The Ottoman Cotton Market and India: The Role of Labor Cost in Market Competition

In ottoman society there existed a broad field of application for cotton weaves and cotton-silk blend fabrics, both in fine clothing and upholstery from the beginning. Registers of palace household goods, lists of the effects of deceased persons drawn up by the courts, and day books of customs documents clearly reveal this. From varieties of muslin used in turbans and women's headwear, to trousers, kaftans, undergarments, blankets, handkerchiefs, napkins, bathcloths, towels, pillow and cushion coverings, wall and door hangings and curtains, cotton cloths and fabrics were used for an ever-wider variety of goods. A price register of 1640, for example, lists twenty-four different kinds of muslin. This wide demand was met by a diverse and broadly-based hand-weaving industry in towns and villages within the empire. Certain areas of Anatolia which specialized in the cotton cloth industry met this demand and, to some extent, produced for the foreign market, especially for the northern countries, where cotton was not grown, and for Europe. In short, the cotton industry, in terms of dimensions of its production and trade, constituted the most important sector of the Turkish economy after grains. We can consider long-term changes in the production and trade of cotton cloth as one cause of structural alterations in the economy of the empire. Particularly, beginning in the 1600s, imported cottons became a trade item as important as spices, colonial products and metals, and perhaps more important than any of them, in the empire's balance of trade. Imports of cotton cloth, from India beginning in the seventeenth century and from Europe in the nineteenth century, appear to be the development most influencing the empire's economy. These questions will be taken up below. Cotton production and the organization of the domestic cotton handcraft industry will be examined in a separate study.

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The following is a list of cotton fabrics which arrived at the port of Kefe (Caffa) from Anatolia between the years 1487-90, according to a register of customs duties in arrears.[1]

Table I

Type	Amount	Price (in *akça*)	Place or origin of merchant
Cotton	9 *tays* or 6,300 bolts	——	Kayseri, Bursa, Kastamonu: all Muslim
Muslin(*dülbend*)	11 bolts	per bolt: 275	Persia: Muslim
Cotton twill (*bogasi*)	about 1,000 bolts	per bolt: 40-60	Konya, Ankara, Istanbul, Bolu, Bursa, Karahisar, Gümüş, Tosya, Denizli: all Muslims
Coarse Cotton (*kirbās*)	about 160,000 bolts	per bolt: 3-3.25	Tosya, Merzifon, Zile, Amasya, Gümüş, Küre, Kastamonu, Sinop, Bolu, Ankara, Konya, Karaman, Kayseri, Niğde, Gördes, Sivrihisar, Denizli, Uşak, Bursa, Samsun
Linen tent	53	per bolt: 56	Merzifon
Towel or apron (*peştimal*)	90	per bolt: 38	Bursa, Istanbul: Muslims, one Jew
Quilt	9	per bolt: 100	Ankara: Muslim
Mattress cover	4	per bolt: 37.5	Kastamonu: Muslim
Linings and coverings (*bitāne*)	1,800	per bolt: 20-50	Ankara, Uşak, Bursa, Konya, Istanbul, Niğde: all Muslims
Bergama linings	332	per bolt: 30-50	Bursa, Istanbul, Konya: all Muslims
Handkerchief (*makrama*)	246	per bolt: 7	Sinop: Muslim merchants, one Jew
Materials for handkerchief	76	——	İstanbul: Muslim
Turbans (*destār*)	46	per bolt: 50-100	Bursa, Konya, İstanbul: all Muslims
Plaited turbans	20	per bolt: 40	İstanbul: Muslim
Quilting	34	per bolt: 50	İstanbul, Kastamonu: all Muslims
Cotton thread	150 *batman*	100 per load	Ankara, Istanbul, Niğde, Konya: all Muslims

NOTE TO TABLE I: Length and width of a "bolt" or piece varied according to the fabric; see examples from the price register, dated 1640, below (Table IV). The standard batman was equal to 18 okka, or 23 kg. One tay was 700-800 bolts.

Let us point out first of all that the totals in this list came from a register of customs arrears. For this reason they do not show all goods imported between the given dates. The prices are figures established by customs officials. At this time one Venetian gold piece was equal to approximately fifty akça. In our list, the greatest numbers of exports belong to kirbās. Kirbās was a coarse cloth, made of cotton, flax or hemp. Most of the time the customs scribe stated which it was. When it is not explicit, we have assumed it was cotton.

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The place from which the merchant brought the goods generally indicated either that the goods he brought were made there, or that they were re-exported from there. A significant portion of the goods originating in Bursa, Istanbul and even Ankara consist of goods brought by local merchants from Anatolian cotton cloth production centers to this commercial center. We can place Kastamonu, Amasya, Sinop, Kayseri and Konya among the great re-exporting markets, on the level of Istanbul. Most cotton cloth came to these centers in raw form, and there it was dyed, pressed and then exported as a finished product. For example, we know that cotton twills *(boğasi)* and crepes *(bürüncek)* from Hamid-eli (Isparta, İğridir, Borlu, Senirkent, Ağlasun), a major area for the production of cotton cloth, were shipped to Bursa and dyed there. Raw cotton and cotton cloth from the Gelibolu, Manisa, Bergama, Kïrkağaç and Akhisar regions came to Istanbul. There were large dyeing plants in Kayseri, Tokat and Amasya. At the same time we find a developed cotton cloth weaving industry in these cities.[2] Cotton or cotton yarn was imported to these major centers from the regions in which cotton was raised, that is, primarily western Anatolia, Hamid-eli, Silifke, Beypazarï and the Yeşilïrmak river valley. Important cotton industry centers near cotton production centers, in western Anatolia Denizli, Tire, Menemen, Manisa, Çine and Bergama; in central Anatolia the Hamid-eli region, Karaman (Larende), Konya and Niğde; in the north Merzifon, Zile, Tokat, Kastamonu, Küre and Tosya especially, should be mentioned. Some of these centers became conspicuous in certain varieties of cotton cloth or in goods made of cotton. Thread from Tire *(rişte-i Tire)* became so dominant in the markets of the empire that the term *tire* for fine cotton thread is still in use today. In the 1500s Menemen was known by its cotton cloths, which were used especially as linings and coverings. Merzifon won acclaim for its tent production,[3] Gelibolu and Bergama for sail material, Hamid-eli, Konya and Karaman for their high-quality cotton cloth known as *boğasi* (twill). Çine was known for very fine, high-quality muslin. Muslin was at this time also imported from Syria, Persia and India. This kind of muslin could not be made from the short-fibered, stout, tough local cotton of Anatolia.

The customs registers of the Danubian ports, Akkerman and Kili[4] (early sixteenth century), repeat the kinds of production and exports

which emerge from the Kefe register above (see Table II). The data which come from these registers, which give more reliable figures, show that even at this time (and undoubtedly in earlier periods) the northern countries, from the Danube to the Caucasus, were importing Anatolian and Balkan cotton cloths in significant quantities. This situation formed the economic basis of the political and cultural ties which had existed since the thirteenth century between the north-central Anatolian region (Kastamonu and Sinop) and the Crimea, Moldavia and Wallachia.[5]

Table II

Anatolian Cotton Cloths Arriving at the Port of Akkerman and Danubian Ports

Imports of cotton cloths to Akkerman (goods bound for Moldavia and Poland) within a three-month period (October, November, December)	Twill garments (about 540), colored Borlu twill (23 pieces), colored twill (about 700 pieces), cotton *dolama* (7 sets), white twill (138 pieces), *dolama* twill for women (15 sets), *kirbās* (2000 cubits), saddle pads (200), cummerbunds (about 800 pieces), *alaca* from Bergama (8 pieces), *alaca* from Tire (6 pieces), handkerchiefs (about 50 dozen), lining (about 700 pieces), shirts (2 packages, 20 pieces)
Port of Yerkögü (Giurgiu), (goods bound for Wallachia)	*bogasi, kirbās*, crepe, linings, girdles, thread, kaftans, other
Tulça (goods bound for Moldavia)	*bogasi, kirbās*, crepe, shirts, etc. (Tulça was at this time also a center for the slave trade)
Port of Semendre (Smederevo), and the ports of Hiram and Güvercinlik (Golubac) (goods bound for Wallachia and Hungary)	*bogasi*, quilts, crepes, cummerbunds, linings, cotton, kaftans (cotton, silk and wool), etc.

At the top of the list of goods unloaded at the Danubian docks was twill *(bogasi)*, especially Borlu (Hamid-eli) twill. In the eight months from November 1506 to June 1507, 1,800 pieces of twill passed through the port of Yerkögü, and only twelve *kantar* of cotton (600 *akça* per *kantar)*. In exchange for this, leather, horses, fish, oxen, honey, wine, salt and Wallachian knives were imported. From the port of Hirsova, not as important as Yerkögü, cotton thread, turbans, cummerbunds, and linings were exported to Wallachia, and from

there were brought back salt, oxen, cattle, horses, honey and fish. Among the export goods were southern goods of other origin, everyday merchandise such as spices, saffron, Salonika broadcloth, rice and soap. It is clear from this register that not only Muslims exported Anatolian goods. Greek (Kaloyan, Aleksi, Yorgi), Romanian (Mirça, Tiho, Istanko) and Jewish merchants were also active in the import-export trade. In October 1515, Istanko Eflakī exported white twill quilts and pepper from Yerkögü in large quantities (the wholesale value was 20,600 *akça,* on which he paid customs duties of 1,030 *akça*). In Semendere, besides the Muslim merchants, a number of local Serbian merchants (Radevan of Belgrad, Yuvan, and Radić) were active in this trade.

Along with Caffa, the most important ports in the area from which cotton cloth was exported to the north were Kili and Akkerman. There was quite a diversity of goods. For example, there were seven kinds of *meyān-bend* (cummerbunds, sashes): *Siyāh, Şehrī, Alaca, Tire, Edirne, Dolama* and *Bergama.* In handkerchiefs, the Serez, Edirne and Tire varieties were distinguished. It is worth noting that in the Balkans the Dırama-Serez region, which in the eighteenth century exported large quantities of cotton and cotton thread to central Europe, was known at the beginning of the sixteenth century for its cotton fabrics. Edirne undoubtedly seems to have been a cotton industry center and transit center for export to the Balkans and to Europe, even in this period. The primary reason that Edirne developed into a major center was its dye plants. The Edirne technique of dye casting won such acclaim that for a long time in the eighteenth century the cotton industries of France and Holland attempted to imitate it, until at length they learned it from Greek craftsmen who secretly passed on the method.

