-----	-----	-----	41,000
	Levantine.....	-----	-----	60,000	-----
	Diverse Foreigners.....	60,000	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL		60,000	-----	60,000	131,000

* In his *Lettres sur la Turquie* Ubcini proposed the total population of Slavs as 6,200,000. As displayed here, according to Ubcini the total population of Slavs was 5,613,000. This difference stemmed mainly from the non-existence of Zingari that Ubcini described as a mixed race sprung from the continual union of the Greeks with the Slavs and Montenegrins within the total population of Slavs.

** This was Ubcini's revised figure represented in Viquesnel's book. In his *Lettres sur la Turquie* Ubcini had proposed a higher figure with 500,000.

*** This figure comprise the total population of Bosnians and Herzegovinians. In his *Lettres sur la Turquie* Ubcini had proposed a lower figure with 1,100,000.

Greco-Latin family comprising the Greeks and Moldo-Wallachians was the second biggest ethnic family with their total number between 5,021,132 and 5,770,000. As can be seen from the table, the ratio of Greeks to Moldo-Wallachians was approximately 1 to 4. The highest figure for Greeks with 2,540,000 was proposed by Mathieu who did not impart any source for his estimations. Compared to the other estimations this figure was obviously exaggerated. The real number of Greeks was probably neither more than 1,320,000 as put by Engelhardt nor less than 900,000 as put by Boué.

Boué and Mathieu's figures were very low when compared to those of Ubcini and Engelhardt regarding the Turks¹⁴⁴. As can be seen from the table, Boué's estimation was the lowest one among others. Though there is not a precise figure on

¹⁴⁴ Turks were denominated sometimes Ottomans and sometimes Turks or Ottoman Turks by Europeans.

the total population of the Turks¹⁴⁵ the figures proposed by Ubicini and Engelhardt seems more reasonable. Additionally to the table above, Viquesnel's evaluation criticizing the figures given by Boué and Ubicini should be also pointed out. According to him, Boué's estimation for the Ottomans was low and that of Ubicini was high in comparison with the real numbers. He proposed a figure about 1,500,000 to 1,600,000¹⁴⁶. According to the statistics given by Ubicini and Engelhardt in Table 2, Turks was the third biggest ethnic family in European Turkey.

Albanians was an important ethnic group that some Europeans placed them in Greco-Latin family, but in fact their real origin is obscure. Their total population was estimated from 850,000 to 1,600,000 and probably they were neither less than 1,000,000 nor more than 1,600,000.

Gypsies, Armenians and Jews were the other important ethnic groups. Their total populations were generally between 100,000 and 400,000. There were different figures related to Gypsies in Table 2 from 80,000 to 390,000. According to the data which was based on censuses made in Wallachia and some other sources related to Moldavia and Serbia, the total population of Gypsies in these tributary provinces was between 150,000 and 200,000¹⁴⁷. If the Gypsies of Bulgaria, Thrace and Macedonia were added to it their total number in European Turkey should be at least 250,000 but probably they were over 300,000. Concerning the Armenians, all except Boué were like-minded. However, according to Viquesnel's remark the figure proposed by Boué was later seen erroneous by himself and Ubicini's estimation was adopted as being close to exactitude¹⁴⁸. Consequently, the figure of 400,000 proposed for Armenians was an agreed number on it. As for Jews, according to Table 2, their total population was estimated from 70,000 to 300,000. Though there is no evidence, the low figures of Ubicini and Engelhardt may be explained by the exclusion of the population of tributary provinces where a considerable number of Jews were established¹⁴⁹. The total population which includes Jews of the tributary provinces

¹⁴⁵ From 1800 to 1876, the total population of Turks in European Turkey was estimated from 650,000 up to 3,500,000 by several European travelers, demographers, etc. See, Michoff, *La population, passim*.

¹⁴⁶ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.47

¹⁴⁷ Viquesnel, Vol.I, pp.47-48.

¹⁴⁸ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.47.

¹⁴⁹ According to the data offered by Viquesnel, about the mid-nineteenth century the total population of Jews in Moldo-Wallachia and Serbia was approximately 136,000. See, Viquesnel, Vol.I, pp.47-48.

was undoubtedly over 200,000. In this respect, the figures proposed by Boué and Mathieu seem more reasonable than those of Ubicini and Engelhardt.

As discussed above, the data given for the ethnographic division of European Turkey has sometimes contained great differences. Thus, their reliability is open to debate. A well-known historian and demographer of the 19th century Ottoman population, K. Karpat considers these ethnographic studies on the Ottoman population generally as insignificant¹⁵⁰. Nevertheless, one can reach a general idea through these data on the Ottoman population in European Turkey. It can be concluded that Bulgarians were one of the most populous ethnic group in European Turkey together with Moldo-Wallachians, and, that the former also formed at least half of the Slavonic family and almost one third of the immediate provinces' population of the Porte. It can be also said that the Turks were the second populous nationality within the boundaries of the immediate provinces. They were not less than 1,500,000 and probably not more than 2,110,000. Albanians, Greeks and Bosnians followed these two nationalities with respect to population size.

Another classification of the population was according to religions. In the works of Ubicini, Viquesnel and Mathieu there were data related to this type of classification. According to Ubicini the distribution of European Turkey's population by religions was as follows: 4,550,000 Muslims; 10,000,000 Greek Orthodox; 640,000 Catholics; 70,000 Jews and other sects¹⁵¹. Mathieu drew up a classification by religions only comprising the population of the immediate provinces of the European Turkey. According to it, there were 2,080,000 Sunnite Muslims; 5,800,000 from the Greek rite; 360,000 from the Armenian rite; 280,000 Catholics; 300,000 Jews and 80,000 Gypsies¹⁵². The most detailed classification was prepared by Viquesnel as will be seen in Table 3. The figures given in this classification totally corresponded with those relating to the ethnographic classification given by Ubicini

¹⁵⁰ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.41.

¹⁵¹ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.22. According to a document furnished to Ubicini by Ahmed Vefik Efendi, ambassador of the Porte at Teheran, total population of European Turkey and the Islands was 16,350,000 and its distribution is as follows:

Muslims	5,910,000
Greeks Orthodoxes (Armenians included) ...	9,650,000
Catholics	650,000
Jews	60,000
Gypsies	80,000

¹⁵² Mathieu, Vol.II, p.46.

(see Table 2 for Ubicini's revised figures). It was very probable that Viquesnel used Ubicini's classification, however in proportion to that of Ubicini he gave more detail¹⁵³. It is noteworthy that in both the document given to Ubicini by Ahmet Vefik Efendi and Matheiu's classification the Gypsies are taken as a separate religious group. The reason for this can be found in Viquesnel, he classifies the 74,000 Gypsies as idolaters. Others have not made use of this distinction and have only defined them as Gypsies.

As can be seen from Table 3 and other classifications mentioned above, the total number of Christians was over 10,000,000¹⁵⁴. Almost all of them were Orthodox from different nationalities. The biggest Orthodox groups were composed of Moldo-Wallachians and Bulgarians. Almost all of Greeks and Serbians; about half of Bosnians and Herzegovinians; all of Montenegrins and Cossacks of Dobrudja; and a small part of Albanians were adherents of the Orthodox churches. The total number of Catholics was not more than 650,000 in any of these classifications. The most part of them were Croatians, Bosnians and Herzegovinians, Moldo-Wallachians and Albanians who lived generally in the borderlands of the Ottoman Empire. Also, a small part of Greeks, Bulgarians and Armenians were Catholics. The Armenian Orthodox Church, also called the Armenian Apostolic Church, is one of the original Oriental Orthodox churches, having separated from the then-still-united Roman Catholic/Byzantine Orthodox church in 506, after the Council of Chalcedon held in 451 to discuss divine and human nature of Jesus. There, the Armenian Church has been labeled Monophysite because they rejected the decisions of this council which recognize two nature of Jesus. As can be seen from the Table 3 almost all of Monophysites were Armenians apart from some Moldo-Wallachians. According to Viquesnel's estimation the number of Armenians bound to the Armenian Orthodox Church was 381,000. He added to this figure 13,600 Moldo-Wallachians. Probably they were Armenians living in Moldo-Wallachia. Mathieu's estimation was close to that of Viquesnel with the proposed figure of 360,000. Protestants composed the

¹⁵³ To compare see, Ubicini, Vol.I, p.22.

¹⁵⁴ According to the Austrian A. Ritter zur Helle von Samo, a military attaché in Constantinople who compiled a series of statistics from the Ottoman province yearbooks of 1871-1876, the number of Christians in the European Turkey in 1872 was 10,911,646. When the number of Jews which were not much was subtracted from this record, the total number of Christians should be in all circumstances more than 10,500,000. The statistics given for Christians are always above 10,000,000 in all the numbers suggested by Ubicini, Viquesnel and Ahmed Vefik Efendi. For the figures proposed by Helle von Samo, See, Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

smallest part of Christian sects. According to Table 3 whole of them were Armenians. After 1850 Protestantism could find only very few adherents among other Balkan peoples through the efforts of American and British missionary activities.

Table 3. The distribution of population of the nationalities in European Turkey by their religions, according to Viquesnel, in the 1840s¹⁵⁵

Nationalities	Islamism	Christianity				Judaism	Total
		Latins or Catholics	Greeks Orthodoxes	Mono-physics ¹⁵⁶	Protestants		
Ottomans, Yörüks, Tatars	2,100,000	----	----	----	----	----	2,100,000
Jews of the im. prov.	----	----	----	----	----	70,000	70,000
Armenians	----	18,000	----	381,000	1,000	----	400,000
Gypsies of the im. prov.	140,000	----	----	----	----	----	214,000*
Greeks	----	15,000	960,000	----	----	----	975,000
Albanians	1,250,000	100,000	50,000	----	----	----	1,400,000
Moldo-Wallachians	----	106,317	3,856,908	13,600	----	135,280	4,112,105
Serbians	15,000	----	987,600	----	----	1,400	1,004,000
Bosnians-Herzegovinians	600,000	150,000	550,000	----	----	----	1,300,000
Croatians	15,000	185,000	----	----	----	----	200,000
Montenegrins	----	----	100,000	----	----	----	100,000
Bulgarians	60,000	40,000	2,900,000	----	----	----	3,000,000
Cossacks of Dobroudja	----	----	9,000	----	----	----	9,000
Total	4,180,000	614,317	9,713,508	394,600	1,000	206,680	15,184,105

* The total population of Gypsies was 214,000 when 74,000 Idolaters were added to the number of 140,000 Muslims in the immediate provinces of European Turkey

According to above mentioned classifications, Muslims were the second biggest religious group in European Turkey. The figure presented in Ubicini's book based on a document furnished by Ahmed Vefik Efendi was the highest one proposed for Muslims (see footnote 47). According to Mathieu, who proposed the lowest figures among others, their number was 2,080,000. As mentioned before, the number given by Mathieu did not include the tributary provinces. But it is known that in these provinces the Muslim population is very minute. In this sense, the

¹⁵⁵ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.51.

¹⁵⁶ Monophysitism (from the Greek *monos* meaning 'one' and *physis* meaning 'nature') is the christological position that Christ has only one nature, as opposed to the Chalcedonian position which holds that Christ has two natures, one divine and one human.

figures given by Mathieu are really very low. The figures proposed by Viquesnel and Ubicini were over 4,000,000¹⁵⁷. Even though an accurate number could not be given on the number of Muslims in Europe due to inadequate consensus methods and continuous change in population due to migration, it is probable that the Muslim population should be between 4,000,000 and 4,500,000. In this sense, the data given by Ubicini and Viquesnel seem feasible. According to Table 3, the majority of Muslims was composed of Ottoman Turks. Their number was slightly more than half of the total Muslim population in European Turkey. Other important Muslim groups in European Turkey were Albanians and Bosnians-Herzegovinians. Muslims formed almost %90 of total Albanian population and nearly %47 of total Bosnian-Herzegovinian population, according to Table 3. Among Gypsies those established in the immediate provinces were totally Muslim. There were also small Muslim groups among Serbians and Croatians.

Comparing to other religions Jews were a minority. As has been said, the total population of Jews, according to Table 2, was estimated from 70,000 to 300,000. According to Table 3 the total population of the followers of Judaism was 206,680. The Jews were regarded as Moldo-Wallachians and Serbians in this table. Since most Jews regard themselves as a people, members of a nation, descended from the ancient Israelites and converts who joined their religion at various times and places, a division of them by nationalities is meaningless. The numbers suggested for Jews by Ubicini and Ahmed Vefik Efendi were low. Ubicini's estimations, as he himself states, did not include the tributary provinces¹⁵⁸. Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that the numbers given for Jews in European Turkey over 200,000 as more probable.

Some general idea can be derived from these classifications despite their differences. First of all, the Christian subjects of the Porte were in majority in the European Turkey. Second, almost all of these Christians subjects were adherents of the Orthodox sect of Christianity. The adherents of Catholicism were in minority and the Protestants were a very small minority as well. As can be seen from the classification of Viquesnel, almost half of the Muslims were from the Balkan peoples

¹⁵⁷ According to the Austrian military attaché Helle von Samo, the number of Muslims in European Turkey in 1872 was 3,841,174. Helle von Samo's statistics Danubean Province was the most populous in Muslims among all of the European provinces. For the figures, See, Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

¹⁵⁸ See, Ubicini, Vol.II, p.355.

and a great proportion of them were Albanians and Bosnians. As for Bulgarians, they were almost entirely adherents of Orthodoxy. Nevertheless, a small part of them were Catholics and Muslims.

Besides these general data given by Boué, Boré, Ubicini, Viquesnel, Mathieu and Engelhardt on the European Turkey's provinces, there were two other travelers, or to be more exact diplomats, Poujade and Aubaret, who did statistics only on Bulgaria's population. Their estimations concerned only the northern part of Bulgaria, the area between Danube and Balkan Mountains. Poujade gave information about Bulgaria population in the 1850s and Aubaret on the 1870's.

According to Poujade, the total population of Bulgaria was 3,110,000¹⁵⁹. Aubaret gave a total population for the Danubean Province excluding the sub-province of Nish and came up with a result of 2,152,500¹⁶⁰. With the addition of Nish, the total number of the province was 2,507,500. Other estimations on Bulgaria's population were those of Ubicini, Boré and Mathieu (See Table 1).

Evaluating together all these figures, it can be concluded that Bulgaria's population was neither less than 2,000,000 nor more than 3,000,000. The total population figures for Bulgaria that the Ottoman administration found out through censuses also confirms this fact. It could be observed from the yearbooks of the Danubean Province that, with the addition of Nish, the total population figure was always slightly over 2,000,000 (See Appendix 1). If the population of the Sliven and Plovdiv sub-provinces within the Adrianople province, which was estimated about 900,000-1,000,000 people, were added to that of Bulgaria, a total population figure over 3,000,000 representing the present-day Bulgaria's boundaries could be reached¹⁶¹.

The distribution of nationalities by provinces was another point that the travelers dwelled upon. Differently from the administrative divisions of the

¹⁵⁹ Poujade, p.260. In his book Poujade talks about a Bulgarian province as if there was such a one formed of Vidin, Ruse and Varna sub-provinces. See, Poujade, p.254. In the administrative division of the Ottoman Empire there is no such legal province as Bulgaria. Also according to the administrative division of 1849 and 1855, there are only two provinces between the Balkan Mountains and the Danube; Vidin and Silistra. Varna and Ruse are sub-provinces under Silistra. See, Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.141.

¹⁶⁰ Aubaret, p.183.

¹⁶¹ According to Ömer Turan, whose result was based on the Ottoman census, yearbooks and Russian, French and British consular reports, the total population of Bulgaria with the addition of the sub-provinces of Plovdiv and Sliven was more than 3.5 million before 1878. See, Ömer Turan, *The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria (1878-1908)*, T.T.K., Ankara, 1998, p.97.

Ottomans, the Europeans used the denominations like Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Albania etc. As in the case of Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia, these denominations designated the nations and at the same time the political and natural divisions more or less¹⁶². Bulgaria did not exist in a political sense, but it was an ethnographic name, marking a natural division while Thrace and Macedonia had neither political nor ethnographic sense¹⁶³. Nevertheless, there were no provinces consisting fully of one nationality. Like the other provinces, Bulgaria was not purely consisting of Bulgarians.

According to Poujade, in Bulgaria, there were 2,510,000 Christian Bulgarians; 400,000 Muslims; 50,000 Tatars; 50,000 Cossacks; 50,000 Jews; 50,000 Pomaks¹⁶⁴. There were also two other millions of Christian Bulgarians that were disseminated in Macedonia, Thrace, Albania and Serbia¹⁶⁵. In Aubaret's classification, the total population of the Danubean Province was much lower than that of Poujade. The distribution of population drawn up by Aubaret within this province was as follows: 1,130,000 Bulgarians; 12,000 Greeks; 2,500 Armenians; 65,000 Vlachs and other diverse Christian colonies; 12,000 Gypsies claiming to be Christians; 12,000 Jews; 774,000 Turks; 110,000 emigrant Tatars; 35,000 Gypsies and 200,000 emigrant Circassians¹⁶⁶. The sub-province of Nish was not included in these figures.

Poujade used both ethnic and religious appellations mixing them in his classification. He proposed an exaggerated number for Bulgarians and a low number for the Turks or Muslims as compared with that of Aubaret. He also did not count some ethnic groups living in Bulgaria such as Vlachs, Greeks, Gypsies and Armenians. When compared with the other Ottoman and consular reports, which claimed a balance between the Bulgarian and the Turkish populations, Poujade exaggerated the number of Bulgarians and belittled the number of Turkish people showing that his estimations were really subjective and arbitrary (See Appendix 1 and 2).

¹⁶² Conrad Malte-Brun, *Précis de La Géographie Universelle*, Vol.IV, 5th ed., Imprimerie de Bourgogne et Martinet, Paris, 1845, p.318.

¹⁶³ Malte-Brun, Vol.IV, p.318.

¹⁶⁴ Poujade, p.260.

¹⁶⁵ Poujade, p.260.

¹⁶⁶ Aubaret, p.183.

Aubaret's classification contained both ethnic and religious distinctions. According to his figures, unlike those of Poujade, Bulgarians were not the majority and their population was slightly above the population of the Muslims within the boundaries of the Danubean Province. His figures were much closer to the official statistics. Nevertheless, they were far from being accurate. General data on the ethnic composition of Bulgaria were inadequate and usually inconsistent. Travelers generally gave information on the ethnic composition of the districts, towns and villages through which they traveled and mostly they were not interested with the general ethnic composition of Bulgaria.

A classification of the Bulgaria's population by religions was drawn up by Aubaret. According to him, the total number of non-Muslims was 1,233,500 including 12,000 Jews. On the other hand, the total number of the Muslims was 1,119,000, but within this figure Muslim Bulgarians were not included¹⁶⁷. As to Poujade's figures, the total number of the non-Muslims was 2,610,000 including 50,000 Jews, and in return to that, the total number of Muslims was 500,000 including 50,000 Muslim Bulgarians¹⁶⁸. Both classifications had some deflection. Aubaret did not include a figure for the Pomaks within the Muslim population. As to Poujade, he did not include the Christian communities living in Bulgaria, such as Greeks, Armenians, Vlachs, Gypsies and some other small colonies. There was great disparity between the total figures of these classifications. Poujade proposed approximately one million more people in Bulgaria in comparison with Aubaret. In comparison with Aubaret's figure, he also proposed more than a twofold Bulgarian population. As for Muslims, he gave their population as one sixth of the total population while Aubaret gave it as approximately half of the total population.

A comparison with the Ottoman sources shows that Aubaret's figures convey more probable results on the population distribution by religions (See Appendix 1). However, reemphasizing, neither Ottoman nor European sources could give accurate information on the Ottoman Bulgaria's population.

¹⁶⁷ Aubaret, p.183.

¹⁶⁸ Poujade, p.260.

3.1.2. Population of Districts and Towns in Ottoman Bulgaria

Ottoman Turks and Bulgarians were the main nationalities living in the 19th century's Ottoman Bulgaria. Bulgarians disseminated throughout the whole Danubean Province. They were in great majority, especially in the western part of the province. They lived rather in the villages. However, from an ethnological standpoint, the boundaries of Bulgaria could not be restricted only with the Danubean Province. A lot of Bulgarians had established in Macedonia, Upper Moesia, Thrace, and Albania since their conquest in the Balkans. As for the Turks or Muslims¹⁶⁹, they were rather in the eastern part of the Danubean Province. Unlike Bulgarians, the Ottoman Turks lived mostly in the towns and in villages on the military roads throughout the Danubean Province. With the permanent emigrations from Crimea and Russia, the number of the Muslims increased or at least was retained especially after the Crimean War. However, almost every traveler traveling to Bulgaria or to the other parts of the Balkans mentioned a serious decline of the Muslim population.

The Danubean Province that was established in 1864, forming a significant part of the present-day Bulgaria, covered an area of 91,624 squares kilometers in the European Turkey. It was subdivided into seven sub-provinces as follows: Toultscha, Varna, Ruse, Turnovo, Sofia, Vidin, and Nish.

Toultscha¹⁷⁰ was located at the Eastern end of the Province. This sub-province was composed by seven districts. These were Sulina, Babadag, Macin, Kustendji, Hirsova, Medgidia, and Toultscha. Among its Muslims inhabitants Turks, Crimean Tatars, Circassians, Albanians, Persians, Kurds, Bosnians and Gypsies could be listed. The Christians were composed of Vlachs, Cossacks, Lipovans, Bulgarians, Greeks, Christian Albanians, Catholic or Orthodox Armenians, Europeans, Hungarians, Germans, Serbians, Montenegrins.

¹⁶⁹ The terms of "Muslim" and "Turk" were generally used in place of each other.

¹⁷⁰ After 1878, this sub-province was to be yielded to Romania.

Table 4. The number of villages and households in the sub-provinces of Danubean Province in 1876, according to Aubaret, French Consul in Ruse

Sub-Provinces	Districts	Number of The Villages	Total Number of Houses	Muslim Houses	Non-Muslims Houses
Toultcha	Sulina	11	595	10	585
	Babadag	57	5721	3099	2622
	Kustendji	33	4507	4445	62
	Macin	25	3231	1230	2001
	Medgidia	55	4773	4342	431
	Hirsova	38	3589	2653	936
	Toultcha	27	5660	1050	4610
Varna	Varna	67	5965	3739	2226
	Pravadiya	85	4038	2959	1079
	Balchik	71	2641	2006	635
	Mangalia	71	7451	7225	226
	Dobrich	109	5163	4640	523
Ruse	Ruse	81	23961	18850	5111
	Shumen	155	22995	13426	9569
	Tutrakan	40	2982	2033	949
	Silistra	235	9729	6302	3427
	Razgrad	145	18339	14852	3487
	Turgovishte	47	7904	6844	1060
	Svishtov	40	8030	3580	4450
	Nikopol	61	7233	3752	3486
	Pleven	47	10594	3615	6979
Turnovo	Turnovo	189	29801	10321	19480
	Lovech	76	10757	6263	4494
	Omurtag	84	5014	3638	1376
	Sevlievo	33	5634	2895	2739
	Gabrovo	18	3654	25	3629
Vidin	Vidin	64	7782	2815	4967
	Lom	74	6574	1503	5071
	Oryakhovo	103	15431	4302	11129
	Vratsa	----	7086	270	6816
	Berkovitsa		8066	1092	6974
	Belogradchik	40	4359	638	3721
	Kula	----	----	----	----
Sofia	Sofia	197	14844	2883	11961
	Radomir	128	4605	566	4039
	Kiustendil	173	7779	1529	6250
	Dupnitsa	70	4137	719	3418
	Samokov	58	7013	1265	5748
	Blagoevgrad	37	2630	909	1721
	Zlatitsa	18	2504	1240	1264
	Botevgrad	29	7921	410	7511
Nish	Nish	----	----	----	----
	Pirot	----	----	----	----
	Leskovac	----	----	----	----
	Vranje	----	----	----	----
	Prekoplje	----	----	----	----
	Iznebol	----	----	----	----

The ethnic composition changed from one district to another. As can be seen from Table 4, in the district of Sulina, non-Muslims were in great majority with their 585 houses against only 10 those of Muslims. According to the yearbook of 1874, in the district, the total number of Muslims was only 68 while that of non-Muslims was 5,306¹⁷¹. Most of them were Christian emigrants coming from Russia and Moldo-Wallachia. Some of them were called Lipovans, who left Russia disapproving the reforms of Great Petro¹⁷². The Sulina Port was practicable to commerce. Hence, the town of Sulina became also residence for a European colony that formed the great part of the town's population¹⁷³.

In the district of Babadag, the Muslims seem dominant with respect to the number of households. In the district, there were 3,099 Muslim houses against 2,622 those of non-Muslims. However, according to the yearbook of 1874, the total number of Muslims was 9,512 while that of non-Muslims was 30,032¹⁷⁴. A great part of the Muslims was the Tatars coming from Crimea. They were known as Kabail Tatars¹⁷⁵. Fleeing from Russian invasion, the Don Cossacks settled in the villages of the Babadag district as well¹⁷⁶. In the town of Babadag, Muslims formed the two thirds of a whole of 7,300 dwellers¹⁷⁷.

In the district of Kustendji, the Muslims, composed of Turks and Tatars, were in great majority¹⁷⁸. As can be seen from Table 4, Muslims owned 4,445 houses while non-Muslims had only 62 houses. This great difference in the number of houses was also reflected to the general population. According to the yearbook of 1874, there were 32,466 Muslims against only 602 non-Muslims¹⁷⁹. The latter were

¹⁷¹ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

¹⁷² Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.106.

¹⁷³ Aubaret, p.148.

¹⁷⁴ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

¹⁷⁵ For a more detailed information see, Karpat, *Osmanlı*, pp.263-264.

¹⁷⁶ Camille Allard, *La Bulgarie Orientale*, Adrien Le Clere, Paris, 1864, p.175.

¹⁷⁷ Aubaret, p.149.

¹⁷⁸ Aubaret, p.149.

¹⁷⁹ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

mainly Lipovans and Vlachs and a small number of Bulgarians¹⁸⁰. The town of Kustendji was mostly inhabited by the Muslims.

In the Macin district, non-Muslims were in majority. Non-Muslims owned 2,001 houses while Muslims possessed 1,230. According to the yearbook of 1874, the total number of non-Muslims was 17,848 while that of Muslims was 12,168¹⁸¹. However, in the small town of Macin, Muslims formed half of the population¹⁸². Vlachs and Turks were the main nationalities of the district¹⁸³. A Cossack village called Kamen was also within the district boundaries¹⁸⁴.

The town of Medgidia was founded soon after the Crimean War, at the time of Abdülmecid, in 1856 under an imperial decree. This town was established in the same location as Karasu, which had lost its importance because of a fire at the beginning of the 19th century and then of the ravage of the Russian army in 1829¹⁸⁵. This town was exclusively inhabited by the Crimean Tatar emigrants. In the district of Medgidia, Muslims were in great majority and almost all villages of this district were composed of Muslim Tatars¹⁸⁶. As can be seen from Table 4, there were 4,342 Muslim and only 431 non-Muslim houses in this district. This difference I also clearly reflected in the population. According to the yearbook of 1874 the total number of Muslims was 24,044 while that of non-Muslims was 1,818¹⁸⁷.

Both in the district and the town of the Hirsova, Muslims again constituted the bulk of the population. As can be seen from Table 4, Muslims possessed 2,653 and non-Muslims 936 of the total 3,589 houses. According to the yearbook of 1874, the total number of Muslims was 24,852 while that of non-Muslims was 7,344 correspondingly to the ratio of number of houses¹⁸⁸. The little town of Hirsova was

¹⁸⁰ Nicholas V. Michoff, *La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie Au XVIIIe et Au XIXe Siècle*, Vol.II, Imprimerie de l'Etat, Sofia, 1924, p.139; from I.Ionesco, *Excursion Agricole dans la plaine de la Dobrodja*, Imprimerie de Journal de Constantinople, Constantinople, 1850, p.81.

¹⁸¹ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

¹⁸² Aubaret, p.149.

¹⁸³ Michoff, *La population*, Vol.II, p.139; from Ionesco, p.81.

¹⁸⁴ Allard, p.175.

¹⁸⁵ Allard, p.118.

¹⁸⁶ Aubaret, p.150.

¹⁸⁷ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

¹⁸⁸ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

one of the ports of Danube where the steamship was stationed and more than half of its population was Muslim¹⁸⁹. Among its inhabitants Vlachs were also considerable.

The town of Toultscha was one of the most important ports of the Danube with its position at the beginning of the delta. In accordance with its commercial significance, Toultscha gathered a population of diverse nationalities and sects. A score of dialects were spoken there¹⁹⁰. In the district of Toultscha non-Muslims were in great majority as it was in the Sulina district. Muslims possessed 1,050 while non-Muslims 4,610 of the total 5,660 houses. According to the yearbook of 1874, there were only 2,838 Muslims against 15,422 non-Muslims¹⁹¹.

The total population in the Toultscha sub-province, according to Aubaret, was about 200,000¹⁹². In concurrence with the yearbook of 1874 the total number of the sub-province was 201,742 similarly the figure proposed by Aubaret¹⁹³. The bulk of its population was Muslims. The density of population was not more than 17 persons per square kilometer¹⁹⁴. This was the lowest one in the whole Danubean Province.

The sub-province of Varna was located at the south of Toultscha. It was subdivided into five districts. These were Varna, Pravadiya, Balchik, Dobrich and Mangalia. Turks, Bulgarians, Greeks, Muslims and non-Muslim Gypsies, Jews, Armenians, European colonies, Tatar and Circassian emigrants composed the population of this sub-province.

In the district of Varna, Muslims were more populous than non-Muslims. There, Muslims possessed 3,739 while non-Muslims 2,226 of the total 5,965 houses. According to the yearbook of 1874, there were 15,956 Muslims and 10,340 non-Muslims in the district of Varna¹⁹⁵. Its population was mainly composed of Turks, Bulgarians and Tatar emigrants. Varna was the most important port of Bulgaria comparable with Odessa of the Russians. Its commercial importance gathered some

¹⁸⁹ Aubaret, p.150.

¹⁹⁰ Aubaret, p.150.

¹⁹¹ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

¹⁹² Aubaret, p.151.

¹⁹³ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

¹⁹⁴ Aubaret, p.151.

¹⁹⁵ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

European colonies, among which Italians took the first place¹⁹⁶. In Varna was also a Tatar colony. They were numerous and constructed a new faubourg there¹⁹⁷.

In the district of Pravadiya, Muslims were more populous than non-Muslims. There, Muslims possessed 2,959 while non-Muslims 1,079 of the total 4,038 houses. According to yearbook of 1874, there were 18,622 Muslims and 8,058 non-Muslims in the district of Pravadiya¹⁹⁸. Among the Muslim population Ottoman Turks were the majority. Some Circassian colonies were also settled in the villages within this district¹⁹⁹.

