DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF NORTH-EASTERN BULGARIA: A CASE STUDY ON NİĞBOLU SANDJAK (1479-1483)

A Master's Thesis

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In Partial Fullfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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in

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ANKARA

July 2006

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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ABSTRACT

DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF NORTH-EASTERN BULGARIA: A CASE STUDY ON NİĞBOLU SANDJAK (1479-1483)

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This thesis examines demographic structure and settlement patterns of Niğbolu Sandjak in the the last two decades of the fifteenth century. Seen through the data provided by the Ottoman tax and population censuses (*tahrir defterleri*), the research shows the demographic movements of native Christians in the sandjak and new settlers coming from the Asia Minor. The thesis examines the presence of Turkic people in the region from 5th century to the end of the 15th century. Based on the two 15th century *icmâl* defters of Niğbolu Sandjak, this study focuses on recovery of pre-Ottoman settlemets and establishment of new Turkish settlements. Also this study criticizes the catastroph theory of Hristo Gandev who developed one of the leading demographic theories of Marxist Balkan historiography. The information we get from the *icmâl* defters does not consistant with Gandev's Catastrophy Theory. Following the conquest of the region, neither a quick Turkification nor a mass-Islamization was happened in the sandjak but

the secure and peacefull environment provided the infrastructure of these Islamizationa and Turkification processes for the sixteenth century.

Keywords: Niğbolu, demography, settlement, *icmâl* defterleri, Catastrophe Theory, *yörük*, mezraa.

ÖZET

KUZEY-DOĞU BULGARISTAN'IN DEMOGRAFİK YAPISI VE YERLEŞİM DÜZENİ: NİĞBOLU SACAĞI (1479-1483)

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Yüksek Lisans Tarih Bölümü

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Bu çalışma 15.yy'ın sonunda Niğbolu Sancağı'ndaki demografik yapıyı ve yerleşim düzenini incelemektedir. Araştırmamız bölgedeki Türkleşme ve İslamlaşma sürecinin başlangıcı sayılan bu dönemde, Osmanlı tımar kayıtlarını içeren iki icmâl defterinden elde edilen bilgiler işiğinda, bölgede beşinci yüzyıla kadar giden Türk varlığından başlayarak onbeşinci yüzyılın sonunda Osmanlı öncesi yerleşimlerin fetihten sonra nasıl tekrar canlandığı ve yeni Türk yerleşimlerinin nasıl olustuğu üzerinde yoğunlaşmakta, sancakta yaşayan yerli Hristiyan halkın nüfus hareketlerini ve Anadolu'dan bölgeye göçen Türklerin durumunu incelemektedir. Aynı zamanda bu çalışma Marksist Balkan historiografisinin önde gelen teorisyenlerinden Hristo Gandev'in Katastrof teorisini eleştirmektedir.İncelenen icmâl defterleri göstermektedir ki bölgenin fethini izleyen dönemde ne ani bir Türkleşme ne de toplu bir İslamlaşma görülmüstür. Fetih sonrasında

bölgede sağlanan istikrar ve güven ortamı on altıncı yüzyılda ivme kazanacak olan bu süreclere zemin hazırlamıstır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Niğbolu, demografi, yerleşim, *icmâl* defterleri, Katastrof Teorisi, *yörük*, mezraa.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Ottomans considered the Balkan region in the south of the Danube as the area of their sovereignity since the reign of the Bayezid I. Successors of the Bayezid I kept the Danube as the northern border of the Ottoman lands in the Balkans. Murad II was clearly following this notion when he obtained the commitment from Hungarians not to cross the Danube in the treaty he made with them in 1444.[1] In the reign of Murad I (1362-89), the lands of the Ottoman Balkans emerged as a separate military and administrative region under the rule of a Beylerbeyi. Mass immigration and settlement of Turks, especially nomads, to the newly conquered Balkan lands occurred especially in the 14th century but the immigration wave gained acceleration during the Timur's occupation of Anatolia in the 15th century. North-Eastern Bulgaria, especially fortresses along the south shore of the Danube played an important role in the struggeles between the Christian world and the Ottoman state until the fall of Hungary. After the

[1] İnalcık, Halil, *Fatih Devri Üzerine Tetkikler ve Vesikalar I*, (Ankara: TTK, 1995), pp.22.

conquest, In the 15th century, these depopulated and uncultivated lands were repopulated by Anatolian *yörüks* who migrated voluntarily or were deported. Also native Christians came back to their old settlements during the peace period after the Ottoman conquest.

Post-conquest demographic trends in the Ottoman Balkans can be followed in Ottoman tax-registers (*tahrir defterleri*). These registers serving as both military and administrative apparatus of the Ottoman state are *mufassal* (detailed) and *icmâl* (summary) registers. These are valuable sources for demographic researches to get an idea about the demographic composition as well as being a good source of information for economic and social history of a geographic area.[2] On the other hand using these tax-surveys as a source of demographic studies requires to be considered the deficiencies of the registers because these defters were kept specifically to determine and meet the needs of the timar system. They generally do not include detailed information about *reaya* (subject people) having special status and privillages, *reaya* of pious endowments, and different members of military class. For this reason researchers should

[2] Ottoman tax-surveys has been used to examine various aspects of the Ottoman history but the earliest Ottoman tax-survey in the Ottoman Archaives published by Halil İnalcık first in 1954 was the prominent study and leading guide for the reaserchers on how these registers should be used. See, Halil İnalcık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Arvanid* (Ankara: TTK,1987). Also Ö. L. Barkan published many important studies on Ottoman tax-surveys and his publications are still very valuable for reaserchers studying on the tax-surveys. See, Barkan " Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanli Tarihi" *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10 (1951-1953): 1-26. Barkan, "Research on the Otoman Fiscal Surveys ", in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (London, 1970).

combine the information in these tax-surveys with other archieval sources.[3] The other important problem that a demographic reasercher working with Ottoman tax registers faces is that these registers were kept for tax purposes. The measure of taxable unit in the Ottoman system was not individual but *hane* (household), which makes difficult to determine the precious demographic situation and changing trends through years in settlemts. Size of *hane* in the Empire varied region to region. The main reasons of these variations were different geographic conditions, and culture social structure, and culture in these regions. Different life styles such as nomadic, semi- sedentary or sedentary life have very determinant effects on family size. On the other hand, geographic conditions such as mountainous or plain lands and climatical conditions such as cold or warm wheather conditions are the other determinants of the family size as well as life

[3] For the problems in the use of the registers as a source and methodological problems can be faced while interpreting the data in the surveys see, Heat, W. Lowry *Ottoman Tahrir Defteri As a Source for Social and Economic Histor: Pitfals and Limitations* in Heat W. Lowry*, Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul; Isis Press 1992), 3-18. For more discussions about use of the defters as a source of economic, social and demographic history see, Mehmet Öz, "Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Araştirmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Görüşler", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 12 (1991): 229-239; Kemal Çiçek, "Osmanlı tahrir Defterlerinin Kullanımında Görülen Bazı Problemler ve Method Arayışları", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 97 (1995): 93-111; Bruce McGowan, "Food Supply and Taxation on the Middle Danube", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 1 (1969): 139-196.

style. For this reason demographical information given in these surveys would rather consider as rough data giving approximate number of taxable population and changing demographic trends in a region and in a period of time.

During the Soviet era, a nationalist historiography was dominated the Bulgarian view of the Ottoman history. Marxist historians interpreted the documents in the Bulgarian Archive with an ideological point of view. After the fall of USSR in 1992, the door for more objective and comprehensive studies was opened. The corporation made between Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) and Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library (ODBNL) "St. Cyril and Methodius" in Sofia gave reaserchers the chance to make more comprehensive studies about Ottoman Bulgaria. On the other hand, contrary to the Balkan historiography in the soviet era, some Turkish hisatorians made qualified studies on economic and social history of the Ottoman Balkans during 1950s. Turkish historians such as Barkan and Gökbilgin published their studies during 1950s about demographic trends in the Balkans during the classical age.[4] These works of Barkan and Gökbilgin are still important secondary sources for studies on the

[4] During the Soviet era, a nationalist historiography was dominated the Bulgarian view of the Ottoman history. The documents in the Bulgarian Archive interpreted with an ideological manner by the nationalist historians. More objective and comprehensive studies have been started to be made after academic environment was freed from Soviet ideologiy and authority. The corporation made between Başbakanlik Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) and Oriental Department of Bulagarian National Library (ODBNL) "Sts Cyril and Methodius" in Sofia after 1992 gave reaserchers to make more comprehensive studies about Ottoman Bulgaria. On the other hand during 1950s, Barkan and Gökbilgin made important contributions to the literature of Balkan demography during the classical age of the Ottoman Empire. Ö. L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 11 (1949-1950): 524-269; *İÜİFM* 13 (1951-1952), pp.56-79; *İÜİFM* 15 (1953-1954), pp. 209-257. Also the books of Tayyib Gökbilgin examined the demographic trends in the Ottoman Balkans in detail. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası*: *Vakiflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, (İstanbul: Üçler Matbaası, 1952);Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân* (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1957).

Ottoman Balkans. Also on demographic history of the Ottoman Bulgaria, valuable studies of Machiel Kiel that he used various Ottoman archives made important contributions to the literature of demographic history in the Ottoman Balkans.[5]

While using the Ottoman tax registers as sources of demography and settlement patters, some researhers uses quantitative tecniques to deal with weaknesses of this soueces. For instance, to obtain an approximate population data from the hane numbers in these registes, researchers use some population multipliers for different parts of the Empire. To get an idea about the changes in Turkish-Muslim and native-Christian population in the 15th century, this study uses a population multiplier that is an approximate average that previous studies founded out for Anatolia and the Balkans.[6] An estimation based on the average size of 15th century Balkan *hane* is not approriate for such a study because considering a large number of nomads immigrants, family size of Muslim-Turks would be expected to be larger than 15th century native hane in the sandjak.

Ottoman conquest of Bulgarian lands started in the reign of Murad I[7]. After the conquest of Edirne in the spring of 1361[8] *udj* beg Evrenos conquered the İpsala (Kypsela) castle in 1362 and raids to the Western Balkans were started. After the death of Orkhan Bey, Murad appointed Lala Şahin as *beylerbeyi* on the

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[5] Kiel, M.,"The Türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag- Dobruja", *Güney Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergis*i, 6-7, 1978, pp. 205-225; Kiel, "Anatolia Transplanted? Patterns of demographic, Religious and Ethnic Changes in the District of Tozluk 1479-1873", *Anatolica*, XVII, 1991, pp. 1-30; Kiel, " Tatar Pazarcık: A Turkish Town Iin the Heart of Bulgaria, Some Brief Remarks on its Demographic Development 1485-1874", *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara:* 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler, Vol. 5 (Ankara: TTK, 1994), 2567-2581.

[6] For the studies finding out approximate size for a typical hane for Anatolia and the Balkans see, footnotes 177-181.

[7] İnalcık, " I.Murad", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (DİA), (İstanbul).

[8] See, İnalcık , "Edirne'nin Fethi" in *Edirne Armağanı*(Ankara: TTK, 1964), 189-196.

udj begs and went to the Ottoman capital Bursa to sit on the throne. Lala Şahin captured Eski Zagra and Filibe. In 1366, Sultan Murad went to the Trace in order to protect Ottoman lands in the Balkans and make new conquests. IN the same year, Filibe became the *udj* center of Lala Şahin who started the raids on the direction of Sanakov and İhtiman. Tzar of Bulgaria Alexander made an allience with Ottomans because Byzantine emperor wanted to capture the Bulgarian castles Sozopol, Mesembria, Anchialos. Amadeo making an agreement with the Bulgarian Tsar Alexandr captured these castles and gave them to the Byzantine emperor, which ended the agreement between the Ottomans and Bulgaria in 1366 and Bulgarian lands were opened for the Ottoman invasion. The Sultan begun his conquests in spring of 1368 and he firstly captured Aydos (Ateôs) and Karin-Ovası (Karnobad) because these fortresses were at strategic locations in the passes on the Balkan mountains. Then Murad I conquered Sozopol, Pınar-Hisar, Kırk-Kilise and Vize. These successes caused anxious in Byzantine and the emperor Yuannis V went to Rome in 1369 so as to ask the pope for a crusade against the Ottomans.[9] On the other hand Ottomans continued conquests and in 1368-69 Kara Timurtaş Beg captured Kızilağaç-Yenicesi (Elhovo) and Yanbolu (Yamboli). Lala Şahin with his army captured Samakov and İhtiman and way of Sofia was opened to the Ottomans. In 1370, Lala Şahin won the Sarıyar battle and the people living in Rila mountain region accepted to obey the Ottoman rule. After the Sırp-Sındığı

[9] Halecki, O., *Un Emperor de Byzance à Rome,* Varshova (1930), pp. 169-212 cited by İnalcık, " I. Murad", *DIA*, p.5.

war in 1371, Turkish dominance started in the region.[10] Inwinter 1372, Byzantine became one of the vassals of the Ottomans.[11] According to Ottoman chronicles[12], in June 1373, Çandarlı Hayreddin Pasha and the Sultan were in Rumelia. Sultan Murad stayed in Edirne and he gave order to Hayreddin and Evrenos to make raids on Western Trace. He captured Buri (Pôros), Iskeçe (Xanthi), Kavala (Hristopolis) and Marulya (Maronia, Avret-Hisari). In 1375-76, Sultan Murad went on a campaign on Bulgarian Tsar Shishman and the tsar accepted Ottoman suzerainty.[13] Kavala anasd Serez were captured in 1383 and Serez became udj center. Turkish raiders were making raids on Serbian lands in 1381. Serbian prince Lazar in Kruşevać got his daughter to marry to Bulgarian Tsar Shishman and made an alliance with him against the Ottomans. When Lazar rebelled, Bulgarian Tsar of Vidin, Sarac Stratsimir, and ruler of Köstendil, Constantin Deyanović was loyal to the Sultan Murad and they joined the campaign on Lazar but Bulgarian Tsar Shishman and ruler of Dobrudja, Dobrotić disobeyed the order of the Sultan. Ali Pasha and Timurtaş Beg went on Bulgaria and Dobrudja. Ali Pasha came to Shumen and made the city military center of his raid. Shishman escaped from the Ottomans and moved his center from Silistre to Tirnovo and from Tirnovo to Nikopol.[14]

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[10] Jirecek, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague (1876), pp.439, cited by İnalcık, " I. Murad", *DIA*, p. 9.
[11] İnalcık, Halil, "I. Murad", *DIA*, p. 9.
[12] İdrîs, 9. Dâstân; Sa'deddin I, 90-92 cited by İnalcık " I. Murad" DIA.
[13] Ibid., 93-94.
[14] See İnalcık, " I. Murad", *DIA*, p.22-23.

Against the Ottoman conquests, Europe disturbed and Pope was worried about the possibility of fall of Constantinople. Also important ports in northern Agean Sea and Adriatic Sea wanted Venice to be their guarantor against the Ottoman threat.[15] Avlonya in Albania accepted Venice's guaranty. These developments was going to result Hungaria-Venice alliance and 1396 crusade and Niğbolu War.[16] On the other hand, in 1391 Mircea, with the support of Sigismond, conquered Silistra and Dobrudja and succesfully raided on the akindjis of Karin-ovası.[17] In 1393, Bayezid I took Tirnovo and Dobrudja and Silistre were subjugated but Nikopol was still an important fortification of the vassal Bulgarian State. Bulgarian king Shishman appealed to Sigismond, which caused a new campaign of the Ottomans on the Balkans. Bayezid I invaded Transilvania and made the battle of Arges against Mircea in 1395.According to a document discovered by Professor İnalcık[18] after the Arges battle Bayezid I came to the fortresses of Nikopol, which was ruling by the Bulgarian lord Shishman who was one of the vassals of the Ottomans paying tribute. When the Sultan asked him to send ships Shishman fetched and behided the Ottomans.

Niğbolu is the fortress famous with the battle fought between the Ottomans and the Crusaders on 25 September 1396. Victory of the Ottomans in the battle brought the vassalage of Wallachia that was a strategical ally of the

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[15] See Setton, K., M., *The Papacy and the Levant 1204-1571,* I-III, Philedelphia (1976) cited by İnalcık, " I. Murad", *DIA*, p.16.
[16] Ibid.
[17] For detailed information on conquest of Bulgaria see İnalcık,"Bulgaria", EI.
[18] Sthis document is in Topkapı Sarayı Archives, Istanbul, no. 6374. For more information and a summary of the document see İnalcık, " Bulgaria" EI Web ed..

western Christian world against the Ottomans. A relatively long peace period in the region after the battle gave the Ottomans enough time to establish Ottoman military, fiscal and administrational system in the these lands. Also the strategical importance of Niğbolu as one of the sandjak on the border periphery continued during the later centuries. For this reason, besides the need of Tukish population on the loosely populated lands of the sandjak as the basis of the Ottoman's permanency, establishment of Ottoman military, fiscal, and administrational system in the region was crucially important for the purpose.

Ottoman archives in Istanbul and Sofia offer us a unique opportunity to reach the earliest Ottoman tax registers and to analyze the processes of repopulation, recovery, settling and system building in these lands. These *icmâl* (summary) registers of Niğbolu Sandjak are dated 1479[19] and 1483[20]. Fromthese registers we learn about timars, timariots, names of villages, status of reaya (such as Muslim, Christian, *hane, mücerred, bive, yörük* etc.) and tax revenues, which indicates that these are *icmâl* registers written by using the data in a *mufassals*. The short time period between these *tahrirs* help us to examine and reveal the quick and significant changes, alterations, and recovery in settlement and population of the the region. Although there are some Byzantine practicas (detailed population and tax statistics) for the other regions of the Balkans[21], the

[19] ODNBL., Or. Abt., Signature OAK., 45/ 29.
[20] ODBNL., Or., Abt., Signature Hk., 12/9.
[21] Two of the Byzantine practicas, first published by Dölger in 1949, Dölger, F., *Seches ByzantinischePraktika des 14. Jahrhuhderts für sas AyhosklosterIberon*, Munich (1949),

earliest written sources of the Niğbolu region are the two Ottoman Niğbolu *icmâls*. The first register is dated 1479 and it is in St. St. Cyril and Methoius National Library, in Sofia.[22] This survey is registered in the late years of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror's reign and the defter consists of 60 pages but beginig and end parts of the defter are missing. There is 19 *zeamets* and 220 *timars* are registered in the defter. We don't know the information about why the *tahrir* was made, names of the officials making the tahrir and the *kanunname* of the sandjak ordering the special problems and cases of the sandjak in the missing beginning part. Also the end part including records of wakfs (pious endowments) in the *sandjak* is also missing. Although these missing parts limit our examination, we can reach some other sources that can supply in the necessary formation about *kanunname* and pious endowments in the sandjak. The oldest *kanunnames* of the *sandjak* is dated the reign of the Sultan Suleyman I transcribed by Ö.L.Barkan[23] and the information about the endowments in the *sandjak* is given in detailed by İ.H. Ayverdi.[24] The second register that the study examines is again an *icmâl* register whose beginning part and the end part is missing as well. Although this defter is not dated, the paper of the register and its writing style indicates that the defter is written early 1480s.[25] Especially when we consider the hand-writing of

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used by Heath Lowery to determine the average size of the Radilovo's size of household in 1316 and 1341. For more information see, H., Lowery, *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Otoman Society,* ed. Bryer and Lowry.

[22] ODNLB, Or., Abt., Signatur OAK., 45/29.

[23] See, Barkan, Ö., L., *XV ve XVIinci asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları. Cilt 1: Kanunlar* (İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaasi 1943).

[24] Ayverdi, I., H., *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri : Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavutluk, (*İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1982).

[25] ODNLB, Or., Abt., Signatur Hk., 12/9.

the *kâtib*, we can see that it is very similar to a register written in the early years of the sultan Bayezid II's reign dated beginning of the 1480s.[26] The other reason led researchers to think such a close date to the 1479 register is that names of many *timariots* and household numbers of some villages are the same with in the 1479 defter's registers. All these indicate the date of the *tahrir* as early 1480s.[27] For these reasons, while we are examining the second register, we assume the date of the *tahrir* as 1483. These defters gave us information about names of *timariots*, number of soldiers that the *timariots* have to train, names of the villages and *mezraas* given as *timar*, the number of Muslim, Christian, *yörük*, and other households living in the sandjak and timar revenues reserved for the timariots. In addition the number of tax payer *hane* (household), *mücerred* (unmarried man), and *bive* (widows) were registered in the defters. Besides these, we see some *der-kenars* near the registers of some villages. These are explanations about any change or renewal in *timar* holders or status of these villages. In addition, these *der-kenars* are wrıtten so as to underline a specific feature the villages and *mezraas* such as *hâlî* (uninhabited), cultivated by *yörüks* or given as *timar* to be populated. Also in these registers, we see some other notes explaining that inhabitants of some villages were registered in a village but they were living in another settlement or some settlements that were *derbend* villages protecting a mountain pass or a trade road.

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[26] The catalog number of the register in the BOA is TTD 20.
[27] For more information about the defter and its features see, Kovachev, R., *Verzeichnis Des Nikopol Sancaks Aus Den 80- er Jahre des XV Jahrhunderts,* Sofia, 1997, p. 12-15.

These registers were first examined by the Bulgarian historian Hristo Gandev and the data and its interpretations have created discussions since 1970s. In 1972, Hristo Gandev published his book examining the two earliest Niğbolu *icmâl* defters in Sofia. Gandev's analysis provide some theoretical contributions to the Marxist Balkan Historical view and theories that have been discussed by other Balkan historians. In this study, we can find a chance to compare Gandev's Catastroph Theory with the data in the earliest *icmals* of the *sandjak*. While we are examining settlements of the sandjak, firstly we are going to consider the demographic trends and settlement patterns of Christian and Muslim inhabitants in the region. For this reason this study is going to compare the villages registered in both defters.On the other hand, while we are examining the mezraas in the two *icmâl* registers, mezraas which were not *hâlî* are taken into consideration but some times a few other mezraas having no settlers are going to examine because these mezraas became villages or populous settlements in later periods. The matter of *mezraa* with its many aspects is going to analysis in my further studies on the region. For this reason, in this study it is going to be limited the analysis with demographic issues of the *mezraa* discussion.

This study follows acronological order to examine Turkish presence in the region. For this reason after the introduction, chapter two examnes pre-Ottoman Turkish inhabitants. The chapter focuses on the Turcic people coming from steppe region to the north-east Bulgaria The chapter three considers pre-Ottoman conditions, process of conquest, and establishment of Ottoman settlements,

institutions and, system the Balkans. The chapter four examines Niğbolu sandjak as one of the strategic sandjak on the Ottoman borderland along the south shore of the Danube and the establishment process of Ottoman military, fiscal, agricultural and administrative system in the region is analised . The last chapter evaluates the the two Ottoman *icmâls* dated 1479 and 1483, as sources of social history of the 15th century Niğbolu sandjak. This chapter examines the changing demographic trends, composition of the population, and settlement patterns in the short period between the registers and criticizes the previous studies made on these *icmal* registers of Niğbolu.

CHAPTER TWO

DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN BULGARIA

Northeastern Bulgaria with the foothills and low mountain ridges to the north of the Balkan Mountains constituted the historical hearth of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom (1185-1279). This region, including along the coast of Black Sea, had been a passage during the invasions of Turco-Mongol peoples such as Huns, Avars, Proto-Bulgars, Pechenegs, Kumans, Tatar- Kipchaks during the period between 5th and 13th centuries. Permanent settlements of these peoples had formed the foundations of Turkic presence in pre-Ottoman times in the region. The cultural, religious and administrative effects of the pre-Ottoman Turkic settlements in the north-eastern Bulgaria are seen in Ottoman registers, achieve sources and various chronicles. In this chapter, I am going to explain the processes of Turkish settlements in the region. Firstly we are going to examine pre-Ottoman Turkic presence in Bulgaria and secondly early Ottoman settlement in northeastern Bulgaria such as dervishes, yürüks, deportation and colonization in the north-easterm Bulgaria.

2.1. Pre-Ottoman Turkish Settlements in Northeastern Bulgaria

2.1.1 Bulgars

After the disintegration of the Western Hun confederation, some of the tribes breaking away from the confederation migrated towards the west. Byzantine historians Rhetor, Priscos and Suidas recorded that the tribes, passing through the north of the Blacksea, settled on the steppes stretching between the branches of Danube and Volga.[28] Other tribes followed the way of these tribes and the migration wave continued occasionally. Arriving of the proto-Bulgars is thought to be in one of these waves of migration from the north.

The original country of the Bulgars was in Kuban region in the Caucasus and it is named as "Great Bulgaria" in the chronicles of Theophanes and Nicephorus. For the first time, Johannes Antioch in the year 481 A.D. mentioned the name of "Bulgars".[29] Besides the Byzantine sources, Islamic travelers stated the name of Bulgars and Bulgarian tribes. Barsula, Ishkil (or Askil) and Bulkar are the three main groups named in Ibn Rusta and his epigones. Also Ibn Fadlan mentions, apart from Askil, the tribe of Suwar and a group or a large clan, called al-Barandjar as a Bulgarian tribe.[30]

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[28]Menges,K., H., *The Turkic language and people:An introduction to Turkic Studies*,Wiesbaden (1968), p.19 cited by Tekin, T., *Tuna Bulgarları ve Dilleri*(Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1987), p.1.

[29] Müller, frag. Hist. Graec. Iv. 619 cited by Hrbek, I., Bulgar, EI WebCD ed., Brill Academic Publishers 2003.

[30] See Hrbek, I., "Bulgar", EI WebCD ed.; İnalcık, "Bulgaria", EI WebCD ed.

As a result of the westward move of Khazars, a number of the Bulgar tribes left their new land lying between Don and Dynyester Rivers and migrated to Bessarabia. After a time, these tribes started to make raids on the Dobrudja. These raids on the city was important in the fact that ever since the downfall of the classical civilizations, Dobrudja has been a borderland between the settled empires of the early middle ages and the hosts of nomad peoples pouring in from the East.[31] At the end of 670s A.D., Bulgars commanded by Khan Isperukh, occupied the Dobrudja and the border disappeared. After the defeat of the Byzantine army sent by the emperor Konstantin IV, raids of the Bulgars continued until the sign of a peace treaty between the Byzantine and the Bulgars.[32] After the treaty, Bulgars, as a military aristocratic elite, founded a state ruling the south-Slavonic tribes and became a powerful rival against the Byzantine Empire in the Balkans.

Despite the ethnically dominant character of Slavs in the new Bulgar state, the Bulgar ruling elite governed the state for the following centuries. After the first khan Isperukh, his son Terveel came to the reign. Terveel played an important role in the controversies on Byzantine throne. Byzantine Justinyanus II, dethroned and deported in 697, asked for help from Tervel in 705 AD. Army of Terveel and Justinyanus II occupied Constantinople and the emperor enthroned for a second time.[33] In addition to the strategic alliance between the emperor and the khan, Bulgars obtained new military successes, which put the new state in a

[31] For the importance of Dobrudja, see Kiel (1978).
[32] Feher (1984),p. 45.
[33] Feher (1984),p. 48.

dominant position against Byzantine. In the reign of khan Terveel, according to the treaty made with the emperor, Byzantine would have paid a yearly tax called *haraç* to the Bulgarian state.[34] During the following hundred years the Bulgarian Kingdom continuously expanded. After these conquests and expansion, Christian subjects of the state significantly increased, which made an unavoidable Byzantine attack possible and probable over the Bulgarian state. In order to preclude such an attack, Boris I accepted the Orthodox Christianity as a religion of the state in 865. Independence of Bulgarian church was bearing a great importance for the future of the state. In order to convince Byzantine religious authority to this issue Boris started some negotiatons with Pope.[35] As a result of menace of the Boris, in return of becoming Orthodox Christian, Byzantine accepted the independence of the Bulgarian church. The conversion of Bulgarians to Christianity had far-reaching consequences for the history of the peninsula because the Byzantine church and the Byzantine understanding of the state shaped not only the Bulgarian state but also the states that emerged subsequently in the Balkans.[36] Expansion of the Bulgarian kingdom continued and in the reign of Symeon (893-927), the son of Boris I, Bulgarian Kingdom became a state expanding on the the lands stretching in between Adriatic Sea in the west and Agean Sea in the south and Danube in the north.

After the death of Symeon, serious internal and external problems destroyed the social and political structure of the Bulgarian state. While

[34] Todorov (1979), p. 15-16.
[35] Feher (1984),p. 56.
[36] Togan, Z., V., "Balkan", EI WebCD Ed., Brill Academic Publishers 2003.

empowered feudal aristocracy struggling for being autonomous, having the help and support of the Byzantine Empire, Serbians became independent. Also the birth of the sect called Bogomil [37] and its spread between subject people revealed the uneasiness in the society. Besides the internal problems, a new wave of migration from the steppes weakened the Bulgarians' control and dominance on the lands of the state. In 972, the Byzantine emperor Johannes Tzimiskes I conquered the capital city of the Bulgarian state and at the end of 1018, the first Bulgarian state became one of the provinces of the Byzantine Empire.

During 150 years long Byzantine domination, Pečeneks and Kumans from the Russian steppes invaded the Bulgarian lands. These two tribal communities gave a few dynasty and played role in the rebirth of the second Bulgarian Khanate as a kingdom.[38] At the end of the eleventh century, Tatars of Golden Horde Khanate founded in the Russian steppes invaded Bulgarian lands. Ottomans in the last quarter of the twelfth century concurred and settled in these lands. During the next five hundred years, these lands became a part of the Ottoman Balkans.

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[37] Bogomil means the person who loves the God. Followers of the sect believe that people can talk to the God without an intermediary, the priest. They were accusing the rulers with being cruel towards their subjects. (see Todorov (1979), p. 25-26). Birth of Bogomilism, reasons behind spread of the heresy, and beliefs of the sect aare going to be discussed in the section dedicated to pre-Ottoman situation of the Niğbolu region and siyuation of the sect and its followers is going to be examine, while examining the information in the Ottoman registers of 1479 and 1483.

[38] In 1185, the two Bulgarian feudal aristocrats Assen and Peter brothers carried out a rebellion against the Byzantine Empire and the emperor Ishak Angelos II, as a result of the unsuccessful campaigns on rebellions, signed a peace treaty with Bulgars in 1187 and recognized the setting up the second Bulgarian State. After Assen and Peter, Koloyan reining the state established an alliance with Papacy in Rome, which gave the first important result in 1204 when the pope Innocence III declared him as the king of Bulgaria.However his alliance with Rome did not go further because of the Crusades. Crusaders and Balkan feudal aristocracy struggled for supremacy and power in the Balkan provinces of the Byzantine Empire and Bulgarian Kingdom took part on the side of the Balkan aristocracy. For further information see Todorov (1979), p.29-33; Acaroğlu (1986).