In the 1500s, among all the goods coming from the south to the Black Sea and Danubian ports, from Caffa to Smederevo, cotton fabrics occupied the place of greatest importance in terms of quantity and value. Of the other southern textiles, woolens, Ottoman-produced felt and especially Selânik broadcloth, carpets, flax and silks held a place of importance. Aegean products (olives, olive oil, citrus, raisins and other dried fruits), Arabian and Indian goods (incense and spices) complete this list of exports. When we include with textile the cotton fabrics already sewn into garments for men and women, and wool and silk clothing (kaftans, *dolama* jackets, *çakşır* trousers, skullcaps, shirts and waistcoats), it becomes apparent that in this north-south trade, the south sent more textiles and the north sent more raw materials and foodstuffs. The most significant manufactured goods coming from the north were wool fabrics through central Europe and Poland, and knives of central European origin called by the Ottomans "Wallachian knives" *(Eflak biçagï).*

Anatolian cotton fabrics also went from the Danube and Black Sea

to foreign countries on the other side of the Ottoman frontier, especially to Poland, Transylvania and Hungary. We find Anatolian twill among the eastern goods entered in a customs register from Braşov in the early sixteenth century.[6] In exchange, a large number of famous Wallachian knives (approximately two million in 1503) exported from central Europe reached the Ottoman lands via Braşov (in Transylvania).[7] The material of Ottoman customs for the years 1550-80 in Hungary published by L. Fekete, G. Káldy-Nagy and E. Vaas[8] demonstrates that cotton twill (in this case Karaman twill), crepe, skullcaps, saddle pads, outer shirts made of twill, muslin, cotton thread, kirbās cummerbunds and quilts were shipped to Hungary. Among these, goods sent in large quantitites included cotton, cotton thread, twill and *kirbās.* In customs records for the Black Sea region as well, we have seen that the same goods were the object of broad trading. According to the figures given by Vass,[9] in 1560, in the months of September and October, 700 Hungarians gold pieces worth of cotton, 250 gold pieces worth of muslin, and about 70 gold pieces worth of thread passed through customs at Vác (Waitzen). In later years, according to the Turnu-Roşu customs register in Transylvania in 1685,[10] among the Ottoman goods exported to this region, cotton thread, coarse cloth (*gyapot,* Turkish *çaput*) and various twills (*bogazia*) held a place of importance, and a rather significant portion were goods in transit to Poland. Cotton fabrics brought to Danubian ports by merchants from Istanbul and Edirne with this aim, especially white or dyed cotton thread and fine cotton fabrics (*dülbend*), are especially noteworthy.

I. THE INVASION OF THE OTTOMAN MARKET BY INDIAN COTTON CLOTH, 1500–1800

Documents on the importing of Indian fabrics into Ottoman markets go as far back as the fifteenth century. In India, Behmenîs' famous Vizir, Hoca Maḥmūd Gāvān (1405-81), established direct commercial relations sending his agents to the Ottoman territory.[11] From the court procedures carried out on the death of one of these agents, we learn that in 1476 Hoca Maḥmūd made Hoca ᶜAlī of India, who came to the Ottoman lands, a representative for himself, and appointed a man named ᶜAbdül'azīz to work with him. When Hoca ᶜAlī arrived in Bursa, he "turned over to ᶜAbdül'azīz 877 bolts of fabrics from the goods Maḥmūd Gāvān had given for trade, and left for Rumeli." Later documents show that these commercial relations continued. In 1479, Hoca Maḥmūd, who is called *Hāce-i Cihān,* "a world merchant" in the Ottoman sources, appointed four men to represent himself; he "gave varieties of textiles and wares, and dispatched them to the lands of Rūm." These men came to Bursa via

the Arabian route (one died en route and another died in a *han* in Bursa). The court register deals with procedures regarding the remaining goods being taken into security. The agents Hoca Maḥmūd "dispatched on business to the lands of Rūm" in 1481 were different individuals. These agents were men paid by Maḥmūd Gāvān, led by a head *(re'īs)*. If one among them died, the others were to take upon themselves the responsibility of his wares.[12] Since Islamic laws of proxy were valid in India and in the Ottoman Empire, this commerce was carried on in security. In the sixteenth century we note an active commerce with India along the Persian Gulf and Red Sea routes. Also, it was on the legal security and trade that the close political relations rested between the Ottomans and Gujerat, one of India's most important regions for its cotton trade.[13] Ludovico di Varthema,[14] who travelled in the Near East and India in the years 1503-1508, saw merchants in Calicut "from Persia, Yemen, Syria and Turkey." Kambay, a commercial port in Gujerat, "sends silk and cotton fabrics to all of Persia, Tartary, Turkey, Syria and North Africa; to Yemen, Ethiopia, India and a number of inhabited islands." In Diu', which was known as the "Port of Rūm," (Rūm at this time meant the Ottoman Empire) Ludovico saw "four hundred Turkish merchants who were living there continuously."[15] These observations leave no doubt as to the permanent nature of Ottoman-Gujerat trade.

A toll regulation of Ana and Hit belonging to the period of Süleyman I (1520-66) and reflecting the time prior to the conquest shows that the Baghdad-Ana-Hit-Aleppo caravan road was a much-used trade route. In this regulation,[16] crepe and muslin (*bürüncük* and *ḳaṣāb*) are mentioned among the goods coming from Baghdad. Also, indigo is named as a product of India. It is clear that silk and other kinds of fabrics passed through the same route from Egypt, Aleppo and Damascus, as well. In the long period of struggle for dominance in the Persian Gulf and the surrounding area between the Ottomans and the Portuguese throughout the sixteenth century, especially after meeting with ill success in their aggressive policy at sea beginning in 1550, a spontaneous period of reconciliation emerged and the Ottomans understood the necessity of recognizing the *de facto* sovereignty of the Portuguese over Hormuz.[17] The most firm evidence of the vibrant trade going on between India, Basra and Aleppo was the unprecedented development of Hormuz during this period.[18] Hormuz, in the second half of the sixteenth century, became an *entrepot* for trade between India and Aleppo, and Persia. The development of the Aleppo market during the period was undoubtedly a result both of Indian products, including cotton textiles coming via the Hormuz and Basra route as well as of Persian silk.

Ottoman documents[19] concerning a caravan of 120 persons which came from Baghdad to Aleppo in 1610 carry particular interest for our topic.

Merchants of various origins in the caravan, ten of them definitely Muslim Indians, were bringing Indian goods: indigo, Indian cloth, and perfumes. Merchants from Baghdad and Persia were in the majority in the caravan, and they were bringing the same type of goods, that is, primarily indigo dye and cloth (in this case Lahore fabrics). There were also five Italians, one of them a consul, bringing great quantities of goods. If one of the merchants in the caravan died leaving no heir, it was required that his estate become the property of the Ottoman treasury, and thus the caravan became the subject of a process, determining such goods; this was, of course, just one of the caravans utilizing this road. That this road was a well-traveled trade route is confirmed by Eldred,[20] who passed through Basra in 1583, "To this port of Balsara" he wrote, "come monthely divers ships laden with all sort of Indian merchandise, as spices, drugs, indice and Calecut cloth."

In a list by Visnich, a Dutchman, of the Indian goods brought to Hormuz in 1622, we find[21] white and colored textiles (eight ships a year) from the mouth of the Indus river, *calico* and cheap woven *bāfta* cotton textiles (three ships) from Nagena, and various fabrics from Chaul. These cottons constituted the most important part of the goods coming from India. After the capture of Hormuz by Shah ʿAbbas (1622) and the imposition of a trade embargo, Christian ships began to come directly to Basra from India. After Baghdad fell into the hands of the Persians, the Pasha of Basra resisted the Persians and began to use the direct Basra-Aleppo caravan route through the desert.[22]

The Basra-Aleppo road followed separate routes depending on the circumstances at a given time. One route followed by the caravans took the west bank of the Euphrates from Basra and arrived in Aleppo via El-Ḳuseyr, Kerbelā, Ḳubaysa (near Hit) and Ḳusūr-al-Ihvān, while caravans embarking from Baghdad went via Hit and Ana. During times in which there were Arab bedouin attacks in the desert, the quickest and safest route was to go up the river on rafts to Birecik or Mosul, and from there descend to Alepp.[23]

On the other hand, the Red Sea route continued to be well used in the seventeenth century, primarily with imports of indigo dye and textiles, and exports of Yeminite coffee from Mocha (Mokka). Later, Cairo, like Basra, would become another *entrepot* for Indian textiles in the Near East. Due to the Safavid capture of Hormuz from the Portuguese in 1622, with British assistance, and of Baghdad from the Ottomans the following year, the Red Sea route naturally took on a greater significance. Finally, the Kandehar-Isfahan route had an importance which cannot be overlooked, in the importing of valuable Puncab-Indian cloths.[24] This route was especially utilized by the Armenian merchants of Isfahan (Culfa). They shipped not only Persian raw silk to the markets of Aleppo and Izmir, but Persian and Indian textiles as well.[25]

An example: We know details about the commercial activity of a certain Hovhannes, who went from Isfahan to India and Tibet in 1682-92. He was occupied in particular in trading in fabrics, indigo and cotton between Surat and Basra and Isfahan. At one time he was also in Izmir.

It should not be forgotten that in conditions of war Perisan-Ottoman trade was not completely interrupted; Armenian merchants, in particular, trafficked between the two sides. When in 1690, the British East India Company asked the Armenians to give up the trade between India and Aleppo, they responded that they could not abandon this profitable trade.

According to the estimate of the Venetian bailo,[26] the Sultan's treasury alone earned an annual income of half a million gold pieces from the Indian trade.

The success during this period of the Armenians, whose role in the trade between India, Persia and the Ottomans resembled that of the Jews in Mediterranean commerce, must be attributed above all to the close relations among the widely-scattered Armenian communities, and by the availability of credit. Armenian communities were spread from the Ottoman commercial centers to Aleppo, Basra, Venice and Lwów.[27] The prominence they later gained in Mediterranean commerce was achieved earlier in the Indian and Persian trade. In 1647 in Manisa, "Persian Armenians" who were importing cotton fabrics and selling them in the markets made the local cloth merchants uneasy; they took their complaints to the Sultan and demanded a halt to the matter.[28] And it should not be forgotten that Indian merchants themselves became involved in the India-Iran-Ottoman trade, though not to the same extent as the Armenians. In contrast, the performance of Muslim Indians in the Ottoman lands, Hindus in Persia, enjoyed a prestigious position in major financial affairs. Tavernier (1632) mentions 12,000 (?) Indian *banyans* in Isfahan. A number of Arab and Turkish merchants are mentioned as active in Surat, which was in this period a center of Indian overseas trade, particularly in cotton fabrics.[29] The document about the 1610 caravan, above, corrobates this.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Ottoman demand for Indian shawls as well as fine Indian cotton fabrics (muslin and twill) and the unusual growth of imports signal the beginning of a crisis in the Ottoman economy, which caused great concern in Ottoman and government circles.

The great Ottoman chronicler Naʿīmā (d. 1716) reflected on this struggle in the following passage:[30]

> So much cash treasury goes for Indian merchandise and the Indians buy nothing from the Ottoman realms nor even have need of anything. The profit taken in customs from these does not actually cover the loss, because they possess so much revenue, but they spend so little being in no need to buy from other countries; the world's wealth accumulates in India. The same is also true for Yemen because of its coffee, and the wealthy [in these two countries] are becoming just like Kārūn.

Naʿīmā's basic point is that by importing luxury items, "the cash of the land goes to other lands, for their goods."

> Our people should prefer to buy mostly the wares produced in our own country, so that our money is not dispersed to places outside our land. To those who say 'the revenue from customs duties collected is profit for the state,' we answer: if those who bring goods to sell from other lands were to put the sums that they earn into the goods which they need then in a perpetual circle the money would remain still inside the land. And in this way the customs duties which are repeatedly collected[inside the land] would be a double profit to the treasury.