In the district of Balchik, Muslims were in great majority. Of the total 2,641 houses, 2,006 were Muslim and 635 were non-Muslims possessed. According to the yearbook of 1874, the total number of Muslims was 13,908 while that of non-Muslims was 7,236²⁰⁰. As a consequence of the emigrations of Tatars and Circassians the number of Muslims had increased, especially after Crimean War²⁰¹.

The population of the Mangalia district was overwhelmingly composed of Muslims. Beside the Ottoman Turks, Crimean and Circassian emigrants made up of almost whole of its population²⁰². As presented in Table 4, the Muslims possessed houses were 7,225 of the total 7,451 houses while non-Muslims houses numbered only 226. According to the yearbook of 1874 the total number of Muslims was 13,350 while that of non-Muslims was only 998²⁰³.

Dobrich (Hacıoğlu Bazarcık) was one of the most populated districts in the sub-province of Varna. Its population was in great part composed of Muslims. Table 4 displays that there, Muslims possessed 4,640 while non-Muslims 523 of the total 5,163 houses. According to the 1874 yearbook, there were 27,920 Muslims against 6,770 non-Muslims²⁰⁴. Ottoman Turks were in great majority. Circassians and Crimeans were also among its Muslim dwellers. In addition, there was a colony of

¹⁹⁶ Galabert, p.167.

¹⁹⁷ Galabert, p.171.

¹⁹⁸ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

¹⁹⁹ Aubaret, pp-152-153.

²⁰⁰ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁰¹ Aubaret, p.153.

²⁰² Aubaret, p.153.

²⁰³ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁰⁴ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

Egyptians and Arabs. Bulgarians, Greeks and Armenians were the other communities²⁰⁵.

The yearbook of 1874 states that, the total population of Varna sub-province was 123,158, and of this 89,756 as Muslims and 33,402 as non-Muslims²⁰⁶. According to Aubaret, the total number of population in Varna sub-province was about 136,000 and its distribution according to nationalities was as follows: 92,800 Turks; 32,200 Bulgarians; 6,842 Greeks; 2,900 Muslim Gypsies; 1000 non-Muslim Gypsies²⁰⁷. It should be noted that the Crimean and Circassian immigrants and relatively small communities of Armenians, Jews and European colonies were not included in this classification. As can be seen, Muslims were in great majority in this sub-province. Lejean, known with his ethnographic investigations especially in the eastern part of Bulgaria, pointed out that the districts of Dobrich, Mangalia, Varna, and Deliorman were deemed Bulgarian by many, but in fact were predominantly Turk²⁰⁸. The density of population was 18 persons per square kilometer²⁰⁹. Both for the Toultscha and Varna sub-provinces the low density of the population stemmed from a vast deserted area known as Dobrudja extending from Varna to Toultscha.

The sub-province of Ruse was located at the north-west of that of Varna. Ruse, the chief town of the sub-province, was also the residence of the general governor of the Danubean Province. The Ruse sub-province was the largest and one of richest of the province. It was subdivided into nine districts, which were Ruse, Shumen, Silistra, Razgrad, Nikopol, Svishtov, Turgovishte, Tutrakan, and Pleven. Turks, Bulgarians, Greeks, Circassians, Armenians, Vlachs, Jews, Muslim and non-Muslim Gypsies and European colonies formed the population of this sub-province.

In the district of Ruse, the Muslims were more populous than non-Muslims. As displayed in Table 4, there, of the total 23,961 houses 18,850 were Muslims possessed while 5,111 belonged to non-Muslims. According to the 1874 yearbook, there were 48,586 Muslims against 42,112 non-Muslims²¹⁰. It is noteworthy that

²⁰⁵ Michoff, *La population*, p.139; from Ionesco, p.81.

²⁰⁶ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁰⁷ Aubaret, p.154.

²⁰⁸ Guillaume Lejean, "Mission de M.G. Lejean dans les Provinces Danubiennes", *Bulletin de la société de Géographie*, 4e série, Vol.15, Janvier-Juin 1858, p.108.

²⁰⁹ Aubaret, p.154.

²¹⁰ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

when the numbers of houses are taken together with that of the general population, there is very little difference in the total Muslim population and non-Muslim population. The town of Ruse was an administrative and commercial center where Muslims and non-Muslims were almost equally distributed. Among its dwellers were also a Jew community, Armenians, Vlachs, Greeks and a European colony most of whom were Austro-Hungarians²¹¹.

The population of the Shumen district was mostly Ottoman Turks. Bulgarians were the second biggest ethnic group. Table 4 displays that, there, Muslims possessed 13,426 while non-Muslims 9,569 of the total 22,995 houses. According to the yearbook of 1874, in the district of Shumen, the total number of Muslims was 69,248 while that of non-Muslims was 25,708²¹². Shumen was a fortified town and militarily was a very important center. In the town, Turks were in majority. Bulgarians, Armenians, Greeks and Jews were the other ethnic groups living in Shumen²¹³.

In the Tutrakan district, Muslims were more populous than non-Muslims. There, of the total 2,982 houses, Muslims possessed 2,033 while non-Muslims 949. According to the 1874 yearbook, the total number of Muslims was 15,512 and that of non-Muslims was 4,072²¹⁴. In the town of Tutrakan, Bulgarians were the majority. Here, Muslims, unlike the preceding districts, rather were settled in the villages²¹⁵.

The Silistra district, before the establishment of Danubean Province, was a great *paşalık* and an administrative center. After 1864, it turned into a district within the Ruse sub-province. In the district of Silistra, Muslims were in great majority. As displayed in Table 4, there, Muslims possessed 6,302 and non-Muslims 3,427 of the total 9,729 houses. 1874 yearbook states that in the district of Silistra there were 43,232 Muslims against 24,266 non-Muslims²¹⁶. According to Aubaret, Muslims and non-Muslims were equally distributed in the town of Silistra²¹⁷.

²¹¹ Aubaret, p.156; Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.113.

²¹² Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²¹³ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.899.

²¹⁴ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²¹⁵ Aubaret, p.158.

²¹⁶ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²¹⁷ Aubaret, p.159.

The majority of the population of the Razgrad district was Muslim. It was one of the most populous districts of the whole sub-province. As noted in Table 4, Muslims possessed 14,852 and non-Muslims 3,487 of the total 18,339 houses. According to yearbook of 1874, in the district of Razgrad the total population of Muslims was 68,866 while that of non-Muslims was 31,370²¹⁸. Muslims formed the two third of the population of the Razgrad town²¹⁹. Boué also reported in his account that there were only 80 Bulgarian families in the town²²⁰.

In the Turgovishte (Eski-Cuma) district Muslims were in majority. Of the total 7,362 houses, 6,302 were Muslims possessed and 1,060 belonged to non-Muslims. According to the yearbook of 1874, in the district of Turgovishte, the total population of Muslims was 26,078 while that of non-Muslims was 5,930²²¹. In the town, Christians formed only one third of the population²²². Both in the town and in the country, Muslims formed the bulk of the population.

In the Svishtov district, non-Muslims were in majority unlike the other districts. There, non-Muslims possessed 4,450 and Muslims 3,580 of the total 8,030 houses. According to Aubaret, there were two Christians for one Muslim in this district²²³. The data in the 1874 yearbook also more or less verifies Aubaret's records. According to it, in this district, there were 29,718 non-Muslims against 16,176 Muslims²²⁴. The population of the Svishtov town was composed mainly of Bulgarians. Not far from Svishtov there were also four villages exclusively inhabited by Bulgarian Catholics. Their population was 4,500²²⁵.

In the Nikopol district, non-Muslims were in majority. As displayed in Table 4, Muslims possessed 3,752 and non-Muslim 3,486 of the total 7,233 houses. Non-Muslims were twofold of Muslims even though the number of the houses belonging to non-Muslims was less than that of the latter. The data extracted from the yearbook of 1874 confirms this fact. According to it, the total population of Muslims was only

²¹⁸ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²¹⁹ Aubaret, pp.159-160.

²²⁰ Boué, *Recueil*, p.114.

²²¹ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²²² Aubaret, p.160.

²²³ Aubaret, p.162.

²²⁴ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²²⁵ Aubaret, p.161.

22,552 against 40,194 non-Muslims²²⁶. The chief town Nikopol was a Turkish town where Muslims were in majority. The town was surrounded with several faubourgs inhabited mainly by Greeks and Bulgarians²²⁷. There was also a Jew community holding the commercial affairs in their hands, as it was in whole ports of Danube²²⁸.

As it was in the preceding two districts, in the Pleven district also non-Muslims were twofold of the Muslims. The 1874 yearbook states there were 35,868 non-Muslims against 19,528 Muslims²²⁹. The population of the small town of Pleven was also mainly Christian²³⁰.

According to Aubaret, the total number of population of the Ruse sub-province was about 680,000 and its distribution according to the nationalities and religions was as follows: 388,000 Turks; 229,500 Bulgarians; 33,000 Circassians; 2,000 Armenians; 1,000 Vlachs; 2,200 Jews; 20,000 Muslim Gypsies; 3,500 non-Muslim Gypsies²³¹. According to the records on the Ruse sub-province in the 1874 yearbook, a total of 569,016 people lived here of which 329,778 were Muslim and 239,238 non-Muslim. Ruse was the most populous sub-province within the Danubean Province. Muslims formed almost two third of its population. Bulgarians were the second biggest ethnic group and they were especially populous in the Svishtov, Nikopol and Pleven districts. The density of population was approximately twofold that of the Varna and Toultscha districts, with 33 persons per square kilometer²³².

The sub-province of Turnovo was situated to the west of Ruse. The chief town Turnovo was the ancient capital of the last kingdom of Bulgaria and was recognized as a holy city by Bulgarians²³³. This sub-province was subdivided into five districts which were: Turnovo, Lovech, Omurtag (Osman-Bazar), Sevlievo, Gabrovo.

²²⁶ Karpat, *Osmanli*, p.157.

²²⁷ A.M.Perrot, *Itinéraire de la Turquie d'Europe et des Provinces Danubiennes*, Librairie pour l'Art Militaire les Sciences et les Arts, Paris, 1875, p.25.

²²⁸ Aubaret, pp.162-163.

²²⁹ Karpat, *Osmanli*, p.157.

²³⁰ Aubaret, p.163.

²³¹ Aubaret, pp.163-164

²³² Aubaret, p.163.

²³³ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.902.

The district of Turnovo was mostly populated by non-Muslims. As observed in Table 4, in the Turnovo district Muslims possessed 10,321 and non-Muslims 19,480 of the total 29,801 houses. There, Bulgarians were the biggest ethnic group. In the town of Turnovo much more than half of the population was Bulgarian while in the country a lot of villages were exclusively Bulgarian. Gypsies were also among the dwellers of the town²³⁴. In this district, according to Aubaret, there was only one Muslim for every three Christians²³⁵. A similar ratio is also observed in the 1874 yearbook. According to this yearbook, there were 57,982 Muslims against 151,094 non-Muslims²³⁶.

In the district of Lovech, Muslims were in majority. Both in the town and the country, Muslims were more populous than the Christians. In the chief town, Bulgarians formed only one third of the population²³⁷. In this district, Muslims possessed 6,263 and non-Muslims 4,494 of the total 10,757 houses. The 1874 yearbook states that the district of Lovech was populated by 43,096 Muslims and 30,794 non-Muslims²³⁸.

In the Sevlievo district non-Muslims were in majority. Almost half of its 33 villages were exclusively inhabited by Bulgarians. In the town of Sevlievo, Muslims and Christians were equally distributed²³⁹. According to Aubaret, in this district, non-Muslims were twofold of Muslims²⁴⁰. A similar ratio is given in the 1874 yearbook; there were 15,626 Muslims against 26,664 non-Muslims²⁴¹.

In the Gabrovo district the population was almost entirely Bulgarians. Within this district, there were no Turkish villages. There were only 25 Muslim houses in the town²⁴². According to the 1874 yearbook the total number of Muslims was only

²³⁴ Lejean, "Mission", p.101.

²³⁵ Aubaret, pp.164-165.

²³⁶ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²³⁷ Aubaret, p.165.

²³⁸ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²³⁹ Aubaret, p.166.

²⁴⁰ Aubaret, p.166.

²⁴¹ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁴² Aubaret, p.167.

90 while that of non-Muslims was 29,732 within this district²⁴³. This was the greatest difference within the whole of the Danubean Province.

The population of the Omurtag district was mainly composed of Muslims. There, of the total 5,014 houses, Muslims possessed 3,638 while non-Muslims had 1,376. Among the Muslim population were also Circassian emigrants. In the chief town, non-Muslims formed only one fifth of the whole population²⁴⁴.

In the yearbook of 1874 for the Turnovo sub-province, a total number of 400,438 people are reported of which 276,256 are non-Muslims and 124,182²⁴⁵. As to Aubaret, the total population was 390,000, the major part of which was Bulgarian²⁴⁶. Aubaret did not impart the distribution of the population for this sub-province. Bulgarians, Turks, Circassians and Gypsies were among the main dwellers of the Turnovo sub-province. The density of population was 33 persons per square kilometer²⁴⁷.

The sub-province of Vidin was situated at the western end of the province, to the west of Turnovo. Vidin was subdivided into seven districts which were: Vidin, Lom, Oryakhovo, Vratsa, Berkovitsa, Belogradchik and Kula (Adliye).

In the Vidin district, non-Muslims were more populous than Muslims. As displayed in Table 4, Muslims possessed 2,815 while non-Muslims 4,967 of the total 7,782 houses within this district. As to the yearbook of 1874, there were 21,678 Muslims against 31,636 non-Muslims²⁴⁸. The main ethnic group was Bulgarians. In the town of Vidin, unlike the country, Turks were the major ethnic group. Bulgarians, Jews, Armenians and Vlachs were the other dwellers of this town²⁴⁹. There was also a very small European colony as it was in the other towns of port on the Danube.

In the Lom district, Bulgarians were in great majority. The town of Lom was also almost completely composed of Bulgarians. Jews were among the dwellers of the town. In the whole district, there was only one Muslim for every six or seven

²⁴³ See, Karpat, *Osmanli*, p.157.

²⁴⁴ Aubaret, p.167.

²⁴⁵ Karpat, *Osmanli*, p.157.

²⁴⁶ Aubaret, p.167.

²⁴⁷ Aubaret, p.167.

²⁴⁸ Karpat, *Osmanli*, p.157.

²⁴⁹ Aubaret, p.168.

Christians²⁵⁰. According to Boué, there was also a Bulgarian Catholic community in the Lom district²⁵¹. Table 4 demonstrates that Muslims, possessed only 1,503 while non-Muslims 5,071 of the total 6,574 houses. As to the yearbook of 1874, there were only 12,348 Muslims against 65,762 non-Muslims within this district²⁵².

In the Oryakhovo district, non-Muslims were in majority. Muslims possessed houses were 4,302 and 11,129 belonged to non-Muslims of the total 15,431 houses within this district. According to the yearbook of 1874, there were only 3,712 Muslims against 15,046 non-Muslims²⁵³. In the country, Bulgarians formed the most part of the population. As to the small chief town of Oryakhovo, its population equally consisted of Muslims and Christians. Among its population there was also a small Bulgarian Catholic community as in the preceding district and their total number was 2,000 together with Arcer and Lom Catholics²⁵⁴.

Vratsa was the largest district of the Vidin sub-province. The vast majority of its population was non-Muslims. Muslims possessed only 270 while non-Muslims 6,816 of the total 7,086 houses within this district. The 1874 yearbook claims that there were only 2,586 Muslims against 54,044 non-Muslims²⁵⁵. Bulgarians were the main ethnic group. In the chief town Christians formed two thirds of the whole population. Among the Muslim population of this district can also be mentioned some colony of emigrant Circassians²⁵⁶.

In the Berkovitsa district, non-Muslims were in great majority. From Table 4 it can be seen that Muslims possessed 1,092 while non-Muslims 6,974 of the total 8,066 houses within this district. According to the yearbook of 1874, the total number of Muslims was 9,724 while that of non-Muslims was 70,788²⁵⁷. In the chief town they formed more than half of the population. Bulgarians were the main ethnic group of this district and both in town and in country formed the bulk of the

²⁵⁰ Aubaret, p.171.

²⁵¹ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.26.

²⁵² Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁵³ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁵⁴ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.26.

²⁵⁵ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁵⁶ Aubaret, p.172.

²⁵⁷ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

population. Among the Muslim population there were also the Circassian emigrants²⁵⁸.

In the Belogradchik district, non-Muslims formed the great majority of the population. In this district, of the total 4,359 houses 638 were Muslims possessed and 3,721 belonged to non-Muslims. There, Bulgarians were the main ethnic group. In the chief town Muslims, however, constituted half of the population. Bulgarians formed almost the entire population of villages within this district²⁵⁹.

Kula (Adliye) was the smallest and a less important district of the Vidin sub-province. It was located at the western end of the Danubean Province. Its population consisted of Turks, Bulgarians, and Circassians. In the 1874 yearbook, the total number of Muslims was 5,474 while that of non-Muslims was 39,546²⁶⁰.

According to Aubaret, the total population in the Vidin sub-province was 390,000 and only 69,000 of this was Muslim²⁶¹. Thus, non-Muslims formed more than fivefold of the whole population. This ratio was almost comparable to the data that to be found in the yearbook of 1874. Accordingly there were 55,522 Muslims against 276,822 non-Muslims²⁶². In every district of this sub-province, Bulgarians formed the majority. The other dwellers, Jews and Gypsies were included within the non-Muslim population. As for the Circassian emigrants, they were not included within the Muslim population. The density of population was 33 persons per square kilometer²⁶³.

The Sofia sub-province was geographically a part of the Adrianople and Plovdiv territories; however, it was dependent on the Danubean Province from which it was separated by the highest Balkan range. The Sofia sub-province was located at the west of Nish, to the east of that of Plovdiv. The Sofia sub-province was subdivided into eight districts which were: Sofia, Radomir, Kiustendil, Dupnitsa, Samokov, Blagoevgrad (Cuma), Zlatitsa, and Botevgrad (Orhaniye).

²⁵⁸ Aubaret, p.173.

²⁵⁹ Aubaret, p.174.

²⁶⁰ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁶¹ Aubaret, p.174.

²⁶² Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁶³ Aubaret, p.175.

Sofia was one of the most populous and richest districts of this sub-province. According to Aubaret, within this district, the main ethnic group was Bulgarians²⁶⁴. They were highly populous than the Turks in the country. Turkish villages were small in number and had concentrated on the Nish-Constantinople road²⁶⁵. However, in the chief town, Turks formed the majority. According to Aubaret, the population distribution in the 32,000 people populated Sofia was as follows: 13,000 Bulgarians; 16,500 Muslims and 2,500 Jews. Greeks and Armenians were the other important communities of Sofia though Aubaret did not give any figure related to them. Poujade talks about 50,000 renegade Bulgarians or Pomaks in the vicinity of Sofia as well²⁶⁶. According to the yearbook of 1874, in this district the total number of Muslims was recorded as 85,592 while that of non-Muslims was 18,526²⁶⁷. These figures did not correspond with those of Aubaret claiming that Bulgarians were in majority (See the number of houses which were obviously in favor of non-Muslims from Table 4).

In the district of Radomir, according to Aubaret non-Muslims were in great majority (See Table 4). Among them Bulgarians was the main ethnic group. In the chief town, the population was equally distributed between Muslims and non-Muslims. Within the district, there were also some colonies of Circassian emigrants to whom concessions of ground were granted by the government²⁶⁸. Unlike Aubaret, in the yearbook of 1874, the total population of Muslims related to the district of Radomir was very high in comparison to that of non-Muslims. According to this record, there were only 3,040 non-Muslims against 33,064 Muslims²⁶⁹.

In Kiustendil district, according to Aubaret, non-Muslims were in great majority as in the preceding district (See Table 4). Bulgarians were again the main ethnic group. However, Muslims formed approximately half of the population of the chief town as it was in Radomir²⁷⁰. Unlike Aubaret, in the yearbook of 1874,

²⁶⁴ Aubaret, p.177.

²⁶⁵ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.66.

²⁶⁶ Poujade, p.260.

²⁶⁷ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁶⁸ Aubaret, p.178.

²⁶⁹ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁷⁰ Aubaret, p.178.

Muslims of the Kiustendil district was more populous than non-Muslims. According to this record, there were 54,586 Muslims against only 8,192 non-Muslims²⁷¹.

In the Dupnitsa district, according to Aubaret, non-Muslims formed a great part of the population (See Table 4) and, as in the former districts; Bulgarians were in great majority in the country. However, in the chief town the Muslim population was approximately equal to that of the Christian Bulgarians²⁷². As with the previous three districts the 1874 yearbook was stating the opposite of what Aubaret reported for Dupnitsa. According to this record, there were 22,384 Muslims against only 3,668 non-Muslims²⁷³.

In the Samokov district, non-Muslims were in great majority. In the chief town, according to Viquesnel, Muslims possessed only 350 and Jews only 55 of the approximate 3,000 houses while the rest were inhabited by Bulgarians, Serbians and some Greeks²⁷⁴. Aubaret stated that in this 11,000 souled city, the Muslim population was 2,500 or a little above it²⁷⁵. Unlike the preceding districts, here, non-Muslims were in the great majority both in town and in country. The records given for Samokov Muslims by the French do not match with 1874 yearbook which displayed them as the majority. According to this record, there were 42,668 Muslims against only 5,402 non-Muslims²⁷⁶.

In the Blagoevgrad (Cuma or Cuma-i Bala) district, Bulgarians were not in great majority as in the former districts (See Table 4). They were somewhat more populous than Muslims within the district. However, in the chief town, only 250 of the 730 houses were inhabited by Bulgarians; the rest belonging to Muslims²⁷⁷. In the 1874 yearbook although there was not a great difference in the number of Muslims and non-Muslims, still the Muslims were the majority (5510 Muslims against 5,192 non-Muslims)²⁷⁸.

²⁷¹ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁷² Viquesnel, Vol.II, pp.217-218.

²⁷³ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁷⁴ Viquesnel, Vol.II, p.206.

²⁷⁵ Aubaret, p.179.

²⁷⁶ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁷⁷ Viquesnel, Vol.II, p.225.

²⁷⁸ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.180.

Zlatitsa was the smallest district in this sub-province. It was located at the south of the Balkan Mountains. In this district, according to Aubaret, non-Muslims were a bit more than the Muslim population (See Table 4). However, in the chief town, Muslims formed the great part of the population²⁷⁹. In the 1874 yearbook unlike Aubaret, Muslims were in majority in the district of Zlatitsa. According to this record there were 8,980 Muslims against 5,782 non-Muslims²⁸⁰.

The Botevgrad (Orhaniye) district was located at the north of the Balkan Mountains. Aubaret claimed that, its population was in mostly composed of Bulgarians. Unlike Aubaret, the 1874 yearbook stated that Muslims formed the majority of the district. According to this record, there were 39,412 Muslims against only 4,624 non-Muslims²⁸¹. Botevgrad was a small town, and was less populous and known in proportion to the town of Etropol within the same district. Though, the former was the chief town of the district. Bulgarians massed especially in the vicinity of Etropol²⁸².

According to Aubaret, the total population in the Sofia sub-province was 355,000 and only 50,000 of this was Muslim²⁸³. In other words, there were six non-Muslims for every Muslim. The main ethnic group was Bulgarians. Greeks, Serbians and Armenians were among the other Christian communities of this sub-province. Gypsies and Circassians were the Muslim communities apart from Turks. Unlike Aubaret, in the yearbook of 1874 Muslims were in majority within this sub-province. According to this record, the total population of Muslims was 295,908 while that of non-Muslims was 69,472 the sum of which was 365,380²⁸⁴. The population density was 22,3 persons per square kilometer²⁸⁵. This low density in comparison with the Vidin and Turnovo sub-provinces was mostly due to its mountainous territory.

The Nish sub-province was at the western end of the Danubean Province. It was subdivided into six districts which were Nish, Pirot, Leskovac, Vranje, Prekoplje and Iznebol.

²⁷⁹ Aubaret, p.180.

²⁸⁰ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁸¹ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁸² Aubaret, p.181.

²⁸³ Aubaret, p.181.

²⁸⁴ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.157.

²⁸⁵ Aubaret, p.181.

Aubaret did not impart information about the population of these districts. According to Boué, who traveled through the region in 1837, Nish was a Bulgarian district and both in the town and in the country Bulgarians formed the great part of the population²⁸⁶. Nevertheless, Robert claimed that Serbians formed half of the town population²⁸⁷. In the Pirot and Leskovac districts, Bulgarians were the main ethnic group, especially in the villages disseminated on the valleys²⁸⁸. In the district of Prekoplje, the main ethnic group was Muslim Albanians. According to Boué, Albanians were placed in the Nish sub-province by the Porte to counterbalance the Christian majority and to prevent periodic Bulgarian rebellions²⁸⁹. In Vranje, Bulgarians and Muslim Albanians were equally distributed²⁹⁰. Turks lived mainly in the chief towns and formed a small minority in the whole of this sub-province. Bulgarians, Serbians and Muslim Albanians were the main ethnic groups. According to Aubaret the total population in the Nish sub-province was about 355,000²⁹¹.

So was the distribution of population by nationalities and religions in the districts of the Danubean Province. There were also two other sub-provinces which were to be included in Bulgaria by 1885. These were the Sliven and Plovdiv sub-provinces. They were dependent on the Adrianople Province.

The Sliven sub-province consisted of eight districts which were Sliven, Karnobat, Yambol, Nova Zagora, Aytos, Mesuri, Pomorie, and Burgas. According to Poyet, who traveled through the region in 1859, the total population of this sub-province was about 188,000²⁹². Poyet gave detailed information only for the Sliven district. In 39 villages of Sliven there were 2383 houses. These were distributed according to families as follows: 1859 Greco-Bulgarian; 495 Muslim Sunnite; 25 Muslim Tatar and 7 Gypsy families²⁹³. The town of Sliven comprised 3,660 houses and its population was about 18,300²⁹⁴. The distribution of population according to

²⁸⁶ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, pp.60-61.

²⁸⁷ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.903.

²⁸⁸ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.80 and 238.

²⁸⁹ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.76.

²⁹⁰ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.344.

²⁹¹ Aubaret, p.182.

²⁹² Poyet, "Islimnia", p.24.

²⁹³ Poyet, "Islimnia", pp.22-23.

²⁹⁴ Poyet, "Islimnia", p.24.

the number of families was as follows: 2,000 Muslim; 1,600 Bulgarian; 30 Armenian and 30 Jew families. Other French travelers gave a total figure from 12,000 to 20,000 for the Sliven town²⁹⁵. As it was in many districts, the majority in the town was Muslims and in the country Bulgarians. According to several consular reports, the total population of the Sliven sub-province was estimated 168,322 as the lowest figure and 286,900 as the highest²⁹⁶. All of these sources indicate that non-Muslims were in majority within this sub-province. The main ethnic group was Bulgarians. Greeks were more populous here in comparison with the Danubean Province. Turks were the second greatest ethnic group. Armenians, Jews, Tatars and Gypsies were the other communities of this sub-province.

The Plovdiv sub-province was divided into eight districts which were: Plovdiv, Tatar Pazardjik, Haskovo, Stara Zagora, Kazanlik, Chirpan, Ahi Çelebi (Smolyan) and Sultan Yeri (Momcilgrad). According to Dumont, who traveled through the region in 1869, the total population in this sub-province was more than 600,000²⁹⁷. The statistical data on the distribution of the male population given by him was obtained from the Ottoman administration. It was as follows: 112,000 Muslims; 172,000 Orthodox; 571 Armenians; 10,464 Gypsies; 1415 Jews²⁹⁸. The figures given in some consular reports for this sub-province were between 511,750 and 946,000²⁹⁹. According to Dumont, Bulgarians were the main ethnic group forming four fifths of the population³⁰⁰. The figure given by an English traveler supports Dumont's suggestion³⁰¹. However, these figures might have been exaggerated in favor of Bulgarians. As for Greeks, they did not exceed the figure of 60,000 in the whole sub-province³⁰². They were rather amassed in Plovdiv, Tatar Pazardjik and Stanimaka (Asenovgrad)³⁰³. Turks were the second greatest ethnic

²⁹⁵ See, Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.897; Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.99; Perrot, p.18.

²⁹⁶ See, Turan, pp.90-96.

²⁹⁷ Albert Dumont, "Souvenirs de la Roumélie III- Philippopolis - Le réveil Bulgare," *Revue des deux Mondes*, 2e période, Vol.95, (Septembre-Octobre)1871, p.545.

²⁹⁸ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.545.

²⁹⁹ See, Turan, pp.90-96.

³⁰⁰ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.546.

³⁰¹ See, R.J. More, *Under the Balkans. Notes of a visit to the district of Philippopolis in 1876*, Henry S. King & Co., London, 1877, pp.16-17.

³⁰² Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.545.

³⁰³ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.566.

group. They were more populous in the towns and especially in the Haskovo, Kazanlik, Sultan Yeri and Ahi Çelebi districts³⁰⁴. According to Dumont, in the country the Muslim population mostly was consisted of Bulgarians professing Islam, called Pomaks³⁰⁵. Gypsies were another Muslim group. There were also 8,000 Catholic Bulgarians, 2,000 of who lived in the town while the rest resided in the seven villages of the district³⁰⁶.

In the district of Plovdiv, Bulgarians formed the bulk of the population. The dwellers of the chief town were Turks, Bulgarians, Greeks with some Armenians and Jews. According to Viquesnel, the distribution of families in a total of 8,000 houses was as follows: 3,000 Turkish; 2,000 Greek; 1,400 Bulgarian; 700 to 800 Armenian; 200 to 300 Catholic; 500 Jew families³⁰⁷. Travelers proposed very different figures for Plovdiv between 30,000 and 100,000³⁰⁸.

Traveling through Stara Zagora and Kazanlik, Poyet could give detailed information on these districts. He proposed a total figure of 43,890 for the population of the Stara Zagora district³⁰⁹. Along with this total number, the distribution of the male population was as follows: 16,281 Bulgarians; 4,586 Muslims; 429 Jews and 649 Gypsies. As can be seen, Bulgarians were the main ethnic group. However, in the chief town, Muslims inhabited 1,632 of the approximately 2,650 houses while Bulgarians possessed only 833 of them³¹⁰. The other dwellers were Jews and Gypsies with 75 and 111 houses respectively. In the country, the Bulgarian element took once again the lead. In the 105 villages of the district, there were a total of 3318 houses 2,705 of which were Bulgarian and 613 of which were Muslim houses³¹¹.

Poyet proposed a total figure of 50,638 for the population of the Kazanlik district³¹². In the chief town, the distribution of an estimated 7,390 males was as

³⁰⁴ More, pp.16-17.

³⁰⁵ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.545.

³⁰⁶ Dumont, "Roumélie", p.567.

