

DANUBIAN BORDER IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16th CENTURY:
REVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION, TRADITION AND
CONTINUATION ON THE EVE OF A NEW ERA

A Ph.D. Dissertation

By

NURAY OCAKLI

Department of History
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
July 2013

TO BERKE AND SAIT

DANUBIAN BORDER IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16th
CENTURY: REVOLUTION ANF TRANSFORMATION, TRADITION
AND CONTINUATION ON THE EVE OF A NEW ERA

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

By

NURAY OCAKLI

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

in

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

July 2013

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 Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Prof. Dr. Halil İnalçık
Supervisor

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 Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Evgeny Radushev
Examining Committee Member

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 Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyitdanlı
Examining Committee Member

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 Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç
Examining Committee Member

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 Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Nur Bilge Criss
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economic and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT
DANUBIAN BORDER IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16th CENTURY:
REVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION, TRADITION AND CONTINUATION
ON THE EVE OF A NEW ERA

Ocaklı, Nuray
Ph.D., Department of History
Supervisor: Prof.Dr. Halil İnalçık
July 2013

This study focuses on pre-Ottoman Turkic presence and their remainings as the first phase of the Turkic presence and examines how the Ottomans adapted, re-organized and re-structured the existing military organizations, distribution of population and settlement system against the changing priorities and military concerns of the central authority during the 15th and 16th century as the second phase of the Turkish presence in the Danubian frontier. As the turning point on the eve of a new era, this study examines reactions of pre-Ottoman military aristocracy most of whom were Christian former nobles excluded from the timar system. Their rebellious attapt broken out at the end of the 16th century was supported by the anti-Ottoman alliences formed on the north of Danube as a continuation of the rebellious tradition of the region. The resulting picture of the Danubian frontier in the 15th and 16th century reveals the tradition and continuation, revolution and transformation in the Nigbolu Sandjak during the period from the post conquest era to the end of the 16th century, on the eve of a new era.

Key words: Nigbolu, Rumelia, Danube, Frontier, Cuman, Nomads, Voynuks, Tirnova.

ÖZET
16.YY'IN İKİNCİ YARISINDA TUNA SINIRI: YENİ BİR DÖNEMİN ARİFESİNDE
DEĞİŞİM VE DÖNÜŞÜM, GELENEKSELLİK VE DEVAMLILIK
Ocaklı, Nuray
Doktora, Tarih Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof.Dr. Halil İnalçık
Temmuz 2013

Bu çalışma öncelikle bölgedeki Türk varlığının ilk safhası olarak Osmanlı öncesi Türk yerleşimcilerine ve bunun Osmanlı dönemindeki izlerine odaklanmakta ve Tuna sınırındaki Türk varlığının ikinci safhası olarak Osmanlılar'ın 15.yy ve 16.yy boyunca bölgedeki askeri düzeni, nüfus yapısını ve yerleşim sistemini nasıl yeniden yapılandırıldığını ve kendi sistemine uyarladığını incelemektedir. Bu çalışma 16.yy'ın sonunda, Bulgar Devleti'nin ve feodal aristokrasinin merkezi olan Tırnova bölgesinde, isyancı geleneğin bir devamı olarak, askeri sınıfın dışında bırakılmış Hıristiyan boyar ailelerinin ve ruhban sınıfının ileri gelenlerinin merkezi otorite karşısında gösterdikleri tepkileri değerlendirmektedir. Tuna serhaddinin bu analizler sonunda çizilen resmi yeni bir dönemin arifesinde Niğbolu Sancağı'nda gelenek ve devamlılığın, köklü değişimlerin ve dönüşümlerin nasıl yan yana var olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Niğbolu, Rumeli, Tuna, Sınır, Kuman, Yörük, Voynuklar, Tırnova.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS.....	ix
CHAPTER 1:	
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Measurement of Demographic Data	7
1.2 Niğbolu as the Gate of Danubian Frontier Region.....	10
1.3 Geography, Climate and Nomadis.....	11
1.4 Conquest of Nigbolu	13
1.5 Ottoman Rule in the Nigbolu Sandjak.....	15
1.5.1 Timars and Timariots.....	15
1.5.2 Native Christians: Migrations, Deportations, Population.....	17
1.5.3 Bogomils in Ottoman.....	20
1.6 Town and Village System in the Ottoman Nigbolu.....	22
1.7 Ottoman Social, Economic and Military System in the Sandjak.....	24
1.8 Scope and Focuses of the Study.....	27
CHAPTER 2: ANATOLIAN IMMIGRANT PROFILE AND CHANGING SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF 15TH CENTURY OTTOMAN NIGBOLU.....	31
2.1. Population Pressure in Anatolia and Depopulation of the Old Settlements in The Danubian Region.....	31
2.2. Motives of the Central authority to Transplant Population from Anatolia: Revival of Old Villages and Re-populating the Empty Lands.....	34
2.3. Deportation and Volunteer Immigration from Anatolia.....	37
2.4. Motivations of Sufi Orders.....	40
2.5. Cities and Big Towns: Demography and Settlers.....	47
2.6. Settlement patterns of Anatolian Immigrants in the 15th Century.....	50
2.6.1 Where had been Populated	50
2.6.2 Re-population of Abandoned Old Settlements and New Muslim Villages: Villages, Mezraas, Yenices and Anatolian Nomads.....	53

2.6.3	Onomastics of Double named villages and Mezraas.....	61
2.6.4	Profile of Anatolian Immigrants in Rural areas of the Nigbolu Sandjak in the 15 th Century.....	64
2.7	Conclusions.....	67
CHAPTER 3: CHANGING SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND IMMIGRANT PROFILE OF NIGBOLUSANDJAK: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE ON THE EVE OF A NEW ERA.....		72
3.1	Continuity and Change in the Ottoman Nigbolu During the 16 th Century.....	74
3.2	A New Era in the first Half of the 16 th Century.....	79
3.2.1	Changing Profile of Urban and Rural Settlements.....	79
3.2.2	Changing Nomad Identity and Its Implications in Names of Villages and Cemaats.....	84
3.2.3	A New Settlement Pattern in the 16th Century	94
3.2.4	Codifying the New Settlement Movement of the Muslim Anatolians: Kanunnames of the Nigbolu Sandjak.....	97
3.2.5	New Nomad Villages: Founders, Village Names, and Settlers.....	101
3.3	Religious Orders and Their Roles in the New Settlement Movement in the 16 th Century.....	107
3.4	Changing Nomad Identity and Its Implications in Names of Villages and Cemaats.....	113
3.5	Conclusions.....	115
CHAPTER 4: FOOTSTEPS OF PRE-OTTOMAN TURKIC SETTLERS IN BULGARIA.....		120
4.1	Pre-Ottoman Turkish Presence in the Danubian Border.....	125
4.2	Pre-Ottoman Turkic People in Bulgaria as Ruling Class, Settlers and Ethno- Cultural Entity.....	144
4.3	Warriors of the Steppe region in North-eastern Balkans as a part of pre-Ottoman Military Elite.....	148
4.4	Pre-Ottoman Turkic Settlers in Nigbolu Sandjak: Turkic People as Christian Peasants and Soldiers in the mid-16th Century Ottoman Tax Register.....	153
4.5	Turkic Christian Warriors in the Early 16th century Registers of Bulgarian Voynuk.....	161
4.6	Conclusions.....	168

CHAPTER 5: TIRNOVA UPRISING: THE FIRST NATIONAL UPRISING IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS OR AN ATTEPT THAT COULD NOT BE ACCOMPLISHED	171
5.1 Continuity and Change in the Tirnovi Region: From Center of Second Bulgarian Kingdom to a Military Center of the Danubian Border	178
5.2 Tirnova in the Early 16th Century.....	180
5.2.1 Urban and Rural Settlements.....	185
5.2.2 Pre-Ottoman Military Nobility in the Region	190
5.3 The Ottomans' War with Wallachia and Tirnova Uprising.....	194
5.4 Conclusions.....	197
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS.....	202
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	216

LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS

Table 1.1 Government Officials Holding Timar in the late 15th Century.....	17
Table 2.1 Wakf Villages in the Earliest Registers of Nigbolu Sandjak.....	37
Table 2.2 Sufi Colonizers in the 15th Century Nigbolu Registers.....	46
Graph 2.1 Population of Big Towns in the late 15th Century.....	49
Table 2.3 Muslim Villages in Nigbolu Sandjak in the Last Quarter of the 15th century.....	51
Table 2.4 Populated Christian Villages in the last Quarter of the 15th Century.....	52
Table 2.5 Examples of Mezraas in Nigbolu Sandjak in the Late 15th Century.....	55
Table 2.6 Examples of Villages in Nigbolu Sandjak in the Late 15th Century.....	57
Table 2.7 Examples of Mezraas to be Populated in the Nigbolu Sandjak in the late 15th century.....	59
Table 2.8 Double named Villages in the 15th Century Nigbolu Register: Two Slavic Names.....	62
Table 2.9 Double Named Villages in the 15th century Nigbolu Registers: Turkish and Slavic Names.....	63
Table 2.10 Nomad Households in the last Quarter of the 15th Century.....	65
Table 2.11 Anatolian Nomad Groups in the 15th Century Nigbolu Registers.....	66
Map 1 Pre-Ottoman Settlements of Nigbolu Region.....	70
Map 2 Old, Repopulated and Newly Founded Villages in the Nigbolu Sandjak in the Last Quarter of the 15 th Century.....	71
Table 3.1 Examples of Mixed Villages in the 16th Century Nigbolu Sandjak.....	74
Table 3.2 Demographic Changes in the Nigbolu Sandjak: From 15th to 16th Century.....	75

Table 3.3 Voynuks in The 15th and 16th Century Nigbolu Registers.....	76
Graph 3.1 Population of Old Settlements in the mid-16 th Century.....	77
Table 3.4 Changing Population and Status of Some Mezraas	78
Graph 3.2 Population of Urban Centers in Nigbolu Sandjak: From 15th to 16th Century.....	82
Table 3.5 Number of Ocaks in the Nigbolu Sandjak in the Mid-16 th Century.....	87
Table 3.6 Timar Holders in the 15 th and 16 th Century.....	89
Table 3.7 Typical Nomad Villages and Their Specializations in the mid-16th Century.....	91
Table 3.8 In the mid-16th Century Nomads and Animal Husbandry in Pastures of Villages.....	92
Table 3.9 Family Size in Yörük Villages in the Mid-16th Century.....	93
Table 3.10 Nomadic Obas and Divided Villages: From late 15th to mid-16th Century.....	96
Graph 3.3 Category I: Population of Old Villages in the mid-16 th Century.....	102
Graph 3.4 Category 2: Population of Muslim Settlements in the 1490- 1556 Period	104
Graph 3.5 Category 3: Haric-ez Defter Villages in the 1556 Survey.....	107
Table 3.12 Zaviyes in the Central and North-Eastern Regions of the Nigbolu Sandjak in the mid-16 th Century.....	111
Table 3.13 Descendents of Sheikh Seyyid Timurhan.....	112
Table 3.14 Examples of Newly Founded (Haric-ez defter) Villages in the Nigbolu Sandjak.....	119
Table 4.1 Cuman Names in Christian Districts of Nigbolu in the mid 16th Century.....	155
Table 4.2 Villages of Pre-Ottoman Turkic Settlers in Hezargrad, Şumnu and Çernovi.....	159
Graph 4.1 Muslim and Christian Population in the Old Cuman Settlements in the mid-16 th Century.....	160
Table 4.3 Turkic Names in the Early 16 th Century Voynuk Registers of Bulgaria.....	166
Table 4.4 Examples of Turkic Names in Nigbolu.....	167
Table 5.1 Tirnovi in the Early 16 th Century.....	181
Graph 5.1 Nefs-I Tirnovi	187
Graph 5.2 Christian Villages of Tirnovi	188
Table 5.2 Muslim Villages in Tirnovi in the Early 16 th Century.....	189
Graph 5.3 Muslim Villages in Tirnovi.....	190
Map 3 Settlements of Tirnovi Region in the Early 16 th Century	201

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Danube was a natural border between nomadic world of the north and settled empires since the Roman times. North-eastern Bulgaria had been a passage from Anatolia and Kipchak Steppes to Europe where climate and geography were appropriate for nomadic way of life. 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, linguistic and administrative effects of the pre-Ottoman Turkic settlers were clearly seen in Ottoman registers, various achieve sources and

chronicles. Especially plains of north-eastern Bulgaria are a natural extension of the steppe region and even in the Ottoman era, nomadic way of life, strong tribal ties and strategic location on the Danubian border was the main characteristics of the Nigbolu Sandjak.

History of the region until the Ottoman conquest is a part of Byzantine history of invasions and uprisings on the Danubian border stated in the Byzantine chronicles and travel accounts but after the Ottoman conquest, very detailed cadastral surveys were made and there are the primary archival sources of demographic, social, religious, economic, financial, administrative and political history of the region and these surveys dated to 15th and 16th century are kept in Ottoman Archives in Istanbul and Sofia. A *tahrir defteri*, in other words “tax-survey” or “tax register” is a general survey of taxable economic and financial sources generally made either when a new sultan ascended the throne or after a new conquest. These surveys compiling to serve the military and administrative system of the empire are rich and valuable sources of information of a specific geographical area.¹ The earliest Ottoman tax survey was transcribed and published by Halil İnalçık with a detailed introduction about the important archival sources in 1950s. Ömer Lütfi Barkan is the other important scholar who examined tahrir registers and his articles published in Turkish and

¹ See: İnalçık Halil ,Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954), XXI-XXXVI; on usage of tahrir defters as historical sources see, Halil İnalçık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest”, *Studia Islamica* 3 (1954): 103-129.

European languages.² In the 1990s, Mehmet Öz, Heath Lowry, Kemal Çiçek published articles underlining methodological problems in using the tahrir defters as a source of historical databases.³

Although there are some Byzantine practices (detailed population and tax statistics) for the other regions of the Balkans, the earliest archival sources of the Niğbolu are the two Ottoman Niğbolu icmâls (summary of a detailed registers) kept in Sofia Archive.⁴ These two *icmal* registers dated to the last quarter of the 15th century, circa 90 years after the conquest, give information about names of timariots, number of soldiers that these timariots had to train, tax revenues, names of villages and mezraas that the timariots holding, the number of Muslim, Christian, yörük and other settlers of these villages, their privileges and tax- exemptions. Also, there are some der-kenars explaining if there were any change in the timars, villages and statuses of the peasants. In this period, formation of Ottoman social, military and

² See, Barkan, Ömer Lütfi “Tarihî demografi arařtırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi.” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10 (1951-1953): 1-26; “Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys”, *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, Michael A. Cook (ed.), (London, 1970), 163-171; “Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l’Empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles”, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1/1 (1957): 9-36; “Quelques remarques sur la constitution sociale et demographique des villes balkaniques au cours des XVe et XVIe siècles”, *Istanbul à la jonction des cultures balkaniques, méditerranéennes, slaves et orientales, aux XVIe-XIXe siècles* (Bucarest, 1977), 279-301; Barkan Ö.,L., 1988. *Hudavendigâar Livasi Tahrir Deftei I*, Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.

³ See Öz Mehmet, “Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Tarihi Arařtırmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler”, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 12 (1991): 429-439; Lowry, Heath W., “The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations”, in Lowry Heath W., *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1992), 3-18; Kemal Çiçek, “Osmanlı Tahrir Defterlerinin Kullanımında Görülen bazı Problemler ve Metod Arayışları”, *Türk Dünya Arařtırmaları* 97 (1995): 93-111;

⁴ Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoious”, Or. Abt., Signature OAK., 45/ 29; Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoious”, Or., Abt.,Signature Hk., 12/9

financial system in the region had still been in process and these surveys were the most important financial documents to be aware of all taxable resources, timar lands and idle economic resources to internalize them in the Ottoman system. For this reason comparison of these earliest icmâls indicate continuation of the former system and changes introduced by the Ottomans during the first century of the conquest.

The earliest survey is dated to 1479 consists of 60 pages with missing *kanunname* part at the first pages and the *wakf* registers at the end pages. For this reason, *kanunnames* and *wakf* registers of the 16th century Nigbolu tax-surveys are the complementary archival materials for the study. The 1479 register is a *icmal* register that was basically kept to register the names of *timariots*, the villages in each *timar* and the tax revenue of the *timariots*. There is 19 *zeamets* and 220 *timars* were in the register. In this survey, a vast majority of the village are double named as Greek and Slavic named or Slavic and Turkish named. In the 16th century surveys, Turkish name or Slavic name becomes the only name in the registers of double named villages in the defters and for this reason these earliest register is crucially important for the pre-Ottoman history of the region. The second register is not dated but this *tahrir* is most probably made in the last two decades of the 15th century. The paper of the register and its writing style indicate that the survey was registered in the 15th century. There are very much common information such as demographic data and names timariots and amount of tax revenues with the 1479 register. The second register is an *icmâl* register with missing parts at the beginning and the end of the

defter as well. All these indicate that date of the *tahrir* is most probably 1480s. For this reason, while we are examining the second register, we assume the date of the *tahrir* as 1483. There were almost a hundred *timar* were registered in the survey and 10 of them were *zeamet*.

This study examines land and military surveys of the 16th to analyse the second stage of the Ottoman rule in the Nigbolu Sandjak. Two mufassal registers, TD382 Nigbolu Mufassal Defteri (1556) and MAD 11 Nigbolu Livasi Mufassal Defteri (1516) are the detailed surveys and the two *voynuk* surveys, TD81 defter-i voynugan sene 929 (1522-23) and TD151 defter-i voynugan sene 935 (1528-29), are military surveys used in this study comparably. This study examines Çernovi, Hezargrad and Şumnu regions among the *kazas* of the Nigbolu Sandjak registered in the TD382 mufassal register. There are 70 *hassa*, 18 *zeamets* and 159 *timars* are registered in the TD382 mufassal register of the Nigbolu Sandjak. This survey indicates that there were many changes in status of villages. There were 17 new *hassa* lands (*hassa-I cedid*), many new *derbend* villages among the 32 *derben* villages, 71 new villages (*haric-ez defter*), which indicate a new era and a different re-structuring policy on the Danubian region. On the other hand, pre-Ottoman lesser military nobility adapted to the Ottoman provincial army, their *fief* lands, their organizations and even their uniforms had been the same since the pre-Ottoman times.⁵ *Voynuk* and *toviçe* settlers in many towns, new and old villages, *timar* holder *voynuks* and *toviçes* were registered in the survey, among which many pre-Islam Turkish names

⁵ Ahmet Refik. 1989. *Türk İdaresinde Bulgaristan 973-1255*. İstanbul: Enderun Kitapevi, 23.

indicate Turkic members of these organization of Christian soldiers. Also pre-Islamic Turkish names registered in Christian villages and Christian districts of the urban settlements are good examples for the pre-Ottoman Turkic settlers of the region. The mid-16th century detailed register of the region is a valuable source onomastic, demographic, military, social and religious history of the Danubian border. The other *defters* of the Nigbolu Sandjak are MAD 11 Nigbolu Livasi Mufassal Defteri (1516) and the two voynuk surveys, TD81 defter-i voynugan sene 929 (1522-23) and TD151 defter-i voynugan sene 935 (1528-29) and these sources are the main archival documents of the pre-Ottoman Bulgarian higher nobility, Christian soldiers adapted to the Ottoman army and their organizations. MAD11 is the earliest detailed register of Tirnovi region, which was the capital city and military center of the Bulgarian Kingdom and the voynuk defters TD81 and TD151 are the earliest surveys of the military organization consists of a valuable onomastic data base on the voynuks and a detailed register of their hereditary fief lands (*bashtinas*) that they were holding since the pre-Ottoman times. These mufassal and military surveys are the unique archival sources of this study in which a detailed and objective data on demography, institutions, ethnic and religious composition of both the former Bulgarian capital, Tirnovi, and the organization of Christian soldiers, *voynuks*. These early 16th century *defters* register descendents of the pre-Ottoman military nobility even with some family names and the Christian soldiers including many Turkic steppe warriors name by name.⁶ These primary sources consisted the backbone of this study and many other secondary sources discussed in detailed in the chapters

⁶ BOA, MAD 11, 922 (1516) Tarihli Nigbolu Livasi Mufassal Defteri.

helped this study to ask research questions and explores the answers or new directions to explain the transformation and continuation in the Danubian border in the post conquest era and the long period of war and struggle in the 16th century.

1.1. Measurement of Demographic Data

Population changes in the Nigbolu Sandjak during in the period, 1300-1600, mainly depended on natural conditions, infectious diseases, wars between Ottomans and the anti-Ottoman alliances of Christian states, and waves of mass migrations from Asia Minor. In the pre-industrial societies, expected life time hardly exceeded 35 years old and death rates, especially infant and child mortality, were higher than in the most of the poor regions of the world today. Sharp changes in death rates, sudden and devastating declines in population were common results of epidemics such as Black Death periodically threatened the city dweller of Europe and long and bitter winters, drought years and famine deeply affecting the geographical variations of death rate. Compare to the cities pre-empting whatever was available and obtainable, villages were probably more likely to suffer from bad natural conditions and poor harvest. Also, loss of agricultural labour force in military campaigns was one of the main reason behind sharp demographic changes. Significant loss of labour force, not only in terms of soldiers but also in terms of civil population, taking refuge of inhabitants in safer regions were unavoidable results of continuous wars and

destructions especially in frontier regions.. When such conditions of the pre-industrial times are considered, many fluctuations with regional upward and downward demographic shifts in population should be considered an integral part of the demographic history of the Danubian border.

When one would like to analyze demographic structure of the Ottoman lands, the related material in the 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.⁷ In order to determine the demographic structure and changing trends in different time periods, researchers used different approaches to examine these rough demographic data in these surveys. One of the approaches is “population multiplier”. In this method, a constant multiplier for a typical *hane* (household) is determined, which is an assumption made on the average family size for a period of time in a specific geographical area. For instance, in Europe, researches documented wide variations in the size of household among different geographical areas over time. 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 5,46.⁸ Barkan is one of the researchers who analyze Ottoman *tahrir* defters to determine the pattern of population increases in the sixteenth century.⁹ According to Barkan, the number of married individuals comprising an *avariz hanesi* might vary between 3 and 15.¹⁰

⁷ For the previous works and discussions on the Otoman demography see Erder (1975); Erder (1979); Cook (1972); İslamoğlu-İnan, (1987); İnalçık (1978); İnalçık (1986).

⁸ For more information see, Laslett (1971) and Freche (1971).

⁹ Barkan, (1970), pp. 168-169.

¹⁰ Barkan IA, “Avariz”, p.14.

Cook also made a study on three *livas* in Anatolia and used the hane multiplier as 4.5.¹¹ According to the other study estimating a *hane* multiplier made by Coale and Demeny, all multipliers estimated are confined to relatively narrow range varying between 3 and 4.¹²

When a *hane* multiplier is determined for Ottoman Niğbolu in 15th century, the gap between native Christian and immigrant Anatolian population should be the first determinant taking into consideration. Although Anatolian nomads, *yörüks*, were the most populous Muslim group on the sandjak and family size of these nomad household was the largest even among the other Muslim households in the region, A vast majority of the population in the sandjak was native Christians taking refuge in urban areas or temporarily living in a safer settlement other than their former villages. When the unstable political conditions, continuous wars, and displacements in the region during the pre-Ottoman period are taking into consideration, the household multiplier of the native Christians in the Niğbolu Sandjak 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 self-sufficient life style of Muslim Anatolian nomads depending on human resource to be maintained, hane multiplier for the Muslim population of the sandjak should be determined higher than 4. When cooler climate of the northern Bulgaria is considered, the household multiplier of a typical Muslim household should be lower than in

¹¹ Cook (1970).

¹² Shorter (1968): 14-16, cited by Erder (1975): 297.

Anatolia. For this reason while examining the population in the sandjak, the household multiplier is going to be as 4,5, which is an average value of family size for both Muslim-Turks and native Christians living in the sandjak.

1.2. Niğbolu as the Gate of Danubian Frontier Region

Since the reign of Bayezid I (1389-1402), Danube was the northern border of the Ottoman sovereignty in the Balkans and this imperial policy became a tradition for the successors of Bayezid I. In the reign of Murad I (1362-1389), the Ottoman Balkans became a separate military and administrative region under the rule of a *beylerbeyi*. Danubian frontier on the south bank of the river was a strategically important defence line of Ottoman Bulgaria. There were three frontier *sandjaks* in the region: Silistre, Niğbolu, and Vidin. In the pre-Ottoman period, fortresses were key defence points for invasions and attacks coming from the north. For this reason tax registers, especially the earliest ones reflect the pre-Ottoman military and administrative system of the border. As a rule, the Ottomans maintained pre-conquest administrative division of the newly conquered lands as well as former military and financial customs and traditions. For instance, after the conquest, The Ottomans incorporated the borders of the divided Second Bulgarian Kingdom and these lands were organized as separate sandjaks such as Shishman's kingdom as Niğbolu

Sandjak, Kingdom of Ivan Starcimir as Vidin Sandjak and independent Oguz State in Dobrudja incorporated with the south-eastern part of the Shishman's kingdom formed the Silistra Sandjak. Also Rusçuk (Russe) became an important city, a port, and one of the four castles of the Danubian defence line with Şumnu, Varna, and Silistre. Along the northern border, Rusçuk was the most important military defence point on the Danube in case of any attack that could threaten Edirne and the Ottoman Capital, Istanbul.

1.3. Geography, Climate and Nomadism

The lands of the Ottoman Empire from Persia to the Balkans were one of the five major geographic areas of the pastoral nomadism in the world. Danube was a natural border between nomadic world of the north and civilized empires since the Roman times and the invasions of nomadic tribes of the steppes did not stopped until the 13th century.¹³ Balkan region had been a passage between Anatolia and Kipchak Steppes¹⁴ where climate and geography were appropriate for nomadic way of life. Especially plains of north-eastern Bulgaria were a natural extention of the northern steppes and since the ancient times, settlers of these lands had been tribes of the steppe region. Bands of high and low terrains extending east-west direction across

¹³ For more information on Danubian border and Dobrudja see, İnalçık, "Dobrudja", EI, p. 610; also see, Machiel Kiel, The Türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag-Dobruja, Güney Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi, 6-7, 1978, pp. 205-225.

¹⁴ The main nomadic regions in the world are Africa south of the Sahra, Arabian Desert, Anatolia, Euroain Steppes and Tibet Plateu. See, Thomas Barfield, The Nomadic Alternative, Prentice Hall (1993), p. 7.

the country are the main characteristic of Bulgaria's topography.¹⁵ The Balkan Mountains following the Danubian Plateau in the extending to the Black Sea are higher and hilly regions encompassing the lands between the northern border along the Danube and the Balkan Mountains drawing the southern border of the region. After the fertile plains on the shore of Danube, higher pasturelands on the hills of the Balkan Mountains limiting the arable lands are the ideal regions for the transhumance nomadic life since the ancient times. Besides the topographical conditions, climatic conditions make the northern Bulgarian plain, Danubian Plateau, different than the southern part of the country. The Balkan Mountains have a strong barrier effect felt throughout the country, especially in central and eastern parts of the Danubian Basin, where strong influence of continental climate is a characteristic of the region. High annual precipitation on the Balkan Mountain chain with cooler summers and while very hot in summer and drought weather during year on the lowlands of the southern Balkan range is very typical climatic conditions in the region. In the region, plains of Danubian Plateau and Dobrudja are often subject to summer throuhts but mountains and high pastures of the Northern Bulgaria are cooler and rainier through year. Although valleys open to milder effects of the south along the Agean and mediterranean coasts providing warm shelters for the nomadic life,

¹⁵ For the Bulgarian historical geography see, Lyde Lionel W. and Mockler-Ferryman A. F. 1905. A military geography of the Balkan Peninsula .London; Wace A.J.B. and Thompson M.S. 1972. The nomads of the Balkans : an account of life and customs among the Vlachs of northern Pindus. New York: Biblio & Tannen; A. and C. Black, 1905. Orachev Atanas. 2005. Bulgaria in the European cartographic concepts until XIX century. Sofia : Borina; Rizoff Vorwort von D. 1917. Die Bulgaren in ihren historischen, ethnographischen und politischen Grenzen. Berlin: K. Hoflithographie, Hofbuch- und Steindruckerei Wilhelm Greve; Fasolo Michele. 2005. La via Egnatia. Roma : Istituto Grafico Editoriale Romano; Batty Roger. 2007. Rome and the Nomads : the Pontic-Danubian realm in antiquity. Oxford : Oxford University Press;

especially the coast of Danube is bitterly cold and windy winters. These topographic and climatic conditions explain the strong effects of the nomads and transhuman life-style in the region. Central and north-eastern Bulgaria, Deliorman and Dobrudja are areas keeping the different settlement patterns and various pre-modern ethnic and cultural elements together in the region. Since the ancient times, nomads coming from the northern steppe region and Asia minor brought different types and stages of nomadic life-style to these lands. However difficulties to obtain archaeological or even written historical sources limit the researches in rural history of the region.

1.4. Conquest of Nigbolu

Ottoman conquest of Bulgarian started in the reign of Murad I after the conquest of Edirne in the spring of 1361.¹⁶ Evrenos Beg captured İpsala. (Kypsela) castle and after the death of Orkhan Bey, Murad I appointed Lala Şahin as *beylerbeyi* of the *udj* begs in the Trace.. After Lala Şahin's capture of Eski Zagra and Filibe, Sultan Murad went on a campaign to make new conquests in the Balkans in 1366. and in the same year, Filibe became the *udj* center of Lala Şahin who extended the raids on the direction of Sanakov and İhtiman. During an alliance made between Tzar of Bulgaria and Ottomans against Byzantine stopped the Ottoman advancements in the Bulgarian lands for some time but this alliance did not last very long.

¹⁶ See, İnalçık (1964), 189-196.

Amadeo VI of Savoy who is the cousin of the Byzantine Emperor John made an agreement with the Bulgarian Tsar Alexander and some Bulgarian castles were given to Byzantine, which ended the Ottoman-Bulgarian alliance in 1366 and after that time, Bulgarian lands became the target of the Ottoman akindjies. The Sultan Murad I begun his conquests in spring of 1368 and he firstly captured strategic settlements and fortresses in the passes on the Balkan mountains such Aydos (Ateôs) and Karin-Ovası (Karnobad). Sozopol, Pınar-Hisar, Kırk-Kilise and Vize were the other strategic conquests. In 1368-69, Ottomans captured of Kızılağaç-Yenicesi (Elhovo) and Yanbolu (Yamboli) and Lala Şahin's conquests of Samakov and İhtiman on the via militaris opened the way of Bulgarian capital Sofia for 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 war in 1371, Turkish dominance strongly felt in the region.¹⁷ In winter 1372, Byzantine became one of the vassals of the Ottoman State¹⁸ and Bulgarian Kingdom following the Byzantine accepted the Ottoman suzerainty in 1375-76¹⁹. Within a few years, Kavala and Serez were captured and Serez became udj center of the akindjies.

When Bulgarian Tsar Shishman and ruler of Dobrudja made alliance with the rebelled Serbian Prince Lazar, Ali Pasha and Timurtaş Beg marched on Bulgaria and Dobrudja. The captured fortified city Shumen became the military center of Ali Pasha's raids. King Shishman had to move his center from Tirnovo to Nikopol

¹⁷ Jirecek (1876), pp.439, cited by İnalçık, "I. Murad", DIA, p. 9.

¹⁸ İnalçık, "I. Murad", DIA, p. 9.

¹⁹ Ibid., 93-94.

against the Ottoman raids and when Bayezid I captured Tirnovo, Dobrudja and Silistre in 1393, Nikopol remained as the only fortification of the vassal Bulgarian State resisting to the Ottomans. Niğbolu was the fortress famous with the battle between the Ottomans and the Crusaders on 25 September 1396. One of the important results of the Ottoman's victory was the Ottomans' suzerainty on Wallachia that was a strategic ally of the western Christian world against the Ottomans. A relatively long peace period following the battle, gave the Ottomans enough time to establish Ottoman military, fiscal and administrative system in Bulgaria.

1.5. Ottoman Rule in the Niğbolu Sandjak

1.5.1 Timars and Timariots

Timar system was the backbone of the Ottoman Empire and its system immediately introduced in newly conquered lands. Sipahies were generally chosen among kuls of high ranked military bureaucrats such as kuls of Pashas, sons of government officials such as *veled-i an çavuşân-ı mir-i miran*, and members of military class such as *merd-i kal'a*, *voynuk*, *toviçe*. Timariots were generally Muslim members of the Ottoman system but especially in the early Ottoman era, many pre-

conquest local nobles were registered as timariot.²⁰ In the 15th and 16th century Niğbolu surveys, there are some Muslim and new-Muslim timariots whose father was Christian such as Şahincibaşı Yakup veled-i Zupani and Umur veled-i Hızır Bey veled-i Dalgofça holding timar in the late 15th century and Mustafa bin Abdullah holding *timar* in the mid-16th century. As Graph 1.1 shows that timar was an efficient way of paying salaries of government officials as well and there were many civil bureaucrats in the 15th century survey as timar holders such as kadi, iskele emini, and hatip. 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, and zeamet of nefsi-i Çibre given to (Mihaloğlu) Ali Bey indicate akindji Beys and their big timars in the Danubian border periphery.

²⁰ İnalçık, Halil, “Stefan Duşan’dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna: XV. Asırda Rumeli’de Hristiyan Sipahiler ve Menşeleri”, in Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Toplum ve Ekonomi, (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1993).

Table 1.1

Government Officials Holding Timar in the late 15th Century		
Village	Timar Holder	Revenue
Novasil Tirnovi	Timar-I kadi-I Tirnovi	4700
Kalotençe Tirnovi Dobrika Tirnovi	Mevlana Muslihiddin hatib-i cami-i Tirnovi	2700
Kara Molin Tirnovi	Kâtib Sinan emin-i İskele-i Niğbolu	4254
Sopot Tirnovi Kalu Grova Kurşuna Virdun Mz Çernovi	Muhiddin emin-i iskele-i Silistre	6190

Source: Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or., Abt.,Signature Hk., 12/9

1.5.2 Native Christians: Migrations, Deportations, Population

Pre-conquest era had been a long period of wars, destructions and continuous displacements in the region. The unbalanced distribution of population between urban and rural settlements of the Nigbolu region even after a century following the

conquest indicates that peasant population of rural settlements had been taking refuge in the fortified big cities, towns and *derbend* villages. Recovery of the rural settlement system and re-population of the abandoned villages and mezraas would be a long process taking almost a century. Information notes in the 15th century surveys of the region states that settlers of many villages were registered in other villages, which could be settlements close to the big cities or fortifications. On the other hand, deportation was a practical policy tool of the Ottoman central authority and displacements was always made because of various reasons. 15th century registers indicate that Native Christians of some big towns such as nefs-I Çibri and villages such as Kalugerevo were deported to the newly conquered Constantinople most probably in the reign of the Mehmed II. For this reason re-population was an urgent problem for the Ottoman central authority during the first century of the Ottoman rule in Nigbolu region.

One of the most significant elements of native Christian population was widow woman chift holders (*bîve*), which was 6% of the total Christian population registered in the late 15th century and even in the mid-16th century; *bîve* households were registered in only Christian settlements. Chift land of a *hane* could be given to the widow until his son or sons grown up. Central government preferred to give chift lands to widows but a *sipahi* wanted to sign a new rent contract with a new peasant to get a rate of money as “resm-i” tapu. There were not any explanation about the high number of *bîve* households but traveler account states When seeking an

explanation for the bive issue, we should refer to travelers. Travel notes of the Austrian traveler Stephan Gerlach visited the region in the 16th century during the reigns of Selim II and Murad III.²¹ According to Gerlach, in order to give priority to the unmarried girls, Orthodox priests did not give permission to widows for a new marriage. 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 expectancy, epidemics and continuous wars changed the demographic balance of men and woman in the region. For this reason priests gave priority to unmarried girls in marriage, so there was such a big number of widow registered in the region.

There was a long peace and stability period after the conquest and return of rural population to their former settlements had already started in the late fifteenth century, which changed the demographic balances in the sandjak in favour of rural settlement regions. On the other hand, comparison of two earliest registers indicates that there was a significant increase in number of Christian household in the rural settlements and a new settlement trend, divided villages as Gorna (lower) and Dolna (upper), changed the existing settlement network. Population increase in villages led the new households to go and settle appropriate lands around the village. After some time, these new settlements became villages bearing the same name with the old village. These two villages were distinguished from each other by adding an

²¹ See, *Peregrinatores Germanici et Austiriaci XV-XVI*, Sofia 1978 (in Bulgarian) 338-339.

adjective in front of their name, Dolna or Gorna such as Dolna and Gorna Krayište, Dolna and Gorna Beşovitçe, Dolna and Gorna Kremene. are examples for such villages. For this reason, these registers can be clear evidences for a general population increase in Christian villages. On the other hand this trend did not continue in the 16th century and consistent stability of the local Christian population was kept in the central and northern regions of the sandjak.

There were not a significant population movement of native Christian settlers of the sandjak in the 16th century but “*preselechs*” were registered in almost every rural Christian settlements, towns and cities. *Preselech* is a Slavic word which means “immigrant” and most probably it was used as a term referring to newcomer Christian peasants. Registers were not clear whether these were household or unmarried but son of a *preselech* was registered as an ordinary peasant household in the village.

In the fifteenth century, a quick and mass-Islamization did not a reality seen in the registers of either in the 15th or 16th century military and tax surveys in the sandjak. When demographic information of late fifteenth and mid-16th century surveys are compared, it is seen that population was predominantly Christian. Also military registers of the early 16th century indicate that covers ion to Islam not more than some individual cases among the Christian members of the military class.

1.5.3 Bogomils in Ottoman Nigbolu

Bulgaria was the center of heterodoxy and pagan elements of Slavic and Turkic cultures had been a part of the religious life. Since the 10th century, Bogomilism became the symbol of resistance in Bulgaria against the dominant image as well as strong cultural and religious hegemony of the Byzantine Empire. Bogomils were mostly peasants and their masters, Bulgarian boyars. For this reason, Christianization efforts of Constantinople on Bulgarians resulted with resistances of the native Bulgarians during the centuries under the Byzantine rule., for which a new religious sect born in Bulgaria, Bogomilism, found many supporters in the Balkans. Orthodox patriarchs considered Bogomilism as a heresy and Byzantine struggled with the heretics to prevent spread of their ideas in the Balkans but Bogomilism was being alive in Bulgaria as a resistance to the cultural dominancy and oppressive religious policies in Bulgaria.

Obolensky defines Bogomilism as the outcome of the fusion between these dualistic heresies and the Slavization in the region.²² In the tenth century, new heretical movements appeared in the in Bulgaria. There were two main sources for these new heretical movements: teaching of Paulicians–Massalians and spread of pagan culture and beliefs of Slavic culture.²³ The earliest document of the religious transformation in Bulgaria is a letter of Peter, the king of Bulgaria, to patriarch

²² An English translation of the letter was published by V.N. Sharenkoff in his book *A Study of Manicheism in Bulgaria*, New York (1927).

²³ Obolensky, Dimitri (1972), p. 111.

Teophylect of Constantinople. The letter is not dated but it is predicted as in the period 940-950. Peter, in his letter defines the heresy as “Manichaeism mixed with Paulicianism” informed the Patriarch and asked his help and guidance.²⁴ Priest Bogomil was first thought Bogomilism in Bulgaria during the reign of Peter that A 13th century Bulgarian Document, the “Synodicon of the Tsar Boril”, confirms this information.²⁵ Bogomilism found many supporters among the native Slavs in Bulgaria. Bogomilism perceived as a reaction against Christianity being the symbol of the cultural and religious domination of Byzantine. Although native people of Bulgaria Christianized, they had kept their pagan beliefs and culture alive for centuries.

Liberal religious policies of the Ottoman State until the end of Bayezid II’s reign created a free religious medium in the Ottoman Balkans and populous Bogomil villages registered in Niğbolu sandjak in the last quarter of the 15th century. There are five Bogomil villages are Brestovice-i Pavlikan (Lofça), Kalugeriçe-i Pavlikan (Lofça), Oreşan-i Pavlikan (Niğbolu), Telej-i Pavlikân (Lofça), Trinçeviçe-i Bulgar and Pavlikân (Niğbolu). Names of these villages indicate the categorization of these settlements such as Bulgar used for Orthodox village and Pavlikân used for Bogomil village. Some of these villages such as Trinçeviçe-i Bulgar and Pavlikân were registered as hisse and other hisse or hisses was not registered, so Bogomil population in these settlements is unknown but comparison of two 15th century

²⁴ Sharenkoff in his book *A Study of Manichaeism in Bulgaria*, New York (1927) pp.63-65.

²⁵ This document was published by J. A. Ilić in his book *Die Bogomilen in Ihrer Geschlichen Entwicklung* (Sr. Karlowci, 1923) p.18 cited by Obolensky, Dimitri (1972), pp.118.

registers indicates that the Christian households of Brestovice-i Pavlikan (Lofça) decreased from 40 to 12 and 1 unmarried man was added while the Christian hane of Kalugerice-i Pavlikan (Lofça) was increasing from 39 to 53 and 9 unmarried men was added. Both of these villages were in Lofca and it was most probably an internal migration from one Bogomil village to another.. Demography of the other two Pavlikan villages, Oreşan-i Pavlikan (Niğbolu) and Telej-i Pavlikân (Lofça) were stable during the period between the two tahrirs in the 15th century.

1.6 Town and Village System in the Ottoman Niğbolu

Niğbolu as was one of these frontier sandjaks located at the central-northern region of the Ottoman Bulgaria. The sandjak was divided into *kazas* as Niğbolu (Modern Nikopol as the center of the sancak), Ivraga (Vratsa as its center), Lofça (the town of modern Lovech as its center), Tırnovi (the town of modern Veliko Tırново as its center), Şumnu (modern Shoumen as its center), and Çernovi (the modern village of Cherven, in the district of Rousse).²⁶ Besides these *kazâs*, there were *nahiyes* such as Rahova, Çibri, Reslec, Nedeliçko, Plevne, Kurşuna, Kieva, İzladı, and Zıştovi. Medieval ports and fortified centres along the Danube such as Niğbolu, Zıştovi, Tutrakan became parts of *nahiyes* and *kadi* centers after the conquest and rise of Ruschuk (Giurgiu or Yergögü) on the right bank of the Danube was not earlier

²⁶ Kovachev, Rumen. (2005) Nikopol Sancak at the Beginning of the 16th century According to the Istanbul Ottoman Archive, Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri, Osman Gazi Üniversitesi Tarih Bölümü Eskişehir Uluslararası Sempozyumu. Eskişehir, 65-67.

than the 17th century. The town of the old capital, Tırnovi, also maintained the leading role in internal division among the central nahiyes such as Tuzla, Sahra, and Hotaliç. In the west, Lofça, Ivrača, Resleç, Nedeliçko, Kurşuna and Plevne were important centers in administrative division of the sandjak.²⁷ Many of these kazas and nahiyes were recognized as kaza centers and many other kazas and nahiyes were unified or divided to provide an efficient administrative system. For instance, in the west, the nahiye of Karalom was re-organized as Çernovi and the kaza of the future Hezargrad (Razgrad) and the kaza of Şumnu was internally structured into Gerilovo.²⁸

1.7 Ottoman Social, Economic and Military System in the Sandjak

The peasant household 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 thousands of year. Arable lands were *mîrî* , which means under state ownership, which strengthen the government control on these lands and maintained the system as the basis for the agrarian and

²⁷ Kovachev, Rumen. (2005) Nikopol Sancak., 67.

²⁸ Kovachev, R., Rumen, Nikopol Sancak at the Beginning of the 16th century According to the Istanbul Ottoman Archive, Osmanli ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri, Osman Gazi Üniversitesi Tarih Bölümü Eskişehir Uluslararası Sempozyumu (2005), p. 67.

fiscal organization of the state.²⁹ A peasant family was a perpetual tenant on a piece of agrarian land, which gave hereditary rights of possession through the direct male line. Ottomans adapted these inherited old practices of the Roman and Byzantine empires to the principles of Islamic law and the Islamic state tradition of the Middle East.

According to the Islamic law, conquered lands were common property of Islamic state and in principle, owner of all arable lands was state.³⁰ Ottoman central authority formed *Çift-hane* system on these state-own arable lands based on three basic elements: a peasant household (*hane*), a certain unit of land (*Çiftlik*) and a farm workable by a pair of oxen. These elements were the basis of the Ottoman fiscal, military and agricultural system. In such a system, a *çiftlik* should be large enough to maintain the peasant-family, to yield sufficient surplus to pay taxes, to cover reproduction costs and to survive the family during the year. Adult male labor force was the basis of the *çift-hane* system and the tax paid by the adult male did not depend on whether the other members of the family participating to the agricultural activities possessing a piece of land or not. The main criterion for the tax was marital status such as married, unmarried, or widow.

²⁹ See İnalçık (1994), p.145-146.

³⁰ 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 Islamic Patterns*, in Udovich ed., pp., 135-175.

In Ottoman *çift-hane* system fertility of soil was the criterion determining the optimal farm size, which was changing from 5 to 15 hectares.³¹ In principle these indivisible *çiftlik* units were registered on an adult male and the tax levied on the land 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 died adult male left an 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 taxpayer. 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*) paid 12 akça. A family possessing 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.³² The other name of *resm-i çift* was *kulluk akçası*.³³ The term, *Kulluk*, defines a status of being dependant or subject. In this case the tax was levied on the cash equivalent of such feudal obligations, which was a big revaluation breaking the feudal tradition of the Balkans. On the other hand, *kul* was a term in the 15th and 16th century tahrirs of the Nigbolu Sandjak implying a slave origin and slave

³¹ Barkan (1943), index *çiftlik*.

³² See İnalçık (1994), p.149.

³³ Halil İnalçık 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. According to the law-code of Mehmed the Conqueror the total amount paid instead of these seven services was 22 akça. See İnalçık (1959), p.581.

labor force on agrarian lands. There are many registers of empty lands given to timariots to be populated in both 15th and 16th century Nigbolu surveys and these timariots were expected to find reaya (peasants) who was going to cultivate these lands and pay tax. Sometimes these reaya could be enslaved native people in war, who were settled on empty lands as *ortakçı kullar* and in time, they became free peasants holding çift (farm) lands given them under *tapu (Çift-hane)* system.³⁴

During the classical age (1300-1600), well-defined family farm unit was 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. Successful maintenance of the land system is one of the reasons behind the long-lasting Ottoman State.

