

ARMENIANS AND ORIENTAL CARPETS IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1890S–1910S)

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ABSTRACT

Criticism of the Armenian contribution to rug weaving and design has often hinged on two related claims: first, that as a Christian nation, Armenians were not influential in the aesthetic design of oriental rugs, and two, that Armenians were not significantly involved in the manufacture and production of such woven artifacts. This paper addresses the second claim by focusing on a period spanning the 1890s to 1910s, generally considered key decades in the manufacture and global circulation of oriental rugs. The paper demonstrates that, contrary to the claim that Armenians were generally absent from the manufacture of oriental rugs, Armenians were significantly involved in every part of the oriental rug economy's value chain, as owners, managers, weavers, labourers, and traders. Violent persecution and pogroms against the Armenians, moreover, made many Armenians dependent on wages earned from oriental rug manufacture.

Rug provenance has always been a cultural issue. Today, however, it has become highly politicized. Turks and Azeris claim Armenians never engaged in carpet weaving, but only carpet trading. Denial of rug culture is a part of an overall strategy of denial of existence. After the 1915 Armenian Genocide, when the Armenians were expelled from their homeland, this view was also supported by leading western rug scholars including the prominent Arthur Upham-Pope, who wrote in 1920, "There is no record nor even any local tradition that weaving was ever carried on in Armenia to any extent..."¹

Research today shows Upham-Pope's contentions could not be further from the truth. Armenians not only were some of the most dominant weavers in the Empire but they were integral to its growth. "The growth of the overall Ottoman economy and its re-industrialization in the early 20th century and the turning of oriental carpets into a globally sought-after commodity were enmeshed with the expansion of the labour market after anti-Armenian and gendered violence".²

For the purposes of this paper, I will confine my focus to the late Ottoman Empire 1890s-1910s. Specifically, I will concentrate on the research by Yaşar

¹ <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1988-07-31-re-10523-story.html> .

² Yaşar Tolga Cora, "The Market as a Means of Post-Violence Recovery: Armenians and Oriental Carpets in the Late Ottoman Empire (c.1890s–1910s)," *International Review of Social History* 66:2021, pp. 217–41.

Tolga Cora, Assistant Professor in the Department of History, Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, in his paper *"The Market as a Means of Post-Violence Recovery: Armenians and Oriental Carpets in the Late Ottoman Empire (c.1890s–1910s)"* and the archives of the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers (OCM), a dominant London-based company involved in the production of, and trade with, Oriental carpets in Eastern Anatolia. The company was founded in 1907 in Istanbul as an amalgamation of numerous existing Levantine carpet companies which were previously in competition with each other.³

There were three main reasons for the rapid rise in production of oriental carpets in the late Ottoman Empire and their emergence as a global commodity

- 1) The expansion of carpet weaving into eastern Anatolia (Armenian Plateau) due to more efficient production methods introduced by multinational foreign enterprises like the OCM in response to growing demand from the European and American markets.

- 2) The abundance of cheap labour in the Armenian communities of eastern Anatolia created by anti-Armenian violence in the mid-1890s and in 1909. Families had lost their husbands and fathers during numerous pogroms leaving widows and orphans without their main breadwinner and forcing them into the labour market.