³⁰⁷ These figures given by Viquesnel were derived from Catholic priest of Plovdiv. See, Viquesnel, Vol.II, p.183.

³⁰⁸ See, Perrot, p.31; Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.896; Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.72.

³⁰⁹ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.153.

³¹⁰ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.153.

³¹¹ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", pp.149-152.

³¹² Poyet, "La Description de Quezanlik," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 4e série, Vol.18, no.103-108 (Juillet-Décembre) 1859, p.186.

follows: 4,000 Muslims; 3,000 Bulgarians; 190 Jews; 1,000 Muslim Gypsies³¹³. As can be seen, Muslims took again the lead in the chief town. In the country, unlike the previous district, Muslims formed half of the population. The former possessed 3,105 and Bulgarians 3,269 of a total of 6361 houses³¹⁴. Among the Muslim inhabitants of this district there were also two nomadic people: Gypsies and Turkomans.

The Sliven and Plovdiv sub-provinces geographically were in Thrace. Their territories comprised the whole Thrace plain and a great part of Rhodope Mountains and extended to the Black Sea. In this vast territory, according to the figures given by travelers, the Bulgarian element took the lead. However, they were not as dense as they were in the Danubean Province. Here, they lived together with Turks and Greeks establishing closer contact with each other.

The towns such as Nevrokop (Goce Delcev), Melnik, Razlog and Petric, which were located at the southwest of the present-day Bulgaria, administratively were dependent on the Seres sub-province of the Salonika province. The Nevrokop town was mainly inhabited by Muslims. There were also some Greeks and Bulgarians. In the Nevrokop district, Muslims and Christians generally lived together in the villages. There were 5,168 Christian and 6,614 Muslim houses. The total population of its male inhabitants was approximately 23,000³¹⁵. The Muslim population of this district was almost entirely Pomaks, who did not speak another language except from Bulgarian³¹⁶. The Melnik town was rather inhabited by Greeks. In Razlog, Muslims and Bulgarians formed the majority.

Thus was the 19th century's general distribution of Bulgaria's population. Bulgaria reflected the diversity of religions and nationalities of the Ottoman Empire. Its proximity to Constantinople and the developments of the 19th century affected this diversity. The permanent migration movements also caused significant changes on Bulgaria's population and shaped the demographic composition of the Bulgarian lands during the 19th century.

³¹³ Poyet, "Quezanlik", p.186.

³¹⁴ Poyet, "Quezanlik", pp.180-181.

³¹⁵ Auguste Dozon, *Rapport sur une mission littéraire en Macédoine*, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1873, p.27.

³¹⁶ Dozon, p.27.

3.2. Migrations

In the course of the 19th century, Bulgarian lands of the Ottoman Empire experienced considerable population movements. In the first half of the century several factors caused some migrations from the Bulgarian lands to the north of the Danube River, to Serbia, to Constantinople etc. One of the main factors was the Ottoman-Russian wars.

Every Ottoman-Russian war of the 19th century occurred in the Ottoman Bulgaria and produced great turbulences in this region. Many Muslims left their domiciles to flee from the Russian invasion evacuating the countries located beyond Deliorman and took refuge behind the Balkans, to Adrianople³¹⁷. A great number of Bulgarians too was dislodged and was taken along to Moldo-Wallachia and Russia by the Russian army. According to Robert, in 1811, the Russian general Kutuzov had taken along with him the Bulgarians of Ruse by force³¹⁸. However, a number of Bulgarian fightings with the Russian army or keeping contact with them left Bulgaria to avoid the fury of the Ottomans. By the end of the war of 1806-1812, there were an estimated 100,000 Bulgarians in Wallachia and southern Russia³¹⁹.

The second migration took place during the Ottoman-Russian war of 1828-1829. In these years and especially after the Treaty of Adrianople proclaimed the return of Ottoman power, there was emigration on a massive scale from eastern Bulgaria to the south of the Balkans. More than 100,000 Bulgarians from Sliven, Karnobat, Malko Turnovo, and other towns migrated to Moldo-Wallachia and Russia³²⁰. Although given a function by the government to hinder migration Adrianople archbishop Yerasimos and his family were also among those who migrated³²¹. According to an article published in *Revue des deux Mondes*, those who

³¹⁷ Allard, p.163.

³¹⁸ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.933; See for a different view related to the role of general Kutuzov Christo Christov, "Le Mouvement National de Libération En Bulgarie et la Politique de la Russie et des Pays Occidentaux", in *Etudes Historiques*, A l'Occasion du XIe congrès International Des Sciences Historiques, Stockholm, Août 1960, pp.285-315.

³¹⁹ R.J. Crampton, "Bulgarian Society in the Early 19th Century". in *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, ed. Richard Clogg, Barnes & Noble Books, Totowa, New Jersey, 1981, p.174; from Elena Grozdanova, "Za demografskoto sustoyanie na karnobasko i aitsko prez xvii-xviii v.", *Istoricheski Pregled*, xxxiii (1976), p.81.

³²⁰ Atanas V. Slavov, "The Russo-Turkish War of 1828 and Bulgarian Society", in *East Central European Society and War in the Era of Revolutions 1775-1856*, ed. Béla K. Király, Columbia University Press, New York, 1984, p.385.

³²¹ Ufuk Gülsoy, *1828-1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşı'nda Rumeli'den Rusya'ya Göçürülen Reaya*, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, İstanbul, 1993, pp.32-33.

migrated would be exempt from taxes for 15 years and such words were used to encourage migration³²². A major part of the *reaya* who could not be persuaded was forced to migrate³²³. Russian propaganda mainly aimed to deliver a serious blow to the economic interests of the Ottoman Empire by encouraging craftsmen belonging to strategic local industries, such as firearm makers to immigrate to Russia³²⁴. According to some estimates the number of those who left the country was as high as a quarter of a million³²⁵. Many travelers in subsequent years attested to the depopulated state of this area. One of them, Mathieu reported that in the space of thirty miles between Kırkkilise and Karnobat one did not meet inhabitants, though the countryside was splendid³²⁶. Another French traveler, Allard also portrayed the great part of the Eastern Bulgaria as about deserted even at the beginning of the 1850s³²⁷.

Russia placed Bulgarians in southern Bessarabia remaining almost deserted after the expulsion of Tatars³²⁸. Grounds were conceded to them between Pruth, the Danube, the valley of Trojan and the lake Katlaboug; thus, they founded there a number of agricultural colonies, which flourished in a few years³²⁹. Bolgrad, a town of 8,000 inhabitants, became the capital to these Bulgarian colonies³³⁰. Later, these Bulgarian immigrants of Romania and Russia were to play an important role in the road of independence of Bulgaria. Bucharest was to be the center of their political activities. However, a great number of unsatisfied Bulgarian immigrant families, too, returned to the lands which they had abandoned.

Constantinople was another center where Bulgarian immigrants formed a colony. In the last period of the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th century a

³²² A. B., "Andrinople- Cause de l'émigration des Bulgares", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 2e série, Vol.3, Juillet-Octobre 1830, p.113.

³²³ Gülsoy, pp.27-31.

³²⁴ Slavov, p.387.

³²⁵ R.J. Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria*, 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, p.55.

³²⁶ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.7.

³²⁷ Allard, p.163.

³²⁸ Nicholas V. Michoff, *La Population*, p.172; from G. Lejean, *Ethnographie de la Turquie d'Europe*, Gotha, 1861, p.29.

³²⁹ Michoff, *La Population*, p.29.

³³⁰ Lejean, "Mission de M.G. Lejean Dans Les Provinces Danubiennes", *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 4e série Vol.15 no. 84-90, Janvier-Juin 1858, p.113.

number of Bulgarians migrated to Constantinople. By 1830 a populous Bulgarian community had been established in Constantinople³³¹. Their number was not less than 30,000 and from time to time would reach over 50,000 according to the *Balgarja*, the journal of Bulgarian Uniate movement, which was supported financially by the Catholic missionaries³³². The Bulgarian colony of Constantinople contributed especially to the national and cultural revival of Bulgarians.

Apart from the Ottoman-Russian wars, another reason of the migrations from Bulgarian lands was the unsuccessful uprisings of Bulgarians. Every insurrection of Bulgarian insurgents that failed caused migrations to the neighboring countries or inland mountainous regions. According to Robert, at the end of the 1841 Nish revolt, seven or eight thousand Bulgarian insurgents had been received by Serbia; others had taken refuge in Moldavia and Wallachia³³³. This was repeated each time an insurrection took place. Between 1861 and 1862, as troubles affected the Nish area, a few thousands Bulgarians had migrated to Serbia on a rumor that concerning a possible transfer of this region to Serbia³³⁴. The same year, about 10,000 Bulgarians living in the Vidin region had also migrated to Russia³³⁵.

Besides migrations arising from political factors, internal economic needs also contributed to peasant movements. Shortages of arable land, economically passive areas, and famines all forced the peasants to migrate into neighboring regions as seasonal workers³³⁶. Cousinéry talks about Bulgarian women harvesters coming from the mountains in the vicinity of the town Doiran to work in the fertile plains of Salonika and Pella³³⁷. Boué also mentions some Serbian and Bulgarian peasants from Upper Moesia going to Macedonia to offer labor for the harvest³³⁸. The harvesters generally were the highlanders devoid of enough arable land so they descended into

³³¹ Yeorgios Kiutuçkas, "1878'e Kadar İstanbul'daki Bulgar Cemaati", in *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Gayrimüslimler*, ed. Pinelopi Stathis, tr. Foti and Stefo Benlisoy, 2nd ed., Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003, p.37.

³³² Kiutuçkas, p.38.

³³³ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.928.

³³⁴ Turan, p.28.

³³⁵ Turan, p.28.

³³⁶ Dimitrije Djordjevic, "The Balkan Peasantry, 1740-1914: A Synthesis", in *Essays on War and Society in East Central Europe, 1740-1920*, eds. Stephen Fischer Galati and Béla K. Király, Atlantic Research and Pub., New York, 1987, p.196.

³³⁷ Cousinéry, Vol.I, p.93.

³³⁸ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.205.

the fertile valleys to profit from the employment possibilities of lowlands. However, the mountain, in its turn, offered refuge to lowlanders during wars and army intrusions³³⁹. Apart from seasonal migrations, a constant shift from the village to the town continued during the first half of the 19th century.

Bulgarian lands also received a great number of immigrants coming from the north of the Danube during the 19th century. The migrations of the Crimean Tatars had begun after the capture of Crimea by Russia with the Agreement of Kuchuk Kainardji in 1774. The massive migration of the Crimean Muslims, however, had taken place just before of the Treaty of Paris ending the Crimean War in 1856³⁴⁰. Thus, in 1864, 595,000 immigrants coming from Crimea and Kazan regions had taken refuge in the Ottoman Empire territories³⁴¹. They settled in the Dobrudja plain. Only 120,000 of them remained in Bulgaria, the rest moved Anatolia³⁴². According to Aubaret, their total number within the Danubean Province was 110,000 in 1876³⁴³.

The second great migration wave took place in 1864. The Circassians living in the northern Caucases were forced out of their land. 400,000 of them took refuge in the Ottoman Empire³⁴⁴. According to Aubaret, in 1876, their number within the Danubean Province was about 200,000³⁴⁵. After the treaty of Berlin, all of them migrated to Anatolia.

There was also a small Syrian Arab minority settled in Dobrich and in the villages near Yemsinli in 1843, with the attempt of Ottoman government aiming to repopulate the deserted Dobrudja region³⁴⁶.

Apart from Muslims, a number of non-Muslims too migrated to Bulgaria. Among them were Jews, Germans and Vlachs. Especially Vlachs migrated ceaselessly into the Ottoman territories to escape from military service or the oppression of *boyars*, the landowners of Romania³⁴⁷. According to some Romanian

³³⁹ Djordjevic, p.195.

³⁴⁰ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.264.

³⁴¹ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.265

³⁴² Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.265.

³⁴³ Aubaret, p.183.

³⁴⁴ Turan, p. 28.

³⁴⁵ Aubaret, p.183.

³⁴⁶ Karpat, *Osmanlı*, p.264.

³⁴⁷ Allard, p.182.

writers, up to 100,000 peasants had fled the Danubian Principalities after the inauguration of the Organic Statutes in the 1830s³⁴⁸. They had settled rather in the right bank of Danube and particularly formed a notable part of Toultscha³⁴⁹.

The Ottoman government at times compelled to migrate some of its subjects that opposed to its rule. Some Albanian tribes were several times subjected to these temporary punishments. This was a precaution to preclude disorder. Boué talks about the Albanian families exiled from Ghilan and Metochia because of their resistance to the new rules of the Porte. They had been banished to the vicinity of Tatar Pazardjik in 1834 or 1835³⁵⁰. Boué had come across twenty Bulgarian wagons taking back these families to their country.

The Ottoman government also settled some irregular Albanian troops in Bulgaria, especially in Upper Moesia to suppress the rebellious in case a rebellion broke out. Every Bulgarian uprising was ended by these Albanian troops during the 19th century.

3.3. Diseases

During the 19th century, the peoples living in Bulgaria suffered seriously from some epidemic diseases. One of the most severe was the plague, upon which the travelers gave detailed information. The plague of 1837 affected the whole of European Turkey more than ever. French travelers give information on the outcomes of this plague in the regions through which they traveled. According to Blanqui, the plague of 1837 had carried off approximately one hundred thousand inhabitants of Bulgaria³⁵¹. Boué says that the number of deaths should be 150,000 for the toll only in Bulgaria had amounted to 86,000³⁵².

In 1836, the plague already existed in Constantinople, Smyrna and other parts of the Asia Minor. From the capital it was propagated to Adrianople and other parts of the European Turkey. Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad were the primary towns that the

³⁴⁸ Djordjevic, p.195; from D. Mitrany, *The land and Peasant in Rumania*, New York, 1968, pp.38-40. Organic Statutes increased the influence of Boyars and made the Moldo-Wallachian peasant a boyar's capital.

³⁴⁹ Allard, p.182.

³⁵⁰ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, pp.287-288.

³⁵¹ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.296.

³⁵² Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.567; See also Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.883.

plague was seen³⁵³. Then, many towns of Thrace, Bulgaria and some those of Moesia and Macedonia were infected with the plague beginning with the summer of 1836 to 1838. Pirot, Nish, Sofia, Pleven, Lovech, Sevlievo, Nikopol, Ruse, Silistra, Hirsova, Svishtov, Oryakhovo, Vidin, Haskovo, Tatar Pazardjik, Stara Zagora, Plovdiv, Kazanlik and Sliven were among the main towns of Upper Moesia, Bulgaria and Thrace being affected by the plague³⁵⁴. The towns affected most severely, according to Robert, were Sofia and Plovdiv where the victims of the plague amounted to 29,000 and Sevlievo, where nearly all of the 8,000 inhabitants had died³⁵⁵. The residents, to escape from the ravages of the plague, left their domiciles and immigrated mainly to the mountainous regions where this epidemic could not reach. Inhabitants of Plovdiv were scattered in the villages or in Rhodope Mountains; thus commercial life was almost completely interrupted³⁵⁶. In Tatar Pazardjik only poor Muslim and Christian inhabitants had remained in the town for they had not been able to migrate³⁵⁷.

Boué, traveling in the European Turkey at the time of the 1837 plague, states that the government did not make enough efforts to take measure against the epidemic though some governors had forbidden the entrance of people from infected areas to their towns³⁵⁸. According to Boué, the fatalism of the Turks also had contributed to the propagation of the disease³⁵⁹. The same fatalism had also caused more deaths among the Muslim inhabitants in comparison to the non-Muslims. Besides, the plague had affected the poor more than the wealthy and the towns more than the villages. Many travelers described in their accounts the dirty streets, airless bazaars and vagabond dogs of the Ottoman towns which invited the diseases.

In some part of the Ottoman Empire quarantines were established by the order of Sultan Mahmud II. The governors of Nish, Ruse and Silistra made efforts to

³⁵³ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.560.

³⁵⁴ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, pp.560-566.

³⁵⁵ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.883.

³⁵⁶ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.565.

³⁵⁷ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.565.

³⁵⁸ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.560.

³⁵⁹ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.557.

protect their towns by establishing short-term quarantines³⁶⁰. In 1839, the plague had expired in Constantinople not to reappear in this city and in the European Turkey³⁶¹.

Cholera was another epidemic disease to be seen in the European Turkey frightening its inhabitants more than the plague. The cholera, in its different appearances, strongly affected the population of Kazanlik after the 1837 plague³⁶². In Stara Zagora, cholera was seen lastly in 1848 and affected particularly Christians and Jews³⁶³. French travelers did not speak about the impact and the ravages of cholera on Bulgaria's population. Poyet was the only one that gave information on cholera. According to him the reason of this disease was rather related to the Bulgarians' mode of life³⁶⁴.

Other significant diseases were types of fever such as typhoid, intermittent fevers, malaria etc. These diseases were mainly to be seen in lowlands, in the vicinity of marshy regions; for example Tatar Pazardjik and Plovdiv's inhabitants suffered from fevers because of the marshy air arising from the rice plantations³⁶⁵. Malnutrition, long fasting days, excessive physical exertion, unawareness concerning hygienics caused several other diseases varying from gastro-intestinal problems to cutaneous ones. Poyet, Allard and Boué gave detailed information in their accounts on each type of disease seen in the regions through which they traveled. Some general idea can be derived from their accounts on the health conditions of Bulgaria. Firstly, the highlands were healthier than the lowlands. Secondly, poverty and ignorance was the main reason of several diseases. Wealthy inhabitants of the towns were not exposed to the common diseases that affected the poor. Women's life expectancy was longer than men. Last of all, the ratio of children dying young was high due to the lack of medical aid.

As a result in the 19th century, there were a lot of factors like wars, epidemics, migrations which affected the population of European Turkey, specifically Bulgaria. The French travelers were in agreement with the idea that the Turkish or the Muslim

³⁶⁰ See, Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.561 and 564; See also Daniel Panzac, "Tanzimat et Santé Publique les Débuts du Conseil Sanitaire de l'Empire Ottomane", in *150. Yilinda Tanzimat*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, T.T.K., Ankara, 1992, pp.325-333.

³⁶¹ Viquenel, Vol.I, p.223.

³⁶² Poyet, "Quezanlik", p.199.

³⁶³ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.173.

³⁶⁴ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.173.

³⁶⁵ See, Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, pp.246-248.

population of European Turkey was descending. According to Ubicini, who used Ottoman sources and did relatively more reliable population guesses, the amount of Turks in the European Turkey was 2,100,000. According to the French travelers, the population of Muslims in generality of European Turkey was most probably 4-4,5million. The majority of the Turkish and Muslim population was settled in Danubean Province, Plovdiv and Sliven sub-provinces of the Adrianople province and Macedonia. Among the Muslim population in these regions were the Crimeans, Circassians, Gypsies, Pomaks and Albanians. Despite the fact that many early French travelers' views on the diminishing of the Turkish and Muslim population in the 1840s and 1850s, mass migration waves resulting from the Crimean War after 1856 caused an increase in the Muslim population. On the other hand, the number of Christians in European Turkey was estimated as above 10 million by the French travelers. An important part of this population was formed of Slavs and Moldo-Wallachians who were considered as a part of the Greco-Latin family by some travelers. The most populous group among the Slavs was without a doubt the Bulgarians. Causing much speculation, the Bulgarian population was estimated as generally 3-4,5 million by the French travelers. Before 1878, without a doubt, the basic ethnic groups of Bulgaria were the Bulgarians and the Turkish. The French travelers have talked only about the Danubean Province. Thus it is not possible to gain complete information on Bulgaria -as it was defined in the introduction part of this study- from their works. Aside from these two ethnic groups, the Muslim population contained those groups mentioned above and the Christian population was composed of Greeks, Vlachs, Armenians, Serbians, Gagauzes and Gypsies. Another religious community was the Jews which were not many. Before 1878, the Bulgarian formed the rural population whereas the Turks were populating the cities. In all the cities which were economically important, Greek, Jewish and Armenian colonies could be found. Some of the Gypsies were settled and some were semi-wanderers. When evaluated according to the sub-provinces, Ruse, Varna and Toulcha were populous in Muslims whereas Turnovo, Vidin, Sofia³⁶⁶ and Nish were mostly formed of non-Muslims.

³⁶⁶ On the statistics about Sofia, Aubaret's numbers do not match with the Ottoman's legal documents. Aubaret reports that non-Muslims form a majority but it can be seen in the Danubean Province 1874 yearbook that the Muslims were far more populous than the non-Muslims. (see footnotes 177 and 178).

The migrations of 19th century have formed the demographic structure of Bulgaria. Due to the Ottoman-Russian wars, failed Bulgarian revolts, economic factors and security problems Bulgaria has both received people in mass migrations and sent out mass migrations in this century. The most dense population movement in this region was the Tatar and Circassian migrations after the Crimean War. Though they have mentioned the Tatar and the Circassians, the French travelers have not given information on these migrations. Finally, they have reported that epidemics like cholera and plague have diminished the Bulgarian population in certain periods. The French have given specific information the 1830 plague which caused the death of many Muslims.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AND NATIONALITIES

4.1. Religious Communities

In the Ottoman Empire, religion was the basis of the social and administrative organization. The population of the empire was divided according to creed. Each separate religious group, or *millet*, was allowed to regulate its internal affairs. This signified autonomy, in not only religious life but also on issues such as education, property law and marital law. This system was introduced after the conquest of Constantinople. Centuries of *millet* existence had cemented religion as the Ottoman subjects' primary criterion for group identity³⁶⁷.

In Bulgaria, the main religious groups were the Orthodox and Muslims. Catholics, Jews, Armenian Catholics, Gregorians and Protestants were the other small religious groups. French travelers mainly dealt with Christians. They spoke of the domination and oppression of the Phanar Patriarchate on Orthodox Bulgarians and the struggle of Bulgarians for an independent Church. They were also interested in Catholic Bulgarians. They dwelled upon the Bulgarian Uniate movement and Catholic activities on Bulgarian lands. Protestants were very small religious group who won some adherents among Bulgarians especially after the second half of the 19th century. Except Albert Dumont, the French travelers did not give information on the activities of Protestants. Muslims were much less mentioned. They sometimes were identified with Turks. However, they were not a homogenous group. Apart from the Ottoman Turks there were also Pomaks, Circassians, Tatars, Albanians, and Gypsies. Greeks, Jews and Armenians were rather depicted as commercial colonies. French travelers did not give enough information about them. Therefore in the following section, only Orthodox, Catholics, and Protestants and in part Muslims will be mentioned.

³⁶⁷ Hupchick, p.205.

4.1.1. Orthodox

In the 19th century, Orthodox people of the Ottoman Bulgaria were formed of Bulgarians, Greeks, Vlachs, Serbians, Gagauzes³⁶⁸; Gypsies claiming to be Christians. All the Orthodox subjects of European Turkey were bound under the spiritual aegis of the Phanar Patriarchate after the conquest of Constantinople. The Bulgarian Patriarchate had come to an end with the fall of Turnovo to the Ottomans in 1393. During the following centuries, a Bulgarian archbishopric survived at Ohrid with a certain degree of autonomy³⁶⁹. In the 1760s, it was eliminated together with that of Serbians in Pec and a Greek cultural hegemony period started. This was a policy of Hellenizing conducted by the Phanar Patriarchate on all the Orthodox subjects of Porte. Bulgarian clergy was kept from high dignities within the Patriarchate hierarchy. According to Poujade, the archbishops and the bishops could not be Bulgarians³⁷⁰. However, a study on the higher clergy of the Phanar Patriarchate, between 1830 and 1860 shows that there were seven Bulgarian origin prelates among the high dignitaries³⁷¹. In other words, Bulgarians occupied one of every eight high dignities. Nevertheless, from the late 18th century onwards, Bulgarian clergy remained generally in the lowest ranks in the Patriarchate hierarchy.

Greek Patriarch of Constantinople was the highest rank of the hierarchy. Metropolitans and bishops followed him. These dignitaries were called *hieromonachi*³⁷². For some time, the high dignities were purchased by bidding. Each prelate at the head of an eparchy was imposing heavier taxes on the families in their jurisdiction, eparchy or diocese, to compensate the considerable sums that he spent. In addition to these taxes, the Episcopal incomes were derived from the usufruct of the metropolitan or diocesan church, from the fees for ordinations, from the tax on successions and matrimonial dispensations and from certain customary dues³⁷³. After

³⁶⁸ Gagauzes are Turkish speaking people of Orthodox religion. They escaped the Mongol invasion of Anatolia in the 13th century by taking refuge especially on the western coast of the Black Sea. They were quite populous in the vicinity of Adrianople as well. In the Galabert diaries, he mentions two old man in Karaağaç who could not speak any language other than that of Turkish, visiting the archbishop of Uniate Bulgarians, Rachel Popov for confessions. Thus through this piece of information it can be said that there were some who had turned Catholic among the Gagauzes. See, Galabert, p.301

³⁶⁹ Stavrianos, p.366.

³⁷⁰ Poujade, p.64.

³⁷¹ Pierre Voillery, "Le Haut Clergé Phanariote et Les Bulgares. Oppresseur, Prévicateur ou Bon Pasteur? 1830-1860," *Turcica*, vol. 35, Leuven, 2003, pp.90-91.

³⁷² Viquesnel, Vol.I, p. 189.

³⁷³ Ubcini, Vol.II, p. 137.

the 1760s, in Bulgaria along with other parts of the European Turkey, the high dignities were occupied by the Greek prelates in general. According to Poujade, there were eleven dioceses in Bulgaria and all of them had a Greek prelate at their head³⁷⁴.

The inferior clergy who composed the second order of Greek clergy was charged to perform all ceremonies in the parishes. Bulgarians were mainly placed in this second order. The priests of the villages were wretchedly poor. To support themselves and their family the greater part of them had to cultivate the soil or exercise some kind of handicraft³⁷⁵. For example, Cousinéry speaks of a Bulgarian priest, in Macedonia, who was a jeweler³⁷⁶. Poujade also points out that the priests of Bulgaria were Bulgarians living in bad conditions; they were fully ignorant and also married³⁷⁷. Travelers also underline that the life of these priests were not different from that of the ordinary peasant. In spite of their incredible ignorance, these priests could acquire the blind devotion of the Bulgarians within their own parochial community³⁷⁸. The ignorance of the Bulgarian priests and their flocks were reflected by almost every French traveler. On the other hand, Cousinéry notes that the Bulgarians, despite all their illiteracy, are devoted to their religion, not missing a single service even under the worst weather conditions³⁷⁹. Blanqui reported that the most religious people in European Turkey were the Christians. He thought that the reason for their piousness was the fact that they had been humiliated and, tortured and isolated throughout ages³⁸⁰. He stated that the people in European Turkey had conserved the old traditions from the early Christianity. They held masses in forests and caves and thus had the superstitions and mistakes of the early Christian ages³⁸¹.

The Bulgarians, most of whom were villagers, were attached as a whole to the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople. These villagers generally lived as local communities, closed to the outside world. Thus, the changes in the higher dignities of the Phanar Patriarchate did not have much influence on them in the cultural sense.

³⁷⁴ Poujade, p.63.

³⁷⁵ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.140.

³⁷⁶ Cousinéry, p.89.

³⁷⁷ Poujade, pp.63-64.

³⁷⁸ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.912.

³⁷⁹ Cousinéry, p.90.

³⁸⁰ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.216.

³⁸¹ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.216.

Such changes affected those living in cities much more. The main problem of the villagers was the taxes collected by the church, which demanded twice of the amount they were liable to pay the government³⁸². It did not seem possible that the villagers, who spoke only Bulgarian and were illiterate, would be influenced by the Greek culture. There were even indications contrary to the common belief that the Greek Patriarchate forced the usage of the Greek language in the services of all Bulgarian churches. Cousinéry mentions that even in a Bulgarian city like Vodena, where the Greek culture was dominant, the Greek bishops had to learn Bulgarian to gain the respect of the public and earn more revenues³⁸³.

The effect of the Greek culture emerged mostly in the cities. Helleno-Bulgarian schools were set up in several towns of Bulgaria³⁸⁴. The nascent Bulgarian bourgeoisie preferred Greek schools for the education of their children. Many Bulgarians who regarded themselves as cultured or educated preferred to speak Greek which was the *lingua franca* of trade in the Balkans³⁸⁵.

In the 1830s, some Bulgarian tradesmen and intellectuals led a cultural revival through schools opened in Bulgaria and giving education in their native language. The Bulgarian national revival began with this cultural movement. In the same period, in fact even before that, reactions to the occupation of high dignities by Greek clergy had accelerated. According to Robert, the intellectuals of the country knew well that a national ecclesiastic class should be formed for a Bulgarian national identity to be established³⁸⁶. By the 1820s, occasional demands were made for the rectification of financial abuses and for the appointment of Bulgarian bishops to head Bulgarian dioceses³⁸⁷. In the 1840s, Neofit Bozveli and Ilarion Makariopolski, through attempts in the Constantinople, tried to get the Ottoman support for ensuring the acceptance of the demands of the Bulgarians by the Patriarchate³⁸⁸. During these

³⁸² Crampton, *Concise*, p.67.

³⁸³ Cousinéry, p.77.

³⁸⁴ Macdermott, p.120.

³⁸⁵ Crampton, *Concise*, p.67.

³⁸⁶ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.911.

³⁸⁷ Stavrianos, pp. 371-372.

³⁸⁸ Macdermott, p.147.

years, the opposition spread within the Bulgarian community and started acquiring a national character³⁸⁹.

The first important achievement in the struggle with the Phanar Patriarchate was permission of the Porte in 1849 to construct a Bulgarian church in the Constantinople. Demands for the appointment of Bulgarian bishops to their own dignities changed in the 1850s to a demand of the establishment of a Bulgarian church independent of the Patriarchate. In the 1860s, many of the Bulgarian villages under the jurisdiction of the Greek bishops acted independent of them and the Phanar Patriarchate.

The villagers would not pay their taxes to the bishop of their region and the Patriarch. They also would not recite their names during the mass³⁹⁰. This revolt accelerated in 1860, when a Bulgarian committee went to the Porte to declare that the Bulgarians would no longer recognize the Phanar Patriarch as their religious leader³⁹¹. By the 1870s, almost all the dioceses in Thrace, Macedonia and Bulgaria had committed some act of disobedience towards the Patriarch³⁹². In 1867, new Patriarch conceded the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian church whose jurisdiction was to be limited to the territory between Danube and the Balkan Mountains³⁹³. The Bulgarians did not accept this concession, because in the case they did, the Bulgarians in Thrace and Macedonia would be left outside the jurisdiction of the future independent Bulgarian church. That the Bulgarians rejected such a big concession shows that the issue in fact was political rather than religious. Dreaming of an independent Bulgarian state, the Bulgarians desired that the borders of this state to enclose the lands within the jurisdiction of the independent Bulgarian church.