The flow of excessive amounts of gold and silver in the trade with India is a well-known economic phenomenon.[31] In the seventeenth century, officials of the British East India Company drew special attention to the passive character of the Near East in this regard. It was difficult at this time to find goods in the Near East which would be profitable, to exchange with the products of Southeast Asia and India (Indian cotton and shawls as well as spices and dyes), which came to Basra and the Red Sea via English and Dutch middlemen. Persia was able to respond to this in large measures with its silk exports.[32] But outside of Basran dates, Mokkan coffee and Arabian horses, suitable export goods could not be found. The resulting deficit was paid in gold and silver. It is no mere coincidence that among the assets of Ottoman merchants who imported fabrics in the seventeenth century are found large quantities of cash holdings, especially gold, Spanish silver *reales* and Dutch *rixdales (esedī)*.[33]

In short, the movement in the great commercial and financial cycle, paralleling the seventeenth-century developments in Indian-Near Eastern trade, was central to bringing about the emergence of a group of wealthy Indian (and Armenian) capitalists, in Naʿima's phrase, "as wealthy as Croessus." The Ottoman market, evidently before Europe, became the basic market for Indian exports of cotton textiles. Around 1690 agents of the British East Indian Company reported that quantities of cottons being sent to the Near East were four times of those going to Europe.[34] It is well known that in the seventeenth century Indian cotton fabrics would flood European markets after the Near East. This development brought a crisis situation, which immediately thereafter opened the door to the rise of the cotton manufacturing industry in western Europe. In the second half of the eighteenth

century, the necessity of mass producing for the expanded market brought the West, through the use of mechanized methods and instruments in this industry, into the Industrial Revolution.

The response of mercantilist Europe to the invasion of Indian cotton textiles was much different from that of the Ottoman empire. Beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century in England and France, cotton fabrics became fashionable, first among the upper classes and then among the masses. When a huge demand resulted, the wool, silk and flax industries fell into a panic, and under their pressure restrictions were placed on the use of cotton and high customs tariffs were introduced on its import. But finally in the mid-eighteenth century, the "economists" won the battle against the "protectionists," measures against cotton imports were lightened, and the local cotton manufacturing industry was encouraged and supported.[35]

In the seventeenth century, both in Holland and England, Indian cotton textiles imports and trade became one of the fundamental sectors of the economy. In the period 1650-1750 in England, Indian cotton fabrics, especially for the upper classes fine muslin, chintz (high-quality prints, known in Turkey as *çit*), relatively inexpensive cotton fabrics called calicos, expensive cotton fabrics of *Masulipatam* Dakka, Gujerat and Bengal, made up three-fourths of all trade of the British East India Company.[36] In the 1680s imports of the English company reached a record level soaring to a million and a half pieces. In spite of later restrictive measures and prohibitions, Indian cotton cloth dominated the market.

At this time the Ottomans joined the great cotton export movement from Asia to Europe, especially with Anatolian fabrics being sent from Izmir. We find that Turkish cotton exports to France, which in 1700 amounted to 314,000 French livre, rose to three million livre three years later, after prohibitions were lifted.[37] We might recognize these names in the list of Turkish and Arabian cotton fabrics: Kilis, Mardin, Diyarbakïr, Hama, Antep, Antakya, Aleppo, Jerusalem and Damascus cotton cloth varieties[38] and twills (boucassin), *kutnu, (kutnî)* and *beledî*. Ottoman imitations of Indian and Persian fabrics, prints, muslins and *indiennes* must also be remembered in this list. A large portion of the cheap, rough and sturdy blue cotton fabrics worn by plantation slaves in Central America at that time came from the Ottoman Empire. West Anatolian raw cotton fabrics, dyed in the dye plants of Marseilles, were exported from there to Spain.[39] The emergence of Izmir, beginning in the seventeenth century, as one of the most important export ports of the empire, surpassing other export centers including Aleppo, was directly related to this expansion in exports of cotton and cotton cloth.[40] And in the second half of the eighteenth century, by exporting cotton and cotton yarn to central Europe, especially to Germany and Austria,[41] the Serez-Selânik and Thessaly regions entered a period of economic boom such as it had never seen.

Indian cotton did not cause the collapse of the Ottoman cotton

industry; there does not seem to have occurred anything resembling the havoc which resulted from the nineteenth-century European cotton invasion. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Turkey dominated its domestic market through its native industrial sector, its own cotton industry. Turkish craftsmen successfully competed with their eastern rivals by imitating Indian goods, at least some types, especially in twill and light cottons. In terms of raw materials and labor, the Turkish cotton industry at that time seemed to have the means to compete.

Two fundamental factors explain the emergence of India as the world's leading cotton producer and exporter between the years 1650-1750: the low cost of labor and the availability of inexpensive, locally produced raw materials.[42] Besides this, style and fashion also played a significant role. Indian cotton cloth, especially the muslins, and the attractive design of the dyed and printed cotton fabrics, fascinated first their Near Eastern customers, and then Europeans. Most of the time fashion pushed the price factor to a secondary level of importance. The Indian cottons coming to the Ottoman Empire were generally of the very fine and expensive varieties. Undoubtedly, Indian muslins and prints achieved their unparalleled high level of qaulity because demand for them among Indian royal houses and the upper middle classes was strong and because technological advances in design, color and weaving happened during these years.[43] Moreover, the low cost of Indian cotton cloth in comparison to other countries was noted as early as the fourteenth century by the Arab traveller of the Islamic world, Ibn Battūta.[44] Agents of the English East India Company, who studied market conditions closely and rationally, and economic historians who have relied on their observations, have attempted to explain the extraordinary development and spread of the Indian cotton industry on the basis of the price differential, and have primarily emphasized the worker's daily wage index.[45]

As in the Ottoman Empire, in India also, the basis of the cotton industry was the manufacture of cotton yarn (In Dakka in the seventeenth century there were 80,000 yarn spinners compared to 25,000 weavers.) The majority of these yarn spinners were women.[46] Poor urban people, who offered the cheapest labor, women and children in particular, or peasants living in villages near the city generally formed the mass of workers in cotton yarn production. On the other hand, because the profit margin for common, cheap cotton cloth was very low, the minimum cost of labor became the most important factor. The cotton industry in India was organized according to the groups within the caste, and it was in an extremely scattered situation among small towns and villages.[47]

The great masses of unemployed assured the industry a never-ending supply of cheap labor. In this system, the vital element which organized the relations between the worker and the distant market was the big exporting merchant. But between the peasant-workers and the

great merchants, there was a broad-based group which was made up of travelling merchants and other middle men collecting products according to *selem* rules, which were carefully regulated by Islamic Law. The merchant gave credits to the peasants and these financial ties made them dependent on him.[48] In this way, a market guarantee for their goods was assured for the workers. But travelling merchants or middlemen profited from constant dependence of the workers, and used it as a means of holding daily wages at a minimum level. In India in the eighteenth century, in response to the growing demand of Europe for cotton cloth, the *selem* system would be replaced by cottage industry *(verlagssystem)* and finally the wage laborer system. Merchant control over labor would gradually strengthen. In each of the three systems the merchant was the dominant element in the functioning of the price mechanism between the market and the worker.

We have noted above that agents of the British East India Company usually considered the cost of labor the most important element in calculating production costs. Labor costs were dependent on fluctuations in the prices of the basic nutritional commodities, rice and wheat. Prices for these commodities were generally much lower than in Europe; therefore, favorable conditions in India could depress wages in the cotton cloth weaving industry to their lowest levels, and ensure their greater competitiveness on the foreign market, that is, in places where labor costs were much higher.

The Ottoman cotton cloth industry, while holding the market under control, was unable to compete with some Indian cotton cloths, especially the expensive muslins. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not only the very expensive, fine muslins, which always found buyers among the upper classes, but also inexpensive Indian prints and Indian cotton yarns were in great demand on the Ottoman market. The high quality of the cotton they used, their attractiveness in color and design, and the factor of luxury and fashion, were responsible for this. In order to find an explanation outside of these, it is necessary to calculate the relative cost of labor in the Ottoman lands. Stipend appointments in Ottoman *ihtisab* registers and *kadï* records make such a study a possibility; pending the definite conclusions of such a study, here we can say the Ottoman labor costs apparently were lower than in Europe, but higher than those in India.

Let us state one final point. The Indian cotton cloth industry, undoubtedly through the control and organization of the merchants, was able to tailor itself to the conditions of market demand. We know that some varieties of cotton cloth in demand on the Ottoman market were among the principal manufacture and export goods, with the same name, *alaca, kutnī,* etc., of the rival Indian industry. This is no coincidence. But at the same time the Anatolian weaving industry did not delay in making imitations of Indian cotton cloths. There were similarities and relationships between the two countries in social

conditions, organization and technology. Take, for example, a variety of cotton which was glossed with paste, to shine like paper, which was fashionable in the Near East, a tradition which may have been handed down as far back as the Abbasid period.[49] Although it did not suit European tastes, the Indian industry produced great quantities for the Near Eastern market. Cotton cloth in the Ottoman industry for this reason was passed through the press in the *cenderehāne* (or *mengenehāne*). We find the same technology in India.

II. VARIETIES OF COTTON CLOTH IMPORTED FROM INDIA

The lists we present below, extracted from Ottoman sources (see Tables III-V), substantiate what we have said regarding the firm grip of Indian goods on the Ottoman market, and their complete dominance in some areas, particularly muslins.

A. Edirne, 1543-1659.

We find the following cotton fabrics of Indian origin in the stocks of nineteen merchants who died in Edirne,[50] and among the household effects of 175 persons entered in the *tereke* registers between the years 1543-1659:

Table III

	Price *(akça)*	*Tereke* Register Page No.
Kanbil turbans (1554) (each)	80	129
Blue Indian *kutnī* (1568)	230	138
Indian napkins (1569)	20	
Indian handkerchiefs (1572)	15	
Bihārī muslin (1637)	300	270
Ser-Hindī (1637) (per bolt)	360	271
White Lekepürü (Lakapūrī) twill (1637)	600	271
Chintz (1637)	180	271
Ferespidi (Fīrūz-pūrī) (1637)	300	271
Bihārī- muslin (1641) (per bolt)	200	306
Kayyim-Hânî muslin (1641) (per bolt)	320	306
(per piece)	15	
Bayrām-pūrī muslin (1641)	50	306
Ser-Hindī napkins (1641)	20	306
Lekepūrī (Lakapūrī) twill (1641)	250	307
Pafta twill (1641) (per piece)	15	307
Indian yarn (1641) (per *okka*)	100	325
Indian quilt (1596)	150	335
Indian cummerbund (1596)	70	336
Red Indian twill (1596)	200	336
Dapul alaca (1651)	225	353
Kabulhāne muslin (1658)	150	406
Chintz (1658)	120	406
Kayyim-hānī muslin (1658)	213	407
Red Cashmire Shawls (wool)	1,530	430

B. Basra, Sixteenth Century

The 1551 and 1575 Basra *tahrir* registers[51] are among our most important and reliable sources on the Ottoman-Indian commerce through the Persian Gulf. According to the *kanunname*s of these registers, the principal goods coming from India were the following:

Textiles: Muslins, among them *dülbend-i khāssa, bayrāmī* cotton cloth, *mi'cer-i hindī* (Indian coverings), and others. Two qualities of *bayrāmī* were imported, high quality and ordinary. White *bayrāmī* and *mi'cer-i hindī* were dyed in Basra dye plants and sent elsewhere from there by ship. Raw cotton was also exported from India to Basra, and created a fairly important cotton cloth industry there. In Basra there was a large cotton factory (*penebehāne*) for fluffing and cleaning the cotton. The taxes collected on this *penbehane* rose from 16,983 *akça* in 1551 to 135,232 *akça* in 1575. Cotton cloth manufactured in Basra, Katif and Bahrain were exported to other Ottoman regions. Especially, varieties of cotton fabrics such as coarse cotton cloths (*kirbās*), turban cloth and *alaca* were woven in Katif and exported. Katif's blue cotton cloth and crepes with which women covered their heads were famous (indigo was imported from India for blue dye). Bahrain's muslins too were popular. That muslins and cotton came to Basra by land, that is, from the Ottoman Empire and Persia, is also referred to in the regulations.