2.1.2. Kumans, Uz, Pecheneks, Tatars

After the Bulgarians, the raids of Turkic tribes from Eurasian steppes to the north eastern Bulgaria continued for centuries. Pecheneks (440/1048), Uz (456/1064) and Kumans (484/1091) came and settled in the area. Especially, Kumans played an important political role in history of the region until the Ottomans came. According to the Russian turcolog Gluboski, Turkic tribes followed the two ways towards Europe. One of these is starting from Central Asia and passing through Russan steppes. These tribes following the first way kept their tribal names such as Pecheneks, Uz, Tatars, and Kumans in where they settled after migration. The second way followed by the Turkic tribes is going from the south. This way was passing through Iran and Anatolia and was arriving to Europe. These tribes going along the second way are generally called Oguz. These Oguz tribes took the name of their leader when they established states and reigned as dynasties such as Seljuks and Ottomans.[39]

Islamic sources gave one of the earliest information about Pecheneks (Badjanaks). One of these Islamic sources is the book of Ibn Rusta (İbn Rosteh), *Kitab al-A'laq al-Nafisa* written between the years 290-300/903-913. He mentions that Pecheneks the eastern neighbor of Hungarians appeared with the name of al-Madjghariyya were a powerful Turkish tribal community. Hungarians living in the plains lying between the Don and the Lower Danube were under the pressure

[39] For further information see Glubovski (1884) cited by Manof (1939), p.8-9 and Ülküsal (1966),p.15-16.

of their neighbor Pecheneks and therefore, they had to migrate to the basin of Carpathians in 889-892. From his book, we learn that Pecheneks still inhabited on the plains located east of the Don River at the end of the ninth century and they were powerful and populous enough to expel others on their way.[40] After the migration of Hungarians, bitter struggles happened between these tribes and they divided into two groups. One of those was under the command of Tirah and the second one was under the leadership of Kegenes. The second group of the tribes was defeated by tribes under the command of Tirah and retrogrades towards Danube[41] and they inhabited southern Moldavia. Coming of Pecheneks to the Balkans was nearly three hundred and fifty years later from the Bulgars. As it is mentioned in Byzantine sources, as a result of the treaty made between the Byzantine Empire and Pecheneks in 1048, Kegenes accepted the Byzantine protection and took a position in the Byzantine administrative system. In the following years, Kegenes was given the title, *voyvoda* (prince). Afterwards majority of the tribes under his command accepted Christianity and they were settled around Dobruja.[42] The other group of Pecheneks under the command of Tirah, passed the Danube and invaded Byzantine lands but after the sent of the imperial army, they were defeated and taken under the Byzantine rule.[43] Their leader Tirah was converted to Christianity in Constantinople.[44] Pecheneks were

[40] Gy. Káldy Nagy, Magjar Madjaristan, EI WebCD Ed., Brill Academic Publishers 2003.
[41] See Manof (1939), p. 9-10-11.
[42] Miletiç, L.,"Peridiçesko Spisanie" (Mevkut Risale), sene VII, kitap 32, Sredets (1890) cited by Manof (1939), p.10.
[43] İreçek (1876), p. 575 cited by Manof (1939), p. Manof (1939), p.10.
[44] Miletiç (1905), kitap XXXII- XXXIII, s. 212, cited by Manof (1939), p. 10.

not different than other tribal communities in the steppes of Western Eurasia. They were consisting of nomadic tribes. Pecheneks did not found a state or any other form of political unity until they settled and were absorbed by other Turkish or non-Turkish communities.

The other Turkic tribal communities coming to the northeastern regions of the Balkan Peninsula are Uzs and Kumans. Some historians claim that Kumans and Uzs are the group of tribes belonging to the same community.[45] Kumans in the middle of the eleventh century founded a state in the region between Volga and Danube. As a result of Kumans' invasions and pressures leading to the westward migration of Uz tribes, Uzs passed the Danube and settled around north of Dobruja, Deliorman and Black Sea region. Invasions of Uz or Oguz tribes started in the second half of the 11th century. Although they defeated the troops consisting of Bulgars and Rumanians, they could not be long lived in the Balkans. A number of these tribes became subjects of the Byzantine Empire but rest of them went back to the steppes and lived along the Russian border.[46] In 1224, following the defeat of the Russian-Kuman army by Mogol troops, these Uz tribes living along the Russian border had to pass the Danube and settled in around Dobruja where other Turkic peoples had inhabited for a long time.[47] A number of Christianized Uz tribes preferred to live along the shore of the Black Sea, especially in Mahgalya, Kavarna, Varna, and Silistre. On the other hand, Kumans defeated by Mongols settled in the Byzantine territory especially in Trace and

[45] İreçek (1886), p. 286 cited by Manof (1939), p.8-9.
[46] Ülküsal (1940), p. 30-31.
[47] İvanov, Y., Kumans, Mir Newspaper, 26 February 1926 cited by Manof (1939), p. 11.

Macedonia.[48] According to some historians, the Kumans in the Balkans were mostly Christianized, and, mingled with the native Wallachs and Slavs, and they continued to play the role of a ruling military class in these communities.[49] Also during the Mongol invasion in 1238, Kumans continued to move towards the west.[50] These Kumans of the steppe region who were under the Mongol rule adopted Islam and they established local aristocracy and ruling dynasties of the region under the name of Tatar.[51] In addition, we see that in seventeenth century, inhabitants of this region were still known as Uzs. The Ottoman traveler Evliya Celebi, in this century, called the northeastern region of the Ottoman-Balkans, namely Rumelia, as "Uz Eyaleti" (the province of Uz).[52]

In the thirteenth century, the other Turkic group of people coming from the steppes to the northeastern region of the Balkans is Tatars. Colonization of the new tribes from north of the Blacksea began in the thirteenth century. During the reign of the Batu who is the grandson of the Cingiz Khan, conquest of the Kipchak steppes were completed in 1236. Four years later, Mongol-Tatar army captured the city of Kiev and Mongol-Tatar attacks reached to central Europe in 1243. Then Batu turned back to the steppes and founded the Golden Horde Khanate. The land of the Khanate was extending to Serbia in the south and

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[48] see Ülküsal (1940), p. 16-17; Manof (1939), p. 11-12.
[49] Rásonyi-Nagy (1927), 68-96; Nikov, (1937) cited by İnalcık, "Dobruja", EI WebCD add. (2003).
[50] Spuler, B., Die Goldene Horde , Leipzig 1945, 19-20 cited by ibid.
[51] For further information see, Ibid.
[52] Cited by Ülküsal (1940), p. 16-17.

Carpathian Mountains in the north including the shores of Danube.[53] Also an original Turkish account of *Yazijiogli Ali* gives us valuable information about the Anatolian Turks came and settled in Dobrudja in mid 1260s.[54] Most of these Turks came under the command of their religious leader Sari Saltuk were were nomads and they formed two or three towns and 30-40 *oba* (clans).[55] Abu'l Fida also note that majority of the population of Sakdji (Isacca) was Muslims, which he reffered to them rather than the Tatars settled under Nogay.[56] According to Yazidjioglu Ali, these Turks emigrated to Anatolia because Bulgarian princes gained power and occupied a large part of the Rumelia. On the other hand, these Turks remained were Christianised. However in the travel account of Ibn-i Battuta[57] the town Baba Saltuk (later Baba-dagh) was reported as an important Turkish Town in 1330s..

Although we have not any original document kept in the time of Golden Horde about the colonization movements and settlements of Tatars in the Balkans, Ottoman tahrir registers inform us about the pre-Ottoman Turcic presence in the region. A *wakf* register transcribed by Barkan is a good example indicating the Tatar colorizations in the Mongolic era. According to this register, the *karye* (village), Arpuz Ata which is also known as Tatarlar around Edirne had been *wakf* since Cingiz Khan. In the reign of Mehmed the Conquerer this *karye* had been

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[53] Cahen, G., Les *Mongols Dans Les Balkans, Revenue Historique*, 1924, p.55-59 cited by Ekrem (1983) p.160.
[54] Wittek, "Yazijioglu 'Ali on the Christian Turks of Dobruja", in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 639-68
[55] Ibid., p. 648.
[56] Géographie, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 34, cited by Ibid.
[57] *Voyages*, ii, 416; English trans. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1959, 499, cited by Ibid.

given as *timar* but the sucessor of the Sultan Mehmed the conquerer.[58] Also Arab travelers give us valuable information about the Tatar settlements in north-east Balkans, especially around Dobruja. The Arab historian Abdul Fida, in his book Takvim-i Al Buldan, noted that the majority of the settlers of Tulcha around Dobruja were Tatars. In addition, other Arab travelers Rukn al-Din ve İbn Khaldun wrote about the Nogays were living the northern Dobruja.[59] The other Arab traveler Ibn Battuta visited the Dobruja region between the years 1331-1335 says that the city of Babadag was under the rule of the Tatar Khan. The Arab traveler Ibn Battuta was in the capital city of the Golden Horde Khanate, Saray, in 1333. He joined a caravan accompanied a Byzantine princess who was the wife of a prince of the Golden Horde going to Constantinople. The caravan passing through steppe of Kipchak followed the way of Dobruja and Bulgarian lands. İbn Battuta notes that the country from Itil (Volga) River to the town of Baba Saltuk was the lands of the Tatars. Between the town of Baba Saltuk and the first Byzantine fortress Yanbolu, he traveled during eighteen days through the land which is unsettled and desperately drought.[60]

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[58] Barkan (1949-50) p. 543.
"Karye-i Arpuz Ata
Vakf-ı Arpuz Ata Cengiz Han zamanından berü vakf imiş vakf-ı evladlık üzere tasarruf olunurken timara verilmiş imiş. Şimdiki halde padişahımız Sultan Bayezid Han halledallahu sultanehu giru mülkiyetini ve vakfiyetini mukarrer dutub tevki-i şerif irzani kılmış. Haliya Hatun Polad ve Sitti ve Şahi nam hatunlar giru nesli olmağın vakf-ı evladlık olmak üzere tasarruf ideler." (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Defter no: 818).
[59] About the Arab travellers and their books, see, W. de Tiesenhausen, Recueil de Materiaux Relatifs à L'Historie de la Hoade d'Or I, Extraits des Ouvrages Arabes, St. Petersbourg, 1884, s. 92-93 cited by Ekrem (1983) p.1601.
[60] Yakubovski (1955), p. 21 cited by Ülküsal (1940), p.20.

2.1.3. Gagauzes

In the northeastern part of the peninsula, Gagaues are one of the various ethnic groups of the region. They are speaking a dialect of the Anatolian Turkish but their religion, Orthodox Christianity, distincts them from other Turkish groups in the region. Since middle of the fourteenth century, the homeland of the Gagaueses was mainly the steppes stretching between the lower Danube and the Black Sea, from the delta southward as far as the foothills of the Emine Dagh (the easternmost chain of the Balkan range) and the city of Dobruja called by the name of the Bulgarian prince Dobrotitsa.[61] In the city base, they were living in the southern and middle Dobruja, from Varna and Kaliakra towards Silistre on the Danube.[62] On the other hand, Gagauess were living as relatively small groups in other cities and provinces of the north-east region of the Balkan Peninsula such as Prevadi (Provadia), Şumnu (Shumen), Razgrad, Tutrakan, and the region from Danube to Edirne.[63]

Historians have discussed the origin of Gagaues and a number of hypotheses have been developed in order to clarify this issue. One of the hypothesis is that Gagaues are the probably the descendents of Uzs well known to the Russian chronicles namely Black Caps (Karakalpaks) adopted Orthodox Christianity under the Russian rule in the eleventh century. On the other hand, Bulgarian scholars consider the Gagaues as the descendents of the Proto-Bulgars

[61] Wittek (1952), p. 639.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Manof (1939), p. 7.

turkicized in the Ottoman period but they kept their religion as Orthodox Christianity.[64] Some other scholars claim that Gagaues are Anatolian Seldjuks who had migrated to Dobruja under the Ottoman rule and they were Christianized under the influence of the surrounding religious environment.[65] The last but the most probable hypothesis is the one which regards the Gagaues as descendents of Anatolian Seldjuks came to Byzantine territory under the command of their sultan, Izz al-Din's Kay Ka'us as refugees. According to Wittek, the name Gagaues came from the name of their leader Sultan İzz al-Din Kay Ka'us. [66] Under the rule of the Byzantine Empire, these Anatolian Seldjuks were Christianized but they kept their language, culture, and traditions.

The discussions on the origin of the Gagauess are nearly ended after Paul Wittek's assertion of a comparative study of the original Turkish account of Yazijioghlu Ali written in the pre- Ottoman period, in 1423 with the Byzantine sources.[67] According to Wittek, after the publication of T. Kowalski's careful analysis of the Gagaues Turkish, it is proved that the Gagaues Turkish essentially has southern, in other word Anatolian characteristics, which made the previous hypotheses on the origin of Gagaues invalid[68]. Wittek completely rejects the hypothesis that the Gagauess are Anatolian Turks who had immigrated into Dobruja under the Ottoman rule and been subsequently Christianized there under the influence of the surrounding population. Such a gradual apostasy from Islam

[64] Zajaczkowski, W., "Gagauzes", *EI* Web ed.
[65] See, Wittek (1952), p. 659.
[66] Wittek (1952), 668.
[67] Wittek (1952), p. 639-68.
[68] See T. Kowalski, *Les Turcs et la langue turque de la Bulgarie du Nord-East*, Kraków 1933.

is not possible under the sultan's rule. For this reason he concludes that the conversion must be in the pre-Ottoman period, before the end of the fourteenth century. In addition, Wittek also rejects the hypothesis that the Gagaues are Bulgarian, Greek or Wallachian Christians adopted Turkish language under the Ottoman rule. According to him, it seems very unlikely because of the xamples indicating opposite cases in the Balkans. Spread of Islam among the Balkan peoples is combined with retention of the native language such as Muslim Bulgarians (Pomaks), the Bosnian Muslims speaking Serbo-Croat, and the Muslim Albanians.[69]

On the light of the achieve sources, linguistic studies and his comparative study on Yazijioghlu Ali and Byzantine sources, Wittek concludes that the ancestors of the Gagauess migrated from Anatolia in the pre-Ottoman times. The account of Yazijioghlu Ali tells the story after the re-capture of Costatinople by Michael VIII Palaeologos from the Franks in 1261. According to the account, the sultan Izz al-Din's Kay Ka'us II ruling the western part of the Anatolian Seljuks sultanate felt himself threatened by both this brother Rukneddin ruling the eastern half of the sultanate and the Mongol protectors. He, his family and his household left Anatolia with of his navy. This account relates the Seljuk troops had come with their sultan Izz al-Din's Kay Ka'us II and their help to the emperor in his Balkan campaigns. Then the account tells about these Seljuk troops, namely Tourkopouloi, settled Karvuna (later named as Dobruja) and coming of the

[69] For further information about the discussion see Wittek (1952), p. 658-660.

nomadic tribes that they belonging to. These tribes, with their religious leader Sari Saltuk, were coming from Anatolia to Dobruja where Tourkopouloi were settled on the Byzantine border in 1263-64. [70] After the coming of these tribes in the region, two or three Muslim towns were set up containing 30- 40 Muslim – nomadic *oba* (clans) in Dobruja. [71] The function of these Turks, in the border, was to be shield against the any attack could come from the north. Emperor's assignment of Izz al-Din's Kay Ka'us and his followers to Dobruja was very practical solution for providing a protection for the north border of the empire where almost no-man's land between the Golden Horde Khanate, the Bulgarian State and the Byzantine Empire.[72] Also in the region generally known as "Karvana Land"[73] many Turkish tribes supplying soldier to the Byzantine army, were living but they could not be taken under the control of the Empire. The emperor Mihail VIII Paleologos enfeoffed the sultan of the Seljuks İzz al-Din's Kay Ka'us as the leader of these Turkic peoples including Christan Turks in the Karvuna region where İzz al-Din's Kay Ka'us founded an independent Oguz state whose religious authority was the exach in Karvuna dependent to the Patriarch in Constantinople.

According to the account of Yazijioghlu, after some time, the emperor feared from the Turkish tribes come together under the roof of the Oghuz state

[70] See Wittek (1952), p. 659 ; P. Wittek also deals with the account in his article Wittek (1934) and more fully in Wittek (1948).
[71] Wittek (1952), p.648.
[72] See İnalcık, Dobruja, *EI* WebCD ed., Brill Academic Publishers 2003.
[73] We learned the name of the region as " Kavarna " from the document that Arsen II gave the to the merchants of Raguza. Manof (1939), p. 20.

founded by İzz al-Din's Kay Ka'us. The Emperor sent the imperial army to be killed and imprisoned their leaders. Although the army was partially successful in killing or imprisoning some of the tribal leader, İzz al-Din Kay Ka'us with two of his sons were liberated and brought to Crimea by the Khan of the Golden Horde, Berke Khan. The Muslim subject of the sultan İzz al-Din's Kay Ka'us living in Dobruja was also taken under the protection of the Muslim khans of the Golden Horde, Berke and then his successor Noghay. The Muslims of Dobruja were transferred to the steppes with their religious leader Sari Saltuk. However, according to Gregoras, a number of the Turkish soldier coming from Anatolia with İzz al-Din Kay Ka'us stayed in Kavarna region were baptized and enrolled in the Byzantine army.[74] On the other hand, two of the sultan's sons with their mother who was the relative of the Byzantine emperor were received land with a feudal position and deported to Verria (Karaferye) in Macedonia. One of the Seljuk princes stayed in Verria and the other one went to Constantinople. According to Yazijioghlu, after going of the Sultan to Crimea Turks who were still Muslims are said to immigrate to Quarasi in Anatolia. On the other hand, the Turks of Dobruja having already been Christianized joined to the son of the Sultan İzz al-Din Kay Ka'us deported to Verria. It astonishes that contrary to his followers Christianized in Dobruja, the son of the Sultan İzz al-Din's Kay Ka'us died as Muslim and his grandsons were not Christianized until the coming of the

[74] Gragoras, I, p. 101, II, 16-19 cited by Wittek (1952) s. 657.

basileus to Salonica.[75] Also Yazijioghlu adds this note that when the Sultan Bayezid I, concurred Verria in 1385, he see that the grandsons of the Seljuk dynasty still were living there. Bayezid I deported them from Verria to Zikhne in eastern Macedonia. The eldest son of the family, Lizaqos was enfeoffed as *subashi*, which was incredible to obtain such a position for a Christian.[76] In addition during the reign of the sultan Bayezid I, Lizaqos renewed their diploma of timar and he was exempted from pay poll-tax.[77] These Christian Turks were still in Zikhne until the end of the Ottoman Empire.[78]

On the other hand, Muslim Turks under the protection of Berke Khan came back to Dobruja with their leader Sari Saltuk in 1280s. Until his death at the beginning of 1300s, Sari Saltuk was the head of the Turks in Dobruja. After Sari Saltuk, Muslims of Dobruja returned to Anatolia because of the harassment of the Bulgars princes in 1307-11 [79] and these Christian Turks stayed in Dobruja. The Turkish tribes remained in Dobruja elected Balik as their chief and established a despotate in Dobruja. After Balik, his brother Dobrotic reined the Oghuz state (1357-1386). Since his reign, the name of the region "Karvuna Land" called Dobruja or "Dobrotic Land".[80] The last ruler of the Oghuz state before the Ottoman conquest was Yanko (or Ivanco). Yanko could not be successful against

[75] See Wittek (1952), P. 660.
[76] Ibid., p. 450 and 461.
[77] Wittek (1952), p. 650; Kiel (1978), p. 207-208.
[78] For further information about the Turkish- speaking Christians in Macedonia see Wittek(1934)
[79] Wittek (1952), p. 651 cited by İnalcık, H., Rumeli, *EI* WebCD ed.
[80] Zajaczkowski, W., "Gagauzes", *EI* WebCD ed.

the Sultan Bayezid I and the Christian Oghuz state became one of the Ottoman suzerains in the Balkans in 1398. [81]

Since the independent Oghuz state in Dobruja, these Turks and Turkic peoples were under the religious authority of the Patriarch in Constantinople, which was not changed during the Ottoman rule in the region. Just after the conquest of Constantinople, the Ottomans recognized the Patriarch as the religious authority of the Orthodox Christians without discriminating nationality. On that view, the Gagaues must be recognized as one of the Christian communities dependent to the Patriarch. There is evidence relevant to which from the year 1652 concerning the decision of the Patriarch to give authority over all towns and villages to the local bishop instead of to the exarch in Karvuna.[82]

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[81] Dobrucenska Biblioteka, no:1, p. 35, Sofya cited by Manof (1939), p. 25; Zajaczkowski, W., "Gagaues", EI WebCD Ed., 2003; İrechek, Istoria na Bulgarite, p. 410 cited by Manof (1939), p. 26.
[82] Zajaczkowski, W., "Gagaues", EI Web Ed., 2003.

CHAPTER THREE

OTTOMAN RULE IN THE BALKANS

3.1. Pre-Ottoman Political Conditions

The first stage of the Ottoman conquest and settlement in the Balkans is a gradual process, for which the political developments in the region prepared the appropriate conditions. Political and administrative structure of the Balkan Peninsula in the second half of the 14th century contained a number of small feudal states that emerged as a result of the declining Byzantine authority. In the northeastern region of the peninsula, the lands of today's Bulgarian and Rumenian Dobruja, an independent Christian principality emerged and played an important role until the Ottoman conquest. The founders of the state were Turkish-speaking Christians whose descendents were the Anatolian Turkish colonists came under the command of the fugitive Seldjuk Sultan Izz al-Din's Kayka'us in 1261. The first ruler of the principality known was Balik. After Balik, the name of Dobrotic who was the son or brother of Balik and son of Dobrotic, Ivanko, mentioned as rulers of the principality. As a result of the empowerment process of the local dynasties against the weakening Byzantine authority, the state became independent in the region included most of the Black Sea coast, a part of its barely inhabited and waterless steppe hinterland, later known as Dobruja, and the towns of Varna, Kavarna, and Kaliakra, as well as a string of castles of Kozyak and

Emona.[83] In 1371, Tsar Ivan Alexander was died. His sons Ivan Shishman and Sratsimir split the Tsardom of Tirnovo. As Ivan Shishman kept the larger part of the lands, Sratsimir set himself as the ruler of Vidin independent from his brother. In the reign of the Sultan Murad I, Byzantine Empire, both Vidin and Tirnovo Tsadom and many Serbian lords in Macedonia became the vassals of the Ottoman State.[84] Just after the death of Ivan Alxander, Ottoman army defeated the Serbian army in the battle of "Maritsa"in Trace. The Ottoman Sultan Murad was married to the sister of Ivan Shishman, Tamara, which was expected to strengthen the alliance between the Ottomans and the divided Bulgarian Tsardom but after the defeat of the Battle of Plotnik against the Serbians, Bulgarians took part on the side of the Christian coalition formed by the local lords under leadership of the Serbian king Lazar and did not response to the Ottoman Sultan who called Bulgarian vassals to support him. In the winter of the year 1388/89 the Sultan organized a march on the Bulgarian vassals under the command of the grand vezir Candarli Ali Pasha to conquer the lands of his vassals breaking the alliance. These political developments prepared the conditions of the Ottoman conquests of the region.

On the other hand, the other important development in the region was the emergence and quick spread of a new heresy, Bogomilism, which widely accepted by local people who preferred doctrine of the heresy to Christianity that they saw as the cultural and religious tool of the Byzantine dominance in the region.

[83] Kiel, (1994), p. 166-167.
[84] For the historical events prepared the conditions of these developments, see p. 7-9

According to Obolensky[85] new heretical movements appeared in the middle of the tenth century in Bulgaria. There were two sources of the new sectarian emergence and they were the teaching of Paulicians–Massalians spreading uncoordinatedly in the Bulgarian lands and spread of pagan culture and beliefs of Slavic culture. Obolensky defines Bogomilism as the outcome of the fusion between these dualistic heresies and the Slavization in the region. The earliest evidence of the religious transformation in the region is a letter written by Teophylect, the patriarch of Constantinople to Peter, the king of Bulgaria. [86] Although the letter was not dated, it is thought that the letter could be written in the period 940-950. In the text, King Peter informing the patriarch about the new heresy in Bulgaria defines it as "Manichaeism mixed with Paulicianism" [87] and asked his guidance to deal with. In the reign of Peter, Bogomilism is first taught in Bulgaria by the priest Bogomil. This information is confirmed by a 13th century Bulgarian Document, the "Synodicon of the Tsar Boril" [88] Bogomilism found many supporters in Bulgaria. One of the reasons behind this support was the strong opposition of Bulgars against Christianity that they perceived as the symbol of the cultural and religious domination of Byzantine on the Bulgarian Khanate and as a serious danger for their freedom. The other reason behind the stubborn resistance of Bulgarians to be Christianized was that they tried to keep their traditional

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[85] Obolensky, Dimitri (1972), p. 111.
[86] An English translation of the letter was published by V.N. Sharenkoff in his book *A Study of Manrehaeism in Bulgaria,* New York (1927), pp. 63-65 cited by ibid 112.
[87] Ibid.
[88] This document was published by J. A. Ilič in his book *Die Bogomilen in Ihrer Geschtlichen Entwicklung* (Sr. Karlowci, 1923) p.18 cited by ibid., pp.118.

beliefs, such as shaman religious rituals as the symbol of their distinctive culture, to protect themselves from assimilation against Christian Byzantine and pagan Slavic culture. For this reson, Ottoman rule welcomed by local people and Ottomans did not face any serious public resistance in the region.[89]

When we consider the political conditions of the pre-ottoman Balkans in the 14th century, we see that local authorities replaced the Byzantine dominance in the region and the handover the ruling power. Sometimes these local dynasties, too, divided as in Bulgarian case. For this reason, Ottoman expansion towards the west did not faced with any strong opposition in the region. In provinces, the feudal lords and local dynasties ruling these feudal states became the holders of the large military and monastic estates by increasing their tax exemptions and various privileges in expense of the Byzantine authority. The unavoidable result of this process was the creation of various independent local regimes in the region. Also the other result of this change in the concentration of the power from central to local was the increase in tax and labor burden on the peasants.

3.2. Pre-Ottoman Demographic Conditions and Settlement Policies in the Region

These lands known as Bulgaria of Danubian Basin including the three frontier sanjaks: Silistre, Niğbolu (Nikopol), and Vidin. As in pre-Ottoman period, this frontier-region exposed invasions and attacks coming from the north. Dobruja and Deliorman (Mad-forest) regions had already been inhabited by Turks majority

[89] The case of Cyprus is a good example for the attitude of local people against the Ottoman rule. See, p.27 and footnote 79.

of who had been Christianized. When the Ottomans conquered these lands, Greeks along the shore of Blacksea, Bulgars in the inner side of the region, and a group of christianized Anatolian Turks coming under the command of the sultan of Anatolian Seldjuks İzz al-Din's Kayka'us were living there. Also, other groups of Turks and Turkic peoples coming from the steppes of the north such as Kumans, Uzs, Pecheneks, and Tatars were inhabited in the region. Before the Ottoman conquest, a small number of households were living in Dobruja. During the century following the Tatar invasion, political conditions had not been stable, until the 13th century when Dobruja became the Tatar land. Although the region was a strategic borderland, security problems and continuous exposure of the invasions made the settlement structure in the region very loose. The region had been started to colonize by Anatolians before the conquest. Especially dervishes of heterodox Islamic sects and their followers had settled in the western Dobruja known as Deliorman.

Before the Ottoman conquest, as one of the methods of conquest, Ottomans gave the way to colonizing derwishes and to be established many religious pious endowments such as tekkes and zaviyes in the reagion. Many of these zaviyes were founded on uninhabbited lands and they played important roles in opening these lands for settlement. They were derwishes who were members of mystical religious orders and carrying out missionary activities and holy war (*djihat*). According to Barkan[90], the main function of *zaviyes* was to organize the

[90] For detailed information and more examples see, Barkan, (1988), p.133-143.

settlement of immigrants. In that sense, founders of *zaviyes* came and settled in first, and then organize the demographic, cultural, religious and economic life of newcomers.[91] These derwishes were not as ordinary landless peasants or nomadic tribes. These foundations established by these derwishes included gardens of fruit trees, flourmills, water wells and irrigation systems, which indicate that these derwishes could establish needs of a village life. Barkan in his detailed study on Ottoman vakıf defters [92] gives many examples for such derwishes and their foundations. One of these examples is the zaviye founded by Es-seyyid Ali known as Kızıl Sultan (Kızıl Delü)[93] in Dimetoka. The villages of Tatar Viranı and Tatarlık were bestowed with the *mülkname* given in 804/1401. These villages were recorded as property of the Kızıl Sultan's *zâviye* which was a foundation serving to the travellers accommodating in these villages. These were derbend villages and had been founded by Tatars. After the coming of Kızıl Sultan with his dervishes, these villages became populous and the number of household reached 58 Muslim and 23 non-Muslim.[94] In the same way, we see the other village named as Dervişler in Niğbolu become populous after the establishment of

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[91] Ibid., 136.
[92] Barkan, (1942), p.279- 386.
[93] Ibid., p. 293.
[94] "Vakf-I evlad-I Kızıl Delü
Mezkûr merhum Kızıl Delü diyâr-I Rum İli şeref-I İslâmla müşerref oldukta bile geçüb zikrolan karye-I Büyük Viran ve karye-I Darı Bükü ve Tirfillû Viranı Sultan Yıldırım Han 'aleyh-ir-rahmet-ü velgufrân hududu ve sınıruile temlik idub sene-I erba' ve semane mie tarihinde mülknâme-I şerif ihsan buyurub mazmun-I münif-I latîfine Tanrı Dağı'nda Daru Bükü ve Büyük Viran ve Tirfillü Viranı hududu ve sınırı ile mezkûr Kızıl Delü'ye virdüm ki kimesne dahl eylemeye deyü kayd olunub merhum Kızıl Delüdahi vakf-I evlâd idüb sevalif-I selâtin-I hâkaniye-I Osmaniye dahi rahimehümullâhü te'alâ 'alette'akub her biri emr-I mezkûr –I meşhuru musaddak ve müstahkem dutub ahkâmına ahkâmı vâci-bül-kabul erzanî kılmışlardır." Ibid., Tapu Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü 526 numaralı Edirne Evkaf Defteri, Registeration No: 173, p. 339.

a *zâviye*. The uninhabited village was getting populous and in the reign of the Sultan Süleyman I, it became a village consisting 45 households.[95] Also the other function of *zaviyes* was providing security in uninhabited places such as mountain-passes and trade roads. Körlük vıllage ın Simav, Kurşunlu Çiftliği in Karaman Kayası-Manisa, and Palamut village in Manisa were good examples for the settlement function of *zaviyes*.[96] The long period of war and social disorder in the Balkans during the pre-Ottoman period led to population decreases that may have not been recovered by the population brought from Anatolia. In this situation, the other possible source for the new settlers was the Tatars living in the north of the Black Sea. In fact the history of the Tatar settlement is older than the Ottoman presence in the Balkans. During the reigns of Cingiz Khan and his sons, Tatars of the northern steppes were settled in the Balkans. In the Ottoman registers, we see Tatars settled in the time of the Golden Horde Khanate consisting of a considerable part of the southeastern Europe.[97] According to Gökbilgin, the four groups of Tatars recorded in the Ottoman tax registers in 1543 that were Aktau, Tırhala, Yanbolu, and Bozata. During the invasion of Timur in 1400s, they came to the Balkans under the command of Aktav Khan. These groups of Tatars passing through Eflak and Danube were settled in Edirne and Filibe regions.[98]

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[95] Ibid., Niğbolu Evkaf defteri, No: 611, Registration No: 181, p. 341.
[96] Barkan (1988), p.141-142.
[97] A village named as Erbuz Ata in Edirne was noted that this village had been endowment since the time of Cingiz Khan. Ekrem, (1983), pp. 160.
[98] Gökbilgin (1952), p. 17.

3.3. Ottoman Conquests

Ottoman conquest was a result of not only military successes but the struggle between local lords and their subjects. These local lords, against the Ottoman invasions and centralized administrational policy, demanded help from the Western Christian world in return to compromise with them in political issues including religious matters, which made them to lose the support of their Orthodox- Christian subjects against the Ottoman conquest. These local people had sympathy towards the Ottoman system seeming much fairer than the rule their masters who for military aid from Catholic kingdoms of the Latin world.