Finally, the Ottoman government ended the dispute in 1870 by issuing an edict establishing an autonomous Bulgarian exarchate. Article 10 of this edict stated that the new bishoprics could join the Bulgarian exarchate with the provision that the two thirds of the public votes are in favor³⁹⁴. This article allowed in the upcoming years to expand the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian exarchate, especially in Macedonia.

³⁸⁹ C.F. Poyet, *La Bulgarie Dans le Présent et l'Avenir*, Société Orientale de France, Paris, 1860, p.20.

³⁹⁰ Galabert, p.269.

³⁹¹ Edouard Engelhardt, *Tanzimat ve Türkiye*, tr. Ali Reşad, 1st ed., Kaknüs, İstanbul, 1999, p.173.

³⁹² Crampton, *Concise*, p.72.

³⁹³ Stavrianos, p.374.

³⁹⁴ Stavrianos, p.374.

Consequently, the struggle between the Patriarchate and the Bulgarians continued after 1870 and turned completely into a political clash.

4.1.2. Catholics

The Latin or Roman Catholic community comprehends all Roman Catholics subject to the Porte with the exception of the united-Armenians³⁹⁵. Among the Latin subjects of the Porte were also Bulgarians following the Roman liturgy³⁹⁶. According to Ubicini, the population of Bulgarian Roman Catholics did not exceed twenty thousand and they rather inhabited in the *livas* of Plovdiv and Nicopol³⁹⁷. Poujade estimated their number not more than ten thousand in the whole of Bulgaria³⁹⁸. On the other hand, Viquesnel estimates the population of Bulgarian Catholics as 40.000³⁹⁹.

The origin of the Catholics in Bulgaria stems from Bosnians, Bulgarized Saxons, and Albanians that had come from the Scutari region and the Paulicians⁴⁰⁰. The origin of the Catholic Bulgarians in Plovdiv is at the same time said to appertain to Bogomil Bulgarians and Paulician or Manichaean Armenians⁴⁰¹. Dumont maintains that this claim is not based on sound evidence; he states that there were only 60 Catholics in Plovdiv at the beginning of the 18th century and that these Catholics were probably a colony that had come from Sofia in around 1795⁴⁰². On the other hand, Galabert stated that this Paulician community was received to the Catholic sect in the 17th century by Franciscan missionaries⁴⁰³. Lejean states that up to 1690 the town Tchiprovatz had been a center where thousands of Catholic Bulgarians resided⁴⁰⁴. It is believed that the ancestors of the Catholics living in and

³⁹⁵ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.375.

³⁹⁶ Ubicini, Vol.II, pp.375-376.

³⁹⁷ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.376.

³⁹⁸ Poujade, p.65.

³⁹⁹ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.183.

⁴⁰⁰ Galabert, p.XLIX-LIII.

⁴⁰¹ Galabert, p.431.

⁴⁰² Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.567.

⁴⁰³ Galabert, p. 431.

⁴⁰⁴ Guillaume Lejean, "Exploration en Turquie d'Europe", *Bulletin de la société de géographie*, 5e sér., Vol.19, Janvier-Juin 1870, p.372.

around the cities of Svishtov, Nikopol, Ruse and Plovdiv in the 19th century are the above mentioned communities.

After the Crimean War, there was an increase in the activity of Roman Catholic missionaries in the Balkans. States such as France and Austria supported these activities⁴⁰⁵. These states aspired to enhance their activities in the region following the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War. During the same years, the Greek Patriarchate was in conflict with the Bulgarians, who demanded an independent Bulgarian Church. Some of the Bulgarians, who could not achieve their desire, thought that they could establish an independent Bulgarian Church under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church. This view was encouraged by the negative stance of the Russian government towards the creation of an independent Bulgarian Church⁴⁰⁶. The leader of the Bulgarian Uniate movement, Dragan Tsankov, in 1859, with French financial support, began to publish a newspaper called *Balgarja* which advocated a Uniate as the only possible solution⁴⁰⁷. In December 1860, a group of Bulgarians in Constantinople signed an act of union with Rome. Accordingly, the Bulgarian Church would keep its own customs and liturgy, but would recognize the Pope as its spiritual head⁴⁰⁸. In March 1861, Josef Sokolski, was appointed as the Archbishop of Uniate Bulgarians by Pope the IX. Pius. However, after a short time, Sokolski reverted to Orthodoxy, leaving his community without a leader.

In the succeeding years, conflicts rose between the Uniate Bulgarians and the representatives of the Papacy in the Constantinople. The Uniate Bulgarians demanded a Bulgarian leader, connected to the Pope but acting independently of the Uniate Armenians. They further gave warning that they would leave the Union unless their demands were fulfilled.⁴⁰⁹ The representatives of the Papacy in the Constantinople, on the other hand, had suspicions over the sincerity of the Bulgarians to adopt Catholicism⁴¹⁰. Thus, they avoided appointing a Bulgarian ecclesiastic to lead the movement. Their intention was, in the long run, to establish an ecclesiastic

⁴⁰⁵ Stavrianos, 373.

⁴⁰⁶ Macdermott, p.157.

⁴⁰⁷ Macdermott, p.157.

⁴⁰⁸ Crampton, *Concise*, p.73; Macdermott, p.158.

⁴⁰⁹ Galabert, p.63.

⁴¹⁰ Galabert, pp.131-133.

class out of the Bulgarian students in seminaries in Rome and other cities⁴¹¹. Finally, in 1865, a reverend named Raphael Popov, an implementer of oriental and Bulgarian rituals, was appointed as the Bishop to the Uniate Bulgarians⁴¹². Moreover, the centre was moved from the Constantinople to Adrianople. Following 1865, although the Bulgarian Uniate movement continued, the number of Bulgarians adopting Catholicism never exceeded that in the years 1860-61. During these years, most of the Bulgarians who had reverted to Catholicism from Orthodoxy returned back to their old sects.

In the first years of the movement, a high number of Bulgarians reverted to Catholicism, especially in Salonika, Bitolia and Toulcha⁴¹³. Constantinople, Adrianople, Plovdiv and Bitolia were the main centers of this movement. This movement was also supported by the Ottoman government, such that Galabert stated in his diary that the Ottomans were the real protectors of the Catholics in the Orient⁴¹⁴.

Galabert, a member of the Assumptionist sect conducting missionary activities in Thrace, Bulgaria and Macedonia, mentions in his diary the Catholic activities and plans between 1862 and 1866. Main Catholic missionaries active in the Porte were Lazarists, Dominicans, Capucins and Assumptionists. Catholic missionaries, through financial support of the Papacy and the Catholic states such as France and Austria, helped Bulgarian communities to adopt Catholicism in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thrace. Sometimes they supplied financial help to Catholic Bulgarians who wanted to build a church. They opened orphanages for parentless children and established schools that might attract the children of Orthodox Bulgarians also. Lazarists established a school in Salonika for young Bulgarians and an orphanage where parentless children could get free basic education. Assumptionists opened a primary school in 1864 for the Catholic Paulicians in Plovdiv. This last school became the Saint Augustin College in 1884 and was one of

⁴¹¹ Galabert, p.41.

⁴¹² Galabert, p.XXXIX.

⁴¹³ *Mufassal Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol.6, Güven Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1963, p.3109; Engelhardt, *Tanzimat ve Türkiye*, p.174.

⁴¹⁴ Galabert, pp.15-17.

the most important educational institutions of the Balkans until it was abolished by the Communists in 1948⁴¹⁵.

As a result, Catholicism could not spread widely among Bulgarians. Only through educational and charity institutions, some Bulgarians were attracted to Catholicism.

4.1.3. Protestants

Protestantism was recognized as a national distinct body by the edict of November 1850⁴¹⁶. All the advantages and privileges enjoyed by other Christian communities were also conceded to the Protestants and were specially confirmed by the edict of June 1853⁴¹⁷.

Bulgaria met Protestantism in the 19th century, through the activities of American and English missionaries. In 1834, H. G. O. Dwight and William Schaffler were the first American missionaries to explore the region⁴¹⁸. The protestant missionary activities in Bulgaria, just like the Catholic missionary activities, accelerated following the Hatt-ı Hümayun of 1856. In 1858, two American missionary organizations, namely the Methodist Episcopal Mission and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions started activities in Shumen, Turnovo, Adrianople, Sofia, Stara Zagora, Plovdiv and Samokov⁴¹⁹. However, they could not attain important achievements. The schools opened in Plovdiv, Stara Zagora and Samokov would not become popular among the public⁴²⁰. The number of the Bulgarians who adopted Protestantism remained limited. On the other hand, the American missionaries made important contributions in the cultural revival of Bulgarians. They first learned Bulgarian and then started to translate some fundamental books into it. In 1844, one of them, Ellias Riggs, composed a Bulgarian

⁴¹⁵ Galabert, p.LXI; p.21.

⁴¹⁶ Ubcini, Vol.II, p.396.

⁴¹⁷ Ubcini, Vol.II, p.397.

⁴¹⁸ Uygur Kocabaşođlu, "XIX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluđu'nun Avrupa topraklarında Amerikan Misyoner Faaliyetleri", in *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, T.T.K., Ankara, 1994, p.540; from James F. Clarke, "Americans and the April Uprising", *East European Quarterly*, Vol.XI, No.4 (1977), p.423.

⁴¹⁹ Kocabaşođlu, p.541; from Clarke, p.423.

⁴²⁰ Kocabaşođlu, p.542.

grammar for the use of English-speaking persons⁴²¹. The Bible Society of New York made another important contribution by translating the Bible to Bulgarian. This translation spread into various locations in Bulgaria in a short time⁴²². One of the French travelers, Dumont, points out to different aspects of the American missionaries. He states that four clergymen from America resided sometimes in Adrianople and sometimes in Plovdiv, caring more for moral and intellectual development rather than teaching the doctrines of their sects⁴²³. Dumont emphasized that the American missionaries looked like travelers, visiting the country together with their families, and that they spent much more money than the Catholic missionaries⁴²⁴. Dumont maintained that such a missionary activity would be very effective⁴²⁵.

The Americans placed particular importance on publishing in Bulgarian and supplied the Bulgarian literary revival with the American printing house in Smyrna in 1853 and then in Constantinople⁴²⁶. Konstantin Fotinov, for example, had the First Bulgarian periodical *Lyuboslovie* in the American missionary printing house in Smyrna⁴²⁷. About 70 of the first 100 books in modern Bulgarian were printed in the American missionary printing house⁴²⁸.

The American missionaries also contributed to the establishment of modern Bulgaria through the schools they opened. American educators and Bulgarian graduates from these schools played an essential part in the events of the 1870's that led to the national liberation⁴²⁹. Especially the Bulgarian students educated in the American school in Samokov and the Robert College in Constantinople and brought up with a liberal-national political ideology undertook important tasks in their countries following the independence of Bulgaria⁴³⁰.

⁴²¹ Marin V. Pundeff, "Bulgarian Nationalism", in *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, ed. Peter F. Sugar and Ivo John Lederer, 3^d ed., University of Washington Press, Seattle & London, 1994, p.107.

⁴²² Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.551.

⁴²³ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.551.

⁴²⁴ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.552.

⁴²⁵ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.552.

⁴²⁶ Kocabaşoğlu, p.544.

⁴²⁷ Kocabaşoğlu, p.540.

⁴²⁸ Kocabaşoğlu, p.540.

⁴²⁹ Pundeff, pp.107-108.

⁴³⁰ Kocabaşoğlu, pp.546-549; Charles and Barbara Jelavich, p.136.

4.1.4. Muslims

Muslims were the second largest religious community in Bulgaria. Within the Muslim communities were the Ottoman Turks, Gypsies, Circassians, Tatars, Pomaks and Albanians. Muslims were far away from being a homogenous whole. Ottoman Turks had resided or had been placed here following the conquest of the country and were the most important group among Muslims. The existence of Gypsies was also almost as old as that of the Ottoman Turks. According to Viquesnel, the Gypsies who had adopted Islam in regions where Muslims were in majority were rather not interested in the requirements of the religion⁴³¹. Tatars and Circassians had resided in Bulgaria as a result of the migrations, which had started towards the end of the 18th century and continued increasingly in the 19th century. Allard, who toured the Tatar villages, states that they appeared indifferent towards their religion, not having any mosques or imams in these villages⁴³². Pomaks, on the other hand, were Bulgarians who had adopted Islam. Travelers maintain that their ties with Islam are weak. Albanian Muslims were a community small in number, scarcely mentioned.

The Ottoman Turks appeared to have a distinguished position among Muslims or the travelers presented as such. The French travelers, when mentioning Turks, used the terms Ottomans, Ottoman Turks or most directly Turks. The terms Muslim and Turk were used interchangeably. However, the Turks identified themselves as Muslims and rejected the name Turks, seeing it as an insult⁴³³.

In the narratives of the French travelers, Muslims appear as higher class members or constabulary such as *paşa*, *ayan*, *sipahi*, *subaşı*, *zaptiye*. They are presented as the representatives of a bad and arbitrary administration, corruption and cruelty towards Christians. Muslim villagers and artisans are seldom mentioned. However, some travelers express that being a Muslim is not effective when it comes to protection from the greed of government officers. Viquesnel states that in the various regions of the Empire, Muslim villagers and artisans are not better off than their Christian counterparts⁴³⁴.

Among the French travelers there were some who evaluated everything within the framework of a Muslim-Christian conflict. Blanqui, underlining that Islam

⁴³¹ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.50.

⁴³² Allard, p.85.

⁴³³ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.70.

⁴³⁴ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.196.

represented barbarism and Christianity represented civilization, linked the decline of Islam to Koran when compared with Christianity⁴³⁵. He expressed that intolerance, fatalism and polygamy, which he saw as the three basic characteristics of Islam, originated from the Koran, preparing the collapse of the Empire⁴³⁶. Contrary to Blanqui, Viquesnel maintained that the principle of absolute equality, brought forward by Islam, was implemented in the Ottoman Empire more effectively than anywhere on the world and thus allowed the preservation of all institutions and traditions⁴³⁷. Ubcini also stressed that the obstacle to development was not the Koran, but the ecclesiastics consisting of the ulema and the dervishes⁴³⁸. In fact, there existed no ecclesiastic class in Islam. However, members of the ulema such as *kadi*, *müftü* and *imam* had an influence on the public. Blanqui says that the Muslim people do not act without first consulting the ulema, which do not deserve their positions with their stupidity and incompetence⁴³⁹. According to Blanqui, all the ulema did was to consume up the high revenues of the mosques.

The French travelers do not give much account concerning the Muslims in Bulgaria except the Pomaks. As noted previously, Pomaks were the Bulgarians who had adopted Islam. They spoke a language which included Bulgarian, Romanian and Turkish words and was closer to Bulgarian with respect to grammar. A majority of them lived in the Rhodope Mountains. Allard mentions Muslim Bulgarians in the Dobrudja region but does not use the name Pomak for them⁴⁴⁰. According to Poujade, Pomaks had adopted Islam because of the mistreatment of the Patriarchate⁴⁴¹. Dozon, on the other hand, states that Pomaks had adopted Islam in different periods, starting with the Ottoman conquest⁴⁴². There is no certainty concerning the etymological origin of the word Pomak. However, the name Pomak is found in Bulgarian folk songs before the Ottoman conquest⁴⁴³.

⁴³⁵ Blanqui, *Considérations*, p.40.

⁴³⁶ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, pp.218-220.

⁴³⁷ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.161.

⁴³⁸ Ubcini, Vol.II, p.64.

⁴³⁹ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.218.

⁴⁴⁰ Allard, p.6.

⁴⁴¹ Poujade, p.260.

⁴⁴² Dozon, p.13.

⁴⁴³ Dozon, p.13.

According to Dumont, the Pomaks of the Rhodope Mountains look like neither the Serbs nor the Bulgarians⁴⁴⁴. The men belong to a tall, dynamic, elegant, black haired and a strong race and the mountainous region they live has prevented them from mixing with others⁴⁴⁵. Dumont states that the Pomaks have mosques but that they do not know the Koran and do not fulfill its requirements⁴⁴⁶. Dozon also expresses that the Pomaks are not Muslims in the real meaning of the word and that many of them are not circumcised⁴⁴⁷. He tells that after the strengthening of the central government, authorities were sent to the region to gather soldiers and imams, schools were opened to spread the Ottoman language and all customs contradicting Orthodox Islam were banned⁴⁴⁸.

In the 19th century, the Muslims were an important population in Bulgaria and Thrace. However, some travelers emphasize that the Muslim population in Bulgaria kept diminishing. Robert states that the Bulgarian population in Roumelia increased rapidly, they became the majority in proportion with the Muslims both in the country and in the cities⁴⁴⁹. Epidemics and the fact that only Muslims were required to conduct military service were among the main reasons in the decrease of the population. That the travelers often mention large Muslim cemeteries at city entrances is an indication of their tendency to symbolize the decline of the Muslim population.

The Ottoman Empire ruled through an administrative and social model based on religion called *millet* which brought different nationalities belonging to the same religion together. In the 19th century, this administration based on religion started loosing its effectiveness due to increasing nationalistic movements. The intellectuals who embraced the nationalistic ideology believed that a national clergy and a free church were needed in the formation of a national identity. In this sense, the trials of the Bulgarians to form their own Bulgarian Patriarchate free from the Phanar Greek Patriarchate which was trying to impose a cultural and political hegemony was not just due to religious needs but was more of a political struggle. The French travelers

⁴⁴⁴ Dumont, "Roum lie III", p.560.

⁴⁴⁵ Dumont, "Roum lie III", p.560.

⁴⁴⁶ Dumont, "Roum lie III", p.560.

⁴⁴⁷ Dozon, p.14.

⁴⁴⁸ Dozon, p.14.

⁴⁴⁹ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.897.

reported that the Bulgarian people who were tired of the chicanery of the Greek clergy and wanted to attend to their religion in their own language have supported this fight. The French travelers have not given a lot of information on the Orthodox people in Bulgaria. They mentioned that the Bulgarians could only rise to secondary ranks within the church hierarchy and that the Greek clergy high in the hierarchical ranks actually bought these ranks through money attained by exploiting and swindling the Bulgarian peasants. They have also noted that the local clergy was unaware of the most basic religious obligations, and lived like simple and ignorant peasants. Though pious their communities were also quite ignorant. When the French travelers compared the Catholic clergy with the Orthodox and their communities, they noted that the Orthodox carried still the traces of early Christianity. Apart from the Orthodox, the travelers also talked a little about the increasing Catholic and Protestant movements in the second half of the 19th century. It is understood from Galabert who witnessed these events that in the wish to bind the Bulgarians to the Roman Catholic Church in the beginning of the 1860s and the movement to break free from the Phanar Patriarchate, nationalistic Bulgarians played a role. Actually this movement was not a real movement. At this period, the Catholics and Protestants also could not win many adherents with their missionary activities in European Turkey. Yet many young Bulgarians who had attended the schools opened by such missionaries played active and important role in free Bulgaria. The French travelers noted that among the Muslim, no people other than that of the Turkish had strong religious bonds. They stressed that Islam was backward. Some linked this to Koran and the others to those who applied it as so. The Muslims have been reported as guilty in the cause of the backwardness of Christians and their suppression as the rulers of the land.

4.2. Nationalities

In the 19th century, a national consciousness, in other words, a national identity had not yet emerged amongst the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula. There were ethnic communities, with a collective special name, recognized and distinguished by more than one cultural difference such as religion, language, tradition. However, these communities had not become political actors, pursuing a certain political objective as a mass. The nationalistic ideology was far from influencing the Balkan peoples, a great majority of which consisted of villagers,

living away from the European philosophy and institutions as parochial village communities and defining themselves in religious terms. The Ottoman Empire went into the decline period. Greece won its independence, breaking apart from the Empire, through the intervention of the Great Powers. This strengthened the thought that the other Balkan peoples within the borders of the Empire would follow the same. The European travelers of the 19th century were also of the opinion that the Christian peoples in the Balkans would, in a future not so far away, win their independence and get their places among the European nations. Consequently, they noted in their works the characteristics, physiognomies, tendencies of the Balkan peoples, attributing importance to introduce them.

The Ottoman Bulgaria of the 19th century was rich in ethnical variation. Led by the Bulgarians and Turks, the Greeks, Gypsies, Vlachs, Albanians, Serbians, Jews, Armenians, Tatars and Circassians were the major ethnic groups in the country. The French travelers mostly disclosed their impressions and opinions on Bulgarians, Turks, Gypsies and Greeks. The Jews, Armenians, Vlachs and Albanians were the other peoples mentioned.

The French travelers have provided information concerning the groups they have met in Bulgaria. Major issues stressed are the historical origins of peoples, their physiognomies, tendencies and characteristics. They have also placed importance on the distinguishing characteristics, sometimes in comparison. Furthermore, they have expressed opinions on the positioning of the peoples against the Ottoman administration and against each other.

The French travelers, stating their impressions on the ethnical groups residing in Bulgaria, have inescapably made some generalizations. However, it is not possible to speak of solid generalizations that overlap each other on every subject. While there are common opinions of characteristics, physiognomy, etc. of a particular people, there are also opinions that are completely the opposite. In this study, while the peoples in Bulgaria are considered, the opinions of the travelers not in compliance with each other are also given importance.

4.2.1. Bulgarians

Bulgarians were the main ethnic group of Bulgaria. They lived along the river Volga before the 6th century. When they were forced to leave this region as a consequence of never-ending occupations, they first headed for the river Danube, and

then around 680, crossing the river, they spread out to the upper Maritsa valley, the Rhodope plains, and up to Macedonia⁴⁵⁰. In the 19th century, the Bulgarians were not an ethnical group only dwelling in Bulgaria, the region between the Danube and the Balkan mountains. While the ancient Roman road, *Via Egnatia*, reaching Salonika from the Ohrid Lake via Bitola, Vodena and Yenice, formed a border between the Greeks and the Slavs, a significant Bulgarian population resided in regions to the north of this line, such as Eastern Albania, Macedonia, Upper Moesia and Thrace⁴⁵¹. Although Greek was the main language used in trade and religious matters, Bulgarians being more numerous with respect to population caused Bulgarian to be the dominant language in some regions. According to Cousinéry, apart from certain big cities such as Plovdiv and Sliven, in Lower and Upper Moesia and Thrace, Bulgarian was the common language of all the residents, whatever their ethnicity was⁴⁵².

Although the 19th century French travelers considered the Bulgarians as a member of the Slavonic family, they have presented various suggestions as to their origins. Ubicini tells us that they are of Finnish origin according to some historians, but as a result of their direct relations with the Slavonic peoples in time, they have adopted the Slavonic language, mixing with them⁴⁵³. On the other hand, Robert is of the opinion that the Bulgarians, the origins of whose are mixed with the Volga Tatars, are actually Slavicized Tatars⁴⁵⁴. While Mathieu relates their origins to Huns, Allard and Malte-Brun maintains that they are an ancient Turkish horde⁴⁵⁵. Dumont, on the other hand, expresses that they have got their names from a people of Turkish-Finnish origin, whose history lies in darkness⁴⁵⁶. Currently, it is generally accepted that the Bulgarians are a Turkish horde of Central Asia origins, who mixed with the resident Slavs, adopted their languages and became Slavicized after coming to the region where they live now.

⁴⁵⁰ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.549.

⁴⁵¹ G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, *The Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-In-Europe*, Alexander Strahan, London and New York, 1866, p.19.

⁴⁵² Cousinéry, p.15.

⁴⁵³ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.172.

⁴⁵⁴ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.887.

⁴⁵⁵ Mathieu, p.126; Allard, p.164; Malte-Brun, p.323.

⁴⁵⁶ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.549.

The Bulgarians were to a great extent a rural population. Although a migration to cities started in the 19th century, majority of the Bulgarians lived in villages and made their living in agricultural activities. The travelers journeying through Bulgaria have found many Bulgarian villages in far corners, especially in valleys and mountainous areas. Bulgarians, who were large rural population, had a unique relation with land and farming skills that caught the attention of the travelers and was reported frequently. The dedication of the Bulgarians to land has been considered their most fundamental feature by the French travelers. Lamartine says that they are passionately devoted to land⁴⁵⁷. Robert discloses that the Bulgarian people tend to spread into the land rather than towards the sea and to open the lands they resided for farming⁴⁵⁸.

According to the travelers, the Bulgarians have lost their ancient warrior nature under the Ottoman hegemony. Dumont pronounces that the Bulgarians are the most compliant people in the European Turkey⁴⁵⁹. Allard states that this compliant nature of Bulgarians leads to submission against the pressure of those who rule them and that this meekness explains why most of them reverted to Islam⁴⁶⁰. According to Robert, among all the Greco-Slavonic peoples, the Bulgarians are ones that the Turks find the least frightening and the least respected⁴⁶¹. Dora d'Istria, who made a study on Bulgarian folk songs, underlines that the Bulgarians, who are peaceful as a consequence of their nature, confront humiliation and abasement against all other peoples around them: "The Turks tend to exploit their compliance; Greeks and Rumanians humiliate their naivety, Albanians humiliate their cautiousness; the Serbians abase them because of their forbearance to Ottoman hegemony without any reaction"⁴⁶².

Almost all travelers express that they are soft, hard working, patient and contented. Robert emphasizes that the only superiority of Bulgarians against the smartness of Greeks and courage of Serbians is their patience and industrious:

⁴⁵⁷ Lamartine, p.452.

⁴⁵⁸ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.880.

⁴⁵⁹ Dumont, "Roumélie III", pp.545-546.

⁴⁶⁰ Allard, p.169.

⁴⁶¹ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.929.

⁴⁶² Dora D'Istria, La Nationalité Bulgare D'Après Les Chants Populaires", *Revue des deux Mondes*, 2e période, Vol.76, Juillet-Août 1868, p.322.

“Nothing may force a Bulgarian to get fed up with working. Even if all his possessions are taken away from him, a Bulgarian will construct himself a new cottage farther away and try to make the land suitable for farming”⁴⁶³. Ubicini portrays a Bulgarian as robust, industrious and inured to fatigue⁴⁶⁴. Blanqui, comparing the Bulgarians and the Greeks, stresses that the Bulgarians who are generally more easygoing, patient, hard working and friendly, are more content, frank and trustable than the Greeks⁴⁶⁵. According to this traveler, the Bulgarians are more modest, cautious, sparing and sensible⁴⁶⁶. Mathieu maintains that although the Bulgarians cannot be placed high with respect to their level of civilization, they are nevertheless strikingly superior to Turks⁴⁶⁷. Moreover he says, “The Bulgarians are highly creative and have a rich imagination; but when compared to the solemn reservation and laziness of Turks, their real distinguishing characteristics is their joyful nature and vitality in their behavior. With them, the European will feel himself at home, among people of his own kind”⁴⁶⁸.

The French travelers have in general a positive opinion of the Bulgarians, except for their compliance which results in submission to the Ottoman administration. However, some travelers also have negative opinions. According to Robert, the Bulgarians are more conservative and less smart when compared with their neighbors; with their dullness and indolence, they are just the opposite of lively Slaves⁴⁶⁹. Dumont also says that one cannot detect any vitality or any glitter of intelligence in the visage of a Bulgarian villager⁴⁷⁰. According to him, the Bulgarians, although they resemble the Turks and Slavs, have not inherited the best characteristics of these two. They give the impression of a miserable and shy people with their poor clothing and timid talk⁴⁷¹. The most adverse opinions of Bulgarians belong to Poyet. According to Poyet, the Bulgarians are persons devoid of any kind

⁴⁶³ Robert, “Les Bulgares”, p.887.

⁴⁶⁴ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.172.

⁴⁶⁵ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, pp.210-211.

⁴⁶⁶ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.211.

⁴⁶⁷ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.131.

⁴⁶⁸ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.131.

⁴⁶⁹ Robert, “Les Bulgares”, p.887.

⁴⁷⁰ Dumont, “Roumélie III”, p.547.

⁴⁷¹ Dumont, “Roumélie III”, p.547.

of humanistic emotions, selfish, callous and not thinking anything else but their own interests⁴⁷².

The French travelers give different ideas about the position of the Bulgarian women in society. Robert, who characterizes the Bulgarian women as pretty, gracious and hard working, finds their attention to foreigners to be sincere⁴⁷³. The Bulgarian woman is very chaste; thus, she does not exhibit an artificial embarrassment or acts of mistrust; the woman of the house sleeps on the same floor with the guest⁴⁷⁴. Poyet, contrary to the other French travelers, talks rather negatively about the Bulgarian women. He notes that the Bulgarian women he met in Kazanlik are undeveloped and that they lead a putrid life, ignorant of current happenings and the most basic social duties⁴⁷⁵. He also speaks of similar opinions of the Bulgarian women he met in Stara Zagora⁴⁷⁶. Dumont, contrary to Poyet, is of the opinion that the Bulgarian woman, whom he finds to have a smart and lively face expression, has an important influence on her husband⁴⁷⁷.

The French travelers speak differently of the physiognomy of the Bulgarians. According to Boué, the Bulgarians, except for those living in the mountains in Macedonia, are generally tall; their heads are bigger and more round compared to the Serbians and their noses are curved; however, as a consequence of mixing with Slavs, the Tatar types in general have been substituted by the Slavonic type⁴⁷⁸. Dumont notes that they are short and stumpy, generally blond and that they shave their hair completely except for a carefully braided long Chinese hair tail⁴⁷⁹. According to Allard, who made a long physical description, Bulgarians reflect the characteristics of a hybrid of Caucasian, Indo-Germanic and Mongolic races. They generally have a wide forehead, black or brown eyes, lively looks, with curved noses not eagle-nosed, small eyes, round chins, dark or light auburn hair but scarcely black,

⁴⁷² Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.176.

⁴⁷³ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.887.

⁴⁷⁴ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.887.

⁴⁷⁵ Poyet, "Quezanlik", p.191.

⁴⁷⁶ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.175.

⁴⁷⁷ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.547.

⁴⁷⁸ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.II, p.62.

⁴⁷⁹ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.547.

thick and wavy beards, middle stance, thin but strong⁴⁸⁰. Mathieu, who thinks that they resemble the Armenians and Tatars, also says that they have middle stance and are strong⁴⁸¹. The travelers do not have a common opinion as to the physiognomy of the Bulgarian woman. According to Robert, the Bulgarian women are tall and thin, and are the most beautiful women of the European Turkey after the Greek women⁴⁸². On the other hand, according to Dumont only a few of the Bulgarian women are beautiful, even youth has not granted them grace⁴⁸³.