At the head of the other goods which were imported to Basra from India came spices, indigo (Arabic *nīl*), iron and steel (pūlād).[52]

The registers also recorded that fabrics and indigo were imported to Basra via the Najd and Al-Hasa route. Goods of Indian origin came via the desert, through Mecca. Ships arriving from Hormuz and India either unloaded the goods for Basra or took them to Baghdad as transit goods. Basra played the role of a distribution center for Indian goods bound for the surrounding regions: Djezā'ir (Islands), Hormuz and Persia (Dizful, Şuştar). The regulations record that horses were exported from Basra to Hormuz. Among Basra's exports are counted gallnuts, water buffalo hides, dates, rice, henna, red dye, and camels. The cotton industry of Gujerat was dependent on red root dye imported from Arabia. The camels were exported to Persia. No doubt the most important of the commodities which departed there for India were horses.

Basra customs revenues can give us an idea of the scope of domestic and foreign trade (calculated by the *akça:* one gold piece was equal to about sixty *akça).*

	1551	1575
Goods coming by ship from Hormuz and India	1,394,799	1,150,583
Goods coming on small boats from the Shatt al-Arab (dates, rice, grains, vegetables, fish, etc.)	547,269	749,338

Compared to the decline in Hormuz-Indian customs, customs revenue taken from regional trade substantially increased. The customs revenue coming from Indian goods was between 19-23,000 gold pieces, a sum which is not to be underestimated. We must remember that a large portion of Indian goods was shipped on to Baghdad, and customs were not paid on them in Basra.

The Basra region did a substantial trade with Persia, both by sea and overland. The following are the goods imported to Basra from Persia:

Textiles:

Cottons
Blue coarse cotton cloth of Davrak (*kirbās*)
Isfahan cotton cloth (blue and white)

Silks
Brocade
Mahāzim-i Yazdī
Black *Yazdī*
Kaftan
Cummerbunds
Towels (*peştimāl*)
Mulla (a white women's head covering)
Carpets (*Kalīçe*)

Flax
Wool Thread
Yapagı (spring-shorn wool)

(These goods came via the Bender-Şuştar Road)

Other goods:
Cotton
Barley, wheat
Dried fruits (hazelnuts, walnuts, figs, raisins, pistachios)
Sheep
Bows and rose-water from Chiraz

C. The İstanbul Market, 1640

Not only expensive Cashmire shawls (priced at 1,600 *akça* in the 1640 *Narh* register) and silks, but also fine Indian cotton cloths were purchased and exchanged as valuable gifts among the elite, which shows that such fabrics were considered a luxury item. Among the goods of Indian origin brought by the former governor of Zabīd (Yemen) Mustafa Pasha to the Sultan in Istanbul in 1547 were the following (Başbakanlïk Arşivi, Fekete tasnifi, no. 345): Indian brocades, Indian cottons *(ḳutnī),* napkins of Indian *alaca,* and white *bayrāmī.* In an inspection register preserved in the palace treasury (*Arşiv Kılavuzu* II, Istanbul 1940, doc. 21), Indian *ridā* (draperies) are noteworthy among the valuable goods in the treasury.

The list in the price register of 1640 gives us complete, systematic information concerning local and imported fabrics in Istanbul at this time, among them cottons. This list is a source especially important because it gives measures as well as prices. In the list below, we give all the types of local and imported twill and muslins with detailed information. Cotton cloths known by a number of names according to color and design have actually been combined into three basic groups: muslin, (*dülbend*), twill (*bogasi*) and coarse cotton cloth (*kirbās*). Urban and village cotton cloth weavers have been divided into *cullāh* (more widespread than the forms *culāh, çulāh or çulhā*) and *bogasici*. *Cullāh* were weavers of coarse cotton cloth, *bogasici* were weavers of fine quality cotton cloth. A source[53] from the Ilkhanid period in the fourteenth century names three basic kinds of cotton cloth: *mermerī*, *kutnī* and *kirbās*. *Kirbās* (from Sanskrit *karpasi*) was a term for coarse cotton cloth, which was loaned into Arabic and Persian and is used frequently in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman sources. Later, the word *bez* (*bäz*) gained acceptance in its place. We did not take the varieties of coarse cotton cloths for the list below, nor did we usually include blankets, handkerchiefs, turbans, skullcaps, towels and bath towels usually made of cotton cloth. Mostly local cotton was used in these kinds of goods. Sometimes Indian textiles were used in fine quilts. Coarse cotton cloths were always locally manufactured. (The price register usually shows the place of origin of these cloths: İstanbul *bezi*, Akşehir *bezi*, Soma *bezi*, Edremit *bezi*, Nazilli *bezi*, Egyptian *bez*, Çine *çenberligi*, Akhisar *bezi*, Kayseri *bezi* in quilts, Bilecik *dolaması*, Urla *beledīsi*, Kastamonu, Tire and Aleppo cotton cloths in pillow cases. Mention is made also of cotton cloth from Tire and Sirfica in napkins.)

Table IV

Fixed Maximal Prices of Various Qualities of Cotton Cloth, 1640 (in Akça)

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
Twills				
White Lakapūrī (bolt)	400	360	—	width 1 *zira* 3 *rub*, 1 *gireh*, length
(zira)	25	23		16 *zira* (med.15)
White Bayrāmī	320			width 1 *zira* 5 *rub*
(zira)	26.5	—	—	width 1 *zira* 5 *rub*, length 12 *zira*
Lakapūrī Cihāngīrī (bolt)	460	—	—	width 1.5 *zira*,
(zira)	26			length 17.5 *zira*

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
Lakapūrī, Persian scarlet and rose (bolt)	160	—	—	width 1 *zira* 3 *rub* 1 *gireh*, length 6.5 *zira*
(zira)	—			
Lakapūrī seven-colored (bolt)	155	—	—	—
(zira)	25			
White Ferespūrī (Fīrūz-pūrī) Persian (bolt)	195	—	—	width 6 *rub* 1 *gireh*, length 16 *zira*
(zira)	12			
Ferespūrī Persian (bolt)	—	173	—	width 6 *rub*, 1 *gireh*, length
(zira)		11		15 *zira*
Ferespūrī, Persian, seven-colored (bolt)		—	135	width 6 *rub*, 1 *gireh*, length 11 *zira*
(zira)			12.5	
White Persian semānī (bolt)	320	—	—	width, 1 *zira* 3 *rub* 1 *gireh*, length, 11.5 *zira*
(zira)	29			
White Persian Haydarābādī	295	—	—	width 1 *zira* 1 *rub*, length 17.5 *zira*
(zira)	17			
Haydarābādī seven-colored (bolt)		—	140	width 1 *zira*, length 8.5 *zira*
(zira)			17	
Indian twill, seven-colored (bolt)	330	—	170	width 6 *rub*, 1 *gireh*, length 10 *zira*
(zira)			16.5	
Hamid twill, white-*isperek*	140	120	100	width 1 *zira*, 1 *rub*, length 7 *zira*
(zira)	18.5	16	14	

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
Dark Green-*isperek* Hamid twill (bolt)	165	130	112	*tonluk:* width 1 *zira* 1 *rub*, 1 *gireh*, length 7.5 *zira;* Original length was 8.5 *zira*,a term of three months was given to be made in the same length again.
(zira)	21	18	15	
White Borlu twill (bolt)	105	—	—	For kaftans: width 1 *zira*, 1 *gireh*, length 11.5 *zira*
(zira)	9			
Seven-colored Hamid and Borlu twill (bolt)	120	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *gireh*, length 11.5 *zira*
(zira)	10.5			
Borlu isperek dark green (bolt)	147			width 1 *zira*, length 11.5 *zira*
(zira)	12.5			
Red Diyarbakïr twill	220	200	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *gireh*, width 10 *zira*
(zira)	22	20		
Tokat red twill, similar to Diyarbakïr (bolt)	140	—	—	width 1 *zira*, length 10 zira
(zira)	14			
Kastamonu red twill (bolt)	133	120	110	width 1 *zira*, length 10 *zira*
(zira)	13	12	11	
Mosul twill, white (bolt)	500	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *rub*, 1 *gireh* length 21 *zira*, 2 *rub*
(zira)	24			
Mosul twill, black (bolt)	200	—	—	width 1 *zira*, length 7 *zira*
(zira)	29			
Hamid black twill, similar to Mosul (bolt)	110	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *gireh*, length 7.5 *zira*

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
Istanbul black twill	105	—	—	
Borlu twill, seven-colored (bolt)	109	—	—	width 1 *zira*, length 11.5 *zira*
(zira)	9			
Borlu twill, blue (bolt)	103	—	—	
Istanbul twill, blue (bolt)	92	—	—	
(zira)	8			
Borlu twill, scarlet	140	—	—	
(zira)	13	—	12	
Borlu twill, green *(zira)*	9.5	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *gireh*
Manisa twill white *(zira)*	11		10.5	length 11.5 *zira*
Manisa *isperek*-dark green (bolt)	180	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 2 *rub*, length 7 *rub*
(zira)	23			
Manisa *nar neftisi*	165	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *rub*, 1 *gireh*, length 11.5 *zira*
(zira)	15			
Mosul red-light cotton cloth *(zira)*	30	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *rub*, length 7.5 *zira*
Mardin white light cotton cloth (bolt)	230	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *gireh*, length 22 *zira*
(zira)	11			
Denizli white twill (bolt)	25	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 2 *rub*, length 8 *zira*

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
İstanbul white twill *(zira)*	6.5	—	—	length 11.5
Istanbul seven-colored twill *(zira)*	7	—	—	—
Indian Borūcī white twill (bolt) *(zira)*	600 31	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *rub*, length 20 *zira*
White bafta of Yemen twill *(zira)*	14	—	—	width 7 *rub* length 14 zira
İstanbul white lining *(zira)*	4	3.5	3	width 7 *rub*
İstanbul blue lining *(zira)*	4	—	—	
İstanbul, green lining *(zira)*	3.5	—	—	
Borlu white *balta-sapi* twill *(zira)*	8.5	8	7	width 1 *zira*, length 11.5 *zira*
Borlu-*balta sapi* seven-colored *(zira)*	9.5	9	8	
Cyprus lining *(zira)*	5.5		5	width 7 *rub*, length 20
Egyptian kerchief *alaca*	180	150	130	width 6 *rub*, length 12 *zira*
Kentūm Indian *alaca* twill	340	—	—	
Manisa *alaca*	130	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 2 *rub*, length 8 *zira*
Ibn-Baba *alaca*	100	80	70	width 6 *rub*, 1 *gireh*, length 12 *zira*