1.8 Scope and Focuses of the Study

This study aims to examine changing ethnic, cultural, religious, and political structure of the Nigbolu Sandjak that had already started in the 15th century but accelerated in the first decades of the 16th century, when the a long period of war started on the Danubian frontier. After a process of demographic recovery, restructuring of administrative, military, financial, economic and social system in the 15th century, the Ottoman rule in Nigbolu Sandjak in the 16th century was the period

³⁴ Barkan, “On beşinci asırda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Toprak işçiliğinin Organizasyon Şekilleri: Rumeli’deki kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, c.1, s. 4 (Temmuz 1940), s.124-125.

of revolution and transformation, tradition and continuation on the eve of a new era for the medieval empires.

The first chapter of this study is going to examine the late 15th century surveys of Nigbolu Sandjak, which were the earliest cadastral surveys of the region. These archival sources include registers of various groups of settlers such as Muslim, non-Muslim, Anatolian nomads, Muslim and Christian members of provincial army and members of various military organizations. This chapter also focuses on old and new settlement pattern of the region and re-population process of abandoned Christian villages as well as changing military organization, *timar* system, profile of timariots and the process of building a new system based on the existing state tradition of Byzantine Empire and the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, which was the first phase of the complex, well- organized and institutionalized formation of the Ottoman system in the sandjak.

The second chapter examines the 16th century mufassal registers, which are the most detailed archival sources of the sandjak the consisting onomastic, statistical, financial and administrative data of the Nigbolu Sandjak and explores the dynamics and forces behind the second phase of demographic, social, political, military and administrative formation of Ottoman system the sandjak. This chapter focuses on migration of nomadic Anatolians, their changing immigrant profile through a decades and their new settlement patterns in the uninhabited regions of the sandjak. Also this

chapters considers role of the sufi orders, members of sufi brotherhood, sheiks and derwishes in nomadic migration and formation of new settlement regions in the first half of the 16th century in the context of wakfs, zawiyas and onomastic database of the village names registered in the mid-16th century cadastrial surveys.

The third chapter explores the footprints of the pre-Ottoman Turkic settlers of the sandjak registered in the tax and military surveys of the region as Christian peasants settled in old Christian settlements and as members of various organization of Christian soldiers in the provincial army. A rich database of place and personal names registered in the surveys and Byzantine chronicles stating them as a part of the Byzantine military defence system on the borderlines the main archival material examined in this chapter. Warlike Turkic tribal communities of the steppe region had been a part of the local community and military system of the region since the ancient times and when the Ottomans conquered Bulgaria, these Turkic and Anatolian nomads had already become a part of the local population, upper and lower local military nobility of the region during Ottoman cadastral and military surveys register them name by name in where they had been living since the pre-Ottoman times and this chapter examines reflections of their Turkic language, naming tradition, warlike culture and pre-Islam/ pre-Ottoman culture in the Ottoman archival documents.

Chapter four was explores the pre-Ottoman dynamics of Tirnova uprising, the legend of the first national uprising in the Ottoman lands, as a ring of the uprising tradition of the region and its reflections under the Ottoman rule. This chapter specifically examines Tirnova region in the early 16th century detailed cadastral survey of the sandjak to determine the status of the pre-Ottoman local nobility, possible channels that could support any attemp of uprising and policies of the central authority to increase the control over the pre-Ottoman upper and lower military elite in the Tirnova region where adapted organizations of Christian soldiers, pre-Ottoman local military nobility and their pre-conquest feudal land property were located.

CHAPTER 2

ANATOLIAN IMMIGRANT PROFILE AND CHANGING SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF 15th CENTURY OTTOMAN NIGBOLU

2.1 Population Pressure in Anatolia and Depopulation of the Old Settlements in The Danubian Region

During 13th and 15th centuries, two immigration waves from the east led to a serious population pressure in Anatolia. The first Mongolian invasion in the 13th century swept the nomads to the Seljukid Anatolia, which was a perennial migration wave of nomadic Turkomans to the frontier (*udj*) region in the western Anatolia and one of the significant results of the population pressure was a serious discrepancy between population of the *udj* region consisting of nomads, unemployed soldiers, landless peasant and economic resources.¹ The ongoing migrations from the east led serious population increases in the Asia Minor. Since the early times of the Ottoman

¹ İnalcık, Halil. 1994. An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914. İnalcık, Halil, and Donald Quataert, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11-37.

state, this migration movement had been the main power behind the Ottoman conquest and the Ottoman central encouraged and even promoted the population movement that was the way to populate the empty and abandoned lands to enlarge the timar lands and revenue as the basis of powerful provincial army Balkan conquests. Although the number of nomadic tribes was continuously increasing in central and western Anatolia, pastures for these were limited and for this reason, before the conquest, Ottoman central government had already started to lead the nomadic tribes to the Balkan lands. Purpose of the westward migration policy was to provide sanctuary and the economic sources to ensure the survival of the growing population in Anatolia. The mass migration movement of Anatolians was accelerated against the fear of Mongolian invasion and after Timur's occupation of Anatolia in the 14th century, the second wave of the westward mass-migration started and even the Ottoman State moved its capital city of from Bursa to Edirne. The Anatolians' migration movement during the Mongolian overlord ship era densely populated Trace, Eastern Bulgaria, the river valley of Maritsa and Dobruja.²

On the other hand, Trace and Danubian region experienced a serious demographic loss and abandonment period during the pre-conquest era. Between the 12th and 14th centuries experienced some devastating invasions that caused massive and continuous displacements of the native population. The Crusaders left the ruins of some wealthiest cities behind them and they devastated trade routes during 12th

² İnalçık, H., "Rumeli", EI WebCD add. (2003).

and 13th centuries. During the following centuries, Mongolian invasions, attacks, and plundering accelerated the demographic movements and displacements in the region. According to a point of view, Mongolians were the pre-Ottoman nomads settled in the region and particularly in rural areas, their nomadic way of life destructed and disrupted the local society and following the devastating Mongolian experience, fear of Turkish raids swept the rural population of the Danubian region and peasant population abandoned their settlements and took refuge in fortified cities, which prepared the appropriate conditions for the migration and settlement of the Anatolian nomads during the 14th and 16th centuries in the region.³ Byzantine chronicler Phaimeres states his observations that native-Christians had taken refuge in fortresses during the war times and they went back to their old-settlements after the Ottoman conquest, which are evidences supporting the observations of other European chroniclers that the native inhabitants taking refuge in Nicea and Constantinople during the war times.⁴

Anatolian nomads followed the Ottoman conquests step by step in the Balkans and they settled in unpopulated regions and ruined old settlements. Nomads were moveable, populous and self-sufficient groups having specific capabilities and

³ See, Kasaba, R., *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants and Refugees*, P. 1-14; Vryonis, Speros, *Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 29 (1975) pp. 50-60.

⁴ See, Gökbilgin, Tayyib. 1957. *Rumeli’de Yörükler ve Evlâd-ı Fatihan*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, No. 748, 13 and his reference to Leunclavius (1595), 145; İnalçık, Halil. 2003. “The Struggle Between Osman Gazi and the Byzantines For Nicea.” In Işık Akbaygil, Halil İnalçık, Oktay Arslanapa, eds., *Iznik Throughout History*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 59-85.

skills. Ottoman *tahrirs* dated to the second half of the 15th century give us an idea about when these nomads came and settle in the Balkans. In the tax survey of 1456-1467 for Dimetoka-Gümülcine- Ferecik-İpsala-Keşan- Yanbolu region, there were a significant number of *yörüks* among the settled *reaya* of Gümülcine.⁵ There were many articles in Ottoman *kanunnames* strictly orders that *yörüks* cannot be *reaya* in *timars*. On the other hand, there were villages consisting nomad settlers in *timars* such as in a village of the *timar* of Gulam-i Mir Ser Asker Karaca, where all *reaya* were *yörüks* like some other villages in Gümülcine whose settlers were all nomads. *Derkenars* in the defter informs that they had imperial diplomas given by Sultan Murad II for tax exemptions, which means these *yörüks* settled in these regions in the first half of the 15th century. Kuşdoğan village is the other example for the nomad settlements that nearly all settlers were registered as *yörük* households with a few *küreci* and in the same survey, Ferecik *timars* contain many villages where *yörük*, *müsellem* and *şapçı* were registered together and in some other *yörüks* villages nomad households were paying *resm-i çift*.⁶

2.2 Motives of the Central authority to Transplant Population from Anatolia: Revival of Old Villages and Re-populating the Empty Lands

Anatolian nomads voluntarily coming to these lands or deported by the central authority were the main human recourses to populate these new *timar* lands.

⁵ Tayyib Gökbilgin, Rumeli'de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fatihan, s. 23

⁶ Tayyib Gökbilgin, Rumeli'de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fatihan, s. 23.

The late 15th century archival sources indicate that settlement policy of the central government focused on demographic recovery of the old-settlement system during the post conquest era. Revival of rural population and cultivation of arable lands were urgent problems to solve in order to set a powerful provincial army and well-functioning *timar* system in the 15th century Ottoman Balkans. Ottomans encouraged the migration movement to the Balkans because new *timar* lands and tax revenues given to timariots as salary were strongly depended on peasants settled on empty lands to cultivate and pay tax. On the other hand, there were still many depopulated pre-conquest Christian settlements given to timariots to be populated in the late 15th century and timariots should have found immigrant Muslim or native Christian peasants to populate these abandoned villages to create revenue for himself. On the other hand, *wakfs* were the other incentive to attract new settlers and populate the abandoned or uninhabited lands. *Wakf*-lands were always more attractive to settle for the peasants because of many privileges, tax exemptions and better living conditions and Ottoman tax surveys register a large number of deserted villages both in Anatolia and in the Balkans because peasants of these settlements preferred to live in *wakf* lands and abandoned their settlements.⁷

Although detailed registers of wakfs were kept in *wakf* defters, a list of wakfs and wakf villages were given in the last part of the tax surveys. Unfortunately the end parts of the 1479 and 1483 registers are missing and we have to get an idea about the

⁷ See, Gökbilgin. *Evlâd-ı Fatihan*.

wakfs in the region from the information notes registered in the surveys. Table 2.1 shows these wakfs and wakf villages transformed to the *timar* system in the reign of Mehmet II for this reason these villages were registered in *icmal* registers of Nigbolu and the information notes indicates that they had been wakf property returned to the state's ownership.⁸ These are Kozar Beleni as “der asl- 1 wakf- 1 Şahmelik”⁹ in Plevne and the four villages in *zeamet-i Umur Bey* in Tirnovi, Mihal Oruç, Marnopoli-I Pavlikan, Murad Bey, and Umur Bey, as “der asl-1 wakf- 1 Firuz Bey”.¹⁰ These villages should have been given back to the wakfs of Firuz Bey and Şahmelik in the reign of Bayezid II because they were not registered in the 1483 *icmal* survey. But they should have been registered in a separate wakf *defter*.

⁸ See, Inalcik, Halil. 1970. "The Ottoman Economic Mind and Aspects of the Ottoman Economy" in M. A. Cook, ed., *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*. London, 207-218.

⁹ ODNBL., Or., Abt., Signatur OAK., 45/29, fol., 5r.

¹⁰ ODNBL., Or., Abt., Signatur OAK., 45/29, fol., 35r. Firuz Bey is the Hazinedarbaşı of the Sultan Bayezid II. He was a “*Hadım Ağâ*” 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.

Table 2.1

Wakf Villages in the Earliest Registers of Nigbolu Sandjak			
Villages		1479	1483
Kozar Beleni Plevne	Der Asl-ı vakf-ı Şahmelik		NA
Mihal Oruç Tirnovi			NA
Marnopoli-i Pavlikân Tirnovi	Der asl-ı vakf-ı		NA
Murad Bey Tirnovi	Firuz Bey		NA
Umur Bey Tirnovi			NA

2.3 Deportation and volunteer immigration from Anatolia: Why, to where, Specific Professions of villages

Migration of Muslims, either sedentary or nomad, from Asia minor to the newly conquered Balkan lands had been already started before the pre-conquest era but and the immigration wave gained acceleration during the 15th century. To provide a rational distribution of population and to set a settlement network in uninhabited lands and depopulated regions, the most common practices were deportation and voluntary immigration to the newly conquered lands. The excess population in Anatolia was either deported or they voluntarily migrated to the abandoned and uninhabited lands of the Nigbolu region to cultivate these arable lands and raised tax revenue for timar system and imperial budget. Also a settlement network on the trade for security reasons and skilful settlers in villages along the military routes were

necessary for meeting military equipment and provision needs of the army on campaigns as well. Nomads always seeking better pasturelands were the most appropriate moveable groups in the empire having the professional skills and ability to survive themselves in these new lands. Sedentarization of the Muslim nomads guaranteed production of some crafts for the central authority. Nomads were highly specialized in producing some specific goods such as making arrow, bow and horse breeding. In return their obligations, central authority provided some tax exemptions for them.¹¹ The *yörüks* were a mobile labor force for production and delivery of some goods as well as transportation. Also they were the main manpower of mines, guardians of bridges and mountain passes and in return of their services, they were exempted from *avariz* and some other extraordinary taxes. Central government preferred nomads for such duties because employment of *reaya* in such extra work decreased the agricultural production, and hence the tax revenue of the *timariots*. For this reason, *yörüks* were very important groups for the Ottoman military, fiscal, and administrative system.¹² Unlike ordinary *reaya*, nomads were also involved in newly introduced forms of agriculture, such as rice growing during the first centuries of the Empire or cotton growing in the Balkans.¹³

¹¹ See, Halil İnalçık, "Rice Cultivation and the Çeltükci-Re'âyâ System in the Ottoman Empire", *Turcica* 14 (1982): 70-71 and X. dePlanhol, "Les nomades, la steppe et la forêt en Anatolie," *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 53 (1965), pp. 104-110.

¹² See Inalcik Raiyyet Rusumu and İnalçık, Halil. 1993. "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role." In *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington: Indiana University, 116-117.

¹³ İnalçık, Halil. 1982. "Rice Cultivation and the Çeltükci-Re'aya System in the Ottoman Empire." *Turcica* 14: 69-141; Inalcik, Halil. 1993. "The Ottoman Cotton Market and India: The Role of Labor Cost in Market Competition,"

The first nomadic migrations from Anatolia was as early as the reign of Bayezid I and the information given by Leunclavius referring to Muhiddin is the basis of the information, which is said that that the Christian settlers fearing from the Turkish invasion abandoned their settlements and Anatolian *yörük* around Saruhan were deported to Serez and Vardar valley.¹⁴ This record became the basis of some studies on nomadic migration and Turkization of the Ottoman Balkans such as Wilhelmy¹⁵ and Jirecek.¹⁶ Population of the conquered lands and formation of a settlement network were organized based on needs of the Ottoman, military, economic and social system. First of all there should have been an optimal distribution of *reaya* on the imperial lands to raise high tax revenue based on agrarian production. Especially subjects were deported uninhabited or depopulated lands to raise regular tax revenue for the *timar* system and imperial budget. Also the new settlements on the trade routes were necessary for security reasons and specialized peasants on some specific skills were required for the need of military equipments and provisions of the army on campaigns, so Anatolian nomads were the main immigrant group registered in the Balkans since the early states of the Ottoman conquest.

in his *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 267-268.

¹⁴ Leunclavius. 1595, 145 in Gökbilgin Tayyib. 1957. *Rumeli'de Yurukler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-i Fatihan*. Istanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 13.

¹⁵ Wilhelmy, H. 1935. *Hochbulgarien, Bd. I: Die landlichen Siedlungen und die bduerliche Wirtschaft*. Kiel, 278.

¹⁶ Jirecek, C. 1891. *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*. Wien, 1891. Kanitz, 140.

2.4 Motivations of Sufi orders: Free lands in empty regions (where), tax exemptions, nomad masses and missionary

The early Ottoman begs benefited from the religious authority of the Sufi sheikhs and the influx of the Turkoman nomads. Prior to the Mongol incursions into Anatolia, an enormous number of the tribesmen started to migrate to the western borders of the Anatolian Seljukids. Such movement of migration continued throughout the second half of the thirteenth century and caused to emergence of a large Turkoman belt in the northern, southern and western mountain ranges of Anatolia.¹⁷ As a consequence of the Mongol invasion, an important number of the Turkoman nomads and the Sufi dervishes escaped from Persia and arrived in the frontier regions. As a result of the disruption of the Seljukid state and the weakness of Byzantine resistance, there arose a new ferment in the frontier regions, where dervishes brought a new access of enthusiasm for the Holy War.¹⁸ The aggressive nature of the ghazi spirit led to emergence of the small principalities, which raided into non-Islamic territories in order to sustain their economic and political power by booty. However, these frontier warlike principalities, except the Ottomans, could not expand and annex non-Islamic territories. Parallel with the declining power of the Byzantine frontier defense, the Ottomans became a prevalent principality on the frontier regions of the Anatolian Islamdom.

¹⁷ Inalcik, H. "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State." *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol. 2, 1980, pp. 71-79.

¹⁸ Melikoff, I. "Ghazi." *EI*.

A ghazi principality like the others, it was the only one which was able to acquire the elements necessary for the organization of its conquests, thanks to its geographical position and to the proximity of the Byzantine capital, which obliged it to maintain a continual state of war.¹⁹

In this environment, the early Ottoman begs allied with the Turkoman nomads and the Sufi mystical orders in order to facilitate the enlargement towards the Byzantine Empire. It was very important for the Ottoman begs to gain the support of the Sufi sheikhs, who could mobilize the Turkoman nomads by virtue of their highly respected religious authority. The dervishes (disciples) of the Sufi orders embodying the ghaza ideology and bringing to their leader's authority, the spiritual sanction of Islam were ever present in the frontier society.²⁰

Therefore, the Ottomans showed great respect for the Sufi sheikhs and tolerated the Sufi missionary activities in the realm of the Ottoman principality. They sought the Sufi sheikh's support through several ways. One of these ways was to become a member of one of the Sufi orders. For instance, Melikoff argues that Orkhan Beg, supported by the ghazis and the members of the Sufi orders, was not only the founder of the Ottoman principality but also one of the Ghaziyan-i Rum.²¹ Osman Beg also participated in the Sufi orders in order to obtain the title of Sultan'ul Guzat (Leaders of Ghazi warriors). The Ottoman begs also sought to establish kinship relations through marriages to the daughters of the Sufi sheikhs. Again,

¹⁹ Melikoff, I. "Ghazi." *EI*.

²⁰ Inalcik, H. "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," pp. 71 - 79.

²¹ Melikoff, I. "Un Ordre de Derviches Colonisateurs: Les Bektachis." *Memorial Omer Lutfi Barkan*, (Paris: 1980), pp. 149 - 157.

Osman Beg married to the daughter of Sheikh Edebali, who was connected to the Abdalan-i Rum, a group of dervishes related to the Bektashi mystic orders.²² Thus, the Sufi sheikhs supported and propagated the Ottoman raids into the Byzantine territories by encouraging both their dervishes and the Turkoman nomads to join the Ottoman troops as the ghazi warriors. Regarding the position of the Ottomans among other principalities, the sheikhs also helped to idealize the Ottoman begs as the leaders of the ghazi warriors in the aftermath of the Mongol invasions. Hence, the Ottomans recruited many warriors in their campaigns against the Byzantine Empire and attracted Turkoman nomads to settle in their newly conquered territories. In addition to their major role in the growing power of the Ottoman dynasty and spreading a heterodox version of Islam in the newly conquered lands, the Sufi orders also facilitated the amalgamation of indigenous Christian populations with the Turkoman nomads.²³ This symbiotic relationship between the Sufi sheikhs and the Ottomans played an important role in the formation of the Ottoman ghazi principality.

The strong relationship between nomad Turkmens and well-organized religious orders was the basis of the immigration and settlement movement of the Turkoman tribes in such a large geographic area from Central Asia to the Balkans. Sufi masters during the early Ottoman period organized and directed the migration of Anatolian

²² Melikoff, I. "Un Ordre de Derviches..." pp. 149 - 157.

²³ Wittek, P. "Deux Chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum." *Byzantion*, Vol 11, 1936, p. 315; cited by Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300 - 1600*. (London: Phoenix, 1972), p. 139.

nomads and played a crucial role in re-population of abandoned villages and formation of new settlement areas on the Danubian frontier.²⁴ Their crucial role in migration and settlement of nomadic tribes was a part of the *ghaza* ideology during the early Ottoman Era.²⁵ In the Ottoman archival documents, there are many examples of Sultans' land *temliks* to sheikhs and dervishes of *sufi* orders, which indicates to a state policy, especially in the early Ottoman era to promote nomads' immigrations under the direction of the well-organized *sufi* orders to newly the conquered lands. Murad I 's land *temliks* for *zaviyes*²⁶, *zaviye* of Kılıç Baba in Yenice-i Zagra, *zaviye*²⁷ of Musa Baba in Çirmen²⁸ with 67 *zaviye* founded in Pasha Livasi during the early Ottoman times indicate Ottomans' promotions and supports of sectarians and sectarian activities as a state policy. Abandoned *derbend* settlements were the lands specifically given to these colonizer dervishes to build their *zaviyas*, where the group of *sufi* dervishes with their families, relatives and their followers titled as *evlad-i fatihan-i vilayet* in the registers early Ottoman tax registers and their tax exemptions were renewed in return of their services.²⁹

In the 15th century, this population movement gained a formal aspect as a policy of the Ottoman State and nomadic tribes were deported to the Balkan lands to

²⁴ See, Barkan, İstila Devrinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler, Vakıflar Dergisi 2 (1942), p. 279-377; Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluşu, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1959).

²⁵ Barkan, "Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri," 280-281.

²⁶ Barkan, Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri, document 195/1.

²⁷ See, Faruki, S., and A Y. Ocak. 1993. "Zaviye" İslam Ansiklopedisi, v. 13, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1993, 468-476.

²⁸ Barkan, Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri, document 204 and 197.

²⁹ Barkan, Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri, document 158.

populate the uninhabited or depopulated lands.³⁰ Long before the Anatolian migration movement *sufi* dervishes had gone to the Balkan lands to establish *tekkes* and *zaviyes*, which were consisted the core structure of the new settlement system of the region during the centuries under the Ottoman rule, which was one of the main functions of the colonizer dervishes and their foundations.³¹ When these *dervishes* founded their *tekkes* and *zaviyas*, requirements of a settled life were gradually appeared around the core settlement such as flourmills, water wells, irrigation systems and gardens of fruit trees, which indicate that these derwishes could establish needs of a village life before the Anatolian settlers came and they organized the cultural, religious and economic life of newcomers during the pre-conquest era.³² As one of the Ottoman method of conquest, Ottoman Sultans gave land grants to *sufi* masters and dervishes on uninhabited lands, mountain passes, derbends and along the trade roads for building of *tekkes* and *zaviyes*. In Ottoman wakf registers there are many examples of these dervish settlements and foundations in the Ottoman Bulgaria³³, among which the *zaviye* founded by Es-seyyid Ali known as Kızıl Sultan (Kızıl Delü)³⁴ in Dimetoka is one of the interesting examples or these dervishes and their foundations. Sultan Bayezid I granted the *derbend* villages in Tatar Viranı and

³⁰ See Barkan, "Ortakçı Kullar", Nesimi, Şahin, Özkan (eds.) Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi, İstanbul 1980, pp. 596- 607 and Inalcik, The Yürüks, pp. 106; Kiel, M.,1980. "The Vakıfname of Rakkas Sinan Beg in Karnobat (Karinabad) and the Ottoman colonization of Bulgarian Thrace," Journal of Ottoman Studies 1: 15-32.

³¹ For detailed information and more examples see, Barkan Ö.,L., 1988. Hudavendigâar Livasi Tahrir Deftei I, Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 133-143.

³² Barkan. Hudavendigâar Livasi, 136.

³³ See, Barkan, Ö.,L., 1942. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler," Vakıflar Dergisi 2: 279- 386.

³⁴ Barkan., Vakıflar ve Temlikler, 293; Hezarfen Ahmet. 2006. Tarihi belgeler ışığında Kızıldeli Sultân (Seyit Ali Sultân) dergâhı. İstanbul: Cem Vakfı Yayınları.

Tatarlık to Seyyid Ali Sultan as wakf land in 1401. These Tatar villages were registered as property of Kızıl Sultan's *zâviye* designed to house and feed travelers. After the coming of Kızıl Sultan with his dervishes, population of these villages reached 58 Muslim and 23 non-Muslim households.³⁵ The other example is Dervişler village, which had been an abandoned village in Niğbolu when the Sultan granted to dervishes to be populated. After the foundation of a *zâviye*, population of Dervişler village reached 45 household in the reign of the Sultan Süleyman I.³⁶

³⁵ 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 Tirfillü 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 Darı 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. Barkan., Vakıflar ve Temlikler. Tapu Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü 526 numaralı Edirne Evkaf Defteri, Registration No: 173, p. 339.

³⁶ Barkan., Vakıflar ve Temlikler. Niğbolu Evkaf defteri, No: 611, Registration No: 181, p. 341.

Table 2.2

Settlements of Sufi Colonizers in the 15th Century Nigbolu Registers								
		MH	MU	CH	CU	Others		Revenue
Hüseyin Farkı Şumnu	1479	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	1483	NA	NA	NA	NA	Yörük, küreci, yağcı	24	1685
Evliya Hasan mz.Tirnovi	1479	5		59		Yörük	10	150
	1483	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Hamza Fakih mz. Tirnovi	1479	NA	NA	NA	NA	Yörük	6	250
	1483	NA	NA	NA	NA	Yörük	11	250
Kavak Şeyh Dede Çiftliği Tirnova	1479	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	516
	1483	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Hoca Ömer Tirnovi	1479	9	NA	NA	NA	Okçu and sipahi	5	791
	1483	8	3	NA	NA	NA	NA	746
Ali Fakihler (Ohodin) Tirnovi	1479	22	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1976
	1483	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Tahir Fakih mz Tirnovi	1479	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	100
	1483	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or. Abt., Signature OAK., 45/ 29 and Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or., Abt.,Signature Hk., 12/9

Nigbolu was one of the core regions of the sufi colonizers since the post-conquest era and 15th century tax registers shows that these dervishes founded and populated many villages in the region in the 15th century. Table 2.2 shows the settlements founded and populated by members of the *sufi* orders. These villages were haric-ez defter villages, *mezraas* or depopulated old settlements and nomad Anatolians, Muslim and Christian peasants were the settlers of these villages. Some of these villages were registered in 1479 but not registered in 1483, which could indicate a change in status of these settlements but these late 15th century registers

shows the leading role of *sufi* dervishes and their colonization movements in the region.

2.5 Cities and Big Towns: Demography and Settlers

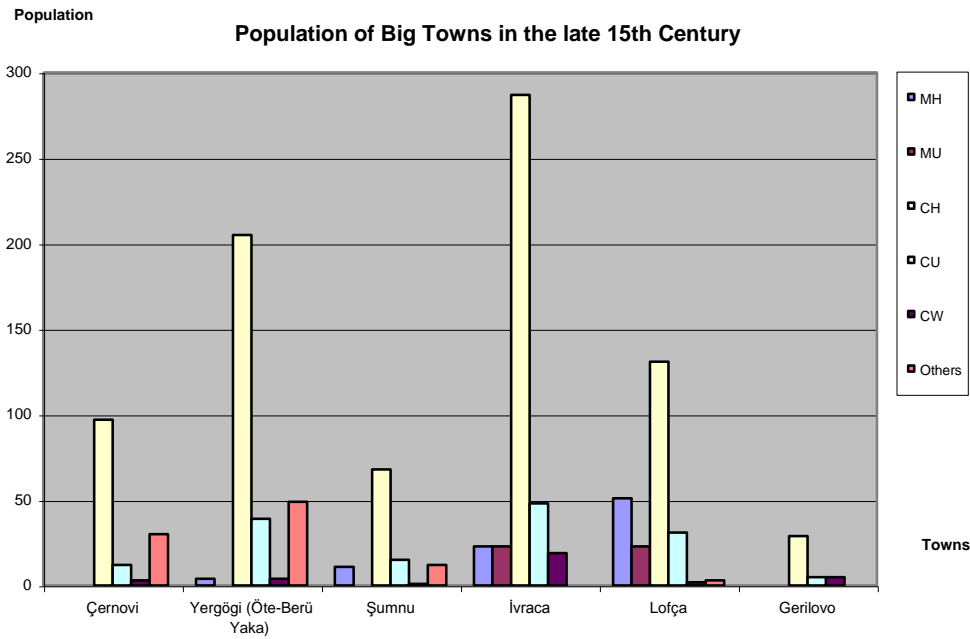
Towns in the region had already been big settlements since the Bulgarian era and big towns of the region were Nigbolu as the center of the sandjak, Kurşuna, Çernovi , Gerilova, İvraca, Lofça, Şumnu, Yergögi, Tırnovi, and Rahova. Graph 1.2 shows the categories of town population in different cities of the sandjak. Christian households and the category of Others including *yörük*, *yağcı*, *küreci*, *sipahi*, *imam* and *voynuk* were the most populous groups of settlers of these urban centers. When we examine the ethnic demography of the settlers of the towns in 1479, we see that only 1,3 % of Muslim Anatolian and 11,3 % of native Christian population of the sandjak were living in big towns and combination of the town population indicate that almost 85 % of the town population was Christian. Muslim Anatolian population in the cities were barely 9%, which indicates the there were still native Christian peasant population who had come to take refuge during the pre-conquest era. On the other hand, although there were many Muslim nomads households and Muslim peasants responsible to produce specific goods and services, there were many Christian and Muslim members of the provincial army such as *vounuk*, *martolos*, *yeniçeri*, *merd-I kala* and government officials such as *sancakbeyi*, *subaşı*, *kadi*,

naib, emin in these big cities and towns. Also, high number of unmarried men can be an indicator of newcomers but as Graph 2.1 shows that although Christian unmarried men was the other most populous category in the town population, there was not any significant number of Muslim unmarried men in the big towns, which may indicate that whole native Christians preferring to settle in urban centers, cities and big towns may not attract Muslim Anatolian newcomers most of whom were populous nomad groups with herds.

On the other hand, as a result of re-location and deportation policies of the central authority, some of the big urban centers were depopulated during the post-conquest era, especially after the conquest of Constantinople. Deportation (*sürgün*) was a policy of Mehmed II to re-populate the newly conquered capital city of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople. Following the conquest, the Sultan issued *fermans* ordering deportation of households from all parts of the Empire, specifically craftsmen and merchants who familiar the urban life. Settlers of urban centers including pre-Ottoman nobles from the newly conquered cities of the Ottoman Balkans were encouraged to settle in the new capital or in some cases such settlers were deported to Istanbul. In autumn 1455, Mehmed II visited Istanbul and learnt that Muslim deportees had left the city. Then he sent new orders to the government officials of Rumelia and Anatolia to be found the *sürgün* families and sent them back

to Istanbul immediately.³⁷ Niğbolu region was one of the important urban settlement area of the pre-Ottoman times and the main settlement area of pre-Ottoman military nobility, cratmen and merchants and after the conquest of Constantinople, in 1455, a large group of Jewish households from Ottoman Balkans, 38 households from Filibe, and many others from Edirne, Niğbolu, and Trikkala were deported to and settled in İstanbul.³⁸ The Çibre a big town and urban center of the region was completely deported to Istanbul, where craftsmen, merchants, and urban settlers were needed to stimulate the economy and urban life of the new capital.

Graph 2.1



³⁷ For more information about the methods of re-population of Istanbul and the new inhabitants of Istanbul see, Inalcık, *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

³⁸ See Inalcık, "Istanbul" in EI web Addition 2003.

2.6 Settlement Patterns of Anatolian Immigrants in the 15th Century

2.6.1 Where had been populated

When the Ottomans conquered the region, the existing rural settlements had already been abandoned during the invasions of Tatars and continuous war period with the Ottomans and native inhabitants took refuge in fortified cities and towns. For this reason, revival of the existing settlement system was the primary concern of the central authority. Appendix 2 shows the map of pre-Ottoman settlement system of the Nigbolu region, and it is seen that the main settlement area was the Tirnova district, where the capital city of the Bulgarian Kingdom was located. This region was the settlement area of the military class and Bulgarian boyar families and the settlements of the region were located on the fertile lands along the rivers of the Yanta Basin. The other old settlement areas of the Nigbolu region was the Lom Basin and along the streams located west and south-western of Şumnu. Significant old settlements of the Large uninhabited lands were consisting a very significant part of the sandjak and these regions were arid areas far from the river basins.

Table 2.3

Muslim Villages in Nigbolu Sandjak in the Last Quarter of the 15th century				
Village	MH	MU	Revenue	
Krayište Tirnovi		14	NA	1800
Tenca Tirnovi		18	7	3599
Çadırlu Tirnovi		14	7	1598
Şahinci Tirnovi		14	11	1346
Malgarid Lofça		8	5	1076
Kolanlar Lofça		45	12	4010
Karlı İzladi		10	2	826
İstizarova Niğbolu		12	2	2129
Suha-Meçka Niğbolu		3	3	387
Bile-Voda Niğbolu		8	3	880
Duşevo Tirnovi		3	3	534
Dran Tirnovi		3	1	592
Mekiş Tirnovi		13	7	1752
Puşeva Tirnovi		2	4	276

MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried Man

In the last quarter of the 15th century, there were 247 Christian, 68 mix, 29 Turkish villages and 12 mezraas in the sandjak.³⁹ Settled and nomad Muslim Anatolian households were registered in villages and mezraas of Tirnovi, Nigbolu, Şumnu and Krapıç. Although most of these villages were depopulated old Bulgarian settlements, there were new Muslim villages in the regions. Table 2.3 shows the repopulated and new villages located in Tirnovi, Nigbolu, and Lofca regions. In the tax surveys of the Ottoman Balkans, Anatolian nomads were the main immigrant group registered in the newly conquered lands but adapting a settled peasant life was a requirement for the Ottoman system to raise a regular tax revenue and fulfilment of

³⁹ In fact there were more mezraa registered in the defters but but this study examining only the mezraas either recorded in both registers or having a distinctive feature that should be taken into account.

specific services and production of specific goods and crops. Almost a hundred year from the conquest, there were peasant Muslim households in pure Muslim and mix villages in the main settlement areas of the sandjak but settled Christian peasant population was always much more crowded than the Anatolian Muslim settlers in these settlements. Christian- Muslim mix villages are an interesting case and it should be considered separately because as it is seen in Table 2.4, Muslim population

Table 2.4

Populated Christian Villages in the last Quarter of the 15th Century			
Village	MH	CH	CW
Balvan Tırnovi	1	69	5
Batoşova Tırnovi	2	20	2
Bojiçene Çernovi	1	22	4
Borima Niğbolu	1	72	7
Bresniç Lofça	2	26	4
Bresniçe Kievo	2	26	4
Brestovice-i Pavlikan			
Lofça	7	40	4
Debneva Niğbolu	6	119	8
Dimça Tırnovi	2	22	1
Gagova Krapic	1	25	2
Giran İzladı	6	18	2
Glaviçani Kievo	2	32	2
Glojan Kievo	2	51	2
Gülyan Niğbolu	9	20	
İslatine Lofça	4	38	2
Korumeniçko Tırnovi	6	35	3

MH: Muslim Household CH: Christian Household CW: Christian Widow

in mixed villages was was not more than a few households and these were most probably not Anatolian immigrants but new-Muslim native people.

Also other than Anatolians, Muslim steppe people were the other immigrant group came and settled in the Nigbolu region in the post conquest era. According to Ashik-pasha-zade, after the Ottoman conquests in the fifteenth century, Tatar tribes were one of the first newcomers of the region.⁴⁰ The 16th century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi states that after the Ottomans capturing of Kilia in 1484, Tatars from the steppe region with Anatolian nomadic tribes and peasants were settled in Dobrudja during the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512).⁴¹ Surveys of the 15th century registers many Tatar immigrants as “*Tatarân-i Nev*” many new and new Tatar immigrants came to Yanbolu was registered as “*cemaat-i Tatarân-i nev*” who came by ship in 1468.⁴²

2.6.2 Re-population of Abandoned Old Settlements and New Muslim Villages: Villages, Mezraas, Yenices and Anatolian Nomads

In the last quarter of the 15th century, there were many Anatolian nomad and a few Christian households were registered in villages and mezraas of Tirnovi, Gerilçe, Şumnu and Nigbolu. Among them, Slavic names of some mezraas listed in Table 2.5

⁴⁰ “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.

⁴¹ Evliya Çelebi, Seyahat-name, Istanbul 1315, v. II, p. 134-146.

⁴² İnkılap Kütüphanesi, M. Cevdet Yazma Vesikalari, O.89. 19-20, 22. In Gökbilgin T., 1957. Rumelide Tatarlar Yörükler ve Evlad-ı Fatihan. Istanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 18.

indicate that these were depopulated old settlements. Populous nomad tribes were the main source of demography to populate these abandoned settlement network and these potential settlers should be distributed among the lands so as to provide the optimum division of labor and maximum efficiency as the basic principle of maximizing the tax revenues of the provincial army and imperial budget.⁴³ Nomadic tribes, *yörüks*, were the first Anatolian immigrants on the newly conquered, depopulated, loosely populated or uninhabited lands of the Nigbolu Sandjak because compare to sedentary population, nomadic tribes could quickly adapt themselves to new environment and natural conditions in new lands.⁴⁴ According to İnalçık the word *yürük* originally used as a financial term in the Ottoman chancery referring to all groups leading a nomadic way of life who immigrated to western Anatolia and the Balkans, where they were subject to a special status other than peasants.⁴⁵ This term is coming from the Turkish root *yürü-* or *yörü-* means walk and the suffix *-k* gives the meaning that the person performs the action as away of life. This word was used as a financial and administrative term in the Ottoman system that refers to all group. *Yörüks* were generally concentrated in loosely populated the borderlands, rocky mountains and seasonal settlements called *mezraa*, which was the systematic policy of central governments in Asia minor and Iran in order to prevent nomadic masses

⁴³ See, Barkan, Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler(II), İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, c. XIII ,Ankara, 1942, sf. 279-304. Especially see, s. 1-4, pp. 56-57.

⁴⁴ For why nomads were preferred to be settled in the newly conquered lands see İnalçık (1994), p. 34-35; Şahin, Emecan, Hallaçoğlu (1989), p. 25; Gökbilgin (1957), p. 14.

⁴⁵ İnalçık, Halil. "The Yürüks, their origins, expansion and economic role," in R. Pinner and W. Denny, eds., Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies, London (1986): 42.

from harming cultivated agrarian lands that was the main source of revenue for the land empires.⁴⁶

Table 2.5

Examples of Mezraas in Nigbolu Sandjak in the Late 15th Century								
	MH	MU	CH	CU	CW	MNH and Others	Revenue	
Aladađlu mz. Gerilova Çareva		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	20	324
Kısaliça mz. Tirnovi		NA	NA	4	NA	NA	NA	462
Kalinçe mz. Şumnu		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	11	488
Kaloten mz. Tirnovi		3	NA	1	NA	NA	NA	262
Kargusiñçe mz. Gerilova		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	600
Kırmalova Vlad mz. Gerilçe		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	9	250
Petrik Senadin mz. Gerilova		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	5	200
Raklum mz. Gerilçe		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6	100
Sindel mz. Şumnu		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	12	630
Virbiçe mz. Nigbolu		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	400
Virbinova mz. Tirnovi		NA	NA	2	NA	NA	NA	370

MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried **CH:** Christian Household

CU: Cristian Unmarried **CW:** Christian Widow **MNH:** Muslim Nomad Househol

Mezraa type settlements were very important lands for Ottoman timariots because these uninhabited lands were granted to *timar* holders, officers, and members of sufi orders to be populated. In *tahrir* registers, there were some mezraas regisrered as arable land (*ekinlik*) of a village and some others that were registered as seasonal

⁴⁶ Barkan, Ö.,L., Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizaston Metodu Olarak Sürgünler, İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası X (1949-1950).

settlements (yaylak) of yörüks or some others registered as empty settlements. Table 2.6 shows the list of examples for these mezraas in Nigbolu Sandjak, where some Christian households were registered as permanent and Muslim nomad households as temporary settlers of these settlements. Both village and mezraa type settlements are seem to be similar or even the same. To be able to determine if a settlement is a village or mezraa, some distinguishing criteria of a typical village settlement should be clarified. *Mezraa or mezra* (or *ekinlik* in Turkish), means arable land, a field that designates a periodic settlement or a deserted village. There should be permanent settlers of a village but mezraa was a piece of land that was seasonally cultivated and inhabited. In the Ottoman *kanunnames*, it was required to be checked if it was a ruined village having its own water supply and semetary, a church or a masjid, which were indicators of a settled life for a long time and besides these, borders of villages could be determined in tax registers and also each village had its own *kethüda*.⁴⁷ Ruined villages were registered in defters as *metruk* (abandoned) land and while registering newly populated villages and *mezraas*, an information note was written down as “*haric-ez defter*” in the survey.⁴⁸

Mezraa was an independent unit having its own name different than the neighboring village and in time, status of a mezraa could change and it could become a village or visa verse is a common case seen in 15th and 16th century Ottoman land

⁴⁷ İnalçık, Halil, “Empire and Population”, In: An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914. Halil İnalçık and Donald Quataert (eds) (Cambridge University,1994). p. 162.

⁴⁸ Barkan, Ömer Lütfi. 1943. XV ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları. Cilt I. Kanunlar. İstanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi, 53, 133, 190.

surveys. An uninhabited land granted to timar holders, palace officers, or dervishes was populated, it became a source of tax revenue in the timar system and in time it could be registered as village in surveys.

Table 2.6

		Examples of Mezraas in Nigbolu Sandjak in the Late 15th Century						
		MH	MU	CH	CU	CW	MNH and Others	Revenue
Aladađlu mz.								
Gerilova		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	20	324
Babalar mz.	Ekinlik of							
Şumnu	Kosiva	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	200
Çareva								
Kisaliça mz.								
Tırnovi		NA	NA	4	NA	NA	NA	462
Dokuz Deresi	Ekinlik of							
mz. Kurşuna	Vilçitrin	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Kalinçe mz.								
Şumnu		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	11	488
Kaloten mz.								
Tırnovi		3	NA	1	NA	NA	NA	262
Kargusiņe								
mz. Gerilovo		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	600
Kırnalova Vlad								
mz. Gerilçe		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	9	250
Petrik Senadin								
mz. Gerilova		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	5	200
Plakova mz.								
Tırnovi	Hâlî	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Raklum mz.								
Gerilçe		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	6	100
Rarkova								
mz. Tırnovi	Hâlî	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Sindel mz.								
Şumnu		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	12	630
Virbiçe mz.								
Nigbolu		NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	400
Virbinova mz.								
Tırnovi		NA	NA	2	NA	NA	NA	370

MH: Mus

lim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried **CH:** Christian Household **CU:** Christian Unmarried

CW: Christian Widow **MNH:** Muslim Nomad Household

In the 15th century, Anatolian nomads were registered as the seasonal settlers of these mezraas and Slavic names of these mezraas indicate they were old-Bulgarian villages whose settlers were either deported to Istanbul like Kalugerevo or living in other villages such as 46 household and 15 unmarried Christian Settlers of Gradişte in Şumnu, 14 household and 3 unmarried settlers of Sedlarova in İslivne, 37 household, 10 unmarried, 2 widow settlers of Leşniçe in Lofça. and there are many *der-kenars* on deported native Christians, as it is seen in Nefs-i Çibri and Kalugerevo, and also there are some other *der-kenars* noted about settlers of some villages and mezraas whose settlers had migrated to other villages and were registered in their new settlements. Purpose of writing down such *der-kenars* could be to keep the information of all tax payers and tax revenues in the *defters* so as to see changes and make alterations to increase timar lands and *timar* revenues. Also *cizye* was poll-tax levied on non-Muslim subjects of the Empire and it was one of the significant tax revenue of the imperial budget. According to the demographic information in registers, there were 681,452 non-Muslim households subject to the poll-tax in the Balkans and the total amount of the poll-tax revenue in 1488-1489 in the Empire was 30.71 million *akçe* (silver coin).⁴⁹ For this reason, internal migrations and new settlements of depopulated villages' former inhabitants were registered and any change in their location or status was noted in surveys meticulously.

⁴⁹ See, İnalçık, H., "Djizya", EI². II.562-566.

Table 2.7

Examples of Mezraas to be Populated in the Nigbolu Sandjak in the late 15th century	
Kesre mz. (İsmardiniçe) Tirnovi	Given to Kâtib Lütfi to be populated
Çareva Kladeñçe mz. Tirnovi	Given to Muhiddin to be populated
Novasil mz. (Yanakinçe) Tirnovi	Given to Karacaoğlu Mahmud to be populated
Tatar Yurdu mz. Lofça	Given to Eynehan to be populated

Mezraas in the late 15th century Nigbolu Sandjak were the main settlements of Anatolian nomadic tribes and Krapıç was one of the interesting region where *yörük* households settled seasonally. Hamza Fakih, Haymak, İzlatova, Kara Han, Kulkal Obası, Rakkum, Resuller, Saru Ali, and Vırbova Vlad were mezraas of Krapıç whose inhabitants were *yörüks*. İzlatova, Rakkum, and Vırbova Vlad were abandoned old villages and native Christian population of the region migrated in Gagova, Opaka, Pramaliçe, and Rasuhad. A number of empty mezraas after the migration of Christian settlers became appropriate lands for settlements of Anatolian newcomers, which can be one of the reasons behind density of the *yörük* population in the region. Granting of uninhabited mezraas to be populated was the main method of repopulation of the old settlement network in Nigbolu Sandjak. Table 2.7 shows some

examples of such grant of abandoned lands given to be populated, which were pre-Ottoman settlements depopulated during the war and devastation period before the conquest. Also there are other *mezraas* inhabited by Anatolian *yörüks* such as Aydın Obası, Azizler, Çaruk Ali, Derzi Musa, Kaluger, and Paşa Yiğit, where inhabitants were nomadic tribes seasonally settle and cultivate on these lands. Only exception among these *yörük mezraas* was Paşa Yiğit, where 17 *yörük* households inhabited and they were cultivating the arable land and paying the regular agrarian tax (*öşr*) like any ordinary reaya, which was an example implying that the tribal Muslim communities in the region were gradually adapting their nomadic life to transhumans or sedentary life-style in the last quarter of the 15th century. Especially the two *mezraas*, Emir Doğan and Hayreddin, were good examples for the final stage of the gradual settlement process of Anatolian nomads in the region, where settlers of the two *mezraas* were Muslims and no *yörük* household was registered among the inhabitants of these *mezraas*.