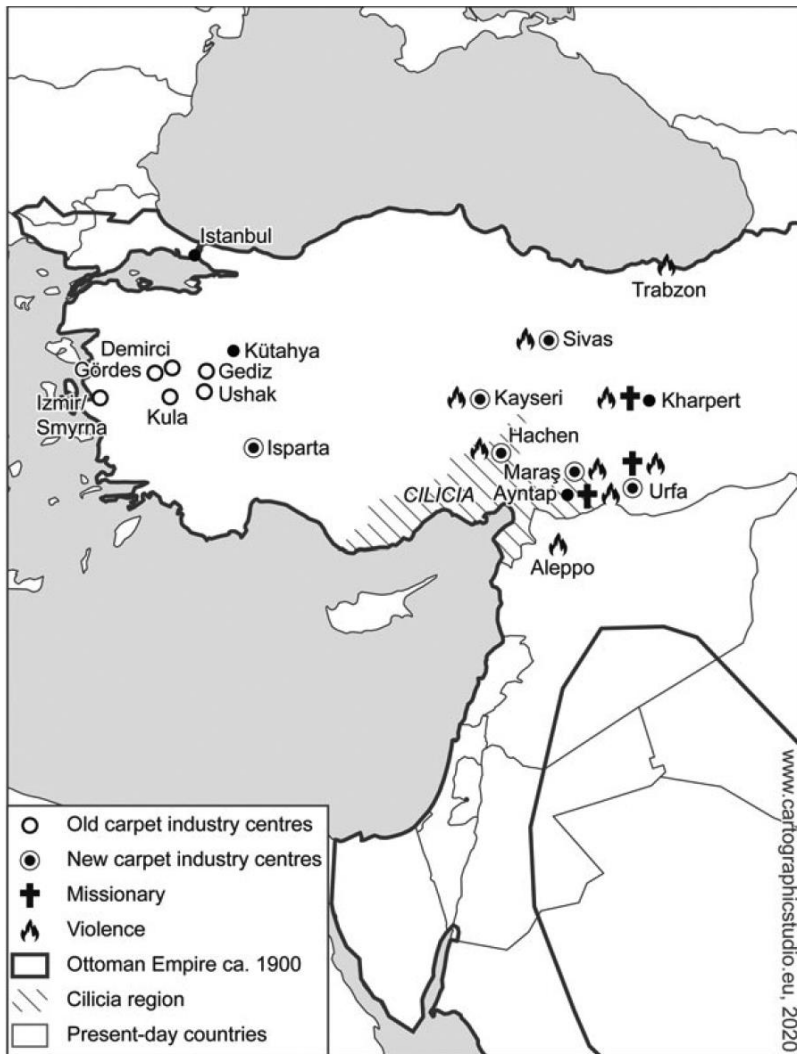
- 3) Market-based efforts by European Missionaries and aid groups and the new Armenian mercantile bourgeoisie who worked to reconstruct the violence-stricken Armenian communities in eastern Anatolia.

Professor Tolga Cora writes:

We shall see that the increases in production were firmly linked to market-based efforts to reconstruct those communities. Different actors, including local and regional merchant-entrepreneurs and multinational companies as well as individual transnational actors such as missionaries, all began to involve themselves in Armenian communities, both to promote trade in carpets and to offer the production of them as a solution to the post-violence ills. As a result, Armenian women and children in post violence communities became an integral part of the global market in oriental carpets as a vulnerable, organizationally weak but cost-efficient workforce. The whole process was justified in the name of assistance to the needy and was closely associated with changing definitions of the work ethic and morality in the late Ottoman Empire.⁴

³ Antony Wynn, *Three Camels to Smyrna: Times of War and Peace in Turkey, Persia, India, Afghanistan & Nepal 1907–1986. The Story of the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers Company*, Hali Publications, 2008.

⁴ Yaşar.



Traditional carpet production centres in the Ottoman Empire and the centres established in the Armenian inhabited districts following mass-violence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (courtesy of Yaşar Tolga Cora)

THE EXPANSION OF CARPET WEAVING INTO EASTERN ANATOLIA (ARMENIAN PLATEAU)

Rugs were traditionally woven in Anatolia. Surviving carpets have been dated back to the 13th century Seljuk Sultanate of Rum. Their depiction in several Renaissance paintings demonstrates that carpets and rugs were already exported from the 14th century onwards to Western Europe, where they were regarded as highly prestigious luxury goods. The regions around the towns of Konya and Uşak were the traditional centres of carpet manufacturing in

the Ottoman Empire. According to the statistics of the Armenian Apostolic Patriarchate, in 1914 the Armenian population of the province was 24,000. The Greek Orthodox Diocese of Konya consisted of 42 communities with 50,800 Greek Orthodox inhabitants.⁵ Until 1870-80, about 75%⁶ of all carpets exported to Western Europe were manufactured in these regions. Carpets were woven either by home workers or in small workshops.