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
Begşehri *alaca*	70	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 2 *rub*, length 6 *zira*
Tire *alaca*	60	—	50	width 1 *zira*, 2 *rub*
Muslins *(dülbend)*				
gilded, "without equal"	1,600	—	1,200	width 1 *zira* 3 *gireh*, length 24 zira, weight 116 dirhems, "suitable for the Sultan himself," the very best
Raksbendi, gilded	1,000	800	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *rub*, 1 gireh, length 18 *zira*, weight 107 dirhem
Sūsī, gilded	1,200	—	—	width 1 *zira* 3 *rub*, 16 squares, length 22.5 *zira*
Sūsī, Ferhādhānī	700	—	—	width 1 *zira*, 1 *gireh*, length 20.5 *zira*, 18 squares, weight 102 dirhem
Hammāmī, gilded (bolt) (per square)	800 80		450 35	width 2 *zira*, length 20 *ziras*, weight 240 dirhems, 10 squares; (low quality): width 1.5 *zira*, 13 squares
Şerbetī (bolt) (per square)	720 48	—	—	width 1 *zira* 3 *rub* 1 *gireh* length 21 *zira*, 15 squares
Finely trimmed *Mehker* (bolt) (per square)	325 25			width 1 *zira* 2 *rub* 1 *gireh*, length 18 *zira*, 13 squares
Finely trimmed Ferhādhānī common cut (bolt) (per square)	640 42	—	—	width 1 *zira* 1 *rub*, length 18 *zira*, 15 squares
Gilded *raks bendi*	480	440	—	width 1 *zira* 1 rub, length 18 *zira*, weight 100 dirhem, 15 squares

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
Mermerşāhī (bolt)	1,400	1,000	540	width 1.5 *zira* 1 *gireh*, length 30 *zira*, weight 150 dirhem, 18 squares med. width 1 *zira* 3 *rub* 1 *gireh*, length 29 *zira*, 20 squares; low: width 1 *zira* 2 rub,1 *gireh*, length 23*zira*, 18sqs.
(per square)	80	50	30	
Colored gilded muslin	300	280	260	—
Khassa large muslin (bolt)	1,400			width 1 *zira* 5 *rub* 1 *gireh* length 31 *ziras*, 18 squares
(per square)	80			
Khassa turban called *miyāne* (bolt)	1,040		400	width 1 *zira* 5 *rub*, length 26 *zira*, 18 squares, Low: width 1 *zira* 2 *rub*, length 26 *zira*, 20 squares
(per square)	55		20	
Turban called *tensuh* red-bordered (bolt)	900	—	—	30 squares
(per square)	30			
Şāhgül-i Ferhād-Hānī (bolt)	360	320	280	width 1 *zira* 1 *gireh*, length 16 *zira*, 15 squares
Gilded Bihārī Muslin Turban	260	220	180	width 1 *zira* 2 *rub* 1 *gireh*, length 17 *zira*, 14 squares
Kayyim-Hānī turban, common cut (bolt)	400	300	220	width 1 *zira* 3 *gireh*, length 25 *zira*, 21 squares
(per square)	20			
Mendcerī gilded muslin	200	180	—	width 1 *zira*, length 16 *zira*
Bihārī Nīmgül turban, one border gilded, one border Ferhâdî	200	—	—	width 1 *zira* 1 *gireh*, length 16 *zira*

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
Agabānū turban for ladies	330	280	—	width 1 *zira* 2 *rub* 1 *gireh* 13 squares, *sadelik*
Behrām-pūrī, common cut, Indian muslin (bolt)	400	260	200	width 1 *zira* 2 *rub* 1 *gireh*, 13 squares
(per square)	31	20		
Sîr-Şeker for ladies (bolt)	1,000	600	500	width 1.5 *zira*, 18 squares
(per square)	56	35	—	
Meselpatam turban common cut, (bolt)	200	—	—	width 1 *zira* 1 *rub*, length 14 *zira* 12 squares
(per square)	17			
Humāyūnī twill, head towel (per square)	110	80	—	7 squares
Celāl-Shāhī white twill, also called çoltar (bolt)	280	240	—	width 1.5 *zira*, length 15 *zira*, 9 squares
(per square)	32			
Tafsīlī-Yazdī twill *alaca* (bolt)	260	—	240	
Kāşānī *alaca* (bolt)	480	400	—	12 squares
(per square)	42	35		
Indian *alaca kafesī* (bolt)	480	400	—	12 squares
(per square)	42	35		
Indian Mavdihī (?) *alaca* (bolt)	1,000	—	—	width 1.5 *zira*, 18 squares
(per square)	56			

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
Large imitation *Yemenī* embroidered, small designs (bolt)	340	—	—	13 squares
(per square)	26			
Yemenī imitation, embroidered, big designs (bolt)	280	—	—	12 squares
(per square)	24			
Bahrām-pūrī Pieces of *Yemenī* kerchiefs	60	—	—	width and length 1.5 *zira*
Çine muslin	65	—	—	width 6 *rub* 1 *gireh*, length 12.5 *zira*
Çine muslin	30	—	—	width 5 *rub* 1 *gireh*, length 9 *zira*
Indian handkerchief *meyan-pûr* on white (bolt)	2,160	—	—	width 1 *zira* 2 *rub* 18 squares
(per square)	120	100		
Tabriz handkerchief (bolt)	560	500	—	width 1 *zira* 2 rub, length 18 *zira*, 14 squares
(per square)	40			
Gold-embroidered turban pieces	480	400	—	
Kerchiefs, with a silver gilt border (each)	145	—	120	width 1 *zira* 2 *rub*, length 2 *zira*

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
Sorencī imitation *Yemenī* kerchiefs (bolt)	360	—	300	13 pieces in one (bolt)
(each)	30		23	
Kāşānī *alaca* kerchiefs (bolt)	300	—	260	14 pieces in one (bolt)
(each)	22		18.5	
White-bordered kerchiefs (each)	90	80	—	width 1.5 *zira*, length 1.5 *zira*, 1 *gireh*
Yazdī *Alaca* crepe, called *musannaf* (bolt)	720	600	—	width 1 *zira* 2 *rub*, 12.5 squares
(per square)	57	53		
Striped crepe (per *arşin*)	40	—	—	width 5 *rub* 1 *gireh*
Plain crepe (per *arşin*)	40	—	—	

Cummerbund

black-striped crepe (per *arşin*)	30	—	—	width 5 *rub* 1 *gireh*
Plain-bordered Penāres (Benares) cummerbund	70	—	—	width 1 *zira*, length 4.5 *zira*
Penāres *meyan-pūr* cummerbund	120	—	100	width 1 *zira*, length 6 *zira*
Penāres, *meyān-hālī* cummerbund	90	—	—	
Zertârî cummerbund pieces	480	—	400	length 5 *zira*

TYPE OF CLOTH	Quality A'lā (highest)	Evsat (medium)	Ednā (lowest)	Details
Zertârî cummerbund pieces	180	—	150	width 1.5 *zira*, length 4 *zira* 2 *rub*
Damascene red, violet and scarlet cummerbund called *muhattem* (dirhem)	5			
Damascene seven-colored *muhattem* cummerbund (dirhem)	4			

[1 zira (*dhirāᶜ*) = 68 cm, 1 rub (*rubᶜ*) = 8.5 cm,1 gireh = 2.04 cm]

D. Basra, 1690

The following is a list of cotton fabrics and other textiles coming from India, based on the Basra customs regulation of 1689-90:

Table V

Plain *köşe destār* (turban)–very fine, expensive cotton cloth
Hezārī destār
Pansadī destār
Hunkārī destār
Savāī destār
Kanpūrī destār
Varangal destār (Varangal is a city in India)
Kanbīl destār and similar *destārs*
Şīlā-cūnī destār
Şīlā-Bengālī destār

Plain *ķutnī* (cotton-silk blend)
Gold-embroidered *ķutnī*
Putadār ķutnī
Zencīr-bāf ķutnī
Mahremāt ķutnī

Plain *atlās* (silk)
Gold-embroidered *atlās*
Çeşm-i bülbül *atlās* and similar silk cloths
Boruc *alaca* (cotton-silk blend) (Broach, a city in India)
Kashmire *alaca*
Sāhib *alaca*
Ahmed-ābādī *alaca* (Ahmed-ābād, a city)
Mav *alaca* (Mhaw, a city)
Kesārī *alaca*
Kampūre *alaca*
Benāres *alaca* (Benares, a city)
Benderī *alaca*
Fatra (?) *alaca*
Divil *alaca* (Dabol, a city)
Black *dū-tābī bāfta* (cotton)
Black *yekunīmī bāfta* (cotton)
Black Ahmedpūr *bāfta*
Black half *bafta*
White Boruc *bāfta*
White Ahmed-epīr (Ahmed-pūr) *bāfta*
White Suratī *bāfta* (Surat, a city)
Lakapūrī *bāfta*
White *mīryāzī bāfta*
Five-colored Chintz *(çit)*
Five-colored *Çīre-i destmāl*
Plain *bādle* (Arabic *bādle*, or *bāzle*, a suit)
All gold *bādle*
Gold *bādle*
Puta-dārī bādle
Nesavuni (Nausārī) *bādle*
Half-*bayrāmī*
Sakkarī-Cūnī
Hammāmī sakkarī
Ferrūh-Hānī *sakkarī*
Patka hamī and others

A fee of four pieces per hundred was collected at customs in Basra on the fabrics listed above. Furthermore a piece called the *ser-boğça* was taken on every bale over one hundred pieces. Another piece per hundred was taken for *ķapancılık* (or *ķapaniyye*), *yasakcılık* and *dellāliye*. Four *heştī para* were taken for every twenty pieces, under the name *tavvāfiye*. If the owner of the Indian ship were a Muslim, an imperial tax of 200 *şāhī* was assessed. The same regulation shows that raw cotton *(Hint penbesi)* was imported to this region. The other principal imports consisted of spices, Chinese porcelain and indigo.

It is worth noting that *ḳutnī*, muslin *(dülbend)*, quilted turbans, and skullcaps from Baghdad, that is, of Ottoman manufacture, came to Basra. Most silks and silk-cotton blends, and a great many other kinds of fabrics, were imported to Basra from Persia. Members of the Ottoman military class in Sultan's service, *ḳul*s, came from Baghdad with merchants, and buying fabrics and spices took to Baghdad on ships paying 500 *abbāsī* per ship (on the Persian currency *ʿabbāsī* see Steensgaard, p. 418). In contrast, when ships coming from Bahrain returned from Basra they paid only 300 *ʿabbāsī* as *resm-i reftī*.

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We have been able to obtain some information about the cotton cloths of Indian origin in the above lists.

Bayrāmī:
Bayrām-pūrī and Bayrāmī must be the same variety of fabric. Ibn Battūta (Defrémery and Sanguinetti ed., IV, 2) brought very valuable *bayrāmī* from India as a gift to the emperor of China; it was valued at a hundred *dīnār* per bolt. Ludovico di Verthema (1501 and 1507) names *bayrāmī* among the fabrics that they were imported to Turkey. But according to East India Company documents, in the seventeenth century *Byrampautes* (Chadhuri, p. 501) was a white or dyed fabric of coarse medium grade. It was manufactured primarily in Gujerat and Dekkan. It was exported particularly to West Africa.

Dapul, Dabol (Divi):
Dabhol is south of Bombay. Duarte (Odoardo) Barbosa[54] reported (1516-21) that it was an important city in which a great number of Muslim merchants lived.