It appears that Balkan Mountains, separating Bulgaria into two, has exposed the Bulgarian people to the effects of different culture and characteristics. Some travelers have pointed this out in their works. Robert, who journeyed in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thrace, divides Bulgaria roughly into North and South Bulgaria. He expresses that the northern Bulgarians still preserve the Tatar traditions, and the language they speak is close to Russian, as a consequence, more of the northern Bulgarians have adopted Islam than the almost Hellenized southern Bulgarians⁴⁸⁴. According to Robert, the northern Bulgarians are wilder, uneducated, less friendly to foreigners and meeker towards their lords; they speak so interrupted that it becomes difficult to understand what they are saying. On the other hand, the language of the southern Bulgarians, which has a grammar mixed with Serbian and Greek, is more harmonious⁴⁸⁵. Dumont, contrary to Robert, maintains that there is no difference between the Bulgarians living in the northern cities such as Varna, Ruse and Vidin and those living in Plovdiv, and that all Bulgarians, living in both to the north and south of the Balkan Mountains, have the same characteristics and flaws, being members of the same race⁴⁸⁶.

French travelers, evaluating the readiness of Bulgarians to independence, noted they have not been able to preserve their national characteristics in the same way everywhere. Particularly those in the lowlands of Bulgaria are devoid of courage and national consciousness compared to their counterparts living at the west of the

⁴⁸⁰ Allard, p.169.

⁴⁸¹ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.131.

⁴⁸² Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.887.

⁴⁸³ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.547.

⁴⁸⁴ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.882.

⁴⁸⁵ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.882.

⁴⁸⁶ Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.547.

Balkan Mountains, Upper Moesia and the Macedonian Mountains⁴⁸⁷. The Bulgarians in the Upper Moesia have generally gathered in the numerous valleys in the mountains between the river Morava and the Nish-Sofia road and are the most powerful and the most disobedient among those of the same ancestry⁴⁸⁸. However, the Danubean Bulgarians have been able to preserve the national characteristics only weakly, and according to Robert one must go to Turnovo to find the real Bulgarians⁴⁸⁹. On the other hand, the Bulgarians in Thrace sympathize with the Greeks and are vulnerable to Greek influence; although they speak their national language, they also know Greek with all its idioms and speak Greek with an accent that is not characteristic of other Bulgarians⁴⁹⁰. Lamartine, who had to spend a few weeks in a Bulgarian village due to his illness, stresses that the Bulgarians have preserved their traditions, that they look upon the Turks and hate them. He concludes that they are fit to become completely independent⁴⁹¹. Lamartine, who had traveled in the first half of the 1830s, was obviously being romantic when saying these words. Robert, who journeyed through Bulgaria in early 1840s, referring to these words of Lamartine, emphasizes that the Bulgarians will not be ready for independence for a long future. He cites the following words of a Bulgarian, whom he introduced as the restorer of the Bulgarian language and the father of the Bulgarian youth: “No, people of my race do not love their countries; they are lying when they promise to sacrifice themselves for their country; they only live for their families and their gardens”⁴⁹². The revolts in the 19th century remained always at a regional level and never attained a mass dimension. As already implied by the above mentioned Bulgarian nationalist, the reason for this was that the idea of a nation and the consciousness that formed the concept of "we", in other words, a national consciousness was not formed.

⁴⁸⁷ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.II, p.63.

⁴⁸⁸ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.82.

⁴⁸⁹ Robert, “Les Bulgares”, p.901.

⁴⁹⁰ Robert, “Les Bulgares”, p.881.

⁴⁹¹ Lamartine, p.451.

⁴⁹² Robert, “Les Bulgares”, p.929.

4.2.2. Turks

The Turks started living in Bulgaria after it was conquered in the 14th century. No other region in the European Turkey has been made home by the Turks as Bulgaria is. In the 19th century Bulgaria, Turks had a very numerous population.

The French travelers had in general a negative opinion of Turks. To them, Turks were mostly representatives of Islam and unjust, robbing administrators. Perhaps to strengthen this opinion to some extent, they almost never mentioned the Turkish villagers. According to them, Turks, who were in minority among the Greco-Slav peoples were the liege lords of the rural and the administrators of the urban, but continued to rule the Christians, who were the majority. The Turkish population mostly resided in *grad*, the city quarters within the forts. In the rural, the Christian population was dominant. According to Robert, as the Bulgarian villagers spread out rapidly, the Turks, who did not have a rural population except for Thrace, were forced towards Constantinople⁴⁹³. Blanqui stressed in his *Voyage en Bulgarie*, that, the thing that surprised a traveler in the European Turkey was the rarity of the Turks⁴⁹⁴. Robert maintained that the Turks were no longer at home in the European Turkey, only camping there temporarily⁴⁹⁵. Allard too mentioned that even in the regions where Turks were known to be dense such as Shumen, Silistra and Deliorman, the Turkish population, was limited to governmental officials and a few tradesmen, except for the military⁴⁹⁶. Moreover he said the majority of the Muslim population was not Turks but renegade Bulgarians⁴⁹⁷.

Very few of the French travelers report on the physiognomies of Turks. According to Mathieu, the Turks were in general fair, black or auburn haired, with beautiful eyes and fleshy cheeks⁴⁹⁸. Allard describes them as oval faced, with beautiful brown eyes; straight or slightly curved noses; round chins; brown or black beards and hair⁴⁹⁹.

⁴⁹³ Robert, "Etat Actuel", p.391.

⁴⁹⁴ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.209.

⁴⁹⁵ Robert, "Etat Actuel", p.408.

⁴⁹⁶ Allard, p.187.

⁴⁹⁷ Allard, p.6.

⁴⁹⁸ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.47.

⁴⁹⁹ Allard, p.188.

According to French travelers, Turks had lost their old warrior characteristics. Mathieu and Blanqui reported that there was no trace left of the Turks who once fought all over the world to render Islam dominant⁵⁰⁰. They pictured the Turks as indifferent to current happenings, persons passing the days in pleasure and laziness. According to Blanqui, the Turks would smoke, do *namaz*, wash and repose⁵⁰¹. On the other hand, Dumont wrote the followings about the Turkish villagers he observed in Roumelia:

The tavern is full of Ottoman villagers smoking silently: they come there in early morning, light their pipes and pass the hours in a strange indolence, half awake, half sleeping. You cannot even imagine such laziness; even the way they walk is the indication of a deep indolence, they walk on the streets lagging their shoes as if this walking is a heavy burden. Shoes and pipe are the outward signs of the decline of the Ottomans⁵⁰².

Blanqui too stated that the Turks remained inactive as everything around them changed and stressed that they lived indifferently, without any worries⁵⁰³. The French frequently emphasized that the Turks were fatalistic, relating their immobility to this fatalism.

Although adverse opinions were in majority, the French travelers scarcely mentioned virtues of Turks. Blanqui, expressed that the Turks were devoted to their children, respectful towards elderly, knew to get satisfied with little, preserved their coolness against adverse conditions and were generously friendly towards travelers⁵⁰⁴. Mathieu, opposing Blanqui, maintained that the Turkish friendliness was a show off⁵⁰⁵. The French travelers had other conflicting opinions concerning the characteristics of Turks. Blanqui stated that not only the Turkish but also all Muslim or Christian women in the Orient were not spouses but actually were the prey of man⁵⁰⁶. Poyet, contrary to Blanqui, stressed that the Turkish women had great influence over their men and said: "There are very few men who can reject even the most trivial wishes of their wives; many do obey the small desires of their wives and

⁵⁰⁰ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.48; Blanqui, *Considérations*, p.47.

⁵⁰¹ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.221.

⁵⁰² Dumont, "Roumélie I", p.435.

⁵⁰³ Blanqui, *Considérations*, p.41.

⁵⁰⁴ Blanqui, *Considérations*, p.40.

⁵⁰⁵ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.54.

⁵⁰⁶ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.280.

seek their advice in the most adverse conditions, something which the Christians do not do⁵⁰⁷.

The French travelers noted that the Turks living in Bulgaria were a minority of administrators, land owners and the military. Thus, they tried to present the Turks as an occupation force, never producing but seizing what the Christian villagers produced. But in reality, the Turks had a significant population in Bulgaria, dealing with trade in cities and dwelling with farming practices in the villages. Concerning to Turkish existence in Bulgaria, the French travelers have reported highly insufficient, biased information, far away from the reality in general and full of Orientalist clichés.

4.2.3. Greeks

The Greeks were one of the oldest peoples of the Balkan Peninsula. From the viewpoint of the travelers, they were the descendants of the ancient Greek civilization, one of the foundations of the European civilization. Because of this, the Greeks were most highly praised people in the peninsula.

The Greeks in Bulgaria generally resided in the region to the south of the Balkan Mountains. On the other hand, they were one of the components managing the trade in every important trade city, just as the Jews and Armenians. According to Ubicini, the Greeks had monopolized the trade in the country through their activities despite the Bulgarians outnumbered them⁵⁰⁸.

As mentioned earlier, the supremacy of the Greeks over Bulgarians was not limited to trade. Until the 1870s, when the Bulgarian exarchate was established, Greek ecclesiastics were appointed as bishops in Bulgaria and Macedonia. Until the 1850s, the Greeks were effective on the cultural lives of Bulgarians, especially on the educated Bulgarians. For a long time, Greek was the dominant language in religion, trade and literature in Bulgaria, as it was throughout the Balkans. Robert expressed the influence of the Greeks in the whole of the Balkans in the 1840s in striking words: “The best commercial houses, the best inns, the best schools are in the hands of the Greeks. The Greek is the leavening intellect of the entire East: where he is not,

⁵⁰⁷ Poyet, “Eski-Zagra”, p.177.

⁵⁰⁸ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.172.

there is barbarism”⁵⁰⁹. According to Robert, wherever the Greek influence is felt directly, the Bulgarian claims his self-respect much more sharply and vividly⁵¹⁰. The Bulgarians living in the villages between Sofia and Salonika, where this influence is intense, are more proud, witty, more poetic, compared to their northern counterparts⁵¹¹.

Dumont, traveling around Plovdiv, states although that the Greeks are a small minority here it is possible to find them everywhere⁵¹². Frequently, only one Greek lives in a Turkish or a Bulgarian village; but this man took up jobs such as café-owner, haberdasher, grocer and letter-writer, alone⁵¹³. Some of the Greeks, Dumont met in Tatar Pazardjik and who resided in Bulgaria to earn a living, came from Janina. These people dealt with jobs such as bakery, locksmith or tailoring. They lived together with Bulgarians for four to five years, returned back to their country after saving some money, and were replaced with other Greeks⁵¹⁴. In these regions, it was possible to find *kaloiatroi*, mobile Greek physicians from Epirus. These physicians, working with traditional methods, were highly welcomed everywhere they went and earned much money⁵¹⁵.

Among the characteristics of the Greeks, the French travelers emphasize mostly their tendency to travel. Dumont speaks the following words concerning this: “Traveling will never frighten a Greek; he likes motion and new things; many a Greek passes his life on the roads. They sleep on the deck of ships or in inns, feel satisfied with few, sometimes work and this way they are happy. It is hard to find a Greek who has not traveled away from his village”⁵¹⁶. Another highly underlined characteristic of the Greeks is their hospitality. According to Mathieu, in the Greek houses foreigners were welcomed with great hospitality, which could not be found in

⁵⁰⁹ Cyprien Robert, “Le Monde Gréco-Slave- Du Mouvement unitaire de l’Europe orientale.- La Grèce, l’Illyrie, la Bohême, la Pologne, la Russie”, *Revue des deux Mondes*, Vol.8, Octobre-Décembre 1844, p.437.

⁵¹⁰ Robert, “Les Bulgares”, p.931.

⁵¹¹ Robert, “Les Bulgares”, pp.931-932.

⁵¹² Dumont, “Roumélie III”, p.564.

⁵¹³ Dumont, “Roumélie III”, p.564.

⁵¹⁴ Dumont, “Roumélie III”, p.564.

⁵¹⁵ Dumont, “Roumélie III”, p.564.

⁵¹⁶ Dumont, “Roumélie I”, p.430.

Turkish homes. The advent of a foreigner was met as if it was a celebration and the guest was given the best room of the house⁵¹⁷.

The travelers generally speak highly of both the physiognomies and characters of the Greeks. Mathieu describes them so: “The Greeks are generally tall and thin, with big eyes, aquiline noses and thin lips. One can read from their faces their courage; one can see in their eyes the glitter of their smartness. Their acts are theatrical but this is only natural with them. Most probably, they are the only race, the physiognomy of which has not been distorted by cruelty”⁵¹⁸. According to Blanqui, compared to Bulgarians, the Greek race was more beautiful, wittier, more graceful, classic, but less honest and less religious⁵¹⁹.

The French travelers also underlined that the Greeks preserved their national characteristics without any alterations, all the way from the Ancient Greece up to date. According to Dumont, the achievement of this people to preserve their characteristics was one of the most striking facts of the orient; the Greek was immortal, just as Jew⁵²⁰. Mathieu also stated that they were now exactly as they were three thousand years ago⁵²¹.

The Greeks in Plovdiv, Asenovgrad and Tatar Pazardjik were acquainted with the European culture. In Plovdiv they had a museum, where antiquities were exhibited, and a library in which classical and contemporary works could be found⁵²². They organized balls, in which they danced with accompanied by piano and many of them could speak French well⁵²³. There were Greek students who went to Athens, Vienna and France to study. The Greeks were in continuous communication with the Europe and their national consciousness was much more developed than the Bulgarians. Dumont noted that the Greeks in Asenovgrad shared the same aspirations with Greece and that in the last Crete uprising 60 Greek young men had gone there from Asenovgrad⁵²⁴.

⁵¹⁷ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.92.

⁵¹⁸ Mathieu, Vol.II, pp.85-86.

⁵¹⁹ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.210.

⁵²⁰ Dumont, “Roumélie I”, p.431.

⁵²¹ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.91.

⁵²² Dumont, “Roumélie III”, p.566.

⁵²³ Dumont, “Roumélie III”, p.566.

⁵²⁴ Dumont, “Roumélie III”, p.566.

Among the French travelers, there were those who thought that the Greeks and the Slavs could form a confederation to replace the Ottoman Empire⁵²⁵. However, all fusion between these two races was rendered impossible by their mutual and inveterate antipathy⁵²⁶. The Greeks despised the Slavs calling them *kondro képhali* (wooden-heads) while the Slavs regarded them with jealousy and distrust because of their astute and wily spirit⁵²⁷.

4.2.4. Vlachs

Vlachs were one of the ethnical groups living in Bulgaria. Their origin stemmed from the Roman colonies which Trojan sent into ancient Dacia⁵²⁸. The original homeland of the Vlachs was the lands of Wallachia and Moldavia, to the north of the Danube. The Vlachs had formed colonies not only in Bulgaria but also in regions such as Macedonia and Epirus. These communities residing to the south of the Danube are also known by the names *Kutzovlachs*, *Aroumanians* or *Tsintsars*. Their language, although much adulterated by importations from the surrounding populations, still bore a resemblance to that of Moldo-Wallachians⁵²⁹.

In the 19th century, many Vlachs fleeing from oppression by the landlords and from conscription introduced in the principality of Wallachia settled in Bulgaria. Apart from Dobrudja region, they were established in the towns of Pesthera, Plovdiv, Asenovgrad, Dupnitsa, Blagoevgrad, Sofia, Vidin, Kula, etc⁵³⁰. The Vlachs were mainly involved with trade and shepherding. Allard speaks of shepherds coming to the Dobrudja valley from Transylvania to pass the winter, together with their herds⁵³¹. In the summer season, the Vlachs in Dobrudja were mostly busy in agricultural activities⁵³². The main business of the Vlachs residing in villages by the Danube was fishing⁵³³.

⁵²⁵ See Robert, "Etat Actuel", p.382.

⁵²⁶ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.173.

⁵²⁷ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.173.

⁵²⁸ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.174.

⁵²⁹ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.174.

⁵³⁰ www.omda.bg/engl/narod/vlasi_arumani_engl.html, (Accessed: 23.08.2005)

⁵³¹ Allard, p.182.

⁵³² Allard, p.184.

⁵³³ Allard, pp.110-111.

The French travelers make conflicting statements concerning the characteristics of Vlachs. According to Ubicini, the men of Vlachs were robust, with black or brown hair and their countenances were intelligent, though with an expression of cunning⁵³⁴. They were also economical, extremely sober, simple, laborious, and hospitable, and were retaining something of the obstinacy of the Slavonic race⁵³⁵. Allard, who had the opportunity to get close acquaintance with the Vlachs of the Dobrudja region, describes them more negatively compared to Ubicini. According to Allard, the Vlachs were meek, indolent and physically spiritless and weak⁵³⁶. However, he relates these to diseases such as chlorosis and anemia⁵³⁷. Furthermore, Allard states that the Vlachs are in complete illiteracy concerning religious matters⁵³⁸. The reason for this was the illiteracy of the leading priests. Allard underlines also that the Vlachs are intelligent but timorous, unhealthy almost all the time⁵³⁹. He notes that the Vlachs spend the winter season in underground houses called *bordeitz* and that until spring comes they only come out to care for the animals or gamble or get drunk in cafés⁵⁴⁰. He also points out that the Vlach women are more hard-working than the men, dealing with all kinds of domestic work and weaving coarse fabric from wool⁵⁴¹.

The French travelers talk about only of poor Vlachs living in villages and do not speak of Vlachs dealing with trade in cities.

4.2.5. Albanians

The Albanians were one of the smaller ethnical groups living in Bulgaria. Their origins are traced to Illirians and are one of the oldest peoples of Europe. They lived in Macedonia and Upper Moesia together with the Bulgarians. The Albanians in Bulgaria were exiled there by the Ottoman government due to security reasons or were colonies that had been brought there by some pashas. The French travelers

⁵³⁴ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.174.

⁵³⁵ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.174.

⁵³⁶ Allard, p.183.

⁵³⁷ Allard, pp.183-184.

⁵³⁸ Allard, p.125.

⁵³⁹ Allard, p.133.

⁵⁴⁰ Allard, p.185.

⁵⁴¹ Allard, p.185.

almost never mention these colonies residing in Bulgaria. Only Lejean speaks of an Albanian village near Turnovo called Arnavutköy. These are the Epirus Albanians brought there by the pasha of Turnovo⁵⁴². Lejean states that these Albanians had formed an agricultural colony, as rich as the Bulgarian colonies in Bessarabia and that their houses resemble the houses of Constantinople rather than those in a Balkan village⁵⁴³.

The French travelers have not reported on the Albanian population in Bulgaria. They only described the characteristics of Albanians. Mathieu says that, Albanians are both hospitable and robbers at the same time⁵⁴⁴. Blanqui, who met Albanians a number of times while traveling in Bulgaria, expresses that what they do to earn a living is plundering⁵⁴⁵. Albanians, who are known to be warriors, were partly official military units, the services of who were purchased by the Porte⁵⁴⁶. During the 19th century, they were exploited by the Porte to suppress the revolts in Bulgaria. These Albanian units were called the *başıbozuk* and had a bad reputation in the Western public opinion. Blanqui, in his *Voyage en Bulgarie*, underlines the massacre these Albanian units made in the 1841 Nish Revolt.

4.2.6. Jews and Armenians

Jews and Armenians were the two considerable peoples engaged in monetary transactions and affairs of commerce throughout the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Jews in Bulgaria descended mostly from the Jews exiled away from Spain in 1492. The rest were Polish Jews. The Armenians on the other hand, had resided in Constantinople following its conquest, as a consequence of Mehmed the Conqueror's orders, and then had spread out to Roumelia.

Both the Jews and the Armenians had established themselves in major cities, such as Ruse, Varna, Sofia, etc., where the Bulgarian trade was well developed. Jews followed mainly the business of brokers in the bazaars, or engaged in retail traffic⁵⁴⁷. According to Aubaret, in every harbor city on the river Danube commercial affairs

⁵⁴² Guillaume Lejean, "Le Balkan Central", *Bulletin de la société de géographie*, 4e sér., Vol.15, no.84-90, Janvier-Juin 1858, p.417.

⁵⁴³ Lejean, "Balkan", p.417.

⁵⁴⁴ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.123.

⁵⁴⁵ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.178.

⁵⁴⁶ Poujade, p.106.

⁵⁴⁷ Ubicini, Vol.II, p.365.

were in the hands of Jews. For example, Jews in Vidin dealt with the traffic of manufactured goods, fabric and the hardware imported from Central European cities such as Vienna, Trieste and Budapest⁵⁴⁸.

Just like the Jews, the Armenians too dealt with trade, followed the trade transactions of the pashas in the country and collected taxes on behalf of them. Viquesnel stated that the Armenians who had capital offered financial support to pashas who wanted to own a *çiftlik* and oppressed the public together with the pashas⁵⁴⁹. Dumont too mentions that in the villages near Adrianople the tax-farmers who were Jew or Armenian frequently entered into hot discussions with the Bulgarian villagers concerning the tithe tax⁵⁵⁰. The Christian communities in the Balkans were not affectionate towards the Armenians and the Jews because of their close relationships with the Ottomans. According to Robert, one of the demands of the 1841 Nish Revolt was that the Armenians who robbed the country on behalf of the pashas should be exiled out of the country⁵⁵¹.

The French travelers frequently underline the close relations of the Armenians with the Ottoman administrators. Ubcini states that of all the Christian subjects, the Armenians are the community that has established the closest relations with the Turks⁵⁵². Poujade also maintains that the Armenians can almost be considered as Turkish Christians due to this close relationship with the Ottomans, the fact that they learn the Ottoman language readily and the importance attributed to them by the Ottomans⁵⁵³. In the words of Mathieu, the Turks liken the Armenians to camels for their patience and usefulness⁵⁵⁴.

The Jews and the Armenians living in Bulgaria make up small communities that had resided there for commercial purposes. The French travelers have not paid attention to the characteristics of the Jews and Armenians here, only emphasizing their commercial functions and close relationship with the Ottoman administrators.

⁵⁴⁸ Aubaret, p.169.

⁵⁴⁹ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.235.

⁵⁵⁰ Albert Dumont, "Souvenirs de la Roumélie II", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol.94, Juillet-Août 1871, p.828.

⁵⁵¹ Robert, "Les Bulgares", p.928.

⁵⁵² Ubcini, Vol.II, p.336.

⁵⁵³ Poujade, p.72.

⁵⁵⁴ Mathieu, Vol.II, pp.143-144.

Both the Jews and the Armenians have lived their own quarters, went to schools they opened and led their own way of life within the *millet* system.

4.2.7. Gypsies

The Gypsies were first seen in Europe in 1417⁵⁵⁵. The regions which they intensely habited were Wallachia, Bulgaria and Thrace. There are different views as to the origins of the Gypsies. The generally accepted opinion is that they come from an Indian community called *Soudras* which fled from India during the raids of Timur⁵⁵⁶. However, it has also been suggested that they had come from Egypt or Libya⁵⁵⁷. The language they speak is a dialect of Sanskrit. The majority of the Gypsies, who had adopted Bulgaria and Thrace beginning with the 15th century, led a nomadic life. However, Viquesnel states that almost half of the Gypsies had settled down to a sedentary life and mixed with the Turks⁵⁵⁸. But the urban Gypsies, contrary to the Turks, live in the suburban quarters called *faubourg*, where the lowest classes of the city live.

It is possible to see the Gypsies everywhere in Bulgaria. Thus, many of the French travelers have met Gypsy groups in different regions of Bulgaria during their voyages. Allard describes the Gypsies as well built, with very dark complexion⁵⁵⁹. Mathieu also describes them with dark complexion, tall, long and thin legs⁵⁶⁰. The travelers generally have negative ideas concerning the Gypsies. They record that the Gypsies live in detestable dirt, that they are devoid of shame, that women are prostitutes and the children are beggars. Their misery is deep and they do not own anything, no furniture, no property. The mother, the father and the children share the same tent; they almost do not possess anything except their animals and the horse-carts they travel with. The children are half naked. Their clothes are nothing but rags and are always infested by fleas⁵⁶¹.

⁵⁵⁵ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.31.

⁵⁵⁶ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.31.

⁵⁵⁷ Mathieu, Vol.II, p.162; Allard, p.190.

⁵⁵⁸ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.31.

⁵⁵⁹ Allard, p.188.

⁵⁶⁰ Mathieu, Vol.II, pp.163-164.

⁵⁶¹ Allard, p.190.

Despite their negative opinions, the travelers have not neglected to mention the subjects in which they are talented. Without any exception, all travelers speak of their capacity for music and dancing. Blanqui writes that they form a monopoly in music throughout the whole country⁵⁶². Cousinéry underlines that all the musicians in the Ottoman Army are Gypsies⁵⁶³. Allard states that the Turks can not do without this musical talent of the Gypsies in any celebration or fest⁵⁶⁴. Furthermore, fortune telling is another subject which is under the monopoly of the Gypsies⁵⁶⁵. Blanqui adds that they have extraordinary intelligence and hand skills⁵⁶⁶. He writes that they have the necessary skills to take up jobs as locksmith, blacksmith, cauldron making, whitesmith and cart making with a few tools such as hammer, pliers, anvil, etc.; and that when they are out of job they become servants, post carriage drivers, gendarmerie and sometimes executioners⁵⁶⁷.

Almost all of the travelers underline that the Gypsies are indifferent to religion. The Gypsies, pragmatically, have adopted Christianity where Christians are dense and Islam where Muslims are dense. In fact, Allard says, most of them do not have a religion⁵⁶⁸. Cousinéry emphasizes that the Gypsies are looked down by the Turks, such that even the Gypsies who adopted Islam were banned from entering mosques⁵⁶⁹. Allard, contrary to Cousinéry, writes that the Gypsies do not create any revulsion in the Ottoman country as in everywhere else and that they live together with the Turks⁵⁷⁰.

The Nomadic Gypsies lead a semi-nomadic life. In the summer months they wander, camp; when summer comes they return to their villages and live under the worst conditions in the worst quarters. Those who have settled in cities lead a life in poverty in the suburban quarters as mentioned earlier.

⁵⁶² Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.119.

⁵⁶³ Cousinéry, p.20.

⁵⁶⁴ Allard, pp.189-190.

⁵⁶⁵ Allard, p.190.

⁵⁶⁶ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.119.

⁵⁶⁷ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.119.

⁵⁶⁸ Allard, p.190.

⁵⁶⁹ Cousinéry, pp.20-21.

⁵⁷⁰ Allard, p.188.

As a result, the French voyagers who traveled Bulgaria have met nationalities other than that of Turkish and Greek which they had never met before. They have aimed at giving information on these little known folk in their works. Their evaluations toward different nationalities were not equidistant or objective. The Greek was the most developed people of the Ottoman Bulgaria and the whole Balkans and also the nationality that on which the European culture was founded. Though having controversial views about Bulgarians, the French travelers have generally looked at them with a certain sympathy. Reporting that the Bulgarians were more passive than the Serbians and the Greek, being more responsive to the Ottoman administration, the French travelers note that Bulgarians have been belittled also by the other Balkan people. The characteristics of Bulgar people change from region to region. The French travelers have also stressed the fact that the antipathy of the other Balkan people against the Armenians and Jews were due to their economic powers and strong bonds with the Ottoman administration. They have also talked about the bad conditions and situation of the Gypsies who could be observed over all Bulgaria. The French travelers have also given some unspecific information on the Vlachs. Giving little information on Albanians the travelers have defined them as warriors, and lawless people who served the Ottoman administration for money. The most negative opinions were on Turks. Turks were seen as the representatives of an fallen civilization by the French travellers. They have characterized Turks as fatalistic people who pass all their time without doing anything. According to the French travellers the whole of the Turkish population remaining in the Balkans were consisting of administrators and soldiers. The travelers are of the meaning that the Turks will not be able to live or stay for a longer time in these lands they have once conquered.

CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC SITUATION

The general situation of the Ottoman Bulgaria has been influenced by the transformations brought about by the developments in the world, since it was a part of the 19th century Ottoman economy. As is known, the industrial revolution that began in the 1760s in England had spread out over the Continent beginning with the 19th century. While the states of the Western Europe searched for markets for the manufactured goods they produced, they were also trying to find abundant, cheap food and raw material sources. Bulgaria was affected by the competition of these states to acquire economic power, just as all the Ottoman lands rich in cheap food and raw materials were. European states started to take advantage of the convenient conditions brought about by the 1838 trade agreement signed between the Porte and Britain. Starting with the 1840s, at first Austria, then Russia, Britain and France have increased their activities in Bulgaria. In this period, the number of foreign consulates in Bulgaria, which hitherto had remained limited, was increased. The European states tried to strengthen their commercial and political influences in the region through these consulates.

Removing the barriers against the wheat trade and the reforms attempted by the Porte enhanced the trade between the European States and the lands of Bulgaria. In the relatively stable environment following 1840 agricultural production was vitalized. As the produce of Bulgaria, generally agricultural products and raw materials flowed to Europe via ports on the Black Sea such as Varna, Burgaz; and the Mediterranean such as Salonika, Kavala, Enos and the Danube, the manufactured goods of Europe began entering Bulgaria through the same routes. At the middle of the century, Bulgaria had become an important market for the European States. According to a Bulgarian historian, the growing importance of the Bulgarian lands for Western commerce was one of the causes for France and Britain to oppose dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War⁵⁷¹.

⁵⁷¹ Simeon Damianov, "French Commerce with the Bulgarian Territories from the Eighteenth Century to 1914", in *Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies from the Mid-*

In this period, in Bulgaria, industry in the textile sector revived especially in cities in the mountainous regions to meet the increasing demands of the domestic market. Of course, this industry was based on handicrafts woven by the household in the villages; and in cities on artisans dealing with small scale production under a specific guild, rather than factory production which depends largely on mechanizing.

It can not be claimed that the French travelers display the complete economic picture of 19th century Ottoman Bulgaria. They have only noted some observations made on agricultural production, industrial production based largely on artisanship and trade for both the domestic and the foreign market. Sometimes they presented statistical information obtained from various sources.

The travelers in general have praised the richness of the resources of the Ottoman Bulgaria, both above and under the ground; arable lands, convenient climatic conditions, etc. However, they emphasized that this richness could not be sufficiently utilized due to inadequacy of the administration in economical matters and illiteracy to make use of these resources.

5.1. Agriculture

In the 19th century Bulgaria was above all a country of agriculture, just as it was in almost every region of the Ottoman Empire. No doubt, the greatest portion of the population consisted of villagers. According to the figures of Palairret, based on that of Boué's, the urban population in Northern Bulgaria around 1840 was only approximately 20%⁵⁷². Although there was out-migration, especially to safer mountainous cities during the 19th century, the population residing in villages and dealing with agriculture was well above the urban population. However, despite this large agricultural population, the instability that continued in the first 30 years of the 19th century on Bulgarian lands kept agricultural production far from being directed towards the market. During this period, Bulgaria could not become a stable production region due to reasons such as the Kurdjali Revolts, the Ottoman-Russian Wars and epidemics. Migrations realized as a consequence of wars and chaos caused

Eighteenth Century to 1914, eds. Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, Constantinos D. Svolopoulos, Belá K. Király, Atlantic Research and Publications, New Jersey, 1988, p.21.

² Palairret, p.28.

fertile agricultural lands, especially vast plains to remain empty, without any cultivation.

The French travelers frequently mentioned the problem of shortage of labor as one of the main reasons why agricultural production on Bulgarian lands remained below its actual potential. According to the conclusions of the study given in Ubicini's book, a study made by the Moldavian agriculturist Jonesco in the summer and fall of 1850 in Bulgaria, Dobrudja, Macedonia and Thessaly, the problem of shortage of labor observed in these regions stemmed not only from the fact that the population was low relative to vast areas of land but also from out-migration of the rural population to the cities, leaving their fields to search for their fortune in cities which have become centers of attraction⁵⁷³. This issue appears to have persisted for a long time. In a rather late date such as 1876, Aubaret mentions that in a region such as the Danube province, which might be considered to be intensely populated compared to the whole Empire, extremely wide and fertile lands remain ineffective due to the shortage of labor⁵⁷⁴. However, it is also a fact that arable lands have increased beginning with the 1830s, when safety was re-established.

Another reason put forward by Jonesco to explain why arable lands remained uncultivated was apathy. Boué, who traveled through the European Turkey towards the end of the 1830s, narrates that the fields are covered with stones, thorns and weeds but no one tries to get rid of them and writes that between Aytos and Fakhi and around Nova Zagora, the fields in distances wider than a mile are replaced with high weeds, which resemble a green sea when observed at a distance⁵⁷⁵. According to Ubicini, the origin of this apathy must be mainly sought in the memory of a long-enduring oppression, and in the chicanery of the old régime, which, by depriving the husbandman of all security, destroyed all energy in him, as well as all love for a labor which he knew would be entirely profitless, and all desire for ease and comfort which he was never sure of preserving⁵⁷⁶. However, in some valleys and plains of Bulgaria and in the Maritsa and Vardar valleys, there are well cared, cultivated lands,

⁵⁷³ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.326.

⁵⁷⁴ Aubaret, p.183.

⁵⁷⁵ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.2.

⁵⁷⁶ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.327.

just like those in Europe as well as the cultivated lands left to their own fate and arable but uncultivated lands⁵⁷⁷.

Other factors have also played their roles in the low productivity in agriculture in Bulgaria. One of these is the fact that the farmers were not aware of the developments in agriculture and that they conducted their agricultural activities with old techniques. According to Boué, agriculture in the whole of the European Turkey is mostly no different from its level in the Middle Ages⁵⁷⁸. The diffusion of mechanized techniques appears to have been negligible before 1878⁵⁷⁹. Routine and habit alone preside over agricultural operations, and the abundance of the harvests owes exclusively to the extreme fertility of the soil⁵⁸⁰.

Since current methods and developments in agriculture were not known, the solution applied when land became infertile was fallowing for one or a few years⁵⁸¹. According to Ubicini no means was employed to stimulate the production or retard the exhaustion of the land like manuring and rotation of crops⁵⁸². On the contrary, Boué expresses that the crops are changed almost every year, but the farmers do not know multi-cultivation⁵⁸³. The use of marl was ignored despite of its abundance⁵⁸⁴. Tillage was confined to scraping the ground with a very primitive plough, constructed exclusively of wood⁵⁸⁵. Planting and threshing methods also remained equally backward⁵⁸⁶. All the branches of agricultural industry and economy such as the drying up of marshes, irrigation, water meadows, the superintendence of forests and lakes, and pastoral agriculture, were either entirely neglected or handed over to blind custom⁵⁸⁷. Although the peoples of the European Turkey were in general not informed on the current methods in agriculture and technical novelties, there were

⁵⁷⁷ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.2.

⁵⁷⁸ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.1.

⁵⁷⁹ John R. Lampe and Marvin R. Jackson, *Balkan Economic History, 1550-1950*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1982, p.150.

⁵⁸⁰ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.323.

⁵⁸¹ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.1.

⁵⁸² Ubicini, Vol.I, p.323.

⁵⁸³ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.1

⁵⁸⁴ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.3.

⁵⁸⁵ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.323. For the description of this simple plough that was used mainly by Bulgarian peasants of the two Moesias and the Serbian peasants, see Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.5.

⁵⁸⁶ Lampe and Jackson, p.137.

⁵⁸⁷ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.324.

some exceptions too. For example, the Bulgarians had a great talent for irrigation, and for this purpose they conducted the smallest streams of water from great distances through lateral channels and small waterworks, but, they too often destroyed the roads by using them as channels for the water⁵⁸⁸.

Another obstacle that stood on the way to enhancement of agricultural production was the difficulty of the farmers to find the necessary capital. The villager, who had no chance of introducing his production directly into the market and who had to afford a living, used to go to the nearest city to borrow from usurers and sell his crop, which he had not sown yet, to these usurers against a low charge. Thus, the villager, not being able to get the real cost of his labor would in time lose its passion to his land, feel that he is not the possessor of his land and be unable to grow any enthusiasm to produce more⁵⁸⁹. In 1845, support given by the Porte to promote agricultural production by giving long term credits to villagers in need of seed, animal and agricultural equipment had met dead ends because of unfair distribution⁵⁹⁰.

One additional reason why agricultural production was low was the inadequacy of the transportation routes to transfer the produce to domestic and foreign markets. Ubicini quotes the observations of Jonesco concerning the condition of roads:

The present channels of communication in the Dobrudja and a part of Bulgaria do not properly deserve that name, as they have only been traced by the inhabitants to indicate the shortest and easiest way from one town to another, rather than to facilitate the transport of produce to the markets.⁵⁹¹

Transportation on such roads, which depended strictly on weather conditions, became impossible in rainy weather. Furthermore, the conditions of the roads increased transportation costs, affecting trade adversely. The excess produce, which the tradesmen did not bother to purchase due to high cost of transportation, sometimes was left on the field, to rot⁵⁹². It was only natural that this would not promote the farmers to produce more.

⁵⁸⁸ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.3.

⁵⁸⁹ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.330.

⁵⁹⁰ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.330.

⁵⁹¹ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.333.

⁵⁹² Ubicini, Vol.I, p.335.

One of the most important obstacles to commercialization of agriculture in Bulgaria was the restrictions executed by the Porte to trade of crops, until the 1838 Baltalimanı Trade Agreement⁵⁹³. That the Porte, trying to lower the price of bread in Constantinople, kept the rights for cash payment of the wheat produced in the rural and that the fixed price determined for the purchase of wheat was always the lowest placed the villager in a difficult position, especially in poor harvesting periods⁵⁹⁴. Following the Baltalimanı Trade Agreement, the right for cash payment, which undermined crop agriculture, was waived and in 1840 the restriction on crop exportation was abandoned⁵⁹⁵. In the period following the cancellation of this prohibition, agricultural production rapidly increased. The ever increasing crop demand of Europe revived agricultural production on the lands, especially in the coastal regions of Bulgaria, which “nurtured Constantinople” as Robert had put it⁵⁹⁶.

According to the information quoted by Viquesnel from the reports given the French Trade Department in 1850, the farmers made use of the experiences of foreign states and did all they could to enlarge their businesses and improve their premises, although they did not have sufficient manpower⁵⁹⁷. Again in a report dated 1847, it was stated that the agricultural and commercial developments seen in recent years in the Black Sea coasts attained a level to compete the Odessa Harbor and that significant amounts of crop was provided to the Marseilles warehouse from the Black Sea ports such as Varna, Burgaz and Baltchik. According to this report, the crops raised in Bulgaria and Roumelia were so improved that low quality crops purchased from the same places four years before were now replaced by wheat of very excellent quality⁵⁹⁸. The observations of Allard, who traveled the eastern Bulgaria in 1855, indicating that the Pravadi basin between Shumen and Varna, which was the hinterland of the Varna port, was the richest region of Bulgaria with its fertile crop fields, confirmed the contents of these reports⁵⁹⁹. In these regions at the northeast of Bulgaria, the Turks also were engaged in agricultural activities along

⁵⁹³ Palairet, p.42.

⁵⁹⁴ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.126-127.

⁵⁹⁵ Palairet, p.42. According to Boué prohibition in wheat exportation had continued until 1837. See, Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.127.

⁵⁹⁶ Robert, “Les Bulgares”, p.887.

⁵⁹⁷ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.265.

⁵⁹⁸ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.265.

⁵⁹⁹ Allard, p.6.

with the Bulgarians, who were presented as the most skillful farmers of the European Turkey, sharing the same enthusiasm with them, and they produced about one third of the crops exported to foreign countries⁶⁰⁰.

As Viquesnel has emphasized, since there were no official statistical information, it was not possible to learn about the area of cultivated land, mean produce per hectares, amount and value of yield⁶⁰¹. However, it is possible to trace the increase in crop production in the 1840s from the increase in exportation provided in the reports submitted to the French Commerce Department. While in 1840 the amount of wheat exported from Bulgaria and Thrace via the Burgaz, Varna and Baltchik ports was 280,000 hectoliters⁶⁰², in 1845 the amount of wheat, barley and rye exported to the Marseilles warehouse from these three ports had reached 1,960,000 hectoliters, and in 1848 an exportation of 1,505,000 hectoliters had been realized⁶⁰³. Adding to these figures those sent via ports such as Enos, Kavala, Salonika, Seres⁶⁰⁴ that collected the produce from regions to the south of the Balkan Mountains, the crop exportation for 1847 amounted approximately to 4,000,000 hectoliters⁶⁰⁵. Wheat was also sold from the ports on the river Danube, especially to the countries of Central Europe. At the beginning of the 1870s, in the Vidin sub-province in the northwest Bulgaria, the average of four years of crop production reached 1,726,490 hectoliters⁶⁰⁶. Although it is a different region, considering the amount of crop produce given for Vidin, we can say that the agricultural explosion seen in Bulgaria in the 1840s was not improved much further after 30 years.

The quality of wheat differed from one region to another. According to Poyet, the best wheat in all the Empire was raised in the low slopes of the hills to the east of the city Stara Zagora. Bread and pastries made from this wheat found place in the table of the Sultan⁶⁰⁷.

⁶⁰⁰ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.265.

⁶⁰¹ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.269.

⁶⁰² In Viquesnel's method 1 hectoliter equals to 73,371 kilogramme. See, Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.260.

⁶⁰³ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.269.

⁶⁰⁴ Seres was not a seabord city. The outlet of Seres is a small port at the mouth of Struma river.

⁶⁰⁵ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.270.

⁶⁰⁶ Aubaret, p.169.

⁶⁰⁷ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.165.

According to Blanqui, one of the most significant cultivations concerning crop production was maize⁶⁰⁸. Maize, which was the fundamental food source of the Bulgarian villagers, was the top ranking among all crops⁶⁰⁹. According to Blanqui, among all crops maize was given the most care and only maize fields were hoed and cleaned of weed⁶¹⁰. Just like the other crops, maize production had significantly increased in the 1840s. According to the figures given by Ubicini, maize exportation from Bulgaria and Roumelia had rose from 296,000 hectoliters in 1840 up to hectoliters in 1848⁶¹¹. Oat, millet, buckwheat and rice were the other important crops cultivated in Bulgaria and Roumelia. Crop production, the main agricultural produce, made up 59.9% of the total agricultural production obtained in farms in Northern Bulgaria in 1870⁶¹².

Rice plantations rented by the administration occupied vast areas in plains of Tatar Pazardjik and Plovdiv, irrigated by the river Maritsa⁶¹³. According to the figures given by Vernazza, the vice-consul of the French Consulate in Adrianople, the amount of rice harvested in the Plovdiv sub-province in 1845 was between 3,852,000 and 5,136,000 kilograms⁶¹⁴. In years of abundance like in 1844, total amount of produce reached 5,778,000 kilograms⁶¹⁵. Only 4-5% of the total rice production was consumed in this region, the remaining was sent to Serbia, Northern Bulgaria, Moldavia, Adrianople, Constantinople, Aegean islands, etc.⁶¹⁶. There were also rice plantations in the south in the Drama region but according to Boué, the most popular rice was the one cultivated in Tatar Pazardjik⁶¹⁷.

The French travelers scarcely provided statistical information about agricultural produce other than crop production. They have only reported general information about the produce cultivated in Bulgaria.

⁶⁰⁸ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.224.

⁶⁰⁹ Aubaret, p.170. Allard mentions that a kind of porridge which was called as mamaliga made by salt, water and wheat flour is the main food for villagers. See, Allard, p.233.

⁶¹⁰ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.225.

⁶¹¹ Ubicini, Vol.I, p.328.

⁶¹² Palairt, p.58.

⁶¹³ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.232.

⁶¹⁴ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.284.

⁶¹⁵ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.284.

⁶¹⁶ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.284.

⁶¹⁷ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.19.

It was possible to see vineyards all over Bulgaria. Vast areas were covered with vineyards in Pirot, Sofia, Dupnitsa, Blagoevgrad and Kiustendil in Western Bulgaria; in and around cities such as Varna, Pravadi, Shumen, Razgrad, Turgovishte, Nikopol, Turnovo, Lovech, Vratza, Berkovitz, Vidin, Sevlievo to the north and Stanimaka, Haskovo, Lubimets, Kalofer, Kazanlik, Stara Zagora, Sliven, Yambol, Karnobat, Aytos to the south of the Balkan mountains; and in the coastal Black Sea⁶¹⁸. In 1870, in Northern Bulgaria, viticulture and wine making had a share of 12.4% in total farm production⁶¹⁹.

Plant that may be termed as industrial agricultural produce such as rose, tobacco, sesame, cotton and madder were also cultivated in Bulgaria.

The cities Stara Zagora, Kazanlik and Sliven on the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains and the city Karnobat were covered with orderly rose gardens, cultivated with utmost care⁶²⁰. The essence obtained from these roses had a significant commercial value. Towards the end of the 1850s, in and around Kazanlik, approximately 900 kg of rose essence was obtained annually⁶²¹. This essence, which was largely used as a luxury consumption product within the Ottoman Empire, was also exported abroad.

One of the important agricultural products of Bulgaria was tobacco. The best quality tobacco of the European Turkey was found around the Rhodope Mountains and its neighborhood. Principal tobacco raising regions were Dimetoka, Makri and Ferecik in the east; Adrianople and Haskovo in the north; Kiustendil, Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad in the northwest; Drama, Pravista, Kavala, Sarişaban, Yenice and Gümülcine in the south; and Nevrekop, Razlog, Smolyan and Momcilgrad, situated at the centre of this mountain range⁶²². The most popular and best quality tobacco was grown in Yenice⁶²³. In 1846, an area of roughly 4,000 hectares in these regions was reserved for tobacco cultivation, which again roughly yielded 6,500,000 kg of leaf, processed to be dried⁶²⁴. Almost all of the tobacco produce was consumed

⁶¹⁸ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, pp.23-24.

⁶¹⁹ Palairt, p.58.

⁶²⁰ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.230; Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.21.

⁶²¹ Poyet, "Quezanlik", p.183.

⁶²² Viquesnel, Vol.II, p.486.

⁶²³ Viquesnel, Vol.II, p.499.

⁶²⁴ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.272.

within the Ottoman Empire; only a very small portion was exported⁶²⁵. Starting with the second half of the 1840s, tobacco cultivation has started declining, being replaced by crop cultivation which was more profitable⁶²⁶.

Blanqui pointed out that sesame, the seed of which gives 40-50% by weight oil, was being increasingly cultivated recently⁶²⁷. Main regions where sesame was cultivated were the Thrace plains, the Maritsa valley and southern Macedonia⁶²⁸. In 1846, in the sub-provinces of Drama and Seres, sesame was produced over 5,000,000 kilograms⁶²⁹. The same year, 1,926,000 kilograms of sesame was sold in the market and 1,270,000 kg was exported from the Salonika port⁶³⁰. Linen was yet another agricultural produce cultivated for its oil, even if in small quantities.

Cotton, one of the most fundamental materials of the textile industry, was one of the most important products of the Maritsa valley to the south of Adrianople; Seres and Melnik basins; the Vardar valley to the south of Titov-Veles, Yenice-Vardar and Salonika plains⁶³¹. In 1847, the amount of cotton produced only in the Seres and Drama sub-provinces was above 2 million kilograms⁶³². In these regions, the cultivation of cotton was in the hand of Bulgarians⁶³³.

Despite the suitable climate and fertility, the Bulgarian lands were not rich in vegetable and fruit varieties. The most frequent fruit tree in orchards and around all villages was the plum⁶³⁴. The villagers used plums to make sherbet, jam, dried fruit and liquor⁶³⁵. Walnut, almond, apple, pear, quince, apricot and cherry were also among main fruit trees. In addition, it was possible to see mulberry trees, planted for growing silkworms as well as its fruit, in many places. Since knowledge on truck farming and gardening was not sufficient compared to Europe, vegetable and legume varieties were not numerous. Bean was the most cultivated starchy plant. According

⁶²⁵ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.272.

⁶²⁶ Viquesnel, Vol.II, p.505.

⁶²⁷ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, pp.231-232.

⁶²⁸ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.21.

⁶²⁹ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.272.

⁶³⁰ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.272.

⁶³¹ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.22.

⁶³² Viquesnel, Vol.I, pp.285-286.

⁶³³ Mackenzie and Irby, p.20.

⁶³⁴ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.227.

⁶³⁵ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.227.

to Blanqui, bean occupied the same place on the table of the Orient people as potato did on the table of the Western people⁶³⁶. Chickpea was also a plant found frequently in the warm plains of Thrace and in east Bulgaria⁶³⁷. Pumpkin, watermelon, melon, cucumber, some cabbage varieties, onion, lettuce, garlic and pepper were major plants grown in orchards and truck farms⁶³⁸.

Bulgaria, which is a mountainous country, had a great potential of forests and forest products. The forests belonged to the state in some places such as Babadag, or to the villagers under a communal ownership in some places such as Lovech and Ruse⁶³⁹. Almost all *kazas* of the Danube province was rich in forests and tree varieties but they were not duly made use of or heavily damaged due to unconscious exploitation⁶⁴⁰. Since in public places where everyone could cut trees to his wish, such as Ruse, the forests were in poor condition⁶⁴¹. Due to the inadequacy of the roads for transportation, only forestry products that can be carried on mules could be obtained from forests⁶⁴². The most conveniently used forests were the mountainous regions on the Black Sea coast. These regions, which gained revenues through supplies provided to the arsenal in Constantinople and construction materials, wood for burning and coal provided to the European Turkey and Anatolia owed their revenues to their positions that allowed easy access to Constantinople by sea routes⁶⁴³. That there were no roads to allow transportation was hindered the use of virgin forests in the inland regions away from the sea.

Animal husbandry was one of the most important revenue sources in Bulgaria. Blanqui, traveling in Bulgaria at the beginning of the 1840s, stressed that the agricultural fortune of the country, which was already rich in number of livestock, would get richer if related investments were made⁶⁴⁴. Horses, donkeys and mules were also bred along with livestock such as cattle, calf, water buffaloes, goat,

⁶³⁶ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.229.

⁶³⁷ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.263.

⁶³⁸ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.230.

⁶³⁹ Aubaret, p.149, 157, 165.

⁶⁴⁰ About misuse of forests, see, Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.12.

⁶⁴¹ Aubaret, p.157.

⁶⁴² Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.263.

⁶⁴³ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.263.

⁶⁴⁴ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.232.

and sheep. Goat and sheep husbandry was especially pronounced. It was informed that in 1859 there were 700,000 sheep and 200,000 goats only in the Sliven sub-province⁶⁴⁵. Animal husbandry was an important trade in the Vidin sub-province, and in Pleven, Gabrovo and Sevlievo counties. *Celeplik*, the rearing of animals, usually sheep, and driving them on the hoof to the centers of consumption was a trade dominated by the Bulgarians⁶⁴⁶. Especially, Christian notables, called *Çorbacı*, had attained a dominant position by transhumant stock raising⁶⁴⁷. Apart from being sold for slaughter, various products obtained from livestock, such as milk, cheese, leather, hair, horns were also constituted an important source of revenue. A significant art of these products were consumed locally, the remaining being exported⁶⁴⁸. Bulgaria was also rich in all kinds of poultry, primarily chicken and turkeys. As the trade of abundant and cheap poultry could afford transportation costs, these would be sent to Constantinople to be sold in groups of 1500-1800 animals, guarded by two men⁶⁴⁹.

A further important source of revenue for both the Muslim and Christian subjects was bee-keeping, which was an important vocation in localities such as Dobronichta, Bania, Razlog and Banitschka surrounded by the Rila and Pirin mountains⁶⁵⁰. Nevrokop, which was located to the south of this same region, was famous for the honey of its mountains⁶⁵¹. Honey was one of the most conventionally used foods, additionally replacing sugar in many dishes⁶⁵². An important part of wax, another product of bee-keeping, was sold to Constantinople and foreign countries.

Rearing silkworms was widely spread in the southern part of the European Turkey. Cities such as Salonika, Seres and Adrianople ranked top in rearing silkworms and silk production. But in many cities of Bulgaria, such as Stara Zagora, Turgovishte and Turnovo silkworms were reared⁶⁵³. According to Poyet, silk and

⁶⁴⁵ Poyet, "Islimnia", p.25.

⁶⁴⁶ Crampton, "Society", p.178.

⁶⁴⁷ Palairat, p.61; See also Macdermott, pp.69-70.

⁶⁴⁸ Viquesnel, Vol.I, pp.263-264.

⁶⁴⁹ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, pp.232-233.

⁶⁵⁰ Viquesnel, Vol.II, p.202.

⁶⁵¹ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.159.

⁶⁵² Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.264.

⁶⁵³ See, Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.165; Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.108; Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.38.

cocoons obtained in Stara Zagora, which were of higher quality compared to those in Bursa, would be enough to enrich the entire region⁶⁵⁴.

Livestock and its products contributed 21,6 per cent to final farm output in 1870, and within this sector the dominant product was milk (26,5 per cent) from cows, goats, ewes and buffaloes⁶⁵⁵. The residue was made up mainly of slaughter animals, wool, horses, honey, cocoons, fish and barnyard produce⁶⁵⁶.

In conclusion, in Bulgaria, which tended to meet the ever increasing supply necessities of Constantinople as it was near the Ottoman capital and the increasing crop demand of Europe after the prohibition on crop exportation was abandoned, an obvious acceleration was observed in crop production, which was the main produce, as indicated especially through the figures reported by the French travelers. However, this acceleration remained dependent on climatic conditions and in certain periods harvest remained poor⁶⁵⁷. The fact that vast lands remained uncultivated due to shortage of labor was assessed to be the main reason of low agricultural productivity. This started to reverse in the third quarter of the century and uncultivated lands such as the Dobrudja plain, described as desolate by many of the French travelers, were opened for agriculture by the arrival of the Crimean immigrants; however, despite all these, the labor shortage issue was not resolved completely⁶⁵⁸. The French travelers, as an overview, have emphasized that the agricultural production in Bulgaria could not reflect the potential it carried.

5.2. Industry

In the 19th century, the states of the Western Europe were transformed to economies producing large amounts of manufactured goods with low costs, through mechanizing and factory production. Starting with the 1820s, the quantity of manufactured goods imported into the Ottoman Empire increased rapidly. This seriously damaged the Ottoman manufacturing industry, dependent on handicrafts

⁶⁵⁴ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.178.

⁶⁵⁵ Palairt, p.61.

⁶⁵⁶ Palairt, p.61.

⁶⁵⁷ See, Palairt, pp.62-63.

⁶⁵⁸ Aubaret, pp.148-149.

and which could not compete with cheap and quality goods⁶⁵⁹. The condition of the Ottoman manufacturing industry was clear to the French travelers.

Manufacturing industry has greatly declined from what it formerly was in the Ottoman Empire. At present the greater part of the exports of Turkey consist in raw material, which it hands over to Europe, and which the latter returns to Turkey in a manufactured form. The numerous and varied manufactures, which formerly sufficed not only for the consumption of the empire, but which also stocked the markets of all parts of the Levant, and of several countries of Europe, no longer exist or have completely declined.⁶⁶⁰

Robert stated that the Porte received the final blow on the domestic industry, by facilitating the entrance of foreign goods into the Ottoman markets through trade agreements signed first with England in 1838, then with the other European states.

Britain was proud to abolish all monopolies and thus provide the *reaya* a wider freedom of production and trade; but it is obvious that in order to produce, it is necessary to be able to sell with the market price. Since as a consequence of this agreement the British products, which filled the markets of the Empire, pulled down the prices excessively, it became impossible for the domestic industry to continue production.⁶⁶¹

It is widely accepted that the manufacturing industry was generally in a decline in the 19th century Ottoman Empire. However, this was not true for each and every region of the Empire. In Bulgarian lands, an industrial revitalization was realized, which some authors called a “renaissance” or “proto-industrialization”⁶⁶². It seems as if that the French travelers have not examined the developments in Bulgaria in the manufacturing industry, especially the textile sector at close hand. A reason for this might be that the Bulgarian manufacturing industry, which exhibits a rural picture in comparison with Europe, was not interesting enough. Another reason was that the French travelers have not journeyed in the mountainous regions where industrial vitality was observed. They have only scarcely mentioned, if not at all, of mountain cities such as Kotel, Elena, Gabrovo, Lyaskovets, Teteven, Troyan, Vratsa, Berkovitsa, Belogradchik, Botevgrad, Blagoevgrad, Bansko, Peshtera, Koprivshitsa, Panagyurishte, Klisura, Karlovo, Kalofer, Sopot and Sliven, which had started to

⁶⁵⁹ Şevket Pamuk, *100 Soruda Osmanlı-Türkiye İktisadi Tarihi 1500-1914*, 5th ed., Gerçek Yayınevi, 1999, p.182.

⁶⁶⁰ Ubcini, Vol.I, p.339.

⁶⁶¹ Robert, “Etat Actuel”, p.425.

⁶⁶² Palarait underlines, in his study on Balkan economies, that the backwardness of the Ottoman industry in the 19 century is not analyzed sufficiently. Palairait criticises those who analyze the state of Ottoman industry through core-periphery approach. He believes that those who offer the idea of peripheralisation for the entire empire ignore the different structures in different provinces. See Palairait, pp.50-57; see also Lampe and Jackson, pp.141-145.

become handicraft centers starting with the 1730. It is interesting that German and Austrian travelers, contrary to their French counterparts, have monitored the development of the manufacturing industry in these regions and in general Bulgaria much more closely and have given detailed information⁶⁶³.

The French travelers have given information on the different craftsmanship, vocations, workshops, working conditions, machines and tools used in production, the quality of products manufactured, production locations, mines and the structure of the industry, although not as detailed as the Germans.

Blanqui, comparing the characteristics of industry in Bulgaria with those of Europe, writes “the characteristics which industry attempts to acquire in the civilized Europe is not found in Bulgaria” and adds “nevertheless, the industry here is not completely away from attracting the attention of economists”⁶⁶⁴. Blanqui, who was in Bulgaria in the early 1840s, disclosed the underdeveloped state of the industry, the potential it carried, its superiority in some aspects, the guilds and the working conditions, all based on his own observations.

The Bulgarian industry is simple, individual, patriarchal and manual. In Turkey there are neither steam engine machines nor yarn, or weaving mills; civil engineers, educated and skilled architects nor watchmakers. However, the residents of Bulgaria don't have any difficulty to imitate techniques better than the ones they use and thus from the less qualified weavers of the Balkans perfect fabric producers may emerge. Fulling mills and flour mills, car making workshops, tanneries are no doubt extremely undeveloped; but saddlery, braid weaving, embroidery give products on par with those of London and Vienna. Had the color embroidery on white muslin of Bulgaria was better known, they would be popular articles in Paris. I have seen in Sofia merino like fabrics, bombazines, brocades, thin veils, all justifying a regular workmanship. Actually, almost all professions have been organized in guilds, which are presided by an elected leader, a kind of representative, which assures justice. These persons represent others of the same profession in front of the authorities. Discussions are infrequent because division of labor is not excessive and can not exploit the worker as in capitalistic countries where factory production has developed. The employees work in open air, do not work at night and are away from conditions that damage human health and honor.⁶⁶⁵

The guilds that Blanqui mentioned had an important role in the economic life of the Ottoman Empire. These guilds were unions, established to solve work and market problems of those conducting the same profession and to bring up new

⁶⁶³ See, Naci Yorulmaz, *19. Yüzyıl Alman Kaynaklarına Göre Bulgaristan Şehirlerinin İktisadi Durumu* [The Economic State of the Bulgarian Towns According to the 19th Century's German Sources], Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Marmara, Faculty of Economy, İstanbul, 2002, *passim*.

⁶⁶⁴ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, pp.233-234.

⁶⁶⁵ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, pp.233-235.

persons conducting the same profession. The basic aim of the guilds was to prevent mutual competition between craftsmen in the same line of business. They were also responsible for the division of the big State orders among the workshops, buying raw materials for all the craftsmen, laying down prices and standards and fixing wages⁶⁶⁶. As seen, the economic organization of the cities was based on craft guilds. This guild organization, which comprised a traditional organizational structure, different from the competition-based industrial society model of the 19th century, persisted until the end of the Empire due to the conservative approach of the Ottoman authorities, who tried to establish industrialization keeping these organizations intact and moreover through these organizations.⁶⁶⁷.

An important feature of the guilds was that Muslims and non-Muslims existed together within the same guild; even the *kethüda*, the representative elected as the chief to the guild, could be a non-Muslim⁶⁶⁸. In Bulgaria certain guilds such as the tanners, pipe makers and barbers were predominantly or exclusively Muslim. Others were largely Bulgarian and still others were mixed⁶⁶⁹. During the 19th century there was a tendency, especially from the 1820s onwards, for the Bulgarians to form their own guilds separate from those of the Greeks and Ottoman Turks⁶⁷⁰. In these guilds Bulgarians learned self-discipline and collective action. Guild funds were used not only to meet the needs of the guild members but also to make public works such as school and church buildings, fountains and clock towers. The Bulgarian national revival was to a very considerable degree the work of the Bulgarian guilds⁶⁷¹.

A considerable number of Bulgarian villagers migrated into small cities in the Balkan Mountains during the great chaotic period of 1780-1810. Since in these regions there was not enough agricultural land to feed the increasing population, a high proportion of the population turned towards non-agricultural activities, especially crafts. In the 1830s, after order in Bulgaria was largely restored, these small cities developed in crafts broke from the guild production system to become

⁶⁶⁶ Macdermott, p.75.

⁶⁶⁷ Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, pp.179-186.

⁶⁶⁸ The rule was the election of a Muslim as a *kethüda* in guilds where Muslims and non-Muslims are organized together. See, Nikolai Todorov, "Traditions et transformations dans les villes balkaniques avec l'instauration de l'Empire Ottoman", *Revue d'Histoire Maghrebine*, Tunis, 1988, p.100.

⁶⁶⁹ Macdermott, p.78.

⁶⁷⁰ Macdermott, p.78.

⁶⁷¹ Stavrianos, pp.368-369.

manufacturing centers producing for exportation⁶⁷². The artisans who slid out by trade and got richer, played an important role in breaking out from the guild production system. Craftsmen who traded the woolen fabric products in Bulgaria and Anatolia within the guild system, purchasing various finished articles and raw cloth from the regions they went and selling these in the Bulgarian markets, acquired capital and in time expanded their family businesses into manufacturing premises of larger production using the machines imported from abroad⁶⁷³. A most striking example of the above mentioned transformation was Athanas Gümüşgerdan, who had began as a member of the *abacı* guild and ever rising became a factory owner⁶⁷⁴. These trader-craftsmen largely made use of the household production in the villages outside the guild system to meet the large quantity orders they got. Especially the villagers living in villages near to the regions where woolen fabric production was intense had seen weaving as additional revenue and had become a part of production towards market.

The most remarkable developments in manufacturing industry in Bulgaria were realized in the textile sector. Woolen manufacturing was the largest of the upland proto-industries⁶⁷⁵. Many families in villages dealt with woolen cloth making⁶⁷⁶. In about 1870, the woolen manufactures of the Bulgarian provinces engaged about 73,000 persons, most of them part-time⁶⁷⁷.

The most important branch of the woolen industry was the production of *aba*, a heavy coarse-grained woolen cloth which was made all over Bulgaria. Apart from *aba*, a finer woolen cloth known as *şayak* was also manufactured particularly for trousers⁶⁷⁸. The main manufacture centers for the *şayak* were on the north slope of the Balkan at Trojan and Trjavna, at Samokov and in the Sredna Gora⁶⁷⁹. *Aba* was produced by many Bulgarian guilds in towns deficient in arable land, but supporting

⁶⁷² Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, p.180.

⁶⁷³ See, Crampton, "Society", pp.184-185; see also Cousinéry, Vol.I, pp.110-111.

⁶⁷⁴ Nikolai Todorov, "La Coopération Bulgaro-Grecque Dans Le Domaine Du Développement Economique Aux XVIIIe-XIXe Siècles", in *Kulturni i literaturni otnošenija meždu gărci i bălgari ot sredata na XV do sredata na XIX vek, I Grăcko-Bălgarski Simpozium*, Thessaloniki 22-25 September, 1978. Sofia: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1980, p.14.

⁶⁷⁵ Palairt, p.69.

⁶⁷⁶ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.298.

⁶⁷⁷ Palairt, p.70.

⁶⁷⁸ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.100.

⁶⁷⁹ Palairt, p.70.

large flocks of sheep, such as Sliven, Stara Zagora, Koprivshitsa, Gabrovo, Samokov, Panagyurishte, Kotel, Tryavna, Troyan, Kalofer, Karlovo, Plovdiv, and the Rhodope Mountains⁶⁸⁰. *Aba* was a kind of fabric, mostly for domestic consumption, used by the villagers to make winter clothing, greatcoat, spreads and quilt. Because of this, *aba* was produced in villages outside the guild production system also, for necessities. Spinning and weaving the wool was a part of the housework of women⁶⁸¹. The principal instruments used in the houses were very simple such as hand carding combs, spinning wheels and simple wooden looms also worked by hand⁶⁸². On the other hand, fulling mills, which were more advanced tools compared to the above, were also widespread in Bulgaria and many locations in Thrace⁶⁸³.

For the *aba* makers, the 1820s saw a particularly important development with the creation of a regular army, for it was to them, especially those of Sliven and Plovdiv that the army turned for cloth and ready made uniforms⁶⁸⁴. Military contracts formed an important component of demand for woolens. In 1834, in Sliven, the first weaving bench manufacturing with modern machines was installed. In an environment where woolen fabric supply could not meet the government demands, this attempt was soon supported by the government. Thus, the first factory of Bulgaria was installed in Sliven by the government. In 1847, a smaller second factory was set up by the putting out firm of Gümüşgerdan near Plovdiv, as well⁶⁸⁵.

Boué, who circuited the factory in Sliven, gives detailed information on the factory, the main building of which was built by the government. At that time there were two carding machines, 12 spinning machines for very fine wool and 8 for low quality, and 8 weaving benches in the factory, which was only at a crawling stage⁶⁸⁶. The factory employed 80 Bulgarian workers and 2 German foremen for only fabric production, apart from the smiths, carpenters, founders, fabric dyers and machinists⁶⁸⁷. In subsequent years, the capacity of the factory was enlarged by new

⁶⁸⁰ Crampton, *Concise*, p.56; Macdermott, p.73.

⁶⁸¹ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.98.

⁶⁸² Macdermott, p.73.

⁶⁸³ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.84.

⁶⁸⁴ Crampton, "Society", p.188.

⁶⁸⁵ Palairat, p.80.

⁶⁸⁶ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.101.

⁶⁸⁷ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.101.

machines and workpower which reached 500 workers⁶⁸⁸. The factory, still working and employing 400 souls in 1870, never competed for orders on the market, and charged the army more than the going market price⁶⁸⁹.

All of the wool in Sliven, a total of 20,513 kilograms, was used to manufacture *aba* and other woolen fabrics. In late 1850s, the amount of wool used only by the empire's factory was alone 80,000 kilograms⁶⁹⁰. This was equivalent to one quarter of the total wool quantity obtained from all the Sliven sub-province. In consumption of wool, the share of the weaving benches of the city, amounting to 2000 was no doubt large⁶⁹¹.

Another kind of fabric produced in Sliven was *kebe*. The *kebe* industry consumed 60,000 kilograms of the wool quantity obtained from Sliven⁶⁹². *Kebe* manufactured from goat hair was a commercial article of value and found purchasers at 600-700 franks⁶⁹³. Other cities standing out in *kebe* production apart from Sliven were Yambolu, Ruse and Silistra⁶⁹⁴.

The making of *kaytan* or braid for decorating costumes was another important and typically Bulgarian branch of the textile industry. These braids made of wool or cotton to decorate the clothing of villagers was generally manufactured in households. However, in many cities there were premises engaged in this kind of manufacture. The introduction of the toothed iron wheel in the second quarter of the 19th century, transformed braid making into one of the most important branches of the textile industry in Bulgaria and into a powerful lever for the economic upsurge of many cities⁶⁹⁵. Sliven, Kazanluk, Gabrovo, Karlovo, Kalofer, Pirdop, Samokov, Kiustendil and Plovdiv were the main manufacturer towns of *kaytan*⁶⁹⁶. The city of

⁶⁸⁸ Palairt, pp.79-80.

⁶⁸⁹ Palairt, p.80.

⁶⁹⁰ Poyet, "Islimnia", p.25.

⁶⁹¹ Poyet, "Islimnia", p.24.

⁶⁹² Poyet, "Islimnia", p.25.

⁶⁹³ Poyet, "Islimnia", p.25.

⁶⁹⁴ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.102

⁶⁹⁵ Nikolai Todorov, "The city in the Bulgarian Lands from the Fifteenth to Nineteenth Century", in *Bulgaria: Past and Present*, Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Bulgarian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, May 3-5, 1973. Thomas Butler (ed.), Columbus, Ohio, 1976, p.25.

⁶⁹⁶ Macdermott, p.73.

Sofia had become an expert centre in making colored *kaytan* of cotton⁶⁹⁷. All along the 19th century, the manufacture of *kaytan* showed a remarkable development to the disadvantage of the other branches of textile manufacture. About 1870, by value, sales of *kaytan* equaled 84 per cent of sales of woolen cloth, and by weight exceeded them⁶⁹⁸.

Manufacture of carpets and rugs was one of the important works. Carpet benches operated manually on a horizontally installed warp was widespread in some Bulgarian cities⁶⁹⁹. Boué gave the following information on carpets, workers and workmanship:

In this type of manufacture, the worker could always see what he/she was doing. Although they did not know how to draw pictures, they could produce rugs with composite patterns. Although it was possible to detect a few small flaws of symmetry when these quality rugs with lively colors were scrutinized close at hand, these did not fail the overall effect. Particularly, rugs on which red, violet and green were used were very beautiful. Workers of rug manufacture were generally young girls. They would work under the porches or in the corridors, kneeling. They would earn only 5 franks monthly. Their wages were even lower before.⁷⁰⁰

Rug manufacture was the most important livelihood in Pirot, famous for its rugs. Berkovitsa rugs with their sound construction could find great sale in major cities of the European Turkey, although they were of lesser quality compared to Pirot rugs⁷⁰¹. Another Bulgarian city famous for rug manufacture was Chiprovets⁷⁰². Other cities mentioned in rug manufacture were Karlovo, Kalofer, Kotel, Stara Zagora and Sliven. In Sliven, red rugs of *döşeme* type made in Uşak were also manufactured⁷⁰³.

The textile industry was not restricted to woolen fabric production. There were also fabrics made of cotton, silk, linen and hemp. Linen and hemp were mostly woven by most families for personal use. Plovdiv, Svishtov, Sopot and Turnovo were among the cities mentioned in manufacture of cotton fabrics⁷⁰⁴. In Sopot, Karlovo and Pirdop, cotton towels and a type of cotton fabric called calico was being

⁶⁹⁷ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.105.

⁶⁹⁸ Palairat, p.73.

⁶⁹⁹ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.102.

⁷⁰⁰ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.102.

⁷⁰¹ Aubaret, p.173.

⁷⁰² Lejean, "Exploration" p.372.

⁷⁰³ Poyet, "Islimnia", p.26.

⁷⁰⁴ Perrot, p.24, 31; Macdermott, p.73.

manufactured. Weaving of silk fabrics was important in Turnovo, Gabrovo, Provadiya, Shumen, Dryanovo, Stara Zagora, Kharmanli, Kiustendil, Samokov and Plovdiv. In Stara Zagora, there was a silk yarn fabric installed by a Frenchman⁷⁰⁵. According to the information given by Aubaret, Kiustendil supplied shirts and very precious light fabrics of silk, famous for their elegance⁷⁰⁶. Woolen and silk fabrics of Samokov too had deserved the fame attributed to them. Aubaret stated that if Samokov could find a market for the quality articles it produced; its fame would expand more⁷⁰⁷. In cities such as Salonika, Seres, Melnik, Plovdiv, Adrianople, cotton and silk, printed cotton, calico, muslin and organdy fabrics were manufactured. These fabrics, dyed with single color, striped or mixed patterns did not fit the European taste⁷⁰⁸. In Seres and Plovdiv, blue or orange handkerchiefs made of gauze fabric with golden or silver printed patterns were mostly manufactured by Greeks or the Bulgarians⁷⁰⁹.

Dyeing was also one of the branches of the textile industry. Dyeing in the European Turkey was in general a vocation mostly took up by Christians and by Greeks among them. Dyers were competent in giving vivid and permanent colors to cotton, wool, silk and other types of fabric⁷¹⁰. In Bulgaria, Turnovo was a city that stood out in this subject with its dyeing workshops for cotton and silk yarns. According to Boué, red, yellow, violet and dark green dyes were the most beautiful ones⁷¹¹.

Tailoring developed in close connection with the making of *aba* and *şayak* in the textile towns and was especially well developed in towns where troops were stationed⁷¹². For example, in the city of Samokov, where there was two Ottoman corps, tailoring had much more rapidly developed⁷¹³. Boué also mentioned that in a Bulgarian village called Başköy between Sliven and Karnobat and in Sliven, clothing

⁷⁰⁵ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.178.

⁷⁰⁶ Aubaret, p.178.

⁷⁰⁷ Aubaret, p.179.

⁷⁰⁸ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.103.

⁷⁰⁹ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.103.

⁷¹⁰ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.299.

⁷¹¹ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.103.

⁷¹² Macdermott, p.73.

⁷¹³ Yorulmaz, pp.59-60; from Ivan Sakazov, *Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Walter de Gruyter Co., Berlin und Leipzig, 1929, p.232.

in Turkish style was produced in high quantities⁷¹⁴. Tailoring was a valid profession conducted by Turks, Bulgarians and other nationalities. Bulgarian tailors not only produced locally but traveled from one city to another and even to Anatolia to conduct their profession. These merchant tailors were to be found at work especially at Plovdiv and Adrianople, in the Greek islands and in the larger towns of Anatolia⁷¹⁵.

Another branch of textiles was making articles such as horse blankets, belts and sacks from goat hair. This trade flourished in towns and villages on both sides of the Stara Planina⁷¹⁶. Perrot pointed out that the horse blankets produced in Yambolu were famous throughout the whole Empire⁷¹⁷.

Tanning was largely in the hands of the Turks for whom cavalry was of the utmost importance⁷¹⁸. The main centers of tanning were Gabrovo, Turnovo, Lovech, Stara Zagora, Kazanlik, Tatar Pazardjik, Karlovo, Etropol, Samokov, Sofia, Shumen, Omurtag, Karnobat, Haskovo and Chirpan. Leather industry had developed in connection with animal husbandry. The leather products had significant commercial value, finding sale both within the Ottoman Empire and abroad. Particularly, leather made of goat skin was popular abroad. White, red and yellow leather, made from goat skin and called *kordovan* and *sahtiyan* were exported in high volumes⁷¹⁹. This tanned goat skin, known as *sahtiyan* in Turkish, is morocco leather using a better known name. Karnobat was a city famous for its morocco leather products⁷²⁰. Morocco leather products manufactured in Lovech were sold to Adrianople, Bitolia and Plovdiv, and those manufactured in Omurtag were sold to Smyrna and Wallachia⁷²¹. Together with tanning, other allied trades such as saddlery, fur dressing, shoe making, the making of pack-saddles and slipper making developed⁷²². An important proportion of the shoes made of animal skin in Gabrovo were

⁷¹⁴ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.111; Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.95.

⁷¹⁵ Palairé, p.74; from Iv. G. Govedarov, *Koprivshitsa v sv'rzka s 'duhovnoto ni i politichesko v'zrazhdane* (Sofia, 1919), pp.68-69.

⁷¹⁶ Macdermott, p.73.

⁷¹⁷ Perrot, p.17.

⁷¹⁸ Macdermott, p.74.

⁷¹⁹ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.104.

⁷²⁰ Perrot, p.11.

⁷²¹ Aubaret, p.165, 167.

⁷²² Macdermott, p.74.

purchased by the army⁷²³. Again in Gabrovo, morocco leather and silk decorated harnesses that had certain popularity in the markets around Roumelia⁷²⁴. In Sofia, Turkish style harnesses and morocco leather production was an important activity field. Morocco leather produced was exported out till Vienna⁷²⁵. Vidin was known with its production of Turkish style saddles and harnesses and fur⁷²⁶.

Another important industry in Bulgaria was production of rose attar extracted from the roses raised around Kazanlik and Stara Zagora. Rose attar obtained from the press-houses in villages would be taken to Kazanlik and the surrounding cities to be further purified by a second distillation⁷²⁷. As disclosed earlier, this luxury consumable used in perfume making was an important source of revenue due to its commercial value.

A further branch of industry in Bulgaria was mining and metal works. Bulgaria was rich in metal ores, especially iron. Besides iron, gold, silver and copper were also mined⁷²⁸. The chief mining areas were in Kratovo, Kriva Palanka, Kiustendil, Dupnitsa, Samokov and Chiprovets. The top ranking city in mining was no doubt Samokov. Good quality and abundant iron was obtained from the mountains neighboring Samokov. In Samokov there were many foundries for melting this metal⁷²⁹. In these foundries especially cannon balls were cast and in addition iron bars were made⁷³⁰. As noted by Perrot, among the larger articles made there were ship anchors sent to Constantinople⁷³¹. The Porte adopted policies that supported this industry in Samokov. For example, in 1837, the pasha of Sofia had a British style refining furnace with a high flue be constructed and had sent a few young men to Britain to have education on metallurgy⁷³².

The city of Samokov also met the iron necessities of the metal works developed in Gabrovo and Sliven in the 1830s. But despite the ban on iron

⁷²³ Lampe and Jackson, p.141.

⁷²⁴ Aubaret, p.166.

⁷²⁵ Aubaret, p.176.

⁷²⁶ Aubaret, p.169.

⁷²⁷ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.21.

⁷²⁸ Macdermott, p.74.

⁷²⁹ Perrot, pp.49-50.

⁷³⁰ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.63.

⁷³¹ Perrot, pp.49-50.

⁷³² Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.63.

exportation and increase in production, the premises in Samokov proved to be inadequate to meet the iron demand⁷³³. In 1876, Aubaret emphasized that even if it was claimed that the iron ore mines in Samokov were well exploited, the production realized was below the expectations since methods used did not comply with industrial necessities⁷³⁴. A similar situation also proved to be valid for the mine exploitations of Kriva Palanka and Kratovo. Iron was also mined in the neighborhood of the town Kriva. Boué pointed out that the cast iron obtained in this town was not of good quality because of the technical insufficiency of the furnaces installed⁷³⁵. Near Kratovo lead argentiferous ore was mined. There was a foundry in Kratovo for casting this metal but Boué maintained that high cost methods were used in this facility⁷³⁶. The underdeveloped state of the technology in mining sector and the consequent high costs caused the Bulgarian mine exploitations to fail in adapting to the conditions of competition with Europe. Thus, production of iron obtained from the rich iron ore mines, which the French travelers thought were not well operated, declined starting with the middle of the 19th century due to cheap iron imported from Britain in great quantities⁷³⁷.

Mining, on the other hand, established the basis for a range of crafts. Smithery, coppersmithery, blacksmithery, manufacture of ironware, jewellery, cutlery, armourery, etc., were the main crafts developed in connection with mining. Smithery was largely in the hands of the Ottoman Turks and the Gypsies, and some of the main centers of production for nails and horseshoes were Gabrovo, Sliven, Tatar Pazardjik and Plovdiv⁷³⁸. Gabrovo and Sliven were centers for the making of guns, bullets and iron implements of all kinds for use in agriculture, handicrafts and the home⁷³⁹. As noted by Poyet, very valuable arms, finding sales up to 300 francs were manufactured in Sliven and these were sold to Persia, Kurdistan, Caucasia and

⁷³³ Macdermott, p.74.

⁷³⁴ Aubaret, p.180.

⁷³⁵ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.63.

⁷³⁶ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.59.

⁷³⁷ Nikolai Todorov, "La Révolution Industrielle en Europe occidentale et les provinces balkaniques de l'Empire Ottoman: le cas Bulgare", in *La Révolution Industrielle dans le sud-est européen, XIX siècle, Rapports présentés au Colloque International de la Commission de l'AIESSE sur l'histoire sociale et économique*, Hambourg 23-26 mars 1976. Sofia: Institut d'Etudes balkaniques, 1976, p.151.

⁷³⁸ Macdermott, p.75.

⁷³⁹ Macdermott, p.72.

all over Anatolia⁷⁴⁰. In addition, hand made decorations on metal, metal carving, various jewellery of gold and silver, etc. were made⁷⁴¹. Guns were made in Kiustendil and Kriva Palanka⁷⁴². Vidin caught the attention especially by gold and silver jewellery woven of gold or silver threads⁷⁴³. As Boué puts it, coppersmithery was also an artisanship which engaged a considerable number of people since every family needed at least a cauldron and a few copper tools⁷⁴⁴. Concerning this craft, in which mostly Muslims dealt with, Shumen, had become famous for the unequaled copper articles made there⁷⁴⁵. Coppersmithery was also developed in Kazanlik and Karlovo because of the use of copper vessels in the preparation there of attar of roses⁷⁴⁶. Cutlery was a branch of crafts conducted primarily in Gabrovo and in Plovdiv, Asenovgrad, Karlovo, Kazanlik and Sliven⁷⁴⁷.

Bulgaria had also coal fields of considerable richness. However, this wealth could not duly be used. In the neighborhood of Dryanovo to the north of the Balkan Mountains, in Pleven, Belogradchik and Travna, there were coal fields⁷⁴⁸. However, only the fields in Belogradchik and Travna were exploited, and only to a limited extent. According to Aubaret, as the Porte delayed to exploit the rich coal fields in Dryanovo, it rendered itself dependent on the very expensive English coal brought via the Sulina port on the Black Sea⁷⁴⁹.

Since wood was generally used as construction material, the number of stone quarries was not high. In the two quarries that Boué met to the north and south of the city of Shumen, a total of 230 workers were employed and both quarries were successfully being operated⁷⁵⁰. On the other hand, in many places in Bulgaria, there were lime stone quarries, from which lime was obtained to be used mostly in construction and some industries such as tanning. Lime was even being traded.

⁷⁴⁰ Poyet, "Islimnia", p.26.

⁷⁴¹ Poyet, "Islimnia", p.26.

⁷⁴² Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.93.

⁷⁴³ Aubaret, pp.168-169.

⁷⁴⁴ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.92.

⁷⁴⁵ Perrot, p.8; Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, p.92.

⁷⁴⁶ Macdermott, p.75.

⁷⁴⁷ Yorulmaz, p.68.

⁷⁴⁸ Aubaret, pp.161-162, 163, 165, 174.

⁷⁴⁹ Aubaret, pp.161-162.

⁷⁵⁰ Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, pp.56-57.

Cousin ry mentions a Bulgarian village in south Macedonia where Bulgarians transported on mules the lime they obtained to Anatolia to make their living⁷⁵¹. It was possible to see marble quarries as well as limestone and stone quarries. Besides these, in Tatar Pazardjik and Spatovo near Blagoevgrad, saltpeter used in gun powder production was produced. The saltpeter produced in Tatar Pazardjik was sent to the powder factories in Constantinople⁷⁵².

Although during the 19th century the crafts-dependent manufacturing industry in Bulgaria saw the main development in the textile sector, there was a revival in almost all branches of the industry. It appears as if this revival went unnoticed by the French travelers. Although the French travelers reported information on the manufacturing industries in cities, crafts and the richness of metals in various regions of Bulgaria, they have not spoken of an enlivening economic activity in Bulgaria. On the contrary, they have emphasized that the manufacturing industry was declining and mines were not well exploited. Although the opinions of the French travelers that production was in a great extent realized as a self-contained household economy and that the manufacturing industry was not at a level to compete with European goods was partly true, this is far from reflecting the status of the industry in Bulgaria. To sum up, factors especially such as restoring order following 1830, shift of Bulgarians migrating to small towns and cities to non-agricultural activities due to shortage of land, and the tendency of the new army established by the Porte to meet almost all its supplies from Bulgaria have caused the revival of the population engaged in crafts and the manufacturing industry. The most important developments were observed in woolen fabric industry. Although production was largely dependent on small scale workshops and household manufacture, there have been also entrepreneurs who introduced modern machines into the manufacturing processes and who opened factories. These developments in the manufacturing industry have also accelerated socio-economic and political transformations; the Bulgarian population in the cities of Bulgaria has increased, particularly the mountainous cities have started building a national identity through investments of guilds and significant distance was covered in building a Bulgarian national identity in the way leading to independence in 1878.

⁷⁵¹ Cousin ry, Vol.I, pp.111-112.

⁷⁵² Perrot, p.32; Bou , *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.219.

5.3. Trade

The developments observed in Bulgaria starting with the 1830s, were in fact a consequence of the developments in trade. There were many causes for the revitalization of trade in Bulgaria. The primary cause was, as mentioned above, the restoration of order by the central authority in the 1830s, although not complete. Banditry had not been erased. Because of this, security of roads, which is one of the most important requirements of trade, could not completely be established. However, the period in which cities were raided and burnt such as in the Kurdjali disorders was over. Following 1830, the Bulgarian lands under Ottoman rule did not witness great wars until Ottoman Russian War of 1877-1878, other than the Crimean War. Thus, there were no migrations as big as those in the period before 1830. In short, following 1830, conditions much more convenient for stable production and trade when compared with the previous period had been established. Decrease of customs tax by the Porte and abandoning the monopoly on wheat, a most important food material played important role in increase of the trade volume.

Another important factor reviving trade in Bulgaria was the opening of the river Danube and the Black Sea to trade ships of the European States, in connection with the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The Black Sea was opened first to Russian trade ships in 1774. This was followed by Austria in 1784, Britain in 1799, France in 1802 and Prussia in 1806⁷⁵³. The Black Sea water, the neutrality of which was provided with the 1856 Paris Treaty, was opened to free trade of all European States. The Danube had been opened to trade in the 18th century, first for Austria then for Russia. Opening the river to free trade completely was realized again by the 1856 Paris Treaty⁷⁵⁴. At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, the possibility that the Black Sea and the Danube could be put under Russian rule had become a great concern for the other European States. Robert disclosed this

⁷⁵³ Reşat Kasaba, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Dünya Ekonomisi*, 1st ed., tr. Kudret Emiroğlu, Belge, 1993, p.33; from Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant", *Journal of Economic History*, XX, 2 (June), 1960, p.288.

⁷⁵⁴ For a study which comprehends the opening process of Danube to the international free trade, See, Richard Charles Frucht, "War, Peace, and Internationality: The Danube, 1789-1916", in *Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies from the Mid-Eighteenth Century to 1914*, eds. Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, Constantinos D. Svolopoulos, Belá K. Király, Atlantic Research and Publications, New Jersey, 1988, pp.79-97; The opening of Danube to international trade had become longstanding dispute among European states and the legal statute of Danube was an important controversial subject of the conferences and congresses held in the 19 century. See, Edouard Engelhardt, *Histoire du Droit Fluvial Conventionnel*, L. Larose et Forcel, Paris, 1889, pp.63-96.

concern openly, emphasizing that in addition to the Mediterranean, the Danube and the Black Sea were the most fundamental tools of the West to establish power on Asia and that a state which can control these two trade routes by itself (meaning Russia) could rule half of the Europe⁷⁵⁵.

In the 19th century, as significant quantities of raw materials and food were being transferred to European markets from Bulgaria via the Black Sea and the Danube ports, the manufactured goods from Europe found their place in Bulgarian markets. The ports on the Aegean Sea also played an important role in transportation of Bulgarian products to European markets. The French travelers report pretty much information as to the dimensions of trade conducted through all these ports. The sources of such information were generally embassy officers in cities of port or important trade cities.

As mentioned earlier, as a result of the increase in wheat demand of the European States, especially beginning with the 1840s, a great leap had been seen in the ports of the Black Sea. At that time, Varna was the most important port of the Ottoman Empire on the Black Sea. Because the Danube was covered with ice in the cold winter months, Varna was the only port and warehouse of the goods going to or coming from the Ruse sub-province⁷⁵⁶. That there were embassies of major European states in Varna justified the importance of this city of port⁷⁵⁷. Between 1848 and 1851, trade realized via the Varna port had reached a trade volume of 23,000,000 francs, 15,000,000 francs of this being exportation and 8,000,000 francs being importation. In the same period, the number of ships entering the port of Varna had been 480⁷⁵⁸. Taking into account these figures, between 1848 and 1851 the port of Varna was in the 5th rank among all the ports of the Empire in trade volume⁷⁵⁹. After the Crimean War, this trade volume had further increased. Between 1857 and 1859, total trade via Varna port had leaped to 44,000,000 francs, 21,000,000 francs of this

⁷⁵⁵ Robert, "Les Bulgares", pp.879-880.

⁷⁵⁶ Virginia Paskaleva, "Les Relations Commerciales Des Contrées Bulgares Avec Les Pays Occidentaux Et La Russie Au Cours De La Première Moitié Du XIX^e s.", *Etudes Historiques*, Sofia, 1960, p.272.

⁷⁵⁷ The French Consulate in Varna was set up in 1843. Damianov S., "Commerce", p.20. There are Russia, Austria, England, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland among those who were represented at the level of consular. See, Galabert, pp.159-161.

⁷⁵⁸ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.326.

⁷⁵⁹ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.326.

being importation and 23,000,000 francs being exportation⁷⁶⁰. The importance of Varna became even greater with the railway connecting the city to Ruse opened to operation in 1866 to add value to the agricultural potential of the region and to increase trade between Constantinople and Europe⁷⁶¹. In addition, Varna undertook an important role in supplying Constantinople, together with Ruse. Among the food and various products sent to Constantinople from Ruse and Varna were wheat, poultry, eggs, cheese, honey, wax, timber, etc. Especially, a high quantity of eggs and poultry animals was sent from Varna to Constantinople⁷⁶².

As mentioned in the Agriculture Section, the ports of the Black Sea other than Varna rapidly began to gain importance in the 1840s. “Indifferent villages have gradually turned into commercial ports of great importance; in the shipping bulletins there began to appear in succession, along with Varna, the hitherto unknown names of Burgas, Balchik, Mesemvria and Anhiolo” wrote the French economist Hommaire de Hell, in 1845, surprised by the rapid progress of exports and the busy life in all Black Sea ports⁷⁶³. In the 1860a, among these ports, especially the Burgas port became the most fundamental port of the Black Sea with its convenient position and rich hinterland, surpassing the Varna port⁷⁶⁴. In 1859 Poyet was surprised that the French ships were directed towards the Varna without stopping in the port of Burgas, which gathering products from rich production regions such as Sliven, Stara Zagora and Yambolu became an increasingly important market⁷⁶⁵. Sulina port was also one of the ports where ships mostly stopped by in the Black Sea. According to the 1861 data, 2859 ships entered the Sulina port and 2883 left⁷⁶⁶. Being the only port which gave access to the Danube from the Black Sea rendered Sulina important both in

⁷⁶⁰ Nichoas V. Michoff, *Contribution A L'Histoire Du Commerce De La Turquie Et De La Bulgarie*, Vol.VI, L'Académie Bulgare de Sciences, Sofia, 1970, p.373; from B. C. Collas, *La Turquie en 1861*, Imp. Ch. Jouaust, Paris, 1861, p.208.

⁷⁶¹ Engin, p.40-41.

⁷⁶² Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Vol.III, pp.139-140.

⁷⁶³ Michoff, *Contribution*, p.306; from X. Hommaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse exécuté par ordre du gouvernement français pendant les années 1846, 1847, 1848*, 4 vol., P.Bertrand, Paris, 1854-1860, p.182.

⁷⁶⁴ Damianov S., “Commerce”, p.24.

⁷⁶⁵ Poyet, “Islimnia”, p.43.

⁷⁶⁶ Allard, p.274.

politics and in trade⁷⁶⁷. On the other hand, Kustendji, after being connected to Czernavoda by railway, had gained importance as a city of port, where shipping companies navigating in the Black Sea regularly stopped⁷⁶⁸. The goods loaded aboard the ships in the ports of the Black Sea were mostly products of Northern Bulgaria. A major proportion of the exportation goods consisted of food and raw materials, such as cereals, cattle, tallow, wool, silk, morocco leather, charcoal, timber. These products were transported to important European ports, Constantinople being at the top.

The ports transporting the products of Bulgaria to European markets were not limited with those on the Black Sea. Long before the ports on the Black Sea gained importance, the European ships conducted trade via the ports on the Mediterranean. Salonika was the first ranking of such ports. Between 1848 and 1851, trade from the port of Salonika had reached a trade volume of 14,607,900 francs, 8,973,800 of this being importation and 5,634,100 francs being exportation and the number of big tonnage ships entering the port were 1097⁷⁶⁹. In this period, Salonika was in the 6th rank among all ports of the Empire with respect to trade volume⁷⁷⁰. The principal products of export were silk, tease, the common woolen cloth, cereals, sesame, tobacco etc.