With the beginning of the second Industrial Revolution, the number of people in the Western world who could afford to buy oriental rugs increased. As the demand increased by the mid-19th century, Ottoman as well as European and U.S. American trading corporations expanded their commercial activities. European trading companies in Istanbul and Smyrna established their own manufacturing facilities in competition with the traditional Ottoman rug trading organizations based in Uşak.

New carpet-weaving centres emerged in several places in eastern Anatolia in the late 19th century and particularly in the early 20th. There was expansion of carpet weaving into new regions as the result of more efficient production methods introduced by multinational foreign enterprises in response to growing demand from the European and American markets. The largest of these companies was the OCM company, founded by the Spartali (Spartalian) family, who were originally Armenian. The firm was run by the Italian Aliotti family, who had married into them. They employed thousands of weavers all over central and eastern Anatolia. By the end of the two years following its foundation in January 1908, it was employing 100,000 weavers working on 20,000 looms in 27 towns and cities all over Turkey, with some 90% of all Ottoman production in its hands.⁷

OCM provided the materials, such as pre-dyed yarns, and issued detailed instructions about the patterns to be woven according to the buyers' taste and market demand. Working conditions and wages were poor even at that time. Workers in the OCM workshops were working faster and had lower wages compared to the Uşak manufacturers. By around 1910, the export from the traditional carpet-producing regions Konya and Uşak was reduced to merely 10% of the total volume of trade. Therefore, the centre of gravity of production shifted eastwards, away from western Anatolia, and there was unprecedented

⁵ Ecumenical Patriarchate, *Persecution of the Greeks in Turkey, 1914-1918*, Constantinople [London, printed by the Hesperia Press], 1919, p. 94; <https://archive.org/details/persecutionofgre00consrich/page/94/mode/2up?q=Karaman>

⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oriental_Carpet_Manufacturers.

⁷ Wynn.

growth of the labour force employed in carpet-making in central and eastern regions of the empire.

According to author Antony Wynn of *Three Camels to Smyrna: Times of War and Peace in Turkey, Persia, India, Afghanistan & Nepal 1907–1986. The Story of the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers Company*, the Company employed, almost without exception, Armenian or Greek weavers. Wynn explains in his book, “*The OCM, as it expanded its weaving further and further into Anatolia, employed, almost without exception, Greek or Armenian weavers. The problem was that the Muslims would not allow the company inspectors to enter their houses to check the work on the looms. Since the OCM had given the weavers the wool and had paid them an advance to start work, they had to insist on inspecting the quality. There was no solution other than to employ Christian weavers, who had no such prejudices.*”⁸

Another confirmation of who the weavers were was provided by Bruno Eckart, brother of the Director of Dr. Lepsius’ German Orphanage and Carpet Factory, who wrote that in 1915, after the massacre of Armenians in Urfa, the rug production was shut down due to lack of qualified specialists, even though there were thousands of Muslim families living in the city and in the vicinity, among them Kurds, Yuruks, etc. who had also mastered rug-weaving skills.⁹

Yet, this explanation alone, which heavily prioritizes the role of foreign capital in the organization and stimulation of global interest in the trade in oriental carpets during the late 1890s and early 1900s, does not alone completely account for the sudden growth in carpet production. Was it a mere coincidence that newly emerging carpet-weaving cities like Sivas, Kayseri, Urfa, and the region of Cilicia in eastern-central and southern Anatolia were all heavily Armenian-populated regions, all of which were hit by anti-Armenian violence in the late 1890s and early 1900s?

THE ABUNDANCE OF CHEAP LABOUR IN THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITIES OF EASTERN ANATOLIA IN THE MID-1890S AND IN 1909 AND THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE IN THE CREATION OF A VULNERABLE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE AND NEW RELATIONSHIPS OF PRODUCTION

Rugs were the largest export of the Ottoman Empire. After the bankruptcy of the Ottoman Empire in 1875 and the subsequent economic malaise, rug production moved from the historical western Ottoman regions to the east (Armenian Plateau), where companies and aid groups found countless

⁸ Wynn.

⁹ Bruno Eckart, *The Days I Lived in Urfa*, Potsdam, 1922 (translation from German by A. Gasparian, introduction, annotations, editing and publication by, J. Avetisyan), Yerevan, 1990, pp. 6, 15, 19, 47.