Hammāmī:
A white muslin fabric of very high quality, *kummum*, in East India Company documents. It was exported from Bengal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was used for clothing.

Çit
This was a kind of cotton print which came into English as *chintz*. It was an ordinary cotton cloth and was imported from India in great quantities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was manufactured primarily in Bengal-Bihar, Kasimbazar, Patna and Calcutta, and a finer grade was made in Masulipatam and Madras. A coarse and inexpensive variety was made in Gujerat and Dakka (on this fabric see John Irwin and Paul R. Schwartz, *Origins of Chintz*, London, 1970). *Çit* was also manufactured in the Ottoman Empire (on Aleppo *çit* see Barkan, *Edirne*, p. 271). It was the object of very widespread popular consumption after the sixteenth century, as an imitation of expensive embroidered silken cloths and cotton fabrics. Prints, which began to be used in a number of different places as women's trousers, bed coverings, pillow cases and robes, were known very early in the Near East. This technique, which involved pressing colored designs onto cotton cloth with wooden blocks, seems to have been widely used as one way of mass-producing for a broad market in the pre-industrial economy.

Bāfta or *Pāfta:*
The word must have come from Persian *bāften* (to weave) or *fāhīden* (to pluck, to card cotton). In Central Asian Turkish *pākhta* may have sprung from the word *fāhīden*,[55] with the meaning cotton, or cotton cloth, and *bāfta* may have been a cotton cloth of Central Asian origin. According to Chaudhuri (p. 501), this cloth could be white, red or other colors, coarse or fine in grade, and was primarily manufactured in Gujerat, Broach (Boruc), Bihar, Bengal, Dakka, Nausari, Bardoli, Konkan and Rajupur. It was nine to fourteen yards in length and three-fourths to one yard in width.

Sherbetī:
This was a luxury muslin, mainly manufactured in Bengal and Dakka. It appears in East India Company documents as *Seerbettes*. Its fine, expensive grades were made in Bengal.

Agabānū:
Farley (p.236) speaks of the import of this cotton cloth to Turkey even in the nineteenth century. It must be the cloth which appears in East India Company documents as *atchabannies*. This cotton cloth, for which there was general demand, was manufactured primarily in Bengal. There is a variety in the 1640 price register called *agabānū destār* (turban).[56]

Izārī:
Izārī, which appears in the Ottoman *tereke* documents, was a white cotton cloth of medium grade (*izarees* in East India Company documents, Chaudhuri, p. 502). It was manufactured in southern India. One bolt of this fabric was eight yards long and a yard wide.

Savaşpūr:
This Indian muslin appears in a *tamga* list dated 1826 (see O. Nuri, *Mecelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, I (Istanbul, 1922), p. 379). This variety of cotton cloth was a loosely-woven muslin which was used for linings and was known as *Salaşpūr*. It may be identical to the *Salampūr* (*Sallampore*, Chaudhuri, pp. 502-03) which was manufactured in southern India, on the coasts of Masulipatam and Malabar. In East India Company documents (Chaudhuri, *ibid.*) it appears to be a white or blue-dyed cotton cloth of medium grade. A bolt was fifteen to eighteen yards long and a yard wide. It was primarily an export good in the eighteenth century. White *salampūr* was re-exported after being printed with a stencilled design in England.

Bogasi, or *bohasi, buhasi:*
Bogasi was a fine Near Eastern cotton cloth which gained fame in Italy in the Middle Ages, called *bocassino*. We know that *bogasi* was exported to Italy from Anatolia

at that time. There were several varieties of up to the very finest grade (for the prices see the list), both white and dyed. They were used for clothing such as kaftans, cloaks and jackets, or for upholstery. Hamid-eli, Karaman and Tokat bogasi maintained their reputation for centuries. *Pāfta bogasi* may have been an Indian product. The price register speaks of a variety of Indian *bogasi.*

Indian thread or yarn:
Imported Indian thread must have been of fine quality. According to the price register of 1640, prices of Anatolian threads/yarns were as follows:

	(per *okka*, in *akça*)
Fine Akhisar thread	40
Menteşe thread: very fine	70; thick 60
White Geyve thread	110
Red Diyarbakïr thread	220
Indian thread	100

(1 *okka* = 1.2828 kg.; 1 *zira (arşın)* = 68 cm.)

Indian cotton thread or yarn was an important import commodity until 1800. The Syrian cotton manufacturing industry used Indian cotton yarn before switching to English yarn.

Cotton-Silk Blend Fabrics

Meselibeten or *Meselpatam:*
A variety of cotton cloth known for its *çit* prints, exported from Masulipatam, in the eastern coasts of India. It became known by this name in Turkey. Samples of this type of fabric are given in the work of John Irwin and M. Hall (*Indian Painted and Printed Fashions,* pp. 48-52). According to East Indian Company documents (Chaudhuri, pp. 501-505), varieties of printed and dyed cotton cloths with names such as *çit, alaca* and *salampūr* were exported from there. *Meselibeten* Indian *ḳutnī* seems to have been a cotton-silk blend (eight *zira/arşın* in length) in the Ottoman price register. *Meselibeten* muslin headwear was well-established on the Ottoman market.

Alaca:
The description of *yolak barçın* in Kashġarī ("barçın," *Divanü Lugāt-it-Türk,* ed. B. Atalay) matches a description of *alaca* and *ḳutnī* (compare *A Survey of Persian Art,* ed. Pope, III, p. 2043). *Ḳutnī* was among the fabrics introduced into the Mongol Khanate in Persia in the fourteenth century *(Resālä-yi Faläkiyya,* 137). *Ḳutnī* and *alaca* are said to belong to a group of silk-cotton blend fabrics which had a large consumption in India, Persia and Turkey after the Mongol period, since the thirteenth century. We find a number of varieties of fabrics under the rubric *alaca* after the fifteenth century in Ottoman *tereke* and customs registers: Egyptian *alaca,* Damascene *alaca, Yezdī alaca,* Indian alaca, *anberī alaca,* Manisa *alaca,* Tire *alaca,* Keşan *alaca,* Dapul *alaca,* and *alaca* print wall hangings. A number of goods

were made of *alaca: alaca* kaftans, *alaca* saddle bags, *alaca* cushions, *alaca* rugs, *alaca atlas* cushions, *alaca* napkins. In İstanbul *alaca* sellers were organized into a separate guild. In the time of Evliyā Çelebi, the *alacas* of Tire, Damascus and India were famous. A cheaper type of kaftan was made from *alaca* instead of *atlas* or brocade. The field of consumption of *alaca* fabrics as clothing and household upsholstery was very wide. *Alaca* was well-known in India under this name. *Alaca* has been studied among a group of fabrics known as *ikat,* which spread over a wide area of Asia from Indonesia to the Near East. The characteristic of this fabric is achieved by dying the thread here and there before it is woven and the design was obtained using this yarn. The origins of this technique, which in Turkey was called *makaslı* or *taraklı,* are traced to ancient times (see A. Bühler, "Le technique de Ikat," *les Cahiers de Ciba,* III-36, pp. 1218-24; Şahin Yağan, *Türk El Dokumacılığı* (Istanbul, 1978), pp. 11-28; D. Chevallier, "Les tissues d'ikatés d'Alep et de Damas," *Syria,* XXXIX (1962), pp. 300-24).

Ḳutnī, (ḳutnu)
Ḳutnī was a striped fabric resembling *alaca,* the woof of which was cotton and the warp silk. It was both exported, woven in significant amounts in Damascus, Aleppo, Baghdad, Bursa and Istanbul, the Ottoman Empire's main textile manufacturing centers, and imported, from India. Naʿīmā (V, p. 25) places Indian *ḳutnī* at the top of the goods imported from India. Indian *ḳutnī, bāfta* and shawls were first in importance among the fabrics of Indian origin imported to Egypt towards the end of the eighteenth century. Egyptian commerce with India was in deficit as a result of this trade (A. Raymond, *Artisans et Commerçants,* pp. 135-36). *Ḳutnī* found diverse use in Anatolia and Syria, especially among the peasantry as clothing and upholstery. Today artificial silk is used in place of silk.

A number of goods of twill and muslin, as turbans, headwear, kerchiefs and cummerbunds were also of Indian origin: Bihārī *destār,* Agabānū *destār, mendīl-i hindī,* various Benares *destārs* and cummerbunds among them. Most *degirmis,* that is, some of these valuable muslins which were sold as four-cornered pieces, were used as linings for expensive quilts. Rich quilts were made of Indian taffeta and *çit.* According to the price list of 1640 some varieties of local muslins competed with Indian muslins: Çine (in Menteşe) and Ahırnasī (Agırnas, near Kayseri). Fine cotton cloth from Persia *(Acem)* and Yemen *(Yemenī)* also took a fairly important place in the *tereke* registers and the price lists. High-grade cotton was produced in Persia and India, and fine cotton yarn made in these countries was needed for weaving fine muslins in Turkey. Import of Indian cotton yarn must go back to very early times. The price register of 1640 tells us that in Menteşe "very fine" cotton yarn and muslin was manufactured and a kind of women's headwear called *çenber* was made. Also a very fine cotton yarn was made in Maydos near Gallipoli. It was known that a rather good variety of cotton was grown between Gallipoli and Mürefte.

It must be emphasized that both in market stocks and among household goods, quantities of fabrics of Indian origin were insignificant compared to the use of fabrics and cloth from Anatolia, Baghdad, Bursa, Aleppo and Damascus. But according to the 1640 Istanbul price register and the Basra customs register, Indian muslin held an important place on the market, especially for turbans. It might be considered that the market for consumption of imported Indian goods was situated in the capital of the empire and other large cities, and that there was a much more limited demand for these goods in the provinces.

III. EXPORTS OF COTTON CLOTH FROM ANATOLIA TO THE NORTH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Below, we summarize data gathered by M. de Peyssonel[57] during his consulate in the Black Sea region, a valuable source for evaluating the cotton cloth production and export capacity of Turkey in the mid-eighteenth century. Peyssonel began his research in the 1750s in an effort to find new markets for French commerce. In 1753 he was sent to the Crimean Khanate as Consul. He left there in 1758 and completed his work in Crete in 1762. Before going to the Crimea, he began collecting information from Turkish, Greek and Armenian merchants in Izmir and Istanbul. He continued his local research after going to the Crimea where he travelled widely and made a trip to Özü. He attempted to establish export and import commodities, quantities and prices and measures with precision. Peysonnel's work is of utmost importance, not only for providing reliable statistical data relative to the conditions of the time, but also from the point of view of the methods applied by a mercantilist Western state to open new markets and defeat competitors. We draw particular attention to the measures Peyssonel recommended his government use to supersede local Ottoman manufactured products since the Ottoman regime of commerce left imports unrestricted. He draws attention to how demand for French fabrics was limited because of the low price of Ottoman twill and he relies on the factor of price above all in driving out Ottoman and foreign competitors. He emphasizes that selling for a low price on the market is more important than quality. Another point to which he gives importance is finding inexpensive sources of raw materials; he suggests that the way to lower costs was to infiltrate the production regions themselves, and to eliminate the middle man. In order to boost demand for French goods, he sought market opportunities by trying all of the methods that the English, Flemish and other colonial states followed on the Ottoman market, such as sending samples to the French manufacturers, encouraging native population to use French goods, calculating costs by experimental purchases and sales, etc. To

see mercantilism at work, one should examine Peyssonel's efforts. Our purpose here is simply to evaluate the statistical data he provides on the cotton cloth trade. We present below, in summary fashion, his data on cotton cloth exports made from Anatolia to the northern Black Sea region.

Commodity	Annual Imports (in *guruş*)	Price	Details
Tokat print *(basma)*	200,000	6-15 *para* per *arşın*	Much used in the Crimea as well as among the Nogays and Circassians in the northern Black Sea steppe for making goods such as trousers, bed spreads and pillow cases.
Dutch prints	—	20-30 para per *arşın*	These prints were partly of Dutch manufacture and partly imported to Holland from India. Holland was the leading European importer of Indian cotton cloth. In the eighteenth century these goods spread to Eastern Europe by way of the Leipzig fair; consumption was limited in the northern Black Sea region. Although their quality was superior to Anatolian prints, they could not compete with them in price.
Twill *(bogasi)*	400,000	per 10-*arşın* piece: high: 4-5 grs.; med: 3-3.5 grs. low: 1.5-2 grs.	Tokat, Kastamonu and Amasya twills were inexpensive and very popular. It was primarily used in making men's and women's kaftans. The best quality were Tokat twills. Twill came in various colors. Caffa merchants sent agents to Anatoli to buy it.
Astar	250,000	per 20-*arşın* piece: highest (mountain cloth): 1.25- 2 grs. med.(tent cloth): 1.25-1.5 grs. low(Çorum cloth): 1-1.25 grs.	This coarse, cotton cloth, widely manufactured in many places in Anatolia, was brought from Sinop and Samsun to Kefe and from there distributed throughout the Black Sea region.

Commodity	Annual Imports (in *guruş*)	Price	Details
Muslin *(dülbend)*	10-12,00	per piece: highest: 15-20 grs.	Used as head covering for women and turbans for men. The best quality called *şerbetī*. There were varieties with embroidered edges, used as handkerchiefs or veils. The second quality was called *deve tabanı*.
Çenber	250,000	per piece: 6.5-16 grs.	A kind of headwear, the covering of which hung down the back, to the heels. There were several varieties: *Frenk-mermeri, hanze-mermeri, Sultan-mermeri, mendil-mermeri,* and *Bengal-mermeri*. Women wore them in the cities and villages.
Tārpūş	150-200,000	—	A kind of headwear worn by Crimean & Nogay women, made from dyed cotton cloth.
Cotton Shirts	4,000	2.25-10 grs.	A kind of cloak in which women wrapped and dried themselves after bathing.
Havlu towels	8-10,000	silk-bordered 1.25-2.25 grs.	Most came from Serez.
Peştimal	10,000	highest: 40-45 *para* med: 20-25 *para* low: 15-16 *para*	There were many varieties including silk, silk blends, and pure cotton. The finest & most expensive were the Egyptian & Selânik varieties; they were silk striped and bordered: the *kırk kalem* of Selânik were famous. The cotton-flax blend *kara-bugra & ak-baş* varieties were used for handkerchiefs and napkins.
Cotton thread or yarn *(iplik)*	18,750-22,500	per *okka:* 2.5-3 grs.	Imported from Anatolia via İstanbul. Usually dyed, it was used in weaving aprons, napkins, coverings and trousers.

Commodity	Annual Imports (in *guruş*)	Price	Details
Fine thread *(tire)*	16-18,000	per *tura* (60 skeins) 30-35 *para*	Cotton varieties were imported from İstanbul and Sinop, flax from Trabzon Rize and Russia. Dyed varieties were especially used by tailors, the coarse thread by cobblers.
Cotton	7-8,000 bales	—	The best quality came from Kırkagaç and Akhisar in Anatolia. It was expensive. Gelibolu and Kasaba cottons less expensive. The price of cotton was fixed in the market of Istanbul.

We know that M. Peyssonel carefully assembled these figures by interviewing merchants who knew the market. In this way he placed the total value of the cotton cloths shipped from south to the Crimean Khanate (i.e., the Crimean Peninsula, the northern Black Sea steppe region which was called *Deşt,* and Circassia via Caffa) alone at around a million and a half *guruş* in the 1750s. Anatolia provided a sizable portion of the textile goods used in the various clothing and upholstery needs of this region. Cotton imports were much more significant in this region than wool or flax textiles. Peyssonel accepted that the primary factor which limited consumption of French woolen cloths in this region was domestic cotton twill, which was used in large quantities. The common people, who tried to provide their outer dresses at the lowest price, chose Anatolian twill. Clearly in terms of price, Dutch and Indian cotton cloth could not compete with Anatolian cotton cloth in this market. However, in Caffa, as in Istanbul, Indian products dominated the market in fine cotton cloth (muslin and *mermer*).

Generally speaking, the situation we see in the Caffa customs registers in the late fifteenth century did not change significantly over the next three centuries. Cheap cotton cloth continued to be the basic commodity of north-south trade. North-central Anatolia, the region extending from Kastamonu to Tokat, continued to be the basic production area meeting the cotton cloth demand of the northern regions in the eighteenth century, as in the fifteenth. Especially in the much-used coarse cotton cloths not only cities and towns, but rural areas also participated in this industrial production. The economic way of life and the prosperity of weaving and dyeing handicraft centers such as Kastamonu, Amasya, Merzifon, Tokat and Çorum, and such outlets as Sinop, Samsun and Inebolu were based on this economic interdependency in the region, especially in cotton cloth

exports. This interdependency continued for some time, even after the Russian invasion of the northern Black Sea region (1783), in spite of all of the difficulties. But at the turn of the eighteenth century English cotton thread and cotton cloth arriving from Istanbul would begin to supersede Anatolian products in this market. And the period of real economic decline for this region began at that time.[58]

NOTES

1. *Başvekâlet Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü* (hereafter BA), Kâmil Kepeci classification, no. 5280. I am preparing this register for publication.

2. Some notes from the *Mühimme* registers on the cotton cloth market are summarized in S. Faroqhi, "Notes on the Production of Cotton Cloth in XVI and XVII Century Anatolia," *Journal of European Economic History* VII-2 (Rome, 1978), pp. 405-17. Faroqhi attempts to determine the volume of cotton cloth production by calculating tax revenues from dye plants. Firstly, however, dye plants were used for other types of fabrics as well. Second, some important cotton cloth production centers were exempted from these taxes. Finally, she must show the tax rates for each place. We have no reliable source for measuring volume of production. *Muḳāṭaᶜa* totals can give a rough idea. M. Genç has made some estimates using this as a source. "Osmanlı Maliyesinde Malikâne Sistemi," *Türkiye Iktisat Tarihi Semineri, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 1973* (Ankara, 1975), pp. 231-91.

3. Evilyā Çelebi, *Seyahatname* (Istanbul H. 1314) p. 398 says, "Every year merchants take thousands of bales of cotton cloth to the Crimean area and exchange it for slaves." Customs documents reiterate the industrial importance of Merzifon. The local *alaca* pillow cases, painted prints, chintz quilt covers, sheets and curtains were famous (Evilyā, *ibid.*). Compare Simeon, *Seyahatname,* ed. H. D. Andreasyan (Istanbul, 1964), pp. 86, 100.

4. A customs register for the years 1486-1506, for the ports of Akkerman, Kili and the Danube: *Başvekâlet Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Maliyeden Müdevver* no. 6. Another register on Akkerman alone, *Maliyeden Müdevver* no. 15649, is a maritime customs register covering the years 1503-1507. We are preparing an edition of these registers with G. Veinstein and M. Berindei.

5. On the Mongol incursions, we know that ᶜAlāeddīn Keykubād I prepared a maritime campaign to the Crimea and took under Seljuk sovereignty the Crimean port of Sudak (Soġudak) held by Hüsāmeddīn Çoban, a frontier prince in Kastamonu, in order to safeguard the trade between the Crimea and Anatolia. Osman Turan (*Islâm Ansiklopedisi,* VI, 649) establishes the date of this campaign as 1224. The north-south trade route between the Crimea, Anatolia and the Arab lands developed dramatically in the thirteenth century, and because of this trade the cities along the trade route, Sinop, Samsun, Sivas, Kayseri, Konya and Antalya experienced an unprecedented economic growth. See O. Turan, *Türkiye Selçukuları Hakkında Resmî Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1958), pp. 121-46; besides the various publications of G. I. Bratianu, now see also especially Michel Balard, *La Romanie Génoise,* 2 vols. (Genoa, 1978), esp. vol. 1, pp. 114-79.

6. Radu Manolescu, *Comertul Tării Româneşi şi Moldovei cu Braşovul* (Bucharest, 1965), p. 91; idem "Le rôle commercial de la ville de Brašov dans le sud-est de l'Europe au XI siècle," *Nouvelles Etudes d'Histoire* II (Bucharest, 1960), pp. 207-20. I thank M. Berindei for bringing this study to my attention.

7. R. Manolescu, *Comerţrul,* pp. 152, 160. These knives came from Styria, a mining region. On their import to Egypt, see Inalcık, "Bursa," mentioned in note 11 below.

8. L. Fekete and Gy. Kálday-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher Türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda (Ofen), 1550-1580* (Budapest, 1962), Index: *bogasi, büründük, dülbend.*

9. E. Vass, "Türkische Beiträge zur Handelsgeschichte der Stadt Vác (Waitzen) aus dem 16. Jahrhundert," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica,* XXIV-1 (Budapest, 1971), p. 12.

10. Lidia A. Demény, "Le commerce de Transylvanie avec les régions du sud du Danube effectué par le douane de Turnu Roşu en, 1685," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* VIII-5 (Bucharest, 1968), p. 765.

11. H. İnalcık, "Bursa: XV. asır sanayi ve ticaret tarihine dair vesikalar," *Belleten* XXIV (Ankara, 1960), documents 2, 12, and 40.

12. *Ibid.,* documents 12 (pp. 75-76) and 40 (p. 95).

13. M. Yakub Mughul, "Portekizlilerle Kızıldeniz' de Mücadele ve Hicaz 'da Osmanlı Hakimiyetinin Yerleşmesi Hakkında bir Vesika," *Belgeler* (Ankara, 1965), II, 37-47; idem, *Osmanlılar' ın Hint Okyanusu Politikası* (İstanbul, 1974); on the mediation of Gujerat betweeen the Near East, Asia and the Ottomans see Razaulhak Şah, "Açı Padişahı Sultan Alaeddin 'in Kanunî Sultan Süleyman 'a Mektubu," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* V (1967), pp. 375-76; M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujerat* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1976).

14. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, 1503-1508,* trans. J. W. Jones, ed. G. B. Badger, The Hakluyt Society no. 32 (London, 1863), p. 151.

15. *Ibid.,* p. 92, 111; for Gujerat's textile exports to the Near East, and imports from there of opium, red root dye (madder), horses, and raisins during the 1500s, see V. M.- Godinho, *L'économie de l'empire Portugais* (Paris, 1969), p. 758.

16. For this kanunname see Ö. L. Barkan, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları,* I. Kanunlar (İstanbul, 1943), pp. 191-92.

17. On this struggle: Salih Özbaran, "Basra Beylerbeğiliği 'nin Kurulması . . . ," *Tarih Dergisi* XXV (Istanbul, 1971), pp. 51-72; V. M.-Godinho, *op. cit,* pp. 711-80.