The port of Kavala was closely linked with that of Salonika. If the important commercial centers of Seres and Bitolia gravitated toward Salonika, a large part of Aegean Thrace was closely connected with Kavala⁷⁷¹. Between 1851 and 1852, the Kavala port, into which 230 ships of big tonnage entered, had a trade volume of 3,578,900 francs, 658,900 francs being importation, 2,919,000 francs being exportation⁷⁷². Almost all the exported goods consisted of cereals and tobacco. Most of the ships entering the Kavala port were the Ottoman ships. An important part of

⁷⁶⁷ Michoff, *Contribution*, p.297; from A. Ubcini, *Lettres Sur La Turquie*, 2 vol., 2nd ed., J. Dumaine, Paris, 1853-1854, p.423.

⁷⁶⁸ Aubaret, p.149.

⁷⁶⁹ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.326.

⁷⁷⁰ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.341.

⁷⁷¹ Damianov S., "Commerce", p.22.

⁷⁷² Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.326.

the products produced in the region, primarily tobacco, were directed to Ottoman markets⁷⁷³.

Enos situated at the mouth of the river Maritsa had a certain importance since it was the main outlet of Adrianople to the Aegean Sea, although had lost much of its former importance because of accumulation of sand in the harbor at the mouth of the river and malaria which made the residents suffer⁷⁷⁴. In 1847, the amount of cereals transported to Enos via Maritsa was 525,000 hectoliters⁷⁷⁵. The cereals reaching Enos came from regions such as Plovdiv, Haskovo, Chirpan and Stara Zagora⁷⁷⁶. On the other hand, since almost all sales contracts of the cereals exported from Enos were made in bigger cities like Adrianople and Plovdiv, it was not possible to call Enos an important trade city⁷⁷⁷. Among the other products exported from Enos were tobacco, leech; wool, silk, skin from buffaloes and cows, various kinds of cheese sent to Constantinople, etc.

Although Seres was not a city of port, it was not very far from the sea either. It was connected to the Aegean Sea through the port of *Çayağzı*, which was at the mouth of the Struma River. When the mean of the years 1845, 1847 and 1848 were taken, annual trade from this port had a volume of a total of 5,971,300 francs, 2,631,000 francs of this being exportation and 3,339,700 francs being importation⁷⁷⁸. This exportation consisted in general of agricultural produce such as cereals, cotton and silk.

Besides these ports on the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea, the river Danube had also made its contribution in the commercial revival of the Bulgaria starting with the second half of the 1830s. The Danube had especially a great role in the developing trade of Bulgaria with Central Europe. The Danube was the real “trade route,” and its adjoining areas down to the river’s estuary were the “natural” outlet for the manufactured goods of Central Europe, as well as a region from which raw

⁷⁷³ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.339.

⁷⁷⁴ Perrot, p.5; Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.334.

⁷⁷⁵ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.334.

⁷⁷⁶ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.334.

⁷⁷⁷ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.334.

⁷⁷⁸ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.326.

materials could be received⁷⁷⁹. With the extension of steamship navigation, especially after the removal of some natural obstacles at the Iron Gates, the small riverside settlements became centers of a brisk trade with the hinterland and even with more distant areas, which until then, had remained outside active trade⁷⁸⁰. The most important cities of trade of Bulgaria on the Danube were, downstream respectively, Vidin, Nikopol, Svishtov, Ruse and Silistra. Beginning with the 1840s, the steam ships of Austrian companies would stop in these ports regularly to conduct significant trade transactions.

Importation conducted through the ships of this company in Vidin in 1873 reached 18,551,071 francs⁷⁸¹. Imported goods unloaded in Vidin were also transported to inland cities. As imported goods were sent to markets in Nish, Sofia, Vratsa, Lovech and Pleven via Vidin, agricultural produce were collected from these cities to be exported again from Vidin⁷⁸². The same year an exportation of 8,096,250 francs was realized in Vidin⁷⁸³. A significant proportion of the exported goods consisted of food and raw materials, such as cereals, animal skin, wool and suet.

Nikopol, another city of port, was one of the top ranking Danube ports in cereal exportation. The exportation in Nikopol, comprising cereals, wool, skin and other products, reach 5,535,987 francs 1873, but its importation remained only at 232,100 francs⁷⁸⁴.

Svishtov was another port with a brisk trade. This city was one of the main stops of the ships navigating on the Danube. The exportation products of Svishtov, which reached 5,394,725 francs in 1873, consisted mainly of cereals, wool, skin and some silk⁷⁸⁵. On the other hand, importation in the same year was 4,223,375 francs⁷⁸⁶.

⁷⁷⁹ Virginia Paskaleva, "Shipping and Trade on the Lower Danube in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in *Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies from the Mid-Eighteenth Century to 1914*, eds. Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, Constantinos D. Svolopoulos, Belá K. Király, Atlantic Research and Publications, New Jersey, 1988, p.135.

⁷⁸⁰ Paskaleva, "Shipping", p.139.

⁷⁸¹ Aubaret, p.169.

⁷⁸² Paskaleva "Shipping", p.142.

⁷⁸³ Aubaret, p.169.

⁷⁸⁴ Aubaret, p.162.

⁷⁸⁵ Aubaret, p.161.

⁷⁸⁶ Aubaret, p.161.

Ruse was one of the most important cities of port on the Danube due to its position. It was situated halfway between the Iron Gates and the river's estuary and was also connected with Varna via Shumen and with Kazanlik via Turnovo through the Balkan range, and from Kazanlik to southern Bulgaria⁷⁸⁷. According to the information reported by Aubaret, exportation from the Ruse port in 1873 amounted to 1,120,000 franks⁷⁸⁸. The exported goods included cereals, fleece and skins, wool, cotton fabrics, wax and soaps and furniture. The last four articles were transited from Ruse to Wallachia or other ports on the Danube⁷⁸⁹. The same year, importation through the port of Ruse was 1,825,000 franks⁷⁹⁰.

The city of Silistra was an important warehouse for various goods coming from Germany and especially Vienna⁷⁹¹. In 1873, exportation realized in the port of Silistra was 1,304,415 franks, while importation the same year remained at 939,350 franks⁷⁹². Goods exported from the Silistra port were articles such as cereals, fish, fruit, butter, poultry, and animal fleece.

Toultcha, positioned at the intersection of two rivers that made the Danube delta, was one of the important cities of port on the Danube. French, Austrian, Ottoman, Russian and British shipping companies came into this port regularly during the summer months⁷⁹³. On the other hand, cities of port of lesser importance on the Danube such as Lom, Oryakhovo and Tutrakan had started gaining importance starting with the 1840s, in relation to cereal exportation as steam ship transportation enlivened trade.

The states having the largest share in importation to Bulgaria were Austria, other Germanic countries, Russia, Britain and France. Austria and Russia were advantageous to dominate in the Bulgarian markets due to their geographical closeness. These two states had the opportunity to trade with Bulgaria also by road

⁷⁸⁷ Paskaleva, "Shipping", p.140.

⁷⁸⁸ Aubaret, p.155.

⁷⁸⁹ Aubaret, p.155.

⁷⁹⁰ Aubaret, p.155. The data given by Aubaret regarding this port are disputable. It is not realistic that Ruse which was one of the most important seabord cities on Danube has less trade volmue than other cities which are not as important as Ruse. It may have been that the data given by Aubaret was based on Austrian florin which was twenty time more valuable than frank.

⁷⁹¹ Perrot, p.14.

⁷⁹² Aubaret, p.159.

⁷⁹³ Aubaret, p.150.

transportation in addition to via the sea and the river. Britain and France, which had important places in world trade competed with the other two states in Bulgarian markets largely by sea and river transportation.

Trade between Austria and Bulgarian lands had started developing with the retreat of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans. As early as the 18th century Austria and other Germanic countries had established a considerable commercial dominance in the Balkans. This trade was realized both by road and sea. In the 18th century trade was realized generally by road. Articles of high commercial value such as cotton, tobacco were transported to distant markets such as Leipzig, Dresden and Vienna by caravans on horseback⁷⁹⁴. In the 19th century the road trade started losing its importance and was replaced by sea and river trade which was cheaper, safer and quicker. In this way Austria towards the middle of the 19th century advanced further the commercial relationships it had established in the 18th century with all the Balkans. Austrian trade ships established a commercial dominance especially on the Danube, starting with the 1840s. The most important trade centers where Austrian products spread in Bulgarian markets were primarily Ruse, cities such as Vidin and Svishtov. On the other hand, Austrian sea trade established influence in ports of Black Sea and Aegean Sea through the port of Trieste, which had become the trade centre of not only Austria but also all Central Europe. There was no market left in Bulgaria that the Austrian products, entering from the Danube, Black Sea and Aegean Sea, were not introduced. Between 1848 and 1851, one thirds of the total trade volume in the port of Salonika was realized by Austria⁷⁹⁵. The dominance Austria established in the Bulgarian markets was noticed by French and British travelers also. The British traveler Edmund Spencer, who toured the whole of the European Turkey in 1850, blamed the situation on the British diplomats as he mentioned the dominance of Austria:

It appears to an English traveler altogether inexplicable, that notwithstanding we maintain a little army of consuls and vice-consuls in European Turkey, our trade with these provinces is rapidly passing into the hands of the Austrians. It is true these gentlemen are better paid than the officials of any other country and holding as they do a high rank among the inhabitants, they may think it degrading to trouble themselves about such vulgar subjects as the sale of cottons and Sheffield wares. To be convinced of this, we have only to wander through the bazaars and other places where merchandize is exposed for sale, and we shall find the balance of English manufactured goods sadly against us⁷⁹⁶.

⁷⁹⁴ Crampton, *Concise*, pp.55-56.

⁷⁹⁵ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.342.

⁷⁹⁶ Edmund Spencer, *Travels in European Turkey, in 1850*, Vol.II, Colburn and Co.,London, 1851, p.154.

The French traveler Robert also stated that Austria exploited all the shores of the Danube for its own benefit and that the most used money in all the European Turkey was that of Austria⁷⁹⁷. Poyet, who toured Sliven in 1859, stated that a major proportion of the imported goods here were coming from Austria continuously⁷⁹⁸.

The dominance that Austria had established in the markets to the north of Bulgaria continued in 1873, as understood from the information given by Aubaret, the Ruse consul of France⁷⁹⁹. However, at the south of Bulgaria, England and France were in serious competition with Austria. Both states increased their activities in Bulgarian markets rapidly after the Crimean War. From Salonika, Kavala and Adrianople, French and British commodities penetrated chiefly into the regions to the south of the Balkan range. In the Plovdiv market, which was one of the most important trade centers to the south of Bulgaria, the Austrian commodities had obvious advantage. But in the 1870s, British and French goods ended the Austrian dominance in this market. France fully satisfied the Plovdiv market with sugar and coffee during the 1860s and 1870s⁸⁰⁰. As for Britain, in 1875, British commodities accounted for nearly 50 percent of the total import into Plovdiv⁸⁰¹. Adrianople remained the principal warehouse of French commerce in Thrace. From 1856 to 1876, as total trade of Adrianople with Europe reached 43 million francs, the share of France in this market was 23 million francs⁸⁰². No doubt that the consulates France opened in Plovdiv in 1857 and in Ruse in 1867 were advancements which showed that France did give importance to its commercial interests in Bulgarian markets.

Examining the balance sheet of the trade realized by these three states in Bulgarian markets, Britain and Austria together held about 70 per cent of the imports of industrial goods into the Bulgarian lands, and France, about 20 percent on the

⁷⁹⁷ Robert, "Etat Actuel", p.426

⁷⁹⁸ Poyet, "Islimnia", p.43.

⁷⁹⁹ See, Aubaret, **passim**.

⁸⁰⁰ Damianov S., "Commerce", p.23.

⁸⁰¹ Virginia Paskaleva, "From the History of Bulgarian Trade during the Third Quarter of the 19th Century", *Bulgarian Historical Review*, No. 1-2, 1981, p.107.

⁸⁰² Damianov S., "Commerce", p.24.

average, and very seldom 25 percent. About 40 percent of Bulgarian exports however were absorbed by France⁸⁰³.

Although the trade of Bulgaria with Russia, the economy of which had not been as developed as these three states, was not unimportant, it was at a lower level compared to the three states. However, through Bulgarian merchants who had taken residence in Russia, the trade between Russia and Bulgarian markets intensified. Russian trade ships were seen in the port of Salonika after 1840. on the Black Sea there was already an intense trade of goods between the ports of Odessa and Varna. Additionally, Russia opened consulates in Sliven, Adrianople and Varna in the middle of the 19th century to watch for its commercial and political interests in Bulgaria. The difference of Russia from the other European states in trade was that Russia exported to Bulgaria generally farm products instead of manufactured goods⁸⁰⁴.

Foreign goods unloaded at various ports of Bulgaria met the consumers inland generally through annual fairs. Fairs were the only places where foreign goods could be purchased in Bulgaria, except for the bazaars in cities. The best known fairs were those in Uzuncaova and Sliven. Apart from these fairs in Thrace, the fairs organized in Nevrokop, Pirot, Turgovishte, Karasu, Seres and Prilep were among the important ones⁸⁰⁵.

Blanqui has particularly made a very vivid description of the Uzuncaova fair. Blanqui, although the reason can not be seen at the first glance, maintains that the central location of Uzuncaova, a town with a population of 2000 near Haskovo, approximately at equal distances to the Black sea, Danube and Mediterranean, had a role in its choice as the location of fair⁸⁰⁶. Additionally, the fact that Uzuncaova is right in the middle of two important trade centers, Adrianople and Plovdiv, is no doubt an important factor. The fair area is just like a carnival, as Blanqui puts it:

Actors on stage out in open air, acrobats, fortune-tellers, tooth pullers, shepherds occupied a part of the fair area. Unlike the fairs in France, order was never disrupted in this fair participated by more than 50 thousand people although there were no security officers. During the fair, the Greeks, Bulgarians, Moldavians, Vlachs, Turks, Iranians, Austrians, Russians and Jews would come together in perfect harmony, with no other thought than to trade and to earn money⁸⁰⁷.

⁸⁰³ Damianov S., "Commerce", p.25.

⁸⁰⁴ Paskaleva, "Trade", p.117.

⁸⁰⁵ Michoff, *Contribution*, p.364; from X. Heuschling, *L'Empire de Turquie*, H. Tarlier, Bruxelles, 1860, pp.217-218.

⁸⁰⁶ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, pp.252-253.

⁸⁰⁷ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.253.

Until the end of the 1850s, the merchants of the states of Central Europe were dominant in fair trade. The French and the British had not yet realized the importance of fairs. Blanqui states that the consuls of various European powers were ready at the Uzuncaova fair to protect the interests of the merchants of their countries, but the absence of the French consul caught the attention⁸⁰⁸. The British traveler Spencer, who toured the Uzuncaova fair in 1850, wrote that he was met by the Austrian consul, he had met German, Italian and Swiss merchants and that because of the neglect of French and British consuls, the merchants they represent were not informed of this fair and the like⁸⁰⁹. As Heuschling puts it in his book published in 1860, it can be concluded that the French and the British had started being present in fairs frequently starting with late 1850s⁸¹⁰.

Blanqui was influenced by some goods he had seen in the Uzuncaova fair, and had listed various products having popularity:

The furs sold by a merchant from Wallachia were richer and more varied than those in the best fur shops in Paris and London. This merchant kept his commodities, of a value of 1,500,000 francs, in leather saddlebags. For none of the cashmere shawls, carpets of every length exhibited by Anatolian manufacturers, valuable stones sold by some twenty merchants were it difficult to find customer. Colonial foodstuff, drugs for dyeing, iron bars, rice, leather, (fine and coarse woven fabrics, cotton fabrics were among the most demanded products. Trade of glassware, porcelains, rifles, woolens and silks was also intense⁸¹¹.

The Uzuncaova fair, which started mid-September every year continued for a few weeks. In the fair area, two villages of tents and wooden barracks were installed, one for purchasers, the other for shops⁸¹². Thousands of carts which carried those coming to the fair would be placed just outside the fair area. There were domestic merchants that traveled 400-500 km. to participate in the fair. In fact, as they purchased products that they could not find anywhere else, they were fulfilling their yearly necessities⁸¹³. Domestic merchants supplied the foreign goods they obtained from Uzuncaova fair and other fairs to the market in cities and villages all the year

⁸⁰⁸ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, p.254.

⁸⁰⁹ Spencer, Vol.II, pp.346-348.

⁸¹⁰ Michoff, *Contribution*, p.363; from Heuschling, *L'Empire de Turquie*, p.216.

⁸¹¹ Blanqui, *Voyage en Bulgarie*, pp.254-255.

⁸¹² Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.548.

⁸¹³ Michoff, *Contribution*, p.363; from Heuschling, *L'Empire de Turquie*, p.216.

through⁸¹⁴. In addition, the fairs allowed the domestic producer to sell their products, animals, etc. directly, without intermediates⁸¹⁵.

According to 1857 data, in the Uzuncaova fair, the total value of the products in about 200 shops which sold only cotton fabrics neared 7 million francs⁸¹⁶. The importation figures of Poujade, covering Silistra and Vidin provinces in 1851 made clear the share of fairs in importation. According to the figures given, of the total foreign goods entering this province with value of 28,122,000 francs, an important part, i.e. 6,250,000 francs comprised imported goods coming to the Turgovishte and Karasu fairs⁸¹⁷.

It could be concluded from the narratives of the French travelers that the fairs attracted a great number of people. Viquesnel mentioned that despite the existence of a lot of inns in Nevrokop, these inns proved to be inadequate to accommodate the travelers and their horses flowing in at fair time and thus the residents turned their houses into inns or rented them to serve these travelers⁸¹⁸. Boué, who had been in Sliven during fair time, had to stay at a post since everywhere in the city was full⁸¹⁹.

Apart from the fairs, every large village had bazaars which were set up weekly or a few times a week. Most frequently the bazaar was set up at a central location among a number of small villages and the villagers would supply their weekly necessities from these periodic bazaars⁸²⁰.

In Bulgaria, there were some factors hindering healthy development of trade. One of the most important reasons was inadequacy and neglected state of roads, as mentioned in the section on trade. Perrot, in the foreword of his book on the roads of the European Turkey published in 1855, stated that the Ottoman Empire effected advances in recent years in various branches of administration and in public institutions, but that these advances had not yet been reflected on transportation roads and none of the European countries was it as difficult as in Turkey to transport

⁸¹⁴ Paskaleva, "Relations", p.256.

⁸¹⁵ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.287.

⁸¹⁶ Michoff, *Contribution*, p.363; from Heuschling, *L'Empire de Turquie*, p.217.

⁸¹⁷ Poujade, pp.258-259.

⁸¹⁸ Viquesnel, Vol.II, p.194.

⁸¹⁹ Boué, *Recueil*, Vol.I, p.101.

⁸²⁰ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.287.

passengers and goods⁸²¹. Dumont, who traveled Roumelia in late 1860s, wrote that the distance between Adrianople and Plovdiv could not be covered any quicker than in 1205⁸²².

During the 1860s the Ottoman authorities in the Bulgarian lands did take certain measures for the partial improvement and modernization of transport and communications. In this period, under Midhat Pasha's rule, care was taken of the construction of some roads in North Bulgaria⁸²³. However, regions such as Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia were not a part of these advancements. Goods were conveyed to the inland markets by ox carts, usually in caravans of 40 to 50 carts⁸²⁴. In mountainous lands, transportation was made with horses and mules. The caravans, although changeable depending on the state of the roads, could only cover a distance of about 30 miles a day⁸²⁵. Transport costs were higher than those in Central and Western Europe. The costly overland cart transport remained an important obstacle to the more intensive development of domestic trade and to the export of agricultural produce from the inland regions during the 19th century⁸²⁶.

Although there were many streams in Bulgaria apart from the Danube, these almost never were duly made use of in transportation⁸²⁷. The Maritsa River was used, although very limited. According to information given by Poyet, in the late 1850s, there was a steam ship which served weekly on Maritsa from Enos to Adrianople and extending this transportation to Plovdiv was being planned⁸²⁸. In later years, the Maritsa River, which became more convenient, was used better to transport goods. However, this was not regular and transportation cost was high⁸²⁹. Besides river transportation, construction of railways accelerated beginning with the late 1860s. However, when in 1878 a considerable part of Bulgaria became liberated of Ottoman

⁸²¹ Perrot, p.V.

⁸²² Dumont, "Roumélie III", p.544.

⁸²³ Paskaleva, "Trade", p.104.

⁸²⁴ Paskaleva, "Trade", p.104.

⁸²⁵ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.323.

⁸²⁶ Paskaleva, "Trade", p.104.

⁸²⁷ Viquesnel, Vol.I, p.323.

⁸²⁸ Poyet, "Eski-Zagra", p.150.

⁸²⁹ Paskaleva, "Trade", p.105.

rule, completed railways were limited. Furthermore, railway transportation costs were high.

Another factor which continued to impede the development of trade was the existence of a system of internal customs duties. These internal customs which affected adversely both internal and external trade and production as well, were abolished completely only in 1874⁸³⁰. The merchants of the European states, through trade agreements between the Porte and their countries, were exempted from paying these taxes for exportation goods transported from inland to ports. This affected especially the small and medium scaled domestic merchants adversely following 1840.

The instability of the Ottoman currency was another crucial cause hampering a secure trade. According to Ubicini's investigations from 1774 until the 1830s the contents and the form of the Ottoman coin changed 35 times as regards its value in gold, and 37 times as regards its value in silver⁸³¹. Continuous depreciation of money caused continuous variation in the prices of goods. Until Bulgaria's liberation, the rate of exchange of the Ottoman coins remained unstable and this mostly compelled the merchants to remain passive and to be cautious⁸³².

Although the French travelers state that trade was in general in the hands of Greeks, Jews and Armenians, a trade bourgeoisie had began emerging since the 18th century. Poujade noted that some Bulgarians living in cities had been importing foreign goods since long years and had rapidly got rich, supplying these to the market⁸³³. However, it was Turks who carried out the trade in cities in general. As revealed by a study by Todorov, in 1866 in the Danubean Province, 214 of a total of 347 shops belonged to Turks⁸³⁴. But after 1830, when production in agriculture and industry revived, merchants possessing capital among Bulgarians increased rapidly. At the middle of the century, the Bulgarian population living outside Bulgaria, in Austria, Bessarabia, Wallachia, Constantinople and various European cities was over half a million. Especially in cities such as Odessa, Bucharest and Constantinople an

⁸³⁰ Paskaleva, "Trade", p.103.

⁸³¹ Michoff, *Contribution*, p.284; from Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, p.313.

⁸³² Paskaleva, "Trade", pp.100-102.

⁸³³ Poujade, p.257.

⁸³⁴ Nikolai Todorov, "Urban Real Estate in the Danubean Vilayet According to the Census of 1866", in *Mémorial Ömer Lütfi Barkan*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'Etudes anatoliennes d'Istanbul 28. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adreien Maisonneuve, 1980, p.217.

important Bulgarian trade community formed, establishing intense trade relations with Bulgaria. Moreover, the Bulgarians who dealt with livestock trade to supply Constantinople became merchants possessing large capitals in a short time.

Although the French travelers mention a commercial enlivening in relation with agricultural production, they have not given information as to the conditions of commercial life in cities. They have not mentioned how trade was operated in the country, except for the fairs. They have in general stressed factors affecting trade adversely. They particularly emphasize issues such as lack of flow of goods due to inadequacy of means of transportation, and much more important, insufficiency of markets to meet the goods produced with the consumer, even in internal trade. On the other hand, the data presented by the French travelers on cities of port, despite some problems, reveal the commercial leap of Bulgaria after 1830.

CONCLUSION

At the final stages of Ottoman rule, Bulgarian lands had become one of the focal areas interest to the European states. As the battle field of Ottoman-Russian wars in the 19th century and holding the strategic key to Istanbul, Bulgaria was not just an important region for the Ottomans but also for the French and English who wanted to stop the Russian invasion. The increasing number of European consulates opened in Bulgaria, especially in the second part of the 19th century, displays the importance given to the region.

The political interest to Bulgaria, an open ground for competition of the European states, was an important reason for many European travelers there in this era. France with the need to balance the rising power of Russia and to solidify his situation in the Middle East has increased his political interest in Bulgaria after 1830. It is obvious that the interest of the French travelers to the region increases at the same time.

French travelers who saw the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire as certain have gone to explore the so far very little known European Turkey, Bulgaria and their peoples. They have collected data about the population and classified the population according to regions, ethnicity, and religion. According to the French travelers which were also backed by Ottoman sources, Bulgaria that is the region between Balkan Mountains and the Danube was the most populous region of the European Turkey. When an important part of Thrace and Macedonia is also included the population of this region is more than half of the European Turkey (Serbia and Moldo-Wallachia not included). It is understood from the French traveler's accounts that the major ethnic components of the region are Bulgarians and Turkish.

French travelers have given quite a lot of space to their impressions about the people they have met. They have reviewed the peoples in terms of characteristics, physical appearance, Christian-Muslim, governor-governed, suppressor-suppressed and emphasized their outlook on each other and towards the Ottoman rule. It is noteworthy that not all French travelers are in agreement with each other. Due to the fact that only a few of the travelers know the native languages, and the confidence they have in the superiority of their own civilization, and the prejudices they have towards the life and the people in the region, the evaluations formed about the nationals and religious communities in Bulgaria are very subjective and opinionated.

However this subjectivity plays an important role in revealing the understanding how the Western civilization conceives the east. At this point, it is easy to realize the values and points that the Westerns differentiate themselves from the East and see as the origins of their superiority.

The dynamic role of Bulgaria in the Ottoman Empire has mostly escaped the notice of French travelers. The travelers who have statistically defined the revitalization of agriculture in Bulgaria have thought that due to the inefficient commercialization of the agriculture, the country could not play up to its real agricultural potential. They have remarked the developments in industry nearly not at all and though they have mentioned the artisanship which plays an important role in the economic boost, they have generally portrayed an undeveloped and primitive industrial scene. Those travelers who wished France to play a more important role in Bulgarian economy have stressed the importance of ports and fairs in this country's economy. The travels are of the idea that the developments in trade and commerce are not living up to their real potential due to the fluxes in the monetary worth, inefficient commercialization and especially transportation.

In conclusion, the French travelers who have explored Bulgaria in the second and third quarters of the 19th century for a number of reasons such as politic, military, scientific and religious could not reflect the whole image of the region and the people living there. However the French or other European traveler's outlook on the Ottoman world and Bulgaria on this or that part of history is inefficient or subjective they still carry importance.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. The Population of the Danubean Province According to its Yearbooks of 1868, 1869 and 1874

Years	Villages	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
1868*	3,623	824,834	1,221,784	2,046,618
1869*	4,438	757,652	1,309,828	2,067,480
1874**	3,103	1,008,594	983,484	1,992,078

* Including the Nish sub-province.

** Not including the Nish sub-province.

Source: Karpat, *Osmanlı*, pp.156-157

Appendix B. Classification of the population of the Danubean Province as Muslims and non-Muslims According to Russian and British Sources, in the late 1860s and 1870s*

Russian and British Sources	Muslims	Non-Muslims	Total
Russian Prince Tcherkasski	1,000,369	1,582,342**	2,582,711
British Consul Dalyell	1,640,000	1,860,000***	3,500,000
Jocelyn	911,536	1,430,876	2,342,412

* Including the Nish sub-province.

** 1,482,744 of them were Bulgarians.

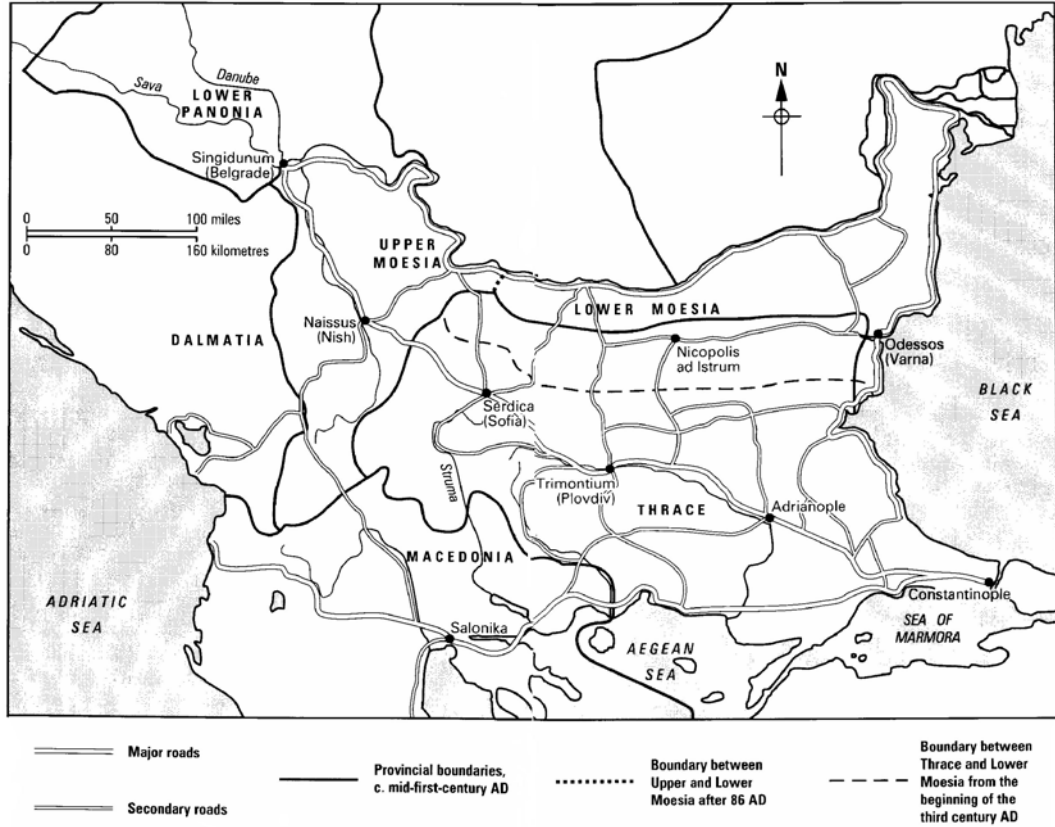
*** 1,725,000 of them were Bulgarians.

Source: Turan, pp.86-90.

Appendix C. The Map of European Turkey in the mid-nineteenth Century



Appendix D. Ancient names of Bulgaria and some Balkan Lands in European Turkey



Source: Crampton, *Concise*, pp.6-7.

Appendix E. The map of Bulgaria before 1878.