Armenian widows and orphans who were forced into the labour market as cheap labour due to mass violence which erupted several times due to Anti-Armenian sentiments in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. When, in 1894, the Armenians in the historical Sasun region refused to pay an oppressive tax, Ottoman troops and Kurdish tribesmen killed thousands of Armenians in the region.¹⁰ Another series of mass killings began in the fall of 1895, when Ottoman authorities' suppression of an Armenian demonstration in Constantinople became a massacre.¹¹ In all, hundreds of thousands of Armenians were killed in massacres between 1894 and 1896, which later came to be known as the Hamidian massacres. Some 20,000 more Armenians were killed in urban riots and pogroms in the *vilayet* of Adana in 1909.¹² The massacres reached Sivas, too, where, according to official Ottoman figures, the violence cost the lives of 599 Armenian men and left 118 wounded, while 800 shops and four khans were plundered.¹³ The immediate loss of those 599 men and the incapacity to work of many others directly resulted in many more young women needing to work, greatly accelerating the arrival of women onto the job market. For them, carpet weaving was the most accessible sector.

Carpet production in the late Ottoman Empire developed during the second half of the 19th century in a context of growing trade with Western markets, until, by the turn of the century, carpets had become the empire's leading manufacturing export. Armenian women and children in post-violence communities became an integral part of the global market in oriental carpets as a vulnerable, organizationally weak but cost-efficient workforce. The whole process was justified in the name of assistance to the needy and was closely associated with changing definitions of the work ethic and morality in the late Ottoman Empire.¹⁴

¹⁰ For a detailed study on the issue, see Sdepan Boghossian, *Hayots Tesghasbanutian Badmutiun (History of the Armenian Genocide)*, Vol. 1, Yerevan State University Press, Yerevan, 2008, pp. 451-717.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 582-90.

¹² Bedross Der Matossian, *The Horrors of Adana: Revolution and Violence in the Early Twentieth Century*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 2022. For the parliamentary report of these massacres see: Hagop Babigian, *The Adana Massacres: An Eyewitness Account*, translated and annotated by Dr. A. B. Gureghian, foreword and overview by Dr. A. B. Gureghian, Haigazian University Press, Beirut, 2018.

¹³ Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul, Y.EE., quoted in Edip Gölbas, "The Official Conceptualization of the Anti-Armenian Riots of 1895-1897", *Études arméniennes contemporaines*, 10:2018, pp. 33-62, 52.

¹⁴ Yaşar.



Armenian girls weaving carpets in Van 1907 (Houshamadyan.org.)

MARKET-BASED EFFORTS BY EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES AND AID GROUPS AND THE NEW ARMENIAN MERCANTILE BOURGEOISIE WORKED TO RECONSTRUCT THE VIOLENCE-STRICKEN ARMENIAN COMMUNITIES IN ANATOLIA

In the late Ottoman Empire, the oriental carpet sector, which included various actors such as local and regional merchant-entrepreneurs, multinational companies, and missionaries, began to both promote trade and to offer solutions to the ills arising during post-violence reconstruction. What was observed for the period after 1896, and again after 1909, in Anatolia is what Professor Yasar called “disaster capitalism”. In the Ottoman case, certainly, unregulated markets and rampant exploitation of human and material resources, coupled with economic and financial weakness, created both the material institutions and discourses for acceptance of the private sector’s role in the recovery of post-disaster Armenian communities.¹⁵

However, craft production was not to be turned into mass production quite so easily as the costs could not be reduced sufficiently for production to be competitive in the world market. It was only in the early 1900s that other economic actors, both Armenian local entrepreneurs and owners of global capital, found it lucrative enough to invest in increased production, for by that time its labour market was overflowing with cheap labour in the form of girls and other survivors of the massacres.