The help of the Catholic world was bringing the threat of Crusaders leading to various problems and burdens for both peasants and feudal lords. In addition, for the native Greek Orthodox population, the help coming from the west brought the danger of being converted to Catholicism by force. Local leaders were made such alliences with the Catholic West because they were expecting military aid and political support to keep their power but the Balkan population strongly resisted to such alliances. This discrepancy between the local lords and their subjects created empathy among the Balkan populations towards their rulers and sympathy towards the Ottomans. Due to the support of the Balkan population and clergy, Ottomans appeared as first allies of the small feudal states and then their protectors. As the protector of Orthodox Church, who accorded its clergy a place in their own state organization, the Ottomans were not only offered recognition and protection to the Orthodox Church but they granted to its priests

tax exemptions or even timars in order to turn them into employees of state.[99] As a result of these developments, we see that the Ottomans emerged as a Balkan power since the earliest conquests in the region. In addition, Ottomans being sensitive not to violate the well-functioning institutions of old system in the region and they adopted the military organization of peasant soldiers called *voynuk* or *voynik* used as the complementary military forces and *martolos* served in fortresses in military organization of the Serbian Empire of Stephan Dushan.. Besides the protection of the Orthodox Church and its pre-conquest organization, the method integrating the newly concurred lands to the Ottoman system with its proper institutions provides a gentle and quick adoption to the new system. [100]

On the other hand, Ottoman methods of conquest played an important role in the success of the Ottomans in the Balkan region.[101] Although the *Gazâ* holy war was the fundamental principle behind the Ottoman conquest, the Ottoman state rose as an empire protecting the peasant population Muslims or Christians. *Gazâ* intended to subdue the infidel world, *dârülharb.* In the Islamic law, life and property of Christians and Jews are guaranteed on the conditions that the agreed to central authority and paying poll-tax. Also they eliminated the native military aristocracy whenever they resisted. At the same time, the Ottoman empire emerged as a Muslim state and at the same time as the protector of the Orthodox Church and millions of Christians living on the vast lands of the empire stretching from Hungaria to deserts of the Middle-East and north Africa. In that sense before

[99] For examples of the Christian timaroits see İnalcık (1987), p. 58-59.
[100] see Ibid, p. 15; İnalcık, "Rumeli", EI WebCD add. (2003).
[101] For detailed information on Ottoman methods of conquests see İnalcık (1957).

any military action, Ottomans preferred first a policy of conquest attempting to secure the voluntary submission of native Christians. Also the Islamic (şer'i) taxes paid by the non-Muslim subjects were very significant source of revenue in the imperial tax revenues, which was an important motive encouraging the near-eastern empires to be tolerant towards the non-Muslims. Giving the right of freely practicing their religions to the conquered people provided the Ottomans both reliability and a significant source of revenue.[102] The other distinctive characteristic of the Ottoman conquests is the policy of *istimālet* (conciliation) towards the conquered people.This policy aimed to preserve the productive population of the cconquered lands on the land so that taxation continued. Also Aşık Paşa-zade[103] explains that in order to win the conquered people over to their side, Ottomans did not injure the infidel population, perhaps they even granted favours to them. They captured only those leading men among them and "the infidels of Djinbi became allies with these *gazies*". A good example for that the Ottoman rule and administrative system were preferred by peasants to the arbitrary rule of local lords is the case of Cyprus.[104] İnalcık in his study takes place the statement of G. Diedo reflecting the Venetians' disappointment against the unwilling fight of peasants during the battles[105] : The inhabitants, through inconsistency of temperament, or because the yoke of slavery imposed upon them by the Chypriot nobles, made them flatter themselves that they might find better

[102] See İnalcık (1957); İnalcık (1973), p.7; İnalcık(1969), p.5. , Barkan (1953-54) 239-329; Barkan, (1955-56) 193-347;Barkan (1964), 1-117.
[103] Atsız,(1949), p. 123.
[104] See İnalcık (1967), p. 6.
[105] Cobham, C., D., *Excerpta Cypria*, (Cambridge: 1908), p. 92, cited by ibid.

luck under a new master, even offered them provisions and gave them the fullest information as to the position of affairs and the condition of the island.

In fact, by taking the advantage of the Byzantine civil war and conflicts between Byzantine and Serbians-Bulgarians, the group of *gazis* from Anatolia had already been started to cross to the Balkan lands. Ottoman conquests in the Balkans were carried out from the three wings: Left, right and center. After the conquest of Edirne (Adrianople) in 1361, under the command of Gahzi Evrenos the progress was continued on the right wing, on the direction of Ipsala, Gümülcine, Serez, and Salonica. The Ottoman progress went on the way of Filibe and Sofia on the center, and Zagra, Karinabad, Dobruja, Silistre on the right. The sub-division of the frontier regions as left, right and center is considered as in accordance with old Turkish tradition.[106] On the other hand a chain of political events in the region prepared the appropriate conditions for the Ottoman conquests and settlements to the Balkan lands. After the death of the Serbian emperor Stephan Dushan in 1345, his empire was disintegrated. The necessity of a powerful ally for the Byzantine against the internal and external threats led Byzantine to the Ottomans. The leader of Ottoman principality Orkhan married the daughter of the emperor John Cantacuzenos and became the ally of the Byzantine Empire. When the second civil war broke out between the emperor Cantacusenos and Ionnes Paleologos V, Orhan taking the side of Cantacuzenos sent a contingent of ten thousand cavalries under the command of Suleyman

[106] See Yücel (1987), p.17.

Pasha in return of taking the Tsympe castle. The Ottoman cavalry defeated the military forces consisting of Serbian- Greek soldiers in 1352, which is the corner stone of the Ottomans' passing to and settling in the Balkans. Although the emperor Cantacuzenos tried to take the castle back by offering to pay gold, Ottomans postponed reaching any compromise until taking the advantage of an earthquake happened in Trace in 1353. After the migration of the Byzantine subject affected from the natural disaster to the cities whose fortifications were not desperately ruined, Ottomans repaired these fortresses especially Galipoli and Tzimpe Castle and colonized Anatolian Turks in these lands, which was the beginning of the formal passing and the permanent settlement of Ottomans in the Balkans in the mid of the fourteenth century. The Balkan conquests of Suleyman Pasha until his sudden death in 1357 included Migalkara, Ipsala, Vize, Tekfur Daghi, Seyyid Kawaghi, Bolayır, and Galipoli.

The second stage of the conquests were carried out in the reign of the sultan Murad I. Bulgarians were became one of the vassal states of the Ottomans besides the kinship founded between them as a result the marriage between the Sultan Murad and the sister of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Shishman. However the peaceful period was ended when the tension between Ottomans and Serbians became higher as a result of Ottomans' defeat in the battle of Plotnik. Bulgarians took place on the side of the Christian coalition and did not joined the Ottoman army, when the sultan Murad called the Tsar Shishman who was responsible to participate Ottoman campaigns as a Ottoman vassal. In the winter 1388, the

Sultan Murad planned a campaign against his disloyal vassals, Bulgarian king Shishman, ruler of Dobruja Ivanko, and the Serbians. As the first step of the campaign, Ottoman army occupied the Bulgarian state under the command of the grand vizir Chandarli Ali Pasha. According to Neshri[107], from Edirne (Adrianople) to the south shore of the Danube was the land of Sosmanos (Shishman) who is the son of Alexander and beyond the northern shore of the Danube was the land of Eflak. The fortresses of Susmanos (Shishman) were more than thirty and the names of these fortresses, mentioned by Neshri, were including Prevadi, Tırnovi (as the capital of the Bulgaharian Kingdom), Nika-boli (Nikopol or Niğbolu), Kosova and Silistre.[108] There are some views in national historiography of the Balkans in 19th and 20th centuries considering the Balkan conquests of the Sultan Murad I as bloody and barbaric. For instance, according to Todorov[109], following the conquest of Tirnova, noble and rich families were slaughtered and thousands of people and many families were forced to migrate to Anatolia. In addition, the Ottoman central authority decided to deport some of the people living in Tirnova to the west and the clergymen of the city to Macedonia. On the other hand, there are detailed stories of the Balkan conquests in the reign of Murad I in the chronicles of Neshri and Ruhi giving us very detailed

[107] Prepared by F.Reshit Unat and M. A. Köymen, *Kitab-ı Cihan Nümâ: Neşrî Tarihi* c.I.
[108] The other fortresses are Çenge, Madara, Vefçen, Dobriç, Meçka, Efleka, Gözke, Krapçene, Kirastavça, Eski İstanbulluk, Şumı, Çernoz, Migloc, Eymenoz, Yürük-ova, Ton-Birgoz, Zişt-ova, Nükesri, and Tıraka. Neshri also notes that majority of these fortresses are on the shore of the Danube. See Unat and Köymen (1949), p. 245.
[109] For a Bulgarian view of the Ottoman conquest see, Todorov (1979), p. 42-44.

information about these conquests and their chronology.[110] According to Neshri, Ali Pasha, the commander of the Balkan campaign, did not face any serious resistance in the conquests. The Ottoman army consisted of thirty thousand soldiers commanded by Ali Pasha occupied Prevadi, Shumnu, Preslav, Madera[111]. During the campaign carried on in the period 1393-1395, the capital city of the Bulgarian Kingdom, Tirnova was conquered [112] and the Ottoman conquest continued with the capture of Silistre and southern Dobruja[113], Zişt-ova, Nikopol and Varna conquered. Exemplary for the political situation of the time was that in almost all cases, the local inhabitants came to the Ottoman camp to bring the keys of their strongholds.[114] The chronicles of Neshri and Ruhi gave us very detailed information about these conquests and their chronology.[115] The lands of the Bulgarian State were completely conquered in 1393 in the reign of the Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid, which was the second stage of the Balkan conquests of the Ottomans.

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[110] For further information about these conquests see Unat and Köymen (1949), p243-265; Uzunçarşılı, (1978); Babinger (1944), p. 29-35.

[111]" Fi'l –hal Timurtaş oğlu Yahşi Bey'le beş bin er seçüb, Prevadi'ye gönderüb eytdi: " cehd it ki Prevadi'yi bir hile idub alaydun, ola mı ?" didi. Yahşi Bey dahi fi'l-hal göçüb, Prevadi'ye azm ittüler. Gelüb iline konmak istediler. Kış günü idi. Kar yağardı. Hüseyin Bey atları soğuktan esirgeyüb, niçin geldüklerin bilmeyüb, Taş-Hisar'a koydi. Bunlar kal'ayı feth idüb Paşa'ya beşaret gönderdiler. Ertesi gün Paşa Prevadi'ye gelüb kal'aya girub, kal'anın içine er koyub, müezzinler ezan okuyub, namaz kıldılar. Ve Paşa oradan göçüb Veçen'e kondı. Kal'a halkı dahi Paşa'nın geldiğin göricek, kal'anın kilidin getürdiler. Andan ertesi Madara'nun ve Şumnu'nun dahi kilidin getürdiler. Andan irtesi Paşa, varup Şumnu ka'asın girub, hisarları berkitti." Unat and Köymen (1949), p.245-246.

[112] "Sosmanoz' un tahtgâhı üzerine gelüb, konub, kâfir dahi anun kilidin getürdiler." Ibid, p.255.

[113] „Rivayet olunur ki, Paşa Şumnı'da birkaç gün oturduktan sonra kalkub Dobruca'ya gelüb, küffar kilidin karşu getürdiler." Ibid.

[114] Kiel (2005), p.16-17.

[115] for further information about these conquests see Uzunçarşılı, (1978) cited by İlhan (2003), p. 51; Babinger, F., Beiträge zur Frühgesch. der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien, Munich 1944, 29-35.

3.4. Turkish Settlement and the New Administrative System in the Ottoman Balkans

Ottomans appeared in the Balkans not as a tribe-nation but as an army, a dynasty, and a dominant class[116] and the Ottoman, Slavic, and Byzantine political systems were amalgamated into a one political system [117] with which Ottomans ruled the Balkans. After the Ottoman conquests, the mass migration of nomadic tribes, peasants, dervishes, and esnaf from Anatolia, was an organized and centrally directed demographic movement. The simultaneous development in the new lands with the demographic movement was introduction of the Ottoman administrative system, which provided the needed infrastructure for the mass-migration of *yörüks* and Ottoman military organization in the region. In fact, three main purposes can be defined as the basis of the Ottoman settlement policy. The first purpose was to provide sanctuary and the economic means to ensure the survival of the population in central and western Anatolia that was getting more and more populous as aresult of the continuous migration from the east. The second purpose was to disperse the unruly and the unorthodox Kizilbashes and to settle them in areas away from their religious centers in Eastern Anatolia and Iran. The third purpose was to guarantee the security of the Ottoman State in the Balkans.[118] Ottoman conquests were not an invasion but a planned process, which was sometimes completed by internalizing them into the Ottoman administration. The local lords reassigned in their own lands as the timar-holders and they were

[116] Iorga (1925), p.2 cited by İnalcık (1995), p. 138.
[117] Ibid., p. 5.
[118] Şahin, Emecan, Halaçoğlu (1989), p. 24.

taken under the state control. Hence, Ottomans created a strong military force, the Janissary crops, which was the first standing army in Europe. After the conquest, generally the conquerors were sensitive to keep the institutions and organization of the old system. With a detailed register, the Ottoman central authority became familiar with the new lands and the new subjects. On that view, it can be said that while settling in the conquered lands, Ottomans put a conservative policy into practice and adapted the religious institutions, status of social classes, administrative divisions, taxes, local administrative traditions, and military classes.[119] Ottomans abolished seigniorial rights, privileges, and the feudal ownership of arable lands as well as monasteries to set up a strict control on the state-owned agrarian lands. Also, Ottomans made adjustments about the tax burden on peasants and except some symbolic traditional taxes inherited from the old feudal system[120], a fixed tax called *resm-i çift* levied in order to make the tax burden on peasants reasonable.[121] Also compulsory labor services of the peasants to the landlord were commuted to a fixed tax of 22 aspers (20 aspers equal 1 kurus) called "resm-i çift" (plough tax).[122] The study of M. Maxim on Ottoman archive documents about Ibraila, a port of Danube located in Romania, gives a good example for the more advantageous and fairer tax system of the Ottomans

[119] İnalcık (1995), p.182.
[120] We will see such a tax in 1483 icmâl of Niğbolu. In the timar register of Ali Bey (Mihaloğlu) the note was added that "haric-ez defter, bundan evvel Ali Bey ber vech-i iltizam şenledüb eflâk âdetince resm alunur ". The tax collected as a local tradition is probably " florici". In EI, under the title "Filori" written by Halil İnalcık, the tax is define as "The tax, paid especially by the Eflâk (i.e. the semi-nomadic Vlachs of the Balkans, and especially of Serbia), was, together with other supplementary imposts, also called Eflâkiye âdeti. İt is expaline in detail while we are evaluating the data in 1479 and 1483 registers in the third chapter.
[121] See İnalcık (1994), p. 16; İnalcık, "Rumeli", *EI* WebCD ed.; See the table on the page 32.
[122] Dimitrov, (1987), p. 18.

compare to the local feudal tax system. When Maxim compared the tax and labor burden in principalities of Eflak-Bogdan and the Ottoman state, he sees that tax and labor burden on the Ottoman lands seem very reasonable. For this reason, time-to-time peasants of neighbor Balkan principalities migrated to Ottoman towns including Ibraila because legal status and living conditions of peasants were better on the Ottoman lands than in these principalities.[123] The other example given by Professor İnalcık indicates the more reasonable tax system of the Ottomans. In his study examining the Ottoman policy and administration in Cyprus, İnalcık gives a table comparing the tax burden on peasants of Cyprus before and after the Ottoman conquest.[124]

[123] Maxim (1998), p. 180.
[124] This firman dated 980 Cemaziyulâhir/ October 1572 takes place at the beginning of the mufassal (detailed) register, directorate general of the Ankara Cadastral and Land Survey, n. 506/64. Also see Barkan in Iktisat Fakultesi Mecmuasi, II-1 (1941), 46-47 cited by İnalcık (1967), p. 12.

Taxes	Before The Conquest (Akcha)	After The Conquest (Akcha)
Poll-Tax	60, 80, 90	60,80,100 only non-Muslim adults
Ispenje (Slavic name of the Resm-I Çift)	-	30 only non-Muslim adults
Tithes (a'shâr)	From 1/6 to 1/3	Maximum 1/5 Parikoz pay maximum in pre-Ottoman regime
Sheep-tax	1 akcha for each sheep	1 akcha for each sheep
From new-born animals	For mules 60 akcha For colts 25 akcha For calves 5 akcha For lambs 1 akcha	Abrogated by the Ottomans
Salt Due	5 akcha	Abrogated by the Ottomans
Vineyard Due	Title and 1 ½ akcha each *dönüm** for tithes or 2 akcha for each *dönüm*	Abrogated by the Ottomans

* dönüm = 1000 sq. m

For the adaptation of the Ottoman system in these lands and establishment of the Turkish settlements, Ottomans needed to either eliminate or internalize the native military classes. According to a view in the Bulgarian historiography, the military aristocracy of the pre- Ottoman system was either deported or assimilated. The dominant classes of the Ottoman Balkans consisting of Turkis cavalries in provinces called *sipahi*, high ranked members of military class, and government officials concentrated in the capital city, İstanbul.[125] On the other hand, studies made on the Ottoman *tahrir* registers show that besides the necessity

[125] Todorov (1979), p. 45.

of soldier, Ottomans internalized the pre-Ottoman military classes as an appropriate social policy to take them under the control of the central authority. Jirecek, underlining this policy mentions that in the Ottoman Balkans, majority of the timaroits were descendents of the old Bulgarian, Serbian, Albanian or Byzantine nobles and many institutions from the Serbian Empire were kept in the Ottoman system.[126] These new timaroits of the Ottoman-Balkans were also the ruling military class of the pre-Ottoman system but their position on these lands, as Iorga underlines, was not changed except the strict control of the Ottoman central authority on them. Iorga says that the local rulers of the Ottoman Balkans were rarely from Turkish origin and these rulers such as *subaşı, beg, kefalya* were the descendents of the *knez, voyvoda* or members of these pre-Ottoman noble families in the province.[127]

Before the Turkish conquest, Northeastern Bulgaria must have been Christian but recent studies comparing the Ottoman *salnames* indicate that when we look to the 19th and early 20th century maps (the Kanitz Map from 1882, the Austrian Generalkarte from before World War II or Deutsche Heeres-karte Bulgarien from 1940) population of the region was densely Turkish.[128] Historians developed some theories to explain this change in ethnic origin of the population. One of these theories defended by Marxist Bulgarian historiography is that after the conquests, there was a massive wave of Turkish colonization happened and

[126] Jirecek (1876), p. 449, 451, cited by İnalcık (1995), p.138.
[127] Iorga (1925), p.26 cited by İnalcık (1995), p. 139.
[128] Kiel, M., (1991), p.4.

the native population was forced to migrate or more pessimistically, eliminated. On the other hand, the new Bulgarian ethno-demographic researchers explain this change in the inhabitants of the region with a slower process of assimilation and absorption.[129] In the 14th and 15th centuries, Islamization appears to have been quite sporadic , occurring mostly on the successive military frontier zones on the Via Egnatia (The Grate Road), Maritsa valley and eastern Balkan passes. We see the djizye (cizye) registers of 1487-1491 that only 255 cases of conversion were identified over three years. [130]

After the conquests, Ottoman subjects were settled in the new lands either voluntarily or forcefully but one of the very significant characteristics of the permanent Ottoman settlement in the Balkans is the colonizator derwishes and their tekkes and zaviyes. This is strongly probable that many of these derwishes were *gazi* soldiers participated the conquest of these lands on which they settled with their tribes or families. Wittek emphasizes the *gazi* character of the Ottoman conquests and the *udj* (periphery) culture based on conciliation towards people that makes the amalgamation between native peoples and new comers easier.[131] Generally after the conquests, in return of their service, *gazi* derwishes were given land to settle and populate. These derwishes established tekkes and zaviyes in order to attract new comers and make missionary.

[129] See the article of Dimitrov (1987) reviewing the book of Petrov (1962); Todorov (1979), p. 46.
[130] İnalcık, "Rumeli", EI WebCD Ed., Brill Academic Publishers 2003.
[131] Wittek (1936), p. 315 cited by İnalcık (1995), p. 139.

According to Ashik-pasha-zade, after the Ottoman conquests in the fifteenth century, Tatars tribe existed among the first settlers in the region.[132] Ottomans capturing Kilia in 1484 conquered Dobruja completely and in order to populate this poorly inhabited region by Muslim-Turks the Sultan Bayezid II called for the Tatars living along the Volga River and in the northern steppes to settle around Kilia (1502). Also the Turkish traveler Evliya Celebi mentions that during the reign of the Sultan Bayezid II Dobruja was inhabited with Tatars coming from the north of the Black Sea, Turks and janissaries brought from Anatolia.[133] We see the Tatar settlers registered as "Tataran –ı nev" (new Tatars) in the Ottoman registers. For instance in the *icmal* register dated 1468 we see the record underlining the settlers of a village in Yanbolu as "Tatarân-ı nev" and adds that they were the new Tatars coming by ship.[134]

The other group of people playing an important role in Ottoman settlement policy in the newly conquered lands of the Balkans was mainly nomadic tribes known as *yürük* or *yörük*. According to İnalcik[135] the word *yürük* originally used as a fainancial term in the Ottoman chancery to refer to all groups leading a nomadic way of life who had immigrated to western Anatolia and the Balkansand were subject to a special status among the *reâyâ* (tax paying subject). This term is coming from the Turkish root *yürü-* or *yörü-* means walkand the suffix –k gives

[132] "Kimi Tatar ve kimi Türkmendir.Şimdiki halde Rum'da olan Türkmen ol tayifedendir." Asık Paşa Zade (1929), p. 6, cited by Gökbilgin (1952), p.16.
[133] Ülküsal (1966), p. 20; Evliya Çelebi, Seyahat-name, Istanbul 1315, v. II, p. 134-146, cited by Ülküsal (1966).
[134] İnkılap Kütüphanesi, M. Cevdet Yazma Vesikaları, O.89, cited by Gökbilgin (1957), p. 18.
[135] İnalcık (1986), p. 42

the meaning that the person performsthe action as away of life.This word was used as a financial and administrative term in the Ottoman system that reffers to all group. *Yörüks*[136] were generally concentrated in the borderlans, mountains and rugged regions because the central governments of Asia minor and Iran, as a systematic policy, had led and forced them to live these loosely populated regions in order to prevent them from giving harm to cultivated lands, which was the main sourse of the tax rervenue. The main purpose The basic study on the settlement of nomads on the newly conquered Balkan Lands is Barkan's article "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizaston Metodu Olarak Sürgünler". [137] Some scholars claim that the first settlements of the nomad Turkish tribes in the Balkans were in the reign of the Sultan Bayezid I and they gave a record from Muhiddin referred by Leunclavius. In this record, it is said that the Christians fearing the Turks escaped and Anatolian *yörük* around Saruhan were deported to Serez and Vardar valley.[138] Etymologically Turk, *yürük* or *yörük* supposed to be the same and the two different forms of the one word) This record became the basis for claims of some other scholars such as Wilhelmy stating that the first *yörük* deportation was in the reign of the Sultan Bayezid I [139] and Jirecek adding that this migration continued.[140] The other scholar used the same source as the basis of

[136] For more information on *yörüks* see İnalcık (1986).
[137] Barkan, Ö.,L., "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizaston Metodu Olarak Sürgünler", İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, X (1949-1950).
[138] Leaunclavius (1595), p. 145 cited by Gökbilgin (1957), p. 13.
[139] Wilhelmy (1935), p.278, cited by ibid., p.13.
[140] Jirecek (1891), p.140, cited by ibid., p.13.

his claims was Oberhammer.[141] After the Ottoman conquest, migration of Turks from Anatolia subsequently started and policies for Turkish settlement put into practice because of the overpopulation as a result of the continuous mass migration of nomadic tribes, missioner dervishes with their families, their followers and landless peasants coming from the east. The migrations from the east had been lasting since the 11th century. Athough the number of nomadic tribes was continuously increasing in central and western Anatolia, the grazing grounds taken hold by these tribes for seasonal migration was limited. For this reason, before the conquest, Ottoman central government had already started to led the nomadic tribes to the depopulated lands of the Balkan region. The mass migration to and Turkish settlement in the Balkans accelerated with the Timur's occupation of Anatolia in the 14th century. The fear from Mongolian invasion resulted with a new wave of mass migration from Anatolia to the Balkans and moving of the Ottoman capital from Bursa to Edirne. The Turks coming from Anatolia densely populated Trace, Eastern Bulgaria, the river valley of Maritsa and Dobruja.[142] This was a result of the Ottoman strategy undertaken during the 15th and 16th centuries in south of Danube and Dobruja in order to strengthen the Ottoman presence in the region. In fact, the chosen of the yörüks to be settled in the newly conquered lands in the Balkans is very purposeful, when we consider the needs of the Ottoman central government and conditions of 14th century's Anatolia and the Balkans. Nomads, compare to sedentary people, tend to migrate

[141] Oberhammer (1917), by ibid., p. 14.
[142] İnalcık, H., "Rumeli", EI WebCD add. (2003).

and they can quickly adopt themselves to new environment and natural conditions in new lands. For this reason they were very appropriate settlers to create and strengthen the Ottoman-Turkish presence in the newly conquered lands of the Balkans. In addition, Turkish tribes possessed an organizational structure and discipline that were conductive to perform military functions on the borderlands and in their settlement places. [143] For this reason nomads had an important role in an organized and well-adopted Ottoman settlement in these new lands.

When we are going through the names of villages in the Ottoman registers, we can see many tribe and place names from Anatolia. In Ottoman tax registers, although there were many villages having Slavic names, we see many names indicating Anatolian origin such as Danishment, Sarukhanlu, Mentesheli, Simawli, Hamidli. Also, names associated with Ottoman military and administrative system such as Doghanjilar, Akıncı, Eğinli Kadi, Pasha or the names of dervishes, zaviye and pious endowments such as Dusthur Dede, Kutbuddin, Mumin Dede, Tekye, Han Dede are very common in these registers. In addition, when we consider the Turkish settlements in the Balkans we see that the new Muslim settlers did not mix with the native Christian population and they found new settlements called "Yenice" (new) near these Christian villages such as Yenice-i Kebir, Yenice-i Muslim, Yenice-i Sagir.[144] The Bulgarian scholar Jirecek, without underlining the *yörük* origin of the first Turkish settlers, define them as the descendents of the Turkish conquerors in the early Ottoman times.

[143] For why nomads were preferred to be settled in the newly conquered lands see İnalcık (1994), p. 34-35; Şahin, Emecan, Halaçoğlu (1989), p. 25; Gökbilgin (1957), p. 14.
[144] For the Slavic and Turkish names of villages see Ayverdi (1982), v. IV, especially p.46-125.

Also Jirecek adds that although these settlers having nomad origin kept their traditional way of life in both Anatolia and the Balkans, they were sedanterized.[145] The other scholar underlies the Anatolian *yörük* origin of the Turks living in the Balkans is Cvijic. One of his study including Ottoman archive documents about the ethnic geography of Macedonia, he states that the Turks of Ofluca were *yörüks* coming from Anatolia.[146] Aşık-paşa-zade states these migrants as not *yörük* but *göçer evler* (migratory households) coming from Karesi to around Galipoli in 1355.[147] The same source mentions their migration to Hayrabolu and joining the *gazis* fighting there.

Different than the notion of *yörük* in Anatolia, the term, *yörük*, gained a new meaning in the Balkans, as a military class in the Ottoman army, in a few centuries. According to Truhelka, *yörük* were not stated in the two *kanunnames* (the code of laws) written before the Balkan conquests but in *kanunnames* of the two military organizations founded in the reign of the Sultan Murad II, *sipahi* and *acemi oğlan*, *yörük* organization roughly mentions. [148] For this reason, the general opinion on the issue of yürüks and their military organization in the Balkans is that the integration of *yörük* into the Ottoman administrative and military system starts with the Ottoman presence in the Balkans. In fact, the *yörük* organiztion mentioned with a few sentences in the Kanunname of the Mehmed II (the Conqueror) gain importance in a few centuries and in the reign of the Sultan

[145] Jirecek (1891), p. 139 cited by ibid., p. 5.
[146] Cvijic, Grundlagen der Geographie und Geologie von Macedonien und Albenien, (Gotha: 1908), p. 156, cited by ibid., p. 2.
[147] Ashik-pasha-zade (1929), p. 46, by ibid., p. 13.
[148] Turhelka (1934-35), pp.93 cited by Gökbilgin (1952), p. 19.

Suleyman I (the magnificent) *yörük kanunnames* defining their status and their military and financial responsibilities were written

The first register about the migration of yürüks belongs to the time of Sultan Murad I in 1385. According to the record, *yürüks* from Saruhan were deported to Serez. Also, Ahmet Refik informs us that we know these yürüks of Saruhan settled in Belgrad and Akçehisar from the timar registers and these defters registers in the reign of Çelebi Mehmet.[149] Also Evliya Çelebi mentions that after the conquest, the Sultan Bayezid I colonized Dobruja with *yörük* deported from Anatolia and Tatars called for from the north of the Black Sea.[150]

		Number of Ocaks (1543)								
	Lofça	Prevadi	Silistre	Varna	Şumnu	Çernovi	Tırnovi	Prevadi	Niğbolu	Razgrad
Yörüks of Selanik	3	3	26	4	2	4	3			
Yürüks of Tanrı Dağı			15	32	12		13	4	4	
Yürüks of Naldöken			3	5	6		4		1	

Source: Gökbilgin (1957), p. 56, 57, 75, 70

[149] Refik (1927), p. 296.
[150] Evliya Çelebi, Seyahat-name, Istanbul 1315, v. II, p. 136-146 cited by Gökbilgin (1957), p. 15.

CHAPTER FOUR

SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION IN THE OTTOMAN VILAYET OF NIĞBOLU

The town of Niğbolu was found by Heraklius (ca. 575- 642). The name, Niğbolu, is the Ottoman Turkish form of the Byzantine town called Nikopol. The Byzantine Nikopolis was called Nikopolis Major to distinguish it from Trajan's Nikopolis and Nikopolis Minor that was near the Rumenian town of Tornu Magurele on the north bank of the Danube.[151] The town had economic and military importance because it was a trade center and one of the primary military posts. Nikopol was the command holding over the Osma and Aluta, which were Danubian arteries respectively reaching central Bulgaria and Rumania. The town was established on a naturally fortified tableland. The city was situated at such a position that there were plains at the south, the Danube at the north, and at the east, the road that was connecting the inner Bulgaria with the river.

The borderline area along the Danube with its strategic importance had been realized since the second Bulgarian Kingdom (1185-1393) and this strategic importance had been a determinant factor in settlement policy of both Bulgarian Kingdom and the Ottoman State. The borderline following the Danube was reaching to the mouth of the Yanta River. The importance given to the borderline

[151] Atiya, A.S.,"Nikbuli", *EI* WebCD add. (2003).

was determined by the need of security for the capital city Turnovo and important roads that were crossing the passes on the Carpathians and Stara Planina.[152] In fact a defense system on borderlines was a familiar military system since the Roman Empire. We see the border guards as *milites limitanei* in the Roman empire and as *acrites* (from a Greek word ακρωυ- end, border) in the Byzantine Empire, which was an institution for the territory by a populace with specified defense functions located along the border periphery.[153] When the Seldjuks conquered the eastern Anatolia, the advancement could not go further from the central Anatolia because of the Byzantine defense system consisting of a numerous armed forces, *acrites*, which the Turkish warriors faced with. However sultan of the Seldjuks, after the conquests in Anatolia, established a system of defense and a military administrative structure in the new lands, which was known as *uc* or *udj* system. The *udj* system was a military system along a defense line in borders. The beylik of the Ottomans was a part of the *udj* system on the borderline and after gaining independence in 1299, Ottomans successfully transferred and adapted the system to the Balkans during the process of the Balkan conquests in the early Ottoman times.[154] For the Ottoman peripheral organization, Danube was a natural barrier against hostile attacks of the European enemies and Danube was the border between Ottoman State and Wallachian Principality. The main part of the *udj* was located in Niğbolu and along the south bank of the Danube. Besides the

[152] Bakardjieva (2005), p. 40.
[153] Radushev (1995), p. 143.
[154] Мутафчиева, В.Аграрните Отнашения б Османската Имеря През XV-XVI в.- In: Османска Социално- Икономическа История. С., 1993, 14-14 cited by 44, Radushev, p.142.

fortifications of Ziştovi and Gerilec, Ottomans designed Niğbolu on the south and Turnu Nikopolis on the north (Wallashian) bank of the Danube like Anadolu and Rumeli Hisarı on the both side of the Bosporus.[155] Although the principality became one of the vassal states of the Ottomans, Wallachian's participation of anti-Ottoman unions of the West and attacks coming from this border-line always created serious dangers that required a powerful *udj* organization in the border. On the Bulgarian territory, an *udj* defence system was organized on the right bank of Danube with principal garrisons in Vidin and Niğbolu. Along the Danube, military garrisons were located in these fortified centers and functions of the centers during the period of hundred years had very crucial for the existence and durability of the Ottomans in these lands. In fact, the reason behind the enormous importance given to the border periphery was that power of the Ottoman state was depended on the constant expansion of its land, which was vital not only in terms of military organization and its success depending on more soldiers and more lands to feed them but also for the problem of growing population as a result of continuous migration waves of nomadic Turkic tribes from the east.

On the other hand, in the context of pre- Ottoman population and settlement in the sandjak, existence of villages inhabited by members of Christian heresies is the other interesting issue. Among the settlements of Ottoman Niğbolu, existence of the Bogomil settlements indicates that although the Orthodox patriarchate had been attempting to deal with the heresy and to stop its spread for

[155] For more information about the fortifications and Ottman military organization in the fortifications of Niğbolu see, Radushev (1995), p.148.

centuries, Bogomilism, since its first appearance in the 10th century[156], was a religious sact still actively performing its religious practices at the end of the 15th century. Bogomilism was a dualist approach to religion and they believed that God has two sons, the Devil and Christ. The Devil is the elder brother of Christ, an intermediate spirit and a secondary God who created the material world. Because of these beliefs, Bogomils perceived the material world as inferior and they condemned the worldly activities leading to pleasure and bringing people into close contact with the material world such as marriage, eating meat and drinking wine.[157] Although they were seen as heretics and ostracized by either eastern or western Christian world, they were still a part of the religious and cultural mosaic of the Ottoman Balkans as well as sandjak of Niğbolu at the end of the 15th century. In the 15th century Ottoman registers, we can distinguish them from Orthodox Christian settlements with the names of their villages mentioned as "Pavlikân" such as Oreşan-i Pavlikan, Brestovice-i Pavlikan.

4.1 Ottoman Sandjak of Niğbolu

While Sultan Bayezid dealing with the the problems in Anatolia, *gazi* commanders were continuing their conquests in the Balkans. [158] However Mircea cel Batran took Silistre back and defeated the *akindjis* of Karin-Ovasi. On the other hand, Hungaria was attempting to extend tis influence in the Danubian Bulgaria and Wallachia. For this reason, Sultan Bayezid I decided to concentrate

[156] See, footnotes 56 and 58.
[157] See, Obolensky (1972), p. 112.
[158] For more inormation about the conquest of Bulgaria see İnalcık,"Bulgar", EI WebCD ed. (2003).

on the Balkan conquests. In 1395 Bayezid I invaded Hungary. He defeated Mircea on the Argesh river in Wallachia on 17 May 1395 and put Vlad on the throne of Wallachia. Then the Sultan passed over the Danube and went to Nikopolis. He occupied Tirnovo and the Bulgarian king Shishman move to Nikopol and became an Ottoman vassal. Bayezid summoned all of the vassal states and princesin the winter of 1393-94 to strengthen his authority on them. Especially Bayezid wanted to prevent Venice's aims on Morea but Palaelogi, Theodore, and Manuel turned against the Ottomans and sough help from the Christian West, especially Venice conducting activities in Morea. On 3 June 1395 Bulgarian king Shishman was seized and executed. These continuous attacks to the lands in the north of the Danube caused the Hungary-Venice alliance and became a motive in the Catholic world for a new expedition. Most of the Catholic countries joined the campaign against the Ottomans and the crusade army consisted soldiers coming from France, Burgundy, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Wallachia, and Transylvania. The crusade armyunder the command of Sigismund seized Vidin and Rahova and besieged Niğbolu from the land and the fleet of Veneto-Genoese blockaded the city from the Danube. Sultan Bayezid I lifted the siege of Constantinople and he brought Anatolian soldiers with soldiers of the vassal states together in Adrianople (Edirne). Going through the Shipka Pass, the army came to the valley of Osma and set the camp on the southern hill seeing the plain of Niğbolu. The battle was ended with the victory of the Ottomans on 25 September 1396. Results of the victory were very important for the Ottoman conquests in the

Balkans. Following the victory, Greece was conquered and Wallachia became one of the Ottoman vassals. The disappointment weakened the resistance and alliance of the Christian world against the Ottomans, which gave the Ottomans a time space to establish a powerful political, demographic and military infrastructure in the lands of the Ottoman Balkans.

When we consider the settlement history of the Niğbolu exposed many invasions from the north and devastating effects of many battles and wars for centuries. After the invasions of the Pecheneks and the other steppe region during late 10th and 11th centuries, life in the northeastern plains of medieval Bulgaria nearly ceased and pre-invasions urban population escaped to mountains. After the invasions both fortified Prevadi (Provadija) and Şumnu (Shoumen) were the most vivid centers in the settlement history of these lands. Prevadi was closely followed by Tırnovi, the capital of the second Bulgarian Kingdom (1185-1393), or by Çernovi (Cherven) on the Rusçuk (Rousse or Russenski Lom).[159] There are many rock-cut grotto churches around these urban centers built in the 13th and 14th centuries and in the villages surrounding them, which are contains good examples of medieval Bulgarian art such as fresco paintings and inscriptions in old-Bulgarian. These findings prove that the villages with Slavic names and Christian inhabitants as mentioned in the oldest preserved Ottoman tahrirs of the area are going back to these pre-Ottoman centuries.[160]

[159] Kiel (2005), p. 16.
[160] Ibid.

4.2. Ottoman Social, Ecomomic and Military System in the Sandjak

We have not registers or any other written source from the time of the Bulgarian kingdom but archive documents such as Byzantine registers and Ottoman *tahrirs*, from which we can get information about settlements, towns, ethnic and religious composition of the region. Ottoman sources, especially timar registers from the second half of the 15th century, give us a picture of the region 90 years after the Ottoman conquest. According to Gandev, parallel to the changes in the demographic and ethnic structure of the region, Ottomans disrupted and partially changed the pre-Ottoman Bulgarian administrative division in a way that either administrative centers were liquidated or small or unimportant villages were reduced.[161] On the other hand the other study made by Professor B. Cvetkova [162] dedicated to this problem indicates that involved in almost incessant military campaigns, the Ottomans did not have time to reorganize radically the administrative structure of the conquered lands. They retained certain continuity in the government of the provinces so that the conquered populace would not feel sharply the change of power or its own alienation towards the power. As a rule the Ottomans maintained the pre-conquest borders of the administrative units. For this reason after the conquest, Ottomans basically kept the old-Bulgarian administrative division. Ottoman sandjak system established in the region after

[161] For the ethnic and administrative consequences of the Ottoman conquest in Bulgaria see Ibid., 164.
[162] Цветкова Б., От Български феодализм към османската обществено-икономическа структура- In: България 1300 - Инстуции и държавна традиция. 1. с., 1981 (From Bulgarian Feudalism to Ottoman Socio-Economic Structure), p. 221, cited by Radushev (1995), p. 141.

the conquest incorporated the borders of the divided Second Bulgarian Kingdom: the kingdom of Shishman as Niğbolu sandjak, kingdom of Ivan Stracimir as Vidin sandjak, and including the south-east part of the Shishman's kingdom, the independent Dobruja state as Silistra vilayet.[163] On the other hand slight changes were needed because of some strategic and military reasons but these changes were made more than two hundred years after the first conquest. Ottomans should have provided the security of not only the border along the Danube but the capital, Istanbul, in case of any attack from the northern Europe. One of the examples for the new division is Russe. Until the second half of the 16th century Rusçuk (Russe) region (in the Ottoman registers the castle is recorded as Yergögi Berü Yaka) was a part of the nahiye-i Çernovi in the Niğbolu Sandjak. Rusçuk was either a control and militarily defense point on the Danubian border or a strategically important fortification on the way between the northern Europe and the Ottoman capital, Istanbul. Also Rusçuk as one of the four castles of the defense system (Şumnu, Varna, and Silistre) along the northern border of the Ottoman state was providing control in case of any attack coming from the north, which could threaten Edirne and the Ottoman Capital, Istanbul.[164]

According to Ottoman registers territory of the central-northern Bulgaria was divided into these kazas[165]: Niğbolu (Modern Nikopol as the center of the sancak), İvraca (Vratsa as its center), Lofça (the town of modern Lovech as its

[163] See, Radushev (1995), p. 146.
[164] The geographical location and the strategic importance and development of the Russe castle see Bakardjieva (2005), p. 426.
[165] Kovachev (2005), p. 65-67.

center), Tırnovi (the town of modern Veliko Tarnovo as its center), Şumnu (modern Shoumen as its center), and Çernovi (the modern village of Cherven, in the district of Rousse). Besides these, we see smaller centers such as Rahova, Çibri, Reslec, Nedeliçko, Plevne, Kurşuna, Kieva, İzladi, Ziştovi as *nahiyes*. The medieval ports and fortified centers along the Danube such as Niğbolu, Ziştovi, Tutrakan, and consequently Rusçuk (Giurgiu or Yergögü) on the right bank of the Danube became parts of nahiyes and towards the end of the 15th century *kadi* centers as well. The town of the old capital, Tırnovi, also secured its leading role in internal division among the central nahiyes such as Tuzla, Sahra, and Hotaliç. In the west Lofça, Ivraca, Resleç, Nedeliçko, and Kurşuna were distributed among the vast kazas, and also to Plevne that had already became a kaza.[166] Many of these kazas and nahiyes were recognized as the kaza centers where the internal division into nahiyes was carried on Tirnovi, Şumnu, Çernovi. Many other kazas and nahiyes were unified or divided to provide an appropriate infrastructure for the Ottoman administrative and military system. For instance, in the west, the nahiye of Karalom was formed out of Çernovi, as well as the vast kaza of the future Hezargrad (Razgrad) and the kaza of Şumnu was internally structured into Gerilovo.[167]

During the 14th century, Niğbolu was taking place at the region where was the battle-field of the military struggle between the Muslim Ottomans and the Catholic Europe. In 1388-89, Ali Pasha quickly raided Bulgarian lands and

[166] Ibid., p.67.
[167] Ibid.

specifically Aydos and Şumnu became the headquarters in 1389. Niğbolu was on the Ottoman peripheral border and it was the fortification where the Ottomans defeated the crusaders in the famous battle of Niğbolu in 1396. Until the conquest, the struggle between the Ottomans and the Wallachians resulted many attacks to the fortified towns along the right bank of the Danube, which created a serious uneasiness and led to migrations from the region.

Until the crusade of Varna in autumn 1444, conquest of the Bulgarian kingdom ended and Sishman was executed. The crusade led to heavy destruction in the area and many important settlements were deserted. Among them the capital of the Dobruja Principality, Kaliakra that was one of the towns of Shoumen, and many smaller castles such as Madara, Petri, and Galata near Varna can be mentioned. Archeological discoveries indicated that Şumnu existed until the second half of the 15th century but then the town with the fortresses was destroyed by fire and attacks and the old city of Şumnu was not rebuild again.[168] After the destruction, a town was built in the plain below the ruins of the old city's castle and it existed until mid-eighteenth century as a small town.

When Ottomans conquered the lands of the Bulgarian Kingdom, they came across a well-established settlement structure. This system had been set up as a result of a process of occupying economically, geographically and militarily the best locations of the area and this process had lasted during the times of second Bulgarian Kingdom. When Ottomans came to these lands, Bulgarian

[168] See ibid 17.

towns and villages had already enjoyed the most convenient settlement conditions. Some of these Bulgarian settlemets are mentioned Kitâb-ı Cihannümâ of Mehmed Neşrî. Neşrî mentions that these settlements are more than thirty three and he mentions twenty four names: Çenge, Prevadi, Madara, Vefçen, Dobriç, Meçka, Eflekâ, Gözke, Krapçene, Kirastavça, Eski İstanbulluk, Şumnı, Çernoz, Migloc, Eymeneboz, Kos-ova, Yürük-ova, Tırnavi, Nikâ-bolı, Ton-Birgoz, Zişt-ova, Nükesri, Tıraka, and Silistre.[169] The other hand, when the Ottomans conquered these lands there had already been a land system [170] and there was not any reason to to revolutionize the functioning system. Ottomans made a synthesis of the Islamic and local practices and adapted local administrative traditions into the Islamic land system. According to these *icmâl* registers that we examined, during the last two decades of the 15th century, a well-designed military and administrational system was established in the region. Taxable sources of the sandjak were carefully kept in these registers including unsettled villages and newly populated lands.

When the settlements in the 15th century Niğbolu Sandjak are examined, we saw many mezraas as much as villges. Although mezraa and village have similarities, each of them has distinguishing features. According to İnalcık's definition[171], *mezraa* or mezra or ekinlik in Turkish, means arable land, a field and it designates a periodic settlement or a deserted village and its fields. In the Ottoman regulations, a *mezraa* was required that it be checked whether the place

[169] Unat and Köymen (1949), p. 245.
[170] For the detailed information see İnalcık (1994) p. 110 –142.
[171] Ibid., p.162.

had a village site in ruins, its own water supply and a cemetery[172] These piece of lands having fixed boundaries were called *metruk*, abandoned land. While regisering newly populated villages and mezraas it was noted as "*haric-ez defter*" added in order to indicate the status of these settlements.[173] Ç*ift-hane* [174] system was the basic of the re-organisation of the use of the arable-lands in country side. In principle, the owner of all arable lands was state. According to the Islamic law, conquered lands were common property of Islamic state.[175] *Çift-hane* system has thee basic elements: a married peasant (*hane*), acertain unit of land (Çiftlik) and a farm workable by a pair of oxen. These elements were forming the basic unit of the Ottoman fiscal and agricultural system. In such a system, a *çiftlik* should be large enough to maintain the peasant-family, to yield sufficient surplus to be able to pay taxes, and to cover reproduction costs. The peasant households cultivating and managing a piece of agrarian land was a farm unit since the late Roman Empire. The peasant family unit was called as *colonus* in Roman, *paroikos* in Byzantine and *raiyyet* in Ottoman system. This family unit remained the "basic cell" of the rural society for tousands of year. Arable lands were *mîrî* , which means under state ownership, which strengthen the governmet control on these lands and maintained the system as the basis for the agrarian and fiscal

[172] Barkan (1943), p. 53, 133, 190.
[173] For the villages registered in the tahrirs at first time see, Appendix 1.
[174] For detailed information about çift-hane system see, İnalcık (1994), p. 143-153; Ostrogorsky (1954), p. 196; Lefort (1974), p. 315-354.
[175] See Abu Yusuf *Kitab al- khradj*, Bulak. Turkish Trans. By Ali Özek, Kitab-ül Haraç, İstanbul,(1884) p. 23-27, 28-39, and 52-58; Morony, *Land- Holding in the seventh century Iraq:Late Sasanid and Early Islamıc Patterns,* in Udovich ed., pp., 135-175.

organization of the state.[176] The peasant was a perpetual tenant on a piece of agrarian land, which gave him hereditery rights of posession through the direct male line. When we examine the components of *çift-hane* system, we should start with the size of the *çiftlik*. In Ottoman *çift-hane* system furtility of soil was the criterion determining the optimal farm size, which was changing from 5 to 15 hectars.[177] In principle these indivisible *çiftlik* units were registered on an adult male and the tax levied on was *resm-i çift*. In Slavic provinces, the farm was called as *bashtina* and the tax collected from the hane, *resm-i çift*, was named as *ispençe*.When the adult male was died by leaving an immature son, the *çiftlik* was temporarily taken away from the son until he became mature. In this case, as an Islamic attitude, the *bive* (widow of the adult men) could retain possession of the land registered on his husband and she cultivated the *çiftlik* and paid the taxes until her son reached maturity. In Ottoman registers, *bive* was recognized as tax payer.The law required that a peasant family possessing a full *çiftlik* paid one gold piece (or 22 akça in silver coins) and half-*çift (nim-çift*) paid12 akça. A family posessing less than a half çift was called as *bennak* and the land-tax for this family was 9 *akça*. If the peasant was unmarried or *widow*, the tax that had to be paid was 6 *akça*.[178]The other name of *resm-i çift* was *kulluk akçası*.[179] The term,

[176] See İnalcık (1994), p.145-146.
[177] Barkan (1943), index *çiftlik*.
[178] See İnalcık (1994), p.149.
[179] Halil İnalcık states that Ottomans put pre-Ottoman feudal obligations together under one tax called *resm-i çift* or *kulluk akçası*. Ottoman law-codes recorded the tax as 22, 12, 9,6 akça, which are the cash equivalent of the peasants' obligations to their land-lord. These obligations were 3 akça for three days' personel services, 7 akça for providing a wagon-load of hay, 7 akça for half a wagon-load of straw, 3 akça for a wagon-load of firewood, and 2 akça for service with a wagon.

Kulluk, expresses a status of being dependant, or subject, or services owned to the landlord. In this case the tax was levied instead of the cash equivalent of such feudal obligations, which was a big revaluation, on view of the feudal tradition of the Balkan lands.

When the *çift-hane* system is considered as a whole, it is seen that adult male labor force was the basis of the system. The tax paid by the adult male was not depend on whether the other members of the family who were participating to the agricultural activities as labor force, possessing a piece of land or having animal power or not. The main criterion for the tax was marital status such as married, unmarried, or widow. During the classical age (1300-1600), this well-defined family farm unit continued to be the basic element of the agrarian economy in the medieval times and Ottoman Empire successfully adjusted and maintained the system to establish a well-functioning order of the central authority in the conquered lands. Successfully maintainance of the land system is one of the reasons behind the long-lasting existence of the Ottoman State, which made the conquerer identitiy of the Ottomans to a strong central authority and organizers of thr land in the Balkans.

According to the law-code of Mehmed the Conqueror the total amount paid instead of these seven services was 22 akça. See İnalcık (1959), p.581.

CHAPTER FIVE

POPULATION AND SETTLEMNTS IN THE EARLIEST OTTOMAN REGISATERS OF THE NIĞBOLU SANDJAK

After the general information given about the demographic trend, town and village-mezraa type settlements and their populations, this study focuses on specific characteristics of the sandjak located on the Danubian borderline of the Ottoman lands. *İcmâl* registers includes names of timar holders as well as villages and mezraas in timars, the number of Muslim hanes, non-Muslim hanes, mücerreds, and bîves, the number of *cebelü* (armed soldier) that the timar holder should train and maintain, and timar revenue. *İcmâl* registers skip many details such as names of the *reaya* (peasants), names of *cemaats* (religious groups), types of economic activities that various taxes were levied on. There are *mufassal* (detailed) registers of the Niğbolu sandjak in the Ottoman Archaives but these belong to the later centuries. In our futher studies, these registers are going to be examined and historical progress and changes are going to be analyzed. When we consider the records in 1479 and 1483 *icmâl* registers of Niğbolu, we see that there were 247 Christian, 68 mixed, 29 Turkish villages and 12 mezraas[180]. In the 15th century Niğbolu sandjak, Turkish villages and mezraas were 12,2 % and

[180] In fact there were more mezraa than the Appendix E included but this study takes the mezraas either recorded in both registers or having a distinctive feature that should be taken into account. Also the other interesting case that a settlement in the 1479 register had been recorded as mezraa became a village in the 1483 register is included in the list of settlements in Appendix E.

mixed villages were 11,9 % of total number of villages and mezraas. On the other hand, during the last two decades of the 15th century, at the rate of 75,9 % of total villages were still consisting of purely Christians. According to his analysis of the same registers, villages and small settlements of the sandjak were entirely or predominantly settled by Turkish colonizers who replaced the native Bulgarian population in the region[181] but the information in these registers that we are re-examining exhibits a totally diffrent and opposite settlement and popullation structure in the sandjak.

5.1. Bulgarian Historiography and Catastrophe Theory

During the communist era in Bulgaria, Maxist ideology and Soviet methodology played the leading role in social sciences. Especially history had a crucial role for building a communist national identity. In this respect, re-writing of Bulgarian history from the Marxist point of view could be one of the appropriate tools for the ideological and political purposes. Marxist Bulgarian history concentrated on economic exploitations, class struggles, and mass destructions. Although there were researches and non-ideological studies of a few Bulgarian historians such as V. P. Mutafcieva, the ideological point of view has shaped the Bulgarian historiography during the Soviet era.[182] Although there are numerous sources in the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul and there have been a rich

[181] See, Ibid., p. 96.
[182] For more information about evolution of the Bulgarian historiography see M. Pundeff (1961); V. P. Mutafcieva, *Le Vakif: un aspect de la structure socio-economique de l'empire ottoman (Xve-XVIIe s.)* Sofia (1981) and *Agrarian relations ın the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th Centuries,* NewYork (1988).

collection of *icmal* and *cizye* registers in National library of Sofia since 1933, political conditions of the 20th century in Bulgaria prevented researchers from making studies based on not only pure theory but also archive sources interpreted objectively. In Bulgarian historiography, the Ottoman conquest has been accepted as the period of destruction and disappearance of the old Christian-Bulgarian culture and the Ottoman period has been believed as the responsible for the weak economic structure and backwardness of the country. This view is known as "catastrophe theory" developed by Hristo Gandev. Until the recent times, Gandev's book was one of the important reference book on historical demography of Bulgaria. In his book, Gandev examined Ottoman tahrir registers kept in the Sofia National Library and analyzed settlement system in 15th and early 16th century Bulgaria.[183] Gandev's theories on mezraas and demographic losses has been discussing since 1970s. The study arouse interest and translated many foreign languages and used as a reference source in studies on the region.

Until the recent years, Ottoman conquest and domination in Bulgaria were depicted with mass enslavement, deportation, seizure of towns, fortresses, villages and settlements of Turks in these towns and villages. Besides the demographic thesis, there were claims of mass Islamization campaigns carried out viciously by the central government. These claims were based on 17th century- local sources[184] stating the Ottomans' second siege and conquest of the old-Bulgarian capital

[183] Gandev, H., *The Bulgarian People During the 15th Century: A Demographic and Ethnic Study*, Sofia Pres, Sofya (1987).
[184] For more information about Bulgarian historiography see, Kiel (2005), p. 15-16; Pundeff, (1961).

Tirnovo in 1393 in a very pathetic and exaggerated way which has been a deep influence on Bulgarian historiography.

The Catastrophe Theory of Gandev used mezraas as an instrument to measure the extent of destruction caused by the Ottoman conquest. [185] According to Gandev, invasion of the Ottomans in the lands of the Bulgarian Kingdom was bloody and devastating for the native people. Also the clashes during 130 years after the first conquest of the region between Ottomans and forces of Christian allies worsened the situation in the towns and villages on the periphery along the right bank of the Danube. Seizure of the fortresses, towns, and villages meant burning, plundering, and destruction. The process accompanied by the settlement of Turks in towns and villages.[186] However while considering the data on settlements in Ottoman registers, one should not ignore the vast literature of the "deserted villages" (Wüstungen) in Europe.[187] According to Gandev, the mezraas expanded into villages in a short time indicates that mezraa lands were not empty plots but sizeable village lands that could feed villages having an average number of household, which was 40 households for 15th century Bulgaria. On the other hand İnalcık defines mezraa as arable land, a field and it designates a periodic

[185] Kiel(2005), p.18.
[186] Gandev (1987), p. 18.
[187] For a comprehensive overview of the deserted villages in Europe, see Villages Déserts et Historie Économique XIe– XVIIIe siecle, École Pratique des Hautes Études, VIe Section, Paris 1965 with detailed studies about "Wüstungen" in Denmark, England, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Norway, Poland and Spain. A detailed map of the deserted villages in Germany is given by H. Pohlendt, Die Verbreitung der mittelalterlichen Wüstungen in Deutschland, 1950. For a statistical research including a mass of numerical data see, W. Abel, Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittealters, Stuttgart 1955.

settlement or a deserted village and its fields. [188] Also human geographers consider mezraas in periodic settlemets or small rural settlemets on the way to become villages.[189]

Gandev notifies that a characteristic feature of both the settlement system as described in Turkish registers, and of the land ownership, is existence of the fief unit called *mezraa*.[190] Gandev defines the function of mezraas that the mezraa was granted as a fief, its owner had to till the land and ensure the feudal minimal. It can be assumed that the mezraa was a fief of the lowest rank.[191] Also Gandev uses the term, *mezraa*, for deserted or depopulated villages while making the first tahrir of a newly conquered lands. For this reason, being inhabited was the main characteristic of mezraa. In such cases, the fief category of mezraa, which did not have the agricultural status of a village, came into being *sine die*[192] but the status could change when new peasants permanently settled. In this case, the mezraa could be registered as a village in the next tahrir. We see such examples or opposite cases that villages becoming a mezraas in the 1479 and 1483 tahrirs of Niğbolu. Mezraa was an independent unit having its own name different than the neighboring village and a mezraa paid a fixed tax. Gandev, examines mezraas under two categories: The first category is mezraas with no agricultural activities and the second group is mezraas with a few farmer households, which were not

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[188] İnalcık (1994)., p.162.
[189] Tanoğlu (1954), p. I; Hütteroth (1968), pp.24-52; Tunçdilek (1960, pp.17-55; Hütteroth and Abdulfattah (1977), pp.29-32.
[190] Gandev (1987)., p.22.
[191] Ibid., p. 23.
[192] Ibid,.

permanent residents but tilled small plots of land that brought timar holder a small profit between 20-100 akçe.[193]

Mezraa was an important part of the timar system because the uninhabited lands were granted to timar holders, officers, and dervishes (Muslim clerks) to populate in order to guarantee tax revenues collecting by timar holders to fulfill the needs of their military service. According to Gandev, Bulgarian peasants did not take part in the policy of populating these uninhabited mezraas. They worked in the arable lands in mezraas but did not settle permanently and they continued their life in their own villages.[194] Christians and *yörüks* tilled parts of the mezraas seasonally but they did not permanently settle. Gandev concludes that the several isolated number of the mezraa's expansion into village with a considerable number of households show that the mezraa land was not some plot, but sizeable village land area capable of feeding some 40 households were typical of the average population density of 15th century Bulgarian villages. That's why the conclusion that the mezraa were lands of uninhabited and destroyed villages.[195]

The other conclusion Gandev reaches that the Turkish conquest gravely affected small land-owners and their populations. Some of them disappeared but some others were kept just their names and facilities of the settlement as the center inhabited by the 10-20 households. There were some upward shifts in population of some villages but Gandev considers these increases in population of Christian villages as rare and adds that the reason behind the upward shifts in

[193] Ibid., p.29.
[194] Gandev (1987), 30.
[195] Ibid., p. 32.

population was giving shelter to refugees from nearby areas.[196] Some other villages and small settlements were entirely or predominantly settled by Turkish colonizers who replaced the Bulgarian population who had been living in the region.[197] According to his theory, a part of the Bulgarian population was converted to Islam and settled in towns and villages in Asian provinces of the Ottoman lands in order to meet need of craftsmen and labor for the growing state and military necessities. These policies led to an economic stagnation in the region. Agricultural and crafts' production sharply decreased. The feudal titles and state taxes, high profit of foreign traders, all together, created a serious impoverishment among the Bulgarian citizens.[198] Also Gandev claims that Muslim Turks and the Islamized Bulgarians were settled in economic and cultural centers as well as big cities of Ottoman Bulgaria. Gandev underlines the religious reasoning behind the motive that infidels had to be killed, enslaved or forcibly converted to Islam was a holy war promoted and advised in the Kouran. The fifteenth century was the beginning of the mass Islamization. The de-Bulgarianized villages were quickly Islamized because the majority of the population was deported from the country and the rest of the population mixed with the Turkish migrants and many them converted to Islam. For this reason Gandev claims that probably three fouth of the Turkish citizens in Bulgarian

[196] See, Ibid., p. 109-110.
[197] See, Ibid., p. 96.
[198]For economic and demographic consequences of the Ottoman conquest see, ibid 41, p. 163-164.

towns and some one fourth of the Turkish peasants in the Bulgarian countryside are of Bulgarian ethnic origin.[199]

5.2. Measurement of Population

Population changes in the Balkans during in the period, 1300-1600, mainly depended on natural conditions, infectious diseases such as black death, wars between Muslim Ottomans and the Christian states, and migrations from the east. In pre-industrial societies of these centuries, expectation of life hardly exceeded 35 and death rates, especially infant and child mortality, were higher than in the most of the world today. Changes in death rates, especially tendency for sudden and devastating declines in population were seen during times of epidemics. From the fifteenth to mid-eighteenth century, plague periodically threatened the city dweller of Europe.[200] Famine could be the other factor deeply affecting the geographical variations of death rate. Compare to the cities preempting whatever was available and obtainable, villages probably more likely to suffer from bad natural conditions and poor harvest. Also, loss of agricultural labor force in military campaigns could lead to fall in population. Especially in frontier areas, as a result of the continuous wars and battles, there could be significant losses in human resources, not only in terms of soldiers but also in terms of civil population who migrated to safer settlements. When such conditions of the pre-industrial

[199] Ibid., p. 165.
[200] For more information about the change of life conditons and their results on epidemics see, *Proceedings of the International Conferance on Historical Population Studies,* (Harvard University, 1966), pp. 165-167.

times are considered, there are many fluctuations and up or down shifts in the population are seen.

When one would like to analyze population structure in the Ottoman lands, the related material in the Ottoman archives will provide valuable information about the demography of the pre-industrial society not only in the near and middle east but also in the Eastern Europe. [201]In order to determine the demographic structure and changing demographic trends in different time periods, researchers used different approaches and one of these is "population multiplier". In this method, a constant multiplier for a typical *hane* (household) is determine and it accepted as the average family size for a period of time and in a specific geographical area. For instance, in Europe, researches documented wide variations in the size of household over time and between different geographical areas. The range in England was in between 4 and 7,5 and in Belgrade in 1733-4, mean of the multipliers is between in 11,4 and 5,46.[202] Barkan is one of the researchers who analyze Ottoman *tahrir* registers to determine the pattern of population increase in the sixteenth century.[203] According to Barkan, the number of married individuals comprising an *avariz hanesi* might varry between 3 and 15.[204] Cook also made a study on three livas in Anatolia and used the *hane*

[201] For the previous works and discussions on the Otoman demography see Erder (1975); Erder (1979); Cook (1972); İslamoğlu-İnan, (1987); İnalcık (1978); İnalcık (1986).

[202] For more information see, Laslett (1971) and Freche (1971).
[203] Barkan, (1970), pp. 168-169.
[204] Barkan *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, "Avariz", p.14.

multiplier as 4.5. [205] The other study estimating a *hane* multiplier is made by Coale and Demeny.[206] According to the results of the study, all multipliers estimated are confined to relatively narrow range varying between 3 and 4.

When a *hane* multiplier is determined for Ottoman Niğbolu in 15th century, we should consider that at that time settlements of Anatolian Turks were limited. On the other hand, although the vast majority of the population in the *sandjak* was native Christians, Anatolian nomads, *yörüks*, were the most populous Turkish-Muslim group on the lands of the *sandjak*. When the unstable political conditions, continuous wars, and uneasiness in the region during the pre-Ottoman period is considered, the *hane* multiplier of the native Christians living in Niğbolu during the last two decades of the 15th century might have been in between 3 and 4. However because of the appropriate living conditions in Anatolia and the life style of Turkish nomads depend on human resource to be maintained, *hane* multiplier for the Turkish population of the *sandjak* is probably higher than 4. The higher *hane* multipliers for Anatolia were estimated by Barkan and Cook. When cooler climatic conditions of the northern Bulgaria is considered, it can be thought that the household multiplier might be lower than in Anatolia for the new Turkish settlers of the *sandjak*. For this reason while examining the population in the *sandjak*, the household multiplier is going to used as 4,5, which is an average value of family size for both Muslim-Turks and native Christians living in the *sandjak*.

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[205] Cook (1970).
[206] Shorter (1968): 14-16, cited by Erder (1975): 297.

5.3. Settlement and Population in the Sandjak: A General Look to the Registers

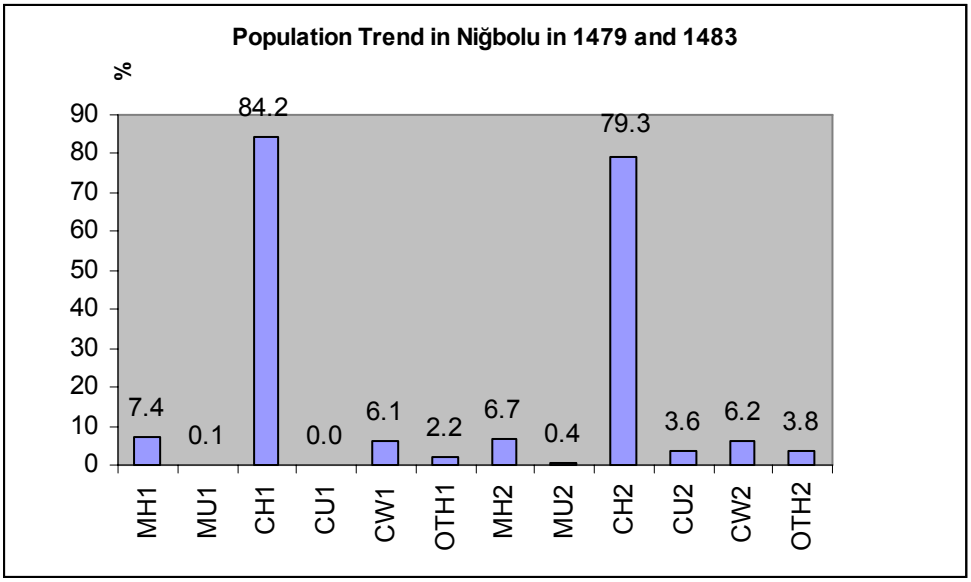
According to Braudel[207], contrary to village-type settlements in the Balkan plains, the mountainous areas of the Balkans were loosely populated and the dominant form of settlement is hamlet. The mountainous areas were generally on the periphery of the big waves of civilizations. For this reason either the Rome as an imperial power or the Church as a religious authority had any significant effect on the settlements of the mountainous areas. In the fifteenth century-Balkans[208], the quick and mass-Islamization in the mountainous regions of the peninsula such as Albania and Herzegovina, especially around Sarajevo, indicates that in the pre-Ottoman times, there had been little influence of Christianity and Christian culture on these people. When we compare the demographic features of the *sandjak* in the two *icmals* we see that 90,3 % of the whole population, after 90 years from the first Ottoman conquest, including *hanes* (households), *mücerreeds* (unmarried men) and *bives* (widows) living in towns, villages, and *mezraas* were Christians. Muslims were still a small minority, 7,5 % of the total population including Muslim households and unmarried men, in the *sandjak*.[209] Christian *bives* have a high rate (6,1 %) compare to the Muslim population having no widows at that time. On the other hand, when we examine the general composition of population in 1479, we see that compare to Christian *mücerreds* at the rate of 0,03 %,

[207] For a detailed information on the natural conditions, environment, and types of settlement in Mediterranean Basin see the first chapter of the Braudel (1972).
[208] For general studies on the Balkan Population see, Todorov (1970; Todorov (1983);Barkan (1964); Moacanin (1989).
[209] See, Figure 2. This figure does not include *muafs* form *avarız*.

population of Muslim *mücerreds,* 0,1%, was higher. The higher rate of Muslim *mücerreds* can be explain as an indicator for migration of young Turkish settlers coming from the Asia minor in order to find new lands to settle. During 13th and 15th centuries, the continuous population movements from the Asia minor towards the west was a result of the population pressure coming from the east of the Anatolia and the sharp demographic increases in the westwern regions of Asia minor. There were an ongoing migration of nomadic Turkomans to the frontier zone in western Anatolia, which was the main reason behind the population pressure led the nomads to the west during the period 1260-1400. The significant result of the population pressure was increasing discrepancy between the population and economic resources.[210] Since the early times of the Ottoman state, society was consisting of immigrants, pastoralists, nomads, jobless soldiers, landless peasant youths seeking new lands to settle and a new life on the frontier. This migration movement encouraged by the Ottoman government because increase in tax revenue depended on peasants settled on empty lands to cultivate and pay tax. As a reflection of these demographic developments, during this period, it is expected that the rate of unmarried men among the Turkish immigrants was high in Ottoman Balkans.

[210] For more information about the population pressure, westward migration in early Ottoman times see, İnalcık (1994), p. 25-37.

Figure 1

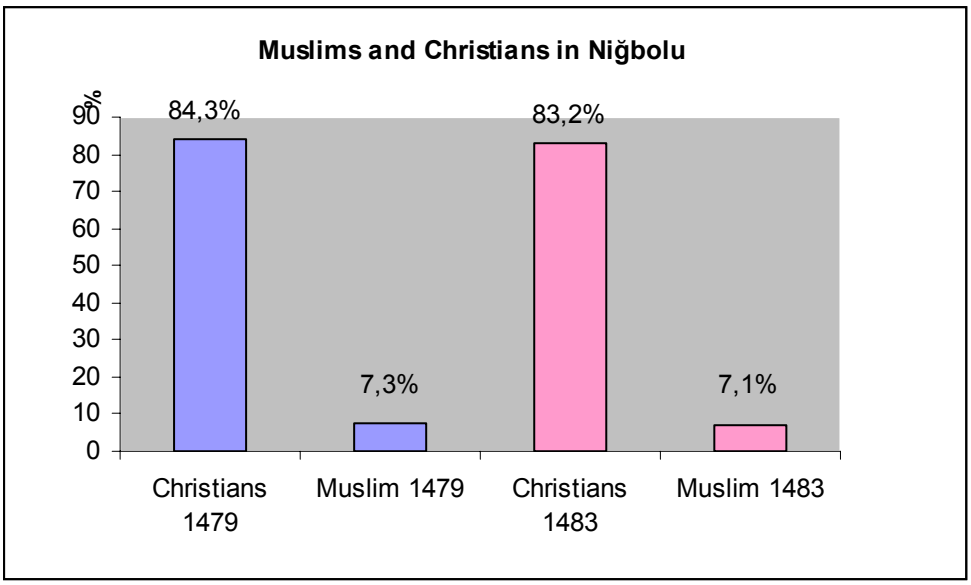


MH: Muslim Hane (Household **CH**: Christian Hane (Household) **CW**: Christian Widow
O: Others **1**: 1479 **2**:1483

When we compare the population trends in 1479 and 1483 registers, it is seen that although there was a decrease in household population of Muslims and Christians, percentage of *mücerreds* in Christian and Muslim population, as well as the rate of Christian widows and Others (including *sipahi*, *yörüks*, *yağcı*, *küreci*, *voynuk*, *okçu*, *imam*, *toviça*, and *doğancı*) in overall population increased. On the other hand, contrary to expectation that any demographic increase should have been in Turkish population, registers indicates the increase in the rate of Christian *mücerreds* with a shift from 0,03 % to 3,6 % in total population. The second highest population increase from 2,2 % to 3.8 % in total population was in the category of Others. As we see in Figure 2 comparing the 15th century Muslim-Christian population in Niğbolu sandjak, there were not any indication for neither

turfification nor islamization. Population of the sandjak at the last two decades of the 15th century was still predominantly Christians.

Figure 2

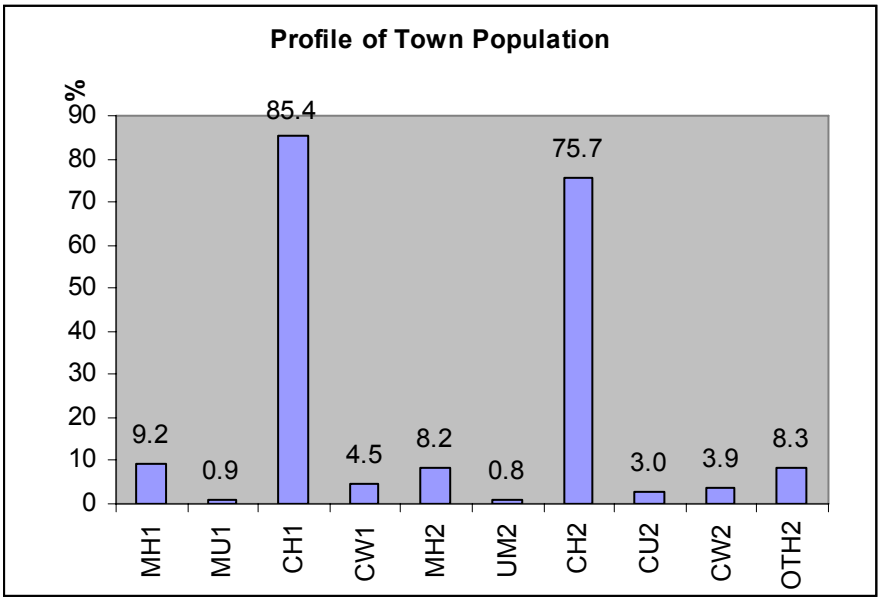


MH: Muslim Hane (Household **CH**: Christian Hane (Household)
CW: Christian Widow **O**: Others **1**: 1479 **2**:1483

When we consider towns of Niğbolu, we see that the sandjak was including towns of Kurşuna, Çernovi (Cherven), Gerilova, İvraca, Lofça, Şumnu (Shoumen), Yergögi (Giurgiu), Tırnovi, and Rahova. As we examine the ethnic demography of the settlers of the towns in 1479, we see that 1,3 % of total town population was Turkish and 11,3 % of total Christian population in the sandjak are living in towns. Also the combination of the town population including vast majority of Christians (85.4 % in 1479 and 75.7 % in 1483) and a small minority

of Muslim-Turks (9.2 % in 1479 and 8.2 % in 1483) indicates that the native Christian population dominantly inhabited in towns[211].

Figure 3



MH: Muslim Household, **MU:** Muslim Unmarried Men, CH: Christian Household
CU: Christian Unmarried Men, CW: Christian Widow**1**: 1479, **2**:1483

On the other hand, when we examine the Figure 3 depicting the changing share of town population in total population, we see that the rate of Christians living in towns went down in the period between the two registers. The two categories of people, Christian *mücerreds* and Others, had mentioned in the town population in 1479 register but they appeared in the town population of 1483 register. This change in population structure can be interpreted as a result of lower death rate during the peace-period after the Ottoman conquest and migration of

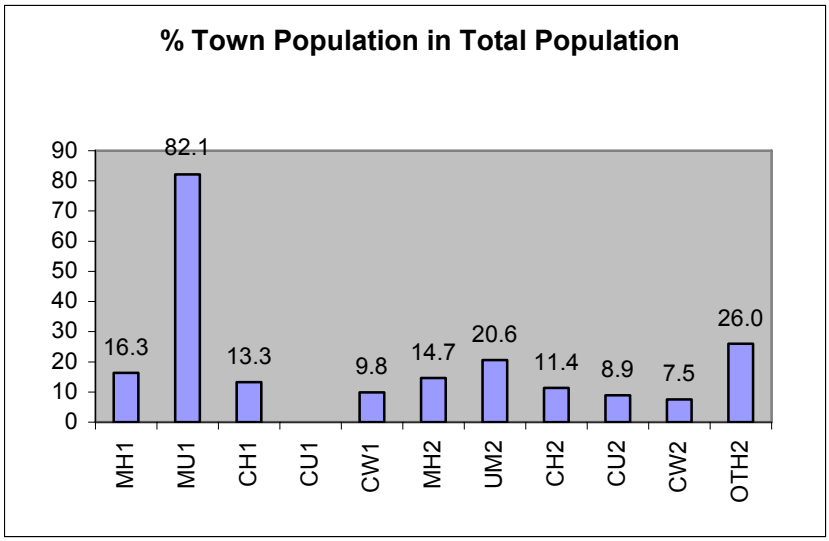
[211] For the % of Muslim-Christian, mücerred- bîve or Others in town population, see Figure 3.

Anatolian nomads looking for a new life and lands for themselves.[212] The small number of Turkish households in towns in 1479 had been most probably consisting of government officials such as *sancakbeyi*, *subaşı*, *kadi*, *yeniçeri*.

Our examinations of the general ethno-demographic situation and ethnic combination of town population recorded in 1479 and 1483 registers indicate too different, some times totally controversial results with Gandev's interpretations on the same registers.[213] [214] Gandev's thesis of burned, plundered, and destroyed Bulgarian villages and following the conquest, a mass-migration of Turkish settlers to Bulgarian towns and villages are not very consistent conclusions with the data in the two *icmâl* but as Figure 4 depicts, vast majority of the population in all towns of the sandjak were Christian. Total Muslim population living in towns was 9-10 % of the total town population in 1479. Also while the rate of Muslim unmarried men is remaining the same, the increasing rate of Christian unmarried men in total population can be interpreted as a population increase that was not the advantage of Muslim-Turks but native-Christian population. This conclusion is again controversial with Gandev's claim of mass migration of Turkish settlers just after the conquest to the towns and existence of Islamized Bulgarians in towns in the last quarter of the 15th century in the region.

[212] See, footnote 115.
[213] See Gandev (1987), p. 12 , 164

Figure 4



MH: Muslim Household, **MU:** Muslim Unmarried Men, CH: Christian Household CU: Christian Unmarried Men, CW: Christian Widow**1**: 1479, **2**:1483

Before we examine villges and mezraas of the sandjak generally, first we should distinguish village and mezraa type settlemets. One who looks on the villages and mezraas in Appendix 1, expects that the number of household in a village should be more than in a mezraa but we can see villages inhabited by 4 or 5 households or we can see mezraas consisting of 16-17 *yörük* households, which means that the only criterion distinguishes a village from a mezraas is not the number of household but there are other criteria distinguishing these two types of settlements. [215] First of all, there are permanent settlers in a village but a mezraa can be a piece of land that seasonally cultivated and inhabited. We see the examples of mezzraa-type seasonal settlements by yörüks in 1479 and 1483 registers. Also in a village, there should be its own water supply, a cemetery and a masjid or church. Besides these, different than a mezraa, a village has to be

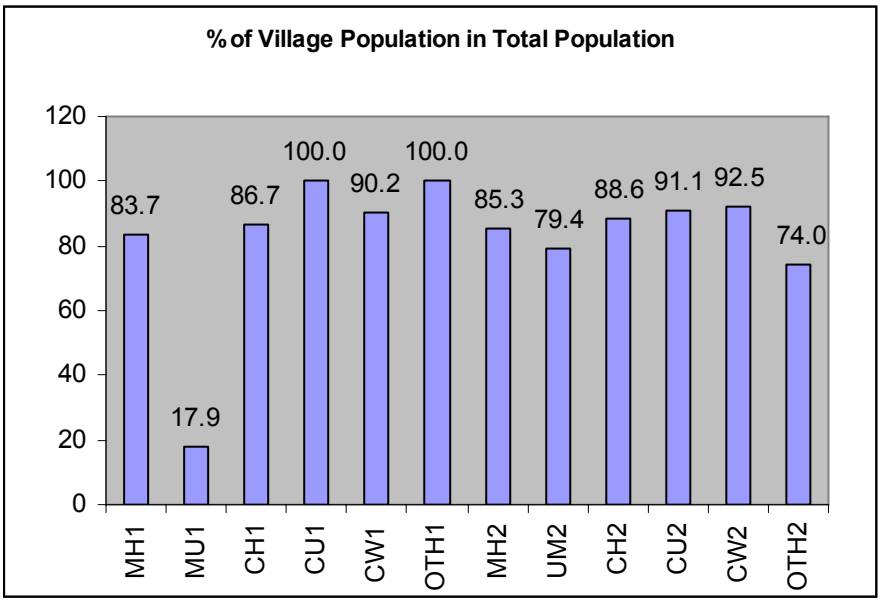
[215] For more information see, "Mezraa" *EI* WebCD ed., Barkan (1943), p. 53, 133, 190.

predetermined borders and a *kethüda*. These are the important distinguishing features determining whether a settlemet is a village or a mezraa.

Big centers, towns, and villages bearing Bulgarian names indicate that before the Ottoman conquest, there had already been a settlement structure in the time of Bulgarian Kingdom. The lands of the sandjak had been considerably reduced as a result of foreign and civil wars, which had destroyed the towns and villages during a century before the Ottomans came. For this reason the region was largely empty, which significantly cut back economic activities and agricultural production in the region.[216] As a result of infectious diseases and continuous wars between the Ottomans and the Christian world inhabitants of many villages and mezraas had been died or many of the villages and mezraa in the region deserted or partially depopulated. After the conquest, Anatolian Turks, generally nomads, came to settle in the sandjak. They were coming voluntarily or forcefully from the Asia minor to settle in empty lands or to settle depopulated regions of the sandjak. Besides these nomads and tribal communities, dervishes with their supporters came and found new villages and mezraas on these unsettled and uncultivated lands of the sandjak. These lands were given as timars to these dervishes, or high ranked government officers such as *kadı*, *kâtip*, local aristocrats.

[216] For further information about the pre- Ottoman waves, population and settlement conditions the region see İnalcık, "Dobrudja" *EI* WebCD ed., 2003; İnalcık, "Balkans" *EI* WebCD ed. 2003; Zacazkowski, " Gagaues" *EI* WebCD ed. 2003; Şahin, Emecan, Halaçoğlu (1989), 23-26.

Figure 5



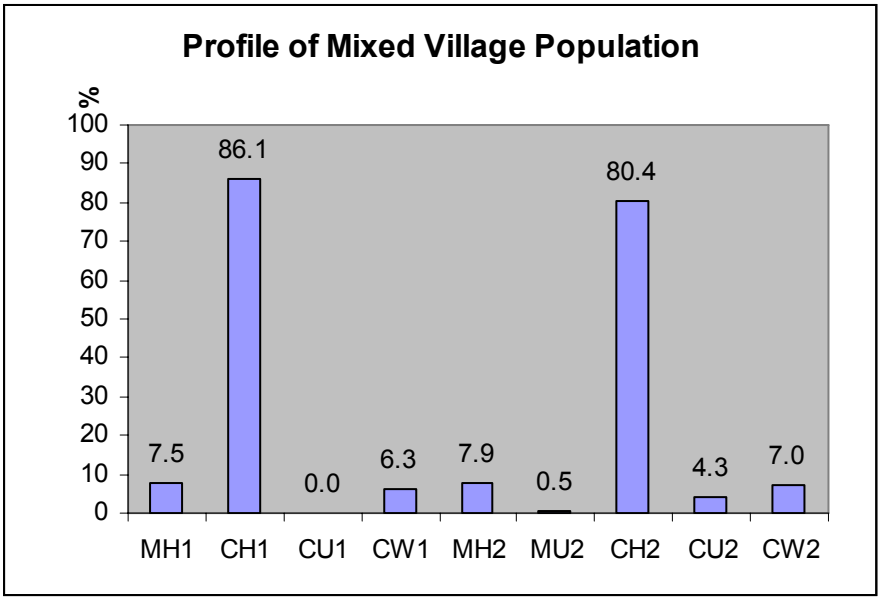
MH: Muslim Household, **MU:** Muslim Unmarried Men, **CH**: Christian Household
CU: Christian Unmarried Men, **CW**: Christian Widow**1**: 1479, **2**:1483

4.4. Population of Town, Village and Mezraa Settlements

These two Ottoman *icmâl* registers give us a general idea about settlement and population profile and special characteristics of the Ottoman Niğboluın that period. When 1479 and 1483 registers are compared, we see among the 373 settlements in the sandjak including towns, villages, and mezraas, only 46 of them are Turkish settlements and just 12 of them are mezraas having inhabitants. Also there are a number of mezraas without settlers recorded in the two icmâl registers, which are not considered in the list of settlements in Appendix E. The Figure 5 depicts the composition of village population as the percentage of the Christians, Muslims, *mücerreds*, *bives*, and Others living in these villages. Except Muslim

mücerreds in 1479 register, vast majority of Muslims, Christians and Others including *yörüks, yağcı, küreci, toviçe, doğancı*, were living in villages.

Figure 6

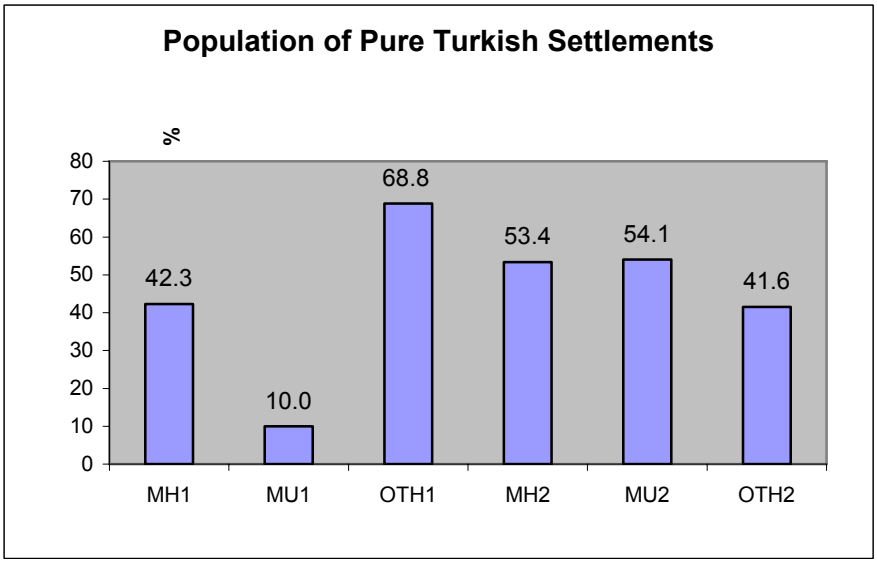


MH: Muslim Household **CH:**Christian Household **CW:** Chriatian Widow **O:** Others
1: 1479 **2:** 1483

When we consider the villages according to their ethnic characteristics, in mixed villages, there were a few (one, two or three) Muslim households recorded, which were probably not new Turkish settlers but new-Muslim (*nev-Muslim*) native people. As it is seen in Figure 6, in both *icmâl* registers the rate of Christian population in these villages is above 80 %. As we see that in Figure 6, unmarried Muslim men appear as 0.5 % of the whole population of the mixed villages in 1483 register. One of the main reason of this can be the population pressure in the Asia Minor. This increase in Muslim unmarried men was most probably the result of the migration of young and landless peasants seeking a new fortune. The excess population was a result of the big waves of migration from the east to the Ottoman

Anatolia[217] during mid 13th century to 15th century. If we consider the increase in the Turkish population in all categories including *hane*, *mücerred*, and Others, the continuous migration from Anatolia to the Ottoman Balkans can be seen evidently.

Figure 7



MH: Muslim Household **MU**: Muslim Unmerried Men
OTH: Others **1**: 1479 **2**:1483

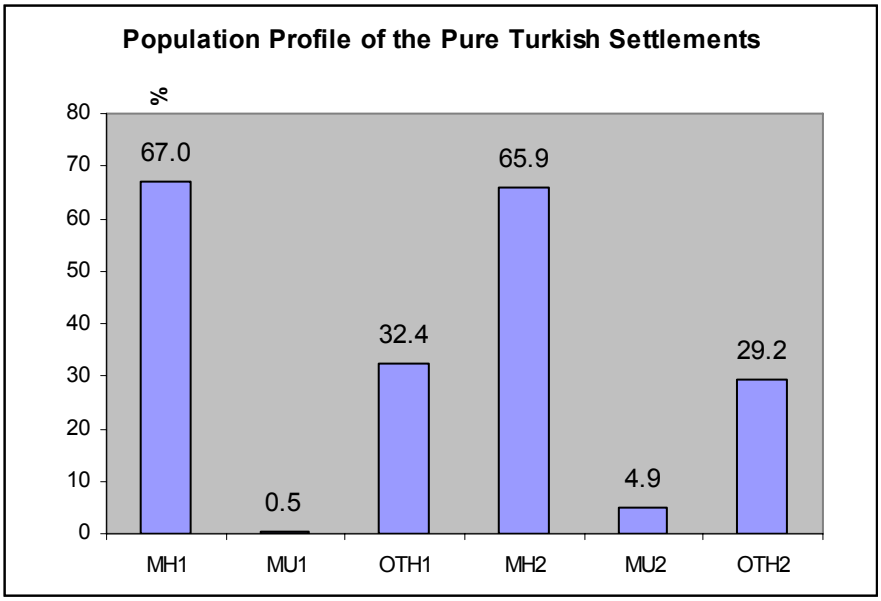
In the total polulation of the sandjak, combination of Turkish settlers living in the pure Turkish settlements change significantly in the time period between the two registers. As it is depicted in the Figure 7, the number Muslim *hanes* and Muslim *mücerreds* living in pure Turkish settlements increased in the 1479-1483 period. Although there are 10 % increase in the Muslim households, there was more than 43 % increase in the rate of Muslim m*ücerreds* living in these settlements.

[217] For the westward migration from the east to Anatolia see, p. 59 and for more information about the migration from the east and Asia minor see, footnote 183.

Contrary to *hanes* and *mücerreds*, the settlers in the category of Others decreased in the pure Turkish villages and mezraas. As we see in Figure 4, population in the category of Others preferred to move from rural to urban areas.

When we consider the population profile of the pure Turkish settlements, we see in Figure 8, the only category whose share increases in the total population of the Turkish settlements is Muslim *mücerreds*. A parallel trend can be observed for Muslim *mücerreds* in Turkish villages and mezraas (with 3.5 % increase) as well as for the Muslim *mücerreds* (44 % increase) in the total population of the sandjak. When we think about the reasons behind the increase in both Muslim and Christian *mücerreds*, we can consider this trend as an indicator of a general population increase in the sandjak.

Figure 8



MH: Muslim Household **MU**: Muslim Unmerried Men
OTH: Others **1**: 1479 **2**:1483

Mezraas are one of the interesting and most controversial issues for the researchers studying on the two icmâl registers. Mezraa issue with its creation, depopulation and repopulation have been discussing since the publication of the book of Gandev in 1972.[218] Gandev used the term, mezraa, for deserted or depopulated Bulgarian villages. According to Halil İnalcık, mezraa or *ekinlik* in Turkish, means in general arable land, a field; as used in the Ottoman survey registers; it designates a periodic settlement or a deserted village and its fields. This type of lands are occasionally called *matruk yer*, abandoned land.[219] On the other hand, the other Bulgarian historian Radushev emphasises that creation of mezraa could be assumed that Ottoman troops, Ottoman colonizers and groups of colonists settled in the deserted villages which had been or were to be declared mezraa and occupied the livable houses, productive lands and convenient watering places.[220] In late 14th and 15th centuries there were many deserted villages and mezraas in the region which were populated by Turks in a short period of time. In the late fifteenth century, the number of the mezraa appropriate for the settlement of the Turkish colonizers was not as big as in the late 14th century. After the Turkish settlements, these deserted or partially populated villages were registered under Turkish names and provided the basis of the long-lasting Turkish existence in the region. Each mezraa is called by a specific name which generally reveals its origin or first settlers of the land. When we consider

[218] Gandev, (1987).
[219] See Halil İnalcık, "Mazra'a", *EI* WebCD ed.
[220] Radushev (1995)., p.143.

the significant number of mezraa in the sandjak, we should refer the reasons behind the emergence of mezraas explained by Professor İnalcık.[221] When the demographic factors are considered, we can say that any population increase in a region leads to an increase in the number of people cultivating the land and the harvest becomes insufficient to feed the growing peasant population of the region. In this case, some *hanes* and *mücerred*s left the village and established a new settlement on an uninhabited land near the village. The other demographic reason behind the creation of a mezraa can be a population decrease because of epidemics, security problems, being on the road of a military campaign, brigand bands, or caravans. In this case, peasants left their villages and migrated to other places and these villages were recorded in Ottoman registers as *hâlî* or *metruk*. Ottoman peasants were not a dependent labor force but they were always free to settle and cultivate on other lands, which is the reason behind the mobility of the Ottoman rural population that many examples we see in the two registers. Ottoman peasants were cultivating agrarian lands under the *tapu* system that was a perpetual tenancy on the state lands. For this reson, when life conditions worsen or security problems and epidemics make life in a village harder, peasants pay a tax called *çift bozan resmi* to compensate the loss of their timariot's revenue and move other places freely. The other reason behind the creation of a mezraa mentioned by Professor İnalcık is attractive living conditions of *wakf*-lands for the Ottoman peasants. *Wakf*-lands were always more attractive to settle for the

[221] Ibid.

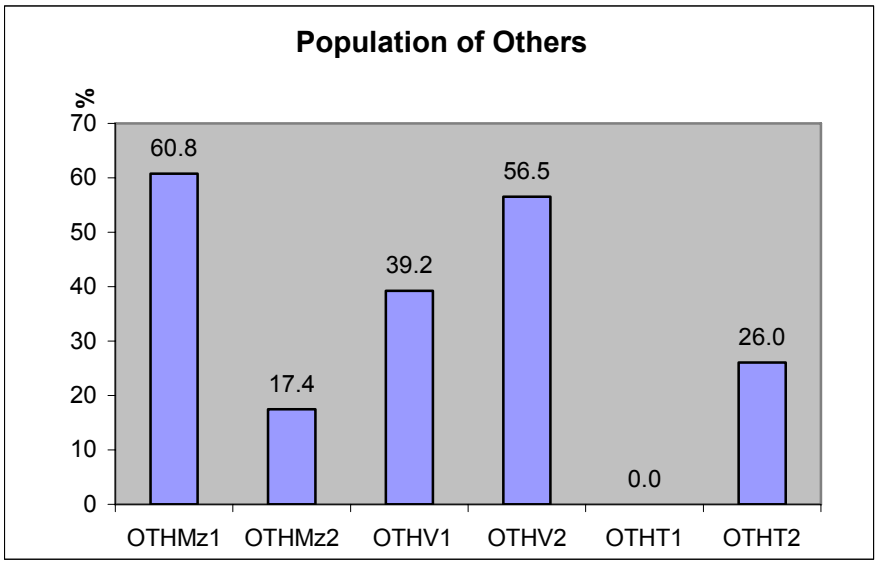
peasants because of many privileges, tax exemptions and better living conditions. Thus, Ottoman registers recorded sometimes a large number of deserted villages especially in Anatolia and in the Balkans because peasants were prefering *wakf* lands to cultivate and live in better conditions.[222] Although *wakfs* were registered in *wakf* defters, we can find the lists of wakfs and wakf villages at the end part of the Ottoman tax-surveys. Unfortunately the end parts of the 1479 and 1483 registers are missing and we have to get an idea about the wakfs in the region from the explanations and additional notes recorded in these registers. Examples of these additional notes and explanations are the village Kozar Beleni as "der asl-ı wakf- ı Şahmelik"[223] and the four villages in zeamet-i Umur Bey (Mihal Oruç, Marnopoli-I Pavlikan, Murad Bey, and Umur Bey) as "der asl-ı wakf- ı Firuz Bey" [224], which indicate the existence of the wakf-lands in the region. These villages should have been given back to the wakfs of Firuz Bey and Şahmelik because we do not find in records of the next register. These villages should have been registered in a seperate wakf defter.

Since we consider the people in the category of Others who were Turkish settlers coming from Asia Minor, we see them living in three different types of settlements: Mezraas, villages, and towns. When these defters are compared, it is seen that in the 4-5 years period between the two tahrirs, 43.4 % of the people in

[222] For a detailed information see ibid.
[223] ODNBL., Or., Abt., Signatur OAK., 45/29, fol., 5r.
[224] ODNBL., Or., Abt., Signatur OAK., 45/29, fol., 35r. Firuz Bey is the Hazinedarbaşı of the Sultan Bayezid II. He was a "*Hadım Ağa*" in the Ottoman Palace and he had been appointed "Kapu Ağası and then the "Hazinedarbaşı" of the Sultan Bayezid II in 1481. For more information about Firuz Bey, see " Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi", p. 463.

the category of Others left mezraas and settled in towns and villages. As it is depicted in Figure 9, Gandev's theory of re-population of mezraas by Turkish settlers is not generally valid. The main inhabitants of the mezraas, the people in the category of Others, preferred to live in villages and towns. An example for mezraas changing its status and registered as village in the next *tahrir* was Litniçe but in the second register in 1483, many mezraas were still empty. [225]

Figure 9



OTHMz1: Others Living in Mezraas **OTHV**: Others Living in Villages
OTHT: Others Living in Towns **1**: 1479 **2**:1483

In both 1479 and 1483 icmâl registers, names of the mezraas[226] reflect the origin of the mezraas that is old Bulgarian settlemets and new Turkish settlements. In these registers, settlers of the mezraas bearing either Tukish or Bulgarian names were purely Muslim-Turks. These mezraas having Bulgarian

[225] For such example see the table in Appendix F.
[226] See Appendix D.

names are interpreted as the deserted or destroyed old-Bulgarian villages. On the other hand we see many additional registers noted deported settlers, as it is seen in Nefs-i Çibri or Kalugerevo. Also we see some notes in these registers that settlers of some villages migrated to other villages and they were living there. These two types of notes in the registers inform us that Ottomans preferred to keep this kind of information in tahrir registers because they wanted to take all the taxing subjects under control and to know the tax revenue given to the timariots. Each subject was a virtually needed taxing unit to finance the expanses of timariots who had to maintain either their soldiers or themselves. Also poll-tax (*cizye*) collected from the non-Muslim subjects provided one of the significant tax revenue of the Ottoman imperial budget. The total amount of revenue from the poll-tax in Hegira year of 894 (1488-1489) in the Empire was 30.71 million akca [227] and according to the demographic information given by Professor İnalcık, there were 681,452 non-Muslim households subject to the poll-tax in the Balkans. In addition to this, tributes from the Christian vassal states were considered as part of the poll-tax.[228] As we see, in the conquered lands, internalization of the native people by the Ottoman financial and administrative system was crucially important for future and permanency of the Ottoman rule. In Gandev's analysis of Ottoman conquest in the Balkans, when we take into account the Ottoman economic mind, administrative system and methods of conquests, the religious motive to kill the non-Muslims underlined in Gandev's study and the forcible conversion of the

[227] Shaw (1962), p.183.
[228] For more information about the poll-tax see aarkan (1964)' ek cedvel; İnalcık, " Djizya"' *EI* WebCD ed., p. 66-69.

native Christians to Islam is not seem very probable.[229] According to Professor İnalcık, conversions to Islam in the Balkans were not a result of a forcible state policy to Islamize the native people. Until the reign of Bayezid II, Ottoman policy of religion in the region was very liberal. In this period, many voluntary conversions took place among the pre-Ottoman military nobility, especially among the Bogomils in Bosnia. [230]

On the other hand, Gandev's thesis of using mezraas as an instrument to measure the extent of Ottoman destruction in Niğbolu[231] seems a claim poorly supported by the data of the 1479 and 1483 registers. When the war period before the Ottoman conquests is considered, The sandjak was on the main part of the border-land (*serhad*) between the Ottoman State and Wallachia that was the ally of the Western Christian World. Although Wallachia was one of the Ottoman vassal states, the alliance between Wasllachia and Western World put these lands into a serious danger. A number of attacks, battles, and wars in the region continued a period of hundred years before the Ottoman conquest[232], which led to depopulation and destruction of the settlement system in the sandjak. [233]

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[229] For futhert information about the Ottoman economic mind see, İnalcık (1994), p.44-77; for further information about the Ottoman administrative system see, İnalcık (1994), p. 103-155; for further information about the Ottoman methods of conquests see, İnalcık (1957).
[230] See, İnalcık, " Balkan", *EI* webCD ed.
[231] Kovachev (2005), p.18.
[232] For more information about the war period and Ottoman *uc* organization see, Radushev (1995), p. 140- 143.
[233] Pachimeres' observation during the Koyunhisar Battle in 1302 are good examples indicating how local people left their villages and took refuge at fortresses and big cities that seemed safer. For the details of the example see, p. 47-48.

90 years later from the conquest, Turkish-Muslims had still been a small portion in the population of the sandjak. On the other hand, Ottoman military and administrative system had already been establihed and functioning at the end of the 15th century. Also the records indicate that there were wakfs establihed in the period before the 1479 register and some villages were in these wakfs. In this register, these wakfs were mentions with the phrase "der aslı-ı", which means that this had been one of the villages of this wakf. For instance Karye-i Kozar-ı Beleni der asl-ı wakf-ı Şahmelik was one of the records indicating the existance of such wakfs. The other record mentioned as der asl-ı wakf-ı Firuz Bey[234], which includes the four villages, Mihal Oruç, Marnopoli-I Pavlikan, Murad Bey, and Umur Bey in the *zeamet*-i Umur Bey. These wakfs established as a civil tool of Ottoman social policy. These were very important foundations making the Ottoman system and settlement permanent in the area. During the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror, increasing military expenditures required to find new sources of revenue to finance campaigns. [235] Tax revenue of many wakf villages transfered to timariots as income. However in the early years of the reign of Bayezid II who is the successor of Mehmed II, these villages had been included in wakfs' property were restituted to the previous owners and social functions of these wakfs were restored.[236]

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[234] For the information about Firuz Bey, see end note 225.
[235] For detailed information about the land reforms of Mehmed II and the restitution of the wakfs and mülks by the Bayezid II see, Aşıkpaşazade (1970), İnalcık, "Mehmed II" *EI* WebCD ed.; Sertoğlu (1970); Özel (1999).
[236] In 1479 register of Niğbolu Sandjak, we have two examples for the case but for more examples can be found in Barkan (1942) and Gökbilgin (1952).

5.5. Timars in the Registers

Timar system was consisted of Muslim sipahies in general but we can see some new-Muslim sipahies whose father's or grand fathers' names were in Slavic language. The record giving the name of the sipahi of the villges Barçikova, Nedan, and Brdani and the mezraa of Breziste as "Umur veled-i Hızır Bey veled-i Dalgofça" or the record mentioning the name of the timar holder of the village Blatiçe as "Şahincibaşı Yakup veled-i Zupani" indicate the new-Muslim sipahies. It is the Ottoman tradition that after the conquest, the central authority appointed a *bey* and a *kadi* (Judge) for the conquered lands on which the Ottoman sultans intended to annex their autority.[237] *Bey*, *kadi*, and *defterdar* (an imperial accountant) were the three government officials representing the imperial authority. Bey and kadi, who represented the state regulations and religious law on the conquered lands, represented political authority of Ottoman Sultans. Also a *defterda* was appointed in centers to determine and keep tax revenues under the control of the fiscal autority. These revenues were distributed between central treasury and the timariots holding a timar in the conquered lands. Also a *beylerbeyi* supervized over these three governmet officials and provided the unification of the administrative system.[238] We see many examples indicating the elements of the Ottoman administrational system in Niğbolu sandjak. Timar registers belong to these government officials show the administrative, judicial,

[237] A good example for this tradition see, İnalcık (1969).
[238] The process of Ottoman permanent settlemet is explained by Halil İnalcık in the article "Ottoman Policy and Administration in the Cyprus After the Conquest" , especially in pages 7-23 and for the Ottoman provincial administration, see Halil İnalcık, The Ottoman Empire The Classical Age: 1300-1600, London 1973, ch. 13.

and fiscal authority appointed by the central government. *Kadi* of Tırnovi and *Kadi* of Şumnu were bequested timars as their salaries show that the existance of Ottoman judicial system in the sandjak. Also zeamet-i Lofça given to Hızır Bey, zeamet-i Gerilova given to Ramazan Bey, zevaid-i *voynugân*-ı Niğbolu given to Mahmud Bey as zeamet, and zeamet of nefs-i Çibre given to (Mihaloğlu) Ali Bey[239] indicate the *Beys* appointed to the big centers of the Niğbolu sandjak. In addition, we see other governmet officials and their timars in these registers such as timar of Kâtip Sinan emin-i iskele-i Niğbolu, Muhiddin emin-i iskele-i Silistre, timar of Mirliva-i *Voynugan*, Şehabeddin dizdâr-ı kal'a, Mehter Mustafa dizdâr-ı kal'a-i Ziştovi, Etmekçibaşı Mustafa dizdâr-ı kal'a-i Tırnovi. These examples indicate that ninety years after the conquest, although a vast majority of Niğbolu population consisted of the native Bulgarians, Ottomans as the rular had already established the institutons of their system that made the Ottoman rule permanent in these lands and fullfilled the fiscal, administrative, and military organisation of the region. For this reason we see the Ottomans in the conquered lands not as invaders but rulers and system builders. In that sense, it can be said that native people and Turkish settlers were just tax payers who could live and work on imperial lands of the sandjak freely and timariots, beys, kadis, defterdar, emins and other governmet officials functioned the military, fiscal and administrative

[239] Mihaloğlu Ali Beğ was the son of Hızır Beğ from one of the *akıncı* (raider) family in the Balkans known as Mihaloğulları. He was the most famous *akıncı* coming from the family. For more information about Mihaloğlu Ali Beğ, see Gökbilgin, " Mihaloğulları", İslâm Ansiklopedisi (1992), p. 285-292.

system, which was the way of maintaining the institutions of the central administration on these lands.

While examining the two registers, we see some centers and villages whose settlers were either deported or migrated to another village or center. In principle, the ownership of land belonged to the state and these lands were called as *mîrî* lands. Ottoman peasants were perpetual tenets on the *miri* lands. These lands were divided into fixed farm units called *çift* and the tenants cultivate on these *çifts* generation to generation in return of regularly cultivating these lands and paying the fixed tax called *resm-i çift*. The tenancy of the peasant on *mîrî* lands makes their status different than in the pre-Ottoman times. They were free to work on any appropriate land on the empire. They could leave their *çift* and settled any other land including towns, other villages or unsettled or depopulated lands. In this case, they paid a fine called *çift bozan akçesi* in order to compansate the decrease in the tax revenues of the timariot. The status of peasants during the pre-Ottoman feudal times had not been free. Peasants could not move anywhere from the lands of the lord and they must have cultivated his land and fullfilled the obligatory services that peasants responsible for their masters.[240] In Table 1, some examples of such migrations of the pesants from one place to another are given. Besides these voluntary migrations, we see some other records in these registers mentioning the deportations from the sandjak. Ottoman central administration made some focefull deportations from the Niğbolu sandjak in order to populate

[240] For a more detailed information about status of the peasants in the Ottoman agrarian-land system çift-hane see, İnalcık (1994), p. 143-153.

the new capital Istanbul. According to Halil İnalcık, the most effective measure taken to repopulate the new Ottoman capital was *sürgün,* which is deportation or compulsary re-settlemet of people from various parts of the empire.[241] Following the conquest, Mehmed II put some policies into practice in order to re-populate the new capita. He issued firmans ordering the deportation of households from all parts of the Empire, specifically craftsmen and merchants who familiar the urban life. Settlers having such qualifications including nobles from the newly conquered cities were encouraged to settle or deported to Istanbul.[242] In autumn 1455, Mehmed II visited the city and learnt that Muslim deportees had left the city. Then he sent new orders to the government officials of Rumeli and Anatolia to be re-sent the sürgün families to Istanbul as quick as possible. According to the data given by İnalcık[243], in 1455, a large group of Jewish households, from Ottoman Balkans, 38 households from Filibe, and others deported from Edirne, Niğbolu, and Trikkala were deported to and settled in İstanbul. We can see some examples in Table 1 for these deportees in the records of the 1479 and 1483 icmal registers. The town of Çibre was completely deported to Istanbul. Çibre as a town should have been an urban center and whose inhabbitants should have been satisfied the qualifications of the new inhabbitants looking for to be settled in

[241] İnalcık gives very detailed information about the repopulation of Istanbul after conquest in his article titled "Istanbul" in *EI* webCD ed. In his article he gives many examples for sürgüns (compalsary deportations) made from many provinces of the empire to repopulate the new capital, Istanbul.

[242] For more information about the methods of re-population of Istanbul and the new inhabitants of Istanbul see, İnalcık, *The Policy of Mehmed II towards the Greek population of Istanbul and the Byzantine buildings of the city*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. xxiii-xxiv, 231-49

[243] See İnalcık, "Istanbul" *EI* webCD ed.

Istanbul. There should have been craftsmen and merchants living and performing their professionality in the town. The other settlement 23 of whose inhabbitants were deported to İstanbul is Kalugerevo, a village in Tırnovi. These 23 inhabbitants were probably not ordinary pesants but craftsmen and merchants that were heavyly needed to stimulate the economy and urban life of the new capital.

Table 1

Village		Village	
Bela Reçka (Kievo)	In 1483 register, it is noted that they are settled in the village Konarova	Lefçeva (İvraca)	The peasants were migrated and now settled in Ogust
Çerepçe (Kievo)	They are settling in the village Kamarova	Leşniçe (Lofça)	They came from the village Sopot and settled there
Dalkaç-ı Büzürg (Şumnu)	Non-Muslims of the village are living in Balçık Hisar	Nefs-i Çibre	Whole settlers of the town were deported to Istanbul
Gorna Kreneme (İvraca)	Some of the peasants are settling in Sirakovna	Pavolçe (İvraca)	Some of the non-Muslim pesants of the village is living in the village Devyani
Gradişte (Şumnu)	They came from Malik Dalgaç and settled in the village	Pedre Pole (Kievo) (derbend)	Haric-ez defter (not recorded in the previous register)
Kalugerevo (Tırnovi)	26 settlers were deported to Istanbul	Petrişte (derbend)	Haric-ez defter (Not recorded in the previous register)
Kazan Pınarı (Şumnu-Yanbolu eşer yolunda derbenddir)	Haric-ez defter (Not recorded in the previous register)	Tipçaniçe (İvraca)	Some of the peasants are settling in Sirakovna
Klüçoviçe (Tırnovi)	Non-Muslims of the village Klaniç are living in this village	Sedlarova (İslimiye)	Non-Muslim settlers of the village has been living in the place named Köpeklü for along time
		Ugırçin Lofça (derbend)	Haric-ez defter (Not recorded in the previous register)

The other interesting records in the registers are villages that were newly recorded in these registers. These are new or re- populated settlements. For this reason they are mentioned as " haric-ez defter" (not recorded in the previous register). In Table 1, we see three repopulated Bulgarian villages, Pedrepole, Petrişte and Tipçaniçe, and also one Turkish village settled in the time period between the two tahrirs. These records of new and re- populated settlements indicate that contrary to Gandev's claims that following the conquest and seizure of the towns, villages accompanied by the process of Turkish migration and repopulated villages and mezraas, which were entirely or predominantly settled by Turkish immigrants in a short time. These new settlers replaced the native Bulgarian population in the region.[244] These claims of Gandev do not seem consistant with the records of 1479 and 1483 registers. These records given in Table 1 show that the native Christians and these Turkish colonizers coming from Asia Minor repopulated Bulgarian villages did not always settle depopulated Bulgarian villages but they established new settlements in the region. Also the other claim of Gandev is that the native Christians were excluded from the policy of repopulation of these uninhabited mezraas. According to Gandev's view, mezraas were intentionally reserved to the Turks coming from Asia Minor and native Christians were prevented to repopulate these deserted villages. According to Gandev, although the native Christians were cultivating the arable lands, they

[244] See, ibid., (1987), p. 18, 96.

did not settle permanently in these mezraas.[245] Contrary to Gandev's claims, in 1479 and 1483 registers, we see some examples showing how native Christians settled in these depopulated old-Bulgarian settlements and between the two *tahrirs*, how these settlements became populous Christian villages. In 1479 register, we see a record that some settlers of the Christian village Trambeş, whose number of hane was 35 and bive 3, were migrated to the *mezraa*-i Lipniçe. The other example for such settlement is *mezraa*-i Letniçe. This mezraa had recorded as empty in 1479 register but in 1483 register, Letniçe became a village whose settlers consisted of 8 Christian hane, 1 Christian *mücerred* and 1 *bive*.[246] These examples show that native Christians took part in the repopulation of the old Bulgar settlements. Moreover these mezraas that were populated by native Christians gained village status in the period between the two tahrirs. Also the other example for the repopulation of some old-Bulagrian villages not by the Turks from Asia Minor but by the native Christians is the village Şirmerd. In 1479 register the 3 Muslim *hane* had been living in the village.[247] This village did not mention in 1483 register but the village is mentioned as Şirud Çiftliği in 1530 register [248] as a Christian village, which indicates that native Christians, during the peace period after the Ottoman conquest, turned back to their old settlements or the increasing Christian population took part in the repopulation policy of the Ottomans during the recovery period. These examples for repopulation of the old

[245] See, ibid., p.30.
[246] see ODNBL., Or., Abt., Signatur OAK., 45/29, fol. 25r. and compare ODNBL., Or., Abt., Signatur Hk., 12/9 fol. 4r and 41 v.
[247] See, ODNBL., Or., Abt., Signatur OAK., 45/29, fol. 25r.
[248] Compare TTD 370 fol. 541.

Bulgarian settlements by the native Christians can be one of the explanations for why the Christian population of towns decreases in the time period between the two tahrirs.[249] On the other hand, if these were native-Bulgarians who had taken refuge in these fortresses during the war times and they were going back to their old-settlements after the Ottoman conquest, Gandev's claim of the killing, enslaving, and mass-deportation of the native Bulgarians after the Ottoman conquest was an inconsistent statement with the data in the two registers.[250] These cases of repopulated mezraas by the native Christians are the evidences supporting Phaimeres' observations that the native inhabitants taking refuge in Nicea and Constantinople during the war times.[251]

The other interesting records in these registers are empty lands given to timariots to be populated. These timariots were expected to find *reaya* (peasants) to cultivate these lands and pay tax that was given to them as salary in return of training armed soldiers and maintaining themselves and their soldiers. Sometimes these reaya could be enslaved native people in wars. They were settled on these lands and they gained the status of Ottoman reaya. They cultivate the lands, *çift* (farm), given to them under the *tapu* system. In the Balkan provinces, the farm was called as *bashtina* and the tax, *resm-i çift*, was named as *ispençe*. Table 3 shows these timars and their holders. These timariots were generally high government officials such as *kadı*, *kâtib* or local aristocrats such as Mihaloğlu Ali Bey. On the other hand, the town, *Nefs-i* Çibre whose settlers had been noted as

[249] Compare in Figure 3.
[250] See, the part 4.1. Bulgarian Historiography and Catastrophe Theory.
[251] See, p.55 and footnote 153.

deported to Istanbul in the 1479 register was given to. Mihaloğlu Ali Bey with six villages to populate. The interesting evidence in this record is that the new settlers of these six villages were native Christians.[252] Changes in status and population of these villages in the registers of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are going to be examined in my further studies. Each timariot was responsible for populating his timar and training and maintaining armed soldier or soldiers. Among these eleven settlements (see Table 3) given to timariots to be populated, we see that majority of them were bearing Slavic names. Also we see a new settlement in mezraa status bearing Turkish name, Kara Ağaç. Besides the other mezraa given to Eyne Han to be populated is Tatar Yurdu. The name of the mezraa may imply a Turkic settlement established in pre-Ottoman period, in the time of Tatar invasion in the 13th century. Also we see some other records indicating pre-Ottoman Turkic settlements in the area during the Tatar colonizations in the Mongolic era.[253] The other interesting record among the villges given to *timariots* to be populated is Çernova-Voda (now the village is known as Çervene-Voda) registered on the Kadı of Çervovi. We first see Çernova-Voda as an empty mezraa in 1483 register. When we checked the status and population of the settlement in 1530 register, recorded as Çero-Voda, we see that the settlement was registered as village in the same timar with Gagova and the settlement included 15 Muslim *hane*, 13 Muslim *mücerred*, and 2 *kal'a- merd* (soldiers living in the castle).[254] Çernova-Voda is an example for how Turkish immigrants settled the uninhabited lands in the sandjak

[252] See, Appendix E and check the villages given in Table 3 in the timar of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey.
[253] See, foodnote 29.
[254] See, TTD 370' (Fol.) 559.370

and there are many such examples for repopulation of these uninhabited or depopulated regions and settlements in the Niğbolu sandjak.[255]

5.6. Yörüks

When we examine the *yörüks* and their settlements in the sandjak, the region of Krapiç is one of the interesting lands that many mezraas settled by yörüks.[256] Hamza Fakih, Haymak, İzlatova, Kara Han, Kulkal Obası, Raklum, Resuller, Saru Ali, and Vırbova Vlad are mezraas of Krapiç that all inhabitants are *yörüks*. İzlatova, Raklum, and Vırbova Vlad are old-Bulgarian villages whose inhabitants left these lands. Native Christian population of the region is living in Gagova, Opaka, Pramaliçe, and Rasuhad villages. A number of empty mezraas recorded at first time in 1483 register [257] and these were appropriate lands for the newcomers to settle, which can be one of the reasons behind the *yörük* settlements in the region. These uninhabited mezraas were given to Muhammed, the *kadı* of Çernovi, as timar to be populated, in return to give a cebelü (an armed soldier) in the times of campaigns.[258] The other mezraas inhabited by yörüks are Aydın Obası, Azizler, Çaruk Ali, Derzi Musa, Kaluger, and Paşa Yiğit. Inhabitants of these mezraas are *yörüks* who are not permanent settlers because of their way of nomadic life and they seasonally cultivate these mezraas. Only exception among these yörük mezraas is Paşa Yiğit, where 17 *yörük* households inhabited in this mezraa and as the 1483 register mentions that they cultivated these lands and

[255] For more example , compare ODBNL, Hk 12/9 and BOA, TD 370.
[256] For the villages and mezraas of Krapç region see, Table 2.
[257] See' Appendix 3.
[258] ODBNL., Hk 12/9, fol. 29 r.

paying *öşr* like any ordinary settled reaya. This example implies that the tribal Muslim communities in the region were leaving gradually the sedentary way of life and they were getting settled. Especially the two mezraas, Emir Doğan and Hayreddin, are the examples for the final process of the gradual settlement of Anatolian nomads in the region. Settlers of the two mezraas are permanent Muslim-Turks and no *yörük* household was among the inhabitants of these mezraas.[259] The trend of *yörük* migration to the sandjak continued until sixteenth century and at the mid- sixteeth century North-east Bulgaria was dominantly settled by Turks coming from the Asia Minor.[260]

5.7. Villages

The early indicators of the population boom in sixteenth century are clearly seen in both 1479 and 1483 icmâl registers. When we compare the two registers, the increasing *yörük* population in villages and Christian *mücerred* population in towns are the pre-existing conditions of the demographic boom. Later Ottoman records give us the data to compare and examine these trends in the region but such a population study is going to be a part of my PhD study. In the earliest registers includes records mentioning names of some villages in two different forms as Gorna (lower) and Dolna (upper). Dolna and Gorna Krayişte, Dolna and Gorna Beşovitçe, Dolna and Gorna Kremene[261] are examples for such villages. Population increase in villages led the new households to go and settle

[259] For the mezraas see, Appendix E.
[260] See, TTD 370, Fol. 383- 432.
[261] See, Appendix E.

appropriate lands around the village. After some time, these new settlements became villages bearing the same name with the old village. These two villge were distinguished from each other by adding an adjective in front of their name, Dolna or Gorna. The other significant feature of these villages is that they are pure villages, which indicates an opposite case of Gandev's claims of very rare population increase in Bulgarian villages that was a result of giving shelter to refugees from nearby areas.[262] Records of 1479 and 1483 registers show that Christian villages extended, as land they spread and as number of households living in. e For this reason we can say that these records are clear evidences for a general population increase in Christian villages.

While we are examining Turkish and Christian villages in the sandjak, a significant number of Christian *bives* in the sandjak arise interest. According to the 1479 and 1483 registers, more than 6 % of the total population in the Niğbolu sandjak was recorded as *bive* hanes. [263] Although there are no *bive hane* in Turkish settlements, we see many *bive hanes* in Christian villages such as Dobrindol, Resene, Tepeva, Trançeviçe-I Bulgar and Pavlikan. Also we see such a significant number of *bives* in the big cities settled in Lofça and Tırnovi. When we are explaining the Christian side of the bive issue, we should refer to the travel notes of the Austrian traveler Stephan Gerlach who visited the region in the 16th century during the reigns of Selim II and Murad III. As the records of our registers indicate that there was a sharp increase in Christian *mücerred*s, which most

[262] See, Gandev (1987), p. 109-110.
[263] See, Table 1 and compare 1479 and 1483 demographic data represented as % of total population of the sandjak.

probably brings an increase in the number of unmarried girls in the sandjak. According to Gerlach, in order to give priority to the unmarried girls, Orthodox priests did not give permission to widows for a new marriage.[264] The reason behind the negative attitude of Orthodox priests towards the second marriage of a widow was most probably not religious but demographic. There was a gap between the rate of man and woman population in 15th century Niğbolu, which should be a result of poor life conditions, epidemics and continuous wars leading to population decreases in the sandjak and rate of woman was more than the men in the total population. For this reason priests gave priority to unmarried girls in marriage. Rate of population increase in Anatolia was very high and family size was very big in the 15th century.[265] In this case, such a big gap between men and woman population of Anatolian immigrants in Niğbolu sandjak was not very probable. Besides the demographic factors, when we keep the polygamist understanding of Islamic law in mind, in any case, possibility of remaining single for a Muslim girl or a widow should have been very low in the 15th century Niğbolu sandjak. Other than demographic and religious motive, lineage endogamy was a traditions of Anatolian tribal communities.[266] In Anatolian tribal

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[264] The book of Stephan Gerlach, "Tage-Buch, was publihed in Frankfurt in 1674. See, Peregrinatores Germanici et Austiriaci XV-XVI, p. 338-339.

[265] For more information about the large family size in Anatolia, see endnote 176.

[266] For more information about the tribal marrige traditions in Anatolia see, Vergin, Nur, "Social Change and the Family in Turkey ", *Current Anthropology* , Vol. 26, No. 5 (Dec., 1985): 571-574; Meeker, M., E., "Meaning and Society in the near East: Examples from the Black Sea Turks and the Levantine Arabs (II)", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Jul., 1976): 383-422; Dubetsky, Alan, "Kinship, Primordial Ties, and Factory Organization in Turkey: An Anthropological View", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Jul., 1976): 433-451.

communities, a widow woman marries to a man from the family, especially younger brother of her died husband. This kind of marrige practice is generally associated with the need to maintain property within the family line and avoids dissipation of family assets through affinal exchanges or female inheritance. We find Lineage endogamy most frequently in pastoral communities, in which the continuity of domestic herds forms a main concern. This kind of marriage practice is also found as a common cultural pattern in Middle Eastern societies including those of contemporary Arab communities and of ancient Israel. When we keep in mind that majority of the Turkish immigrants were Muslim-tribal nomads, Islamic teaching and tribal traditions can be taken into consideration as the resons of why there were no bive in Turkish villages.

5.7. Bogomils

The other interesting records in these registers are Bogomil villages mentioned as "Pavlikân". We have five Bogomil villages recorded in both of the registers. Among the villages, three of them are in Lofca and two of them are in Niğbolu. Names of the villages are Brestovice-i Pavlikan (Lofça), Kalugeriçe-i Pavlikan (Lofça), Oreşan-i Pavlikan (Niğbolu), Telej-i Pavlikân (Lofça), Trınçeviçe-i Bulgar and Pavlikân (Niğbolu).[267] The division in the name of the village as Bulgar and Pavlikân indicates the religious characteristics of these settlements that is Bulgar was an Orthodox and Pavlikân was a Bogomil villge. Among them, name of the village, Trınçeviçe-i Bulgar and Pavlikân, was recorded

[267] For population trends of these villages between the two registers, see Appendix E.

in one timar as a *hisse* (share) in 1483 register. The other *hisse* (or *hisses)* was not recorded in the defter. For this reason we cannot observe demographic changes in the villages, Trınçeviçe-i Bulga and Pavlikân. The other villages exhibiting interesting demographical developments were Brestovice-i Pavlikan (Lofça) and Kalugeriçe-i Pavlikan (Lofça). We see that between the two tahrirs, although the Christian hanes of Brestovice-i Pavlikan (Lofça) decreased from 40 to 12 and 1 mücerred was added, the Christian hane of Kalugeriçe-i Pavlikan (Lofça) increased from 39 to 53 and 9 mücerred was added. When we take into consideration that these were villages in Lofca, we may think that there could be a migration from one village to another. In some other migration cases in our registers, we see some notes mentioning the number of migrated reaya and where they came from but we have no such a note in the records of 1483 register to determineif there was such a migration from one Pavlikan village to another. Demography of the other two Pavlikan villages, Oreşan-i Pavlikan (Niğbolu) and Telej-i Pavlikân (Lofça), seem stable during the period between the two registers. Existence of the heresy, Bogomilism, since 10th century and the records of their villages in Ottoman registers dated to the last decades of the 15th century most probabbly imply that there were still a resistances to Orthodox Christianity of the patriarchate in Istanbul. The reason behind the resistance was not only a struggle against Orthodox Christianity but also a social, cultural and political concern towars the dominant image of Christian Byzantine. Bogomils were mostly peasants and their masters who were the members of the land-owner ruling class.

For this reason, Christianization efforts of the patriarchate on Bulgarians had faced with resistance of the native Bulgarians and Bogomilism had been still finding supporters as a symbol of Bulgarian identity unassimilated by pagan Slavic and Christian Byzantine cultures during the Byzantine times. Bogomilism was being alive in Bulgaria as a resistance to the patriarchate in Istanbul at the end of the fifteen-century. Until the end of Bayezid II's reign, the liberal religious policies of the Ottoman State created a free religious medium in the Ottoman Balkans. For this reason we can still see populous Bogomil villges in Niğbolu sandjak at the end of the 15th century.

CONCLUSION

This study reveals that 15th century was still a transformation and re-structuring period in Niğbolu sandjak. Turkish settlers were still a small portion in the total population. Although there was a continuous immigration of Turkish nomads, turkification of the sandjak was a gradual processes that were completed centuries after the conquest. At the end of the century, majority of the Turkish immigrants in the sandjak were still nomads but the process of sedentarization among the them had already started.

Accept a few Muslim hanes in some Christian villages, these registers did not include any record giving a clue about islamization but these registers prove that Bogomilism was still one of the heresies in the sandjak. Among the villages of Ottoman Niğbolu, existence of the Bogomil settlements indicates that although the Orthodox patriarchate had been attempting to deal with the heresy and to stop its spread for centuries, Bogomilism, since its first appearance in the 10th century, was a religious sact that was still actively performing its religious practices at the end of the 15th century.

These Ottoman registers indicate that there were demographic recoveries in Ottoman-Niğbolu in the 15th century. Comparison of the two registers shows that there were increases in both Christian and Muslim population. Besides the new Turkish settlements, enlargement of Christian villages as Dolna (Upper), and

Gorna (Lower) show a demographic improvement in the sandjak. Although continuous mass migrations of yörüks to the unsettled lands or depopulated villages of the sandjak, native Christians gradually went back to depopulated villages, which is not consistant with the theories of enslavement and deportaion of native population. Records of these registers indicate that native inhabbitants were still living in the sandjak at the end of the 15th century.

Contrary to the general opinion in marxist Balkan historiography, during the hundred years following the conquest, neither a turkification nor an islamization occurred in the sandjak but Ottoman rule, ald and administrative system had already been established in the sandjak at the end of the 15th century, which prepared the convenient medium for turkification and islamization of the sandjak in later centuries.

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APPENDIX A:

Glossary

Akçe: Ottoman silver coin. (İnalcık, 1994)

Avârız: Extraordinary levies or services introduced by the stse on emergency situations, mostly support the navy; a certain number of households of reaya is registered as avarız tax unit (hâne). (İnalcık, 1994)

Baştina: A peasant family farm in the Balkans corresponding to the Ottoman raiyyet
çiftlik. The Ottomans retained the Slavic term with groups whose pre-Ottoman staus and services were maintained. (İnalcık, 1994)

Beğ: (bey) title given to the sons of pashas, and of a few of the highest civil functionaries, to military and naval officers of the rank of colonel or lieutenant colonel, and popularly, to any persons of wealth, or supposed distinction (EI,1999)

Bîve: Widow

Cebelü: A fully armed retainer of a timar, zeamet, or hass holder. (EI, 1999)

Çift: (Çiftlik) In Ottoman times it designated, at first, a certain unit of agricultural land in the land-holding system, and then, later on, a large estate. Originally, it was thought of as the amount of land that could be ploughed by a pair of oxen; it applied to a holding of agricultural land comprising 60 or 80 to 150 dönüms, the size depending upon the fertility of the soil. (EI, 1999)

Defterdar: keeper of the daftar; an Ottoman term for the chief finance officer, corresponding to the mustawfi in the eastern Islamic world. The title that seems to originate with the ilkhanids who appointed persons to make and keep the registers. (EI, 1999)

Doğancı: Falconer. Hawking was a favourite traditional sport at the Ottoman court. (EI, 1999)

Firman: (ferman or farman) Originally command, but by the 9th/15th century, ~ had come to denote the edict or document, as issued by the ruler, itself. There were many synonyms, such as Hukm, mithâl and rakam, which later came to designate a document issued by authorities of lower rank (EI, 1999)

Gazi: a fighter for the faith, a person who took part in a razzia, or raid against the infidels; later, a title of honour, becoming part of the title of certain Muslim princes, such as the emirs of Anatolia and more particularly the first Ottoman sultans; soldiers
of fortune, who in times of peace became a danger to the government which employed them. (EI, 1999).

Haraç: Haraç is an Islamic tax collected yearly from vassal states as a proof of the dominance of an Islamic state over them. (İnalcık (2003), p. 18.)

İcmâl: Tax-survey reistering only distribution of tax revenues among the military.

Imam: The personnel of the mosque. Each mosque regularly had one. He had to maintain order and was in general in charge of the divine services in the mosque. (EI, 1999)

İspençe: Poll-tax paid to feudal lord in pre-Ottoman Serbia; continued under the Ottomans as a customary tax, it is mostly included in timar revenue. (İnalcık, 1994)

Kadı: (kadi) judge; a representative of authority, invested with the power of jurisdiction. (EI, 1999)

Kanunname: Generally referred to a decree of the sultan containing legal clauses on a particular topic. In the 9th/15th century the term yasaknâme had the same meaning. It occasionally extended to refer to regulations which viziers and pashas had enacted, to laws which a competent authority had formulated or to reform projects. (EI, 1999)

Kâtip: It could be applied to private secretaries as well as to the employees of the administrative service. It can denote merely a book-keeper as well as the chief clerk or a Secretary of State, directly responsible to the sovereign or to his vizier. (EI, 1999)

Kethdâ: Already in Sasanid Persia we find the kethüdâ acting as the representative of thevillage vis-a-vis the government, and under the Safawids they were in charge of collecting taxes and responsible for the administration of a village or town (cf. A. K. S. Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia, London 1953, 122, 144, 168, 175, 430). We find the form kethüdâ in Anatolian Seldjuk usage of the 7th/13th century (Osman Turan, Türkiye Selçuklari hakkinda resmi vesikalar, Ankara 1958, 13), and the form kyahya may have evolved during Ottoman times. (EI, 1999)

Knez: A Serbian word that means prince; under the Ottomans, a local strongman. (EI, 1999)

Martolos: A pre-Ottoman group of militiamaintained by the Ottomans mostly serving on the frontier for raids and intelligence in the neighbouring country. (EI, 1999)

Mücerred: Unmarried man.

Mufassal: Tax-survey registering the sources of revenue in detail.

Reaya: All those groups, Muslim or non-Muslim, outside of the military elite, engaged in economic activities and thus subject to taxes. (İnalcık, 1994)

Resm-i çift: Plough-tax collected from each hane of çiftlik.

Salname: Yearbook

Sandjak: A sub-province; administrative unit under a sandjak beyi; a beylerbeylik is divided into several sandjaks. (İnalcık, 1994)

Sipahi: 1. A mounted soldier
2. A member of noble class
3. A member of cavalry divisions at the Porte.
4. The lowest rank in the provincial timariot army. (İnalcık, 1994)

Subaşı: see, voyvoda and zeamet.

Tahrir: Ottoman system of periodical surveying of population, land and other sources of revenue. (İnalcık, 1994)

Tapu: Permanent patrilineal lease of state-owned land to a peasant family head in return for his pledge to cultivate it continuously and meet all the obligations in tax or service. (İnalcık, 1994)

Timar: A prebend acquired through a sultanic diploma, consisting as a rule of of state taxes in return for regular military service, the amount which conventionally was below 20 thousand akçe. (İnalcık, 1994)

Timariot (sipahi): In the Ottoman empire, a timar holder, cavalryman. (EI, 1999)

Udj (uc): Border periphery.

Voynuk: (voynik, warrior, soldier) A pre-Ottoman militia from the peasant population of Slavic states in the Balkans, maintained by the Ottomans. (İnalcık, 1994)

Voyvoda: (sometimes synonym of subaşı)1. Slavic title of prince, used in particular for the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia.

2. A military agent appointed by a governor to take care of the collection of his revenues in kaza area; the title subaşı is sometimes used instead. (İnalcık, 1994)

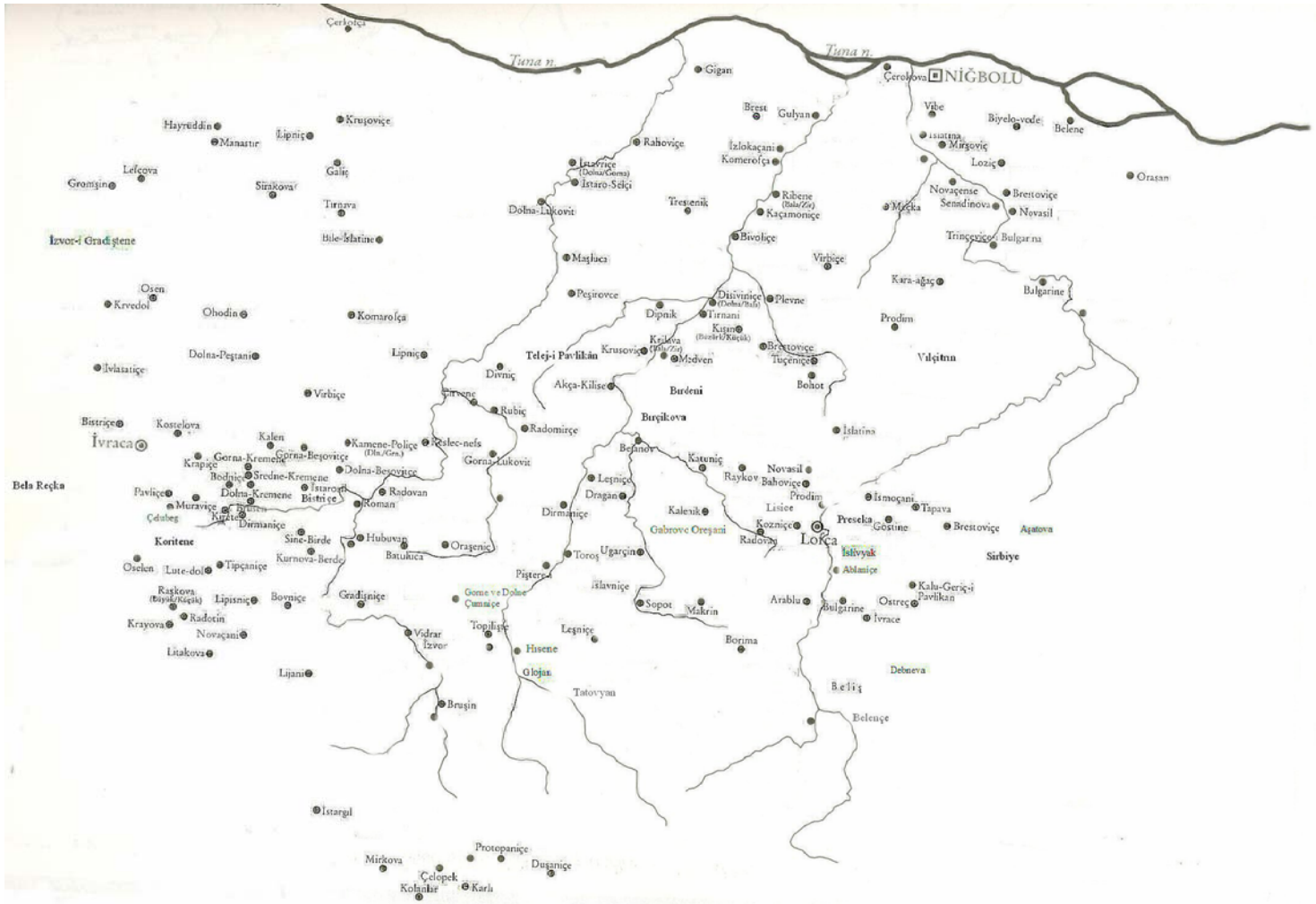
Wakf: Synonim of hubs, namely a fious foundation or an endowed thing, as a rule real estate but sometimes an amount of cash which "while retaining its substance yield a usufruct and of which the owner has surrendered his power of disposal with the stipulation that the yield is used for mermitted good purposes. (İnalcık, 1994)

Yörük: A bureaucratic mane of Turcoman pastoralist nomads when they came in the territories controlled by the Ottomans, mostly in western Anatolia and eastern Balkans. (İnalcık, 1994)

Zâviye: (zawiya) a religious foundation of a quasi-monastic type. (EI, 1999)
Ziamet: 1. Military leadership.

2. A prebend bestowed by a sultanic diplioma to the commender of timariot sipahies in a district, conventionally from 20 thousand- 100 thousand akça.

3. Synonym of subaşılık. (İnalcık, 1994)

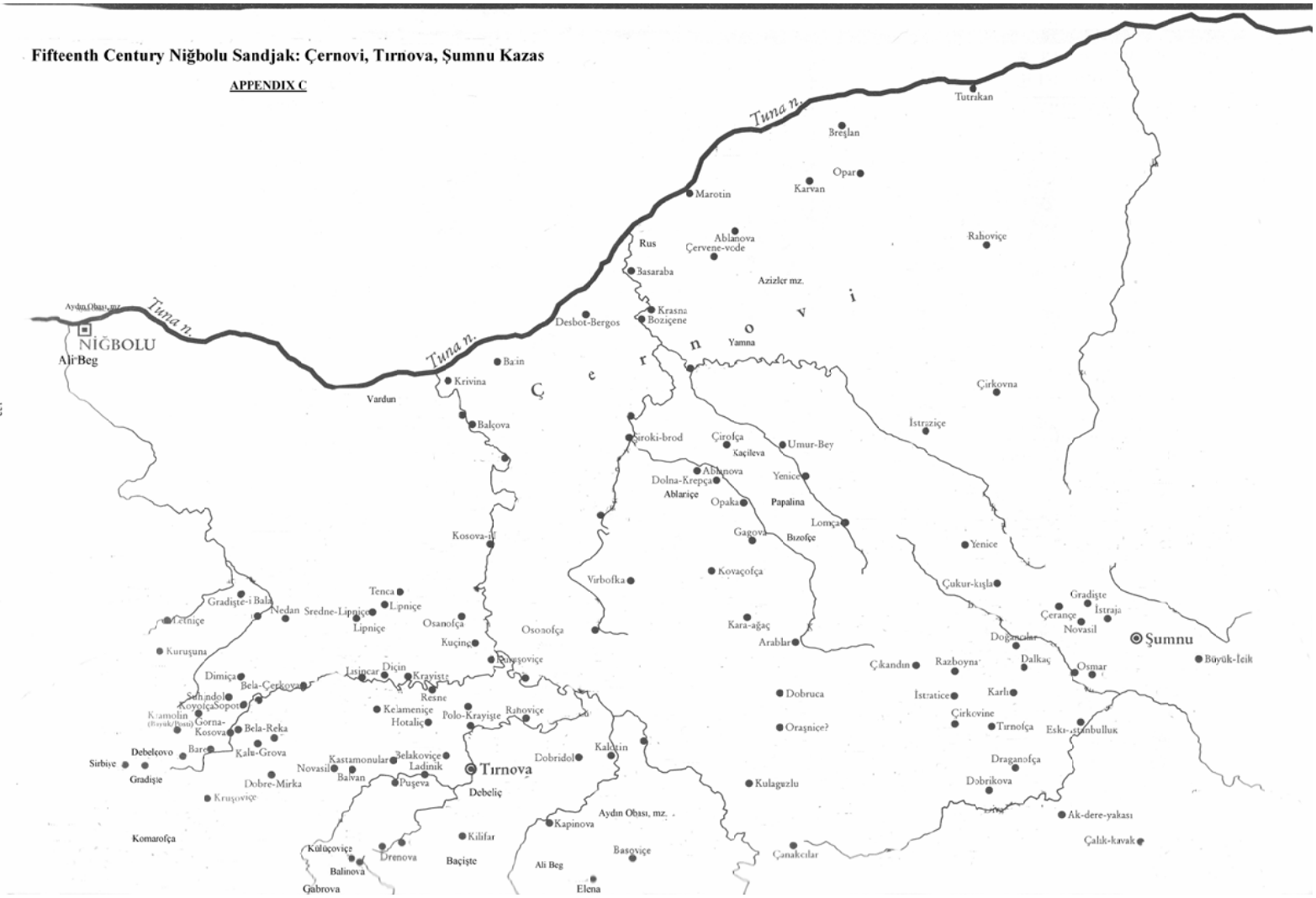


Fifteenth Century Niğbolu Sandjak: Lofça and İvraca Kazas

APPENDIX B

Fifteenth Century Niğbolu Sandjak: Çernovi, Tırnova, Şumnu Kazas

APPENDIX C



APPENDIX D: List of Mezraas

	1479		1479					1483		1483						
	Muslim		Christian					Muslim		Christian						
Village	Household	Unmarried	Household	Unmarried	Widows		Others	Household	Unmarried	Household	Unmarried	Widows	Others		Revenue 1479	Revenue 1483
Aydın Obası, mz.(Cernovi)						Yörük	7						Yörük	7	350	350
Arablar mz.																
Azizler mz. Çernovi						Yörük	10						Yörük	9	400	400
Babalar mz.													Gayrihi	7	200	
Paskalofça mz.															200	
Bogdasica mz.																
Bollu Süleyman Yurdu Mz. Gerilovo															300	300
Pregor mz. Tımovi																
Breziste, mz. (Ivraca)															BY	100
Brzakovo mz.			1												100	
Çanak Bunar mz. Sumnu													Y	7	BY	1090
Çareva Kisaliçe Mz. Tımovi			3							4					336	462
Çaruk Ali mz. Sumnu						Yörük							Yörük	47	BY	1087
Cerk Çakır mz.Gerilova															BY	120
Ciro-Voda mz. Niğbolu										3					BY	261
Çukur Kışla Sumnu mz.													Yörük	18		
Deçani mz.																
Derzi Musa mz.						Yörük	6						Yörük	6	250	250
Dryan mz.																
Cülinova mz.																
Dobrovnik mz. Çerven nam yerden gelmislerdir vergileri oraya kayitlidir																
Edime mz. ?																
Emir Doğan mz.								4	4						BY	594
Evliya Hasan mz.			5												150	
Garçaşençe mz.																
Hamza Fakih mz. (Krapiç)						Yörük	6						Yörük	11	250	250
Haymak mz. (Krapiç)						Yörük	10						Yörük	10	450	450
Hayreddin mz. Sumnu								5	4						0	1316
Hisar Beyi mz.																
Hisar Beyi mz.(Gerilova)															50	50
Hrusalice mz. Tırnovı																
Izlatova mz. (Gerilova)													Yörük	12	BY	300
Izvor mz.																
Kalinçe mz. Sumnu													Yörükan ve	11	BY	488
Kalkova mz.																
Kaluger mz. Sumnu		10											Yörük ve Küreciyân ve sipahi	6	660	670
Kara Ağaç ve Süleyman Daresi dahi derler mz. Plevne																
Kara Han mz.(Krapiç)													Yörük	9	BY	700
Karaca Nasuh mz. Sumnu													Yörük ve Küreciyân	10	BY	568
Kateriçe mz																
Kılıçlı Salih mz Sumnu													Yörük ve Küreci	25		
Klisecik mz.													Yörük	10		735
Köse Mustafa mz. Sumnu						Yörük	6						Yörük	10	300	300
Kraçan mz.						Yörük	13								700	
Kulfal Obası mz.(Krapic)															250	
Leskoveç mz.																
Lipnice mz.	Boş mz.									8	1	1				1433
Letnice[8]																
Mecka mz. Çemovi															BY	100
Novosel mz.						3 Yörük	17								600	BY
Yuper mz. Cernovi			1												311	
Paşa Yiğit mz. Sumnu																
Vetrepare mz.Tırnovi													Yörükân	5		200
Patrik Senadin mz.Gerilova													Yörükân	2		80
Poliçe İlyas mz. Gerilova (?)																
Rogoz mz.İvraca																
Rahovica mz.																
Rakitova mz.													Yörük	6	BY	100
Raklum mz. (Krapiç) Vıbel' den gelmisler						Yörük	10						Yörük	13	450	450
Resuller mz. (Krapiç)															100	100
Sahinci mz.(Kurşuna)						Yörük	3						Yörük	3	150	150
Saru Ali Mz.(Krapiç)															500	
Sekira mz. Niğbolu			3												100	
Selencur mz.																
Sindel mz. Sumnu													Yörükân ve Gayrihi	12		630
Stnmena mz.															100	by
Tahir fakih mz. Tırnovi															100	
Tatar Yurdu Mz.													Yörükân	3		100
Torbarica mz.																
Urum Ahmed Mz.													Yörük	18		1200
Vardun Mz Cernovi																
Veysel mz.						Yörük	9						Yörük	9	400	250
Virbova Vlad mz.(Krapiç)																
Virbova mz.																

APPENDIX E: List of Villages

	1479		1479					1483		1483						
	Muslim		Christian					Muslim		Christian					Revenue	Revenue
Village	Household	Unmarried	Household	Unmarried	Widows		Others	Household	Unmarried	Household	Unmarried	Widows		Others	1479	1483
Ablanice (Kievo)			35		5					26	11	4			3556	3341
Ablanice (Lofca)								7	1	4	1	1				2019
Agatova (Sumnu)			12							8	4	1			1314	1285
Ak Dere Yakası Sumnu						Yörük	7						Yörük		600	600
Akca Kilise nām-ı diğer Bela Cerkova Cernovi			11							10	1	1			853	1063
Aladağlu Gerlova			BY			Yörük	By						Yörük	20	BY	324
Ali Beg Tırnovi	15							11	12						1275	1361
Aydın Obası, mz.(Cernovi)						Yörük	7						Yörük	7	350	350
Aydın Karad nām-ı diğer Kavaldu (Sumnu)			BY					6	5	1					BY	654
Azizler mz. Cernovi						Yörük	10						Yörük	9	400	400
Baciste Tırnovi			24		5					27	8	2			2865	3659
Bahovice (Lofca)	7							3							524	391
Balırina (Erkec)			BY							20	3				BY	?
Balınova Tırnovi			2							1					291	235
Balvan Tırnovi (Hisse 1483)	1		69		5					5	2				7759	781
Batın Cernovi			53		2					45	8	2			6737	6730
Batosova Tırnovi	2		20		2					13	5	3			2349	2296
Batova Lofca			28		4					21	1				2442	2444
Batulce (Kievo)			94		6					70	24	8			9174	11073
Bela Recka (Kievo)			6		2					9	1	1			586	771
Belakovice (Cernovi)			44		1					39	3	3			3432	4650
Belceva İvraca			3							2	1				261	281
Belence (Nedelicko)			22		4					15	9	2			2961	3198
Belişeva Kievo			9		1					9	1	3			1076	1491
Bırcikova Lofca			3							3					289	356
Birdeni (Lofca)			11		1					8					950	811
Bırzuc Cernovi										1	1				BY	200
Bızofce Sumnu (hisse 1483)			22							20	8				3237	1757
Bile-Voda (Plevne)	8							8	3						942	880
Bistrice İvraca			7		4					9	3				1167	1644
Blasnic (Kievo)			26		2					25	2	2			3825	1586
Blastani Sumnu			28		2										3814	
Blatice İslivne			BY					1		22	8				BY	2880
Bodence İvraca			16		1					9	8	1			1564	1581
Bohol Tırnovi	2		4					2		2	2				1147	995
Bolcene Cernovi	1		22		4					25	5	3			4058	4008
Bolu Süleyman Yurdu, Mz (Gerlovo)															300	300
Borima Niğbolu	1		72		7			2	1	44	16	2			5134	4834
Braniste Erkec			BY							9	1				BY	?
Bresnic Lofca	2		26		4										2453	
Bresnice Kievo	2		26		4			2		19	7	4			2453	2347
Brestovice-i Pavlikan (Lofca)	7		40		4					12	1	2			6077	1216
Brez Reslec			11							9		3			1030	995
Breziste, mz. (İvraca)															BY	100
Brezova Lofca			3		1					6	1				205	539
Brusene tābi-i İvraca			5		2					4	2	2			815	1012
Bukurova Tırnovi			25					1		21	3	1			BY	2599
Bulgarene Lofca			43							20	14	1			3863	3937
Bulibe Sumnu										4					BY	574
Bunova Lofca			24							22	4	2			3362	3299
Butofce (Tırnovi)	4		30		2			1		24	9	2			4765	3385
Cariva Kisalice (Tırnovi)			3							4					336	462
Curova Kievo			10		1					10	2	1			1213	1249
Cadırlu Sumnu	14							14	7						1642	1598
Calık Kavak (derbend bekler) Kievo			BY							140	63				BY	4570
Çanak Bunar mz. Şumnu														7	BY	1090
Careva Kisalice Mz. Tırnovi			3							4					336	462
Canık Ali mz. Sumnu						Yörük	47						Yörük		BY	1087
Catrofce Gerlova			BY							36	3	4			BY	2813
Cekandin Sumnu			53					1	1	39	11	2			5431	5609
Celopek İvraca			89		4			2		77	11	4			7709	7781
Çelubeg İvraca			32		1			2	1	25	12	2			2543	2974
Cengenova Tırnovi			23		1					24	4	1			2385	2747
Cepince Plevne	7		3					8	1	3					1541	1483
Ceranice Sumnu			BY							21	6	1			BY	2653
Cerasovice Sumnu			23		1					19	5				2303	2626
Cerepce (Kievo)			8							7	3	1			1148	987
Cerkovine (Kölene)			BY					5		37	6	2			BY	5133
Cibri nfs. (1479 da mavası İst. Sürüldü)										40						
Cirkovine Gerlova			25							24	9	3			2046	2066
Cirofce Cernovi			6							6	2				782	1208
Ciro-Voda mz. Niğbolu										3					BY	261
Cirustice Lofca			16		1			1		15	1				1930	1908
Coban Yurdu Sumnu								10	1				Yörük	10	BY	1199
Cocovyani Lofca			3						3	24					498	475
Debeleceva Tırnovi			12		1					11	2	2			1350	1388
Debelic Tırnovi			28		3					33	6				3531	4013
Debneva Niğbolu	6		119		8					113	23	5			11358	12137
Dere Köy Tırnovi			BY					8	5						BY	925
Derzi Musa mz.						Yörük	6						Yörük	6	250	250
Devlethan Sumnu	BY							40	9				Yörük	5	820	3452
Dılgaç-ı Büzürg (Sumnu)			39		3					37	9	3			4916	5016
Diratmine Cernovi			1							1					87	87
Dimca Tırnovi	2		22		1					15	6	2			3096	2678
Dirmance Lofca			35							31	5	3			2886	2917
Dirmance İvraca			11							10	1				1670	1779
Dobrevce Kievo			58		2					49	6	5			5282	5211
Dobrika Gerlovo													Yörük	12	700	990
Dobrindol Lofca			72		12					63	9	13			6942	6956
Dobrodolce İvraca			30							29	2	1			3474	3388
Dolce Kulagız (İzladi)	10							8	3				Yörük ve Tovice	2	2040	1920
Dolne Besovice İvraca			44		1					36	10	3			3445	4526
Dolne Gerlice			36							35	3				3885	6009
Dolne Kraviste İvraca			20					1		18	11				2642	2850
Dolne Kremene İvraca			63		3					43	22	4			7075	7605
Dolni Plevne (Niğbolu)			5		2					3	3	2			734	763
Dovmuslar Tırnovi			BY							5	3				BY	561
Draganofce Gerlova			BY							12		2			BY	1439
Dragodan İslivne			BY					2		28	6	5			BY	4273
Divan Tırnovi	4		2					3	1						685	592
Dursun Obası(Cernovi)	4							4							500	486
Dusance (İzladi)			72		7					69	8	7			4789	6575
Duseva (Lofca)			21		2			3	3	22	3	3			2022	2332
Eflāk-ı Büzürg (İvraca)			64		2					57	15				5394	6921
Elena (Tırnovi)			61							61	19				1703	2039
Emir Doğan mz.								4	4						BY	594
Eski İstanbulluk Sumnu			BY							66	26	10			BY	10374
Gabrova Tırnovi Derbend			94							127	41	6			4682	5641
Gabrovo Oresani Kievo			12		3					21	2				1523	1795
Gagova (Krapic)	1		25		2			1		20	6	1			2969	2880
Galice (Niğbolu)			3												195	212
Geravovice (Tırnovi)	12							9		6					1295	1181
Giran (İzladi)	6		18		2			3		22	2				2735	3011
Giran Tırnovi			BY					1		9					BY	3039
Glavicani Kievo	2		32		2			3		29	3	3			3275	3749
Gloian Kievo	2		51		2					36	15	3			4649	4600
Gloian Lofca	2		6		1					6	1	2			574	593
Glusnik İslivne			13							15	2	1			1405	2726
Gorna Kreneme İvraca										31	2	4			BY	3443
Gorne Besovice İvraca			8		1					6	1	1			903	554
Gorne Kosova Tırnovi			26		4					20	5	2			3417	3302
Gorne Kraviste İvraca			15							13	1	1			1780	2098
Gorne Lionice Tırnovi			13		5					15	1	4			1841	1918
Gorne Pestene (İvraca)			14							14	1				1342	1377
Gorne ve Dolne Cumnice (Kievo)			52		7					40	19	5			4714	4631
Gostina Lofca			6							4	1				586	675
Goveldol Kievo			3		1					3	1				488	497
Gradiste (Malik Dalgac üzerinden gelip burada oturmuşlardır) Sumnu			46							46	15	1			7278	8432
Gradiste Tırnovi			20		3					22	12	4			2507	3769
Gromsin İvraca			24							22	2				2686	2821
Gülvan (Niğbolu) M ve H haneleri azalmış ama ikisi de azalmış, buna vurgu yap)	9		20					5	4	12	8	1			2567	2407
Hamza Fakih mz. (Krapic)						Yörük	6						Yörük	11	250	250
Havlı Köy İslivne			BY							31	8	1			BY	4469
Haymak mz. (Krapic)						Yörük	10						Yörük	10	450	450
Hayreddin mz. Sumnu			0					5	4						0	1316
Hisene Kievo			14		1					11	4	2			1110	1190
Hisar Beyi mz.(Gerlova)															50	50
Hoca Ömer Tırnovi	9					[illegible] Sipahi 3	5	8	3				[illegible] Sipahi		791	746
Hotalic Tırnovi										9	2				435	1635
Hurvayan (İvraca)			11		1					10	2	1			1319	1241
Hüseyin Fakih Sumnu													Yörük [illegible]	24	BY	1685
Hüseyin Tırnovi	10					Küreci	1	8	4						857	873
İbri (Kievo)			18		1			1		14	2				1566	1664
İslatina Niğbolu			20		2			1		20	2	4			2773	4054
İslatine İvraca			20		2					15	5	2			2261	2562
İslatine Lofca	4		38		2			5	3	35	3	3			2919	4664
İslivyak Lofca			51		4					44	9	4			4292	4675
İsmirdesnice Kursuna	12		7	1				3		7	1				1223	1214
İsmocko (İzladi)			52		3			2		34	19	5			8029	7184
İsmolova Gerlova			BY							64	10	8			BY	8000
İstancov Dol Niğbolu			2		1					3	2	1			505	617
İstaroslı Lofca			19		1					14	3	1			1881	2035
İstiarova (Niğbolu)	18							12	2						1590	2129
İstrala (Sumnu)			17					5		15	13	5	Yörük		2487	2961
İstrafice (Tırnovi)			44		5					45	19	9			4205	6119
İstrupce İvraca			27		1					22	4	2			3815	3592
İsvidne Kievo			20	1	1					17	3	1			2340	2346
İstatova mz. (Krapic)													Yörük	12	BY	300
İzverine İvraca			10		1					9	2	1			1324	1318
İzvor (Plevne)			19		1					16	4	1			1715	1701
İzvor Lofça	1		31					1		25	5	1			6559	2871
İzvor-ı Gradistene Lofca	2		32					2		25	3	4			2371	2157
Jirovine İslimye			BY							33	2	1			BY	3660
Kacileva (Cernovi)			24							22	6	1			3205	3324
Kalanice Lofca			52		4					36	15	4			4236	4375
Kalınce mz. Sumnu													Yörükān	11	BY	488
Kalın (İvraca)			39		2					34	8	3			4446	4762
Kaloten (Tırnovi)			1					3		1			Sipahi ve doğancı	2	200	262
Kalotince Tırnovi	7		8					6	2	8	2				1684	1710
Kalovan-dol İslivne			BY					1		19	7				BY	3445
Kaluger mz. Sumnu		10											Yörük ve Küreciyān [illegible]	6	660	670
Kalugerevo[1] Tırnovi 26 nefer İstanbul'a sürüldü			20		2					25	6	2			4412	6473
Kalugerice-i Pavlikan (Lofca)			39		2					53	9	2			2676	3739
Kalugerova Tırnovi			35		1			2		25	6	2			4130	6473
Kameno Poli İvraca			22		5					13	6	3			2153	1428
Kapinova (Lofca)			32		1					36	1	1			2701	2389
Kara Ağac, Süleyman Deresi dahi derler																
Kara Han mz.(Krapic)													Yörük	9	BY	700
Karaca Nasuh mz. Sumnu													Yörük ve Küreciyān	10	BY	568
Karacaoğlan Sumnu			BY					3					Gavrihi	12	BY	416
Karivdol (İvraca)			42							56	3	7			3650	6490
Karlı Obası (İzladi)	8							10	2						788	826
Katunice (İzladi)			50	4	4					46	5	8			3339	4374
Katunice (Lofca)			5							5					415	702
Katuniste (Erkec)			BY							12	2	1			BY	?
Kaya Pınar Tırnovi	1							3	1						200	310
Kazan Pınarı (Sumnu-Yanbolu eser yolunda derbenddir) (1479'da haric-ez defter)										53	3					2903
Keyamence Tırnovi	12							10	4						1576	1418
Kırnava Birde İvraca			4							3		1			557	465
Kırpac (İvraca)			11							12	1				1027	1142
Kitfar Tırnovi	1		54		2					54	14	3			837	5951
Külcevice Tırnovi			21		2					23	6	1			2268	3453
Koceva (Cernovi)			1							1					111	101
Kolanlar İzladi	29					İmam	1	45	12				İmam		3709	4010
Kolokoc (Cernovi)			39							29	9	2			4385	4309

Komari Obası (Kievo)	19								21							3978	3641
Komarjice (Cernovi)			7								6	3				930	1079
Komneni (Sumnu)	3				1				BY		BY					960	BY
Korumenicko (Tirnovi)	6		35		3					5	2	35	2	3		3558	4355
Korumine Sumnu			BY							3		8	1			BY	1156
Kosiva Sumnu			BY							2		18	9	2		BY	3012
Kostijeva Ivraca			24									23	3			2640	2807
Kosova			8		1							5	2			902	984
Kovac Yunus Gerilova			BY													BY	1890
Kovacevice Gerilco			68		2							58	17	3		8474	9552
Kovanova (Krayova) Ivraca			4									4	1			559	1097
Koznice Lofca			16									15	3			1657	1500
Kilene (Kölene)			BY							11	2	48	18	2		BY	0009
Köse Mustafa mz. Sumnu															Yörükan 10	BY	735
Kracan mz.					Yörük	13									Yörük	700	BY
Kramolin			40									34	7			4012	4254
Krasene (Cernovi)			51		2							39	11	3		4726	6847
Kravdei Ivraca			47	9								42				4276	4886
Kravista Tirnovi	16									14						1541	1800
Kriva Dol Ivraca			55		6							56	3	7		6077	6490
Krivine Tirnovi			3													698	
Krusovice Ivraca			12		1							14				889	1340
Kuzinova (Tirnovi)			35		2							26	9	2		3890	3781
Kuscal Obası mz.(Kracic)					Yörük	6									Yörük 10	300	300
Kursuna Nefs	9		16							10	4	10	3	1	Yörükan 11	2295	2556
Küçük Icik Sumnu	BY									2						BY	882
Ledenik(Tirnovi	1		47		2							41	10	6		4577	5177
Lefceva (Ivraca)	1		65		1					1		63	5			8600	9266
Leskove (Lofca)			22		4							17	6	4		2375	2296
Lesnice (Lofca)			45		3							37	10	2		4405	4428
Lesnice Lofca			12		1							13	2			1593	1701
Letnice (Lofca)			9		2							6	1	1		1217	1189
Likofce Sumnu			BY									12	3			BY	2109
Lika Ivraca			7		1							6	1	1		535	781
Liani (Lofca)			18		1											1588	BY
Lik Ivraca			24		2							22	2	3		257	3134
Lipene Ivraca			17		1							18	2			1757	2635
Lisnice Kievo			32		1							31	2	2		3460	3336
Lisine Lofca	14		6							18	3	3	2	1		1961	2675
Lisince Lofca			41		3							36	9	1		4130	4787
Litnice[6]	Bos mz.											8	1	1			1433
Löt Dol Ivraca			13		2							10	2	3		1026	1285
Lütokova			30		3							29	3	3		3548	3558
Malorid Lofca	10									8	5					835	1076
Manovice Sumnu			15		2							19	1	3		2109	2278
Markova Sumnu			BY							1		21	6			BY	3116
Manuteni (Cernovi)			5									5				659	703
Masolice (Mramornica)			5		3							5	2	1		647	654
Mecka Niğbolu	2		39		2				BY			By				4608	BY
Medvene Erkec			BY									26				BY	[2] 7553
Mehmedler (Lofca)	13									9	3					968	904
Meki (Lofca)	19									13	7					1942	1752
Meskofce Lofca			4									4			Sipahi 1	357	431
Mirkova Istadi	2		90		10					2		86	9	11		9774	9533
Moravice Ivraca			76		4							69	7	5		6870	8546
Nahir Lofca	1		39		3					3		28	12	3		3381	3482
Nedan Tirnovi	16		5									7	2			2033	2257
Nefs-i Cernovi			107		4							97	12	3	Yağcı-Küreci 10 30	22205	25215
Nefs-i Gerilovo			36									29	5	5		4785	2263
Nefs-i Ivraca	23	23	296							24	3	287	48	19		37694	35224
Nefs-i Lofca	51	23	124		30					49	10	131	31	2	Sipahi 3	21731	26360
Nefs-i Rahova (Niğbolu)	11		87		14				BY			BY		BY		[7] 22730	BY
Nefs-i Sumnu	11		74		5					7	26	68	15	1	Sipahi 12	8321	10182
Nefs-i Yenöbol	4		239		1					3		205	39	4	Voynuğan 49	29701	31247
Novaçani Lofca			32		3							24	4	7		3289	3051
Novasil (Sumnu)			55		4					1		46	7	5		3806	4385
Novasil Islıme			BY									11	5	3		BY	1390
Novasil Lofca			37		3							41	7	2		4147	4720
Navocani Kievo			5		2							5		2		585	747
Olsunmadi			59		7							44	18	10		6322	6629
Ospika (Kracic)			8									2	6			858	779
Orasnice Sumnu			BY									27	3	1		BY	3901
Orasnice Lofca			24									9	15			2168	1927
Oresan-i Pavlikan Niğbolu			34		1							32	3	4		3247	6451
Osien Ivraca			5									4	1			525	542
Osmar Sumnu	BY									1	1	14	3			BY	2615
Ostrice (Lofca)			18									14	4	2		1753	1890
Pazalina Cernovi			2									5	2			1160	1394
Pasa Yüğit mz. Sumnu						[3] Yörük	17									600	BY
Patlevna Ivraca			15									14	2			1135	1161
Pavolce Ivraca			38		1							40	3	2		2747	4257
Pecle Ivraca			51		1							18	1			1776	1895
Pestere Lofca	5									6					Sipahi ve Okcu 2	525	942
Pestarna Lofca			12		3							12		3		1523	1449
Petriste (Sofya)			[4] BY									60	28				2620
Pidre Poß Kievo			[4] BY									50	3				1420
Planine (Kievo)			30		4							26	6	1		2453	[8] 3580
Politzaviste Tirnovi			52		2							46	7	2		4544	4863
Porodim Plevne			3													799	719
Pramatice (Kracic)			107							4		86	22	1		13124	15224
Pravice (Sofya)			35									55	20			1525	2956
Preseka Lofca	1		31		1					1	1	24	4	1		2747	2836
Prezool (Tirnovi)			1									2				330	321
Prosav Kievo	18									20	2					2661	2460
Protopopince Istadi			77		9						1	64	20	6		8589	8236
Pudriya Ivraca			28		4							26	4	5		3252	3282
Puseva Tirnovi	3									2	4					291	276
Radovan Lofca			18		2							30	10	3		1978	3540
Radovran (Ivraca)			23		3							24	7	4		2876	3982
Rahovice Kölene	BY		BY							8		57	6	4		BY	7536

Rakdum mz. (Kracic)													Yörük	6		BY	100
Rasuhad (Kracic)			8							6	1	1				850	699
Raskova Ivraca			42		5					38	7	2				2469	3767
Ravna Sumnu			BY							37	12	8				BY	4231
Ravna-I Diğer Sumnu			BY							23	2					BY	2819
Razbovne Sumnu			BY							36	7	1				BY	5074
Razmänice Kievo			9							7	1	1				800	878
Resene (Tirnovi)			79		15			2		66	17	11				7855	7865
Resufler mz. (Kracic)						Yörük	10						Yörük	13		450	450
Roman Ivraca			30		1					26	5	6				2986	3195
Ruzbrod Cernovi			8							6	7					699	1289
Salince Ivraca										2						BY	233
Sanu Ali Mz.(Kracic)						Yörük	3						Yörük	3		150	150
Sedlarova (Islimive)			BY							14	3					BY	1547
Selice Tirnovi			5		2					5	3	2				877	877
Selince (Niğbolu)			26		3					20	6	3				4613	4209
Senadineva Niğbolu	2		30		5			1	1	23	3	4				4871	4298
Sirakovice Ivraca			20							17		6				1928	2676
Sirbine Tirnovi	3		6		1					2	3	2				923	790
Siredne Kraiste Ivraca			10		1					8	1	1				2633	2512
Sopot (Lofca)			41		1					40	15	2				4061	5010
Sopot Tirnovi			50		4					31	7	2				4521	4069
Suha Mecka Niğbolu	5							3	3							443	387
Süleyman (Tirnovi)	17						14	16	3							1486	1804
Sahinci (Kursuna)	BY	BY						14	11							BY	1346
Sahinci mz.(Kursuna)																100	100
Sirpute Lofca			12							13						1349	1429
Sirmend (Tirnovi)		3					BY									498	BY
Siroko Brod (Cernovi)			8		1					18	2	1				439	2488
Tahir tekh mz. Tirnovi																100	100
Tarakan Istadi			17		4					27	2	2				1722	2273
Tatkova (Cernovi)			6							4	2	1				587	815
Tatovvan Kievo			13		1					12	2	2				929	1586
Telei-i Pavlikan Lofca			18		1					13	6					2142	2244
Tenca Tirnovi	21							18	7							3682	3589
Tepava Lofca	4		75		10			1		59	17	10				7146	8141
Terkeboli Islimive			BY					5	3	24	6	1				BY	4114
Tiranbes (Tirnovi)			35		3					BY						4674	BY
Trmelce Gerilova			BY							9	3	2				BY	1371
Tirnovi nefs	104		372		64	Kafa	28									49789	
Tiocanice (Ivraca)			52		3					42	9	5				5104	4981
Topilista Lofca			20		2					16	3	4				2139	1766
Toros Lofca			3							3						291	291
Trincevice-I Bulgar ve Pavlikan Niğbolu[9]	2		86		16			1		12	2	3				8512	1566
Ugurcin Lofca[10]										23	2					BY	653
Vardun Gerilova			BY							63	41	11				BY	7359
Vardun Mz Cernovi													Yörük	18		BY	1200
Vetre Poß Islimive			BY				4	3		38	4	2				BY	5939
Vücitrn Kursuna			87		9		1	2		50	22	13				9178	8221
Vrabesnice Ivraca			35		3					31	5	3				3722	4589
Vrbova Vlad mz.(Kracic)						Yörük	9						Yörük	9		400	250
Vbel Gerilec			29		1					23	5	2				2520	2797
Vidrar Lofca			18		1					18	2	1				2420	2664
Vrbice Lofca			3							3	1					214	314
Vodice Gerilec			26		2					22	8	4				3180	1963
Vodobran Kursuna			2							2	1					154	290
Vraces (Sofya)			54							57	6	2				1792	2366
Yamna Gerilova			15		2					15	5	6				2062	3038
Yenice (Cotre)			BY							29						BY	1609
Yuides Lofca	[11] 5									11	2	2	Yörük		5	442	618
	MH1	MU1	CH1	CU1	CW1		OTH1	MH2	MU2	CH2	CU2	CW2		OTH2			
Total	91	0	1766	0	120		70	144	53	1728	434	120		78		198281	218633
Total Population of Each	455	0	8830	0	600		350	720	53	8640	1710	600		390			
Population %	4,4	0,0	86,3	0,00	5,85		3,4	5,9	0,4	71,3	14,1	5,0		3,2			

Total population in 1479 10235

Total population in 1483 12113

[4] 26 nefer İstanbul'a sürülmüş

[3] Hasılı üç mezraa ile birlikte

[3] yörükler eker hem de öşrün virirler (Yerleşik hayata geçtiklerini gösteriyor)

[4] derbenddir, 1479'da haric-ez defter

[5] (derbend) (1479'da Haric-ez defter)

[6] Mezraa-i Novasel'in hasılıyla beraber verilmiş

[7] Bu hâsıl, resm-i mâhî ve nemek ve resm-i gerdek ve bâc-i nîzevi içermektedir

[8] 1479 tahririnde bu karye beş bir mezraa imiş. Trambes karyesinin bazı reayası burada yerleşmişler.

[9] 1483 defterinde bir hisse var, ötekî hisse eksik

[10] 1479'da haric-ez defter

[11] 1479 defterinde kimi zaman yörük- reaya ayrımı yapılmadan müslim olarak yazılmış, 1483 defterinde bu beş hane yörük olduğu yazılı.

Appendix F : Places of the villages in Present Bulgaria

A

A b l a n i ç e	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Ablanitsa
A b l a n i ç e	vil., dist. of Sofia, today town Yablanitsa
A g a t o v a	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Agatovo
A k D e r e Y a k a s ı	mz., dist. of Varna, today vil., Byala reka
A k ç a K i l i s e	vil., dist. of Targovishte today town Omurtag
A l a d a ğ l u	vil., dist. of Gerileç, today unknown
A l i B e y	vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
A y d ı n O b a s ı,	mz., dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
A y ı d ı n K a r a d	vil., dist. of Burgas, today Topolchane
A z i z l e r	mz., dist. of Çernovi, today unknown

B

B a ç i ş t e	vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
B a h o v i ç e	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Bahovitsa
B a l i n o v a	vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
B a l ı r i n a	vil., dist. of Erkeç, today unknown
B a l v a n	vil., dist. of Lowech
B a t i n	vil., dist. of Russe
B a t o ş o v a	vil., dist. of Gabrovo, today Batoshevo
B a t o v a	vil., dist. of Lofça, today disapeared
B a t u l ç e	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Batultsi,
B i l e R e ç k a	vil., dıst. of Montana, today Biala Rechka
B e l a k o v i ç e	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Belyakovech
B e l ç e v a	vil., of Ivraca, today unknown
B e l e n ç e	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Belenchy
B e l i ş e v a	vil., dist. of Kievo, today unknown.
B i l e - V o d a	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Byala Voda
B ı r ç i k o v a	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Bırkaç
B ı r d e n i	vil., dist. of Lofça, today unknown
B ı r z u ç	vil., dist. of Çernovi, today unknown
B i s t r i ç e	vil., dist. Vratsa, today Systravno
B ı z o f ç e	vil., dist. of Rousse, today Bzovech
B l a s n i ç (P a n a g a)	vil. dist. of Lowech, today Zlatna Panega
B l a ş t i n i	vil., dist., of Tırnovo, today unknown.
B l a t i ç e	vil., dist. of Burgas, today Blatech
B o d e n ç e	vil., dis. of Montana, today Bodenech
B o h o d	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Bohot
B o j i ç e n e	vil., dist. of Rousse, today, Bojichen

B o l l u S ü l e y m a n Y u r d u , mz., dist. of Gerilovo, today unknown
B o r i m a vil., dist. of Lowech.
B r a n i ş t e vil., dist. of Erkeç, today unknown
B r e s n i ç L o f ç a vil., dist. of Pleven, today Brestovetz
B r e s n i ç e vil., dist. of Lowech, today (Golyama or Malka)Brestnicha
B r e s t o v i ç e (- i P a v l i k a n) vil., dist. of Lowech, today Brestovicha
B r e z vil., dis. of Lowech today Breste
B r e z i ş t e , mz., dist. of İvraca, today unknown
B r e z o v a vil., dist. of Lowech, today Kolibi Brezovo
B r u s e n e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Brusen
B u k u r o v a vil., dist. of Lowech, today Mladen
B u l g a r e n e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Balgarene
B u l i b e vil., dist. of Varna, today Bulair
B u n o v a vil., dist. of Sofia, today Bunovo
B u t o f ç e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Butovo

C

C u r o v a vil., dist. of Lowech

Ç

Ç a d ı r l u vil., dist. of Lowech, today Sennik
Ç a l ı k K a v a k vil., dist. of Burgas, today Rish
Ç a n a k B u n a r mz., dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
Ç a r e v a K i s a l i ç e mz., dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
C a r i v a K i s a l i ç e mz., dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
Ç a r u k A l i mz., dist. of Gerilova, today unknown
Ç a t r o f ç e vil., dist. of Gerilova, today unknown
Ç e k a n d i n vil., dist. of Rousse, today Lilyak
Ç e l o p e k (Ç e l u b e g) v il., dist. of Vratza
Ç e n g a n o v a vil., today Pravda, dist. of Lowech
Ç e p i n ç e vil., dist. of Pleven, today unknown
Ç e r a n i ç e vil., dist. of Varna, today Cherencha
Ç e r a ş o v i ç e vil., dist. of Shumen, today unknown
Ç e r e p ç e vil., dist. of Kievo, today unknown
Ç e r k o v i n e (K ö l e n e) vil., dist. of Vratza, today Boyka
Ç e r n o v i n f s today distr. of Rousse, Cherven
Ç i b r i n f s . vil., dist. of Montana, today Gorni Tzibar
Ç i r k o v i n e vil., dist. of Rousse, today Çerkovna
Ç i r o f ç e vil., dist. of Rousse, today Tzerovetz
Ç i r o - V o d a mz., dist. of Rousse, today vil., Chervena Voda
Ç i r u ş t i ç e vil., dist. of Lowech, today unknown
Ç o b a n Y u r d u vil., dist. of Varna, today Ovcharovo (Ç o b a n Dere)
Ç o ç o v y a n i vil., dist. of Lofça, today unknown
Ç o t r e (Y e n i c e) vil., dist. of Burgas, today Chotirya

D

D e b e l e c e v a vil., dist. of Lowech, today Debelchovo
D e b e l i ç vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today Debeletz
D e b n e v a vil., dist. of Lowech, today Debnevo
D e r e K ö y vil., dist. of Rousse, today Golyamo Dolyane
D e r z i M u s a mz., dist. of Krapetz, today unknown
D e v l e t h a n vil., dist. of Sumen, today unknown
D i m ç a vil., dist. of Lowech
D ı r a r m i n e vil., dist. of Çerven, today unknown
D i r m a n ç e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Dermantzi
D o b r e v ç e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Dobrevtzi
D o b r i k a vil., dist. of Gerilovo, today unknown
D o b r i n d o l vil,. dist. of Tırnovo
D o b r o d o l ç e vil., dist. of İvraca, today unknown
D o l n e B e ş o v i ç e vil., dist. of Montana, today Dolne Beshovicha
D o l n e G e r i l ç e vil., dist. of Targovishte, today Prolaz
D o l n e K r a y i ş t e vil., dist. of İvraca, today unknown
D o l n e K r e m e n e vil., dist. of Montana
D o l n i P i l e v n e vil., dist. of Pleven, today Dolni Pilevne
D r a g a n o f ç e vil., dist. of Gerilova, today unknown
D r a g o d a n vil., dist. of Burgas, today Daragodanovo
D r y a n vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
D u r s u n O b a s ı vil., dist. of Çernovi, today unknown
D u ş a n ç e vil., dist. of Sofia, today Dushanchi
D u ş e v a vil., dist. of Lowech, today Dushevo

F

E f l â k - ı B ü z ü r g vil., dist. of Montana, today Tzarevetz
E l e n a vil., dist. of Tırnovo
E m i r D o ğ a n mz., dist. of Gerilovo, today unknown
E s k i İ s t a n b u l l u k vil., dist. of Shoumen, today Veliki Preslav

G

G a b r o v a vil., dist. of Tırnovo
G a b r o v o O r e ş a n i vil., dist. of Lowech, today Oreshene
G a g o v a vil., dist. of Rousse, today Gagovo
G a l i ç e vil., dist. of Çernovi, today unknown
G e r g y o v i ç e vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
G e r i l o v o nefs, dist. of Veliki Preslav, today Varbitza.
G i r a n vil., dist. of Lowech, today Gigen
G i r a n vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
G l a v i ç a n i vil., dist. of Kievo, today unknown
G l o j a n vil., dist. of Lowech, today Glojene
G l u ş n i k vil., dist. of Burgas
G o r n a K r e n e m e vil., dist. of Montana
G o r n e B e ş o v i ç e vil., dist. of Montana, today Gorna Beshowicha

G o r n e K o s o v a vil., dist. of Lowech, today Gorsko Kosovo
G o r n e K r a y i ş t e vil., dist. of İvraca, today unknown
G o r n e L i p n i ç e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Gorna Lipnicha
G o r n e P e ş t e n e (P e ş t e) vil., dist. of Montana, today Gorno or Dolno Pehste
G o r n e v e D o l n e Ç u m n i ç e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Yablanitza
G o s t i n a vil., dist. of Lowech
G o v e j d o l vil., dist. of Kievo, today unknown
G r a d i ş t e vil, dist. of Tırnovo, today Gorsko Kosovo,
G r a d i ş t e vil., dist. of Varna, today Gradishe
G r o m ş i n vil., dist. of Montana
G ü l y a n vil., dist., of Lowech, today Gulyanchi

H

H a m z a F a k i h mz., dist. of Krapiç, today unknown
H a v l ı K ö y vil., dist. of Burgas, today Asenovetz
H a y m a k mz., dist. of Krapiç, today unknown
H a y r e d d i n m z . dist. of Montana today vil.
H i s a r B e y i mz., near Hotalich dist. of Tırnovo, today unknown
H ı s e n e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Asen
H o c a Ö m e r vil., dist. of Lowech, today Burya
H o t a l i c vil., near Hoca Ömer, dist. of Tırnovo today unknown
H ü s e y i n mz., near Kuşlu Viranı, dist. of Tırnovo today unknown
H ü s e y i n F a k i h mz., dist. of Sumen, today unknown
H u y u v y a n vil., dist. of Montana, today Huybanene

İ

İ b r i vil., dist. of Kievo, today unknown
İ s l a t i n a vil., dist. of Lowech, today Slatina
İ s l a t i n e vil., dist. of Montana, today Byala Slatina
İ s l a t i n e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Slatina
İ s l i v y a k vil., dist. of Lowech, today Slivek
İ s m ı r d e ş n i ç e vil., dist. of Lowech,today Borislav
İ s m o ç k o vil., dist. of Sofia, today Smochko
İ s m o l o v a vil., dist. of Gerilova, today unknown
İ s t a n ç o v D o l vil., dist. of Nikopol, today unknown
İ s t a r o s i l vil., dist. of Montana, today Staro Selo
İ s t i j a r o v a vil., dist. of Lowech, today Stejorovo
İ s t r a j a vil., dist. of Rousse, today Straja
İ s t r a j i ç e vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today Strajitza
İ s t r u p ç e vil., dist. of Montana, today Strupetz
İ s v i d n e mz., dist. of Kievo, today unknown
İ v r a c a nefs, dist., of Rousse today Cherven,
İ z l a t o v a mz., dist. of Varna, today Zlatar
İ z v e r i n e vil., dist. of Montana, today Zverino,
İ z v o r vil., dist. of Pleven, today unknown
İ z v o r vil., dist. of Lowech, today Balgarski Izvor

İ z v o r - i G r a d i ş t e n e vil., dist. of Montana, today Gradeshnitza

J

J i r o v i n e vil., dist. of Burgas, today Jeravna

K

K a ç i l e v a vil., dist. of Rousse, today Kachelovo
K a l a n i ç e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Kalenik
K a l i n vil., dist. of Montana, today Kalen
K a l ı n ç e mz., dist., of Shumen, today vil., Kalinovo Varneska
K a l o t e n mz., dist. of Lowech, today in the vil. Agatovo
K a l o t i n ç e vil. Kaltinech in Oryahovicha dist. of Lowech
K a l o y a n - d o l vil., dist. of Burgas today Kaloyanovo
K a l u g e r mz., near vil. Marash Oglu dist. of Varna, today vil., Marash,
K a l u g e r e v o vil., dist. of Lowech, today Gorsko Kalugerevo
K a l u g e r i ç e - i P a v l i k a n vil., dist. of Lowech, today GornoPavlikeni
K a l u g e r o v a vil., near Plujna distr. of Lowech, today Gorsko Kalugerovo
K a m e n o P o l i (Gorna and Dolna) vil., dist. of Montana, today Kameno Pole
K a p i n o v a vil., dist. of Lowech, today Kapinovo
K a r a A ğ a ç (S ü l e y m a n D e r e s i) mz., dist. of Pleven today unknown
K a r a H a n mz., in dist., of (Krapiç) Sumen, today unknown
K a r a c a N a s u h mz., dist., of Sumen, today unknown
K a r a c a o ğ l a n vil., dist., of Sumen, today unknown
K a r i v d o l vil., dist. of Montana, today Krovodol
K a r l ı O b a s ı vil., today Karlievo, dist. of Pirdop
K a t u n i ç e vil., dist., of İzladi, today unknown
K a t u n i ç e vil., dist., of Lowech, today Katunetz
K a t u n i ş t e vil., dist. of Erkeç, today unknown
K a y a P ı n a r ı vil., dist., of Tırnovo, today unknown
K a z a n P ı n a r ı vil., dist. of Burgas, today Kotel
K e y a m e n ç e vil., dist., of Tırnovo, today unknown
K i l i f a r vil., dist. of Lowech, today Kilifarevo
K i r i v a D o l vil., dist., of Montana, today Krivvodol
K ı r n a v a B ı r d e vil., dist., of Montana, today Kurnovo
K ı r p a ç vil., dist., of Montana, today Krapech
K l ü ç o v i ç e vil., dist., of Tırnovo, today unknown
K o ç o v a vil., dist., of Çernovi, today unknown
K o l a n l a r vil., dist., of Sofia, today Chavdar
K ö l e n e vil., dist., of Kolena, today Kolena
K o l o k o ç vil., dist., of Rousse today vil., in Gagovo
K o m a r i O b a s ı vil., dist., of Sofia, today Dolno Komarchi
K o m a r o f ç e vil., dist., of Çernovi, today unknown
K o m n e n i vil., dist., of S h u m e n , today unknown
K o r u m e n i ç k o vil., dist., of Lowech, today Kormyansko
K o r u m i n e vil., dist., of Sumen, today unknown

K ö s e M u s t a f a	mz., dist., of Sumen, today unknown
K o s i v a	vil., dist., of Varna, today Kosovo
K o ş o v a	vil., dist., of Rousse, today Koshov
K o s t i l e v a	vil., dist., of Montana, today Kostilevo
K o v a ç Y u n u s	mz., dist., of Erkeç, today unknown
K o v a ç e v i ç e	vil., dist., of Rousse, today Kovachevech
K o v a n o v a	vil., dist. of Vratza, today Krayovo
K o z n i ç e	vil., in dist. of Lowech
K r a ç a n	m z . , today unknown
K r a m o l i n	vil., dist., of Lowech
K r a s e n e	vil., dist., of Rousse, today Krasen
K r a v d e l	vil., dist. of V r a t z a , today Kravoder
K r a y i ş t e	vil., dist., of Lowech, today Polikrayishte
K r i v i n e	vil., dist. of Vratza, today Kriva,
K r u ş o v i ç e	vil., dist., of Montana, today Krshovichi
K u ç i n o v a	vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today Kutzina
K ü ç ü k İ c i k	vil., dist., of Varna, today Basil Drumev
K u l k a l O b a s ı	mz., dist., of Krapiç, today unknown
K u r ş u n a N e f s	vil., dist., of Lowech

L

L e d e n i k	vil., dist., of Lowech
L e f ç e v a	vil., dist., of Montana, today Lehchevo
L e s k i y e	vil., dist., of Lofça, today unknown
L e ş n i ç e	vil., dist., of Lowech, today Leshnitsa
L e ş n i ç e (P o m a ş k a L e ş n i ç a)	vil., dist., of Lowech, today Kiechevo
L e t n i ç e	vil., dis. of Sofia, today Lipnicha
L e t n i ç e	vil., dist., of Lowech, today Letintsa
L i j a n i	vil., dis. of Lowech, today Lajene,
L ı j o f ç e	vil., dist., of Shumen, today unknown
L i k (L ı k a)	vil., dist., of Montana, today Lik
L i p e n e	vil., dist., of Montana, today Lipen
L i p n i ç e	vil., dist., of Sofia, today Lipnitsa
L i s i c e	vil., dist., of Lowech, today Lisets
L i s i n ç e	vil., dist., of Lofça, today unknown
L i t n i ç e	vil., dist., of Lowech, today Letnitsa
L o f ç a N e f s	today Lowech
L ü t D o l	vil., dis. of Montana, today Lyutidol
L ü t ü k o v a	vil., dist., of Sofia, today Litakova

M

M a l g r i d	vil., dist., of Lowech, today unknown
M a n o y l i ç e	vil., dist., of Shumen, today unknown

M a r k o v a	vil., dist., of Varna, today Markovo
M a r u t e n i	vil., dist., of Rousse, today Marten
M a ş o l i ç e	vil., dist., of Mramornitza, today unknown
M e ç k a	mz.,., dist., of Rousse, today vil.
M e d v e n e	vil., dist., of Burgas, today Medven
M e h m e d l e r	vil., dist., of Lofça, today unknown
M e k i ş	vil., dist. of Lowech, today in Obedineniye
M e ş k o f ç e	vil., dist., of Lofça, today unknown
M i r k o v a	vil., dist. of Sofia, today in Mirkovo
M o r a v i ç e	vil., dist. of Montana, today Moravitza

N

N a h i r	vil., dist., of Lofça, today unknown
N e d a n	today vil., dist., of Lofça,
N o v a ç a n i	vil., dist., of Sofia, today Novochene,
N o v a s i l	vil., dist., of Lowech, today Novo Selo
N o v a s i l	vil., dist., of Varna, today Novosel,
N o v a s i l	vil., dist., of Burgas, today Novoselo
N o v o ç a n i	vil., dist., of Sofia, today Novachene

O

O p a k a	vil., dist., of Rousse
O r a ş n i c e	vil., dist., of Sumen, today unknown
O r e ş a n - i P a v l i k a n	vil., dist., of Lowech, today, Oresh
O s l e n	vil., dist., of Montana, today Oslen Krivodol
O s m a r	vil., dist., of Varna
O s t r i ç e	vil., dist., of Lowech, today Ostrets

P

P a p a l i n a	vil., dist., of Rousse, today Pepelina
P a ş a Y i ğ i t	mz., dist. of Sumen, near Proslav today unknown
P a t l e y n a	vil, dist. of İvraca, today unknown
P a v o l ç e	today vil., dist. of Montana
P e ş t e	vil., dist. of Montana, today Gorno or Dolno Peshene
P e ş t e r e	vil.,dist. of Lowech today Peshtera
P e ş t e r n a	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Pesherna
P e t r i ş t e	vil., dist. of Sofia, today Petrich
P i d r e P o l i	vil., dist. of Sofia, today Etropole
P l a n i n e	vil., dist., of Kievo, today unknown
P o l i k r a y i ş t e	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Polikraishte
P o r o d i m	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Pordim
P r a m a l i ç e	vil., dist. of Rousse, today Palamaritza
P r a v i ç e	vil., dist. of Sofia, today Pravetz
P r e s e k a	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Priseka
P r e z p o l	vil., dist., of Tırnovo, today unknown
P r o s l a v	vil., near Paşa Yiğit dist. of Kievo, today unknown
P r o t o p o p i n ç e	vil., dist. of Sofia, today Pirdop
P u d r i y a	vil., dist. of Montana

Puşeva	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Pushevo

R

Radovan	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Radovene
Radovyan	vil., dist. Montana, today Radovene
Rahova	nefs, today town of Oryahovo
Rahoviçe	vil., dist. of Haskovo, today Oryahovitsa
Raklum	mz., dist., of Krapiç, today unknown
Raşkova	vil., dist. of Sofia, today Rashkovo
Rasuhad	vil., dist., of Krapiç, today unknown
Ravna	vil., dist. of Varna
Ravna-i Diğer	vil., dist. of Varna, today Ravna
Razboyna	vil., in dist. of Rousse
Razmirniçe	vil., dist., of Kievo, today unknown
Resene	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Resen
Resuller	mz., dist. of Lowech, today unknown
Roman	vil., dist. of Vratza
Ruzbrod	vil., dist., of Çernovi, today unknown

Ş

Salinçe	vil., dist., of İvraca, today unknown
Saru Ali	mz., dist., of Krapiç, today unknown
Sedlarova	vil., dist., of Burgas, today Sedlarovo
Seliçe	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Selitse
Selinçe	vil., dist., of Tırnovo, today unknown
Senadinova	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Sanadinovoin
Sirakoviçe	vil., dist., of İvraca, today unknown
Sirbiye	vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today Malki Varshetz
Siredne Kraişte	vil., dist., of İvraca, today unknown
Suha Meçka	vil., dist., of Nikopol, today unknown
Süleyman	vil., dist., of Tırnovo, today unknown
Sumen	nefs, town of Shoumen
Şahinci	mz., dist., of Kurşuna, today unknown
Şahinci	vil., dist. of Burgas, today Dibovitsa
Şirgute	vil., dist. of Lofça, today unknown
Şirmerd	vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today Sheremetya
Şiroko Brod	vil., dist. of Rousse, today Shirokovo
Sopot	vil., dist., of Lowech, today Sopot

T

Tahir Fakih	mz., dist., of Tırnovo, today unknown
Tarakan	vil., dist., of İzladi, today unknown
Tatkova	vil., dist. of Rousse, today Tetovo
Tatovyan	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Teteven
Telej-i Pavlikân	vil., dist. of Pleven, today Telish
Tença	vil., dist. of Lowech, today Obedineniye
Tepava	vil., today in dist. of Lowech

T e r k e b o l u vil., dist. of Burgas,today Trapoklovo
T i p ç a n i ç e vil., dist. of Montana, today Tipchenitsa
T ı r a n b e ş vil., dist. of Tırnovo, today Polski Tranbesh
T ı r n o f ç e vil., dist. of Rousse, today T'rnovitsa
T ı r n o v o n e f s today Veliko Tirnovo
T o p i l i ş t a vil., dist. of Lowech, today Topilisha
T o r o s vil., dist. of Lowech, today Lazar Stanevo,
T r ı n ç e v i ç e - i B u l g a r v e P a v l i k â n vil., dist. of Lowech today Tpinchovitsa,

U

U g ı r ç i n vil., dist. of Lowech

V

V a r d u n vil., dist. of Rousse
V a r d u n mz., dist., of Çernovi, today unknown
V e t r e P o l i vil., dist., of İslimiye, today unknown
V i b e l v i l . , dist. of Rousse today Targovishte
V i d r a r vil., dist. of Sofia Vidrare
V ı l ç i t r ı n vil., dist. of Lowech
V ı r a b e ş n i ç e vil., dist. of Montana, today Virbeshnitsa
V i r b i ç e vil., dist. of Lowech, today Vırbitsa
V ı r b o v a V l a d mz, dist. of Krapiç today unknown
V o d i ç e vil., dist. of Rousse, today Voditsa
V o d o b r a n vil., dist., of Kurşuna, today unknown
V r a ç e ş vil., in dist. of Sofia

Y

Y a m n a vil., dist. of Rousse, today Peselets,
Yergögi nefs, today town of Gjurgu in Romania
Yukleş vil., dist. of Lowech, today Pushevo