18. On Hormuz, J. Aubin, "Le rouaume d'Ormuz au début du XVIe siècle," *Mare Luso-Indicum* II, pp. 77-179, 233-37. M.-Godinho, *op. cit.* 764-72; Niels Steensgaard, *Carracks, Caravans, Companies* (Copenhagen, 1973), pp. 154-208; Saldanha, *Selections from State Papers, Bombay, regarding the East India's Connections with the Persian Gulf,* 1600-1800 (Calcutta, 1908).

19. Halil Sahillioğlu, "Bir Tüccar Kervanı," *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi* IX (İstanbul, 1959), pp. 63-69.

20. *Hakluyt's Voyages,* ed. Everyman's Library, III, p. 326.

21. Steensgaard, p. 197.

22. Steensgaard, p. 207; previously the Portuguese had forbidden the Turks from doing business on Hormuz. However, the Turks, by introducing themselves as Persians, did become involved in commerce here. Naturallly this opportunity evaporated when Shah Abbas captured the island (see Steensgaard, *ibid.,* pp. 201, 277, 345, 353-58). R. W. Ferrier, "The Trade between India and the Persian Gulf and the East India Company," *Bengal: Past and Present,* LXXXIX, p. 189.

23. On this road see Douglas Carruthers, *The Desert Route to India,* Hakluyt Society publications, series II, vol. LXIII (Glasgow, 1929).

24. Steensgaard, *ibid.,* pp. 66-67, 207; J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages,* ed. Monteil (Geneva, 1970), pp. 341-46.

25. Holland and England, who controlled the Indian and South-Asian trade, brought cash and Asian products, among them Indian cotton fabrics, in exchange for silk purchased from Persia: Steensgaard, pp. 380-88; in 1670 J. Fryer said that much more "Indian cloth" than spices were brought from India to Persia (R. W. Ferrier, "The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century," p. 43, note 7); Visnich, who came to Persia in the name of the Dutch East India Company (1622), administered this trade. Among the goods brought by the Dutch at that time were Dekkan turbans, belts, and *bafta (baft)* cloth (W. Floor, *Awwalīn-i Sufarā-yi Irān-Holland,* Tehran, 1978, p. 20); the English shipped fabrics to Persia from Broach, Ahmadabad, Surat and Agra (Ferrier, "The Trade . . . ," pp. 191-92). Around 1661 the annual value of the cotton cloth brought from India to Iran by Armenian and Indian merchants approached one million *rupees:* K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 49, 196; there were Armenians in the caravan which came to Aleppo from Baghdad in 1610 (Sahillioğlu, "Bir Tüccar," pp. 63-65); Armenians primarily became involved in the textile trade (J. Chardin, *Voyages,* III, Amsterdam, 1711, p. 24; Ferrier, p. 38 note 3). The caravans arriving in Syrian ports from Basra and Baghdad in the mid-eighteenth century show evidence of growth in the volume of trade; according to M. F. Tiepolo (*La Persia e la Republica di Venezia* [Tehran, 1973], p. XVI) the number of camels in these caravans exceeded ten thousand, and they brought Indian and Persian goods to Aleppo; on Armenian merchants in Isfahan, see H. B. Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse,* ed. V. Monteil, pp. 71-72, 76-80. Persian textile exports to the Ottoman empire were significant.

26. Compare Steensgaard, p. 299; these figures probably are revenues taken on all trade via the Red Sea and Persian Gulf route. Basra's share must have been small. The customs revenues collected on goods arriving at the port of Basra from India and Hormuz at various dates are as follows:

	Customs Revenue		
Date	In *akça*	In gold	Source
1551	1,394,799	23,246	Tapu register, no. 288 (Mantran, p. 245)
1575	1,150,583	19,193	Tapu register, no. 534 (Mantran, p. 245)
1690	9,000,000	33,000 (Egyptian *Şerīfī* gold)	*Maliyeden Müd* no. 5461, These figures imply, besides customs figures, *delāliyye, vezzāniyye* and *kabbāniyye* duties.

A portion of the goods coming from India passed through Basra in transit and went on to Baghdad. Persian merchants used Basra; after the port of Bender-Abbas was established (1615), it began to compete with the Basra trade. According to an Armenian source, the annual revenue of Bender-Abbas in the 1700s was said to be fifteen thousand *tuman* (1 *tuman* was equal to 10,000 dirhems or 2,000 *şāhī,* in 1568; 10 *şāhī* were equal to 1 *guruş,* in 1620 13.3 *şahī* equaled 1 *guruş:* Steensgaard, pp. 419-20) and even at one time is claimed to have risen to forty thousand *tuman.* In 1723, during the Afghan revolt, Indian ships abandoned Bender-Abbas and went to Basra (see *Petros di Sarkis Gilanentz' in Kronolojisi,* Turkish translation by H. Andreasyan (İstanbul, 1974), pp. 24-25); compare Chaudhuri, p. 196; L. Lockhart, "Bandar-Abbas," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd edition, I, p. 1013; J. B. Tavernier, *op. cit.,* pp. 329-40.

27. Ferrier, "The Armenians," see above note 25. On Hovhannes see L. Khashikian, "Le régistre d'un marchand arménien en Perse," *Annales, E.S.C.* XXII, pp. 231-78.

28. Çağatay Uluçay, *Manisa' da Ziraat, Ticaret ve Esnaf Teşkilâtı* (İstanbul, 1942), documents 44, 61.

29. Tavernier, *op. cit.,* ed. V. Monteil, p. 81: "Il ya des marchands

turcs et arméniens qui prennent de l'argent à Surate (Gujerat) pour le rendre à Gomron, où ils prennent d'autres pour Ispahan, et ils font autant à Ispahan pour Erzeroum ou pour Babylone payant le vieux du nouveau qu'ils empruntent en chaque lieu." Because the market price of silver increased from the east to the west, merchants turned a profit by obtaining loans in the east and repaying the money in the west; on Surat see M. Pal Singh, "Merchants and the Local Administration and Civic Life in Gujerat during the Seventeenth Century," *Medieval India* 2 (1972), pp. 221-26; A. Das Gupta, "The Merchants of Surat, c. 1700-1750," *Elites in South Asia* (1970), pp. 201-22; M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujerat* (Berkeley, 1976).

30. *Ravḍat al-Husayn fī khulāṣat al Akhbār al-Hafiḳayn,* vol. IV (İstanbul, H. 1281), p. 293.

31. F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II,* vol. I, trans. S. Reynolds (New York, 1972), pp. 463-66; Chaudhuri, pp. 152-89.

32. See Steensgaard, pp. 367-97.

33. Ö. L. Barkan, "Edirne Askerî Kassamına Âit Tereke Defterleri," *Belgeler, Türk Tarihi Kurumu Belgeler Dergisi* III (Ankara, 1968), pp. 91-93, 143-46, 264-66, 293-95, 325-28, 336-38, 368-72.

34. In 1690 Sir Josiah Child wrote: "It was in the Company's (the East India Company) power to interrupt his (the Mughal emperor's) trade to the Red Sea and that of Armenians, Persians, Arabians, Kurds and other people of Bussora (Basra) etc. which usually carried off five time as many callicoes as we and the Dutch." (Chaudhuri, p. 246; see also pp. 191-96.)

35. On this development see S. Ahmad Khan, *The East India Company in the XVIIth Century* (London, 1923), pp. 22-26; Chaudhuri, *op. cit.,* pp. 294-96; on the prohibition in France see P. Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1911), pp. 277-78; on the dispute which arose because of the excess gold and silver pouring out of England due to this trade, see S. Ahmad Khan, pp. 168-72, 214-22. On the effective rivalry of the Levant Company in resisting the imports of the East India Company, *ibid.,* pp. 178-83; in response to these attacks the East India Company became a defender of free trade after the 1680s: Ahmad Khan, pp. 188-92.

36. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.,* p. 282.

37. P. Masson, *op. cit.,* p. 456.

38. P. Masson, *op. cit.,* p. 457, note 1.

39. P. Masson, *op. cit.,* p. 456.

40. On the development of Izmir see Necmi Ülker, "The Rise of Izmir, 1688-1740," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan (1974).

41. This subject has not been covered in a comprehensive manner on the basis of Ottoman archival materials. For the present, see N. G. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1956); V. Paskaleva, "Les relations commerciales des contrées bulgares avec

les pays occidentaux et la Russie," *Etudes Historiques* (Sofia, 1960), pp. 253-84; Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe; Taxation, Trade and Struggle for Land, 1600-1800,* Cambridge: CUP. 1981.

42. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.,* pp. 241-47.

43. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.,* pp. 237-38, 247, 282.

44. Ibn Battuta, *Voyages,* edited and translated by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, vol. IV (Paris, 1958), pp. 2-3; C. J. Lamm, *Cotton in Medieval Textiles of the Near East* (Paris, 1937), pp. 189-90.

45. Chaudhuri, pp. 159-70.

46. *Ibid.,* p. 262.

47. *Ibid.,* 241-247.

48. *Selem* or *Salam* was widely applied in the Ottoman Empire: Mustafa Akdağ, "Türkiye 'nin Iktisadî Vaziyeti," *Belleten* XIV (Ankara, 1950), pp. 366-68; on its place in Islamic law see Tahâvî, *Kitāb al-Shurūt al-Kabīr,* ed. J. V. Wakin (New York, 1972); *Macalla,* articles 380-87.

49. Lamm, *op. cit.,* p. 121; on weaving techniques for cotton cloth in India see Sir George Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India* (London, 1880); W. Born, "Le rouet à main hindou; sa diffusion vers l'Est et vers l'Ouest," *Les Cahiers CIBA* III, no. 26 (1949), pp. 904-05; R. Pfister, *Les toiles imprimés de Fostat et l'Hindostan* (Paris, 1938); J. Irwin and K. B. Brett, *Origins of Chintz* (London, 1970); for weaving techniques in Turkey Şahin Yüksel, *Türk El Dokumacılığı,* İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları (Istanbul, 1978); Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kumaş ve Süsleme Sözlüğü,* Sümerbank Kültür Yayınlarï (Ankara, 1969); Hans E. Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia* (Boston, 1966), pp. 172, 230; Ş. Elçin, "Denizli Dokumacılığı Üzerine Notlar," *Türk Etnoğrafya Dergisi* V (Ankara, 1962), 1-20.

50. Ö. L. Barkan, "Edirne Askerî Kassâmına Âit Tereke Defterleri," *Belgeler* III (Ankara, 1968), pp. 1-477.

51. R. Mantran, "Réglements fiscaux ottomans, la province de Bassora," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* X, pp. 224-77.

52. In the 1630s, Tavernier, ed. Monteil, p. 28, explains that the steel known as "Damascene" was actually Indian.

53. Walter Hinz, ed. *Die Resālä-ye Faläkkiyyä* (Wiesbaden, 1952), 136b-137. This important source, which was brought to light by Z. V. Togan, was written about 1363 by Abdullāh Māzenderānī. This source also documents that cloth was imported from India to Persia by 1363.

54. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* I, ed. M. L. Dames (London, 1918), pp. 164-65 (the original name of the port is read Dabhol): "Many ships of the Moors (Muslumans) from divers lands, to wit from Meca (Mecca), Adem (Aden), and Ormus (Hormuz). . . . From the

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