In November 1895, Kesaria (Kayseri/Caesarea) was one of the centres hit by anti-Armenian violence, which, according to missionary reports, killed

¹⁵ Yaşar.

approximately 1000 Armenians there.¹⁶ Just as in Sivas, an immediate problem was provision of means for the survivors to secure their livelihoods, something naturally especially difficult for women and children. In the view of Earl Percy, who visited the town in about 1900, the solution was “the [carpet] industry [...] started after the massacres as a means of relief for the people”.¹⁷

According to a letter published in the Armenian paper *Buzandion* in Constantinople, there were 2000 looms in 1898 and by 1901 one account was putting the number at around 5000 in the entire Keseria region. An Armenian mercantile bourgeoisie was on the rise. We can certainly be sure from various sources that each loom was operated by a young woman as chief weaver and that she had two or three children between the ages of six and ten to assist her.¹⁸

Name of the entrepreneur	No of looms
Harutyun Gürünlüyan	50
Kizilyan & Kizilyan company	60
Tigran Cakmakliyan and Harutyun Kalpakyan	50
Mkrtich Dökmeciyan	40
Teachers' Savings Association	30
Hagob Balyan	40
Daniel Sarafyan	20
Karabet Martayan	20
Hovhannes Kinaciyen	20
Ruben Yakupyan	20
Nazar Hacikizyan	20
Bedros Ispecerian	20
Beniamin Hamalyan	20
Tigran Kalpakyan	20
Mihran Yepremyan	20

Furthermore, according to Artur Telfeyan in the towns, cities and *vilayets* of Adana, Aintab, Alexandretta, Antioch, Diarbakir, Erzurum, Kayseri, Kharpert, Mersin, Mush, Nakhichevan, Sis, Sivas, Shusi-Karabagh, Van, and Zeitoun more than 50% of the looms were Armenian owned and working.¹⁹

¹⁶ For a detailed study on the matter, see Arshag Alboyadjian, *Badmutiun Hay Gesaryo Deghakragan, Badmagan yev Azkakragan Usumnasirutiun (History of Armenian Gesaria, historic and ethnographic research)*, Vol. 2, Catholicosate of the Cilicia Press, Antilias, pp. 1497-508.

¹⁷ Henry A.G. Percy, *Highlands of Asiatic Turkey*, London, 1901, p. 61.

¹⁸ Alboyadjian, p. 1500.

¹⁹ Excerpt from Artur Telfeyan's lecture entitled “1860 Gesaria (Kayser) to Los Angeles 2022: Mapping Culture and Sharing Stories.” The lecture was given at the Ararat Eskijian Museum, LA, on February 27, 2022

In addition to the local and regional merchant-entrepreneurs, multinational companies and European and American missionaries were active as well.

Humanitarian involvement of the European Powers in the Ottoman Empire actually started as the West's earliest and most universal economic engagement to address a distant suffering, with the massacres, beginning in 1894 and continuing for more than two years, of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Observers were talking about 50,000 Armenian orphans below the age of 12 scattered all over Turkey. In a number of countries, "human rights of the Armenians" attracted significant political support. The place and importance of religious groups in this situation was also quite large. The attention that the Armenian massacres found in Germany was from Protestant Christians. These brought the events in Anatolia to the attention of the mainstream Protestant religious press, which eventually joined the cause. As defendants of the movement for Armenian relief in Germany, they organized rallies, took up collections for clinics and orphanages (amassing well over 600,000 marks by January 1897), 'adopted' children and paid the salaries of doctors and nurses.

One German, Dr. Johannes Lepsius, had been intimately familiar for many years with Urfa, the destination to which the inhabitants of Mamuret-ul-Aziz were to be sent. After the large-scale massacres of 1894 to 1896, in which the Turkish Sultan, Abdul Hamid, had thousands of his Armenian subjects killed, the Protestant vicar had built up a relief organization in Urfa by opening up a carpet factory which provided work for Armenian widows and a hospital that was headed by the Swiss deacon, Jakob Künzler.

However, Dr. Lepsius's carpet factory was not the only one. Other missionaries from Europe and the U.S. made similar attempts, although none as successfully as the German enterprise in Urfa.²⁰

After the Armenian Massacres in Cilicia in September 1910, even the Armenian Patriarchate and the Administration of the Armenian Community in Constantinople got into the act and created a Committee for Widow Relief and Care (Ayriakhsnam Handznajoghov) and sent it to the violence-stricken region. Its primary goal was to create jobs for widows by which they could support themselves and their fatherless children.²¹ In this crisis, although it was the legitimate guardian of the Armenian orphans, the Armenian Patriarchate was

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M7_8lvRII4w). Originally from Istanbul, the Telfeyan family moved to Vienna and established a rug gallery, *Klassiche Teppiche & Kelims - Georg and Aznif* (<http://www.teppichundkultur.com/>). Telfeyan is the vice president of the Armenian Rug Society.