The other type of Muslim settlement was “Yenice” (new settlement in Turkish) founded nearby an old Christian settlement. Muslim settlers did not live in the same settlements with the native Christian population and they found a “Yenice” nearby a Christian village such as Yenice-i Kebir, Yenice-i Muslim, Yenice-i Sagir.⁵⁰ Compare to the re-populated old settlements, the number of *yenices* was not significant in the sandjak in the last quarter of the 15th century but these villages can

⁵⁰ For the Slavic and Turkish names of villages see Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa’da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1982), IV, 46-125.

be considered as the first examples of new, purely Muslim Anatolian settlements and basis of the dominantly Turkish settlement regions of the sandjak in the following centuries.

2.6.3 Onomastics of Double named villages and Mezraas

15th century Nigbolu registers are the unique archival materials including the earliest onomastic information on the pre-Ottoman Slavic, Turkic and the first post-conquest Muslim settlement names, which are the only source about the tribal names of the first Anatolian nomad settlers and their villages divided into two or more villages in the 16th century. The onomastic information in these surveys could be categorized under two titles: Double Slavic named villages and Double named villages registered with old Slavic and new Turkish name. Table 2.8 lists examples from the double Slavic named villages and mezraas registered in 15th century Nigbolu surveys. Some examples indicate that one of these old names was in Greek and the other was in Slavic such as village Makri (Greek: Μάκρη) also known as Kramolin (Bulgarian: Крамолин) but etymology of these pre-Ottoman place names is the other research projects I am going to complete as a post doctoral project.

Table 2.8

Double named Villagesin the 15th century Nigbolu Register: Two Slavic Names	
Kozisim (Kırtıçe) Timovi	Mramor (Betrova Sela) İvraca
Kramolin (Makri) Timovi	Goma Peştani (Çakonice)İvraca
Kalu Grova (Bela Zeka) Timovi	Lisice (Karvunce) Lofça
Gilan (Aydova Mogila) Çernovi	İzvor (Gradişenski) Lofça
Akça Kilise (Bela Çerkova)	İzvor (Mirşova) Lofça
Butofçe (Kortine) Timovi	Dragonova, (Şirgote) Lofça
Lisec (Maruvica) Nigbolu	Markova (Resene) Şumnu
İzlatariçe (Stavrek) Timovi	Karvaniçe (Vibiglav) Timovi
Çareva-Sele (Selişte) Şumnu	Blasniçova (Panega) Kievo
Rubiç (Porodim) Niğbolu	Novasil (Yanakinçe) Timovi
Drazbrod (Çomakofça) Nigbolu	Vetre Pole (Çengar) İslivne

The second category is double named villages with an old Slavic and new Turkish name. As it is seen in Table 2.9, there were Turkish place names implying nomadic groups, families and members of *sufi* orders in the list, which indicates the repopulation movement of the Anatolian newcomers, especially nomads in the rural areas of the Nigbolu sandjak. In time, while some of these settlements remaining as pure Muslim villages, former inhabitants of some villages came back and they consisted the basis of the these Muslim-Christian mix villages of the sandjak.⁵¹

⁵¹ For more information see, Aksu, İbrahim. 2005. The story of Turkish surnames : an onomastic study of Turkish family names, their origins, and related matters. Çanakkale; Stahl, Paul H. (ed.) 1998. Name and social structure : examples from Southeast Europe. Boulder : East European Monoographs. New York : Columbia University Press;
Acaroğlu, Türker. 2006. Balkanlar'da Türkçe yer adları kılavuzu. İstanbul : IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.

Table 2.9

Double Named Villages in the 15th century Nigbolu Registers: Turkish and Slavic Names	
Krayište (Eberi-Ođlu- Göl Papazi) Tırnovi	Hotalic (Hisarbeyi) Tırnovi
Nikub (Söğüt) Tırnovi	Bulgarene (Kayalı Giranı) Şumnu
İzlatova (Ak Bunar)	Kirkçe (İvazlar)
Elena (Gelincik) Tırnovi	Trestenik (Doyran Obası) Lofça
Selinçe (Küçük) Niğbolu	Proslav (Paşa Yiğit Obası) Kievo
Ali Fakih(ler) (Ohodin) Tırnovi	

15th century village names helps researchers to understand the demographic developments and changes in settlement patterns of the 16th century, when these populous Turkish groups and increasing population of local Christians consisted the two or more villages divided from the existing old settlement during the peace and stability period after the conquest. It is seen as early as the last quarter of the 15th century that upward demographic trend in the Ottoman Nigbolu was a determinant for the central authority to decide which villages should have been divided into two and registers of the 1479 and 1483 mufassal surveys of Nigbolu Sandjak give many examples for these villages such as Dolna (lower) and Gorna (upper) such as Dolna and Gorna Dolna Çumniçe in Krayova and Dolna and Gorna Kruşova in Çernovi.

2.6.4 Profile of Anatolian Immigrants in Rural areas of the Nigbolu Sandjak in the 15th century

Anatolian nomads voluntarily migrated to these lands or deported by the central authority were the main human recourses to populate the abandoned *timar* lands in the sandjak. Nomadic tribes named as “Turkmen” in Anatolia was registered as “*yörük*” or “*yörük hanesi*” in the Balkans and *yörük* became a general term used for Muslim nomad groups to distinguish them from Tatars and Christian nomads in Ottoman Balkans as well as Turkmens and Kurdish tribes of Anatolia.⁵² Table 10.2 shows the nomad households registered in villages and *mezraas* of the 15th century Nigbolu Sandjak. Nomads were registered as “*yörük hanesi*” (nomad household) in the tax-surveys, which most probably implied their seasonal settlement in these villages and *mezraas* and their lump-sum taxation. Some of these nomads groups were including more households than in some big towns and cities in the sandjak such as 47 nomad household in *mezraa* of Çaruk, or 24 nomad household in Hüseyin Farkı village. The settled Muslim peasants were registered based on *hane* (household), which indicates that even before the military *yörüks* and their *ocaks* were registered in separate *defters*, the Ottoman central authority had already been

⁵² See Kemal Güngör, *Cenubi Anadolu Yörüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya' Fakültesi Yayınları, 1940); *Derleme Sözlüğü*, XI, (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1979), 511; Halil İnalçık, "The Yuruks: Their Origins, Expansion, and Economic Role." in *Medieval Carpets and Textiles: Mediterranean Carpets, 1400-1600*, (London: Hah, 1986), I. 101-102.

distinguishing the Anatolian nomads in the *serhad* region from the settled Muslim *reaya*.⁵³

Table 2.10

Nomad Households in the last Quarter of the 15th Century					
	NH	Revenue		NH	Revenue
Kalu Grova	18	924	Sindel mz.	12	630
Kara Han mz.	9	700	Kalinçe mz.	11	488
Ak Bunarlar mz.	12	300	Küçük İcik mz.	11	882
Hamza Fakih mz.	11	250	Karacaoğlan	12	416
Aydım Obası mz.	7	350	Karaca Nasuh mz.	10	568
Raklum mz.	6	100	Köse Mustafa mz.	10	735
Terzi Mûsa mz.	6	250	Hasan Kulu	22	1242
Ersüller	13	450	Çanak Bunar mz.	7	1090
Kulkal Obası mz.	NA	NA	Hüseyin Farkı	24	1685
Saru Ali mz.	3	150	Çukur Kışla mz.	18	920
Haymak mz.	10	450	Boyna Vitaniye	15	800
Kırmalova Vlad mz.	9	250	Urum Ahmed mz.	3	100
Aladağlı	20	324	Petrik Senadin mz.	5	200
Çaruk Ali mz.	47	1087	Poliçe İlyas mz.	2	80
Çoban yurdu	10	1199	Çerk Çakır mz.	3	120
Sindel Mz.	5	593	Paşa Yiğit mz.	17	600

NH: Nomad Househol

Anatolian nomadic tribes migrated as populous groups known as “*oba*”, which is a self-formed traditional body of nomads sharing a joint territory or estate and a headman.⁵⁴ They were well organized, headed and populous enough to repopulate abandoned old Christian settlements. Table 2.11 is listing the settlements of *oba*-type nomad groups and number of the nomad households in these *obas*

⁵³ Ö.L. Barkan, “Essai Sur les Données Statistiques des Registres de Recensement dans l’Empire Ottoman aux XVe et XVIe Siècles”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I (1957): 32-3.

⁵⁴ William Irons, *The Yomut Turkmen : A Study of Social Organization Among a Central Asian Turkic-Speaking Population*, (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan, 1975), 47.

registered in the 15th century Nigbolu *defters*.⁵⁵ Revival of rural population and cultivation of arable lands were urgent problems to solve in order to set a powerful provincial army and well-functioning *timar* system in the 15th century Ottoman Balkans. Ottomans encouraged the migration movement to the Balkans because new *timar* lands and tax revenues given to timariots as salary were strongly depended on the tax going to be paid by the peasants settled in empty regions or depopulated villages. These *obas* were the appropriate immigrants with their social organization, well functioning division of labour, their specific professions and self-sufficiency in the new lands. For this reason, the westward population movement gained a formal aspect and became a state policy to populate the uninhabited or depopulated lands of Ottoman Nigbolu⁵⁶

Table 2.11

Anatolian Nomad Groups in the 15th Century Nigbolu Registers		
	NH	NH
Aydım Obası	7 Komarı Obası	21
Doyran Obası	? Kulkal- Obası	10
Dursun Obası	4 Paşa Yiğit Obası	20
Karlı Obası	10	

NH: Nomad Househol

Also names of these Anatolian settlements give information about from where these Muslim Anatolians came from. While examining the names of villages

⁵⁵ There were Christian households and unmarried men registered in some of these nomad settlements but their number is not significant. Table C aims to give an idea size of nomadic *obas* in the sandjak, for this reason the table does not include settlers other than Muslim households.

⁵⁶ See Ö.L Barkan “Ortakçı Kullar”,ed. Nesimi, Şahin, Özkan in Türkiye’de Toprak Meselesi, (İstanbul: 1980), 596- 607 and Halil İnalçık , The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire : essays on Economy and Society, (Bloomington : Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), 106.

in the Ottoman registers, In Ottoman tax registers, although there were many villages having Slavic names, Turkish settlement names indicate origin of the Anatolian settlers such as Danishment, Sarukhanlu, Mentesheli, Simawli, Hamidli.⁵⁷ In the 1479 Nigbolu register, a Muslim village, Kastamonular, consisting of 9 Muslim household, Aladađlı in Gerilova consisting 20 nomad househol are a good example of such Muslim village names indicating the former settlement area of these Muslims in Anatolia.

2.7 Conclusions

15th century was the era of internal and external migrations, repopulation and emergence of new settlements as the core of the Muslim settlements in the 16th century. Native Christians dominantly settled in big towns and cities, where the small Muslim population was most probably consisting members of military class and government officials in the 15th century. Deportations of the urban citizens, Jewish families, Bulgarian nobility, craftsmen and merchants to newly conquered Constantinople sometimes swept the population of a city (*nefs*) as a whole or a significant number of household in a big town. The 1.3% of the Muslim Anatolian whole population registered in the urban centers indicates that, peasant or nomadic Anatolian immigrants did not prefer to settle in big cities and towns in the 15th

⁵⁷ See, ERÖZ, Mehmet. 1986. "Sosyolojik Yönden Türk Yer Adlari", Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi, 12 1986. Gökbilgin. 1957. Evlâd-i Fâtihân, 93-105.

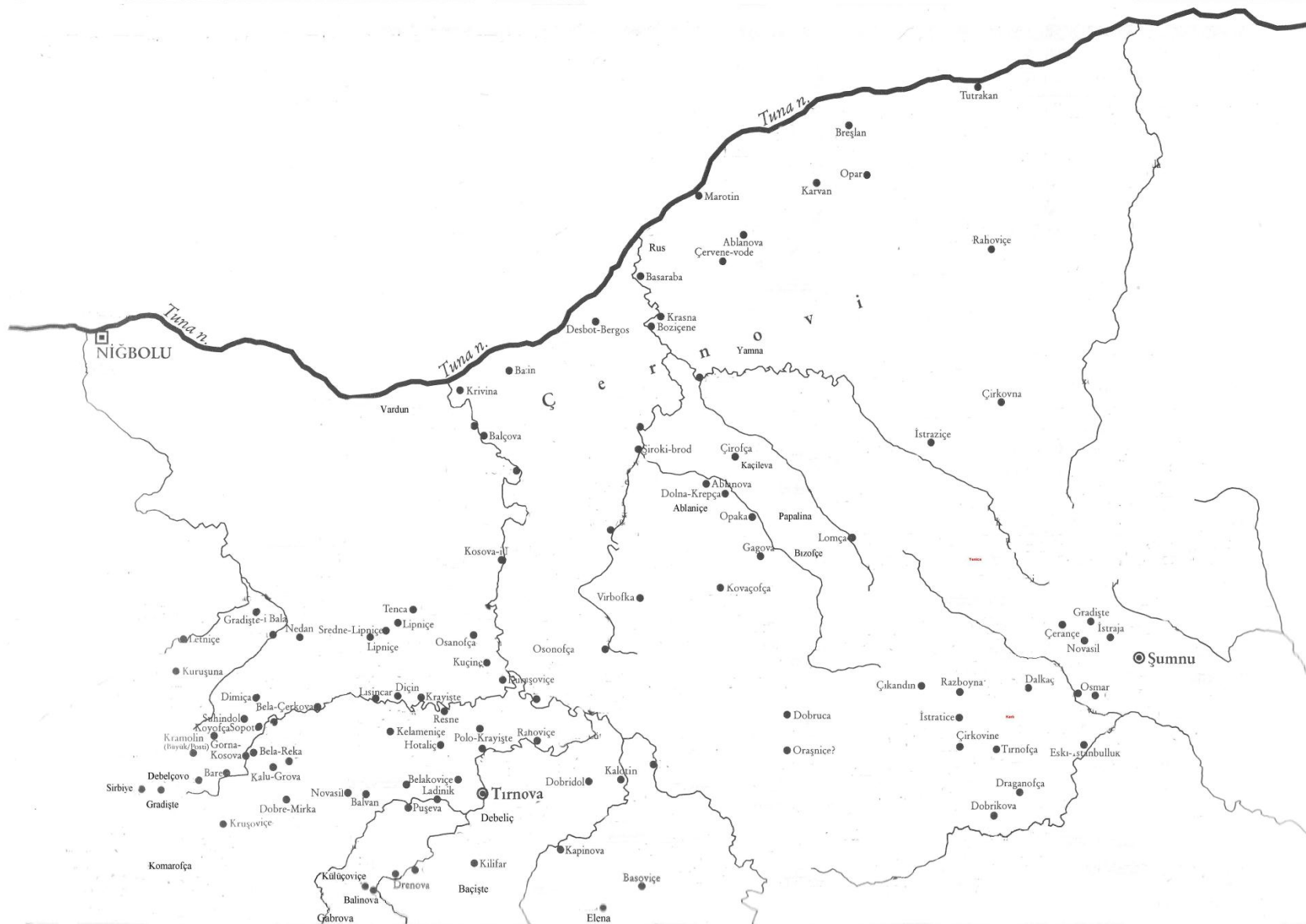
century and these urban centers remained as the settlement areas of native Christian population who still did not return their former rural settlements in the post-conquest era.

The main concern of the central authority during the 15th century was to recover the old Christian settlements abandoned during the pre-conquest war and destruction era as the basis of the strong provincial army (*timar* system) depended on agrarian tax revenue. Although there were Muslim villages as the basis of the Anatolian settlements in the following centuries, Anatolian immigrants had already been settled in some depopulated old Christian villages that were registered with both a Turkish and a Slavic name in the late 15th century surveys. On the other hand, there were still many ruined pre-Ottoman rural settlements that had not been populated yet in the Nigbolu Sandjak and they were registered as seasonal settlements (*mezraas*), where populous nomadic *obas* seasonally used as summer pastures or winter shelters but these *mezraas* registered with Slavic names had not completely recovered yet in the last decades of the 15th century and the process rural demographic recovery, return of native Christians to their former settlements and emergence of Muslim newcomers' settlement areas continued in the 16th century. Muslim village names and Turkish names of the double named villages indicate that these nomad mass migration was organized and commanded by members of *sufi* orders and these spiritual and religious leaders of the nomadic tribes gave their names to the new and populated Muslim or mix villages, which had been the basic principle of the

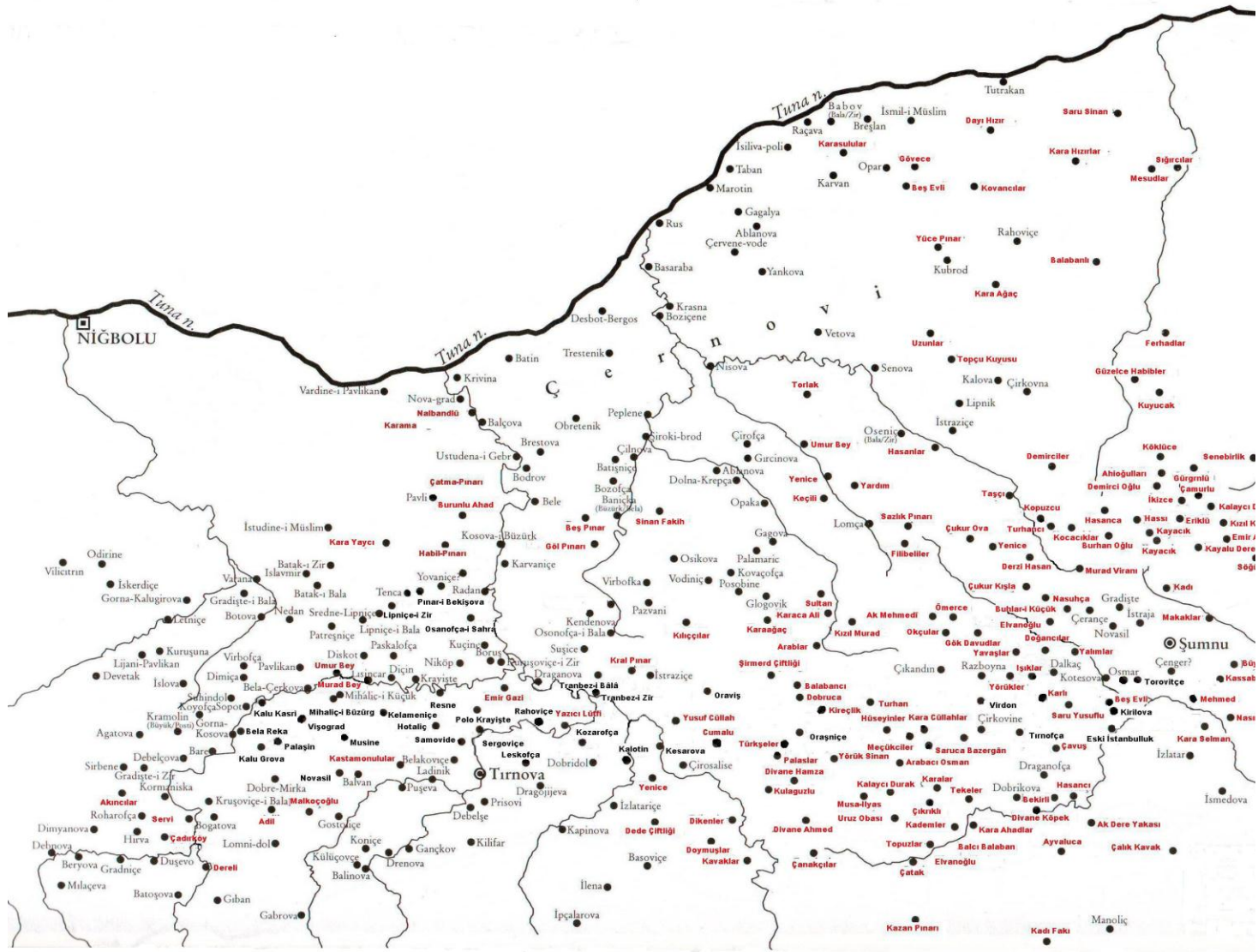
westward migration since the Seljukid times and Ottomans used this as a tool of settlement and demographic policy of the central authority in the newly conquered lands and the Sultan promoted the dervishes and sheikhs with land grants and tax exemptions, which is clearly seen with many examples in the 16th century registers.

During the 15th century, settlement profile of the Anatolian immigrants did not change very much because populous, well-organized and self-sufficient nomadic tribes seeking for better pasturelands were the main human resource of the re-population and settlement movement. Although there were Muslim peasant population in re-populated villages, a significant number of nomadic household and many tribal *oba* names were registered in the 15th century Nigbolu surveys in abandoned old rural settlement regions, which indicates that the main actors of Anatolian Muslim migration in the 15th century Ottoman Nigbolu were nomadic tribes and central authority directed them towards the depopulated regions under the command of *sufi* dervishes to recover the old settlement system and in the 16th century, these nomadic *obas* were going to be the basis of the many newly founded or divided Muslim settlements extending the existing settlement network to the uninhabited regions of the sandjak.

Map 1: Pre-Ottoman Settlements of Nigbolu Region



Map 2: Old, Repopulated and Newly Founded Villages in Nigbolu Sandjaks in the last quarter of the 15th Century



CHAPTER 3

CHANGING SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND IMMIGRANT PROFILE OF NIGBOLU SANDJAK: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE ON THE EVE OF A NEW ERA

Danubian border was the center of the rivalry between Ottomans and Habsburgs during the first half of the 16th century.¹ The new war period increased the importance of higher tax revenues for timariots in the Balkans. In 1528, timar holders constituted the most important part of the Ottoman army and tax revenue of hass and timar bestowed as to the provincial army was 33% of the total imperial budget and also increasing importance of auxiliary troops, producing enough provision for the army, need of highly specialized producers of military equipments, and many other services needed for feeding and moving troops to the battle fields in hundred miles away in Hungarian or Austrian border required more

¹ See, Shaw Stanford J. 1976-1977. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 1*. New York : Cambridge University Press, 55-112; Géza Dávid. and Pál Fodor (eds.) 2000. *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe : the military confines in the era of Ottoman conquest* . Leiden ; Boston : Brill; Evans, J. W. 2006. *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c.1683-1867*. Oxford University Press, 75-101; Sugar Peter. 1997. *Nationality and society in Habsburg and Ottoman Europe*. Brookfield: Variorum.

human resources, settlements and highly specialized division of labour in Ottoman Nigbolu in the 16th century.² Due to the Ottoman military commitments in Anatolia and Egypt during the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512) and Selim I (1512-1520) and also Ottoman-Safavid rivalries in the 16th century, there were not any campaign on Hungary and Belgrade as the gate of the central Europe until the reign of Suleyman I (1520-1566). The sultan first marched on Hungary and after the conquest of Belgrade in 1521, all important Hungarian fortresses along the Danube fell to the hands of the Ottomans. After death of the Hungarian king Louise II (1516-1526) in the battle of Mohács, Hungarian kingdom disintegrated, which was the beginning of the long-term military confrontation between Ottomans and the Habsburgs on the Danubian border. Ottomans launched seven campaigns on the region during 16th and 17th centuries. Detailed (*mufassal*) registers of Nigbolu Sandjak show how settlement system, settlers and immigrant profile were changed in the 16th century and new policies of the central authority shaped the demography of urban centres and rural settlement system to fulfil requirements of the new era on the Danubian border.³

² İnalçık. 1996. Social and Economic History, 88-90; Barkan, Ö.L “H. 933 – 934 (M. 1327 -1528) Mali Yılına Ait Bir Bütçe Örneği”. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası XV (1953- 1954): 251- 329

³ BOA, MAD 11, 922 Tarihli Nigbolu Livasi Mufassal Defteri and BOA, TD382 Nigbolu Mufassal Defteri (1556).

3.1 Continuity and Change in the Ottoman Nigbolu During the 16th Century

Until the 16th century, migration of Muslim Anatolians and return of native Christian families to the depopulated old settlements changed demographic structure of urban centers and rural areas of Nigbolu sandjak. The old Christian settlements became populous Muslim-Christian mix settlements of the 16th century Nigbolu region after the return of the pre-conquest native settlers and this category of settlements. Table 3.1 shows some examples of these mix villages and it is seen that although settlers were either dominantly Christian or dominantly Muslim, some of these villages were bigger than some towns of the region.

Table 3.1

Examples of Mixed Villages in the 16th Century Nigbolu Sandjak						
	MH	MU	CH	CU	CW	
Gagova Hezargrad	20	6	37	44	NA	
Oraşnice Şumnu	6	4	43	31	NA	
Hamidlu Şumnu	72	52	10	7	NA	
Razboyna Şumnu	9	4	90	75	1	
Ayvacic (Virbofça) Şumnu	5	2	144	230	1	
Dolna Kovaçofça Hezargrad			7	117	74	1
Karac(a) Veli - Körpe Hezargrad	4	3	29	23	NA	
Haydar Voynuk Hezargrad	5	1	24	93	NA	
Gagova Hezargrad	20	6	37	44	NA	

MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried **CH:** Christian Household
CU: Christian Unmarried **CW:** Christian Widow

On the other hand, demographic trend from late 15th to mid 16th century indicates that demographic structure of some old villages did not change through decades. Table 3.2 shows some examples of these old villages where population remained Christian even in the mid-16th century. Anatolian Muslim immigrants did not settle in these villages and although deportation of some urban and rural settlers to Constantinople, native Christians were an integral part of the re-population movement in the Nigbolu Sandjak and comparison of late 15th and mid-16th century registers shows that especially in some old settlement regions, they participated revival of the pre-Ottoman settlement network more than the Anatolian Muslim immigrants.

Table 3.2

Demographic Changes in the Nigbolu Sandjak: From 15th to 16th Century						
		HM	MU	CH	CU	CW
Despot Bergos Çernovi	1479/1483	NA	NA	27	NA	NA
	1556	NA	1	130	136	NA
Markova (Resene) Şumnu	1479/1483	1	NA	21	NA	6
	1556	NA	NA	25	17	1
Çeraşoviç Şumnu	1479/1483	NA	NA	19	5	1
	1556	1	NA	85	71	2
Oraşnice Şumnu	1479/1483	NA	NA	12	3	NA
	1556	6	4	43	31	NA

MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried **CH:** Christian Household
CU: Christian Unmarried **CW:** Christian Widow

Also among the native settlers of the Nigbolu Sandjak, members of pre-Ottoman military class were the other indicator of how adaptation and continuity of the pre-Ottoman medieval structure of the Byzantine and Bulgarian Kingdom was the basis of the Ottoman system in the Nigbolu Sandjak. Voynuk organization with their hereditary fief lands (*bashtina*) survived until the late 19th century was one of the long lasting pre-Ottoman military institutions in the Ottoman Bulgaria. Table 3.3 shows that both in late 15th, early and mid 16th century surveys of the sandjak, Voynuk villages or peasant villages whose population was including Voynuks were registered in Tirnovi, Hezargrad, Rusçuk, Şumnu and Nigbolu regions. There were many zevaid-I Vounugan households, unmarried men and widow households registered in the defters and these were Voynuk candidates living in Voynuk villages ready to replace a Voynuk when he was retired or died.

Table 3.3

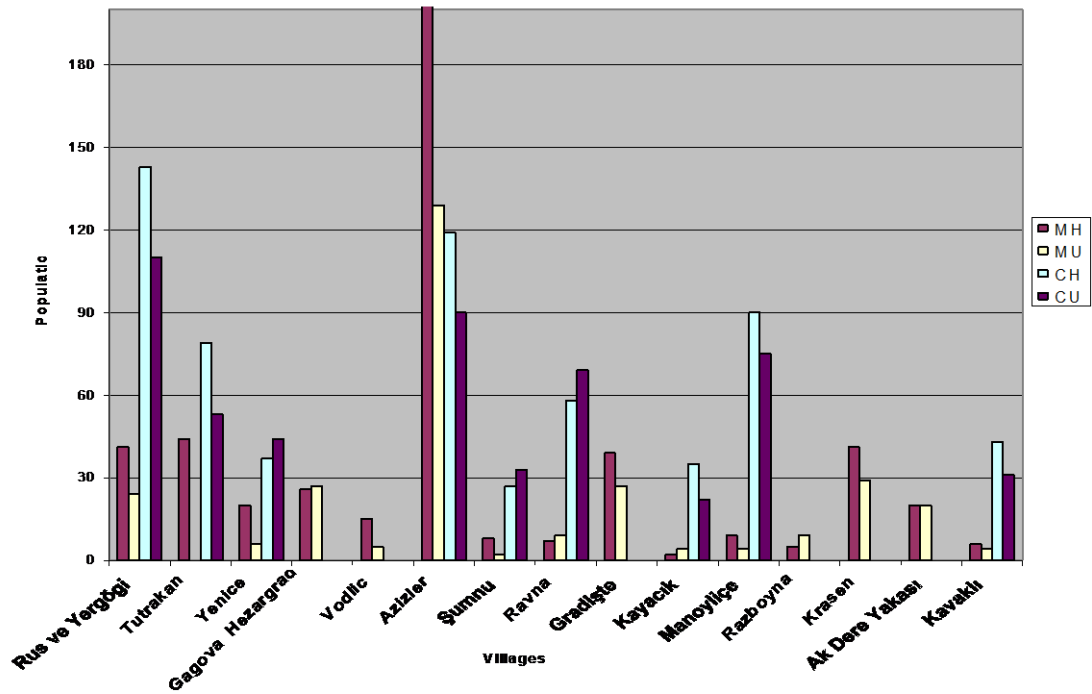
Voynuks in The 15th and 16th Century Nigbolu Registers			MH	MU	CH	CU	CW	
Voynuks in the 15th Century Nigbolu Registers	Gigan	Zevaid-I voynugan		NA	NA	6	NA	NA
	Yergögi	Zevaid-I voynugan		1	NA	49	NA	NA
	Nigbolu (Liva)	Zevaid-I voynugan		NA	NA	491	13	47
Voynuks in Peasant Villages Registered in the Mid- 16th Century Nigbolu Mufassal (1556)	Dolna Kovaçofça	Voynuks were in village population		6	7	117	74	1
	Hezargrad							
	Tranbuş-i Bâlâ	Voynuks coming from outside settled in the village to cultivate		NA	NA	43	34	NA
	Hezargrad							
	Bele Tirnovi	Zevaid-I voynugan		1	NA	35	36	NA
	Karvaniçe							
	Tirnovi	Zevaid-I voynugan		NA	NA	18	15	NA
Voynuk Villages in the Early 16th Century Nigbolu Mufassal (1516)	Batoşlice Tirnovi	Zevaid-I voynugan		NA	NA	36	15	NA
	Radan Tirnovi	Zevaid-I voynugan		NA	NA	29	18	NA
	Islova Tirnovi	Zevaid-I voynugan		1	NA	24	55	NA
	Çirnofça Tirnovi	Zevaid-I voynugan		NA	NA	11	26	1
	Letniçe Tirnovi	Zevaid-I voynugan		NA	NA	24	50	9
	Devetak Tirnovi	Zevaid-I voynugan		1	NA	6	21	3
	Vilçitrin Tirnovi	Zevaid-I voynugan		NA	NA	34	32	1

Sources: Sofia, ODBNL “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or. Abt., Signature OAK., 45/ 29; Sofia, ODBNL “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or., Abt., Signature Hk., 12/9; BOA, MAD 11, 922 Tarihli Nigbolu Livasi Mufassal Defteri; BOA, TD382 Nigbolu Mufassal Defteri (1556).

There was a continuity of pre-Ottoman structure in demography and settlement system in the Sandjak. Graph 3.1 shows some examples of villages and towns of the old settlement network in the sandjak and it is seen that revival of the old settlement system was completed in the mid-16th century. On the other hand, Christian native settlers very well adapted themselves to the new system and in the mid-16th century; Christian households were the most populous group in many urban and rural settlement of the sandjak.

Graph 3.1

Population of Old Settlements in the mid-16th century (Villages and Towns recorded in the surveys of the 15th century)



MH: Muslim Household MU: Muslim Unmarried CH: Christian Household CU: Christian Unmarried

Besides the continuity of the pre-Ottoman elements of the sandjak from 15th to 16th century, there were significant changes happened such as ethnic and religious structure, settlement system, specialization of the villages, changing in status of settlements. There were 383 Muslim villages in Çernovi, Hezargrad and Şumnu regions and 76 of them were registered in the tax survey at first time in 1556 (*haric-ez defter*). The central government targeted to populate uninhabited lands and create a settlement network on the uninhabited lands of the central and north-eastern regions of the sandjak. The new settlement pattern of Anatolian immigrants on these lands was characterized as small homogenous villages and *zawiyas* in the first half of the 16th century. Some of the *mezraas* became villages within 70 years and some of them were as populous as a big town or a city.

Table 3.4

Changing Population and Status of Some Mezraas Mezraas				
Mezraa	1479	1483	1556	
Azizler mz. Çernovi	10	9	25	Küreci, ellici, household, unmarried men
Çukur Kışla mz. Şumnu	NA	18	38	Küreci, ellici, household, unmarried men
Karaca Nasuh mz. (Nasuhça village) Şumnu	NA	10	39	Toviçe-küreci, ellici, household, unmarried men
Kliscik mz. Şumnu	NA	10	47	imam, küreci, ellici, reaya-i vakf, household, unmarried men
Raklum mz. (Raklum Village) Hezargrad	10	13	176	Muslim hane, Christian household and unmarried men

Sources: Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or. Abt., Signature OAK.,45/ 29; Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or., Abt.,Signature Hk., 12/9; BOA, TD382 Nigbolu Mufassal Defteri (1556)

Table 3.4 shows some examples for the upward population trend in these mezraas and villages and it is seen that three out of five examples were depopulated settlements in the first survey of the 15th century but just a few years later Anatolian immigrants populated these mezraas and in the mid-16th century these settlements became big villages and mezraas, among which a Christian-Muslim mix village, Raklum exhibit the most sharp upward population trend within the seventy years between the *tahrirs* and population of the settlement increased from 10 household to 176 household. The status changes from mezraa as a seasonal settlement to village as a permanent settlement was a result of the demographic developments that reflect the trend in the Nigbolu Sandjak continued in the 16th century.

3.2 A New Era in the first Half of the 16th Century

3.2.1 Changing Profile of Urban and Rural Settlements

In the 16th century, migration of Muslim Anatolians and return of native Christian families to the depopulated old settlements had already changed the demographic structure of urban centers and rural areas of Nigbolu sandjak. Graph 3.2 shows that in the urban centers, Christian household was still the most

populous group but increasing Muslim Anatolian household and Muslim unmarried men appeared in cities as a new category of settler indicate that settled Muslim Anatolian immigrants, craftsmen, artisans were prefer to settle in big cities, which indicate that in the 16th century, as well as Anatolian nomads, settled Muslim newcomers became a part of the demography of the Nigbolu Sandjak. General composition of the Ottoman reaya in Çernovi and Hezargrad reflects the different components of the Ottoman system in the region. In both Çernovi and Hezargrad villages ellici, eşkünci and ellici, veled-i eşkünci and ellici were very common registers. Also reaya-i Medine-i münevvere and reaya-i Evrenos Bey are the most common wakf reaya. Âl-i Resul, seyyid, and their sons were registered in many villages. Beside these, toviçe, zenberekci, müselleme, küreci, doğancı are the other professions that we see in the 1556 defter. Interestingly, sometimes ethnic origin of subjects was registered such as Rum, İflah (Vlah), Arab, Macar, Latinan. Sometimes we can learn from where a subject came from such as Anadolu and Anadolulu, Karamanlu, Babadağlı, İstanbulî. Also both in villages and towns, professions were registered such as ahengeran, kazancı, arabacı, nalbant, sarrac, eskici, hıyyad, semerci.

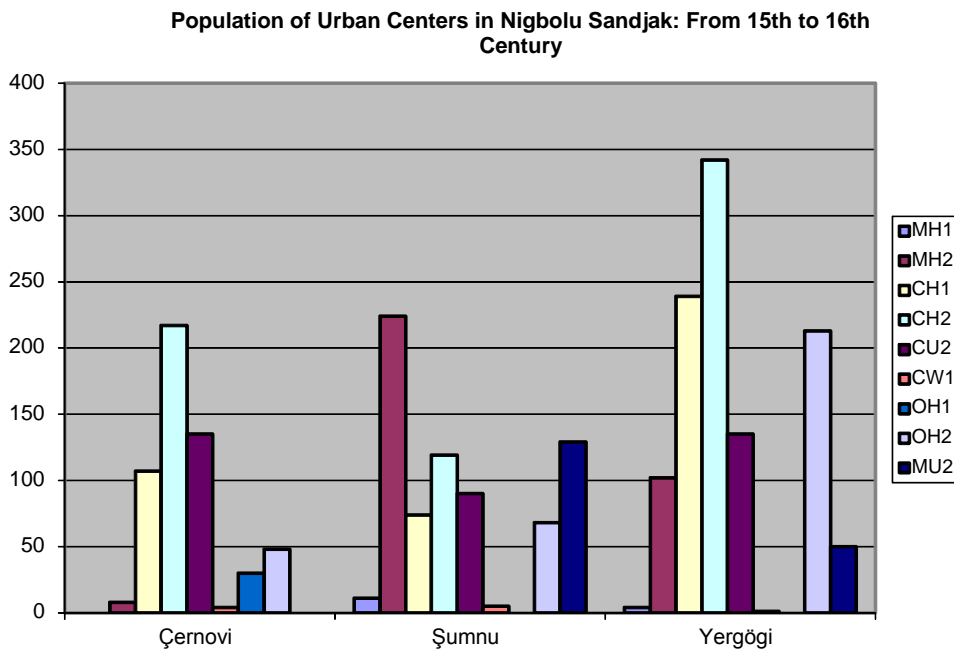
In the Central and North-Eastern regions of the sandjak, Yergögi and Rus were the most strategic fortresses of the region along the Danubian border against any attack coming from the north bank of the river. Members of Ottoman military class, categorized in “OH” in Table 3.5 indicates that in these fortified cities, a

large number of *merd-I kal''a*, *martolos*, *toviçe*, *sipahi* and *yeniçeri* were registered among the settlers of these cities., which indicate that the threat of the anti-Ottoman alliances and continuous attacks from the north bank of the river increased the number of soldiers located in the Danubian fortresses of Nigbolu Sandjak along the south bank of the river and in the 16th century there were a significant increase in the number of Christian and Muslim soldiers in Danubian fortresses of the sandjak.

Profile of rural settlers, especially settlers of Muslim villages founded in empty regions of Şumnu, Hezargrad and Çernovi, indicate significantly changing profile of Muslim immigrants from late 15th to mid-16th century. These Muslim settlers from Asia Minor were Muslim nomadic groups and both names of the settlers and newly founded villages indicate ties with pre-Islamic Central Asian Culture and sufi orders. Western Anatolia deeply affected the demografic and cultural structure of the Ottoman Bulgaria since the pre-conquest era. Sheiks of the religious orders became spiritual leaders of these nomad masses in the Seljukid border and members of the sufi orders controlled, organized and directed the immigration and settlement of these populous nomadic tribes. Policies of the central government on the was too different in Bulgaria than policies put into practice in the Western Anatolian nomadic tribes, especially in the sixteenth century which was the era of struggles, and attacks on the Danubian border. In the sixteenth- century, nomads were 83.4 per cent of the total Muslim population in western Anatolia and they were settled in

villages but on the other hand, nomadism was institutionalized as transhumance in Ottoman Bulgaria.⁴ There were many *kanunnames* codifying migratory routes of nomads as well as their tax-exemptions and privileges. On the other hand, agrarian activities were a supplementary part of nomadic pastoral life and within an adaptation period, nomads who were took part in military organization were settled in the empty or uninhabited lands of the Nigbolu Sandjak.⁵

Graph 3.2



MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried **CH:** Christian Household **CU:** Christian Unmarried **CW:** Christian Widow **OH:** Others Household **1:** 15th Century **2:** 16th Century

⁴ Speros Jr Vryonis. "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23/24 (1969/1970): 261.

⁵ Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert, eds. *An Economic and Social history of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1994), 37-40

Recovery of the native Christian population in the rural settlements had already been achieved at the beginning of the 16th century, which required to define a new settlement policy for the growing number of settled peasants and immigrant population. The new policy in the 16th century targeted to extend the existing settlement system towards the uninhabited regions of the sandjak, which requires a new immigrant profile as smaller, self-sufficient nomad groups who could survive on the uninhabited lands having limited arable lands but convenient pastures for animal husbandry. The new settlement pattern of the 16th century on the uninhabited lands were very different than it had been in the depopulated villages in the 15th century, which was small and homogenous settlements of Muslim nomad clans or families open to new-Muslims and freed slaves. The populous nomad *obas* had to adapt a new structure as smaller groups based on family or clan relationship living in small rural villages in a settlement network of newly inhabited regions of the sandjak. Family names such as Dođanođulları, Bacıođulları, Ahiođulları, Elvanođlları indicate these clan and blood relationships among the settlers of the new villages, which can be a kind of divided *oba*-type social structure of the nomad groups in the Ottoman Nigbolu.

3.2.2 Changing Nomad Identity and Its Implications in Names of Villages and Cemaats

In many villages of the Ottoman Bulgaria were named based on their specialization in production of specific goods and services, the region they were settled, name of their chiefs or leaders.⁶ In Yanbolu region, Naldöğen (farrier) yörüks with the *cemaat* of Yaydöğen in the same region were registered based on their specialization (farriery) as it was in Anatolia. Ottoman central authority assigned nomad groups living in the forest areas to make and deliver a certain number of arrows to the army and local garrisons each year and in return of their service they were granted tax exemptions and some specific privileges.⁷ In the mid sixteen century, many village names in Şumnu, Hezargrad and Çernovi regions implying specialized production of some military goods and needs of the army such as Kılıççılar (sword makers), Okçular (arrow Makers), Okçu Pınarı, Palancılar, and Taşçılar (Maisons) in Hezargrad were good examples for these specialized nomads. On the other hand, there were some other members of the nomad society settled in these villages who produced some other specific goods that based on animal husbandry such as yağcı and küreci, which indicates the nomad origin of the inhabitants. On the other hand nomads like Vize and Selanik

⁶ According Gluboski, Turkic tribes followed the two ways towards Europe: One is passing through Russian steppes and the second way passing through Iran and Anatolia. These tribes following the first way kept their tribal names such as Pecheneks, Uz, Tatars, and Kumans in the Balkans and these tribes following the second way are generally called Oguz but specifically these tribes were took the name of their leaders and even when they became ruling dynasties, they kept the name of their chiefs such as Seljuks and Ottomans. Glubovski (1884) cited by Manof (1939), p.8-9 and Ülküsal (1966),p.15-16.

⁷ For these villages see, X. dePlanhol, “ Les nomades, la steppe et la forêt en Anatolie,” Geographische Zeitschrift, 53 (1965).

Yörüks were named based on the region they were settled. Also chief of some nomad groups gave his name to these cemaats such as Koca Musa, Beylüler or nomadic tribes known as Kocacık Yörükleri in Yanbolu region whose chief was Koca Hamza. The cemaat of Koca Hamza Yörüks, registered in the mulk (private property) of *âyan-ı yeniçeri* Mustafa Bey in the 16th century was not other than the military nomad group known as *Kocacık Yörükleri*.⁸

The other distinctive feature of the Muslim nomads in Bulgaria was their military status in the provincial army. In the first decades of the 16th century, military yörüks were registered in separate defters and these surveys with *kanunnames* (law code) indicate that “la mekan yörüks” were a part of the military class and they were distinguished from the other Muslim nomads participating the population of uninhabited regions or specialized in production of some specific goods and services for the army. Both the nomadic and the settled yörüks were organized as an important part of the Ottoman army in western Anatolia during the first centuries of the Ottoman state. “*Ocak*” was the core unit of the yörük organization and until the reign of Suleyman the Lawgiver, an *ocak* had consisted of twenty five *nefer* 5 of whom had been eşkinçi (soldier going on campaigns) and twenty of them had been yamak (paying for the soldier’s expenses) but in the *kanunnames* of the Suleyman I’s reign, the number of *nefer* in an *ocak* was thirty

⁸ See Gökbilgin, *Evlad-ı Fatihan*, p. 27-28.

and each *yamak* paid 50 akche in the time of campaign.⁹ Graph 3.4 shows *ocak* numbers of the military nomads in the four *yörük defters* kept in the 16th century and it is seen that military nomad population was increased in mid 16th century more than other periods.¹⁰ In the 1556 Nigbolu mufassal register, too many ellicies who were either new-Muslims bearing typical nomad names or freed- slaves registered as son of his ex-master with the same title, ellici. The only explanation in the archival sources for this situation is an article added to the end of the Kanunname of Naldöken Yörüks living in Nigbolu, Tirnova, Lofca and Şumnu dated to the reign of the Murad III (1574-1595). The Kadı (judge) of Zagra-i Atık informed that many *yamaks* paying fifty akche to eşküncies in the region was died and the number of *yamaks* that should be 25 for per 5 eşküncies was barely seven or eight at that time. In this article, the Sultan ordered directly to Mustafa who was the Subaşı of Yörükân-i Naldöken to make a new survey comparing old and the recent surveys and to register new *yamaks* for each *ocak*. In the order, the subaşı was warned not to register anyone who was out of the *yörük* community (*hilâf-i cins*) and it was specified that these new *yamaks* (*ellicies*) should have been chosen among sons and freed slaves of the died *yamaks* (*ellicies*), new-Muslims (*veled-i Abdullah*) or Anatolian newcomers joined the Naldöken community. In 1585, kanunname of the Naldöken Yörüks codified the case but 1556 register

⁹ See Akgündüz 1992, c. IV, s. 548.

¹⁰ For the demographic information based on 15th and 16th century nomad population in the Ottoman Balkans see, Ö.L. Barkan, Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles, in *Jurnal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I [1957].

shows that the process of internalizing freed slaves and new-Muslims in military nomad population had already started in the mid-16th century. In the 1556 register, new-Muslims and freed slaves were registered as *yağcı* and *küreci* as much as these newly registered ellicies, Within a few decades, they became a part of Muslim population and in the following tax-surveys, they were registered without an additional information indicating their slave or Christian origin. For this reason 16th century should be considered as the era of internalization and absorbaton of local population into the Muslim community in the region.

Table 3.5

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

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

In the 16th century, the separate nomad surveys in the Balkans and kanunnames of these registers indicate that the term, *yörük*, in Rumelia implied not an ethnic origin or nomad groups but a specific element of the Ottoman army who like Janissaries, Akincies, Dogancies and Voynuks in the Ottoman system. Table 3.5 shows the ocaak numbers of the three main nomad groups in the region. Ottoman tax and military surveys clearly indicate that these immigrant nomads

were belong to the same ethnic group but some of them were assigned in a military organization and they became members of the Ottoman military class in as early as the 15th century.¹¹ The 15th century registers indicate that chosen members of the immigrant nomads were taken into the military *yörük* organization such as Solak Ali village of Ipsala, where two households were dismissed from being *muaf* and *müseirlem* (exempted from *avarız-ı divaniye*), which was tax that members of *askerî* class were exempted and these *yörüks* had been in military class before the dismissal.¹² A military *yörük* Dursun Fakih who was a *nefer* in *yörük* organization became a *timar* holder but he and his son were assigned them *yamaks* again because of their poor performance.¹³ There were many *yörük* timariots registered in 15th and 16th century surveys of the sandjak, which indicates that besides the *janissaries* and *ghulams* in the military elite, as early as the 15th, nomads and most probably their chiefs became members of the privileged military class in the sandjak. Table 3.6 comparing the profile and origin of these timariots registered in the 15th and 16th century tax surveys shows that even in the 16th century, the nomad oriented profile of the timariots did not change very much. Also these registers indicate hereditary character of these nomad timar holders for generations such as Timurhan the son of Atmaca, Nasuh Divane veled-I Emir Gazi, Şah Veli the son of Pazarlu, Pervne the son of Saltuk, Ömür the son of Pervane.

¹¹ Tayyib Gökbilgin, Rumeli’de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fatihan, s. 23-24.

¹² Tayyib Gökbilgin, Rumeli’de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fatihan, s. 25.

¹³ Tayyib Gökbilgin, Rumeli’de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fatihan, s. 26.

Table 3.6

Timar Holders	
1483	1556
Eynehan veled-i Hacı	Mehmed Halife
Hasan an tahvil-i Akbaş	Tuğrul
Mehmed veled-i Saltık	Divane Mustafa
Karagöz veled-i Abdullah	Veli
Saltık Yahşi	Pervane
Köpek	Durmuş
Turgut veled-i Süleyman	Pervane bin Saltuk
Turhan veled-i Kara Mustafa	Hacı veled-i ???
Mehmed veled-i Ahmed	Şah Veli bin Bazarlu
Küçük Bali	Divane ??? Toviçe
Sofi Şirmerd	Şir Murad merd-i kala-i Yergögi
Asılhan veled-i Satı	Ayhan bin Mustafa
Kaya veled-i Murad	Pervane bin Sâlik
Eynebeği veled-i Yunus	Umur bin Mehmed
Polad veled-i Umur	Divane Salih
Eynehan veled-i Çakır	Hüseyin bin Ayhan
Hüseyin veled-i Koyunlu	Toviçe Hasan bin Eynebey
İbrahim veled-i Atmaca	Kaya bin Yusuf
Ali veled-i Bahadır	Kalender bin Hüseyin
Murad veled-i Dursun	Göçeri
Timurhan veled-i Atmaca	Mustafa bin Savcı
Eynehan veled-i İsâ	Musa bin Derviş
Mehmed veled-i Hoşkadem	Ömür bin Pervane
Oruçhan veled-i Umur	Hızır Bâlf
Nasuh Divane veled-i Emir Gazi	Şah Veli Bazdar
Köpek veled-i Hüseyin	Memi
Hamza, Karagöz, Şirmerd ve Mehmed	Mahmud bin Alagöz

Sources: Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or., Abt.,Signature Hk., 12/9; BOA, TD382 Nigbolu Mufassal Defteri (1556)

The other example is Topçu Ömer who was a member of the yörük organization and a distinguished artilleryman and with the imperial diploma of the Sultan Murad II, he hold a 1774 akhce timar in Ferecik.¹⁴ These examples show that the initiation of the organization was as old as the 15th century and during the process of institutionalization of the yörük troops and their organization,

¹⁴ Tayyib Gökbilgin, Rumeli’de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fatihan, s. 25.

qualified members of the nomad society were chosen among the populous *yörük* groups and at the beginning of the 16th century, the auxiliary nomad troops became a distinctive group in the Ottoman provincial army registered in separate surveys and having its own kanunnames. Vryonis suggests that the most populous Muslim groups in the Balkans were nomadic tribes organized under ocaks system, which were *yörüks* of Naldöken, Tanrıdağı and Selanik.¹⁵ The military term, *yörük*, in the kanunnames and *yörük* registers of the 16th century can be misleading for the researchers that they suppose that majority of Anatolian nomads were organized under ocak system and remain ‘*lâ-mekan yörüks*’ until the 17th century. However Barkan’s examples on how these nomads were chosen for the military organization indicate that among these populous nomad groups the most qualified ones could become a part of the *yörük* organization. These military nomads were a small part of the large nomad groups that had already settled in many villages on the unpopulated lands of the central and north-eastern regions of the sandjak.

On the other hand, the Anatolian nomads registered in 1530 icmal survey and the founders of the haric-ez defter villages in the 1556 survey were newly settled nomads who had privileges and tax exemptions in return of producing and delivering specific goods and services. Table 3.7 shows some examples for these village nomads and their specializations. Among the villages Kılıçdar and Durakçı were haric-ez defter villages, which indicate a new settlement movement in the region and many names of professions and specific status such as, yağcı,

¹⁵ See, Vryonis, Jr Speros, *The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 23/24 (1969/1970), pp. 251-308.

küreci, okçu, kılıççı or ellici and derbendci indicate that if they were not in a military organization, as soon as they settled, Anatolian nomads became a part of the Ottoman system in the region. Except these askerî and reaya Muslim nomads, also there were yörüks who were not registered hane by hane. These nomadic groups were still keeping their transhuman way of life.

Table 3.7

Typical Nomad Villages and Their Specializations in the mid-16th Century				
		OH	MH	MU
Okçular (derbend) Hezargrad	Küreci	8	14	5
Kılıçdar mz. (derbend) karye-i Keçililer Hezargrad		NA	NA	NA
Kılıçdar mz. (derbend) Karye-i Keçililer Hezargrad		12	34	28
Taşçı Hezargrad	Küreci	21	23	23
Okçu Pınarı Hezargrad	Ellici , Küreci	6	4	2
Durakçı (derbend) Hezargrad		NA	23	19

OH: Others Household **MH:** Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim

with seasonal movement between summer pastures and winter shelters. The mid-16th century *mufassal* survey shows the taxes levied on these nomads when they spent winter on the pastures of a villages such as resm-I kışlak, resm-i ganem and otlak or resm-I duhan. 1556 Nigbolu *mufassal* survey gives the study to

distinguish profile of three types of Muslim nomad settlers in the Nigbolu Sandjak in the first half of the 16th century: Nomads in a military organization, newly settled nomads specialized in producing goods and services in return of privileges and nomads, most probably new immigrants, who were still keeping their nomadic way of life and had not been a part of the Ottoman system in the sandjak yet. In the Ottoman Balkan provinces, flow of the nomad immigrants from Anatolia did not slow down in the first half of the 16th century. Barkan examined the demographic information in the early 16th century Ottoman tax registers and he calculated the Muslim pastoral nomads as 50,000 households. Barkan categorized these yörüks as 29% Yörüks, 46% military yörüks, 24% müsellems of yörük origin.¹⁶

Table 3.8

In the mid-16th Century Nomads and Animal Husbandry in Pastures of Villages								
Village	OH	MH	MU	MW	CH	CU	CW	Resm-i Aynam
Draganova								
Hezargrad					67	31	NA	1249 akce
??? Faki								
Hezargrad		1			74	44	1	500 akce

MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried **CH:** Christian Household **OH:** Other Household
MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried **CH:** Christian Household **CU:** Christian Unmarried
CW: Christian Widow

The mid-16th century Nigbolu mufassal defter gives a detailed hane information of Muslim settlements and the tax-survey indicates that a typical Muslim nomad family in the mid-16th century was 6 or even more, which was

¹⁶ For the demographic information based on 15th and 16th century nomad population in the Ottoman Balkans see, Ö.L. Barkan, Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles, in Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient, I [1957].

much more crowded than a *reaya* Muslim family. Barkan estimates the family size for a typical 16th century household as 4 people in the Balkans but a typical Muslim *yörük* household was larger than an average Balkan family. In Table 3.9, Muslim nomad villages and number of sons are listed. These examples show that families in Muslim nomad villages were very large. In 1483, the number of *yörük* hanes registered in mezraas were from 10 to 25 households, which is higher than the *hane* numbers in many Muslim villages in the 15th century. This could be the indicator for the great demographic potential of Muslim nomads in the region, which also would be the explanation of the numerous nomad villages founded especially in Şumnu and Hezargrad in the first half of the 16th century.

Table 3.9

Family Size in Yörük Villages in the Mid-16th Century						
Village	OH	MH	MU	MW	Family Size	Revenue
Yörükler nâm-ı diğer Kestane Pınarı Şumnu	3	23	18	NA	Veled-I Mehmedî 5, veled-i Süleyman 3, evled-i Aslı 5, veled-i Timur 6, veled-i Seydi 3	1305
Kavaklı Şumnu	3	20	20	NA	veled-I Ali 6, veled-I İlyas 3,	2006
Bunar-i Ali, Veled-i Kara Mustafa dahi derler Şumnu	NA	8	3		veled-I Umran 4, veled-I Ali 3, veled-I Ali 3	679
Kulaguzlar Şumnu	10	24	15	NA	veled-i İsa 7, veled-I Ahmed 4, veled-I Kulkal 4, veled-I Nasuh 3,	1409
Kara Kovaçlar Şumnu	15	11	10	NA	veled-I Halil 4, veled-I ??? 4, veled-I Hamza 5, veled-I ??? 3\ veled-I Hamza 5,	1500

OH: Other Household **MH:** Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried

3.2.3 A New Settlement Pattern in the 16th Century

In the 16th century, there was a significant increase in the population of Muslim nomad villages but registers of the detailed survey indicate that besides the Muslim newcomers, there were many new-Muslims and freed slaves settled in these villages and as a result of over-population, the villages were divided into two or more villages in the mid-16th century.. Especially two Muslim Nomad obas, Kulkal Obası and Kulaguz Obası were good examples for the over-population and divided villages. These nomad *obas* registered in the 15th century surveys were divided into many villages in the mid 16th century but the sharp increase in the

population of these Muslim tribal groups was most probably as a result of their absorption of new-Muslims, freed-slaves and other immigrants groups. In that sense, nomad society exhibits very similar characteristics with the *udj* culture in the early Ottoman period. community.

Establishment of permanent *yörük* settlements, especially in the north-central and north-eastern parts of the sandjak was still in process during the first half of the 16th century but the sedentarization process accelerated in the period between the two tahrirs of 1530-1556.¹⁷ Many Muslim settlements had founded and enter the 1530 defter at first time and many of others were registered as *haric-ez defter* in the 1556 tax-survey. One of the interesting information in the 1556 register is the high number of unmarried men living in these Muslim settlements. Graph 4 depicts the demographic composition of the Muslim population in villages in the mid-16th century and the significant density of *mücerreds* can be interpreted as a result of the high birth rate as well as continuous migrations of Muslims to the region. In the mid-sixteenth century, the Nigbolu register indicates a large-scale settlement movement among Muslim nomads, which accelerated especially in the first half of the 16th century. A new settlement network of small Muslim villages emerged quickly on the uninhabited lands of the sandjak.

¹⁷ Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or. Abt., Signature OAK., 45/ 29 (1479) and Or., Abt.,Signature Hk., 12/9 (1483); 1570 tarihli Muhasebe-I Vilayet-I Rum İli Defteri(937/1530), T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, vol.1, Ankara, 2002.

Table 3.10

Nomadic Obas and Divided Villages: From late 15th to mid*16th Century											
	MH	NH	OH		MH	NH	OH				
1479/1483				Küçük Kamer nâm-ı diğer Doğruca Kulağuz (Kievo?)	10	1	1	Kulkal Obası mz. (Kievo)	NA	NA	10
					MH	MU	HO				
				Kaya Kulakuz Hezargrad Despotluarı divided from Kulaguzlar	18	13	8	Kulkal Oğulları divided from ???			
				Kara Salihler divided from Kulaguzlar	9	4	1	Hezargrad	3	NA	17
				Yunuslar divided from Kulaguzlar	8	10	3	???	Kulkal Şumnu	NA	9
1556				Mestanlar divided from Kulaguzlar Şumnu	10	8	1	Kulkallar Şumnu	17	22	12
				Kulaguz (Alaaddinler) Çernovi	2	4	7				
				Kaya Kulakuz Hezargrad	5	3	NA				
					18	13	8				

OH: Other Household MH: Muslim Household MU: Muslim Unmarried

In the 16th century, new settlements path spreading over the empty lands expanded the town-village network to the central and north-eastern regions of the sandjak. Mountainous and forests as well as high valleys and pastures were appropriate lands for the trans-human Anatolian nomads. These regions were not appropriate for permanent settlements of the native Christians performing agricultural activities in village-type settlements. New settlement policies targeting to prevent unbalanced distribution of population on arable lands either in the pre-

conquest settlements or over-populated Muslim settlements shaped the settlement system of these empty lands. During the first half of this century, Muslim settlements were either new or divided small villages indicating how the settlement structure was expanded all over the uninhabited lands of the.

3.2.4 Codifying the New Settlement Movement of the Muslim Anatolians: Kanunnames of the Nigbolu Sandjak

Kanunname is generally referred to a decree of the sultan containing articles on particular topics, Vilayet or sandjak (liva) Kanunnamesi were a special type of these codifications confirmed by the Sulltan's tughra, and placed at the beginning of mufassal cadastral surveys of each province. They existed for provinces where the system of state (mīrī) lands and timars was in force. These codifications were made to prevent and settle possible disputes between the peasants and timariots¹⁸ Barkan transcribed the oldest *kanunnames* of the *sandjak* is dated the Suleyman I 's reign¹⁹ and Ayverdi gives the information about endowments in the *sandjak*.²⁰ *Kanunname* of the 1556 Nigbolu mufassal register codifies the main rules and boundaries of the nomad life. An article of the *kanunname* orders the situation of yörüks who were neither reaya of any sipahi nor registered in any tax-survey, which indicates that in the mid 16th century, there

¹⁸ " Kānūnnāme." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Brill Online , 2012

¹⁹ See, Barkan, Ö., L., *XV ve XVIinci asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları. Cilt 1: Kanunlar* (İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası 1943).

²⁰ Ayverdi (1982) v. IV.

were still nomad groups who were not settled and even not registered in any tax surveys. The related articles of the kanunname order that “resm-i ganem ma’ otlak” is paid as thirty akce for per sheep herd and sixty akce for per cattle herd. The other taxes of these villages are typical for a village where the inhabitants were peasants holding *çift* and performing agricultural activities. Inhabitants of a village did not pay any tax for using the pastures of their own villages. In the 1556 Nigbolu survey, there were tax revenues levied on per sheep were registered among the taxes of Christian peasant villages, which indicates a big number of sheep that belongs to someone else, most probably transhuman Muslim nomads who had not been settled yet.²¹

Ellici with freed-slaves and new-Muslims were registered among the settlers of the newly founded nomad villages of the region, which indicates the multi-ethnic and cultural structure of the *yörük* community of the serhad region. Ellicies were a significant demographic element of the military *yörük* organization in the Balkans. Ellicies were a significant demographic element of the military *yörük* organization in the Balkans. In an *ocak* consisted of 25 *nefer*, 5 of them were *eşkinici* and 20 of them were *yamaks* each of who paid fifty *akce* to the *eşkinici* going on imperial campaign. Barkan’s studies on the tahrir registers indicate the slave origin of the *ellicies* in *ellici* çiftliks in Western Anatolia, and the other example of military *yörük* groups were the 42 *yörük* cemaats in Manisa

²¹ See Table 3.8.

registered in the defter, Yund Dağı *Mukataası Ellicileri*.²² There were settled and nomad *ellicies* and *eşküncies* in the sandjak and besides the fifty akce they paid yearly, they paid twenty two *akce resm-i çift* and *öşr* as well. Mücerreds of these groups who were not holding *çift* did not pay anything to *sipahi* but they paid twenty five *akce* to *Yörük Subaşı*. Nomads of these *ellicies* and *eşküncies* spending winter on the land of a *sipahi* paid nothing other than six *akce resm-i duhan*.²³

In the first article of the 1556 Kanunname of the Nigbolu Sandjak, it is said that whether they were registered as peasant of a *sipahi* or not; *yağcı*, *küreci*, *doğancı*, *yörük*, *tatar* and *canbaz* conducting agricultural activity on a *timar* land paid half of the regular *resm-i çift*, twelve *akce*. Also the same article underlines that as these settled *küreci*, *yağcı*, *yörük* and *müsellem* could show their document that they were registered as a member of the military class in the recent tax survey, they pay half of the regular *resm-i çift*, twelve *akçe* as well. If they had been a member of these groups but they did not registered as *askerî* in the the recent *tahrir*, their status was like an ordinary *reaya* and they pay the regular amount tax as twenty two *akce*. This article explains the situation that there were groups of specialized nomads lost their military status because of some reasons, and their economic activities indicate that they were not appropriate for the status any more. Also there could be the other explanation for these status changes that population of these groups increased and imperial diploma of some members were not

²² Barkan, Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri, s. 114-115.

²³ See, Barkan, Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri., article 308-310.

renewed in the *defter-i cedid* (the recent *tahrir*), so they registered as ordinary *reaya*. The second article of the *kanunname* again underlines that real *küreci*, *yağcı*, *yörük* and *müsellem* having the imperial diploma were still “*lâ mekân*” and they could not registered as *reaya* in any *timar*.

Anatolian nomads in the 15th century *Nigbolu* were registered as *yörük hanes* but in the 16th century *Nigbolu mufassal defter*, they were settled *reaya* in Muslim villages. Seasonal movements and activities of *yörüks* were under a strict control of the centralist Ottoman system. The *yörüks* were a mobile labor force for production and delivery of some goods as well as transportation. Also they were the main laborforce of mines, guardians of bridges and mountain passes as well as population and repopulation. In return of their services, they were exempted from *avariz* and some other extraordinary taxes. Central government preferred nomads for such extra duties because employment of *reaya* in these jobs decreased the agricultural production, and hence the tax revenue of the *timariots* and for this reason military nomads as very important groups for the Ottoman military, fiscal, and administrative system were organized strictly and *kanunnames* codified their duties, responsibilities and all way of life including seasonal settlements and migration routes.²⁴ Unlike ordinary peasants, nomads were also

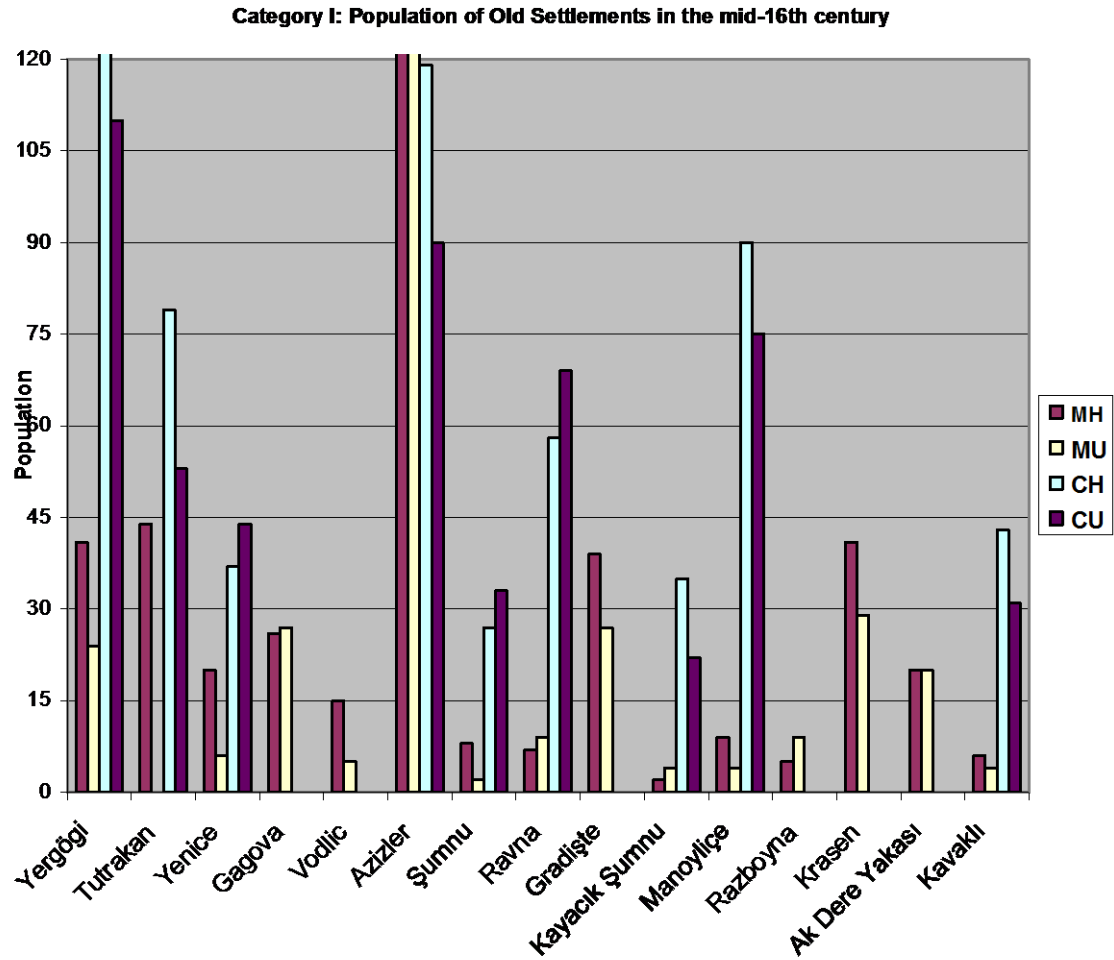
²⁴ See Inalcik *Raiyyet Rusumu and The Yuruks*, p. 116-117.

involved in newly introduced forms of agriculture, such as rice growing during the first centuries of the Empire or cotton growing in the Balkans.²⁵

3.2.5 New Nomad Villages: Founders, Village Names, and Settlers

In the mid-16th century, number of settlements in Çernovi, Hezargrad and Şumnu significantly increased in the 16 the century. There were nearly four hundred settlements registered in 1556 survey. These villages could be categorized in many ways but this study specifically focuses on emergence and expanding the settlement network, especially re-populated and founded villages by the Muslim Anatolians and this study is going to make a periodical analysis of re-populated and newly founded villages in the sandjak. Muslim settlements can be categorized under these headings: the old-Bulgarian settlements, settlements founded or re-populated in the period 1480s-1530, and settlements registered in 1556 survey at first time.

Graph 3.3



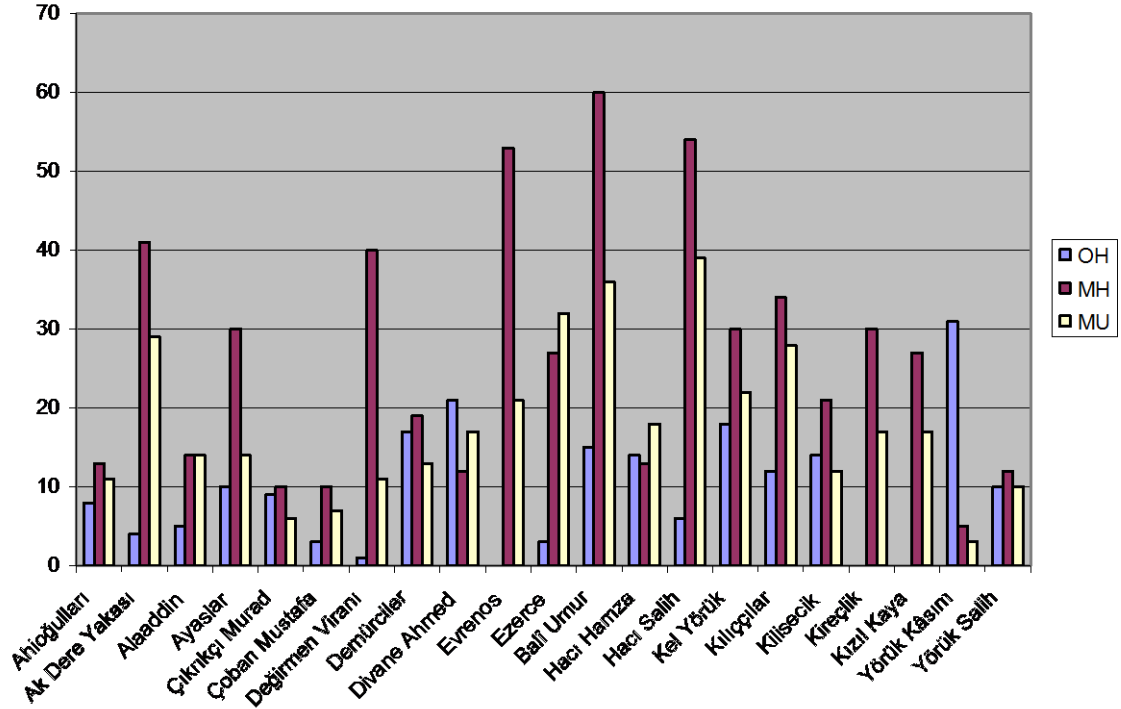
MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried **CH:** Christian Household **CU:** Christian Unmarried

In the first category, the Graph 3.3 depicted the Muslim and Christian population in the old settlements that had already been registered in the 15th century surveys. These were generally populous mixed villages and towns such as Razboyna, Eski Istanbuluk, Gradište, Nefs-I Çernovi, Nefs-I Rus and Nefs-I Yergögi, Tutrakan and Despot Bergos, where population was dominantly

Christian. There are pure Christian and pure Muslim villages in the first category such as Akdere Yakası, Çeraşoviç(e), Kayacık, Azizler, and Vardun. When the population density of these Muslim and Christian villages compared, it is seen that Christian villages were still much more crowded than Muslim villages. These Muslim villages were either new or divided smaller settlements. Muslim villages in old settlements were not very populous as well because the main immigrant group in the region was Anatolian nomads and these old villages of agriculturalist native society most probably were not appropriate settlements for the Anatolian nomads. Many new villages founded in the uninhabited lands of the region indicates that nomads were tend to find new lands more appropriate for their nomadic way of life other than re-populating the old villages.

Graph 3.4

Category II: Muslim Settlements Founded in the 1490-1530 Period



OH: Other Household **MH:** Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried

The second category of settlement is the villages registered in the 1530 survey. They were either founded in the 1490-1530 period or they can be villages had already been founded but registered in the tahrir of 1530 at first time. Graph 3.4 shows some examples among these 286 villages and their populations registered in the 1556 mufassal survey. Majority of the Muslim villages in the 1556 survey was in this category. The number of Muslim hanes and mücerreds were mostly in the range of 10 to 20 but also there were more populous Muslim

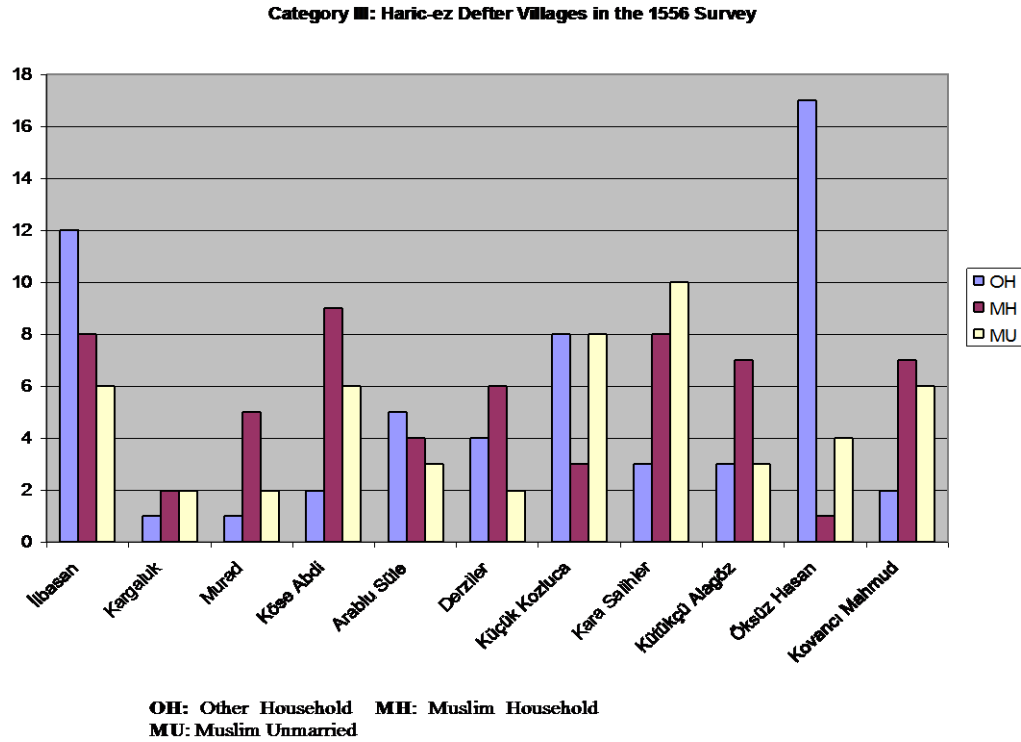
settlements consisting of around 60 households and almost 40 unmarried men. Also family names such as Dođanođulları, Bacıođulları, Ahiođulları, Elvanođlları indicates clan relationships among the settlers of these villages. Names of various professions as village name such as Okçu, Terzi, Demirci, Helvacı, Çıkırıkçı, Anbarcı, Kılıççı, Kalaycı, Çanakçı, Dođancı, İmrahor indicate specialization and privileged position of the nomad groups. Nomads groups of the Balkans and their settlements were registered with the names of their leaders such as Ayaslu, Bekirlü, Hızırca, Hasanca, Kurd Bey, Kâsım Bey, which was a general tendency among the native tribal groups of the Balkans as well. For instance the native nomads of these lands were Wlahs and in the tahrir defters, they were registered with the name of their chiefs or leaders such as Cemaat-i Radice, veled-i Bogota, cemaat-i Yaroslav.²⁶

The third category of Muslim settlements was villages registered at first time (haric-ez defter villages) in the 1556 mufassal survey. There were a very high population of specialized and privileged members of nomad society in these new villages such as küreci, yağcı, ellici, seyyid, sherif, sheikh eşkünci, raiyyet-ı wakf, derbendci and Christian and Muslim members of military class such as akıncı, dođancı, müselleme and toviçe. The Graph 3.5 shows some example of these villages that the number of these specialized and privileged settlers were

²⁶ İnalçık, Halil. 1954. "Stefan Dusan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluđuna. XV. Asırda Rumeli'de Hristiyan Sipahiler ve Menşeleri", in Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar, I. Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 155 .

higher than the Muslim household and unmarried men in some villages such as İbasan, Küçük Kozluca and Öksüz Hasan. On the other hand, the number of Muslim unmarried men was very high in some of these new settlements as well, which indicate migration and newcomers in these newly populated regions such as Küçük Salihler, Kozluca and Öksüz Hasan. These Muslim households were most probably the founders of these villages. Especially village names such as Kulkaloğulları, Rahimoğulları, Kara Salihler, Saltuklar, and Kara Hızırlar indicate the clan relationship or a household tie between the founders of these new villages.

Graph 3.5



On the other hand, new Muslim and freed slave settlers of these Muslim villages indicate how the Muslim nomad society absorbed them in a few decades between tahrirs. The villages Büyük Sofular, Yeni Hacı, Kovancılar and Azablu in Şumnu includes many new-Muslim and freed-slave ellici, eşkünci, yağcı and küreci and in the next tahrir, these new members of the Muslim society would registered without any implication of their slave or Christian origin. The village list in Table 3.11 shows new-Muslim (veled-i Abdullah) or freed-slave (mu'tak) households and unmarried

in these new nomad villages. These villages were generally populous settlements and the unmarried men among the new-Muslims were most probably newcomers. On the other hand, contrary to the immigrant new-Muslims, majority of the freed-slaves were registered as son of their ex-master, so they occupied in the same job and get the same privileges and status, which was a common practice explained in Ottoman sandjak kanunnames.²⁷

3.3 Religious Orders and Their Roles in the New Settlement Movement in the 16th Century

As a result of the westward expansion during the early Ottoman era, newly conquered lands became *mîrî* (state-owned) lands. The Sultan had the right to grant the state-owned lands to members of military class, state officials, sheiks and derwishes as private property *mulk* for specific purposes such as to promote migration and settlement or to motivate military class for new conquests. Zaviyas were pious endowments founded on *wakf* lands which were private property dedicated by the owner of the property as *wakf*. State-owned lands could be private property (*mulk*) only if the Sultan's grant (*temlik*). The state could confiscate any private property but once a *mulk* asset were dedicated to a *wakf*, the

²⁷ See, Akgündüz, Kanunnameler, c. VII s. 542-543.

grant gained a new status that according to many sharia school it could not be confiscated.²⁸

Land grants of the Ottoman Sultans as free hold property with complete tax immunity and autonomy were a common practice in both Middle Eastern and Central Asian state tradition.²⁹ Although there were many contrary argument on land grants in Islamic law³⁰, both chaliphs and sultans of Islamic states granted land to the political and military elite. Ottoman Sultans granted depopulated or uninhabited lands to members of sufi orders or high ranked officials in order to create an incentive for the grantee to promote settlement and agricultural activities on these lands and the most common practice for this purpose was Sultans' land grants to sufi derwishes, which blocked all regular and extraordinary taxes except the poll-tax and tekkes and *zaviyes* of these missionar dervishes consisted the basis of the rural Muslim settlements in the newly conquered lands.³¹

Religious orders had been the organizers of the westward migration and sufies had been the leaders of these nomad masses during the long process of migration and settlement since the Seljukid times but in the first half of the 16th

²⁸ For more information see, Hunwick J.O., " Waqf." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Brill Online , 2012; Barkan, " Mülk Topraklar ve Sultanların Temlik Hakkı" and " İmparatorluk Devrinde Toprak, Mülk ve Vakıfların Hususiyeti" in Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi, İstanbul 1982.

²⁹ See İnalçık, Social and Economic History of the Ottoman Empire, v.1, p.129.

³⁰ For the discussions see, Barkan, İslam-Türk Mülkiyet Hukuku Tatbikatının Osmanlı İmparatorlugunda Aldığı Şekiller II: Mülk Topraklar ve Sultanların Temlik Hakkı, Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası (1941), p. 157-164.

³¹ For more information on temliks and mülk lands see, İnalçık, Social and Economic History of the Ottoman Empire, v. 1, p. 120-126

century, there were a new nomadic migration movement to the uninhabited lands of Hezargrad, Şumnu and Çernovi and this population movement created an new rural settlement network in such a short period of time between the 1530 and 1556 surveys. In the Ottoman archival documents, there are many examples of Sultans' land temliks to sheikhs and dervishes of sufi orders, which indicates that it was a state policy, especially in the early Ottoman era to promote nomadic migration to newly conquered lands. Murad I 's land temlik³², zaviye of Kılıç Baba in Yenice-i Zagra, zaviye of Musa Baba in Çirmen³³ and 67 zaviyes founded in Pasha Livasi during the early Ottoman times indicate how Ottomans promoted sactarians and sactarian activities in the Balkans as a state policy. Mountain passes, ruined derbend settlements or uninhabired lands were specifically given to these colonizer dervishes to built their zaviyas. The founders of these zaviyes came with their families, relatives and their followers and in the surveys of the following centuries, their descendents were registered as evlad-i fatihan-i vilayet in registers and their tax examptions were renewed in return of their sevice.³⁴

³² Barkan, Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri, document 195/1.

³³ Barkan, Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri, document 204 and 197.

³⁴ Barkan, Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri, document 158.

Table 3.12

Zaviyes in the Central and North-Eastern Regions of the Nigbolu sandjak in the mid-16th century				
Name of Settlement				Revenue
Zaviye-i ???nâm-ı diğer Armutlu Pınarı Şumnu	Şeyh, hizmetkâr-i şeyh	4	Şeyh Seyyid Umur Yunus, hizmetkarları	28
Zaviye-i ___ nâm-i diğer Çoban Pınarı Hezargrad	Şeyh, hizmetkar-i şeyh 2, Timnurhan cemaati 2, Hane 10, mücerred 4	19		606
Zaviye-i Pir Hasancık Hezargrad	Şeyh Seyyid, hizmetkâr-ı Şeyh, gulam-i Şeyh	7	Şeyh Seyyid Pir Hasancık, Hizmetkâr-i Şeyh, gulam-i Şeyh 3	150
Zaviye-i Hasan Fakı der karye-i ??? Pınarı Hezargrad	Şeyh, veled-i hizmetkâr-i şeyh	2	Şeyh Seyyid Hasan Fakı, veled-i hizmetkar-i şeyh Hüseyin Abdal	150
Sultan Ana nam-ı diğer Sağır Baba Hezargrad	Beratlı, Şeyh Seyyid, Hizmetkâr-i şeyh 2	4		50

Uninhabited regions of Şumnu and Hezargrad were the main settlement areas of the nomad Muslim families in the first half of the 16th century and tekkes and zaviyas were the core of the new settlement system in the region. Table 3.12 lists the zaviyas registered in the 1556 register and among these religious foundations, some of these zaviyas were newly founded such as Zaviye-i Pir Hasancık and Zaviye-i Hasan Fakı, where the founders were registered as privileged settlers having imperial diploma on their hand (*beratlu*). On the other hand, some zaviyas had already been founded long before the survey and become villages peasant households and unmarried Muslim men settled in. When these zaviyas completed their migration and settlement missions, they became social, cultural and religious centers of the Muslim community of the region until the 20th century. For instance zaviye of Sultan Ana has still been a Turkish settlement in

Eski Cuma (Cuma-I Atik) in Razgrad and Ottoman registers indicate that the zaviye had still and active cultural and religious center in the 18th century.³⁵

Table 3.13

Descendents of Sheikh Seyyid Timurhan and Timurhan						
Village	Diğer	HM	MM	Timurhan	Revenue	
Kılıççılar						
Hezargrad		12	34	28	8	3020
Derbend Pınarı Hez:		1	8	8	1	517
Davudlar						
Hezargrad		36	24	14	3	2833
Cansız Ahad						
Şumnu		18	2	1	14	683
Divane Ahmed Şun		21	12	17	4	1600
Aydın Fakih						
Şumnu		7	10	10	1	622
Kademli Şumnu		8	21	17	3	1506
Kara Kovaçlar						
Şumnu		15	11	10	6	1500
Hüseyinler Şumnu		12	16	8	11	1315
Kulaguzlar Şumnu		10	24	15	8	1409
Kara Hızırlar						
Şumnu			39	24	1	2327
					60	

Demographic structure and udj culture of Western Anatolia had been an integral part of the Muslim migration and settlement movement in the Nigbolu region since the post-conquest era. Nomad society, religious orders, zaviyas and wakfs of powerful sheiks in the Seljukid border provided the demographic and cultural basis of the nomad settlement areas in the sandjak and one of these leading religious figure was Sheikh Timurhan, his descendents and Timurhan Cemaati. There are articles in kanunnames of Nigbolu and Silistre ordering tax exemptions of the cemaat and

³⁵See, Bulgaristan`da Turkece Yer Adlari Turker Acaroglu 1988; Ahmet Hezarfen Anadolu ve Rumeli`de Ayan Eskiyesi c.1 s. 116.

descendents of Sheikh Timurhan. Name of the cemaat had not been mentioned in the earliest registers of the sandjak but privileges of the cemaat and descendents of the sheikh were defined in kanunname of 1530 register, which indicates that they came to the region not earlier than the beginning of the 16th century.³⁶

The Table 3.13 lists the villages where the members of *cemaat-i Timurhan* who were living in eleven villages in the north-central regions of the sandjak. These were typical nomad villages and some of them were haric-ez defter (newly founded) settlements. The 35th article in kanunname of Nigbolu Sandjak (1556) was defining the status and exemptions of nesl-i Timurhan and cemaat-i Timurhan that like other *wakf reaya* in the region such as reaya-i Evrenos Bey and reaya-i Medine-i Münevvere, they paid their öşr to sipahi but revenues of the other taxes such as resm-i çift, resm-i arus, yava, kaçkun, müjdegâne and resm-i ganem were kept as wakf revenue.³⁷ Descendents of Sheikh Timurhan were sixty hanes in the region and the articles about the cemaat in Kanunname of Silistre show that there was other members of the cemaat settled in villages of Silistre Sandjak.³⁸ The cemaat was mentioned in two articles of the kanunname of Silistre³⁹ in which nesl-i Sheikh Timurhan was mentioned as one of the privileged groups in the sandjak such as sipahi, tovice, ehl-i berat, doğancı, şahinci, eşkinci, and. Among the zaviyas of Nigbolu, there was not any zaviye of Sheikh Timurhan or his descendents but Sheikh Timurhan' s zaviye, wakf

³⁶ See Barkan. Kanunlar. 1943. 236, 270, 283, 290-291.

³⁷ See, Akgündüz, Kanunnameler, c. VII s. 542-543.

³⁸ For the full transcribion of the kanunname dated to the reign of Suleyman I see, Barkan, Kanunlar, p.272-277.

³⁹ See Barkan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Essasları, s.279.

and mulk were registered in the defters of western Anatolia and Rumelia. There was a chiftlik in Alçakilise in Sofya, two chiftliks in Çınar village in Kütahya, Kurucak village in Kalın Viran and also a zaviye in Kütahya- Arslanapa-Yalnızsaray village and another zaviye in Aydın-Sultanhisar village were registered as Timurhanlar Zaviyesi in the 1530 register.⁴⁰

3.4 Changing Nomad Identity and Its Implications in Names of Villages and Cemaats

In many villages of the Ottoman Bulgaria were named based on their professionality, the region they were settled and name of their chiefs or leaders.⁴¹ In Yanbolu region, Naldöğen (farrier) yörüks with the cemaat of Yaydöğen in the same region were registered based on their professionality (farriery). We see examples of such nomads in Anatolia. Ottoman state assigned groups of these nomads who were makers of the Turkmen arrows living in the forest areas to make and deliver a certain number of arrows each year to the army and garrisons in return for tax

⁴⁰ See, 370 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-I Rum İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I. 2001. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 200; 438 Numaralı Muhasebe-I Vilayet-I Anadolu Defteri (937/1530) I. 1993. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 24-25; Hamid ve Ankara Livâları Dadaş Cevdet, Batur Atilla, Yücedağ İsmail. 1999. Osmanlı Arşiv belgelerinde Kütahya vakıfları c. 3. Kütahya: Kütahya Belediyesi Kütahya Kültür ve Tarihini Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları.

⁴¹ According Gluboski, Turkic tribes followed the two ways towards Europe: One is passing through Russian steppes and the second way passing through Iran and Anatolia. These tribes following the first way kept their tribal names such as Pecheneks, Uz, Tatars, and Kumans in the Balkans and these tribes following the second way are generally called Oguz but specifically these tribes were took the name of their leaders and even when they became ruling dynaties, they kept the name of their chiefs such as Seljuks and Ottomans. Glubovski (1884) cited by Manof (1939), p.8-9 and Ülküsal (1966),p.15-16.

exemptions.⁴² In the Balkans, these were the military *Naldöken Yörüks* registered in Yörük Defters of the 16th century. In the mid sixteen century, many village names in Şumnu, Hezargrad and Çernovi regions implying professionalites. Kılıççılar, Okçular, Okçu Pınarı, Palancılar, and Taşçılar in Hezargrad were consisting *kürecies* and *ellicies* as well, which were professions as well as the professions yağcı and küreci based on animal husbandry indicate the nomad origin of the inhabitants. On the other hand nomads like Vize and Selanik Yörüks were named based on the region they were settled. Also some others like Kocacık yörüks bearing name of their chief Koca Hamza in Yanbolu region. There were villages such as Koca Musa Beylüler and there was a nomad group, cemaat of Koca Hamza Yörüks, registered in the mulk (private property) of *âyan-ı yeniçeri* Mustafa Bey in the 16th century, who were not other than the military nomad group known as *Kocacık Yörüks*.⁴³ 16th century registers indicate that among the nomad settlements of Şumnu, Çernovi and Hezargrad, there were many members of Sufi brotherhood was registered as founders of these settlements or leaders of these nomad groups. Hızır village also known as Divane Mahmud in Şumnu, was one of a typical examples among the 73 haric-ez defter villages, where Hızır was probably another important personality with Divane Mahmud settled in the village with his married sons Nasuh and Ali who were *çift* holder in the village in the mid-16th century. There was 17 hane *eşkünci* and *ellici* and 6 *küreci* households whose names were typical pre-Islam names such as

⁴² For these villages see, X. dePlanhol, “ Les nomades, la steppe et la forêt en Anatolie,” *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 53 (1965).

⁴³ See Gökbilgin, *Evlad-ı Fatihan*, p. 27-28.

Durali, Hızır, Dursun, Durbâli. Table 3.14 shows many examples of these haric-ez defter villages and interesting registers of privileged settlers in these villages.

3.5 Conclusions

The two distinctive features of the central and northeastern regions of the Nigbolu Sandjak had not change since the ancient times: Strategic importance on the Danubian border frontier and nomadic settlers of the region, which were the determinant of the 16th century migration and settlement policies that the central authority put into practice in the region. In the 16th century, majority of the new settlers were nomadic tribes not as populous as in mezzras of the sandjak in the 15th century but a kind of divided oba-type groups, clans and families settled in small villages in the uninhabited lands of the region. On the other hand, nomadic life was promoted and became a requirement in the 16th century *Yörük kanunnames* as the pre-request of bein in the organization of military *yörük* but settlement of these nomadic Anatolians was a long process lasted for centuries and even in the mid-16th century, there were still pastoral nomads in the region keeping their seasonal movement between summer and winter pastures. They were not registered as hane but they paid tax on their tents, as well as on their herds and these nomad taxes were registered among the taxes of villages in Hezargrad.

Migration of nomadic Anatolians made these unruly masses as apart of military and subsidiary forces of the Ottoman system in the Balkans. Ottomans brought a new organization for the nomadism in the Balkans and chosen groups of these *yörüks* became a part of the Ottoman military class and their nomadism was institutionalized as transhumance. The rest of these nomads founded their own villages and became specialized privileged groups producing specific goods and services for the central authority. In the new nomad settlements of Şumnu and Hezargrad, members of sufi orders such as dervish, abdal, seyyid, sheriff and sheikh registered as founders of many villages, zawiyas and tekkes in the uninhabited regions and they became the leading figures in population and settlement movement in the sandjak who were promoted by the Sultan with tax exemptions, privileges and land grants and they were the religious, cultural and political leaders of the region for centuries.

The multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and tolerant udj culture transplanted from the Western Anatolia became the main force behind the interaction between nomadic Muslim Anatolians and the others such as non- Muslims, new-Muslims, slaves and freed slaves. The Muslim nomad population in the rural areas of the Nigbolu Sandjak absorbed many new-Muslims and freed slaves and during the first half of the 16th century, freed slaves and new-Muslims became members of the *yörük* community and participated the division of labour in the region as yağcı, küreci and ellici but although cultural interaction between native Christians and

Muslim Anatolians increased in the mid-16th century and new-Muslims were registered almost in all Muslim villages and especially in the haric-ez defter villages, the numbers of these converts were still moderate. The conversion movement in nomad regions indicates that Islamization was in process in the yörük regions but it was still slow in the mid-16th century.

The time period in the first half of the 16th century was the era of migration, adaptation and settlement for the Anatolian newcomers. Ottoman central authority designed migration and settlement policies, which updated the goals designed in the post conquest era. On the eve of a new era, Nigbolu Sandjak had already become a populous, Ottoman sandjak on the Danubian border periphery that emerged as one of the main regions of interaction between Muslim Anatolians, Christianized old Turkic groups, Muslim steppe peoples and native Christians.

Table 3.14

Examples of Newly Founded (Haric-ez defter) Villages in the Nigbolu Sandjak				
Village	OH	MH	MU	
Alaaddinler Çernovi		NA	5	3
Arablu Hezargrad	Elliciyan, eşkinciyan, reaya-i Evrenos Bey	5	4	3
Behlüller Hezargrad	Malul	1	4	4
Çukuryurt Hezargrad	Küreci	4	6	6
Dobriclüler Çernovi	Küreci, veled-i küreci	6	4	4
Gençecik? Şumnu	Şeyh Seyyid	1	4	1
İlbasan Çernovi	Küreci, ellici, veled-i küreci, imam	12	8	6
Kalaycı Hezargrad	Merd-i Kala	1	22	21
Kemalciler? Hezargrad	Küreci	4	15	11
Kütükçü Alagöz Şumnu	küreci	3	7	3
Mümin Hezargrad	Ellici,şerif	4	9	8
Özlü Pınarı Hezargrad	Al-Resul	2	5	3
Saltuklar Şumnu	Eşkünci ma ellici ve veledânı	13	13	16
Şir Murad Hezargrad	Ellici	1	5	2
Özlü Pınarı Hezargrad	Al-Resul, veled-i al-Resul	2	5	3

OH: Other Household **MH:** Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried

CHAPTER 4

FOOTSTEPS OF PRE-OTTOMAN TURKIC SETTLERS IN BULGARIA

Europe as a peninsula of Asia had been deeply affected from the transformations and changes happened in Asia, which Russian historians defined as “Eurasia” underlining the geographical and historical notion integrating northern Asia and Europe. Nomadic invasions of Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Magyars, Cuman-Kipchaks and Mongolian-Tatars advanced up into central Europe changed ethic, demographic, political, cultural and economic structure of the peninsula.¹

Since the Roman times, Danube was a natural border between the settled empires and nomadic people. In the last decades of the first millennium, Khazar State

¹ Inalcık, Halil. 2010. Osmanlılar: İmparatorluk, İmparatorluk, Avrupa ile İlişkiler. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 228.

(7th-10th century)² became powerful enough to impose political control over the lands stretching between the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus and the Black Sea. Although the endless mobility of the nomadic tribes in the region seriously restricted the Khazar's political power and domination in the Eurasian steppes. the Khazar Empire brought stability and peace, *pax-Khazarica*, to the Eurasian lands, which was a period for the vicinity of the Pontic steppes, especially for Byzantine Empire suffering from the penetration of the nomadic invaders towards the Danubian border of the Empire.³ The alliance between Byzantine and Khazar State, sometimes forged through dynastic marriages, gained importance not only against Arabs and Persians but also against the invasions of nomadic tribes.⁴ The Khazar state was a barrier between the nomadic world and settled empires until the end of the 10th century and the political authority in the steppe region protected Eastern Europe and the Balkans from invasions and raids of populous nomad masses for a period of time.⁵

After the disintegration of the Khazar Empire, wave mass migrations and invasions of Turkic nomads reached as far as Central Europe. Ethnic, cultural, political and linguistic inheritances of these invasions transferred generation to

² Alan, K. 2006. The Jews of Khazaria, Brook ; Golden, Peter. Haggai Ben-Shammai, and András Róna-Tas (eds.) 2007. The World of the Khazars; Dunlop, D. M. 1967. The History of the Jewish Khazars; Golden, P. 1980. Khazar Studies: An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars.

³ For the Pax-Khazarica see, Boba, I. Nomads, Northmen and Slavs : Eastern Europe in the 10th Century; Obolenski, D. The Crimea and the north before 1204; Pritsak, Omelian. The Origin of Rus, I, Old Scandinavian Sources other than Sagas; Zimonyi, I. The Origin of the Volga Bulgars; Magochi, R. P. A history of Ukraine,; Rona- Tas, A. Hungarian and Europe in the Early Middle Age: An introduction to Early Hungarian History.

⁴ See Gy. Moravcsik (ed.) 1967. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio. Dumberton Oak: Center for Byzantine Studies, 51; Vasary. 2005. Cumans and Tatars, .69.

⁵ Spinei, V.2009. The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid- Thirteenth Century, Brill, 48.

generation for centuries in the Balkans, Eastern and the Central Europe. During the formation of the medieval and early-modern identity of these regions, these warlike and nomadic Turkic peoples of the steppe region played an important role until the rise of the Ottoman power in Europe. ⁶

Information and historical sources on the early nomadic invaders such as Huns, Avars, Bulgars and Khazars are very limited but historical accounts and chronicles of the early Middle Ages give valuable information about Pechenegs, Uzs and Cumans. The earliest sources on these invaders are Byzantine chronicles written especially in the period from Constantine Porphyrogenetus (905-9059) to Anna Comnena (1083-1153) stating the invaders, with their role in the Byzantine army and balance of power in the region ⁷ and Codex Cumanicus is one of the main historical sources for the language and daily life of the steppe peoples.⁸ Prior to the Ottomans, these Turkic people who constituted the Asiatic heritage in Europe shaped the ethnic, cultural and political character of Bulgaria as well as the Balkans, Eastern and Central Europe. In the twentieth century, a number of cultural and linguistic studies

⁶ For more information on the pre-Ottoman Turkic presence in these regions see, Vasary, I. "The role of the Turkic peoples in the ethnic history of Eastern Europe Ethnicity and Nationalism: Case Studies in Their Intrinsic Tension and Political Dynamics", in *Tatars and Russians in the 13th-16th Centuries*, 7-34.

⁷ Toynbee, Arnold. 1973. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his world*. London: Oxford University Press; Sewter E.R.A (trans.) 1969. *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*. Penguin Books; Gyula Moravcsik, and Romilly James Heald Jenkins. 1985. *Constantine, De administrando imperio*, Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies; Cyril Mango (trans.) *Short history / Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople*; R. Guillard, R. (trans.) 1927. *Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras*. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres"; Failler, Albert.(trans.) 2001. *La version brève des relations historiques de Georges Pachymérès*. Paris : Institut français d'études byzantines; Obolensky, Dimitri. *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1453*.

⁸ Drüll, von Dagmar. (trans.) 1980. *Der Codex Cumanicus : Entstehung u. Bedeutung*. Stuttgart : Klett-Cotta; Kuun, G.(ed.) *Codex Cumanicus*, Grönbech, K. 1992. *Kuman lehçesi sözlüğü : Codex Cumanicus'un Türkçe Sözlük Dizini*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

made on medieval sources examined the demographic, military and cultural effects of Turkic nomads of the Eurasian steppes on Europe and their close relationship with dynasties of western Eurasia, the Balkans and Central Europe.⁹ Among these, Bulgarian scholars such as Zlatarski, Mutafchiev and Pavlov gave a special interest on pre-Ottoman Turkic people and their alliance with Bulgarian dynasties and they made valuable contribution to the field.¹⁰ On the other hand, works of Romanian scholar Oberländer also studied on Turkic peoples and their contributions considered these people on a different view.¹¹

On the other hand, during the early Ottoman times and even in the first half of the 16th century in Bulgaria, ethnic and military culture of these Turkic steppe peoples were still alive in Ottoman civil and military organizations. Examination of Ottoman cadastral surveys and military registers indicates that these pre-Ottoman Turkic inhabitants were registered in Christian settlements were an important part of multi-ethnic urban and rural demography of the region as well as an important

⁹ Rásonyi, László. 1927. Valacho-Turcica. - In: Aus den Forschungsarbeiten der Mitglieder des Ungarischen Instituts und des Collegium Hungaricum. Berlin-Leipzig; Rásonyi, László. 1939. "Tuna Havzasında Kumanlar," *Bellekten*. 3; Rásonyi. 1966-1969. "Kuman özel Adları," *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, 3-6: 71-144; Rásonyi, László. 2007. *Onomasticon Turcicum: Turkic Personal Names*. Bloomington: Indiana University, Denis Sinor Institute for Inner Asian Studies; Kurat, Akdes. Nimet. 1937. *Peçenek Tarihi*, İstanbul; Kurat. 2002. IV - XVIII. *Yüzyıllarda Karadeniz Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavimleri ve Devletleri*. Ankara: Murat Kitabevi Yayınları; Ülküsal, Müstecib. 1966. *Dobruca ve Türkler*, Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü; Togan, A. Zeki Velidi. 1970. *Umumî Türk tarihine Giriş*. İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi; Spinei, Victor. 2003. *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*; Golden, Peter B. 2002. *Nomads and their neighbours in the Russian steppe : Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs*, Ashgate-Variorum; Golden, P. 1992. *An introduction to the history of the Turkic peoples : Ethnogenesis and State-formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*. Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz.; Vásáry, István. 2005. *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185-1365*. Cambridge University Press.

¹⁰ For the works of these Bulgarian scholars, see bibliography.

¹¹ For the works of Zlatarski, Mutafchiev, Pavlov and Oberländer-Târnoveanu see the bibliography.

non-Slavic and non-Greek Christian element of military class in the Ottoman Bulgaria. This chapter focuses on the emergence of pre- Ottoman Turkic demographic elements and military class in the pre- Ottoman Bulgaria and its projections in the 16th century Ottoman registers. This chapter examines Pre-Ottoman Turkic presence based on 16th century Ottoman military registers of Christian soldiers, *Voynuk Defterleri*, and the detailed tax registers of Nigbolu Sandjak, which are very rich demographic and onomastic sources of informing on the pre-Ottoman Turkic presence in the region.¹²

While examining the origin of Turkic place names and personal names in Christian settlements of Ottoman Nigbolu, the most comprehensive secondary source is Laszlo Rasonyi's collection of Turkic names, *Onomasticon Turcicum* published in 2007.¹³ Ransonyi's work includes Turkic personal names attested in many ancient and modern Turkic dialects collected from medieval and modern sources. This study, other than just being a linguistic source of Turkic names, became an important reference book for cultural studies on the large geographical area of the Turkic world. Also Rasonyi's other books and articles on the role of pre-Ottoman Turkic people in history of the Eastern and the Central European politics, demography and settlement are very important secondary sources for this study.¹⁴ Russian, Armenian and Georgian chronicles including many Cuman and Pecheneg names are primary

¹² TD81 defter-i voynugan sene 929 (1522-23), TD151 defter-i voynugan sene 935 (1528-29), TD382 Nigbolu Mufassal Defteri(1556).

¹³ L. Rásonyi. 2007. *Onomasticon Turcicum*.

¹⁴ Rásonyi , L. 1983. The old Hungarian name Vajk- A note on the origin of the Hunyadi Familiy *Acta Orientale* H 36:419-428; Rasonyi, L. "Ortaçağda, Erdel'de Türklüğün İzleri", II. Türk Tarih Kongresi Bildirileri, İstanbul ; Rasonyi. 1966-1969. "Kuman özel adları" *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*. 3-6: 71-144; Rasonyi. 1939. "Tuna Havzasında Kumanlar" *Belleten*, 3: 401-422.

sources to make comprehensive lists of Turkic names with different pronunciations of these names in other languages, which make easier to determine common and rare pre-Islam Turkic names among many Slavic, Greek, and Biblical names including their versions and abbreviations in the Christian settlements of the Ottoman Bulgaria.¹⁵

4.1 Pre-Ottoman Turkish Presence in the Danubian Border

Migration of proto- Bulgarian tribes was one of the instrumental demographic movement on the south shore of Danube. Byzantine chroniclers Rhetor, Priscos and Suidas give the earliest information on the Bulgarians' migration to the Eastern Europe. These chronicles recorded that after the disintegration of the Western Hun confederation, the Bulgarian tribes settled in the steppes stretching between Danube and Volga.¹⁶ According to the Roman sources, Bulgar groups were first appeared in the early 5th century and in 481 A.D., Johannes Antioch mentioned the name of

¹⁵ For lists of these names see, Rásonyi, 2007. *Onomasticon Turcicum*; Rásonyi.1966-1969. *Kuman özel adları*, 71-144; Rásonyi. 1927. *Valacho-Turcica*, Aus den Forschungsarbeiten der Mitglieder des Ungarischen Instituts und des Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin dem Andenken Robert Graggers gewidmet. Berlin-Leipzig.

¹⁶ See, Greatrex Geoffrey (ed.) 2011. *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor : Church and War in Late Antiquity*. Liverpool : Liverpool University Press; Blockley R.C. 1983. *The fragmentary classicising historians of the later Roman Empire : Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus*. Liverpool, Great Britain : F. Cairns; Guthrie Kenneth Sylvan. 1918. *Plotinos : complete works, in chronological order, grouped in four periods : with biography by Porphyry, Eunapius, & Suidas, commentary by Porphyry, illustrations by Jamblichus & Ammonius, studies in sources, development influence, index of subjects, thoughts and words*. London : G. Bell and sons ; Grantwood, N.J. : Comparative literature press.

“Bulgars” for the first time.¹⁷ Besides the Byzantine sources, Islamic sources such as Ibn-I Rusta stating names of three Bulgarian tribes as Barsula, Ishkil (or Askil) and Bulkar and Ibn-I Fadlan stating the Bulgars mentions Suwar and a group or a large clan called al-Barandjar as Bulgarian tribes.¹⁸ The westward advancements of Khazars pushed a number of the Bulgar tribes from the plains between the Don and Dniester rivers to Bessarabia and at the last quarter of the 7th century, Khan Isparuh`s Bulgars passed the Danube and invaded Dobrudja. After the defeat of Byzantine army, Bulgarian raids did not stop until sign of a peace treaty with the Byzantine Empire. After this treaty Bulgarians as a powerful rival against the Byzantine Empire in the Balkans founded their state and became rulers of the southern-Slavic tribes.

Bulgarian State dominated these lands between Danube and the Balkan Mountains from late 7th century to the mid-9th century. After several attempts, the Byzantine Emperor Basileios II crushed the Bulgarian resistance in 1018 and incorporated the lands of the first Bulgarian State into the Byzantine Empire. Although Byzantine set its cultural and religious domination on the southern Slavic population and eliminated the political and administrative-ecclesiastical independence of Bulgaria, nomadic invasion was still a serious potential threat on the northern frontier of Byzantium. Second half of the 12th century was period of

¹⁷ Müller, frag. Hist. Graec. Iv.619 cited by Hrbek, I., Bulgar, EI. Second Edition Volume I, page 1304, column 2.

¹⁸ See, Hrbek, I. "Bulghar." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition Volume I, page 1304, column 2 and Inalcık, Halil. "Bulgaria." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Volume I, page 1302, column 1.

political and economic decline for the Byzantine Empire that prepared the conditions for a new political revival in the Danubian region. Against the rise of Italian cities, Byzantine lost its leading role and even manufacturer potential in world economy and increasing financial problems weakened the central authority even further, which increased anarchy and unrest of rural population in provinces.¹⁹ Byzantine on the eve of a new political emergence, the royal marriage of Byzantine Emperor Isaakios II with the Hungarian princess Margaret in 1185 brought reconciliation between Byzantine and Hungaria but Bulgarian uprising in 1185-1186 changed the political balance of power in the Balkans. Byzantine Chronicler Niketas Choniates as the primary source of Bulgarian uprising reports the two Bulgarian nobles, Peter and Asen brothers, as the leaders of the movement and after a twenty years of anarchy, Bulgarian independence was restored with the help of Cumans and the Asen Dynasty succeeded the throne of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom. After the revival of the Bulgarian State Terterid and Shishmanid Dynastis having clear ties with Cuman tribal nobility reigned in Bulgaria until the coming of Ottomans.²⁰

Bulgarian State with its Turkic ruling elite was one of the most remarkable power having strong tribal ties with the nomadic communities of the steppe region, which is the main force behind the long-lasting regional and rival power of the

¹⁹ See Vasary. Cumans and Tatars. 13-15.

²⁰ See, Wolff. 1949. "The Second Bulgarian Empire: its origin and history to 1204", *Speculum* 24 /2: 167-206; Vasary. *Turks, The role of the Turkic peoples in the ethnic history of Eastern Europe Ethnicity and Nationalism: Case Studies in Their Intrinsic Tension and Political Dynamics*, Tatars and Russians in the 13th-16th Centuries, 27-34; Stephenson. 2000. *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204*. Cambridge, 288-294; Bekker Immanuel (ed.) 1865. *Nicetae Choniates Historia*. Bonn, 487-488; Golden, Peter. *Nomads and Their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Kipchaks*, 147-150.

Bulgarian State against the Byzantine Empire.²¹ On the other hand, Proto Bulgarians' migration was the beginning of a new era of nomadic invasions that would not come to an end until the Mongolians in the 13th century.²² After Tatars' devastation of Hungaria against the resistance of King Béla IV, Bulgarians accepted Tatar suzerainty and prevented any big destruction in Bulgarian lands, which a decade after the Tatar subjugation in Bulgaria, Wilhelm Von Rubruk who went on a missionary journey on the order of the King Louis IX of France to convert Tatar and Mongolian rulers in 1253 stated in his travel account that the Bulgarians like Vlaks (Ulacs), Poles, Bohemians Russians, and Slavonians were vassals of Tatars.²³ As a requirement of the vassalage, Bulgarians were paying tribute and joined the campaigns with the Tatars. Byzantine chronicles states that when Berke Khan of Golden Horde marched on Byzantine in 1264 to free the Anatolian Seljukid Sultan Izz al-Din Key Ka'us II from captivity, Bulgarian troops took part in the Tatar army.²⁴

²¹ Some historians stresses the Turkic origin and its political advantages for the Bulgarian state. See, Fiedler, Uwe. 2008. Bulgars in the Lower Danube Region: A Survey of the Archeological Evidence and of the State of Current Research in The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (450–1450) ed. by Florin Curta, Leiden, 151.

²² For the history and importance of Dobrudja and turcic settlements see, İncalcık, Halil. "Dobrudja." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Volume II, page 610, column 1; Bromberg. 1940. Toponymical and historical miscellanies on mediaeval Dobrudja, Bessarabia and Moldo-wallachia, in Byzantium; Müstecib H. Fazıl (Ülküsal). 1940. Dobruca ve Türkler, Köstence; Wittek, P. 1952. Yazidjioghlu Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja, in BSOAS, xiv: 639-68; Aurel Decei. Dobruca, IA.

²³ Jakson, Peter (trans.) 1990. The Mission of William of Rubruck: His Journey to the court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253-1255. London, 139.

²⁴ See van Dieten, J. L. (trans.) 1973. Nikephoros Gregoras: Rhom̄aische Geschichte. Historia Rhomaike. Stuttgart, 247, no 176; Vassary, Cumans and Tatars, 75.

Bulgaria after the death of King Ivan Asen II (1218-1241) lost its dominant role on the political and military balance of power in the region and the internal anarchy, peasant uprisings and struggles for the throne did not stop until, Terterid Dynasty came to throne in 1280 and Bulgars again became political rivals of the Byzantine Empire in the Balkans.²⁵ Despite of the Tatar subjugation on Bulgaria, the reign of George Terter I (1280- 1292) in Tirnovo was a peace period and the strong Tatar influence on the divided Bulgarian Kingdom (Terters in Tirnova, Shishmanids in Vidin and Dormanids in Branicevo) did not stop until the Bulgarian Kingdom became a part of the “Rumeli Beylerbeyliği” at the end of the 14th century.²⁶

After three hundred and fifty years from the Bulgarians, invasions of Pechenek tribes in the mid-eleventh century changed the balance of power in the Western Eurasia.²⁷ Ibn Rusta, in his book ”Kitab al-A’laq al-Nafisa” (903-913), gives the earliest information about Pecheneks (Badjanaks) in the Balkans and describes them as a powerful Turkish tribal community migrated from the plains between Don and Danube rivers to al-Madjghariyya’s (Hungarians) neighborhood. Although Pechenegs’ westward advancement pushed Hungarians towards the Carpathian basin in 889-892, at the end of the ninth century, the eastern plains of the Don River were

²⁵ See, Nikov, P.,1929. “Blgari i tatari v srednite vekove”, Blgarska istoriceska biblioteka 3/2: 103.

²⁶ See Vasary, Cumans and Tatars, 96.

²⁷ For general information information on Pechenegs see, Pritsak. 1976. Pecheneg: A Case of Social and Economic Transformation, The Peter de Ridder Press, Lisse; Kurat A. N. 1937. Pecenek Tarihi, Istanbul; Kurat A. N. 1935. “Peçeneklere Dair Araştırmalar I: Karadeniz’in Şimalindeki Bozkırlarda Peçenekler” İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Mecmuası, 5:101-140; Horváth, András. Pálóczi.1989. Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians : steppe peoples in medieval Hungary. Budapest: Corvina; Spinei, Victor.2006. The great migrations in the east and south east of Europe from the ninth to the thirteenth century. Amsterdam: Hakkert.

still under the control of the Pechenek tribes and they were still powerful and populous enough to expel other tribal communities on their way.²⁸ After the migration of Hungarians, bitter struggles divided the Pecheneg tribes, which weakened them against the Byzantine Empire and when the internal conflicts and struggles came to an end, a group of Pecheneg tribes made a peace treaty with Byzantine in 1048 to settle in Dobrudja. Following the successful march of the Byzantine army, the other Pecheneg tribes accepted the Byzantine rule and their conversion to Christianity accelerated the amalgamation of the Pechenegs into the native population.

Following the Pecheneks, invasions, Uz tribes threaded the Danubian border.²⁹ In the second half of the 11th century, Cumans' invasions opened the way for the migration of Uz tribes to the south bank of Danube, where these tribes settled around northern Dobruja, Deliorman and the coast of Black Sea made raids on Byzantine villages and ruined the rural settlement system of the Eastern Danubian region. Although they defeated the Byzantine Army including many Pechenegs served as mercenaries, they could not be long lived in the Balkans³⁰ and a number of these tribes became subjects of the Byzantine Empire, while the rest of them went back to the steppes and lived along the Russian border.³¹ In 1224, following the defeat of the

²⁸ Lewicki, T. "Madjaristan, I." Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition, London-Leiden 1962-2004, 5: 1010-1022

²⁹ Some historians argue that these are not two different Turkic groups but brunches of the same tribal community. For the theoretical discussion see, Jireček. 1876. 286 cited by Manof .1939. 8-9.

³⁰ MacArtney, C. A.1929. "The Petchenegs." The Slavonic and East European Review, 8/ 23: 348.

³¹ Ülküsal. 1940. 30-31.

Russian-Cuman army by the Mongolians, the Uz tribes on the Russian border passed the Danube and settled in Dobruja where other Turkic peoples had inhabited for a long time.³² A number of Christianized Uz tribes preferred to live along the shore of the Blacksea, especially in Mahgalya, Kavarna, Varna, and Silistre, where, inhabitants were still known as Uzs in the seventeenth century.³³

After a few decades from Uzs, Cuman tribes invaded the steppe region in the 11th century. Cuman-Kipchak tribes had been the supreme power of the northern Central Asia in the early Middle Ages but expansion of the Kitai State changed the balance of power in the region. Kitai pressure forced the Cuman tribes to move towards the west, where after Cumans' victory over the three Russian princes in 1068, their advancements in a few decades reached to the Pontic steppes, Rumania, Carpathian plains and the Danubian Basin.³⁴ While Greeks called these tribes as "Comans", they were known as Valvi, or Falben in Transilvania that means "sallow" and Cuman-Kipchaks were called "Kun" and/or "Palocz in Hungaria. On the northern neighborhood, Russian chronicle stated them as Polovtsy that some philologists drive the term from polovoy (sallow), which is most probably taken to mean "steppe people".³⁵

³² İvanov, Y. Kumans, Mir Newspaper, 26 February 1926 cited by Manof. 1939. 11.

³³ Ülküsal. 1940. 16-17.

³⁴ Horvat Andras Palocz, Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe People in Medieval Hungary, Budapest 1989 p.42-43.

³⁵ See, Bostwell, A. Bruce, The Kipchak Turks, Slavonic Review, 6 (1927/1928) p.70; Vasary, I., Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans (1185–1365), Cambridge University Press, New York 2005, p. 5.

While the Greeks called the Kipchaks " Comans," the Saxons of Transylvania called them Valvi, or Falben, i.e., " sallow people." The Russians called them Polovtsy, which some philologists derive from polovoy but which is generally taken to mean " steppe folk" from pole, "field," i.e., it is a translation of the Turkish " Kipchak." The Hungarians used both words in the forms "Kun" and " Palocz." At the end of the eleventh century, northern steppe region was known as "Cumania" and the name "Deşt-i Kıpçak" was used for western Eurasian steppes even after the Mongolian invasion. The account of an Armenian prince, Hethum of Korykos (Hayton) (1235 – 1314) ³⁶ makes one of the most clear description of the Cumania in 1307 and displays the borders and geographic limits of the Cuman domination³⁷:

“ In the east, Khurasān that is Central Asia as a general term; the two seas ‘Black, Sea’ and ‘the Sea of Azov’³⁸ in the south-west; Russia in the north; and the area between the Don and the Volga rivers in the west.³⁹ The Cumans were masters of the western Eurasia until the Mongolian invasion. Although they did not possess a state or a state-like tribal political unity, Cumans formed five tribal zones in the the river regions of the steppes: (1) the Central Asian region until Talas; (2) the Volga-Ural region; (3) the Don region; (4) the Dnieper region; and (5) the Danube region.”

³⁶ Golden, P., B. 1990. "The peoples of the South Russian steppes". The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia, Cambridge, 280.

³⁷ The account, was translated into english in 1520s. See, Burger, Glenn (ed.)1988. A Iytell cronycle : Richard Pynson's translation (c 1520) of La fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient (c 1307) / Hetoum. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

³⁸ Great Sea and Black Sea were names used respectively and Tana that was the name of a famous Italian colony was respectively used for Azov. For the Italian colony Tana see, Dimitri Korobeinikov, A Broken Mirror: The Kıpçak World in the Thirteenth Century in The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, v.2, 379.

³⁹ See, Dimitri Korobeinikov, A Broken Mirror: The Kıpçak World in the Thirteenth Century in The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, v.2, p. 379.

Cuman lands included a vast territory of nomadic Central Asia but the Cuman-Kipchak domination on these lands (Desht-I Kipchak) was emerged not as a state organization, like Khazar Empire, but as a loose tribal confederation maintaining their traditional way of tribal life.⁴⁰ One of the most distinguishing characteristic of the Cumans in the medieval world is being such a widespread Turkic pastoral nomadic society whose representatives were in everywhere in Russian lands, China, Central Eurasia, Caucassia, Xarazma, Danubian Europe, Balkans, Western Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, and India.⁴¹

When Cuman tribes launched attacks on the middle Dnieper valley during more than a century, danger of the new wave of nomadic invasion became particularly acute in the second half of the eleventh century. Cumans' invasion reached the south shore of Danube when they first crossed the Danube in 1087 to join the Pecheneg army on the battlefield against the Byzantine. Their attacks and plunders on Byzantine settlements did not stop even after Emperor Alexius Comnenus hired them as mercenaries against Pechenegs' in 1091 and even some of these Cumans were granted fief lands smaller than *pronoias*, which made Cuman mercenaries a part of Byzantine military class. These Cuman formed the a lesser nobility class in the Byzantine provincial army, whose long-term effects other than stopping nomadic

⁴⁰ For the traditional nomadic life of Cumans see, Lauer, P. (ed.) 1924. Robert. de Clari: La Conquete de Constantinople. Paris, 63-64.

⁴¹ Golden , Peter.1984. "Cumanica I: The Qipiaqs and Georgia." Archivum Eurasia Medii Aevi, 4: 47.

raids and plunders and importance would be better understood during the Mongolian invasion.⁴²

Kiev chronicles state that although Cumans' tribal centers located on the right bank of the Dnieper River, there had already been Cuman tribes living in the Danube region in the late 12th century.⁴³ The 1173 yearbook of Kiev chronicles mentions the westward migration of the Cuman tribes but Cumans in the Danubian plains could not be long-lasting against the Pechenegs who were the supreme power of the region⁴⁴ and Cumans leaving the Pecheneg lands led their raids to the west and extended their dominancy towards the eastern plains of Hungaria and the Transilvania.⁴⁵ The Byzantine chronicler Nikita Honiat's account states that Cuman tribes had already settled permanently in the north shore of Danube in the last quarter of the 12th century⁴⁶ and when two Bulgarian nobles Peter and Asen brothers passed the Danube to ask the Cuman tribes for help their rebellion to the Byzantine in the summer of 1186⁴⁷ these tribes were populous enough to give the enough support for

⁴² See, Ostrogorsky. 1968. *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 366-7, 370; Irwin, *The Middle East*, 16; Omeljan Pritsak. 1991. "Cumans", Kazhdan, A. (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., New York: Oxford University Press, I:563-564.

⁴³ For the examples from the Kiev Chronicles on Cumans and their seasonal territories see, Rasovkiy. 2004. "Kumanlar", "Kuman Topraklarının" Sınırları." *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 40.

⁴⁴ See, Polnoe Sobranie Ruskii Letopisah (PSRL), II, 1908, s. 562-3 and Gruşevskiy. 1891. *Istoria Kievskoy Zemli Kiev*, 230; Rasovkiy, 2004. *Kumanlar "Kuman Topraklarının" Sınırları*, 160.

⁴⁵ See, Waitz, 1884. *Georg, Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris By Otto I* (Bishop of Freising), Hanover, 368; Grot, K. 1889. *İz İstorii Ugrii i Slavyanstva v. XII v.* Varşova, 56-57, 163.

⁴⁶ Even more Anna Comnena states the Cuman raids plundering Vidin in 1114. See, Anna Comnena, *Alexiadis*, ed. Bonn, II, s. 302; Chalandon, F. 1990. *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Jer Comnène*, Paris, 260; P. Mutafchiev, *Bulgares et Romanins*, 309.

⁴⁷ See, Wolff. 1949. "The Second Bulgarian Empire: its origin and history to 1204." *Speculum* 24 /2: 167-206; Bekker, I. (ed.) 1835. *Nicetae Choniates Historia*. Bonn, 487-488; Brand, C.M. 1968.

the Bulgarians. According to Nikita Honiat, Peter and Asen brothers convinced the Cumans to support their campaign on the Byzantine in 1186⁴⁸ and at the beginning of the 13th century, Rober de Clary's account mentions the Bulgarian state and their alliance with their neighbouring Cuman tribes,⁴⁹ who were very active political actors in the region and according to Istvan Vasary, Cumans as the supreme power of the north shore of Danube was the only powerful ally who could change the destiny of ant struggle on the Bulgarian lands. Even Byzantine Empire Constantine VII in his book, *De Administrando Imperio*, underlines that no one even Russians could not act in Danubian region without any consent with Turkic tribes.⁵⁰ Byzantine chronicles state these Cuman tribes crossing the Danube and plundering the Byzantine towns and villages in the mid- 13th century but again the the same chronicles consider recruitment of Cumans to the Byzantine provincial army as a successful imperial policy eliminating the Cuman threat on the Danubian border and restoring the security along the eastern and western borders.⁵¹

Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204. Cambridge: Mass, 88-126; Stephenson. 2000.

Byzantium's Balkan Frontier A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204. Cambridge, 288-294; Vasary, Cumans and Tatars, 42-47 and 54-56; Curta, Southeastern Europe, pp. 357- 365

⁴⁸ See Sathas. 1872. *Medieval Livrary*, v.I , 78 and compare Zlatarskio. *İstoriya na Blgarskata Drjava*, II, I, 448, 451, 453; Rasovsky. *Kumanlar*, 164.

⁴⁹ de Clary, Robert. 1873. *La Prise de Constantinople Chroniques greco-, romanes*. Berlin, 52.

⁵⁰ See Moravcsik (ed.) 1967. *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*. 51; Also Vasary underlines the importance of Cumans' alliance to be able to act safely in the eastern Danubian region along the Byzantine border for Russians during the 13th century. See, Vasary. 2005. *Cumans and Tatars*, 61.

⁵¹ See, Georgi. 1903. *Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, I. Leipzig, 53-54 and 65; See Ostrogorski. 1969. *History of the Byzantine State*. New Brunswick, 442; Charanis, Peter. 1951. "On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later", *Byzantinoslavica* 12 :133; Asdracha, C. 1976. *La region des Rhodopeas aux XIIIe et XIVE siecles*. Athens, 81 and 242-43; Angold, 1975. *M. A Byzantine Government in Exile*. London, 105; Bartusis, Mark. 1990. "On the Problem of Smallholding Soldiers in Late Byzantium." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 44:12.

During the Mongolian invasion in 1238, many Cuman tribes refuged to the Byzantine territory⁵² and they were settled especially in Trace and Macedonia⁵³, where these Cumans christianizing and mingling with the native Wallachians and Slavs would become a part of ruling class and military elite.⁵⁴ On the other hand, Cumans of the steppe region adopted Islam under the Mongolian rule and established local aristocracy and ruling dynasties under the name of Tatar.⁵⁵ Also many settlement names in Romania indicate Cuman inhabitants of the Medieval Romanian lands. For instance the small settlements along the border of *Kartsag* in Romania were kept their Cuman names until the first decades of the 20th century such as *Bengeçeg (Mengüçek), Konta, Tayta, and Kongrolu*. In Southern Romania, called as *Eflak* in the Ottoman times, many rivers had Cuman names until the 20th century such as Teleorman, Tigheciu-Tigiç, Derehliu-Derelüg, Turlui-Turlug, Teslui-Teslug and Argii-Arceş.⁵⁶

Also there are many other examples for the Cuman place names in the Balkans, Eastern and Central Europe such as (G)Uman in Ukrain, Comania, Comanica, Comani as village names in Romania; settlement names such as Kumanpataka, Comanfalua, Komanufalva in Hungarian archival documents; a village Kumanich in the region Nevrekop and Kumaniche a village in Ottoman

⁵² Spuler, B. 1945. Die Goldene Horde. Leipzig, 19-20.

⁵³ see Ülküsal, 1940. 16-17; Manof, Gagauzlar, 11-12.

⁵⁴ Rásonyi. 1927. 68-96.

⁵⁵ İnalçık. 2003. "Dobruja", EI WebCD add.

⁵⁶ Rasonyi. 1939, 414.

documents near Sofia. Names of many settlements, mountains and rivers in the Balkans, Eastern and Central Europe within the boundaries of Cuman domination kept their Cuman names for ages.⁵⁷ These place names and many others in the archival documents indicate the wide diffusion of Cuman elements into the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic inheritance beyond the western and southern boundaries of the Eurasian steppe frontiers.

Russian turcologist Golubovskij defines two historical migration ways to Europe for the Central Asian nomads; the northern way passing through Kipchak steppes and the southern migration way passing through Iran and Anatolia. The Turkic tribes followed the first way kept their tribal names after migration such as Pechenegs, Uz, and Kumans in where they settled but the tribes followed the second way are lost their tribal identities and became nomad groups known with the name of their leaders such as Karamanoghlu, Candaroglu, Eshrefoghlu, Seljuks and Ottomans.⁵⁸ Historical accounts and linguistic studies made on the Turkic peoples of the Eastern Europe indicate that besides the nomadic migrations from the Kipchak steppes, there were pre-Ottoman nomadic migrations from Seljukid Anatolia.

⁵⁷ For examples of Cuman place names see, I.Conea, I. Donat. 1956. Contribution à l'étude de la toponymie péchénegue-coman de la plaine roumaine de Bas-Danube. in *Contribution Onomastiques*. Publiées à l'occasion du VIe Congrès international des sciences onomastiques à Munich du 24 au 28 Août 1956. Bucarest, 1958 pp. 154-158; Diaconu, P. 1978. Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XIe et XIIe siècles. Bucarest, 26-27; Schütz, I. 1985. "Des „comans noirs“ dans la poésie populaire albanaise." *Acta Orientale H*, 39: 198-201; Stayanov, Valery. 2000. Cumanian Antroponymics in Bulgaria During the 15th Century in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization v. IV* Ed. Kemal Çiçek, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 114-115.

⁵⁸ See Golubovskij, P. 1884. Pečenegi, torki i polovcy do našestvija tatar: istorija južno-russkih stepej ix–xiii vv. Kiev, 1884; Manof . 1939. 8-9; Ülküsal. 1966. 15-16.

Gagauzs are one of the various Turkic groups in the Eastern Europe including north-eastern Bulgaria who speak a dialect of the Anatolian Turkish but their religion, Orthodox Christianity, distinct them from other Turkish-Muslim groups in the region. Since mid-fourteenth century, Gagauzs has been living in the area bounded with the steppes stretching between the lower Danube and the Black Sea in the north-east, the delta bounded with Emine Dagħ in the south, the chain of the Balkan range and Dobruja in the east. Historical accounts indicate that north-eastern the first settlement area of these pre-Ottoman Anatolian immigrants was Bulgaria, where they were living in the southern and middle Dobrudja, on the shore of Blacksea from Varna to Kalikra and on the shore of Danube extending to Silistre.⁵⁹ Also Gagauzs were living in other cities and provinces of Bulgaria as relatively small groups such as Prevadi, Şumnu, Razgrad, Tutrakan, and the region from Danube to Edirne.⁶⁰

Origin of Gagauz had remained controversial for decades and a number of hypothesis on the ancestor of these people were matter of discussion among turcologist. According to a view, Gagauz originated from the Cumans (Polovtsians) who played an active role in the history of the south Russian steppes until 1237. The other view on the origin of the Gagauzs was that they were possibly the descendants Uzes who were well known to the 11th century Russian yearbooks and Byzantine chronicles as Black Caps. On the other hand, some Bulgarian scholars categorized Gagauzs as to be the descendants of the Bulgars who adopted the Turkish language

⁵⁹ Yakubovski, Y. 1955. *Altın Ordu ve İnhitâtı*, İstanbul , 21.

⁶⁰ See, Zajaczkowski, Włodzimierz. 1965. "Gagauz." *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden; E.J. Brill, 971-972.

during the Ottoman period but kept their Orthodox belief. The discussions have come to an end after publication of Paul Wittek's comparative study on the original Turkish account of Yazijioghlu Ali written in reign of Sultan Murad I (1421-1451) and the Byzantine chronicles.⁶¹ Wittek completely rejects the hypothesis that the Gagauzs were Anatolian Turks who immigrated to Dobruja under the Ottoman rule and been subsequently Christianized under the influence of the surrounding population. Such a gradual apostasy from Islam is not possible under the Sultan's rule. For this reason, he concludes that the conversion must be in the pre-Ottoman period. Wittek also rejects the hypothesis that the Gagauz are Bulgarian, Greek or Wallachian Christians adopted Turkish language under the Ottoman rule because there are many examples indicating opposite cases in the Balkans such as Pomaks (Bulgarian speaking Muslims of Rhodop region), Bosnians and Muslim Albanians.⁶² According to Wittek, after the publication of Kowalski's careful analysis of the Gagauz Turkish, it is proved that the Gagauz Turkish essentially has southern, in other word Anatolian characteristics.⁶³

The account of Yazijioghlu Ali tells the story of Anatolian Seljukid Sultan Izz al-Din's Kay Ka'us II Anatolian Seljukid Sultan had to refuge Byzantine. After the re-capture of Costantinople by Michael VIII Palaeologos from the Franks in 1261, Sultan Izz al-Din's Kay Ka'us II, against the threats of both his brother Rukneddin

⁶¹ Wittek. 1952. "Yazijioghlu Ali ." 639-68.

⁶² For more detail on his discussion on previous hypothesis see, Wittek .1952. "Yazidjioghlu Ali.", 658-660.

⁶³ See Kowalski, T. 1933. *Les Turcs et la langue turque de la Bulgarie du Nord-East*. Krakow.

ruling the eastern half of the sultanate and the Mongolian protectors, left Anatolia with his household and 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. Yazidjioghlu states that these Seljuk troops (Tourkopouloi), after coming of their clans under the command of a dervish Sari Saltuk in 1263-64, were settled in Kavarna Land where uninhabited plains stretching between the Golden Horde Khanate, the Bulgarian State and the Byzantine Empire.⁶⁴ These Anatolian nomads consisting 30-40 Muslim clans stated in Byzantine chronicles as Tourkopouloi⁶⁵ and their settlements functioned as a defence line along the border against any attack could come from the northern steppe region.⁶⁶ "Karvana Land" had been the settlement area of many Turkic tribes from the steppe region for ages and these people were offering military service to the Byzantine for centuries. Although Byzantine frequently employed foreign mercenary troops from various regions, Turkic peoples of the Kavarna Land offered an important number of the mercenary soldiers in the Byzantine army but neither these tribes nor these lands were under the control of the Byzantine Empire.

The emperor Mihail VIII Paleologos enfeoffed of the Kavarna land to the sultan of the Seljuks İzz al-Din's Kay Ka'us and the Sultan as the leader of these Turkic peoples founded an independent Oguz state in these lands. According to the

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ See Wittek. 1952, 659 ; P. Wittek also deals with the account in his article Wittek (1934) and more fully in Wittek (1948).

⁶⁶ See, Wittek. 1952, 648. and Inalcık. 2003. "Dobruja."

account of Yazijioghlu, after some time, the emperor feared from the Turkish tribes coming together under the roof of the Oguz state and the leadership of the former Anatolian Seljukid Sultan and he sent the imperial army to prevent emergence of a new enemy on the northern border of the Empire. Coming of the Tatar army from the north of Danube changed the fortune of the Muslims in the region. The new-Muslim Khan of the Golden Horde, Berke, survived İzz al-Din Kay Ka'us with two of his sons and brought them in Crimea. Also the Muslim subject of the sultan İzz al-Din's Kay Ka'us with their religious leader Sari Saltuk were transferred to the steppe region under the protection of Berke Khan and then his successor Noghay continued the Tatar protected on these Muslims of Kavarna Lands. However, according to Gregoras, a number of Turkish soldiers stayed in Kavarna were baptized and enrolled in the Byzantine army.⁶⁷ On the other hand, the other two sons of the Sultan with their mother who was the relative of the Byzantine emperor were received land and a feudal title in Verria (Karaferye) in Macedonia. One of the Seljuk princes stayed in Verria and the other one went to Constantinople. Yazijioghlu denotes that when the Sultan Bayezid I, concurred Verria in 1385, the grandsons of the Seljuk dynasty were still living there and Bayezid I deported them from Verria to Zikhne in eastern Macedonia and the eldest son of the family, Lizaqos, appointed as subashi, which was very unusual for a Christian in the early Ottoman era to obtain such a high position. In addition during the reign of the sultan Bayezid I, Lizaqos renewed his

⁶⁷ See, Guiland R. (ed.) 1927. *Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras*. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres"; Gragoras, I, p. 101, II, 16-19 cited by Wittek (1952) s. 657.

imperial diploma and he was exempted from paying poll-tax⁶⁸ and these Christian Turks stayed in Zikhne until the end of the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁹

Muslim Turks under the protection of Berke Khan came back to Kavarna Land with their leader Sari Saltuk in 1280s and until his death in the early 14th century, Sari Saltuk was the head of the Turks in Dobruja. After Sari Saltuk, while Christianized Anatolians staying in Kavarna Land, Muslims against the harassment of the Bulgarian princes, returned to Anatolia in 1307-11. Then, Christian Turks of Kavarna Lands elected Balik as their chief and a new despotate in Dobruja. After Balik, his brother Dobrotic reined the despotate (1357-1386) and since his reign, the name of the region “Karvuna Land” called as “Dobruja” or “Dobrotic Land”. The last ruler of the Oghuz State before the Ottoman conquest was Yanko (Ivanco), who could not be successful against the Sultan Bayezid I and the Christian Oghuz state became one of the Ottoman suzerains in the Balkans in 1398.

Mongolian invasion was the last wave of tribal invasion from the steppe region penetrated the Eurasia. After Batu’s conquest of the Kipchak steppes in 1236, Mongol-Tatar army captured Kiev in the 1240 and then the Mongolian invasion reached to the Central Europe when the Tatar invasion demolished the Hungarian Kingdom in 1241 and Tatar’s march devastated Dalmatia and Serbia.⁷⁰ A decade after the stormy days of the Tatar invasion Wilhelm Von Rubruk who went on a

⁶⁸ Wittek .1952, 650; Kiel. 1978, 207-208.

⁶⁹ For more details on Turkish- speaking Christians in Macedonia see Wittek (1934).

⁷⁰ See Vasary. 2005. Cumans and Tatars, 69-71.

missionary journey on the order of the King Louis IX of France to convert Tatar and Mongolian rulers in 1253 stated in his travel account that the Bulgarians, Vlaks (Ulacs), Poles, Bohemians Russians, and Slavonians were vassals of Tatar Khanate.⁷¹ When Batu founded the Golden Horde Khanate, lands of the Khanate were extending to the Carpathian Mountains in the central Europe and the colonization of populous Tatar tribes gained acceleration along the shores of Danube and the Black Sea in the thirteenth century.⁷² In 1285, a new Tatar campaign on Europe marched to Hungaria plundered the Transilvania and countryside of Hungaria, and then in 1286-87, Tatars turned to Poland plundered Krakow. Tatars during the second campaign did not cross the Danube and Bulgarian lands did not expose any destruction or plunder of Nogay's Tatar army.⁷³

Accounts of Arab travelers are the earliest sources stating pre-Ottoman Tatar settlements in the north-eastern Balkans, especially around Dobruja. The Arab historian Abdul Fida, in his book *Takvim-i Al Buldan*, mentions the majority of the settlers of Tulcha around Dobruja as Tatars and the other Arab travelers Rukn al-Din and İbn Khaldun state many Nogay tribes in the northern Dobruja.⁷⁴ The last nomadic invasion and Golden Horde Khanate played an important role on the Pre-Ottoman Turkic-Muslim migrations and emergence of Tatar settlements in the

⁷¹ Jakson, Peter. (trans.) 1990. *The Mission of William of Rubruck: His Journey to the court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253-1255*. London: The Hakluyt Society, 139.

⁷² See, Ekrem .1983, 1600.

⁷³ See, Vasary. 2005. *Cumans and Tatars*, 88.

⁷⁴ About the Arab travellers and their books, see, de Tiesenhausen,W. 1983. *Recueil de Materiaux Relatifs à L'Histoire de la Hoade d'Or I*, Extraits des Ouvrages Arabes, St. Petersbourg, 92-93; Ekrem. 1983,1601.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans.⁷⁵ These pre-Ottoman Tatar settlements were registered in 15th century Ottoman Tahrir and *wakf defters*.⁷⁶

4.2 Pre-Ottoman Turkic People in Bulgaria as Ruling Class, Settlers and Ethno-Cultural Entity

Pre-Ottoman Turkic settlers were the leading figures of the Bulgarian lands until the Ottoman Era and even after the conquest, their memory was kept alive for centuries that in the 17th century, the famous Ottoman Traveller Evliya Chelebi in his travel book, *Seyahatname*, called the north-eastern region of the Ottoman-Balkans, as “*Uz Eyaleti*” (the province of Uz)⁷⁷ and many settlement names referred to the Cumans and their characteristic names.

Medieval chronicles denote numerous Cuman connections set up with royal marriages between Cuman elite and ruling dynasties of the Eastern Europe, Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Georgia and Greece⁷⁸ and among these, Bulgaria and Bulgarian dynasties has a special importance because of their close relationship,

⁷⁵See, J. Nemeth. 1971. “Magyar und Mişer.” Acta Orient. Hung. XXV: 293-299.

⁷⁶ Barkan (1949-50) p. 543.

Karye-I Arpuz Ata

Vakf-I Arpuz Ata Cengiz Han zamanından berü vakf imiş vakf-I 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 Pülad ve Sitti ve Şahi nam hatunlar giru nesli olmağın vakf-I evladlık olmak üzere tasarruf ideler. (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Defter no: 818).

⁷⁷ Ülküsal. 1940, 16-17.

⁷⁸ Boswell B.1928. “The Kipchak Turks”, Slavonic Review, 6: 83.

alliances, and with the step region even after the Tatar invasion. Since the proto-Bulgars, ruling elite of the Bulgarian lands came from the steppe region and their tribal ties, close connection and cultural interaction with the steppe peoples had been a distinctive feature of Bulgarian lands and dynasties. Many well known names of Bulgarian ruling elite such as Khan, Aparukh, Balik, Dorman, Cholpan, Shisman, Asen, and Terter were all Cuman personal and family names.⁷⁹ A century before revolt of the two Bulgarian nobles, Asen and Peter brothers and emergence of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, Russian chronicles stated the name *Asen* as a Cuman tribal chief⁸⁰ and the same chronicles denoted *Terter*, as a Cuman name at first time in 1183.⁸¹

Until the Mongolian invasion, Cuman tribal centers had been located on the north of the Danube and except a few minor military groups settled in the Bulgaria, there had not been any Cuman migration to the Bulgarian lands but after the defeat of Cuman-Russian army against the Tatars in 1223, the first wave of Cuman migration reached to the Balkans and the Central Europe. The populous Cuman groups crossed the Danube in 1237 and Ivan Asen II could not do anything against the migration other than let them march through Bulgaria.⁸² In 1241, the second wave of Cuman migration arrived at Bulgarian lands from the Hungaria, where after the assassination

⁷⁹ See, Yücel, Mualla Uydu. 2004. “İlk Rus Yıllıklarında Geçen Türk Kavimlerine Ait Şahıs İsimleri”, İstanbul Üniversitesi. Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi, 39: 181-211.

⁸⁰ See, Yücel, M. 2004. Türk Kavimlerine Ait Şahıs İsimleri, 421.

⁸¹ See, Golden, P. Nomads and Their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Kipchaks, 149; Tertrobiç-Terterabaoğlu, Rasonyi, Valaho-Turcica, 27; Boswell, B. “The Kipchak Turks”, 68.

⁸² Vasary. 2005. Cumans and Tatars, 63-64

of their leader Kōten (Kötöny in Hungarian, Kotjan in Russian), Cuman tribes plundered the rural settlements of Hungaria and they were forced to migrate Bulgaria where populous Cuman groups were living.⁸³ The second migration wave in the mid-thirteenth century brought the main political actors, boyar families and dynasties of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom such as the Shishmans in Vidin, Terters in Tirnovo and Dormans in Branichevo.⁸⁴ Father of the a leading political figure Tsar George Terter I of Tirnovo must have been among the immigrants of the second wave of Cuman migration too and must have a blood tie with the Cuman chief Kōten in Hungaria who was a member of Terter(oba) clan.⁸⁵

These migrations with their political and demographic consequences show that before the Mongolian invasion, cultural and political influence of Cumans on Bulgaria was limited with military alliances against Byzantine but after the Mongolian invasion, Cuman refugees coming from the Pontic steppes and Hungary consisted main demographic, cultural and political sources of the Cuman heritage in Bulgaria.⁸⁶ Some examples of village and town names from different regions of Ottoman Bulgaria below clearly indicate these pre-Ottoman Cuman settlements in Bulgaria:

Aldomirofça: Aldomir is a Kuman name⁸⁷ and Aldomiraofça is a village in kaza-I Şehirköy (Sofya) registered in Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i *Rumeli* Defteri dated 1530.

⁸³ See, Vasary. 2005.Cumans and Tatars, 65

⁸⁴ See, Vasary. 2005.Cumans and Tatars, 65-66.

⁸⁵ Pritsak, "Polovcians", 338; Golden, P. Nomads and Their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe: Turks, Khazars and Kipchaks, 149.

⁸⁶ Rogers, Greg. 1996. "An examination of historians' explanations for the Mongol withdrawal from east Central Europe." East European Quarterly, 30/1: 21-22.

⁸⁷ See the list of Cuman names above.

Basaraba: The founder of the first Rumanian dynasty mentioned in archival sources in 1324 for the first time⁸⁸; a village in Chernovi - Bulgaria; a Turkic name registered as name of Christian subjects in Nigbolu Mufassal register in 1556.

Toutrakan: Cuman name⁸⁹ Name of a town and a fortification in Chernovi-Bulgaria; a Turkic name registered as name of Christian subjects in Nigbolu Mufassal register in 1556.

Komanskobrod: A village in Chernovi registered in Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rumeli Defteri dated 1530.

Komanice: A town in Silistre registered in Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rumeli Defteri dated 1530

Komaniç: A village in Sofya registered in Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rumeli Defteri dated 1530

Kumanice: A mezraa in kaza-I Bana (Vidin) registered in Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i *Rumeli* Defteri dated **1530** in Vidin.

Kumanofça: A village in kaza-I Şehirköy (Sofya) registered in Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i *Rumeli* Defteri dated **1530**

Pre-Ottoman Turkic personal names were registered for centuries as names of both Muslim and Christian Ottoman subjects in the tax and military registers of Ottoman Bulgaria. Especially tradition of reproducing old names in patriarchal societies⁹⁰ helped these Turkic names to be transferred generation-to-generation and Ottoman defters registering taxpayers with father's name played an important role to identify these ethnic names in archival documents.

⁸⁸ See, Rásonyi. 1966-1969. "Kuman özel adları. " Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları, 3-6: 88.

⁸⁹ See, Rásonyi. Kuman özel adları. 71-144

⁹⁰ See Rasonyi, Onomasticon Turcicum = Turkic personal names, 7-10; Rasonyi, 1976. The psychology and categories of name-giving among the Turkish people, Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı: Belleten, 34; Abdurrahman, V. 2004. Turklerin ad koyma gelenekleri üzerine bir inceleme, Milli Folklor. 8/61: 124-133.

4.3 Warriors of the Steppe region in North-eastern Balkans as a part of pre-Ottoman Military Elite

Turkic peoples of the Eurasian steppes played leading roles in history of the Balkans, Eastern and Central Europe where they were mercenaries, a part of military elite, strategic ally and even settlers of empty lands during the medieval times. Invasions from the steppe region was a continuous danger for the Byzantine borderlands and after the disintegration of the Hazar Empire in the tenth century, many tribal wave of invasions threatened the Balkans and Europe.⁹¹ Byzantine against the danger of nomadic invasion hired these nomadic invaders as mercenary or recruited them to the Byzantine army, which were political tactics to eliminate the invaders other than fighting with them but on the other hand, these political tactics would turn to a success of military policy recovering weaknesses of the Byzantine army on the borders. Byzantine chronicles state that emperors hired these Turkic peoples as mercenaries or formed a new lesser military class with small fiefs on empty lands along the strategic borderlines. Byzantine chronicles give many examples of how these policies were efficiently used in many cases of nomadic invasions and how recruitment of nomadic warriors helped to restore the military deficiencies of the Byzantine army. Pechenegs' invasion in the mid-11th century resulted with the defeat

⁹¹ For the Khazars see, Golden, P. 2010. *Turks and Khazars : origins, institutions, and interactions in pre-Mongol Eurasi.*, Ashgate/Variorum; Golden P. and Haggai Ben-Shammai and András Róna-Tas (eds.) 2007. *The world of the Khazars : new perspectives*, Brill; Curta Florin and Roman Kovalev. (eds.) 2008. *The other Europe in the Middle Ages : Avars, Bulgars, Khazars, and Cumans.* Brill; Golden, P. 2002. *Nomads and their neighbours in the Russian steppe : Turks, Khazars and Qipchaq.* Ashgate/Variorum.

of Pechenegs against the Imperial army, which gave way to one of these recruitment cases stated in chronicles. As a result of the battle in south shore of Danube in 1049-1050, many Pechenegs were enslaved and thousands of them were settled in the empty plains of Nish, Sofia and northern Macedonia.⁹² These Pechenegs were convenient settlers for the uninhabited lands of the Balkans and potential taxpayers for the central authority. On the other hand, Byzantine army would not be successful against the growing threat of nomadic invasions from the steppe region without cavalry troops and these Pechenegs would be a part of the Byzantine cavalry in Danubian frontier when it was needed.⁹³ After Pechenegs, a new nomadic invasion, Uzs, plundered Bulgaria, Trace, Macedonia, Salonica and even Peloponnese in 1064-1065.⁹⁴ Byzantine chronicler Attaliates states that against the bitter winter conditions and Pechenegs' raids, the imperial army defeated the Uz tribes and enslaved Uzs were either recruited in the Byzantine army or settled in Macedonia.⁹⁵ The other nomadic wave of invasion on the Danubian border started in the last quarter of the 11th century. Cumans crossed the Danube in 1087 to join the Pechenegs on the battlefield against the Byzantine army. The emperor Alexius Comnenus hired them as mercenaries against Pechenegs in 1091 and some of these Cuman tribes granted fief lands were permanently settled and constituted the basis of the Byzantine defence system on the northern border.⁹⁶ However Cumans' devastating raids on the

⁹² Kurat, N. 1937. *Peçenek Tarihi*, Istanbul, 135.

⁹³ See, *Kurat, Peçenek Tarihi*, 134- 135.

⁹⁴ de Presle Brunet (ed.) 1853. Attaliates, Michael: *Historia*. Bonn, 83; Kurat, *Peçenek Tarihi*, 151.

⁹⁵ See Attaliates. *Historia*, 83; Kurat, *Peçenek Tarihi*, 152.

⁹⁶ See, Ostrogorsky. 1968. *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 366-7, 370; Pritsak, O. 1991. "Cumans", *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. New York: Oxford University Press, I:563-4.

villages and towns could not be stopped until the reign of Nikean emperor John Vatatzes (1221-1254), who stopped the Cuman raids and plunders without fighting. The Byzantine chronicler Bartusis interprets recruitment of the Cumans into the Byzantine Army and transplanting them to the Asia Minor as a success of Vatatzes that broke the aggressive influence of Bulgarians on the Cuman tribes.⁹⁷ The other Byzantine chronicler, Akropolites, states that recruitment of Cuman soldiers (stratiotai) was continued and as a result of a reconciliation reached in 1240, Cumans became smallholding soldiers in the Byzantine army having a special status which was different than mercenaries and pronoias.⁹⁸ These Cuman tribes were divided into smaller groups and were settled along the western border in Trace, Macedonia and along the Seljukid border in Western Anatolia.⁹⁹ All these recruitments and mercenary hirings restored the Byzantine defence system on the borders, which played a crucial role during the Mongolian invasion.¹⁰⁰ Recruitment of Turkic nomads against the invasions was a common state policy in the Islamic world, Eastern Europe. Even in the Russian lands, Turkic elements replacing Vikings became a part of the army of Russian princes and these recruitments improved the border-guard system in the mid-twelfth century.¹⁰¹ Also the Georgian rulers King George II and Queen Tamara hired Cuman-Kipchaks as military power of the central

⁹⁷ Bartusis, Mark. 1990. "On the Problem of Smallholding Soldiers in Late Byzantium." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 44: 12.

⁹⁸ See Ostrogorski. 1969. *History of the Byzantine State*. New Brunswick, 442; Charanis, P. 1951. "On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later", *Byzantinoslavica* 12:133; Angold, M. 1975. *A Byzantine Government in Exile*. London, 105.

⁹⁹ Heisenberg A. I. (ed.) 1903. *Georgi Acropolitae: Opera*, 53-54 and 65.

¹⁰⁰ Ostrogorski. 1956. *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 393.

¹⁰¹ Noonan, Thomas. 1992. "Rus, Pechenegs, and Polovtsy: Economic Interaction Along the Steppe Frontier in the Pre-Mongol Era." *Russian History*, 19/1-4 : 302.

authority against the powerful local nobility and these Cuman mercenaries played a crucial role to re-organize border defence system. The Georgian King David IV (1089 AD –1125 AD) who was married to daughter of Cuman chief Atrak invited 40,000 Cumans to settle in empty lands and serve in a special military organization royal to the king, which would be the main force against the Oguz tribes terrorizing Georgian lands in the twelfth century.¹⁰² Cumans were recruited to the army or hired as mercenary by the empires and states neighbouring the steppe region because the nomadic light cavalry was practically invincible in the region¹⁰³ and these nomad cavalry is a requirement for the sedentary sates to be successful against the nomadic invaders.

The other source of Turkish soldiers in Byzantine military army was the Turkoman tribes known as Tourkopouloi¹⁰⁴ came to the Byzantine lands with Anatolian Seljukid Sultan Izz al-Din Kay Ka'us II. These Turkomans consisting of 30-40 Muslim clans were settled in Kavarna Land (Dobrudja) and their settlements functioned as a defence line on the northern border of Byzantine.¹⁰⁵ These Anatolian soldiers in Kavarna were Christianized¹⁰⁶ but they kept their language and many cultural motifs of Seljukid Anatolia alive for centuries. Even today descendants of

¹⁰² See, Golden, P. 1979-1980. "The .Polovci Dikii" Harvard Ukrainian Studies III/IV: 305; Golden, P. 1984. "Cumanica I: The Qipcaqs in Georgia" Archivum Eurasiae Medii aevi, 4:45-87; Golden, P. 1983. The Turkic Peoples and Caucasia Transcaucasia, Nationalism, and Social Change: Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. Suny R. G (ed.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 59-60.

¹⁰³ Vasary, Istvan. 2004. "Cuman warriors in the fight of Byzantium with the Latins", Acta Orientalia Hungarica 57: 268-269.

¹⁰⁴ See Wittek 1952, 659; Wittek (1934) ; Wittek (1948).

¹⁰⁵ See, Wittek. 1952, 648. and Inalcik. 2003. Dobruja, EI.

¹⁰⁶ For Gragoras see, I Wittek 1952, 657.

Tourkopouloi known as Gagauzs are a group of orthodox Christian people speaking Anatolian Turkish and having their own distinctive cultural rituals in the Balkans and the Eastern Europe.¹⁰⁷

Conquest of Bulgaria is the key point for the Ottomans' adaptation of the medieval military inheritance of the Balkans because Ottomans after the conquest did not changed the functioning institutions and organization of the Bulgarian Kingdom such as administrative division of sandjaks, many local taxes, and military organizations consisted of many Cumans and other Turkic soldiers. Although Bulgarian dynasties had already been strong connections with Turkic tribal communities living in the steppe region in the 12th and 13th centuries¹⁰⁸, there had not been any mass migration of these steppe people to the lands of the Bulgarian Kingdom. In the thirteenth century, Cuman tribes escaping from the Mongolian invasion and many other Cuman tribes forced to leave the Hungarian lands took refuge in Bulgaria and became a part of pre-Ottoman Bulgarian society and military elite.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Güngör, H., and . M Argunşah. 2002. Gagauz Türkleri (Tarih, Dil, Folklor ve Halk Edebiyatı), Ankara: TC.Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları ; Manov, Atanas. 2001. Gagauzlar (Hristiyan Türkler. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu; Katchanovski, Ivan, “ Small Nations but Great Differences: Political Orientations and Cultures of the Crimean Tatars and the Gagauz”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 57, 6, 2005, 877-894; Yılmaz Hasan, Kaşıkçı Nihat, “ Karadeniz kıyılarında : yaşama, insana ve izlere dair : Bulgaristan, Romanya, Moldova, Gagauz yeri, Ukrayna ve Kırım'dan”, Ankara : T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001; Stepanovich, Stepan. 2006. “Istoriia i kultura gagauzov. Pontos; Güllü Karanfil. 2010. *Parlons Gagaouz*. Paris : Harmattan.

¹⁰⁸ Such as Osen (or Asen), and Tertery Dynasties, which are the names of Kipchak Khans and tribes in Russian Chronicles. See Boswell, B. 1927-1928. “The Kipchak Turks” , *Slavonic Review*, 6: 68.

¹⁰⁹ Vasary. 2005. *Cumans and Tatars*, 64.

4.4 Pre-Ottoman Turkic Settlers in Nigbolu Sandjak: Turkic People as Christian Peasants and Soldiers in the mid-16th Century Ottoman Tax Register

While examining the Christian population of Nigbolu Sandjak, personal names of Christian subjects in Ottoman tax registers indicate different ethnic elements of the native Christian population of the region. There are non-Slavic, non-Greek and non-Biblical names registered in towns, villages and fortifications, among which the number of pre-Islam Turkic names were registered more often than other ethnic names. These names out of Islamic-Arabic or Sufi-Persian naming tradition should be linked with the Turkic peoples of the steppe region who were Christianized and became a part of local population of the region. Ottoman registers of 16th century are the unique archival sources for the Turkic people in in Bulgaria where they were settled since the early medieval times. On the other hand, lists of Muslim nomad names in the region are the other important sources of this study to determine common pre-Islamic Turkish names given by both the Muslim Anatolian nomads and Christian Turkics of the region.¹¹⁰ While examining the Turkic names in Christian villages, this study focus on some specific territories in Nigbolu Sandjak such as Çernovi, Hezargrad, and Şumnu, which are the settlement area of the pre-Ottoman Turkic people since the ancient times and some other random samples from the Christian settlements of Lofca, Yanbolu, Tirnovi, and Zagra-I Eskihsar were

¹¹⁰ For the list of the Anatolian nomad names in the Ottoman Balkans see, Gökbilgi, T. 1957. Rumeli'de Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-ı Fatihan. İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası.

examined to make generalizations on the pre-Ottoman Turkic, especially Cuman, settlers of Nigbolu Sandjak.

Pre-Islamic Turkic names were registered in Christian towns of three big administrative centers Nefs-I Rus, Nefs-I Tutrakan, and Nefs-I Şumnu. In provinces, these Turkic names were registered in ten villages in Şumnu, thirteen villages in Çernovi, and six villages in Hezargrad. On the other hand, this is not a local case in Nigbolu because examination of random sample Christian villages all around the Nigbolu Sandjak indicates that as late as mid-sixteenth century, Cuman names were registered in Christian villages in every region of Nigbolu Sandjak.¹¹¹ Majority of these names are pre-Islamic Turkish names out of Islamic-Arabic or Sufi-Persian naming tradition¹¹² and specifically majority of these names reflect ethnic character of these Turkic people as much as naming tradition of their nomadic culture.

Ottoman tax registers shows that three hundred years after the last Cuman migration to these lands, names such as Kuman, Kun, Kara, Dusman, Aldo, Barak, Tatar, Sarıca were still names given in the region. Among these, the most ethnic name is Kuman and Kun, which are very characteristic and very well known names in the entire Turkic territory from China to Hungaria.¹¹³ Kuman was a very common

¹¹¹ See, Table 5: Cuman names Registered in Nigbolu among the Christians and Table 6: Cuman Names in Villages of Çernovi, Hezargrad, Şumnu.

¹¹² For the examples of common Arabic and Persian names See, Gençosman, K. Z. 1975. Türk isimleri sözlüğü, İstanbul : Hür yayın ve ticaret A.Ş.

¹¹³ For the archival sources and more examples of the name Kuman from different parts of the Balkans see, Stayanov, V. 2000. Cumanian Antroponymics in Bulgaria During the 15th Century in The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization v. IV Ed. Kemal Çiçek, Ankara:Yeni Türkiye, 114.

name among the non- Slavic, non-Greek and non-Christian population of the Ottoman Bulgaria¹¹⁴ Also derivatives of this name such as Kumanina, Kuma, Kumalin, Kumli, Kumalič, Kumčo, Kumo, Kumyo and Kunbeg were registered in Tirnova, Nigbolu, Vratsa, Vidin, Sofia, Pernik, Samakov, Şumnu, and Plovdiv.¹¹⁵ Combination of Turkic names with the title “*bek*” (prince) in Kipchak dialect other than the Oguz form “*beg*” or “*bey*” eliminates the any possible linguistic influence of the Ottomans.¹¹⁶ Anthroponymic studies indicate that there are many derivatives of the name “Kun” such as Kuno, Kune, Kuni, Kunina, Kunin and these names registered in the Ottoman tax registers of north western and western Bulgaria.¹¹⁷ Also “Kune” and more seldomly “Kuni” are diminutives of the name, Kuno. A Polovtsian name Kunuy (Кунуй) in the Russian sources¹¹⁸ indicates a probable lineage between the Cuman name Kun and its derivatives, Kuno and Kunin.

Table 4.1: Cuman Names in Christian Districts of Nigbolu in the mid 16th Century

Aldo	Kara Yovan	Kuno
Bâlî	Kara(kol?)	Kurd
Barak	Karaman	Orkuman
Dusman	Kuman	(R)kuman
İlyas	Kuman(ar?)	Sarıca
Kara	Kun	Tatar
Karagöz	Kune	Togan

¹¹⁴ See, Stayanov. 2000.Cumanian Antroponymics, 116.

¹¹⁵ See, Srayanov. 2000. Cumanian Antroponymics, 116-122.

¹¹⁶ See, Stayanov, V. Cumanian Antroponymics, 116.

¹¹⁷ Main sources of these anthroponymic studies in Bulgaria are Izvori za bŭlgarskata istoriia. Fontes historiae Bulgariae. (FTHB) Sofia v. 1(1954), v.2 (1966), v. 3 (1972).

¹¹⁸ А. И. Попов. Кыпчаки и Русь. - Ученые записки Ленинградского государственного университета. Р. 119.

Table 1 shows the Turkic names registered in urban and rural settlements of central and north-eastern regions of Nigbolu Sandjak in the mid-16th century and meanings of these names and historical personalities bearing this names are listing below.¹¹⁹

Aldo: The name is a version of the Cuman name “ Aldomir, Altemir (red-iron), El-temir (hand-iron) and il-temir (country-iron). This name was registered in mid-16th century Nigbolu register in Çernovi.

Bâli: Elder brother, grown up. The name is very common as a simple adjective noun among Anatolian nomads especially in Isparta, Elazig, Ankara and Muslim *yörüks* of Bulgaria. Also the name is used as the adjective part of a compound name in Anatolian *Oguz* dialect such as Bâli-Bey and Bâli-Şeyh. On the other hand, the name is as a part of a compound noun in *kipchak* dialect in Central Asia such as Qaya-Bâli, Gülüm-Bâli, Jatan-Bâli.¹²⁰ In mid-16th century Nigbolu Mufassal, this name registered in Şumnu in simple adjective noun form, which is most probably name of a Gagauz.

Barak: Having long and thick hair. Kuman 1521 (Dimitrius Barag) a Kuman from Hungary (Gyarfas III, 750); 18th century, Barak, a Khazak sultan of Middle hord; 1538-39, Barak-Han, a Sheybanid, the ruler of Taskent; 20th century, Barak-Uruw, a Quara-Nogay Clan; 20th century. This name was registered in Christian villages of Çernovi and Hezargrad in mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal defter*.

Dusman: Enemy. In mid-16th century Nigbolu Mufassal, this name registered in Şumnu.

Kara: Black. This name was registered in Christian villages of Şumnu, Çernovi and Hezargrad in mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal defter*.

¹¹⁹ For these names and their meanings see, Rasonyi. *Onomasticum Turcicum*; Rásonyi. *Kuman özel adları*, 71-144; Rasonyi. 1943. “Ortaçağda, Erdel’de Türklüğün İzleri”, II. Türk Tarih Kongresi Bildirileri, İstanbul ; Moravcsik, Gyula. 1958. *Byzantinoturcica*, Berlin Akademie-Verlag ; Yücel. *Türk Kavimlerine Ait Şahıs İsimleri*.,181-211; Stoyanov, Valery. 1999. *Cumanian Anthroponymics in Bulgaria During the 15th Century in The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation*. Vol. 4: Culture and Arts. Ankara, 113-126; Boyev. 1965. *Bulgaristan’da Minzuhar Koyunde Özel Adlar*, *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, 9/191: 3767-3770.

¹²⁰ See, Grodekov. 1889. *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy Syr-dar’insko oblasti*. I, Taskent 1889, 205;

Karagöz: Black Eye(d). In the Nigbolu Mufassal, the name in Christian villages were registered in the form of Anatolian Oguz dialect other than the of the Kipchak form Kara-köz, Kara-küz or Kara- küsö which most probably indicates Gagauzs. This name was registered in Christian villages of Şumnu and Çernovi in mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal defter*.

Karakul: Chagatay 15th century, (Quara-qul Ahmed Mirza) Barthold V. V, Ulug Beg und seine Zeit Ed. Walther Hintz. Leipzig 1935; Kzk. 19th century Karakulov (Grod., Pril. 34; Kzk. 19th c. Karakul (SODš. 90); Kzk. Karakul Iş-Aliyev (SKSO VIII, 207) (Rasonyi, Onomasticon, p. 423) This name was registered in Christian villages of Çernovi in mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal defter*.

Karaman: Black. A name used for dogs and horses. Gag.? Xaraman (Wickenhauser, Moldowa I, 66); Gag.? 1434 Karaman, Berin`s brother, a Gypsy slave of the monastery in Moldowica Turk, (Wickenhauser, Moldowa I, 18); Crm., 1689 envoy of Russians in the Crimea, Karaman Kutlu-bayev (Smirnov, Krym. 625); 1540, head of the Sheykh Mihmadlu tribe in Diyarbekir; Turk, 1543, yoruk name among the Yoruks of Kocacik; Turk, 1471, Karamanoglu Dynasty; Turk., Name of a Zeybek tribe in the region of Tire; Uzb. 1851 a village in the region of Khiva. (Rasonyi, Onomasticon, 435). This name was registered in Christian villages of Çernovi in mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal defter*.

Kuman: Ethnic name of Kuman (Polovets), yellowish grey. Bulg. 14th c., Quman a noble Bulgar (Byz-Turc. 163); Kuman 1096, 1103 Quman, a Polovets (Ipat. 166, 184, Lavr. 269, PSRL VII, 20); Selj.? 1128, emir, governor of Haleb; Maml. 1298; Kzk. 19th century. (Rasonyi, Onomasticon 492). This name is one of the most common Tukic name among the Christianized Cumans and the name was registered in Christian villages of Şumnu, Çernovi and Hezargrad in mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal defter*.

Kun: Bashk. 1735 Qun; Bashk. 1738, Qun-bay. This name is one of the most common Tukic name among the Christianized Kumans and the name was registered in Christian villages of Şumnu, Çernovi and Hezargrad in mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal defter*.

Sarica: Little yellow, little blond. Mamlk., 1310; yörük, 1543; Kharezm 14th century, an emir; yörük 1611, Sarıcalar, a tribe; Turk 20.yy, a village in Konya. (Rasonyi, Onomasticon 637) This name was registered in nefsi-i Şumnu, in mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal defter*.

Tatar: Bulg.? 1334; Kuman 1333, Ugedey's son among the Kumans of Hungary; Kuman 14th century, a prince of Kumans in Hungary; Selj. 11-12th centyr, an emir, doorkeeper; Mamlk., 1414; Meml. 1421; Yörük century, an emir; 1543 Kocacık yörük. (Rasonyi, Onomasticon 718). This name was registered in nefs-i Çernovi, in mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal defter*.

Togan: Chuv. 18-19 c.Togan; Maml. 1298; Maml. 1328, 1333, 1340, 1414, 1422, 1439, 1461, 1469, 1477, Dogan. Yörük 16th century, yörüks of Kocacık. (Rasonyi, Onomasticon 756-757) This name was registered in villages of Çernovi, in mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal defter*.

Some names clearly indicate strong influence of Kipchak dialect¹²¹ such as *Togan* instead of Dogan in Anatolian dialect or ethnic names such as Kuman, Kuno, Kun or names specifically used in steppe region such as Aldo(mir), Tatar, Dusman. Also there are common Turkish names given in Anatolia and in the Balkans registered in Christian villages such as Bâlî, Barak, Kara, Karagöz, Karaman, İlyas, and Sarıca, which can be considered as the other category of Turkic names in the region. These pre-Islam Turkic names in Christian villages shows the two sources of Turkish inhabitants of Bulgaria followed two different migration path towards the west.¹²² On the other hand, Turkic names also became a part of Christian names such as Kara Yovan, Kara Yorgi or used with some suffixes and prefixes (Or)kuman,

¹²¹ For more information about Kipchak language and its relations with the other Turkish dialects see, Karamanlioğlu, Ali Fehmi. 1994. *Kıpçak Türkçesi grameri*, Ankara : Türk Dil Kurumu; Caferoğlu, Ahmet. (ed.)1931. *Kitâb al-idrâk li-lisân al-Atrâk*. Istanbul: Evkaf Matbaasi ; Sertkaya Osman Fikri (ed.) 1966. János Eckmann: *Harezm, Kıpçak ve Çağatay Türkçesi üzerine araştırmalar* , Ankara : Türk Dil Kurumu.

¹²² See Golubovskij, P. 1884. *Pečenegi, torki i polovcy do našestvija tatar: istorija južno-russkih stepej ix-xiii vv.* Kiev.

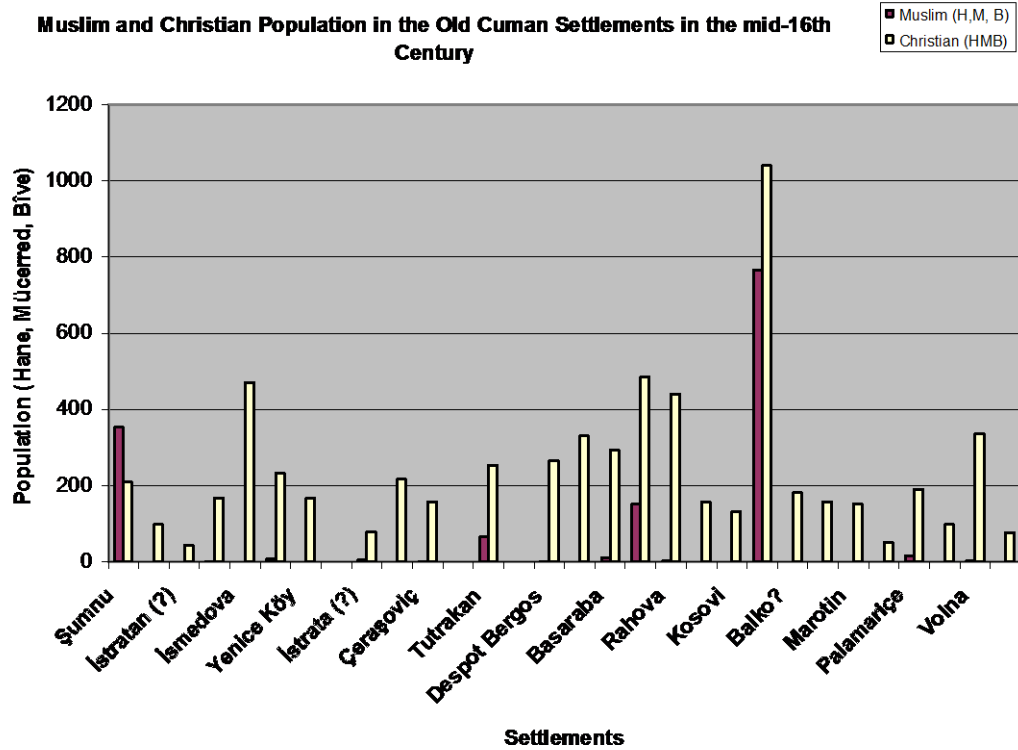
(Ra)kuman, Kun(o), Kun(e), which increases the number of different versions of these names.

Table 4.2

Villages of Pre-Ottoman Turkic Settlers in Çernovi, Hezargrad and Şumnu			
Villages			
Ablanova-i Gebr Çernovi	Dolna Kovaçoŕça Hezargrad	Kosovi (?) Çernovi	Nefs-i Yergögi Çernovi Hassa-i Cedid
Balko? Çernovi	Eski İstanbulluk Şumnu	Kotoş? Şumnu	Palamarıçe Hezargrad
Basaraba Çernovi hass	Draganova Hezargrad	Marotin Çernovi	Rahova Çernovi
Batin Çernovi Hass	Huyven Şumnu	Nefs-i Rus	Taban Çernovi
Batoşniçe Hezargrad	İsmolokoç (?) Şumnu	Nefs-i Şumnu	Tranbuş-i Bâlâ ? Hezargrad
Çeraşoŕiç Şumnu	İstrata (?) Şumnu	Nefs-i Tutrakan Çernovi	Volna ? Hezargrad
Despot Bergos Çernovi	İstratan (?) Şumnu	??? (15) Şumnu	Yenice Köy (Maden Geçidi) Şumnu

Table 2 shows the villages where these Turkic names of Christians were registered. It is very significant to see that these Turkic people were living in old settlements where the Anatolian nomads immigrants did not settle, which shows that they had been living in these villages in the pre-Ottoman times. These Christianized Turkic people had adapted the settled life and had mingled with the native Christians before the Ottoman conquest and in the mid-16th century, at least Turkic names, as a continuation of steppe culture and language, were still given without exposing any cultural or linguistic effect of new immigrant Anatolian nomads.

Graph 4.1



These Turkic names were also registered in Christian quarters of the big towns of the region such as Şumnu, Tutrakan, Yergögi and Rus, where significant number of Muslims had already been settled since the early Ottoman times. Graph 1 shows demography of native Christians and Muslim settlers in these villages and towns and the table indicates that many of these villages were purely Christian and the Muslim population consisting a few Muslim household were most probably converts other than Muslim Anatolian newcomers. Thus we can conclude that Christian Turkics were registered in either old Christian settlements or big towns,

which indicates that they were pre-Ottoman Turkic steppe people or Anatolian (Gagauz) settlers of these lands. Muslim craftsmen and unmarried men seeking for job consisted the growing Muslim population in Nefs-I Yergogi, Tutrakan and Şumnu but in rural areas, as it is seen in Graph 1, Turkic people were living in pure Christian settlements without any direct connection with the Anatolian nomads.

4.5 Turkic Christian Warriors in the Early 16th century Registers of Bulgarian Voynuk

Voynuks as one of the unique military inheritances of the pre-Ottoman military culture of the early Medieval Balkans and its transfer to the Ottomans' military system as organization of Christian soldiers survived the Turkic members of the pre-Ottoman military class and their warlike culture in the organization of Bulgarian Voynuks for centuries. According to Ottoman chronicles, pre-Ottoman Christian soldiers of Bulgaria was institutionalized as Voynuk organization in the late 14th or early 15th century and since the early Ottoman times Voynuks kept their pre-Ottoman status, fief lands and tax exemptions as the organization of Christian soldiers in the Ottoman military system.¹²³ Idris Bitlisi, a famous historian of the 15th century, states Voynuks as Christian soldiers forming an important part of the Ottoman army in the Balkans.¹²⁴ Late 15th century Nigbolu *timar* surveys also

¹²³ See, Orhonlu, C.1967. Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Derbend Teşkilatı, İstanbul, 69 and Ercan, Y. 1986. Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar. Ankara: TTK, 11-12.

¹²⁴ See İnalçık, Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tedkikler ve Vesikalar, 177.

includes voynuk registers including “zevaïd-I voynugan-I Gigan”, “voynugan-I Nigbolu”, “an zevaïd-I voynugan-I Nigbolu”.¹²⁵ Even though Voynuks gradually lost their warrior status and became a part of auxiliary troops in the 17th century onward, the organization remained as a part of Ottoman military system until its final abolition in 1878.¹²⁶

Voyini or *Voynici* is a Slavic military term used for land-holding lesser military nobility in Serbia and Macedonia during the empire of Stephan Dushan (1333-1355)¹²⁷ and Ottomans’ *Voynuk* organization brought members of the pre-Ottoman military nobility together under the roof of a separate organization of Christian soldiers. Many registers in the Ottoman *Tahrirs* indicate that Voynuks were generally kept their pre-conquest status and exemptions, which is the general attitude of the Ottomans towards the military, administrative and financial system of conquered lands.¹²⁸ *Voynuk* registers of the 16th century, *Voynuk kanunnames* and articles of various *kanunnames*¹²⁹ indicate that the hereditary characteristic of the military status with their fief (*bashtina*) lands and tax exemptions¹³⁰ were strictly kept

¹²⁵ See, late 15th century Nigbolu Timar register from Sofia Archive, Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or., Abt., Signature Hk., 12/9.

¹²⁶ See Ercan, 1986. *Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, 11-14.

¹²⁷ Kadlec K. 1933. *Introduction à l'étude comparative de l'histoire du droit public des peuples slaves*, Paris, 97-98; Orhonlu, C.. 1967. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Derbend Teşkilatı*, İstanbul , 16.

¹²⁸ See Inalcik, *Method of Conquest*, 114 and Inalcik. 1996. XV. asırda Rumeli'de hıristiyan sipahiler ve menseleri, in Stefan Dusan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluguna Toplum ve Ekonomi. İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 237-241.

¹²⁹ For the examples from kanunnames and tahrir registers, see İnalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerine Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, 174-175 and Inalcik gives a voynuk register in Adrianople as one of the oldest examples dated to Muharrem 858 (1454) in his article, *Method of Conquest*, 115

¹³⁰ See, Ercan, Y. 1986. *Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, 75-77.

in the Ottoman military system since the re-organization of these Voynuks in the early Ottoman times.¹³¹

Although archival sources do not give enough information to determine the number of the Voynuk soldiers in the Ottoman Balkans, early Ottoman *Tahrir* registers indicates that there were small *Voynuk* groups in Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania, Serbia, and Bosnia but *Voynuk* as a term in Ottoman military system refers to Bulgarians as the most populous Christian military group in the Ottoman army.¹³² Although there is Voynuk registers in *Tapu and Tahrir Defters* of 15th century¹³³, the first Voynuk *Defter* in the Ottoman Archive (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, BOA) is dated to early sixteenth century. The *Voynuk* Defters in BOA are MAD 81 (1522-23 Tarihli İstılab-I Âmire Voynukları Defteri), TD151 (1528 tarihli Voynuk tahrir defteri), MAD 533 (1576 tarihli Niğbolu ve Silistre Voynukları Defteri) and MAD 546 (1579 tarihli Niğbolu ve Silistre Voynukları Defteri). The earliest *kânûnnâme* in the register of the Imperial Stable (Kânûnnâme-i Voynugân-ı İstabl-ı Âmire) defines law and regulation on taxes, exemptions, rights, duties, responsibilities and many other issues related with members of the Voynuk organization. According to the earliest *kanunname*, *Voynuks* possessed *baştina* lands which was their hereditary fief lands since the pre-Ottoman times and they were exempted from peasant taxes such

¹³¹ For the transcription of these *Voynuk Kanunnames* see, Ercan. 1986. *Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, 114-121.

¹³² See, Ercan. *Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, 43.

¹³³ See, İnalçık. 1954. *Hicri 835 Tarihli Süret-I Defter-I Arvanid*, and *Fatih Devri Üzerine Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, Ankara.

as *haraç*, *ispenç*, *öşr*, *rüsûm* and *avariz*. Also *voyvoda* of Moldavia was required to pay the annual tribute in ducats to furnish *Voynuks* serving as light cavalry in time of war.¹³⁴ On the other hand, when they were cultivating on such a land having a taxable status like *haraçlu baştina*, *tîmâr*, *vakf*, or *mülk* lands, these *Voynuks* had to pay the taxes that status of the land requires. Also if these *Voynuks* fail to fulfill their duties and loose their status, they had to pay *harac*, *öşr* and all other peasant taxes.¹³⁵ *Voynuk kanunnames* detailed the regulations that when it was needed, *kadi* was responsible to organize the labor force consisting *Voynuks*, *Yörüks* and *reaya* for cutting hay, serving in the imperial stables, woodcutting and some other auxiliary duties.¹³⁶

This study specifically focus on the earliest *Voynuk* registers, MAD 81 and MAD 151, defters of İstılab-I Âmire *Voynukları* and hese two defters are compared to determine Turkic elements and their regional distriburion among the Christian settlements of the Nogbolu Sandjak. These are mufassal registers of *Voynuks* in Sofia, Nigbolu, Kamarofca, Izvor, Kurşuna, Lofça, Zıştovi, Tatarcık, Samako, Yanbolu, Tirnovi, Silistre and Filibe and Edirne. Each register includes name of the Christian soldier, his fathers' name , his status such as *Voynuk* or *Yamak* and their *baştina* lands.

¹³⁴ See İbrahim Peçevi. 1866. Tarih-i Peçevi II. İstanbul, 152; Kortepeter. 1966. Ottoman Imperial Policy, 102.

¹³⁵ See Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, Vol. 4, 653-656.; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 264; Ercan, *Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, 74-77.

¹³⁶ For the examples see, Dorev. (ed.) *Dokumenti za Bulgarskata Istoriya*, I II/1; *Dokumenti iz Turските Derzhavni Arkhivi* (Sofia, 1940) Dorev, *Dokumenti III/1*, pp. 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 13 and Kortepeter, 98.

Bulgarian Voynuks were not an ethnical but a geographical term that refers to Christian soldiers in Bulgaria because the group of soldiers were descendents of the Byzantinian provincial military nobility most of whom were recruited from different non-Greek communities. Many names from non-Slavic and non-Biblical origin registered in the early 16th century Voynuk *defters* of Bulgaria, which indicate multi-ethnic and multi-cultural mosaic of the Byzantine's provincial military system in the Balkans. Examination of these registers indicates that although *Voynuks* of Bulgaria were still keeping their Christian faith as late as in the early 16th century, multi ethnic structure of the organization had not been changed since the pre-Ottoman times. Besides Slavic, Biblical, Greek, Nordic, and Germanic ethnic names, pre-Islam Turkic names including very specific ethnic names such as Kuman and Kun consisting most significant non-Slavic ethnic group in these *defters*. Table 4.3 shows examples from the Turkic names registered in the Voynuk registers and it is seen that although there are some registers where both father's and son's name are Turkic such as *Kuno veled-i Kuno* or *Saruca veled-I Kuno* or *Düşman veled-I İldar (İlter)*, generally in most of these registers, son's or father's name is a Bulgarian, Slavic, Greek or a Biblical name. Majority of the Turkic names of these *vounuks* are ethnic names like Kun or Kuman and names referring to the warlike nature of these people such as *Düşman* or *Düşko* (Enemy), *İldar* (posessor ad ruler of a land), *Aldomir* or *Aldo* (red iron). On the other hand, many other Turkish words registered as Voynuk names such as adjectives describing physical appearance such as *Kara*, *Karagöz*,

Karaca, Karaman, Sarıca, Şişman (Şişo and Şişko) or some other Turkic names derived from nature like Tuman (Fog), Orman (Forest), Togan (hawk) are very common names in nomadic naming culture of the Turkic world and especially names derived from nature is a part of naming tradition of nomadic people of Anatolia. These are the examples of *voynuk* names registered in various regions of Bulgaria indicate existence of Christianized Turkic warriors and their Turkic steppe culture survived almost every province of Bulgaria as late as the 16th century.

Table 4.3

Turkic Names in the Early 16th Century Voynuk Register of Bulgaria		
Dimitri veled-i Aldomir	İstanko veled-i Karaca	Nikola veled-i Kaloyan
Aldo veled-i Kostedil	Kuno veled-i Brayan	Niro veled-i Dirman
Doğan veled-i Dimitri	Kuman veled-i Çerno	Şişman veled-i Todor
Togan veled-i Dobri	Kumaniç veled-i Dragan	Yanko veled-i Orman
Düşko veled-i Lazar	Kalço veled-i Karagöz	Goran veled-i Şahin
Düşman veled-i Mihail	Nedelko veled-i Saruca	

Source: TD81 defter-i voynugan sene 929 (1522-23), TD151 defter-i voynugan sene 935 (1528-29), TD382 Nigbolu Mufassal Defteri(1556).

On the other hand, voynuk registers of Nigbolu provide a closer look to the Turkic elements of the native pre-Ottoman Turkic inhabitants of Bulgaria. There were 1,030 voynuk and 2,024 yamak was registered in Nigbolu Sandjak in 1522-1523 “Defter-I İstılab-I Âmire Voynukları” and contrary to the voynuks of Sofya, Filibe, Tatarcık and Samako, there were no Bashtina which is hereditary fief lands of these Christian soldiers since the pre-Ottoman times. Nigbolu Sandjak was a strategic region on the Danubian border and tax registers since the late 15th century indicate special military status of this region that *zeamet-I nefsi-I Rus* (known as *Kal’a-I*

Yergögi beru yaka) was given to the voivoda of Eflak (Vlakhia) in the late 15th century in order to secure the strategic point on the Danubian military zone.¹³⁷ The *serhad* region along the Danubian border was military security zone and for this reason there were very few timar land long the border periphery. Especially villages of Çernovi were all *kadim* and *cedid hass* lands and many villages and towns in Hezargrad and some villages of Şumnu were *hass* lands in the mid-16th century. For this reason there were not any *bashtina* lands registered for the Voynuks of Nigbolu, which indicates a consistent military policy of the central authority along the Danubian borderland of the Nigbolu sandjak. Among these voynuks without *bashtinas*, Turkic voynuk names were registered almost in every voynuk village and pre-Islam Turkish names of the Christian voynuks underlines the ethnic, warlike Turkic steppe culture with effect of native language and Christian culture of Bulgaria. Table 4.4 listed the Turkic *voynuk* names registered in Nigbolu shows that among these names, ethnic names such as Kun and Kuno, warrior names such as

Table 4.4

Examples of Turkic Voynuk Names in Nigbolu			
Kuno v. Yovan	Niko v. Karaca	Gago v. Aldo	Niko v. Şişman
Doğan v. Düşman	Düşman v. İlder	Brayan v. Orman	Şişo veled-i Rayho?
Togan v. Sirko	Dralo v. Karaman	Nido v. Dirman	Brayno v. Tuman
Radol v. Düşko	Niko v. Kaloyan	Başalı v. İvanko	Yovan v. Şahin

¹³⁷ See one of the earliest registers of Ottoman Nigbolu dated to 1483, Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or., Abt., Signature Hk., 12/9 and compare with the other earliest register dated to 1479, Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or. Abt., Signature OAK., 45/ 29 and the published registers of Ottoman Balkans, 1570 tarihli Muhasebe-I Vilayet-I Rum İli Defteri(937/1530), T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, vol.1, Ankara, 2002.

Düşman, Aldo(mir), and İlder are very specific examples indicating that these Cumans still underlines their steppe origin as their distinctive military characteristics in the voynuk organization.

4.6 Conclusions

Turkic steppe people were a part of military history of Danubian Bulgaria, where they had appeared as invaders at first and then they were hired as mercenaries to fight against the other Turkic invaders at first but finally they became members of Byzantine military class in Danubian border. These Turkic warriors gained a privileged status in Byzantine society because of what made them different in Byzantine military class: their ethnic origin and warlike culture, which was the reason of why they could kept their ethnic and warlike names from generation to generation even in the Ottoman Era. Being a Turkic steppe warrior was a distinctive ethnic identity of these people during the pre-Ottoman times and their warlike nature and ethnic identity had provided them a military status in Byzantine borderlands and provincial army, which was not changed very much after the Ottoman conquest in the late fourteenth century. Ottoman registers indicates that ethnic, cultural and warlike steppe identity kept especially in military class, which indicates the reason behind why Turkic names registered as names of Christian soldiers more often than these registered in surveys of villagers and urban settlers of the Nigbolu Sandjak.

Examination of late 15th century *timar* registers, mid 16th century tax registers of Nigbolu and early 16th century military registers shows that although Christianized Turkic people mingled with the rural and urban native Christian peasants, a significant number of them were still a part of Ottoman military system in Bulgaria.. Especially *voynuk* organization was a part of Ottoman military system since the very early times of the Ottoman rule and the organization of Christian soldiers included many non-Anatolian Turkic elements. Either *mufassal* registers and *Voynuk* registers of Nigbolu Sandjak indicate that these Turkic members of Byzantine military class became a part of *Voynuk* organization or they kept their military status in other Ottoman military organizations of Christian soldiers. In fact the dominant military character of these Turkic people other than being agriculturalist villagers is very determinant even in the mid 16th century *mufassal* register of Nigbolu Sandjak, where some Turkic names were registered with military titles such as *Toviçe*, *Martolos*, and *Zenberekçi*. These Christian Turkics were still keeping their pre-conquest military status in various military organizations in Bulgaria and ethnic and cultural elements of these Turkic people could survive best in Ottoman military organizations rather than peasant societies of rural Bulgaria.

A gradual Islamization of pre-Ottoman upper military class was a part of the adaptation process in the conquered lands and the only one register of a *nev-Muslim* *timar* holder in the mid-16th century Nigbolu *Mufassal* register shows Islamization process took much more time than it is supposed to be. On the other hand, the *voynuk*

registers and *mufassal* defter indicate that even among the Turkic members of the voynuk organization, the islamization process in lesser military classes was much more slower than it was in upper military class. Although the Islamization process of timar holders in the region had been completed, pre-Ottoman lesser military nobility of Bulgaria, except a small group of Muslim Voynuks in Nigbolu, were still Christian in the early 16th century. Unlike the timariots, *Voynuks* completed their adaptation process into Ottoman military system without conversion to Islam and Muslim Voynuk was not a case in registers of Bulgarian voynuks in the early 16th century. Also ethnic and warlike Turkish names in other military organizations such as *Martolos* and *Toviçe* indicate that Islamization was not a motive for these members of the military class even in the first half of the 16th century.

Migration of Anatolian nomads since the early Ottoman era populated the ruined old settlements in the 15th century and these Anatolian Turkomans found new settlements in uninhabited lands of the Nigbolu Sandjak in the 16th century. Findings of these study indicate that old Turkic settlers in Ottoman military class and in old Christian settlements can be considered as the first phase of Turkization and the second phase of the Turkization movement is the migration of Anatolian nomads, craftsmen and landless young peasants (*mücerreds*) during the 15th and 16th centuries. For this reason, the second Turkish migration wave from Anatolia should be considered not Turkization but re-Turkization of Bulgaria during the Ottoman era.

CHAPTER 5

TIRNOVA UPRISING: THE FIRST NATIONAL UPRISING IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS OR AN ATTEMPT THAT COULD NOT BE ACCOMPLISHED

Even long before the Ottoman-Crusader struggle, resistance and uprisings became a part of the Bulgarian history. After conversion to Christianity, Bulgarian local nobility having strong tribal ties with the nomadic Turkic tribes of the northern steppe region showed strong resistance against the political and religious hegemony of the Byzantine Empire. Tribal ethnic composition and warlike Central Asian culture of the Danubian Bulgaria made these lands the center of opposition and rebellions since the early middle ages. In the twelfth and thirteenth century anti-Byzantine military actions found support in the north-eastern Bulgaria. In the late twelfth century, Bulgarians and the Serbians helped the Crusaders against Byzantium

and in the thirteenth century, anti-Byzantine plans of Charles of Anjou found a strong support in the region.¹

After the Basil II's conquest of Bulgaria in 1018, unrest of local nobility and peasants did not stop. Byzantine chroniclers Attaliotes and Skylitzes state rebellions and strong resistance in Danubian Bulgaria during the 11th century. One of these revolts broke out in 1040-1041 as a reaction against the tax demanded in money instead of in kind. The other revolt was commanded by a Bulgarian noble, George Voitech, and this rebellion breaking out during the the Byzantine-Pecheneg war in 1073 and Pecheneg tribes did not wait much to raid from the north shore of Danube to support the Bulgarians.² Bulgaria would remain under the Byzantine rule until the revolt of the two Bulgarian boyars, Peter and Asen brothers, in 1186, which resulted revival of the Bulgarian Kingdom. Greek chronicler Niketas Choniates states that the Bulgarian revolt militarily supported by the Cuman tribes from north shore of Danube and the Asen Dynasty restore the Bulgarian throne.³ Until the Ottoman conquest, Bulgaria played an important role as a balancing power against the

¹ For the opposition to Byzantine cultural and religious authority after conversion to Christianity see, Obolensky, D. 1972. (vol. 5) "Nationalism in Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (22), 10-11.

² See, Wolff, R., L. 1949. "The Second Bulgarian Empire: Its Origin and History to 1204". *Speculum*, 24(2), 179- 180.

³ See, Wolff. 1949. "The Second Bulgarian Empire" 167-206; Vásáry István. 2007. *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th-16th centuries* Aldershot: Ashgate, 27-34; Stephenson Paul. 2000. *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 288-294; Bekker Immanuel (ed.). 1835. *Nicetae Choniates Historia*, Bonn: E. Weber , 487-488; Golden Peter. 2002. *Nomads and their neighbours in the Russian steppe : Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs*. Burlington, VT : Ashgate/Variorum, 147-150.

Byzantine Empire in the region.⁴ After the Peter and Asen brothers' re-establishing the Bulgarian State, Tirnova as a military, political, cultural and religious center became the capital city of the Bulgarian revival.⁵ Tirnova was one of the strongest fortifications of medieval Bulgaria in 12th to 14th century located at the foot of the northern Balkan range on the high banks of the Yantra river, which is the biggest tributary rising of Danube in the Balkan Mountains. During the military weakness and disintegration of the Byzantine Empire in the 14th century, Tirnova was claimed to be the new center of the Orthodox Christianity, the Third Rome⁶ in the South-east Europe, which was a successful attempt created a vivid intellectual environment promoting literally works and intellectual life in Tirnova.⁷ Even after the Bulgarian princes became Ottoman vassals in the mid-14th century, Danubian Bulgaria remained the gate of anti-Ottomanist attacks of the Christian West until the conquest of Nigbolu, the throne city of Shishman Dynasty, in the 1395.⁸

During the 16th century, there was not any peasant uprising stated in the chronicles or muhimme registers in the Ottoman Empire but the legend of Tirnova Uprising as a corner stone of the Bulgarian nationalism.⁹ The uprising is considered

⁴ For the disintegration of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, see Vasary, Cumans and Tatars, 96.

⁵ Crampton, R. J. 1987. *A Short History of Modern Bulgaria*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 5-6.

⁶ See, Kaimakova, Miliana. 2006. Turnovo- The new Constantinople: The Third Rome in the 14th Century Translation of Constantin Manasses' Synopsis Chronike in *The Medieval Chronicle IV*, Erik Kooper, ed. New York, 91-104; Tamir Vicki. 1979. *Bulgaria and her Jews: the history of a dubious symbiosis*. New York: Sepher-Hermon Press for Yeshiva University Press, 293.

⁷ Mevsim, Hüseyin. 2011. *Bulgar Gözüyle İstanbul*. Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 3-4.

⁸ See, Inalcik " *Bulgaria*" EI²

⁹ For the second literature on the Uprising see, Bossilkov, Svetlin. 1960. *Turnovo: Its history and heritage*, Sofia: Bulgarski hudozhnik publishing house; Tsvetkova, Bistra Andreeva. 1968. "To the

as the first step of the national revival through the way going to the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878. According to Dimitrov, the continuous warfare between the Ottomans and Habsburgs (1592-1606), chaos and fear on the Danubian border periphery resulted with a peasant uprising in Turnovo.¹⁰ The epic story of the uprising is told as a story of a national revival leading by the Bulgarian Church as well as a crusade in the early middle ages. Staneff states that after the Ottoman-Austrian war in 1593, an Wallacia, Transilvania and Moldovia principalities formed an alliance to support the Tirnova uprising against the Ottomans¹¹ In the winter of 1594 army of Michael composed of Wallachian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian soldiers, crossed the Danube. They plundered and burned Hirsova, Silistre, Tutrakan, Rusçuk, Nigbolu, Razgrad, and Babadag. Advancement of the Christian army did not stop until Plevne and the seat of Beglerbeg Sofia were plundered. After the success of the Christian coalition, it was the right time for an insurrection and the Tirnova Metropolitan Dionysius Ralli who was a Greek from the house of Cantacuzenus organized the uprising.¹² He was a leading religious figure and his attempt was by the

history of the resistance against the Ottoman feudal domination in the Danube region of Bulgaria during the 15-th - 18-th centuries". *Etudes Historiques* IV; Dimitrov G., *Kniazhestvo*. 1896. Bulgaria. Sofia: Pridvorna pechatnitsa B. Shimachek, 2, 61-63; Hupchick, Dennis P. 1993. *The Bulgarians in the seventeenth century : Slavic Orthodox society and culture under Ottoman rule*. McFarland: Jefferson, N.C.; Hupchick, Dennis P. 1993. "Orthodoxy and Bulgarian ethnic awareness under Ottoman rule, 1396–1762", *Nationalities Papers* 21(2): 75-93; Daskalov Roumen. 2004. *The making of a nation in the Balkans : Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*. Budapest Central European University Press;

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Staneff N., 1938. *Historie chronologique de la Bulgarie*, Sofia: Bibliotheque Slave, 24-25; Staneff N and Übers. von Heinrich Kaspar (Swischtoff). 1971. *Geschichte der Bulgaren*. Leipzig : Parlapanoff, 64.

¹² See, Jorga, *Geschichte der Rumanischen Kirche* I and; Mileff, N. N. 1914. *The Catholic Propaganda in Bulgaria during the XVth century*, Sofia, 168-170.

archbishops of Lofça (Lovech), Rusçuk (Rousse), and Şumnu (Shumen).¹³ Also Dionysius Rali organized Bulgarian peasants in Nigbolu to write a letter to the prince of Transylvania and demand military help. Dionysius Rali added his demands to the letter as well and asked for help.¹⁴ Dionysius was in touch with the Wallachian voyvoda Michael, and the deputation dispatched to Austria came back with promises of the Emperor for money, armed soldiers and a tsar from the Shishmanid dynasty.¹⁵ Also Pavel Djordjich refers to many priests and Bulgarian nobles actively participating the organization of the insurrection.¹⁶ In 1598, the uprising was started when Michael crossed the Danube and plundered Vidin, Nigbolu, Vrtza and thousands of Ottoman villages along the way to Sofia. In Bulgarian historiography two different stories was told that while Michael going back to Wallachia, thousands of Bulgarian peasants went with him and they settled in the north of Danube or after the Ottomans' suppress of the uprising, thousands of Bulgarian peasants forced to migrate beyond the Danube and re-settle on the Wallashian lands¹⁷ The uprising did not last long because Polish legions turned their fire upon one of the allies and the Ottoman forces suppressed the insurrection.¹⁸

¹³ See, Mishev Dimiter P., 1919. *The Bulgarians in the Past: Pages from the Bulgarian Cultural History*. Rue Caroline: Lausanne Librarie centrale des nationalités, 228; Hurmuzaki XII, s. 289-292, No. CCCXXXIII; s. 370, No. DLXII.

¹⁴ Hurmuzaki, III, s. 243; XII, s. 269-270, No. CCCXCII, 907-908 No. MCCXI and compare III, 359.

¹⁵ Irechek Constantine Irecek, *History of the Bulgarians*. 591-592 and N. Mileff *The Catholic Propaganda in Bulgaria* 168-171.

¹⁶ Nikola Milev. 1915. *Edin Neizdaden Document za Balgarskata Istorija (1597)*. Sofia: 97-99.

¹⁷ see, Dimitrov G. 1896 (vol. 2). *Kniazhestvo Bulgaria*, vol. Sofia: Pridvorna pechatnitsa B. Shimachek, 62.

¹⁸ Mishev, *The Bulgarians in the Past*, 228-229.

On the other hand, Ottoman and European sources shows how rebellions of pre-Ottoman local aristocracy were an integral part of the Balkan history in the post-conquest era and especially in Danubian Bulgaria, tribal structure of local aristocracy during the early middle ages and strategic location of the Bulgarian Kingdom as the Danubian gate of the Crusades marching on the Ottomans during the 14th century provided military support for the Bulgarian uprisings. After the Ottoman conquest, Danubian region kept its strategic importance against the military operations of the Crusaders until the fall of Byzantine Empire and when Ottomans conquered Constantinople, Danubian border remained the only route that Crusaders could march and threaten the Ottomans. To promote resistances of Bulgarian aristocracy during the post-conquest era Crusaders formed anti-Ottoman alliances, one of which was formed by Hungarian King Sigismund, Serbian despot Stefan Lazarevic, Bosnian King Ostoja and the Wallachian prince Mircea in 1403.¹⁹ King Sigismund in his letter to Prince Philip of Burgundy in 1404 states the names of Bulgarian aristocrat Constantin and Mircea the prince of Trans-Alphine Wallachia who came together under his rule against the Ottomans.²⁰

¹⁹ See, Kastritsis Dimitris. 2007. *The sons of Bayezid : Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-1413*. Leiden : Brill. 59; Imber Colin. 2006. *The Crusade of Varna, 1443-45*. Aldershot, England : Ashgate. 4; Mitsiou, Ekaterini, Popović, Mihailo and Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes (eds.). 2010. *Emperor Sigismund and the orthodox world*. Wien : Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 81; Welsh Frank. 2008. *The battle for Christendom : the Council of Constance, 1415, and the struggle to unite against Islam*. London : Constable. 67.

²⁰ The letter states that "Ipseque et inclitus Constantinus, imperator liulgariae magnificus, Mirtz, waywoda Olachiae transalpinae, qui similiter ad sinum majcstatis nostrae sub nostra obedientia reversi sunt, partes Graecorum et alias inibi per Turcos hactenus obtentas pluries jam polenler invaserunt, triumphum et victoriam ab aemulis nostris et ipsorum gloriosius obtinendo". See, De Lettenhove Kervyn, 1870-76. *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne*. Bruxelles: F. Hayez, 93-95

Supporting any resistance to Ottoman rule in Bulgaria was an important part of Hungarian policy during the first half of the 15th century and rescuing Bulgaria from the Ottoman yoke became one of the motives of Christian coalitions and plans of new crusades. In 1435, Hungarian king Sigismund sent the son of the last Bulgarian King Ivan Shishman, Fruzin (stated as Vilk-oghlu in Ottoman chronicles), to the Balkans to organize an uprising.²¹ *Gazâvatname* of Sultan Murad II is a unique source stating many Bulgarian resistance and their support of crusade attacks against the Ottomans.²² According to the *gazâvatnâme*, when Hungarian army marched Sofia region in winter 1443, Bulgarian peasants cooperated with the Hungarians. While some of the Bulgarians who were most probably *voynuks* (Christian soldiers of the Ottoman provincial army) actively participating the invaders' raids, Christian peasants provided provisions for the Hungarian army. Ottomans strictly punished the Bulgarians of Sofia and Radomir either peasant or *voynuks* (Christian soldiers) who cooperated with the enemy but Bulgarians' resistance did not stop. Sitting on the Bulgarian throne was still a motive for the Balkan nobility to join the crusader army marching to Bulgaria and there were Bulgarian warriors in crusaders' army marching Varna in the summer 1444.²³ All these anti-Ottoman cooperation of Christian west supported by Bulgarians indicate that resistance of pre-Ottoman Bulgarian nobility and military elite (*voynuks*) could not be broken during the decades after the Ottoman

²¹ Iorga, Nicolae. 1908 *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (GOR). Nach den Quellen Dargestellt. (vol. I) Gotha: F.A. Perthes, 417.

²² See İnalçık, Halil and Mevlûd Oğuz, 1949. "Yeni Bulunmuş Bir Gazavât-ı Sultan Murad", *DTCFD*, VII(2): 481-495; İnalçık Halil. 1954. *Fatih Devri Üzerine Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*. Ankara: TTK Basımev, 20-21.

²³ Karadja Constantin, I. 1936. *Poema lui Michel Beheim despre cruciadele împotriva Turcilor. din anii 1443 i 1444*. Valenii-de-Munte: Datina Românească, 58.

conquest. Following the era of unrest and uprising, the period from mid- 15th century to the last decade of the 16th century seemed as adaptation, re-structuring and re-construction period of Ottoman Bulgaria until the end of the 16th century.

5.1 Continuity and Change in the Tirnovi Region: From Center of Second Bulgarian Kingdom to a Military Center of the Danubian Border

Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander (1331-1371) left two heirs behind him Sitrasimir and Shishman. The kingdom already begun to vassalage was divided between the two sons of Tsar Ivan Alexaner. Although there were two new principalities emerged in Bulgaria as Vidin principality ruled by Strasimir and Tirnova principality ruled by Shishman, Dobrotic the brother of Balik was the independent ruler of Dobrudja.²⁴ Although during the reign of Murad I (1361- 1389), Serbian princes in Mecedonia, Bulgarian princes in Tirnova and Vidin were Ottoman vassals the struggle between Serbia and Ottoman State did not come to an end in the Trace until the alliance made between Bulgarian Kingdom and the Ottomans, which was expected to strengthen with the marriage of Murad I and the sister of Ivan Shisman, Tamara. The peace in the Balkans was kept until Serbians defeat of the Ottomans at Pločnik (1386). Following the victory, the Serbian King Lazar formed a Christian coalition against the Ottomans and Bulgarians took part in the Christian coalition and did not response to the Sultan who called the vassal states to support the

²⁴ See, İnalçık, H., “Bulgaria” and “Dobrudja” EI²

Ottomans against Serbians. All these political developments with breaking of the alliance prepared the conditions of the Ottoman conquest of Bulgaria. According to Neshri²⁵, 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. In the winter 1388/89, grand vizier Candarli Ali Pasha launched a campaign on Bulgaria and fortresses of Susmanos (Shishman) including Prevadi, Nika-boli (Nikopol or Niğbolu), Kosova and Silistre was conquered one by one.²⁶ During the campaign in 1393-1395, the capital city of the Bulgarian Kingdom, Tirnova was conquered²⁷, which nationalist historiography was told as a story of horror, slaughter and mass deportation of Bulgarian military nobility and peasants.²⁸

On the other hand, Ottoman tax registers dated to 15th and early 16th century going to be discussed below indicate that Ottomans were sensitive to keep the well functioning military, financial and administrative institutions of the old system and first of all, a detailed register was made to become familiar with the new lands and the new subjects. The earlier registers and 16th century registers indicate that while setting their system in the conquered lands, Ottomans adapted the status of social and

²⁵ Kitab-ı Cihan Nümâ: Neşri Tarihi. 1949 (vol. I). F.Reshit Unat and Dr. M. A. Köymen, ed. Ankara:TTK Basimevi.

²⁶ The other fortresses are Çenge, Madara, Vefçen, Dobriç, Meçka, Efleka, Gözke, Krapçene, Kirastavça, Eski İstanbulluk, Şumnu, Çernoz, Migloc, Eymenoz, Yürük-ova, Ton-Birgoz, Zışt-ova, Nükesri, and Tıraka. Neshri also notes that majority of these fortresses are on the shore of the Danube. See Neşri Tarihi, Unat and Köymen (1949), p. 245.

²⁷ “Sosmanoz’ un tahtgâhı üzerine gelüb, konub, kâfir dahi anun kilidin getürdiler.” Neşri Tarihi, Unat and Köymen (1949), p.255.

²⁸ For a Bulgarian view of the Ottoman conquest see, Todorov Nikolai. 1979 Bulgaristan tarihi Veysel Atayman trans. İstanbul : Öncü Kitabevi, 42-44.

military classes, administrative divisions and traditions, taxes and religious institutions. On the other hand as a result of the strict control on the state-owned agrarian lands, all feudal rights, privileges, monasterial or ecclesiastical property rights on arable lands were abolished under the Ottoman rule.²⁹

5.2 Tirnova in the Early 16th Century

15th century military registers and early 16th century mufassal registers are the unique archival sources give us a big opportunity to make research on demography, institutions, ethnic and religious composition and many other issues on history of the former Bulgarian capital. While the 15th century registers giving information about pre-Ottoman military class and their settlements in the region, the earliest *mufassal* (detailed) survey dated to early 16th century registers descendents of the pre-Ottoman military nobility even with family names and in the same survey, members of the pre-Ottoman military class consisting the Christian members of the Ottoman provincial army was registered name by name.³⁰ Table 1 summarizes the demographic information of Tirnova region in the mufassal register. Total population in the region was more than twenty thousand and approximately 95% of the total population was living in rural settlements. In the early 16th century, native Christians

²⁹ For more examples and information see, İnalçık Halil. 1995. Fatih Devri Üzerine Tetkikler ve Vesikalar . Ankara: TTK. Basımevi, 182; İnalçık, Halil. 1987. Hicri 835 Tarihli Sûret-I Defter-I Arvanid. Ankara: TTK Basımevi, XI-XXXVI.

³⁰ BOA, MAD 11, 922 (1516) Tarihli Nigbolu Livasi Mufassal Defteri.

either orthodox or catholic were consisting of more than 80% of the total population in the region. There were two big Pavlikan (catholic) villages indicates the Vatican's missionary movement and political power to support any anti-Ottoman reaction in the region. Islamization was not a widespread phenomenon as late as early 16th century but a few new-Muslims as “ *veled-I Abdullah*” or small Muslim immigrant groups (*cemaats*) were registered in every Christian settlements in Tirnova region. Although there were new-Muslims in every small Muslim village and even more, there were Muslim villages consisting of only new-Muslim (*veled-I Abdullah*) households with their freed and Islamized slaves, Muslim population in the early 16th century was not exceed 20% of the total population in the region.

Table 5.1

Tirnovi in the Early 16th Century					
Big Town		Villages			
Total	3000	Total	18804	Mix	
Hane	637	Hane	4091	Muslim	
Mücerred	231	Mücerred	2098	Total	1363
Bîve	26	Bîve	79	Hane	303
Other	143	Other	93	Mücerred	29
Muslim		Muslim		Other	122
Total	1085	Total	1333	Christian	
Hane	212	Hane	291	Total	5060
Mücerred	122	Mücerred	104	Hane	1106
Other	115	Other	65	Mücerred	485
Christian		Christian		Bîve	41
Total	1915	Total	11158	Other	28
Hane	425	Hane	2391		
Mücerred	109	Mücerred	1480		
Bîve	26	Bîve	38		
Other	28				

* Family size is 4 people for hane and 3 people for bive

Tirnova since the pre-Ottoman times was a military region, the former military organizations were adapted into the Ottoman army, and even in the 16th century this military structure inherited from the Bulgarian Kingdom was strictly kept. Among these, *zevaid-I voynugan* groups in many villages, *zevaid-I Toviçes* and descendents of pre-Ottoman boyar families having imperial diploma and tax exemptions indicate long-lived military tradition in the region. Tirnova as a military province and settlement area of pre-Ottoman military nobility who were not Islamize was such a region where a sensitive balance of power should have been to ensure the dominant power of central authority.

Pre-Ottoman military nobility and their adaptation to the Ottoman provincial army was one of the main concerns during the era of the Balkan conquests. For instance in the early 15th century, Aranity³¹ who was a former noble and Ottoman timariot in Albania lost his hereditary land property and he went to the Ottoman capital Edirne to demand more *timar* land. When his demand was not get accepted by the Sultan, he came back to Albania and organized a rebellion with other Albanian chiefs.³² Aranity's rebellion was dated to 1431-1432, when the first survey of the region was made and *timars* were distributed among timariots including former local nobility of the region.³³ As the Albanian case indicates that local landlords were potential rebellions and they were very enthusiastic about any external support or

³¹ See, Gejaj A. 1937. *l' Albanie et l'invasion Turque au XV e Siècle*. Paris, 29.

³² See İnalçık, Halil. 1987. *Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*. Ankara: TTK Yayınevi, XIV.

³³ *Ibid.*

weakness of the central authority to break out a rebellion to restore their pre-conquest feudal rights and property. Under the Ottoman timar system, these families definitely lost their feudal rights and a significant part of their land property, which promoted some local resistances against the Ottoman central authority. There were many examples of how pre-Ottoman local nobility resisted against their loss of property and hereditary rights. Although the pre-Ottoman nobility was transferred into the Ottoman provincial army and consisted the *sipahi* class of the *timar* system during the post conquest era, local nobility remained as potential rebellions waiting the right time to take their property and independence back like Albanian noble Aranity who was the father in law of Iskender Beg the famous Albanian tribal aristocrat who organized a rebellion against the Ottoman rule in northern Albania in 1443.³⁴ He was born as son of Castriota family, Gergi (Georges) Castriyota, in 1405. According to Byzantine and Ottoman chronicles, his father Yuvan Castriota was one of the most powerful feudals of Albania and Ottomans called these lands beyond the Matia (Mat) river as Yuvan-ili (land of Yuvan).³⁵ Yuvan was allied with Venetians to restore his feudal property during the interregnum period after the Ottoman defeat against the Mongolians. When Murad II came to the Ottoman throne, the Ottoman provincial army re-captured the Yuvan-ili and he had to send his son Gergi to Istanbul as hostage. Gergi named as Iskender stayed and was educated in the Ottoman palace and he was appointed as *subaşı* of the *vilâyet-i Kruja* and timar holder in Albania in

³⁴ See İnalçık, Halil. "Iskender Bey", DİA. XXII, İstanbul, .561-263; İnalçık, Halil. 1953. "Arnavutluk'ta Osmanlı Hakimiyetinin yerleşmesi ve Iskender Bey İsyanının Mensei," Fatih ve İstanbul, 1-2 , 152-175; İnalçık, Halil. . 1954. "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," Studia Islamica, 2: 103-129.

³⁵ İnalçık. "İskender Bey". 561.

1437-38.³⁶ After the Ottoman defeat in Izladi in 1443, Gin Zenebissi was rebelled and attacked to the center of the Arvanid (Albania) sandjak, Ergirikasrı (Argyrokastró). Against the local resistance and rebellious movements of Albanian pre-Ottoman nobility, Iskender Beg went to Albania to take his father's lands back.³⁷ He captured two Ottoman castles, Svetigrad (Kocacık) and Akçahisar on the road to northern Albania and under the Venetian vassalage, he organized a meeting with other former Albanian aristocrats who lost feudal rights and properties and reduced to timariots under the absolute authority of the Sultan, which shows that pre-Ottoman local aristocracy either in or out of the *timar* system were always potential rebels had to be kept under strict control of the central authority.

Early 16th century tax survey indicates that pre-Ottoman Bulgarian aristocracy was still living in the region. Although these Christian local aristocrats were excluded from the timar system, the imperial diploma on their hand granted tem tax exemptions. Christian military nobility of Bulgaria Voynuks, Martolos and Toviçes, renewed their imperial diplomas and stayed on their former fief lands (*bashtinas*) in the Ottoman era. Cuman tribes settled in Danubian Bulgaria after the Mongolian invasion consisted the military aristocracy of the second Bulgarian Kingdom and Tirnova as the political, military and cultural center of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom should have been the area where most of these boyar families were settled. After the Ottoman conquest, they lost their land property and feudal status. Also pre-

³⁶ Inalcık. "İskender Bey". 561

³⁷ Mehmed Neşri. 1987. *Kitab-ı Cihan-nüma : Neşri Tarihi* (vol.II). Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed Köymen ed. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu. 624.

Islamic Turkic names registered in Christian settlements indicate that there were many pre-Ottoman Turkic members of the military class, rural and urban society still living in the region. Unlike the other regions of the Nigbolu sandjak, there was not any janissary as timariot or any other Muslim military group in the region, which can be considered as an example for the Ottoman's tendency to keep the functioning institutions of the pre-conquest system.

5.2.1 Urban and Rural Settlements

Tirnova as a urban center with 9 Muslim and 15 Christian *mahalles* was the most populous settlement of the region, whose population was approximately 3000 and as it is seen in Graph 1, *nefs-i* Tirnova was densely populated with native Christians. When demographic composition of the Muslim population in the city is examined, it is seen that households consisted of approximately 90% of the Muslim population in Tirnova.³⁸ During the post-conquest era, unmarried Muslim and Christian men (*mücerreds*) had been consisting of majority of the newcomers in the big cities and the high rate of unmarried men was considered as the indicator of Anatolian and internal migration. The high rate of Muslim household including many new-Muslims, “*veled-I Abdullah*”, in the city center could indicate that although the Muslims consisted of nearly 38 % of the total population of the city,

³⁸ In the Table 1 above, families registered as household and we assumed the family size as 4 of a typical Muslim household to make predictions on population size.

these Muslims could not be Anatolian immigrants but Islamized native inhabitants of Tirnova. On the other hand, there were many pre-Islam Turkish names such as Aldomir, Düşman, Karaca, Karaman, Kuman, Pop Kuman, Kaloyan, Orman, and Şişman registered in Christian districts of the city, which were most probably the pre-conquest Turkic settlers of the region. Also, there was a Latin district consisting of 25 household having trade relations with Dubrovnik. These were merchants exempted from *ispençe*, *avâriz* and other *reaya* taxes but they paid *resm-I flori*,³⁹ which was one gold coin (flori) equivalent to 45-50 akche (Ottoman silver coin) per year.⁴⁰ This catholic merchant community, as it was in other cities of the Nigbolu sandjak, was conducting political, economic and social relations with the Christian West. For this reason, with the other “Pavlikan“ communities in the Tirnova district, members of the “*cemaat-i Latinan*” can be the other channel used to inform the pope and other crusade leaders and demand support for the organization of a rebellion in Tirnova.

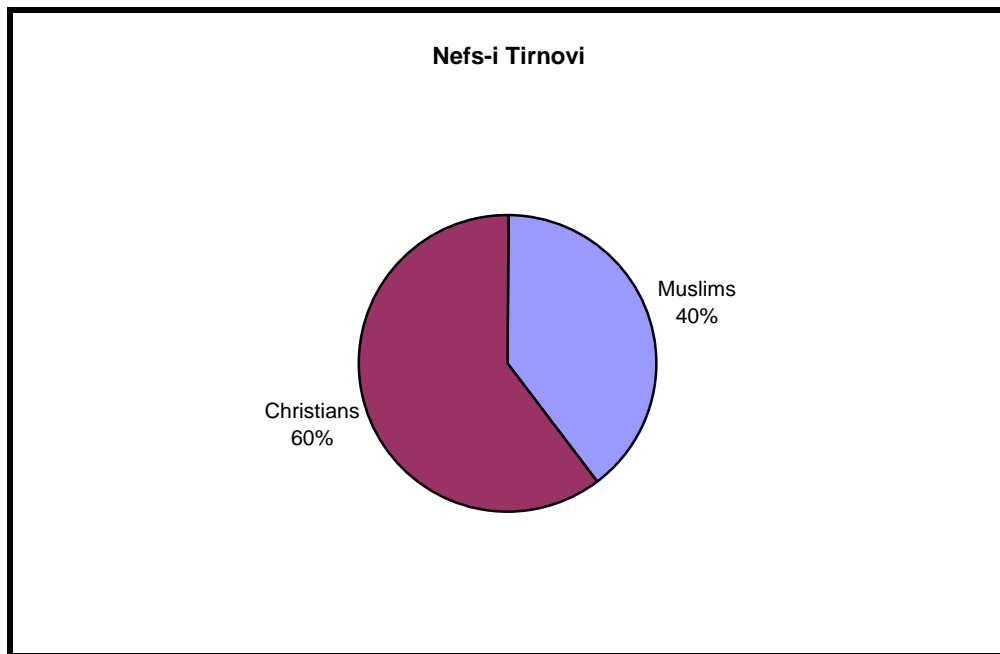
Rural settlement system of Tirnova region had already been developed in the pre-Ottoman times and centuries following the conquest, Tirnova district remained as a native Christian region and military center of Christian soldiers as it had been during the era of the Bulgarian Kingdom. In the early 16th century, there were 98 villages registered in the district and 65 of them were purely Christian villages. Graph 2 depicts these villages and their population and shows that even more

³⁹ BOA, Mad. 11, p. 279, varak 2.

⁴⁰ See, İnalçık, Halil. " Filori." Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2d ed. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

significant than being populous Christian settlements, 15 out of these Christian 65 villages were *Voynuk* and *Toviçe* villages where members of the pre-Ottoman military class had been living there for ages before the coming of the Ottomans. These were Christian soldiers absorbed into the Ottoman army in the post conquest era and Ottoman chronicles state when and how these Christian soldiers were institutionalized as organizations of Christian soldiers in the Ottoman provincial army. Ottoman *kanunnames* clearly codified under

Graph 5.1

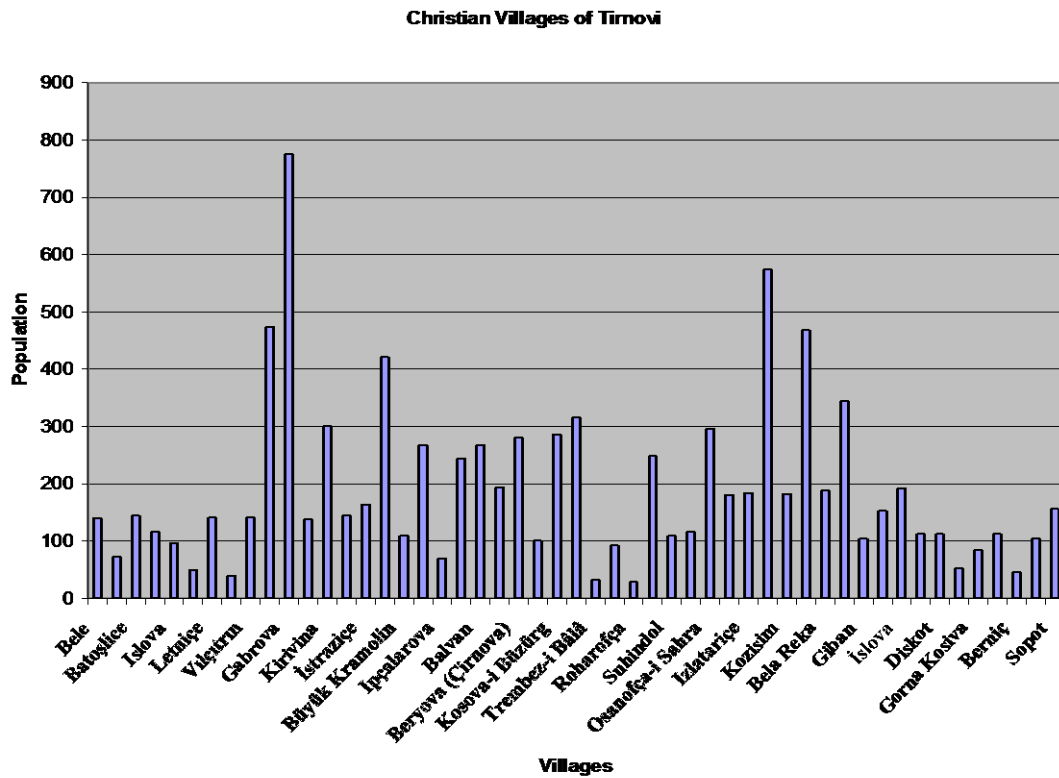


which conditions, their status and imperial diploma and tax exemptions would be renewed and how their fief lands were confirmed.⁴¹ For this reason these Christian soldiers lived in their pre-conquest settlements and the Map 3 below shows *Voynuk*

⁴¹ See, Orhonlu, *Derbend*, p. 69 and Ercan, Y., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, TTK (1986), p. 11-12

and *Toviçe* settlements pointed in a red circle. The map depicted the Tirnova region in the early 16th century and names of Christian villages are written in red while Muslim villages are written in blue and mix villages are written in black on the map.

Garph 5.2



These *Voynuk* and *Toviçe* settlements were located in northeastern and southwestern borders, of the region. These villages were located in the north-east and the south-west regions of the Tirnova district and between the area Voynuk villages bounded, old Christian settlements were sprinkled in the south and south-western regions. The southwestern region of the Tirnova district had already been a military zone since the

Roman times. When nomadic invasions pose much more serious threat on the Eastern Roman Empire the Emperor Justinus the Great built or renovated more than 80 fortifications in Stara Planina and since the Byzantine times settlements of the lesser military nobility were located in this region.⁴² These old settlement areas remained Christian during the Ottoman times and Muslim newcomers populated uninhabited regions and abandoned villages in the central and north-eastern regions of Tirnova district.

Table 5.2

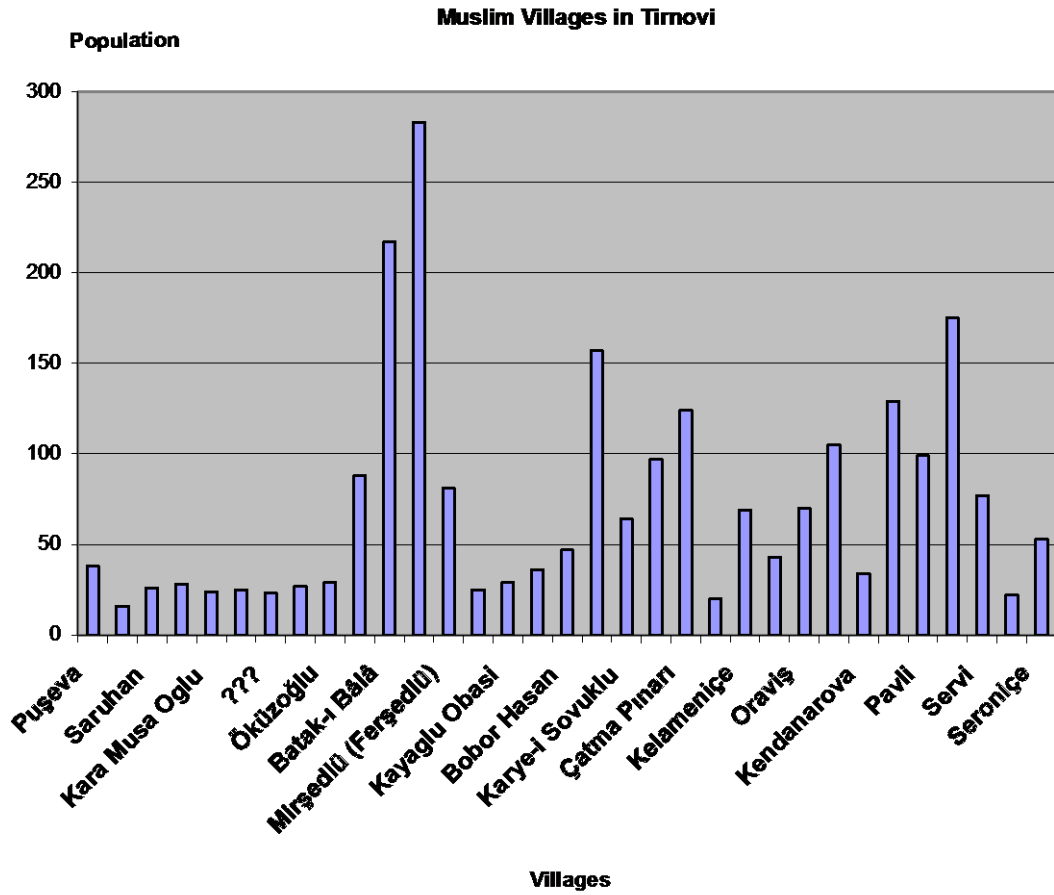
Muslim Vilages in Tirnovi in the Early 16th Century					
Villages	Population	Status	Village	Population	Status
Saruhan	26	Abdullahs, Ellici, Mu'tak	Batak-ı Zir	283	Abdullahlar ellici, sipahizade, mu'tak
Sarı Davud	28	Abdullah, ellici	Habil Pınarı	157	Ahmed v. Abdullah imam, Abdullahlar, Mu'tak
Öküzoğlu	29	mu'tak, Abdullah Beratlular ,	Karye-i Sovuklu	64	mut'ak, Abdullahlar
Ali Fakihler	88	Abdullahlar Beratli, Abdullah,	Kral Pınarı	97	Yağcı, ellici,
Batak-ı Bâlâ	217	Mu'tak, ellici	Aziz Sofu	20	Village consists of only Abdullahs
Kelamenice	69	Abdullahs, Abdullahs, beratli,	İstudine	175	Abdullahs
Şir-Merd Çiftliği	43	sipahizade	Ulufeci	22	Abdullahs
Kendarova	34	Abdullahs	Seronice	53	mu'tak and Abdullah

In the early 16th century, there were 33 out of 98 villages in the region were Muslim settlements. Graph 3 depicts population density of these Muslim settlements whose population density varied from smaller than Christian villages to as populous as a big town. On the other hand, the registers indicate that there were many new-

⁴² Cahterine Holmes, *Basil II and Governance of the Empire: CH: Byzantine's Western Frontiers*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 396.

Muslims, freed slaves (*mu'tak*) and *ellicies* who were generally chosen among freed slaves or new-Muslims, which could indicate that a significant number of the Muslim population in the region might not be immigrant but Islamized native people.

Graph 5.3



5.2.2 Pre-Ottoman Military Nobility in the Region

Timova as a region of military settlement since the early medieval times should have been the settlement area of powerful military aristocracy. There were not

any register of Christian or new-Muslim timar holder in Tirnova but it can be seen in the early 16th century mufassal register that the pre-Ottoman higher military aristocracy was still being distinguished from other Christian subjects. While registering the members of higher local aristocrat families, an information note besides the names of these people was written, which explains that they were descendents of pre-Ottoman military nobility and they had imperial diploma exempting them from certain taxes. In Tirnova region, the imperial diploma specifying the pre-Ottoman military-aristocratic past of these families who lost their land property and local power, which were strictly kept on the hand of central authority. There were one *hassa-i padişah*, two *hassa-i vezir*, eight *zeamets* and sixteen *timars* in Tirnovi region in the early 16th century. Distribution of the timar lands indicates the Ottomans' policy designed to balance the sensitive power-authority dynamics of the region. All of the eight *voynuk* villages were in *hassa-i padişah*, which indicates how important to keep the pre-Ottoman military nobility under control, especially in such regions like Tirnovi, for the Sultan. The urban center, Tirnova, and the most populous Christian settlements of the region were *hass* lands of Sinan Pasha⁴³ and Piri Mehmet Pasha⁴⁴ who were loyal to the Ottoman dynasty and served as vizir and grand vizir. *Zeamets* were big *timars* producing revenue between 20 000- 100 000 akche and these *zeamets* were given akindji beys such as "İskender Bey v. (?) Ağa Gazıyan-ı Vilayet-i Rum İli", Tugrul Bey, Hüseyin

⁴³ See, Turan Şerafeddin. "Hadım Sinan Paşa." Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi 15 (1997): 7-8.

⁴⁴ See, Turan Şerafettin. "Piri Mehmed Paşa", M.E. B. İslam Ansiklopedisi, IX (1993). 559-561; Küçükdağ Yusuf. 1994 Vezir-i azam Piri Mehmed Paşa, 1463?-1532. Konya : Literatür.

Bey, Ahmed veled-I Celil Bey and Davud Bey. In these *zematets*, many *zevaid-I voynuk* were settled, which indicates pre-Ottoman lesser military nobility in the region living in *hass* and *zematet* lands holding by the Sultan and his *kuls* who were the high ranked officials of the place. On the other hand, except eight *timars* given to ordinary *timar* holders, many of the *timars* were given to palace officials such as Hamza Kethuda, Mahmud Katib, Muslim members of the military class such as Hamza Çeribaşı, or their sons such as Mustafa veled-I Kasım Çeribaşı, Mehmet Çavuş veled-i Kâtip ...(?).

There were not any Christian timar holder in Tirnova region in either the late fifteenth century icmal defters or early 16th century mufassal register indicating some of the local boyar families gradually became a part of the Ottoman system in the region. On the other hand two examples in the 1483 show the Christian origin of these timariots. The first one is “*Umur veled-i Hızır Bey veled-i Dalgofça ber mûcib-i berat-ı Davud Paşa*” who was the timariot of the Nedan village and the second one is “*Mehmed veled-i Gergine ber mûcib-i berat-ı merhum Sultan Mehmed Han*“ who was the timariot of *Polo Krayişte* village in Tirnova region.⁴⁵ The military status of these lands required direct control of central authority and Tirnova as the military, administrative, religious and cultural center of the Bulgarian Kingdom was a special region densely populated with Christian members of the pre-conquest military class and Bulgarian boyar families registered as “*kadimi sipahi oğulları*”. The unclear

⁴⁵ See the *icmal* register, Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or., Abt., Signature Hk., 12/9 (1483)

status of these former Bulgarian higher military nobility having tax exemptions without fulfilling any specific profession, duty or military service and their specification as former local aristocrats could indicate how central authority put them in a distinct category. On the other hand, we still have not any information about why there were two timariots having Christian origin were holding timar in the late 15th century and even as late as the mid-16th century, there was a new-Muslim timariot, “*Timar-i Mustafa bin Abdullah*” who was the timariot of three villages *Çerkovine*, *Vodliç* and *Koca Pınarı* in *Hezargrad* (Razgrad), these former military aristocrat families in the Tirnova region did not hold any timar land.⁴⁶ According to the mufassal register, they lost their military status and land property but their imperial diplomas granting them tax exemptions were renewed and they were still recognized as “*kadimi sipahi oğulları*” as late as 16th century. Ottomans as a principle, confiscated land property of local feudal aristocrats and transferred to the timar system in the post-conquest era and these local aristocrats became Christian timar-holders kept only a part of their inherited property as their fief lands, which was always a reason behind resistances and even uprisings of former military nobility. In the Tirnova region, Sultan preferred to keep the Christian soldiers under his direct control and for this reason majority of the timar lands of the region was holding directly by the Sultan himself, his highest officials and akindji beys. All these registers indicate that Tirnova had a military, social, and religious potential for an uprising. On the other hand, the continuous unrest, fear and destruction wars with

⁴⁶ See the *mufassal* register, Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, TD382 Nigbolu Mufassal Defteri (1556).

Hungary, Habsburgs and Wallachia were most probably the other factors maturing the conditions of an attempt for an uprising in the region.

Tendency of the central authority in the region was to strictly kept these lands in the hand of the Sultan, his high ranked *kuls* and officials of the Topkapi Palace to prevent any alliance between the former higher military nobility who lost their status, lesser military nobility who were Christian soldiers as the most populous military group in the region and merchants from the “cemaat-i latinân” providing a strong connection between Christian west and the region. These registers shows the central authority did not internalize these former higher military nobility but to provide full control over the local aristocracy of the old Bulgarian capital, they were specified while they were being registered as “*kadimi sipahi oğullari*” in villages such as Bogatova, Batak-I Bâlâ, and Batak-i Zir that were most probably their former property lands.

5. 3 The Ottomans’ War with Wallachia and Tirnova Uprising

Continuous war periods, hostile attacks, raids and plunders always resulted with depopulation, refuge and financial difficulties for the peasants who could not pay tax, and the period 1575-1597 was one of the worse war periods destructed villages and created unrest among the Danubian peasant population. After the defeat of Ottoman

navy in Lepanto in 1575, orthodox principalities formed an alliance against the Ottomans and support of the western Christian world to the anti-Ottoman alliances opened a new era of warfare on the Danubian border. Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia had allied with Habsburgs during the Austro-Ottoman war in 1593. After Murat III died in 1595, the new sultan, Mehmet III, appointed new voyvodas for the vassal states Moldavia (*Bogdan*) and Wallachia (*Eflak*) to break their alliance with Habsburgs. Two Ottoman Pashas, Mustafa Pasha and Hasan Pasha, went to these states to throne the new voyvodas and Tatar Khan with his army in Hungarian steppes was going to join the pashas but Wallachian prince Michael (1593–1601), with two boyars Bozcescu Brothers defeated the Tatar army.⁴⁷ After the victory, Michael passed the Danube and defeated the Ottoman army at Rusçuk (Giurgiu) castle.⁴⁸ Even after Ibrail (Brail) and Nigbolu was plundered and burned, advancement of Michael's army did not stop until Babadag.⁴⁹ Naima states that Michael, plundered the Ottoman towns and villages along his way and settler of big Danubian port, Rusçuk (Russe), took refuge in other fortifications.⁵⁰ Also the other Ottoman chronicler Peçevî, states that terrified native Bulgarians against chaos and destruction of Michael raids escaped from the region.⁵¹ In August 1595, Sinan Pasha passed the Danube ⁵² to attack Wallachia and a few days later, when Sinan Pasha came to Bucharest, Michael had already escaped and the city was abandoned.⁵³

⁴⁷ Hurmuzaki, XII, s. 31

⁴⁸ Hurmuzaki IV, s. 36; XII, s. 37 Nachrichten, III, s. 100-101, No. CXLIII

⁴⁹ Hurmuzaki, III, s. 116, No. CXXXIV

⁵⁰ Mustafa, Naima, 1927, Na'imâ Târîhi, İstanbul: İstanbul Ma'ârif Vekâleti 1927, I, 106.

⁵¹ Şengül Halim (ed.), Peçevi Tarihi, İstanbul, 2, 158-174.

⁵² A letter that Sinan Pasha wrote to his son, Hurmuzaki, XIII, s. 59-60

⁵³ Hurmuzaki, ek. II, s. 361, see Iorga s. 265

During 1596, there was not any raid or battle on the Wallchian-Ottoman border but after Michael's attacks on Plevne (Pleven) and Babadag, peace negotiations was started.⁵⁴ Although a peace treaty was signed in 1597, Michael attacked Nigbolu and defeated Hafiz Ahmet Pasha and 12 sandjak begs with him in 1598. Wallchian cavalry made raids on Plevne, Rahova, Zıstovi and Vratsa and while Michael and his army were going back to Wallachia in the winter, they took thousands of Bulgarian peasant captives with them.⁵⁵ Ottoman chroniclers do not give any information about such an uprising but Naima states that the prince of Wallachia (1593–1601), Michael, plundered the towns and villages along the south shore of Danube and the settler of Rusçuk (Russe) took refuge in other fortifications.⁵⁶ Also the other Ottoman chronicler Peçevî, states that terrified native Bulgarians against chaos and destruction of Michael raids escaped from the region.⁵⁷ but reports and letters published by Hurmuzaki support Naima's statements. Also an Ottoman kanunname dated to 1609 contains an article stating special provisions for the peasants coming back from Wallachia. The article of the *kanunname* orders re-installation of former settlements and possessions of these peasants that timariot of the land may have given them to anyone with *tapu*.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ İpşirli, Mehmet (ed.) 2007. *Tarih-I Na'imâ*, Ankara: TTK I, 69-71.

⁵⁵ For the letters and reports see, Hurmuzaki III, s. 324; XII, s. 395, 401, 406, 408, 414, 415, 417, 420, 431, 1246; III, s. 300, 520-521; compare Naima s. 127-129

⁵⁶ Mustafa, Naima, *Na'imâ târihi*, (İstanbul: İstānbül Ma'ārif Vekāleti 1927) I, 106.

⁵⁷ Halim Şengül ed., *Peçevi Tarihi*, (İstanbul:, 1950), 2, 158-174.

⁵⁸ The original document is being kept in Oriental Department of Cyril and Methodius National Library, Op/ 1332, f. 56, *Kanunname-I Hakani* cited by Tsvetkova, Bistra Andreeva. 1968. "To the history of the resistance against the Ottoman feudal domination in the Danube region of Bulgaria during the 15-th - 18-th centuries". *Etudes Historiques* IV. 220

5.4 Conclusions

Even long before the Ottoman-Crusader struggle, resistance and uprisings had already become a part of the Bulgarian history. After the Christianization, tribal and mixed ethno-cultural structure of the region with Turkic nomads and their military aristocracy on the Danubian border made the region more resistible to central authority. Especially Tirnova district since the pre-Ottoman times was a military region where higher and lesser military nobility of the medieval Bulgaria had already settled since the revival of the Bulgarian kingdom at the end of the 12th century and when the Ottomans came to the region, they adapted the military structure to their system as organizations of Christian soldiers.

Tirnova was a military province where boyar families of the Bulgarian Kingdom had settled for centuries but archival sources indicate that the Ottoman system did not internalize a part of the native military aristocracy of the region. Although they kept their Christian faith and tax exemptions, they completely lost their feudal land property and their former military status was specified as just descendents of former military aristocrats in the Ottoman surveys. On the other hand, the adapted Christian lesser military nobility such as *voynuks* and *toviçes* were strictly kept under control of the Sultan and his *kuls* such as vizirs, akindji begs and government officers in the palace who hold the *zevaid-i voynuk* and *toviçe* villages as *hass* and *zeamets*, which indicates that central authority gave a special importance to the military region where

Christian soldiers, pre-Ottoman military aristocrats and native Christians densely populated since the of Second Bulgarian Kingdom. Compare to *voynuks* and *toviçes* internalized by the Ottoman army, the unclear status of these Bulgarian boyar families indicates that they had a special importance for the central authority worth to keep them in their place and specified them in a distinct category. These former military aristocrats were always consisted the potential rebels during the early times of the Ottoman conquests in Balkans and these boyar families excluded from the timar system should have been an influence in the region that should have been kept control. For this reason these villages where these boyar families and Christian soldiers of the Ottoman military army had already been living since the early medieval times were registered as land holdings of the Sultans and his loyal *kuls*. Also archival sources indicate that although the military characteristic of the region was very dominant even in the early 16th century, a big majority of the native peasant population of the region remained Christian. New-Muslims were consisting a significant part of the Muslim population in the region and villages consisting only new-Muslim households can be an indicator for Islamization movement other than a Muslim Anatolian migration wave changing the ethnic and religious composition of the region. For this reason it can be said that archival sources show that ethnic composition of the region did not changed very much during the centuries under the Ottoman rule and the high rate of Christians more than 75% of the total population of the Tirnovi region indicates that there were a high potential of native Christian peasants who could give support for such an attempt in a case of local unrest. On the

other hand, the continuous fear and destruction during the long war period with Hungary, Habsburgs and Wallachia should have been a reason behind any peasant reaction. The period of continuous fear, destruction and taking refuge in other fortified Danubian cities should have increased the tension and unrest among the native Bulgarians, which can be the other factor maturing the conditions of an attempt for the uprising might turned into a rebellion in the region. Also a district of Latin merchants and Pavlikan (Catholic) villages indicates religious influence of Vatican and political ties of the Christian West in the region., which could provide a strong connection between the region and leaders of anti-Ottoman alliances who could provoke and provide support for local resistances to open the Danubian gate that was the only route remained after the fall of Constantinople that Crusaders could march and threaten the Ottomans. All these components of ethnic, military and religious structure of the region with the existence of pre-Ottoman local aristocracy either in or out of the *timar* system indicate a big potential for any local resistance that could be provoked and supported externally in the region.

Legend of Tirnova Uprising is considered as the first step of the national revival through the way going to the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878 and the epic story consisted a corner stone of the Bulgarian nationalism and told as a story of a national revival leading by the Bulgarian Church as well as a crusade in the late 16th century. there are letters written by princes, kings and Bulgarian clergy demanding military help and financial support or underlining willingness of peasants, clergy and

Bulgarian nobles for a resistance movement against the Ottomans in the region. All these letters indicate that there could be an attempt or a plan for an uprising and there were ways available for the leaders of anti-Ottoman alliances to provoke such an attempt. On the other hand, there were not any written source such as chronicle, *mühimme* register or archival documents dated to late 16th or 17th century that could give information about the rebellion, rebels, reasons and consequences, so we know almost nothing about the Tirnova uprising. For this reason we can say that there were a serious social, economic, military and political reasons and potential for such an uprising and even an intention expressed in letters but we don't know whether the uprising really broke out or it was an attempt that could not be accomplished.

Map 3: Settlements of Tirnovi Region in the Early 16th Century



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The two distinctive features of Nigbolu had not changed since the ancient times: determining strategic significance of the region and nomadic settlers. Danube had always been a border between two different worlds in all ages during the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman era. Danube was the frontier of nomadic world and settled empires and Romans organized this frontier region at first time as fortified military defence zone along the southern shore of the river and Byzantine emperors re-organized and strengthened the defence system of the Danubian frontier during the nomadic invasions of the Turkic tribes. When the Ottomans conquered Nigbolu, the last centre of the divided Bulgarian Kingdom in 1395, Danube became the military frontier of the Ottoman state with the Western Christianity long before the fall of Constantinople and after the conquest of Constantinople, the Danubian border remained as the only gate that Crusaders could march and threaten the Ottomans,

which did not change for centuries until the end of the 19th century when an independent Bulgarian State was established in 1877.

During the first century of the Ottoman rule in Bulgaria, revival of the ruined organization of the Danubian frontier, re-formation of the existing military system of the region and transformation of the pre-Ottoman feudal regime were the urgent priorities of the Ottoman central authority. This study reveals that revival of the functional institutions of the existing system was an on-going process taking more than a century in the Nigbolu Sandjak. Since the medieval times, Nigbolu region had been one of the main settlement areas of higher and lesser military nobility guarding the Danubian frontier. Ottoman army internalized the former military organizations of lesser local nobility who renewed their imperial diplomas and kept their military status in the Ottoman army. The inherited former military structure became the backbone of the provincial army in the border periphery of the Ottoman Bulgaria. On the other hand, local higher military nobility including many Turkic steppe warriors were excluded from the system in the Nigbolu Sandjak, especially in the old Bulgarian capital Tirnovi and the region surrounding the city. Distribution of the timar lands in the sandjak was different than the other provinces that. majority of the timar lands were not given to ordinary timariots but the Ottoman Sultan holded almost half of the former feudal land property himself. Rest of the lands were either granted some of the high ranked palace officials, vizirs and grandvizirs as freehold property or fief land, which indicates that the Sultan considered full control of central

authority necessary on the region where a big number of Christian soldiers and many Bulgarian boyar families were living.

Abandoned settlements during the long war and destruction era of the pre-conquest times were one of the big concerns of the central authority but this study shows that settlement policies of the Ottomans in the post-conquest era were the other reason behind the depopulation problem. Especially after the conquest of Constantinople, deportation of urban citizens to the newly conquered capital city, swept sometimes a significant number of household of a village or population of a big town (*nefs*) as a whole. Re-population was a process going along with the formation of the timar system in the region during the first century of the Ottoman rule. The central authority gave many empty villages to the timariots to be populated but demographic sources in the region was not enough for the revival of the former settlement system. Mass migration of Muslim Anatolians, especially populous nomadic tribes and landless peasants organized and headed by members of sufi orders consisted the human resource of the re-population policy in the Nigbolu Sandjak during the 15th century. This study shows that immigrant profile of the 15th century Anatolian Muslims was not the same in urban and rural areas, which indicates different expectations of different type of Muslim immigrants. In big cities of the sandjak, majority of the Anatolian newcomers were unmarried Anatolians seeking for job but in rural areas there were settled Muslim Anatolians in depopulated old Christian villages and some other Muslim newcomers were living in a few newly founded Muslim settlements registered as “*Yenices*” near Christian

villages. These settled Muslim households (*hane*) and unmarried men (*mücerred*) were peasants cultivated *çift* land and paid regular agrarian taxes.

On the other hand, there were many abandoned settlements registered as *mezraa* in the *defters* and *mezraa* was one of the main problems of the 15th century settlement network of the sandjak. These were seasonal settlements of populous nomadic *obas* used as summer pastures or winter shelters, which were the first settlements in the sandjak where Muslim Anatolian nomads were registered *yörük hanesi* (nomad households) in the last quarter of the 15th century. Anatolian nomadic tribes were populous, well-organized and self-sufficient groups seeking for pasturelands and they were the main human resource of the re-population and settlement movement on the new lands. Although there were Muslim peasant population in re-populated villages, a significant number of nomadic households and many tribal *oba* names were registered in the 15th century Nigbolu surveys in abandoned old rural settlement regions, which indicates that the main actors of Anatolian Muslim migration in the 15th century Ottoman Nigbolu were nomadic tribes and central authority directed them towards the depopulated regions under the command of *sufi* dervishes to recover the old settlement system. This study shows that even before the last quarter of the 15th century, members of *sufi* orders had already started the settlement movement of Anatolian nomadic tribes in the region. Many of these Muslim villages were double named in Slavic and Turkish and the Turkish names were indicating the founder of these villages as *fakih*, *sheikh* or *devish*. Organizer

and leader role of the *sufies* had been the basic principle of the westward migration since the Seljukid era and Ottomans used this well-organized and headed way of migration as a tool of their population and settlement policies in the conquered lands. The Ottoman Sultans promoted dervishes and sheikhs with land grants and tax exemptions to populate the new lands, which were going to be the basis of the many newly founded or divided Muslim settlements extending the settlement network to the uninhabited regions of the sandjak in the 16th century.

Analysis of the 15th century demographic data in the archival sources of the sandjak indicates that Anatolian mass-migration and return of the former Christian settlers created an overpopulation problem in the rural areas in the second half of the 15th century. Efficient distribution of population among the settlements became an integral part of the state policies since the 15th century onward. The long peace-period and stability after the conquest promoted return of the native Christians to their pre-conquest settlements, which Muslim Anatolians had already started to populate. This study shows overpopulation of old settlements by Muslim newcomers and returning Christians was the reason behind the divided villages as Gorna and Dolna registered in the late 15th century Nigbolu surveys. This study proving that in the early 16th century, recovery of rural demography and revival of the former settlement network had already been achieved and changing policy of conquest and rivalry with Habsburgs were required to define a new set of military, social,

demographic policies and a new organization of peasant labour force for the growing needs of the Ottoman army in the 16th century.

New military motives and policy of conquest in the first decades of the 16th century completely changed the manner of military and civil organization of the Nigboli Sandjak, where old and new, continuation and change, revolution and transformation were evolving together in the new era. This study reveals that in the first decades of the 16th century, the recovered old villages were populous Christian-Muslim mix settlements. The changing dynamics, balance of power and struggles updated migration and settlement policies, definition of immigrant profile as well as settlement patterns of in the sandjak. In the mid-16th century, settlement network was extended towards the uninhabited lands. Populous nomadic tribes came to the empty regions as small groups organized as a kind of divided oba-type clan structure and these groups were small enough to survive on the uninhabited lands having limited arable lands but convenient pastures for animal husbandry. As a characteristic of frontier culture, these new villages were open to all newcomers from various origins. This study shows that these villages were founded as family settlements but in a short period of time, newcomers such as freed slaves, Muslim and new-Muslim unmarried men seeking a new life joined these small and tolerant border communities.

On the other hand many of the *zawiyas* founded on the uninhabited lands had been actors of social, cultural and religious life in the region since the mid-16th century. This study shows the clear evidences of the strong connections between leading sufi figures of Western Anatolia such as Sheikh Timurhan and nomadic migration and settlement movement in the Nigbolu Sandjak. Family members and followers of Sheikh Timurhan who had many wakfs and a *zawiye* in Western Anatolia consisted one of the leading sufi groups in both Nigbolu and Silistre recognized in *kanunnames* and very well promoted with tax exemptions of the Sultan. More than ten new villages founded and populated by the members of the *cemaat* indicate that powerful religious orders supported by the nomadic masses in the Seljukid border were the main system builders, organizers and leaders of migration and settlement movement on the uninhabited lands of the Nigbolu region. This study brought out the foundation date and exact founders of these pious endowments who had imperial diploma in their hand (*beratlu*) proving the land grant of the Sultan and their special tax immunities. When these *zawiyas* in Hezargrad and Şumnu regions completed their migration and settlement missions, they became social, cultural and religious centers of the Muslim community of the region until the 20th century.

The *udj* culture transplanted from the Western Anatolia became the main force behind the interaction between nomadic Muslim Anatolians and the other newcomers such as non- Muslims, new-Muslims, slaves and freed slaves in these regions. During

the first half of the 16th century, freed slaves and new-Muslims became members of the *yörük* community and participated the division of labour as *yağcı*, *küreci* and *ellici* but although cultural interaction between native Christians and Muslim Anatolians increased in the mid-16th century and new-Muslims were registered almost in all Muslim villages, the process of conversion in the nomad regions was slow and the number of converts were still moderate.

Changes in the sensitive demographic balance of the settlements had been an urgent problem of the central authority since the 15th century. In the first half of the 16th century, the new nomad settlements founded on the uninhabited regions became the main settlement area of Anatolian unmarried men, new-Muslims and freed slaves and in a few decades, these new settlements with limited arable land and pastures became inefficiently crowded, which would be cause of depopulation and abandonment of these new villages. The central authority solved the overpopulation problem by dividing these settlements into two or more villages, which was what the central authority had done in the 15th century. Also this solution helped further expansion of the new settlement network on the empty lands.

Nomadic migration was the main human resource of all new institutions and organizations of the Ottoman system in the Sandjak and this study shows how these nomads were institutionalized as either specialized peasant producers or organized

soldiers chosen among nomads in the 16th century. Military *yörük* organization was a part of the auxiliary and subsidiary military forces of the provincial army in the Balkans and for the members of this organization; transhuman life-style of military *yörüks* was the main principle of the new system in the Balkans. These studies shows during the rivalry with Habsburgs, how the Ottoman central authority organized the skilful nomad labour force and how these organizations produced and delivered military goods, services and provisions to fulfill the needs of the army marching on campaign through Danubian frontier regularly. On the other hand, this study shows that there were still unsettled non-military nomadic groups in Nigbolu as late as the mid-16th century, which indicates that organization and settlement of these unruly nomad masses took much more time than it was supposed to.

Turkic steppe people always became a part of nomadic history of the Nigbolu region and these people coming as invaders became a part of civil and military society in the region and they guarded Danubian frontier for ages. This study shows that although there were Christianized Turkic people mingled with the native Christian peasants in towns, cities and rural settlements, a significant number of these steppe peoples were still consisted an integral part of the provincial army in Ottoman Bulgaria. On the other hand, this study proves that even in organizations of Christian soldiers, Islamization process was much more slower than it was in pre-Ottoman upper military classes because unlike pre-Ottoman military nobility, *voynuks* completed their adaptation process into Ottoman system without conversion to Islam.

For this reason conversions were still individual cases among the Christian soldiers even in the 16th century.

Tax and military surveys indicate that Bulgarian voynuks and other organizations of Christian soldiers such as *Martolos* and *Toviçe* included many non-Anatolian Turkic elements and the many warlike Turkic names registered especially in the voynuk *defters* shows ethnic and cultural identity of these Turkic steppe people. Naming tradition of pre-Islamic warlike Turkic culture could survive best in Ottoman military organizations rather than peasant society of rural Bulgaria and warlike Turkic names of these Christian guards of the Danubian frontier distinguished them from other Christian soldiers as memory of their origin and past that had not been forgotten even in the 16th century.

Even long before the Ottoman-Crusader struggle, resistance and uprisings had already become a part of the Bulgarian history. After the conversion to Christianity, tribal and mixed ethno-cultural structure of the region with Turkic nomads and their military aristocracy on the Danubian border made the region more resistible to central authority. Especially Tirnova district since the pre-Ottoman times was a military region where higher and lesser military nobility of the medieval Bulgaria had already settled since the revival of the Bulgarian Kingdom at the end of the 12th century. Tribal structure and distinctive culture of Danubian border made resistance and uprisings against a religious or political authority, as a part of the Bulgarian

history. In all ages, allies of these uprisings were always coming from the northern bank of the river and these rebels had strong ties with ethnic or religious groups from the other bank of Danube, which was Cumans in the Byzantine times and Crusaders during the Ottoman era. The epics of Tirnova uprising told as a story of a national revival of Bulgarian peasants leading by the Bulgarian Church in the late 16th century is considered as the first stage through the way going to the liberation of Bulgaria in 1878.

Bulgarian boyar families and lesser military nobility had already settled in Tirnova region since the revival of the Bulgarian era and this study shows that when the Ottomans conquered the region, they adapted a part of this military structure but they excluded many boyar families from the military system in Tirnova. These noble families keeping their Christian faith and tax exemptions completely lost their feudal land property, and their nobility became just a specification while registering them in the surveys as descendents of former military aristocrats (*kadimi sipahi oğullarından*). However even after the conquest, there were a few attempts of rebellion supported by the anti-Ottoman alliances in the first century of the Ottoman rule and in the early 16th century, the Sultan either held majority of the timar lands in the region or granted to his *kuls*. While *hassa-I padişah* lands consisted almost all voynuk villages in the region, remaining timars were distributed among akindji beygs including Mihaloghlu Ali Beg. This study shows that there were a significant change in distribution of timar land policies of the central authority from late 15th to early

16th century period and compare to *Voynuks* and *Toviçes* adapted to the Ottoman army, the unclear status of these Bulgarian boyar families indicates that they were important for the central authority to keep them in their place and specified them in a distinct category.

Also archival sources indicate that although a big majority of the native peasant population of the region remained Christian, new-Muslims were consisting a significant part of the Muslim population in Tirnovi and villages consisting only new-Muslim households can be an indicator for Islamization movement other than a Muslim Anatolian migration wave changing the ethnic and religious composition of the region. On the other hand, the continuous fear and destruction during the long war period with Hungary, Habsburgs and Wallachia should have been a reason behind any peasant reaction against the central authority. Taking refuge of peasants during the era in other fortified Danubian cities should have increased the tension and unrest among the native Bulgarians, which can be the other factor maturing the conditions of an attempt for uprising. Among the settlers of Tirnovi region, Latinân and Pavlikân groups were the main channels that could provide a strong connection with western Christian religious authorities that could organize anti-Ottoman alliances and provoke local resistances to open the Danubian gate for crusaders.

Tirnova uprising, the first national uprising broken out in the Ottoman lands, was considered as the inspiration of the other Balkan nations on the way going

through their liberation since the age of nationalism. On the other hand, there were not any primary source such as chronicle, *mühimme* register or archival documents dated to late 16th or early 17th century that could give information about reasons and consequences of the rebellion or names of the rebels, so we know almost nothing about the Tirnova uprising. For this reason we can say that there were serious social, economic, military and political potential for such an uprising in the region and there were clear expressions of such an intention written in letters but we don't know whether the uprising really broke out or it remained as an attempt that could not be accomplished.

This study is a big contribution to ethnic, religious, political, demographic, financial and military history of Danubian frontier as one of the oldest frontier regions in history. The Ottoman archival sources providing a detailed database of onomastic and demographic information of pre-Ottoman settlers, military institutions, nomadic tribes and sufi orders expand the area of this study to western Anatolia, Eurasian steppes, Central Europe and Macedonia. Although this study focuses on changing patterns of migration, demography and settlement from the 15th to 16th century Nigbolu Sandjak, long history of frontier culture and interactions of this region with Seljukid frontier in Asia Minor expand scope of this study to the earlier periods to examine roots of these formations dating became a part of the structure of the region long before the Ottoman rule. The main contribution of this study to the Balkan historiography is to show what had already been in there when

the Ottomans came, what were adopted and altered under the post conquest era and what the Ottomans introduced to complete historical development of the Danubian frontier that was going to become an integral part of identity, culture and heritage of the region.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or. Abt., Signature OAK., 45/ 29.

Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or., Abt.,Signature Hk., 12/9.

BOA, MAD 11, 922 (1516) Tarihli Nigbolu Livasi Mufassal Defteri.

BOA, TD382 1556 Tarihli Nigbolu Livasi Mufassal Defteri.

BOA, MAD 81, 1522-23 Tarihli Istılab-I Âmire Voynukları Defteri,

BOA TD151 1528 Tarihli Voynuk Tahrir Defteri

Published Primary Sources

370 Numarali Muhasebe-i Vilayet-I Rum İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I. 2001. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2000.

438 Numaralı Muhasebe-I Vilayet-I Anadolu Defteri (937/1530) I. 1993. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları.

Dadaş, Cevdet and Atilla Batur, İsmail Yücedağ (eds.) 2000. Osmanlı Arşiv Belgelerinde Kütahya vakıfları c. 3. Kütahya: Kütahya Belediyesi Kütahya Kültür ve Tarihini Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları.

Secondary Sources

Abdurrahman, V. 2004. Turklerin ad koyma gelenekleri uzerine bir inceleme, Milli Folklor. 8/61: 124-133.

Acaroğlu, Türker. 2006. Balkanlar'da Türkçe yer adları kılavuzu. İstanbul : IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.

Aksu, İbrahim. 2005. The story of Turkish surnames : an onomastic study of Turkish family names, their origins, and related matters. Çanakkale.

Angold, M. 1975. A Byzantine Government in Exile. London.

Asdracha, C. 1976. La region des Rhodopeas aux XIIIe et XIVE siecles. Athens.

Ayverdi, E. H. 1982. Avrupada Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti.

Barfield, Thomas. 1993. The Nomadic Alternative. Prentice Hall.

Bartusis, Mark. 1990. "On the Problem of Smallholding Soldiers in Late Byzantium." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 44.

- Barkan, Ö., L. 1951-1953. "Tarihî demografi arařtırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi." *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10: 1-26
- 1970. "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys", *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, Michael A. Cook (ed.), London, 163-171.
- 1957. "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1/1: 9-36.
- 1977. "Quelques remarques sur la constitution sociale et demographique des villes balkaniques au cours des XVe et XVIe siècles", *Istanbul à la jonction des cultures balkaniques, mediterraneennes, slaves et orientales, aux XVIe-XIXe siècles*. Bucarest, 279-301.
- 1988. *Hudavendigâar Livasi Tahrir Deftei I*, Ankara: TTK Basımevi.
- "Avariz." *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Ankara: MEB Yayınları, 14.
- 1940. "On Beşinci Asırda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Toprak işçiliğinin Organizasyon Şekilleri: Rumeli'deki Kulluklar ve Ortakçı Kullar", *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*. 1/4.
- 1942. "İstila Devrinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler." *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2: 279-377.
- 1942. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2: 279- 386.

- , 1943. XV ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları. Cilt I. Kanunlar. İstanbul: İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları.
- , 1953- 1954. “H. 933 – 934 (M. 1327 -1528) Mali Yılına Ait Bir Bütçe Örneği”. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası XV: 251- 329.
- , 1982. Türkiye’de Toprak Meselesi, İstanbul.
- , 1941. İslam-Türk Mülkiyet Hukuku Tatbikatının Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aldığı Şekiller II: Mülk Topraklar ve Sultanların Temlik Hakkı, Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası.
- Batty, Roger. 2007. Rome and the Nomads : The Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity. Oxford.
- Bekker Immanuel (ed.) 1865. Nicetae Choniates Historia. Bonn.
- Blockley R.C. 1983. The fragmentary classicising historians of the later Roman Empire : Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus . Liverpool, Great Britain : F. Cairns.
- Bostwell, A. B. 1927-1928. “The Kipchak Turks .“ Slavonic Review, 6/16: 68-85.
- Brand, C.M. 1968. Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204. Cambridge: Mass.
- Bromberg, J. 1938. Toponymical and Historical Miscellanies on Mediaeval Dobrudja, Bessarabia, and Moldo-Wallachia, Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Etudes Byzantines. Bruxelles. XIII, 1.

Burger, Glenn (ed.)1988. A lytell cronycle : Richard Pynson's translation (c 1520) of La fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient (c 1307) / Hetoum. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Caferoğlu, Ahmet. (ed.)1931. Abu Hayyan: Kitâb al-idrâk li-lisân al-Atrâk. Istanbul: Evkaf Matbaasi.

Chalandon, F. 1990. Essei sur le régime d'Alexis Jer Comnène, Paris.

Charanis, Peter. 1951. "On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later", *Byzantinoslavica* 12 :94-153.

Conea and Donat. 1956. Contribution à l'étude de la toponymie péchénegue-coman de la plaine roumaine de Bas-Danube. in *Contribution Onomastiques. Publiées à l'occasion du VIe Congrès international des sciences onomastiques à Munich du 24 au 28 Août 1956*. Bucarest.

Çiçek, Kemal. 1995. "Osmanlı Tahrir Defterlerinin Kullanımında Görülen bazı Problemler ve Metod Arayışları." *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 97: 93-111.

de Clary, Robert. 1873. *La Prise de Constantinople Chroniques Greco-, Romanes*. Berlin.

de Planhol, X. 1965. "Les Nomades, la Steppe et la Forêt en Anatolie." *Geographische Zeitschrift*. 53: 104-110.

de Presle Brunet (ed.) 1853. *Attaliates, Michael: Historia*. Bonn

Diaconu, P. 1978. *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XIe et XIIe siècles*. Bucarest, 26-27; Schütz, I. 1985. "Des „comans noirs“ dans la poésie populaire albanaise." *Acta Orientale Hungaria*

- Ercan, Y. 1989. Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar. Ankara: TTK Basımevi.
- Eröz, Mehmet. 1986. "Sosyolojik Yönden Türk Yer Adları", Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi, 12.
- Evans, J. W. 2006. Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c.1683-1867. Oxford University Press.
- Evliya Çelebi. 1315. Seyahat-name. Istanbul.
- Fasolo, Michele. 2005. La via Egnatia. Rome : Istituto Grafico Editoriale Romano.
- Faruki, S.and A Y. Ocak. 1993. "Zaviye" İslam Ansiklopedisi, v. 13, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 468-476.
- Fiedler,Uwe. 2008. "Bulgars in the Lower Danube Region: A Survey of the Archeological Evidence and of the State of Current Research" in The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (450–1450), Florin Curta (ed.) Leiden.
- Géza Dávid. and Pál Fodor (eds.) 2000. Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe : The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman conquest. Leiden: Brill.
- Golden, P., B. 1990. "Peoples of the south-Russian Steppes" The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia, ed. D. Sinor. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 256-284.

- . 2010. *Turks and Khazars : origins, institutions, and interactions in pre-Mongol Eurasia*. Ashgate/Variorum.
- . and Haggai Ben-Shammai and András Róna-Tas (eds.) 2007. *The world of the Khazars : new perspectives*, Brill.
- . 2002. *Nomads and their neighbours in the Russian steppe : Turks, Khazars and Qipchaq*. Ashgate/Variorum.
- . 1984. "Cumanica I: The Qipcaqs in Georgia" *Archivum Eurasiae Medii aevi*, 4:45-87
- . 1983. *The Turkic Peoples and Caucasia Transcaucasia, Nationalism, and Social Change: Essays in the History of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia*. Suny R. G (ed.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Golubovskij, P. 1884. *Pečenegi, torki i polovcy do našestvija tatar: istorija južno-ruskih stepej ix–xiii vv*. Kiev.
- Gökbilgin Tayyib. 1957. *Rumeli'de Yurukler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-i Fatihan*. Istanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası.
- Güngör, Kemal. 1940. *Cenubi Anadolu Yörüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Greatrex, Geoffrey. (ed.) 2011. *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor : Church and War in Late Antiquity*. Liverpool : Liverpool University Press.
- Guthrie, K. S. 1918. *Plotinos : complete works, in chronological order, grouped in four periods : with biography by Porphyry, Eunapius, & Suidas, commentary by Porphyry, illustrations by Jamblichus & Ammonius, studies in sources, development influence, index of subjects, thoughts and words*. London : G. Bell and Sons.

Güngör, H. and . M Argunşah. 2002. Gagauz Türkleri (Tarih, Dil, Folklor ve Halk Edebiyatı), Ankara: TC.Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Hezarfen Ahmet. 2006. Tarihi belgeler ışığında Kızıldeli Sultân (Seyit Ali Sultân) Dergâhı. İstanbul: Cem Vakfı Yayınları.

Horvat, A. P. 1989. Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians : steppe peoples in medieval Hungary. Budapest: Corvina.

Hrbek, I. "Bulghar." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition Volume I, page 1304, column 2.

Hunwick J.O. " Wakf." EI, Second Edition. Brill Online , 2012

İnalcık, Halil. 1954. Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid. Ankara : TTK Basımevi.

----- . 1954. "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", Studia Islamica 3: 103-129.

----- . 1986. "The Yürüks, Their Origins, Expansionand Economic Role,"in R. Pinner and W.Denny (eds.) Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies. London.

----- . 2006. " I. Murad." Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi, 31: 159.

----- . 1993. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu: Toplum ve Ekonomi. İstanbul: Eren Yayınları.

----- . 1954. Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar, I. Ankara: TTK Basımevi.

----- . 1994. An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914. Inalcik, Halil, and Donald Quataert, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- H.2003. "Rumeli." EI WebCD add.
- 2003. "Istanbul." in EI webCD add.
- "Dobrudja." Encyclopaedia of Islam. Leiden, II: 610.
- "Djizya." Encyclopaedia of Islam. Leiden, II.562-566.
- "Bulgaria." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden, I: 1302.
- 2003. "The Struggle Between Osman Gazi and the Byzantines For Nicea." in Işık Akbaygil, Halil İnalçık, Oktay Arslanapa (eds.) Iznik Throughout History. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 59-85.
- 1970. "The Ottoman Economic Mind and Aspects of the Ottoman Economy" in M. A. Cook (ed.), Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East, 207-218. London.
- 1993. "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role." In The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society, 97-136. Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies.
- 1982. "Rice Cultivation and the Çeltükci-Re'âyâ System in the Ottoman Empire." Turcica 14: 70-71.
- 1993. "The Ottoman Cotton Market and India: The Role of Labor Cost in Market Competition," in his The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- 1980 "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State." International Journal of Turkish Studies. 2:71-79.

- , 1972. *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300 – 1600*. London: Phoenix.
- , 1993. *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire : essays on Economy and Society*. Bloomington : Indiana University Turkish Studies.
- Irons, William. *The Yomut Turkmen : A Study of Social Organization Among a Central Asian Turkic-Speaking Population*. Ann Arbor : University of Michigan.
- Jakson, Peter (trans.) 1990. *The Mission of William of Rubruck: His Journey to the court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253-1255*. London.
- Jirecek, C. 1891. *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*. Wien, 1891. Kanitz.
- Karamanlioğlu, Ali Fehmi. 1994. *Kıpçak Türkçesi grameri*, Ankara : Türk Dil Kurumu.
- Katchanovski, Ivan, “ Small Nations but Great Differences: Political Orientations and Cultures of the Crimean Tatars and the Gagauz”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 57, 6, 2005.
- Kiel, Machiel. 1978. “The Türbe of Sarı Saltık at Babadag-Dobruja, Güney Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi.” 6-7: 205-225.
- , 1980. "The Vakıfname of Rakkas Sinan Beg in Karnobat (Karinabad) and the Ottoman colonization of Bulgarian Thrace." *Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 1: 15-32.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. 2008. *A Broken Mirror: The Kıpçak World in the Thirteenth Century in The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450*, 379-412. Brill.

- Kovachev, Rumen. 2005. Nikopol Sancak at the Beginning of the 16th century, According to the Istanbul Ottoman Archive, Osmanli ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri, Osman Gazi Üniversitesi Tarih Bölümü Eskişehir Uluslararası Sempozyumu. Eskişehir.
- Kowalski, T. 1933. Les Turcs et la langue turque de la Bulgarie du Nord-East. Krakow.
- Köprülü M. F. 1959. Osmanli Devleti'nin Kuruluşu. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi.
- Kurat A. N. 1937. Pecenek Tarihi, Istanbul.
- Kurat A. N. 1935. "Peçeneklere Dair Araştırmalar I: Karadeniz'in Şimalindeki Bozkırlarda Peçenekler" İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Mecmuası, 5:101-140.
- Lauer, P. (ed.) 1924. Robert. de Clari: La Conquete de Constantinople. Paris, 63-64.
- Golden, Peter. 1984. "Cumanica I: The Qipiaqs and Georgia." Archivum Eurasia Medii Aevi, 4: 47.
- Lewicki, T. 1962-2004. "Madjaristan, I." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden, 5: 1010-1022.
- Lowry, Heath. 1992. Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. Istanbul.
- Lyde Lionel W. and Mockler-Ferryman A. F. 1905. A Military Geography of the Balkan Peninsula. London.

Macartney, C. A.1929-1930 . “The Petchenegs.” The Slavonic and East European Review, 8/ 23: 342-355.

Manov, Atanas. 2001. Gagauzlar Hıristiyan Türkler. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

Melikoff, I. 2003. “Ghazi.” EI WebCD add.

Nemeth. J. 1971.“Magyar und Mişer.” Acta Orient. Hung. XXV: 293-299.

Nikov, P.,1929. “Blgari i tatari v srednite vekove”, Blgarska Istoriceska Biblioteka. 3/2: 97-141.

Obolensky, Dimitri. 1972. The Bogomils. Cambridge.

Omeljan Pritsak. 1991. “Cumans ”, Kazhdan, A. (ed.), Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, 3 vols., New York: Oxford University Press, I:563-564.

Orachev, Atanas. 2005. Bulgaria in the European Cartographic Concepts Until XIX Century. Sofia.

Orhonlu, C.1967. Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Derbend Teşkilatı, İstanbul

Ostrogorsky, G. 1968. History of the Byzantine State. Oxford.

Öz, Mehmet. 1991. “Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler.” Vakıflar Dergisi 12: 429-439.

Özek, Ali. (trans.)1884. Abu Yusuf: Kitab-ül Haraç, İstanbul.

Peçevi, İbrahim. 1866. Tarih-i Peçevi II. İstanbul.

Peregrinatores. 1978. Germanici et Austiriaci XV-XVI. (in Bulgarian) Sofia.

Pritsak, O. 1976. Pecheneg: A Case of Social and Economic Transformation, The Peter de Ridder Press, Lisse.

Rásonyi. 1927. Valacho-Turcica, Aus den Forschungsarbeiten der Mitglieder des Ungarischen Instituts und des Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin dem Andenken Robert Graggers gewidmet. Berlin-Leipzig.

— 1966-1969. “Kuman özel adları. “ Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları, 3-6: 88.

-----, 1976. The Psychology and Categories of Name-giving Among the Turkish People, Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı: Belleten, 34.

Rasovsky. 2004. “Kumanlar , Kuman Topraklarının Sınırları.” İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Dergisi, 40: 159-186.

Refik, Ahmet. 1989. Türk İdaresinde Bulgaristan: 973-1255. İstanbul.

Rogers, Greg. 1996. “An examination of historians' explanations for the Mongol Withdrawal from east Central Europe.” East European Quarterly, 30/1: 21-22.

Sertkaya Osman Fikri (ed.) 1966. János Eckmann: Harezmi, Kıpçak ve Çağatay Türkçesi Üzerine Araştırmalar. Ankara : Türk Dil Kurumu.

Sharenkoff, V.N. 1927. A Study of Manrehaeism in Bulgaria. New York.

Shaw Stanford J. 1976-1977. History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 1. New York : Cambridge University Press.

Spinei, Victor. 2006. *The Great Migrations in the East and South east of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century*. Amsterdam: Hakkert.

Stahl, Paul H. (ed.) 1998. *Name and social structure : examples from Southeast Europe*.

Boulder : East European Monographs. New York : Columbia University Press.

Stephenson. 2000. *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204*. Cambridge.

Stayanov, Valery. 2000. *Cumanian Antroponymics in Bulgaria During the 15th Century in The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization v. IV* Ed. Kemal Çiçek, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye.

Sugar Peter. 1997. *Nationality and society in Habsburg and Ottoman Europe*. Brookfield: Variorum.

Ülküsal, Müstecib Fazıl. 1940. *Dobruca ve Türkler, Köstence*.

Vasary, Istvan. 2007. "The role of the Turkic peoples in the ethnic history of Eastern Europe Ethnicity and Nationalism: Case Studies in Their Intrinsic Tension and Political Dynamics." in *Tatars and Russians in the 13th-16th Centuries*. Farnham: Alershot.

----- . 2004. "Cuman warriors in the fight of Byzantium with the Latins", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. 57: 263-70.

Vryonis, Speros. 1975. "Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 29: 50-60.

- Vryonis, Sperosç 1969/1970. "The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms,"
Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 23/24: 261.
- van Dieten, J. L.(trans.) 1973. Nikephoros Gregoras: Rhom̄aische Geschichte.
Historia Rhomaike. Stuttgart.
- von Rizoff, Vorwort. 1917. Die Bulgaren in Ihren Historischen, Ethnographischen
und Politischen Grenzen. Berlin.
- Vasary, I. 2005. Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans
(1185–1365). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wace A.J.B. and Thompson M.S. 1972. The Nomads of the Balkans : An Account of
Life and Customs Among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus. New York.
- Waitz.1884. Georg, Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris By Otto I
(Bishop of Freising). Hanover.
- Wilhelmy, H. 1935. Hochbulgarien, Bd. I: Die landlichen Siedlungen und die
Duerliche Wirtschaft. Kiel, 278
- Wittek, P. 1952. Yazidjioghlu Ali on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja, in BSOAS,
xiv: 639-668.
- Wolff, R. L. 1949. "The Second Bulgarian Empire: its origin and history to 1204",
Speculum 24 /2: 167-206.
- Yakubovski, Y. 1955. Altın Ordu ve Inhitati, İstanbul.

Yılmaz Hasan, Kaşıkçı Nihat, “ Karadeniz kıyılarında : yaşama, insana ve izlere dair:
Bulgaristan, Romanya, Moldova, Gagauz yeri, Ukrayna ve Kırım'dan”,
Ankara : T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001;

Zajaczkowski, Włodzimierz. 1965. "Gagauz." Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden. 2:
971-972.