²⁰ Yaşar.

²¹ Yaşar.

weak in many ways, especially due to the catastrophic socio-economic situation of the Armenian population in the area. Yet, this venture required significant financial resources and those of the local charity organizations of the Armenian Patriarchate and community were insufficient in the face of the pressing needs in afflicted areas. Although the criticisms of the activity of the missionaries were strong, the patriarchate was actually dependent on the charities of these adversaries for the survival of the remnants of the massacres.²² Still, the Patriarchate managed to establish around a dozen orphanages, thanks to the benevolent contributions of the Armenians of Istanbul and the areas spared from violence.



The weaving section of the “Industry House” of the German Orient Mission in Urfa. The carpet weaving section would soon begin to act independently from the Mission and expand its activities. (courtesy of Yaşar Tolga Cora)

The focus of the education in all the orphanages was shaped by the emphasis on industrial training. This was a new method of relief whose introduction was forced by the massacres of 1895-96 to aid the poor, especially the widows and orphans. In fact, the American missionaries were always underlining the importance of industrial self-help, instead of outright charity. In the words of Cyrus Hamlin, famous founder of the Robert College of Istanbul, “the object of the missionary must always be to help the needy to help themselves.” The missionaries claimed that they relied on industrial work in order “not to tread on the self-respect of the people by unnecessary free distribution”.²³

Although the matter of financial gain from the workshops was declared as secondary, in a short while the missionaries were able to make local trade

²² Nazan Maksudyan, “*Being saved to serve*”: *Armenian Orphans of 1894-1896 and interested relief in Missionary Orphanages*, pp. 51-2.

²³ Maksudyan, p. 62.

agreements. Girls' industrial branches first met certain needs of the orphanages and the schools, such as cloth for the uniforms of the children, mattresses for their beds and towels. They accrued some profit by producing for local needs.²⁴ In Urfa, Dr. Lepsius established a company independent from the missionaries thereby relieving them of the financial pressure of supporting the factory. The new carpet company was called Deutsche Orient-Handels und Industrie-Gesellschaft (DOHIG); the Department of Needlework was busy meeting demands and even concluded agreements with entrepreneurs from abroad to export their carpets and entered the international market.²⁵

CONCLUSION

This paper has aimed to demonstrate that, contrary to the claim that Armenians were not significantly involved in the weaving and manufacture of Oriental rugs, Armenians played a critical role in the rug economy at every level of the value chain: as owners, managers, weavers, labourers, and traders. I have sought to show this, first, by focusing on the late Ottoman period due to its critical influence in establishing initial and (stubbornly) persistent western narratives regarding the symbolic and material economy of rug exchange, and second, by demonstrating the extensive involvement of Armenians in the material processes of rug manufacture.

In this way, three factors were critical in ensuring the unprecedented increases in production of oriental carpets in the late Ottoman Empire, leading to their emergence as a global commodity: (1) Significant capital investment in east Anatolia (Armenian *vilayets*) which led to technological and organizational efficiencies; (2) the emergence of a new class of Armenian merchant-entrepreneur based in the empire's semi-peripheral regions and (3) the local presence of both European and American Christian aid groups which operated various forms of market based poor relief.

While these three factors were crucial pre-conditions in the expansion of the oriental rug industry during the late Ottoman period, without the catalysing presence of a significant labour pool of Armenian origin, the presence of the above conditions would have been insufficient to aid in the rise in production and circulation of oriental rugs. To this end, the size and availability of Armenian labour was greatly increased by numerous anti-Armenian pogroms during the late Ottoman period, forcing newly widowed women and orphaned children into a wage-labour relationship as their families' principal breadwinners were lost to violent persecution.

²⁴ Maksudyan, p. 64.

²⁵ Maksudyan, p. 63. For further reading on Urfa needlework, see: Hrazdan Tokmajian, *Ourfa Needlework, Part A, Bruno Ecard's Collection*, Aleppo, 2014.

While more research is necessary to further specify the exact numbers and composition of local labour markets in post-pogrom settings, one fact should be clear: claims that Armenians were never involved in the weaving of oriental rugs should be treated with a great deal of scepticism, if not as outrightly false. Not only were Armenians some of the most dominant weavers in the late Ottoman Empire, but they were also, despite the injustice perpetrated by the Empire against them, instrumental, at every level of the value chain, in the re-industrialization of the Empire until its final demise.

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ՕՍՄԱՆԵԱՆ ԿԱՅՄՐՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՄԷՋ, 1890-1910ԱՎԱՆՆԵՐՈՒՆ
(ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ)**

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Յօդուածը կը զարգացնէ փրոֆեսոր Եաշար Թոլկա Քորայի վերջերս լոյս ընծայած տեսական յօդուածը եւ կը հարստացնէ զայն նոր աղբիւրներով, փաստարկներով ու երեսակներով:

Քորա իր տեսական յօդուածին մէջ (“The Market as a Means of Post-Violence Recovery: Armenians and Oriental Carpets in the Late Ottoman Empire (c.1890s–1910s)”), կը հաւաստէ թէ նիւթապէս խոցելի եւ խեղճ հաւաքականութիւններու համար գորգագործութիւնը էական աղբիւր մը եղած է եկամտի եւ տնտեսական վերականգնումի: Այս վարկածին իբրեւ ապացոյց, Քորա կը բերէ օրինակը մանաւանդ համիտեան ջարդերու հետեւանքով արեւմտահայ ընտանիքներու տնտեսական խղճալի վիճակին, երբ այդ ընտանիքներուն այրերը՝ եկամտաբեր անձը, սպանուած էր ու ընտանիքը զրկուած՝ նիւթական աղբիւրէ, մատնուած անճարութեան: Քորա կը հաւաստէ, թէ այս պայմաններուն մէջ արեւմտեան միսիոնարները օժանդակեցին այրի հայ ընտանիքներուն որ լծուին գորգագործութեան, օգնեցին զարգացնել այդ արհեստը, որուն հետեւանքով ալ Օսմանեան կայսրութեան գորգագործական հակալէշին ու ծանրութիւնը անցան արեւմտեան միջանի նահանգներէ արեւելեան նահանգներ, մանաւանդ հայկական վեց վիլայէթներ ու Կիլիկիա:

Թաւուքեան կը զարգացնէ Քորայի այս գաղափարը, կը բերէ յաւելեալ ապացոյցներ Արշակ Ալպօյանեանի եւ այլոց աշխատասիրութիւններէն, առաւել հիմնաւորելու համար զայն: Ան կը վիճարկէ թէ այրի հայ ընտանիքները մեծ կարիքն ունէին վերապրելու եւ գոյատեւելու: Այս պատճառով ալ անոնք լծուեցան աժան ձեռավարձքով գորգագործութեան: Ասոր հետեւանքով այրի հայ ընտանիքներու գորգերը մրցունակ դարձան՝ նիւթապէս: Պէտք է անելցնել նաեւ, թէ գորգագործութեամբ բանեցան ոչ միայն այրի կանանց նորրբ ձեռքերը, այլեւ որբ մնացած աղջիկներու փոքր մատները՝ որով այս գորգերը հիւսուեցան անելի խիտ ու դարձան որակապէս առաւել մրցունակ: Միւս կողմէ, բացատրելով թէ օտար մարդուն արգիլուած էր թուրք տուն մտնել եւ շփուիլ թուրք կնոջ հետ, Թաւուքեան կը պնդէ թէ հետեւաբար թուրք կինը չէր կրնար գորգ գործել, մինչ հայ կինը չունէր գորգագործութեան խնդրով օտար մարդ ընդունելու արգելքը:

Ուսումնասիրութիւնը յաւելեալ թափ կու տայ մանաւանդ վերջին տասնամեակներուն ‘օսմանեան’ գորգերը ‘թրքական’ վերակոչելու հակազդիտական համակարգուած ճիգերու հերքումին: