

THE ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC AND  
SOCIAL RELATIONS OF SOFIA IN THE 18<sup>TH</sup>  
CENTURY: AN ESSAY OF THE SPATIAL  
ANALYSIS

A Master's Thesis

by

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July 2018

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Bilkent University 2018



To my family

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

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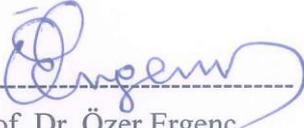
AYLİN KAHRAMAN

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS

THE DEPARTMENT OF  
HISTORY  
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY  
ANKARA

July 2018

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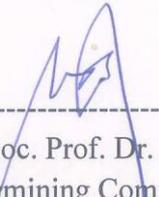
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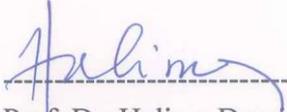
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## ABSTRACT

### THE ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RELATIONS OF SOFIA IN THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: AN ESSAY OF THE SPATIAL ANALYSIS

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In this thesis, Sofia which was the *pasha sandjaghi* of the Rumelian Eyalet in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is discussed. The administrative, social and economic relations of Sofia are studied within the context of spatial analysis. The interaction of Sofia with its surrounding rural area and other *sandjaks* are evaluated with regard to distance in order to analyze these relations properly and the surrounding rural area of Sofia is also addressed as a feeding ground. Since the data about population would enlighten our analysis, population forecasts are made through the available *avarız hane defteri*. The theoretical frame of our topic is constituted being taken the settlement models that belonged to the pre- industrial period as a basis. In addition, the court records of Sofia dating the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century are used with the aim of supporting our argument empirically. While the research conducted until this time only discussed the administrative and social structure of Sofia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in this thesis the

question how Sofia maintained its importance as an administrative unit through centuries is tried to be answered and the relation of Sofia with its surrounding rural area is evaluated as an economic integration field.

Keywords: pasha sandjaghi, Sofia, the Rumelian Eyalet, the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the surrounding rural area.

## ÖZET

### 18. YÜZYILDA SOFYA'NIN İDARİ, İKTİSADİ VE SOSYAL İLİŞKİLERİ: BİR MEKÂN ANALİZİ DENEMESİ

Kahraman, Aylin

Master, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç

Temmuz 2018

Bu tezde 18. yüzyılda Osmanlı'nın Rumeli Eyaleti'ndeki paşa sancağı olan Sofya ele alınmaktadır. O dönemde Sofya'nın idari, sosyal ve ekonomik ilişkileri bir mekânsal analiz bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bu ilişkileri doğru bir şekilde analiz edebilmek için Sofya'nın etrafındaki kırsal çevre ve diğer sancaklarla etkileşimi mesafe açısından değerlendirilmiş, ayrıca kırsal çevre Sofya'nın beslenme alanı olarak ele alınmıştır. Nüfus verileri yapacağımız analize ışık tutacağı için elimizdeki avarız hane defteri aracılığıyla nüfus tahminleri yapılmıştır. Konunun teorik çerçevesi sanayi öncesi döneme ait yerleşme modelleri esas alınarak oluşturulmuştur. Ayrıca Sofya mahkemesince düzenlenen kadı sicili de argümanımızı ampirik olarak desteklemek amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Bu zamana kadar yapılan çalışmalar genel olarak 16. yüzyılda Sofya'nın idari ve sosyal yapısını ele alırken, bu tezde 18. yüzyılda Sofya'nın hem idari bir birim olarak önemini yüzyıllar boyunca nasıl koruduğu

sorusu cevaplanmaya çalışılmış, hem de çevresindeki kırsal alanla ilişkisi bir ekonomik entegrasyon alanı olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kırsal çevre, paşa sancağı, Rumeli Eyaleti, Sofya, 18. yüzyıl.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This thesis is the first writing experience for me and with this study I aim to carry the previous research done one step further and make a new interpretation from a different point of view. While I am writing this thesis, my dear husband Okan provided full support for me and shared my excitement. Therefore, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my husband. I am also thankful to my instructor Nil Tekgül for her support by encouraging me and for her valuable comments. My friend Derya also supported me with her remarks while editing my English. I would like to express my warmest thanks to my dear mother and father who were always there whenever I needed them helping me to relieve my anxieties. I cannot think of a life without them. My appreciation to all my professors in the Department of History since they contribute a lot in shaping my understanding of history. However, my advisor Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç deserves the most. I offer my sincerest gratitude to him, who has not refrained to support. His immense knowledge about Ottoman history always enlightened my way. He did not only contributed scientifically, but also shared my anxieties with his patience. I will always be proud of being one of his students and I will always feel myself lucky. This journey is a beginning for me and there are a lot of things that I will learn from him.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### **1.1 Objective of the Thesis**

This study is an essay of spatial analysis in the Sofia example. In this thesis we will address the spatial situation of Sofia which was one of the important cities of Ottoman Rumelia in the eighteenth century with respect to the settlement theories and use of the data drawn upon primary sources. The reason why we address the 18<sup>th</sup> century in our study is that the 18<sup>th</sup> century symbolizes the transformation period in which both the practices of classical age and new practices were carried out in the simultaneously. Furthermore, the 18<sup>th</sup> century was a preparatory period that would carry the Ottoman State to the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to some important developments.

Because of the fact that manufacturing and transportation had been based on man and animal power before the Industrial Revolution, the relations of settlements with each other were determined by the technology level of that period. According to the settlement theories, the surrounding rural area determined the size of the settlement area which was called as “city” or “town” and diversity of functions undertaken at that period. Furthermore, whether any city or town is on the transit route or not, whether the geographical location paves the way for the natural protection, climatological conditions and the productivity level of surrounding rural area were important factors. In the pre- industrial period, the main foundations of a society

were mainly determined by the models of spatial organization.<sup>1</sup> These models vary as a settlement around the transportation system, isolated city model, the model based on the relation between the hierarchy of the spatial organization and land tenure and center- front model. In all these models, production and transportation technology determined the form of spatial organization. In the pre- industrial societies, the main factor determining the social organization was the amount of surplus produced by the agricultural production technology. The mechanism that enabled the control groups to collect the surplus product was the taxation system. In the Ottoman Empire, the social and spatial organizations were both based on agricultural production.

According to the second settlement model, the pre- industrial city was an isolated city in terms of agricultural production and consumption. This type of city formed a closed system along with the rural area. In this model, the city was situated in a central place and the rural area constituted the surrounding area of city. Whole control mechanisms gathered in the city center.<sup>2</sup> As in the all settlement systems, there was a hierarchy of the spatial organization as a center of the Ottoman Empire, regional centers, market places and villages and geographical specialization. The technology level of that period and transportation and communication opportunities pave the way for the establishment of the empires with certain organizational measures taken.<sup>3</sup> According to the last model, center- front (*uc*) model, the main organization is the understanding of holy war (*gaza*) for the expansion of controlled area and the increase of labor force. This model necessitates the existence of a

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<sup>1</sup> İlhan Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehrin Kurumsallaşmış Dış İlişkileri," in *Anadolu'da Yerleşme Sistemi ve Yerleşme Tarihleri*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011), 45. For the English version please see, İlhan Tekeli, "On Institutionalized External Relations of Cities in the Ottoman Empire A Settlement Models Approach", *Etudes Balkaniques* no. 2 (1972): 49--72.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 55--56.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 67--71.

frontier region expanding persistently. The frontier regions consist of conciliatory, tolerant and heterogeneous societies in which different cultures come together. In these frontier regions, the cultural contact is provided thanks to the population constituted through exile.<sup>4</sup> To sum up, in the period that the production technology based on plow and the transportation based on caravan, the technologic limits complicated the central administration structures and the empires were obliged to take important institutional measures. In these type of empires, the model of spatial organization was the center- front model in the macro level. Within this structure there was a gradual settlement model. At the same time in this model there was a settlement system organized along the roads connecting the center and the frontier and the regional centers with each other.<sup>5</sup> In the light of these explanations; our argument related to Sofia which constitutes the base of this study is as below:

Sofia was located in a rural area that could feed the Sofia's people in Rumelia. In addition to this, Sofia was situated on the main road that connects Rumelia to the Central Europe starting from Edirne (Adrianople). This main road connection combined with secondary routes that enable to reach from Mora (Peloponnesus) to the west coasts of the Black Sea. This road network allows Sofia to reach to the Porte (Istanbul) from three directions easily. At this point we can say that Sofia can be an example of the settlement model that is established around the transportation system. Secondly, Sofia had the characteristics of an isolated city because it is surrounded with the rural area that could feed the population making non- agricultural production. Thirdly, Sofia had the characteristics of a regional center since it had maintained the position of *pasha sandjaghi* of the *Rumeli Beglerbeglighi* for

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 72--74.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 76--77.

centuries. At the same time, Sofia was the center of both the sandjak of Sofia and the kada of Sofia. This multi- function of Sofia can only be explained by the above-mentioned settlement theories. Finally, in the early periods of the Ottoman State the conquered territories in the Balkans were called as “frontier” (*udjs*) regions. While the cities such as Sofia, Skopje, Bitola and Plovdiv were frontier cities, later they became the important administrative and economic centers of the Empire. Therefore, in this study we will seek for the position of Sofia in the pre- industrial period based upon the settlement theories explained above. We claim that in the Sofia example, characteristics of different settlement models functioned simultaneously. In order to prove our claim we will first use the primary sources testing our argument and then we will seek for the accuracy rate of our hypothesis.

## **1.2 Literature Review**

Although there are several valuable studies regarding Balkan cities of the Ottoman Empire, the works that scrutinize Sofia with respect to its spatial relations are quite limited. The scholarship produced so far related to Sofia; mostly provide information related to its geographical position and urban features. However there is not any research including spatial analysis of Sofia using the methods that we follow in our research. In order to confirm this determination and to show what the contributions of our work will be to our knowledge about Sofia, to make a literature review with the main lines will be beneficial.

After the separation of Balkan territories from the Ottoman Empire, historiography embodied by the nationalist approaches did not give much place to the Ottoman period in the Balkans. For this reason, the research related to the Ottoman country life in the Balkans was very few until the last quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The early works about the Balkan cities in the Ottoman period started to be made in the second quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century and these works examined the cities depending upon their architectural features. One of these types of works belongs to Machiel Kiel. In his works, Machiel Kiel kept a record by visiting the Balkan cities and correspondingly he wrote many articles and books.<sup>6</sup> These works not only described the Ottoman culture and civilization in the Balkan region, but also included information about the destroyed architectural works. In the book of *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, Kiel analyzed the art and social structure of Bulgaria during the Ottoman period and addressed their interactions with each other. In this work, he benefited from the Ottoman archives in Sofia, Istanbul and Ankara. His works provided the inspiration for the new studies related with the Ottoman architecture in the Balkans and Ottoman country life.

The works about the development of Ottoman Balkan cities and their architectures are important works for Balkan history; however there are a few works about the socio- economic and demographic development of a Balkan city. In this regard, one of the most important studies is the Nikolai Todorov's works. The book of Todorov, *The Balkan City 1400-1900*, has the characteristics of a reference guide. In his book, he mentions expansion of the Balkan cities, the distribution of population in accordance with religious organizations, the formation of urban market, the guild system, price determination, conditions for possession and the power of use of money.<sup>7</sup> In this work, Todorov, adopting the Marxist historiography, describes the

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<sup>6</sup> Machiel Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: A Sketch of Economic, Juridical and Artistic Preconditions of Bulgarian Post- Byzantine Art and its Place in the Development of the Art of the Christian Balkans, 1360/70- 1700: A New Interpretation* ( Maastricht: Van Gorcum, Assen, 1985); *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of Balkans* (Hampshire and Vermont: Variorum, 1990); *Ottoman Architecture in Albania 1385- 1912* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1990).

<sup>7</sup> Nikolai Todorov, *The Balkan City 1400- 1900* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1983).

system established by the Ottomans in the Balkan region as a feudal system. Also, he argues that no matter which administration (Byzantine, Bulgarian, Serb or Ottoman Empire) came to power, cities follow the same development as a key feature of feudal period.<sup>8</sup> Another important work of Todorov is *Society, the City and Industry in the Balkans, XVth- XIXth Centuries*.<sup>9</sup> In this book, he gathered his articles published in different journals and the articles were related to the social and economic development of Balkans under the Ottoman control. In his articles he touches upon the development of cities in the Bulgarian territories between 15<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the demographic situation of Balkan Peninsula, the social structure of Balkans in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

After the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many historians carried out a lot of works about the Ottoman Balkans and these works made valuable contributions to the Balkan historiography<sup>10</sup>. Since it is not possible to mention all the contributions made regarding the Ottoman Balkans or the Balkan urban history, only the important works which are relevant to our topic directly will be emphasized in this study.

As is seen, many of the research address the general characteristics of Balkan cities or they focus on a single issue. There is no study that takes any Balkan city from different point of views. However, the dissertation of Nevin Genç gives us

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 455.

<sup>9</sup> Nikolai Todorov, *Society, the City and Industry in the Balkans, XVth- XIXth Centuries* (Aldershot, Brookfield, Singapore, Sydney: Ashgate Variorum, 1998).

<sup>10</sup> For example, Marjean Eichel, "Ottoman Urbanism in the Balkans: A Tentative View," *The East Lakes Geographer* 10 (1975): 45--54; Nur Akın, *Balkanlarda Osmanlı Dönemi Konutları* (İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2001); Pierre Pinon, "The Ottoman Cities of the Balkans," in *The City in the Islamic World*, eds. Attilio Petruccioli et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 141--158.

information about the *kada* of Sofia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> By examining the Sofia *mufassal tahrir defteri* (cadastral survey records) which belonged to the period of Mehmed III, she reveals the economic contribution of Sofia to the Ottoman Empire, income- generating products in the region, the social structure of the region and the occupational groups in the Sofia's city center. However, due to the fact that examining any *tahrir defter* takes a long time this dissertation could not be a detailed and systematic research, as she mentioned in the preface of dissertation. In addition to this, the problems associated with the *tahrir defters* in general, still remained to be solved which makes her study hard to use as a historical narrative.

Apart from the dissertation of Genç, we can say that the research on Sofia were limited with the articles in the encyclopedias. In the Turkish and English versions of *Encyclopedia of Islam*, the articles of İlhan Şahin<sup>12</sup> and Svetlana Ivanova<sup>13</sup> on Sofia present synoptic information about the history of Sofia in the pre- Ottoman period and the situation of Sofia during the Ottoman period to us. Also, the "Rumeli" article of Halil İnalcık<sup>14</sup> in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* gives ancillary information to us about Sofia. Generally, in these articles the relative situation of Sofia in the historical process is addressed within the limits of article of an encyclopedia.

Here, we should also mention the other articles about Sofia. The articles of Selim Hilmi Özkan<sup>15</sup> and Mehmet Akif Erdoğan<sup>16</sup> give information about the situation of

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<sup>11</sup> Nevin Genç, *XVI. Yüzyıl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri'nde Sofya Kazası* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> İlhan Şahin, "Sofya," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 37 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009), 344--8.

<sup>13</sup> Svetlana Ivanova, "Sofya," *Encyclopedia of Islam* IX, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 702--6.

<sup>14</sup> Halil İnalcık, "Rumeli," *Encyclopedia of Islam* VIII, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 607--11.

<sup>15</sup> Selim Hilmi Özkan, "Balkanlarda Bir Osmanlı Şehri: Sofya (1385- 1878)," *Avrasya Etüdüleri* 50, (2016): 279--314.

Sofia during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These articles could not present original information because of the fact that they were compiled from the previous studies. The documents used in the articles were limited with the ones whose transcriptions had already been made.

Lastly, we would like to mention the master's thesis of Selman İleri<sup>17</sup> on Sofia and in this thesis he benefits from the shari'a court record dated h. 1170- 1171/ m. 1757- 1758. Initially he gives general information about the history of Sofia and shari'a court records and then benefiting from the documents he makes an inference about the administration, social life and economic situation of Sofia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, his inferences are limited with the translation of primary documents in Ottoman-Turkish and thus this gives the impression of a general evaluation, only.

To conclude, the literature review shows that the scholarship produced so far made mostly descriptive explanations about the Ottoman Sofia. Some of these works took Sofia architecturally, while some took Sofia as a part of overall Ottoman history. However, in this work we aim at making the spatial analysis of Sofia by benefiting from the settlement theories as distinct from the previous studies.

### **1.3 Sources and Methodology**

Shari'a *sidjills* or the Ottoman judicial court records (*sicill-i mahfuz*) are the records that mostly register disputes and they give information about how individuals or groups deviated from the norms, enabling us to explore the norms themselves. These sources also enable us to know that how individuals' practices and the state's norms

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<sup>16</sup> M. Akif Erdoğan, "On Altıncı Yüzyılda Sofya Şehri," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* XVII, no.2 (2002): 1--15.

<sup>17</sup> Selman İleri, "Bulgaristan Milli Kütüphanesi'nde Kayıtlı S 16 Numaralı Sofya Şer'iyye Sicili'nin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirilmesi" (Unpublished master's thesis, Kırklareli: Kırklareli Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2017).

differ from each other.<sup>18</sup> By means of shari'a *sidjills* we can get information about the social life and the problems of society. These records contain all members of the society regardless of their gender and social status and thus we can see every segment of the society and get information about them.<sup>19</sup>

Briefly stated, we can say that they are the *defters* (registers) that the Ottoman *kadis* recorded for their court decisions and the Sultan's orders. The court records in these *defters* were written in order to solve a problem and determine the cases related any rights and duties. For this reason, these records shed light on administration, socio-economic situation and cultural life of the Empire. However, we should note that the cases submitted to the jurisdiction include only the disputes which the individuals could not solve between each other which makes it difficult to rate their representational power. Apart from the court cases and *kadis'* decisions, shari'a *sidjills* also encompass the Sultanic orders which were recorded by the *kadis*. The copies of Sultanic orders recorded in the *sidjills* provide historians an excellent opportunity to utilize sources, the originals of which could not have survived.

The primary source used in this thesis is S 309 numbered court register of Sofia dated h. 1 Shawwal 1140- 20 Djemaziyelahir 1141/ m. 11 May 1728- 20 January 1729. The *sidjill* is registered in the Digital Archive of SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library of Bulgaria. It consists of 46 leaves and includes 161 documents in total. In this *sidjill*, we mostly benefited from the Sultanic orders and orders issued by the *Rumeli Beglerbeghi* which were termed as "*buyruldu*". This *sidjill* also includes inheritance records and *avarız hane defters* (*avarız* tax surveys) of the *kadi*

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<sup>18</sup> Nil Tekgöl, "A Gate to The Emotional World of Pre- Modern Ottoman Society: An Attempt to Write Ottoman History From 'The Inside Out'" (Unpublished Phd Thesis, Ankara: İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2016): 56.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 57.

of Sofia. Therefore, we would like to mention the importance of these *defters* for our research.

Firstly, we will explain what the *avarız hane defter* is. Beginning from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, *avarız* taxes became annual taxes and they were levied on groups of fictional households called as *avarız hanes*. The numbers of fictional households within *avarız hanes* varied from 2 to 15. However some households or villages which rendered other services and supplies to the central government became exempt from the *avarız* tax. These taxpayers were registered in the *avarız hane defters* as groups of households.<sup>20</sup> Although we could not reach the exact number of real households from the *avarız hane defters*, we will try to make a prediction about the Sofia's population at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century by using the data in the *defters*. Therefore, these documents have importance for our research. Now, we will mention the advantages and disadvantages of the *avarız hane defters*.

The characteristics of the sources of that period constitute both advantage and disadvantage for us because in the period that we examine there was no *tahrir defters* in the classical form. Instead, the records that aimed at determining the *avarız*-taxpayers were kept. Indeed, there were no records of people who were not responsible for paying *avarız*- taxes for any reason in these *defters*. In this study, we will make a prediction about the Sofia's population by depending upon these records. Now, in advance we should indicate that our population forecast may include margin of error due to the some uncertainties in the defter. These uncertainties in the *defters* constitute a disadvantage for us.

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<sup>20</sup> Linda T. Darling, "Avarız Tahriri: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Ottoman Survey Registers" *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 10, no. 1 (1986): 23--26. For a more detailed work see; Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy. Tax Collection and Financial Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

Despite of these constraints, these *defters* provide an advantage for us from a different viewpoint. When we make a prediction about population benefiting from the defter, it necessitates that whole classes in the composition of population are taken into consideration legally. In addition to this, our research will show how the *avarız hanes* could be used in the population forecasts since *avarız* taxes were collected from the *avarız hanes*, not from the real households and it will provide us to evaluate these nominal houses better.

Since the basis of our research consisted of the Ottoman judicial court records, to point out the ongoing methodological debates<sup>21</sup> will be beneficial.

In this regard, the article by Iris Agmon and Ido Shahar has an important study about the recent methodology of *sidjill* studies.<sup>22</sup> According to them, although shari'a court records had importance especially for the study of Islamic law, containing empirical data on Middle Eastern societies until the 1990s, in mid 1990s there was a methodological discontent among the scholars about the *sidjill* based studies thanks to the some broad methodological and epistemological shifts in the humanities and social sciences. In order to eliminate the discontent, Agmon and Shahar propose that “more empirical studies of shari'a courts are needed so that we can better understand the similarities and dissimilarities in the operation of these courts; continuity and change in the legal fields of Muslim societies; and the institutional development of

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<sup>21</sup> For methodological discussion on *sidjill*- based studies see for example; Zouhair Ghazzal, “Review of Colette Establet & Jean- Paul Pascual, *Familles et fortunes à Damas: 450 foyers damascains en 1700*, Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1994,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no.3 (1996): 431--32; Boğaç Ergene, “On the Use of Sources in Ottoman Economic History,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44 (2012): 546--48; Iris Agmon, “‘Another Country Heard From’: The Universe of the People of Ottoman Aintab,” *H-Turk, H-Nets Reviews* September (2007), <https://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=13539>; Metin Coşgel and Boğaç Ergene, *The Economics of Ottoman Justice Settlement and Trial in the Sharia Courts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>22</sup> Iris Agmon and Ido Shahar, “Theme Issue: Shifting Perspectives in the Study of “Shari’a “ Courts: Methodologies and Paradigms”, *Islamic Law and Society* 15 (2008): 1-19.

shari'a courts throughout history".<sup>23</sup> They also add that "these studies should be guided by new methodologically- informed approaches and they should build on the joint efforts of legal historians, social historians and social scientists".<sup>24</sup>

Another important article about the use of *sidjills* was published by Dror Ze'evi.<sup>25</sup> In his article, he argues that although many social historians making sidjill- based researches see the shari'a court records as a transparent record of reality, this is fallacy. According to him, *sidjill*- based historical researches can be divided into three categories depending on the methodology as quantitative history, narrative history and micro history.<sup>26</sup> The problem of quantitative method is that these shari'a court records do not represent the all segments of the society. For instance, we cannot make a statistical analysis regarding marriage because we do not know whether all marriages are registered in shari'a courts or not. Therefore, Ze'evi argues that "the statistical outcome would not have reflected actual transactions".<sup>27</sup>

Secondly, regarding the narrative method he asserts that scholars sometimes ignore that the extent to which the cases brought the court and the *qadi*'s decisions might have been compromised by autocratic rulers".<sup>28</sup> Lastly, micro history is also problematic in the sense that the court records ignore the background of cases or the

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>25</sup> Dror Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Shari'a Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal", *Islamic Law and Society* 5 (1998): 35- 56.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 46.

motives of the accused.<sup>29</sup> Thus, we can say that ‘the *sidjill* records tell us only the small part of the story’.<sup>30</sup>

After these explanations, we can begin to examine Sofia in accordance with the basic problem of our thesis. Since we evaluated the sources that we utilized to test our arguments critically, our analysis will be constrained with the limitations of the primary sources and our analyses may also involve some mistakes. Despite the problems and limits of our methods, we think that our study has importance in that it is an original work.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 50.

## CHAPTER II

### THE EYALET OF RUMELIA AND SOFIA

While the land of Ottomans was called as a frontier principality at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Ottoman territories started to expand further in the Balkans due to the internal disturbances in the Byzantine Empire and the struggles between Byzantium, the Serbs and Bulgarians after the second half of the fourteenth century. Also, with the death of *Gazi Umur Beg* who was the beg of *Aydınogullari*, the leadership in the campaigns over Rumelia passed on to the Ottomans. Gallipoli became a center for the raids towards Rumelia and the Ottomans continued to conquests by constituting *udjs* (frontiers) in three directions. In the Ottoman conquests in Rumelia this *udj* (frontier) system was kept and as the conquests continued, frontiers were shifted further in the Balkans from three directions. These directions constituted the right, left and middle branches of Rumelia (*sağ kol, sol kol ve orta kol*).

In order to establish control over these territories an administrator who was called as *beglerbegi* was appointed<sup>31</sup>. *Beglerbegilik* (*eyalet*) was the largest administrative unit under the control and administration of a *beglerbegi* in the Ottoman Empire. In the reign of Murad I, the first *beylerbeylik* was established in Rumelia and the *beglerbegi* of Rumelia became the actual commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army. After the

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<sup>31</sup> Halil Inalcık, "Rumeli," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 35 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2008), 232--35.

conquest of Edirne, Murad I appointed Lala Şahin Pasha as a *beglerbegi* in order to manage the conquests in the direction of Filibe (Plovdiv) and Zağra. Although the exact date could not be known, from the conquest of Filibe in 1363 to 1389 the Eyalet of Rumelia was established<sup>32</sup>. After the establishment of eyalet, the conquered territories were further divided into smaller administrative units under the control of *beglerbegi*. These units were called as *sandjaks* and the *eyalets/beglerbegiliks* were composed of them. In the *tahrir defters* (cadastral survey records), *sandjak* was regarded as the most basic unit and the legal codes (*kanunname*) were prepared separately for each *sandjaks*. *Sandjaks* were the main units of fiscal and military system in the Ottoman administrative system. In addition to this, *sandjaks* had an importance in terms of determination of their economic potentials and their distribution.<sup>33</sup>

The administrator of *sandjak* was called as *sandjakbegi*. The main responsibilities of the governors of *sandjaks* (*sandjakbegi*) were maintaining the order and safety of *re'aya* (subjects of the Sultan) in their realm and providing the settlement of disputes between *sipahi* (cavalryman) and *re'aya*.<sup>34</sup>

Any *sandjak* in the *eyalet* which was left to the *beglerbegi*'s administration was called as *pasha sandjaghi* and another *sandjakbegi* was not appointed there.<sup>35</sup> This *sandjak* which was ruled by a *beglerbegi* was also named as *liva-i pasha or paşa*

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<sup>32</sup> Andreas Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1976), 50.

<sup>33</sup> Orhan Kılıç, *18. Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimatı- Eyalet ve Sancak Tercihati* (Elazığ: Ceren Matbaacılık, 1997), 9.

<sup>34</sup> İlhan Şahin, "XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Taşra Teşkilatının Özellikleri", *Tartışmalı İlmî Toplantılar Dizisi* (İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 1999), 129.

<sup>35</sup> Hülya Taş, "Osmanlı Diplomatası İle İlgili Bir Kitap Vesilesiyle," *Belleten* LXXI, no.262 (2007): 1001.

*livası*.<sup>36</sup> It was also the residence of *beglerbegi*. First the *sandjak* of Edirne and then the *sandjak* of Sofia which both remained in the middle branch became the centers of *beylerbegilik*.<sup>37</sup>

When these settlements were first conquered by the Ottomans, they had the characteristics of *udjs*. As these frontiers (*udjs*) moved forward, the earlier *udj* centers were developed in time mainly due to pious endowments and commercial establishments. While Edirne, Filibe, Üsküb, Sofia and Manastır were early frontier towns, then they became the main towns of Rumelia, preserving their importance throughout history.<sup>38</sup> Among these towns, Sofia had a special importance since it undertook the position of *pasha-sandjaghi* (center of the Rumeli *beglerbegilik*) which lasted from the middle of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup> Until the end of the eighteenth century, it maintained its significance as the main capital of the European territories of the Ottoman Empire<sup>40</sup>. In addition to this, Sofia was an important halting place for the Ottoman troops since food for campaigns and craftsmen who were responsible for the troops were supplied from Sofia.<sup>41</sup> The city was located on the military route and was an important location between Istanbul and Belgrade. This also contributed to the economic development of Sofia because the merchants who followed this route paid taxes in

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<sup>36</sup> Halil Inalcık, "Eyalet," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983), 721--723.

<sup>37</sup> Inalcık, "Rumeli," *EI VIII*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 609.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Svetlana Ivanova, "Sofya," *Encyclopedia of Islam IX*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), 702--703.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 703.

<sup>41</sup> Şahin, "Sofya," 345.

high amount in Sofia.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, the envoys and messengers who came from Europe to Istanbul usually used the route from Belgrade to Sofia.<sup>43</sup>

The most important source of income of Sofia was the peage dues (*bac*) because of its location on the main route. Plenty of goods like bovine and ovine animals, fruits and vegetables were carried from Istanbul to Europe and they were levied in Sofia.<sup>44</sup>

Another important consequence of being on the strategic road on the Balkan Peninsula was that as a major military, administrative and artisan center of the Ottoman Empire, there were variety of occupations in Sofia. According to İlhan Şahin, the professions and job fields in Sofia might be divided into seven groups as food production, textile production, metal items production, leather sector, construction materials, perfumery and the category of special and peculiar occupations.<sup>45</sup>

After a short description about the *eyalet* system and general information about the administrative and socio- economic life of Sofia, we would like to mention the *sandjaks* of the *Rumeli Eyaleti*. According to the *Sofyalı Ali Çavuş Kanunnamesi* (legal code) dated 1653, the Eyalet of Rumelia consisted of twenty- four *sandjaks* and in the *pasha sandjaghi* there were two *Alaybeyis* who were the chief of *timariots* as the chief of right and left branches. The *sandjaks* of Rumelia were Liva-i Pasha (Sofia), liva-i Köstendil, liva-i Vize, liva-i Çirmen, liva-i Kırkkilise (Kırklareli), liva-

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<sup>42</sup> Selim H. Özkan, “Balkanlar’da Bir Osmanlı Şehri: Sofya (1385- 1878),” *Avrasya Etüdüleri*, no. 50 (2016): 279--314.

<sup>43</sup> Mehmet A. Erdoğan, “Onaltıncı Yüzyılda Sofya Şehri,” *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* XVII, no. 2, (2002): 6.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 9

<sup>45</sup> İlhan Şahin, “Some New Aspects on the Social and Economic Development of a Balkan City: Sixteenth Century Sofia,” in *Prof. Dr. Mehmet İpşirli Armağanı: Osmanlı’nın İzinde*, eds. Feridun Emecen, İshak Keskin, Ali Ahmetbeyoğlu (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2013), 458.

i Silistre, liva-i Niğbolu (Nikepol), liva-i Vidin, liva-i Alacahisar, liva-i Vulçitrin, liva-i Prizrin, liva-i İskenderiye (İşkodra), liva-i Dukagin, liva-i Avlonya, liva-i Ohri, liva-i Delvine, liva-i Yanya, liva-i Elbasan, liva-i Mora, liva-i Tırhala, liva-i Selanik, liva-i Üsküp, liva-i Bender and liva-i Akkirman<sup>46</sup>. In the pamphlet (*tımar risalesi*) of Ayn Ali Efendi, there was also Özü (Ozi) *sandjak* in the Eyalet of Rumelia in addition to these *sandjaks*.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, Orhan Kılıç states that at the beginning of the eighteenth century (1700- 1718) there were eighteen *sandjaks* in the Eyalet of Rumelia according to the data drawn on *Bab-ı Asafl Nişancı* (Tahvil) *kalemi* and *Ruus kalemi*<sup>48</sup>. These *sandjaks* were *Pasha sandjaghi* (Manastır), Köstendil, Tırhala, Yanya, Delvine, İlbasan, İskenderiyye, Avlonya, Ohri, Alaca Hisar, Selanik, Dukakin, Prizrin, Üsküb, Vulçitrin, Voynugan sandjaghi, Çengan sandjaghi and Yörükan sandjaghi.

Michael Ursinus argues that *pasha sandjagi* was divided up into two halves and in the western part of the *pasha sandjagi* and that, Manastır (Bitola) appeared as another provincial center. By the late eighteenth century, it was considered as the ‘the center of government’ of the province of Rumelia. According to him, the governor (*beglerbegi* or *vali*) had two representatives (*mütesellims*) both in Sofia and Manastır. According to the *sidjill* in Bitola that Ursinus found, while the *mütesellim* in Manastır had a wide-ranging authority, the *mütesellim* of eastern part of *pasha*

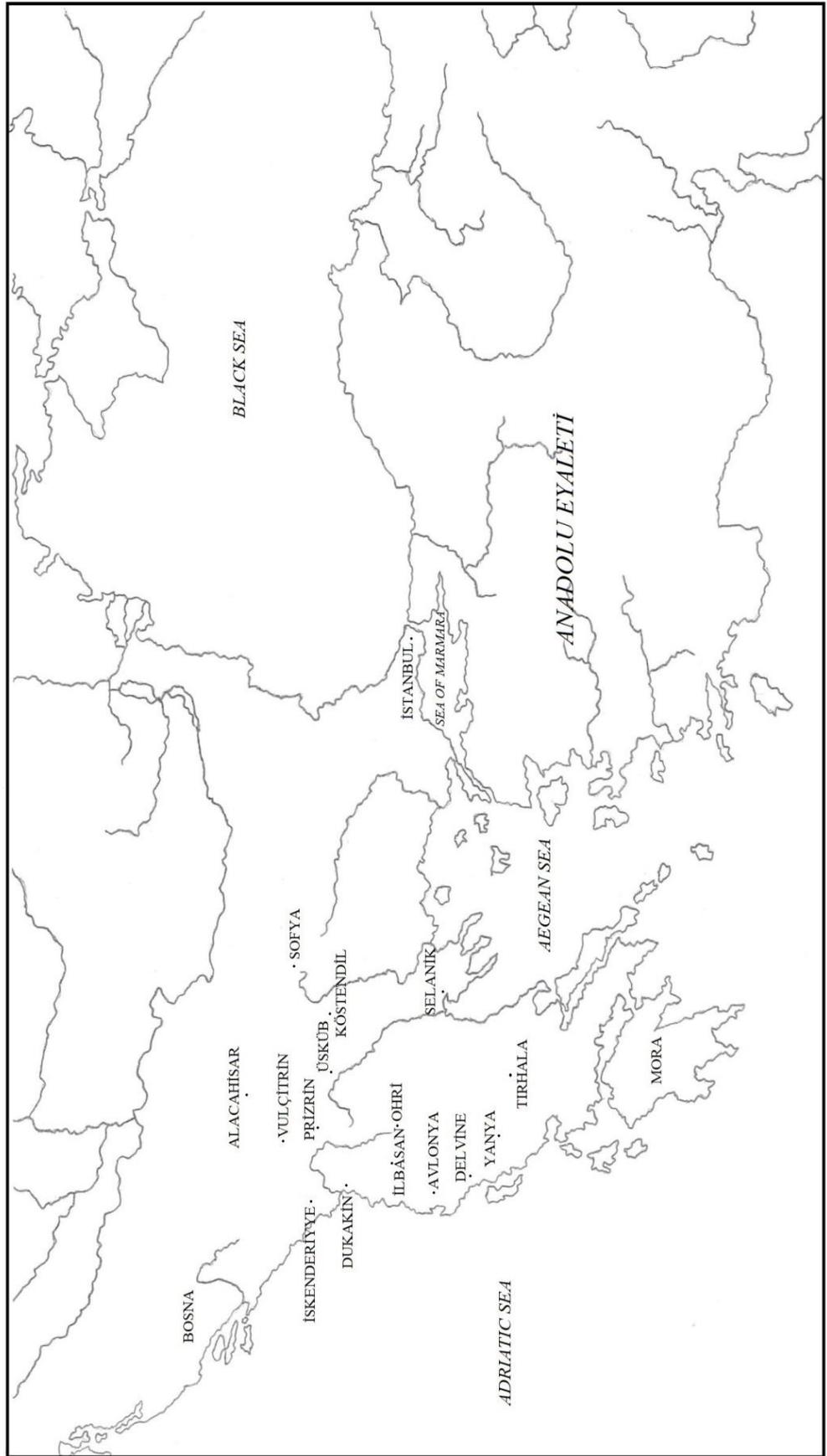
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<sup>46</sup> Midhat Sertoğlu, *Sofyalı Ali Çavuş Kanunnamesi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Toprak Tasarruf Sistemi'nin Hukuki ve Mali Müeyyede ve Mükellefiyetleri* ( İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1992), 20--25.

<sup>47</sup> İlhan Şahin, “Tımar Sistemi Hakkında Bir Risale”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, no. 32 (1979): 911.

<sup>48</sup> Kılıç, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimatı*, 45.

**THE SANDJAKS OF EYALET OF RUMELIA**



*sandjagi* had limited authority<sup>49</sup>. On the other hand, Hülya Taş disagreed with Ursinus's argument and claimed that:

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while *eyalets* were conferred to the *valis*, other *sandjaks* could also be given to them in addition to the *eyalets*. However, in this period *eyalet* and *sandjaks* was transformed to the *mukata'a*<sup>50</sup> financially and they were called as *sandjak mukata'ası*. It means that an individual could have more than one *mukata'a* financially. In the Rumelia *Eyalet*, this situation could be explained in this way: Manastır was the pasha *sandjak* of *eyalet*, on the other hand, Sofia was another *sandjak* in the *eyalet*. This *sandjak* could be given to the *vali* by the way of *iltizam* (tax farming). Therefore, in two different *sandjaks*, there could be different *mütesellims* (agents or placeholders) of the same *vali*. It does not mean that Manastır and Sofia were the two different centers of the *eyalet*.<sup>51</sup>

When we look at the works of Kılıç and Ursinus, they argue that in the eighteenth century the *pasha sandjaghi* of Eyalet of Rumelia was Manastır. The reason why Manastır was seen as a center is that the Eyalet of Rumelia had the characteristics of a frontier (*udj*) region consistently. When the conquests moved to the westwards, the governors of Rumelia resided in the places near to the conquest region. Because of this reason, Manastır acquired the feature of a secondary center within the frontier region, although Sofia maintained the characteristics of the center of Rumelian Eyalet. There was no continuity in the situation of Manastır and the appointment of governors to Manastır did not become a situated practice. In addition to this explanation, the position of Sofia as a *pasha sandjaghi* in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was also

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<sup>49</sup> Michael Ursinus, *Grievance Administration (Şikâyet) in an Ottoman Province: The Kaymakam of Rumelia's 'Record Book of Complaints' of 1781-1783* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 11--12.

<sup>50</sup> “*Mukataa*” means a unit of tax revenue in the Ottoman finance. The lands whose property belonged to the State or pious foundations were rented to the private individuals and then a lease contract was signed. This lease contract was also called as “*mukataa*”. State was the owner of a lot of institution in the fields of agriculture, craftsmanship and trade and the majority of these institutions was organized as “*mukataa*” (Mehmet Genç, “*Mukataa*,” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 31, İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2006, 129--132). For more detailed information see; Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi*, (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2002); Baki Çakır, *Osmanlı Mukataa Sistemi (XVI- XVIII. Yüzyıl)*, (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2003).

<sup>51</sup> Taş, “Osmanlı Diplomatikası,” 1007.

supported by the primary sources that we used in the thesis. For instance, the Sofia *sidjill* dated 1728- 1729 corroborates our argument.<sup>52</sup> Apart from the function of Sofia as a *pasha sandjaghi*, it was also a unit of *kada*. Here, we would like to mention the *kada* of Sofia in brief.

Sofia was not only an administrative unit but also the center of a *kada* (district). The main unit in the *sandjaks* was *kada* and the subsidiary of *kadas* was *nahiye* (sub-district)<sup>53</sup>. In *kadas*, the highest administrative post belonged to *kadi* (judge) and his main duty was to resolve the disputes among the inhabitants according to the Islamic law. Beside the settlement of disputes, *kadis* engaged in administrative, financial, military and municipal affairs because they were granted authority with adjudication by the Sultan<sup>54</sup>. In the Oriental Department at the National Library of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia, there are a lot of *sidjills* (*kadi* records) that gives information about the prerogatives of *kadi*<sup>55</sup>.

In the *kadas* of Sofia *sandjak*, there were four *kadas* in the *pasha sandjaghi*: the *kada* of Sofia, the *kada* of Sehirköy, the *kada* of Berkofçe and the *kada* of Samakov<sup>56</sup>.

Also, the *kadas* of *pasha sandjaghi* were divided into two parts as the left branch *kadas* and right branch *kadas*. In the left branch, there were eighteen *kadas*:

Gümülcine, Yenice-i Karasu, Drama, Zihne, Nevrekop, Timurhisarı, Siroz, Selanik,

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<sup>52</sup> Sofia JCR S309/32 “..... nişan-ı hümayunum virilen ve Dergah-ı muallam müteferrikalarından kıdvetü'l- emacid ve'l- ekarim müteferrika Abdü'lfettah zide- mecdihu Südde-i Sa'adetime arz-ı hal idüb Paşa ve Köstendil ve Selanik sancaklarında Sofya ve gayri nahiyelerde Seslofça altmış bin yedi yüz kırk dört akçe ze'amete berat-ı şerifimle mutasarrıf olub..... tahriren fi evail-i şehr-i Rebiü'l- ahir sene erbain ve mie ve elf.”

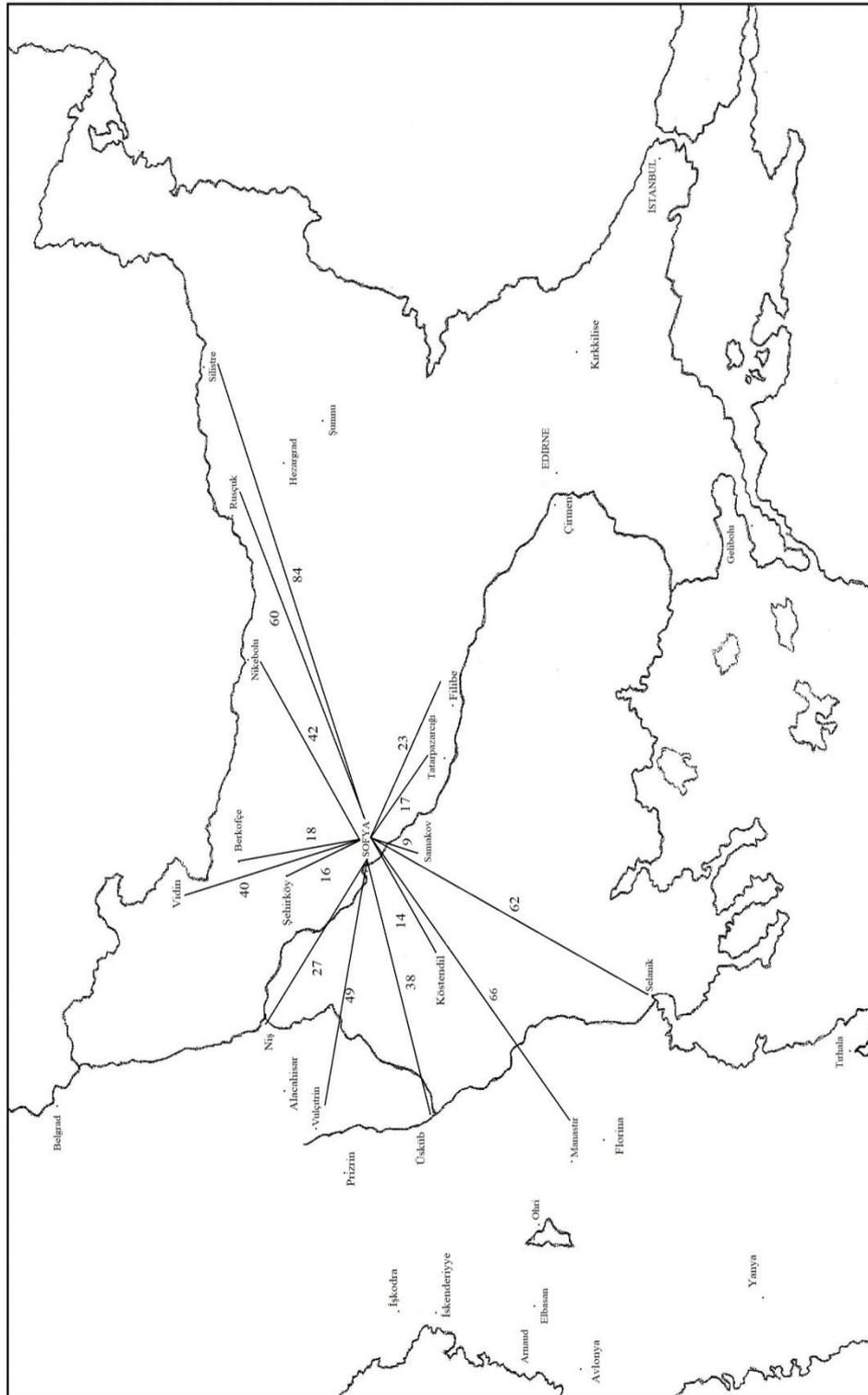
<sup>53</sup> Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *Rumeli Eyaleti (1514-1550)*, Ankara, 2013.

<sup>54</sup> Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Bursa* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 147.

<sup>55</sup> Ivanova, “Sofya,” 703.

<sup>56</sup> The *kada* of Samakov was also involved in both *pasha sandjaghi* and the right branch *sandjaks*.

THE PASHA SANDJAK AND ITS RIGHT AND LEFT BRANCH KADAS



Sidrekapısı, Avrathısı, Yenice-i Vardar, Karaferye, Serfice, İştib, Kesterye, Bihlişte, Görice and Florina. On the other hand, in the right branch, there were fifteen *kadas* which were Edirne, Dimetoka, Ferecik, Keşan, Kızılağaç, Zağra-i Eskihisar, İpsala, Filibe, Tatarbazarı, Üsküb, Kalkandelen, Kırçova, Manastır, Pirlepe, Köprülü<sup>57</sup>. After this short statement, we can summarize that Sofia acted as the center of both the *sandjak* and *kada*.

Although Sofia maintained its multi- functional characteristic through the centuries, at the end of the eighteenth century the city lost its importance due to the anarchy of internecine warfare and Rumeli *beglerbegi* moved his residence to Manastır (Bitola) temporarily. In 1836, Rumeli *Beglerbegilik* was transferred to Manastır permanently. Sofia suffered from the effects of Crimean War (1853-56) and it was degraded to a *sandjak* within the Danube (Tuna) *vilayet*<sup>58</sup>.

In the nineteenth century, the Ottoman territories dwindled and at that time the *Eyalet* of Rumelia was only composed of Manastır (Bitola), Ohrid and Kesriye (Kastoria) *sandjaks*. In 1846, Sofia was left in the sandjak of Nish.<sup>59</sup> From 1864 the city was degraded to a *sandjak* within the Danubian *Vilayet*.<sup>60</sup> To sum up, although the *pasha sandjaghi* of *Eyalet* of Rumelia was changed quite often within centuries, Sofia remained as the *sandjak* which had carried this function for a long period became Sofia.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *370 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-ili Defteri (937/1530)*, Ankara, 2001.

<sup>58</sup> Ivanova, "Sofia," 703.

<sup>59</sup> Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, 50.

<sup>60</sup> Ivanova, "Sofya," 703.

<sup>61</sup> Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, 50.

## 2.1 The Spatial Analysis of Eyalet of Rumelia

From its first use in European languages, the word of “space” was used in many different meanings.<sup>62</sup> However, in this thesis, depending on the time and space relation the perception of space in the Ottoman period will be scrutinized. In order to understand the Ottomans’ perception of space, it will be discussed on two dimensions, the Ottoman State’s perception of space and its relevant organization of space on the one hand and the Ottoman subjects’ perception of space as a place that they live on the other hand.<sup>63</sup> From the state’s perception of space, the whole territory under the control of Ottoman Sultan was called as “*memalik-i mahruse*” and the rest of the territory was named as “*diyar-ı Acem*”<sup>64</sup>. From the perspective of the State, spatial organization could only be made by the State depending on its political missions and the state’s main objective was to provide integration over the “*memalik-i mahruse*”. In the Ottoman State, there were different administrative units based on their both geographical magnitude and the administrator’s responsibilities which were- *eyalet, sandjak, kada, nahiye, dirlik*. Although they were administrative units, from the perspective of subjects they were also “social and economic units of space to live”.<sup>65</sup> From *dirlik* which was the smallest administrative unit in the Ottoman State to *eyalet*, the borders of Ottoman territories were determined according to their economic structure. In other words, the administrative area was attached to the economic field on a large scale. In determining of borders, the main

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<sup>62</sup> Yair Mintzker, “Between the Linguistic and the Spatial Turns: A Reconsideration of the Concept of Space and Its Role in the Early Modern Period,” *Historical Reflections* 35, no.3 (2009): 40--41.

<sup>63</sup> Özer Ergenç, “Individual’s Perception of Space in the Early Modern Ottoman World: ‘Vatan’ and ‘Diyar-ı Aher’ within the Triangular Context of ‘Memalik- i Mahruse’, ‘Diyar-ı Acem’ and ‘Frengistan,’” Speech delivered at the conference of “Ottoman Topologies: Spatial Experience in an Early Modern Empire and Beyond” in Stanford University (Stanford, CA, May 16-17, 2014).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

component was *sandjak* because it was the one and only administrative unit whose borders were not changed in the provincial organization until the nineteenth century. *Sandjaks* were established and organized depending on the provincial capacity of the rural area surrounding them.

In every social system, technology, the usage of sources and various aspects of population and social organization were in a relative balance. In pre- modern societies the main factor that determined the social organization was the amount of product that agricultural technology enabled. In the Ottoman Empire, there were a spatial organization and a social organization that the agricultural production based on ox and plow enabled.<sup>66</sup> Thereby, the borders of *sandjaks* were determined in accordance with this social organization and agricultural production. The city or *sandjak* and its surrounding were required to be in compliance. In other words, there should be a system providing both the nourishment of city inhabitants who owned non-agricultural occupations and economic integration of the city with its rural surrounding. Because of this requirement, the State was obliged to organize its administrative structure accordingly.<sup>67</sup> For this reason, any rural area could be attached to a further *sandjak* in order to feed the city- dwellers although it was closer to another *sandjak* geographically. Here, to give the Bursa example will be appropriate in order to embody this explanation. For instance, Bursa was an important ware- house for the East- West commerce and the production center of various commodities that was sent to the international markets. From this point of view, Bursa attracted much population that could not be explained with the settlement theories in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. By taking into consideration that Bursa

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<sup>66</sup> Ergenç, *Bursa*, 130.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

attracted too much population, the rural area that would feed the city dwellers was kept wider. To be more precise, the relation of center- periphery that was formed in accordance with the rule of supply and demand as an outgrowth of economic life was also determined within the frame of administrative units<sup>68</sup>. Here, we will analyze the extent that the economic field and administrative area coincided with each other in Sofia. Thus, we do not only take Sofia as an administrative unit, but also an economic production unit. At this point, the structure of population in Sofia and its location will be effective in order to explain the coincidence of economic area and administrative unit in Sofia.

We should remember that as a *pasha sandjaghi* there were a lot of state officials, religious officials and officers of pious foundations in Sofia. They were not registered in *tahrir defters* because of their tax- exempt status. Despite this, they constituted the major part of urban population. In addition, if we look from the viewpoint of commercial activities, Sofia was on the crossroad of two highways which stimulated the economic development of the city and it became a warehouse that supplied meat and rice to the Porte.<sup>69</sup> Because of these reasons, the rural area surrounding Sofia had an important place in order to feed the population in the city center. As we mentioned above, the surrounding area of the city could be enlarged in order to meet the basic needs. On the other hand, the surplus products in the surrounding area could be sold especially to the Porte and other cities that were in need of these products. All kinds of regulations about the production such as the surplus production or the scarcity of production were resolved through the *mukata'a* system where the productive activity was carried out. This was not only related to

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 130--131.

<sup>69</sup> Şahin, "Sofya," 346.

food provision of the Porte, but also to fulfillment of other needs like clothes. The document dating h. 15 Shawwal 1140/ m. 25 May 1728 provides further evidence to this topic. This document is about the *mukata'a* of fleece wool around Sofia. As it is understood from the document, until the specified date, the fleece wool which was derived from the animals of herd owners was sufficient for the needs of above-mentioned region and the surplus of fleece wool was sent to the *miri* “*çuka karhanesi*” in Istanbul as a raw material.<sup>70</sup> In the eighteenth century, with the effect of changes in the European economy, the fleece wool around Sofia started to be demanded by Frankish (European) merchants. Thus, they became the new consumers of fleece wool by bidding high price and purchasing the product in substantial amount. In the aforementioned document, it is stated that the surplus of product was not sold to the foreign merchants; unless the needs of people in Sofia were fulfilled and unless it was sent to the “*çuka karhanesi*” in Istanbul. As is also understood from the document, the Ottoman State imposed a ban in order to avoid scarcity of the product that would emerge by the new economic situation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This was an old practice that aims to avoid the sale of important goods to other regions or abroad. In addition to this, it was also an effective method in order to provide

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<sup>70</sup> Sofia JCR S309/46 “.....Asitane-i Sa'adetinde vaki çuka karhanesi nezareti uhdesinde olub karhane-i mezburun a'zam-ı umuru olan mael-i sanih yapağı Rumili caniblerinde mübayaa olunmak üzere bundan akdem virilen emr-i alişanım mucebince mübaşir ta'yin olunub lakin kasabat ve kura ve bazı mandıra oğullarda (?) mübayaa olunacak yapağıyı vilayet ayanları tamah-ı hamlarından naşi ziyade baha ile Frenk ve müstemim taifeslerine virmek için birbirleriyle yekdil ve yekcihet ve umur-ı merkumenin tatil ve tehirine ba'is ve badi' olmalarıyla husus-ı mezburun bir mahalde ısga olunmayub red olunması ... (?) bir meta olmağla karhane-i merkum için alınacak yapağının mübeddel olunmadıkça gerek Frenk ve gerek müstemim taifesine fûruht olunmamak üzere yüz otuz dokuz senesinde virilen emr-i şerifim mucebince müceddeden emr-i şerifim ile mübaşir irsal ve virilen emr-i alişanın mazmun-ı münifi ile amel ve karhane için alınmadıkça gerek Frenk ve gerek sair müstemim taifesine virilmeyüb..... İstanbulda vaki' çuka karhanesinin azam-ı umurundan olan yapağı Rumili ve Anadolu caniblerinde vaki' kasabat ve kurada bulunan mahallerde kifayet mikdarı mübayaa eylediği yapağının mukaddema fermanım olduğu üzere beher vukuyyesi altışar sağ akçeye olmak üzere alub ve miri karhane için alınmadıkça aherden kimesneye fûruht olunmamak üzere karhane-i mezbure emininin yedine virilen berat-ı alişan şurutunda mukayyed olunmağla lüzumundan ziyade talep ile kimesneye teaddi olunmamak üzere karhane-i mezbure için kifayet mikdarı yapağı mübayaa itdirilüb.....tahriren fi'l- yevmi'l hamis aşer min şehr-i şevval sene erbain ve mie ve elf.”

economic integration with continuity and avoid deterioration of this integration. Therefore, to know the relation between Sofia and its surrounding area has importance in order to explain the economic situation of Sofia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and to understand the relations among spaces. In the third chapter, this issue will be addressed in more detail. Before we analyze Sofia's relation with its surrounding area, the road network and the distances between *sandjaks* and *kadas* will be helpful. Therefore, we will give some information about the Rumelia's transportation network.

As we mentioned before, eyalet was the main administrative unit and *memalik-i mahruse* consisted of two main eyalets: the Eyalet of Rumelia and the Eyalet of Anatolia in the early period of the Empire. Eyalet in the Ottoman State was also divided into *sandjaks* in itself. In order to provide communication among these *sandjaks*; and between any *sandjak* and Istanbul (the Porte), the Ottoman State constituted a road network. In both Rumelian part and Anatolian part, the Ottomans established three main routes: right branch, middle branch and left branch. The establishment of road network for providing communication also necessitated the analysis of the concept of “*mesafe*” (distance). In the Ottoman documents, *mesafe* was defined according to the journey time from one place to another one. “*Mesafe-i karibe*” was used for close distance. “*Mesafe-i vusta*” (medium distance), “*mesafe-i ba'ide*” (far distance) and “*gayetde eb'ad mesafe*” (most distant) were also the terms that express the distance from closest to furthest. For instance, in a sultanic law dating h. 1017 (m. 1608-1609), the distance from İstanbul to either Akşehir or Konya was defined as *mesafe-i vusta*, whereas *mesafe-i baide* was denoted as the distance to Aleppo or Damascus and *mesafe-i gayetde eb'ad* referred to the distance to Egypt or

Bagdad or Yemen<sup>71</sup>. On the other hand, “*mesafe-i karibe*” referred to a few hours distance of a place to another place. In a sultan edict dated h. *Ramazan* 1119/ m. November-December 1707, the villages one and half hour away from the aforementioned town accorded with the definition of “*mesafe-i karib*”.<sup>72</sup> If we look from the viewpoint of our research topic, the distances between the villages included within the borders of *kada* of Sofia could be evaluated as “*mesafe-i karib*”.

When we look at the Ottoman State’s perspective, the State’s major aim would be to provide an efficient accessibility both in “*memalik-i mahruse*” and “*diyar-ı aher*”<sup>73</sup>.

On the other hand, any individual’s perception of space was the place where he/she was born and lived. Apart from the traders and state officers, any individual’s space perception was composed of the visualization of other spaces thanks to the hearsay<sup>74</sup>.

After we mentioned the Ottomans’ perception of space, we will discuss time and space relation in Sofia example. First of all, we will begin with the distant measurements in the Ottoman State. Although we only mentioned the definition of distance without stating the measure, the Ottomans used a lot of measures in order to

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<sup>71</sup> “... ücret-i mübaşiriyye bir kimesnenin bir kimesne zimmetinde olan akçesini tahsil iden mübaşir eğer ibtidadan ücret kavlı itdi ise anı alur itmedi ise şehir içinde olandan binde beş akçe alur eğer şehirden taşra mesafe-i vusta ise Akşehir ve Konya gibi binde on beş akçe alur ve eğer mesafe-i ba’idede ise Haleb ve Şam gibi binde on beş akçe alur eğer mesafe-i gayetde eb’ad ise Basra ve Bağdad ve Yemen gibi binde yirmi beş akçe alur ve bi’l-cümle otuza varınca musa var mıdır deyü Ali Efendi’den sual olunukda merhum Celalizde’den izin bu vech ile dir deyü cevab virdi...” This sultan law is a transcript that belongs to Özer Ergenç. I would like to express my gratitude to Özer Ergenç in order to share his transcript with me.

<sup>72</sup> “Ber vech-i arpalık Niğbolu Sancağına mutasarrıf olan Mehmed –dame ikbalehu-ya ve Niğbolu kadısına hüküm ki Niğbolu kasabasında mütemekkin muameleci taifesinden “Dizman” Ahmed Efendi dimekle ma’ruf kimesne kasaba-i mezbureye bir buçuk saat mahalde vaki’ üç- dört pare kura ahalisine muamele tariki ile virdüğü bir kese akçe için on dört seneden berü beher sene riba namıyla ikişer kese akçelerin almağla .....” This document also belongs to the Özer Ergenç’s collection.

<sup>73</sup> Ergenç, “Individual’s Perception of Space,” 6.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 7.

define the distance such as mil, *fersah* (parasang), *berid*, *merhale*, *menzil*. Another measure used by the Ottomans was “*saat*” (time) in order to indicate the distance between two places. In the article of Halil İnalçık, the present metric equivalent of “*saat*” is 5685 meters, i.e. about 6 kilometers.<sup>75</sup> Although there were a lot of measures, we lay emphasis on the “*saat*” since in our research; the calculations about distances were made in terms of “*saat*”. Therefore, we would like to mention the usage of “*saat*” as a unit of measure for identifying the distances. According to the documents examined by Cemal Çetin<sup>76</sup>, especially from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, “*saat*” had become a term which was used for expressing the distances. However, the perception of distance was different among the public. The German traveler Hans Dernschwam claimed that the Ottomans did not know the distance between the villages and cities in terms of length, however, when it was asked, they could predict that how many days the journey lasts by horse or on foot<sup>77</sup>. Likewise, Reinhold Schiffer studying on the English travelers stated that in the Ottoman territories the distances were measured as a time wise not spatially<sup>78</sup>. The researches of Cemal Çetin support the statement of Schiffer, *i.e.* with regard to distance measurement the Ottomans attributed two different meanings to “*saat*” both as spatial and time wise. When Colin Heywood examined the records of distances in the *menzil defteri* dated m. 1594- 95, he also indicated that “*saat*” refers to the

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<sup>75</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Osmanlı Metrolojisine Giriş,” trans. Eşref Bengi Özbilen, *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 73 (1991): 44.

<sup>76</sup> Cemal Çetin, “Osmanlılarda Mesafe Ölçümü ve Tarihi Süreci,” in *Tarihçiliğe Adanmış Bir Ömür: Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç’e Armağan*, eds. Hasan Bahar, Mustafa Toker, Mehmet Ali Hacıgökmen and H. Gül Küçükbezi (Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2013), 443--465.

<sup>77</sup> Hans Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu’ya Seyahat Günlüğü*, trans. Yaşar Önen (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1992), 51.

<sup>78</sup> Reinhold Schiffer, *Oriental Panorama: British Travelers in the 19th Century Turkey* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), 47.

estimated journey time on horseback not to the spatial measurement of roads<sup>79</sup>. In our research, the sources that we benefited from also used “*saat*” as a unit of measurement, therefore, we tried to explain how the distances were stated in the Ottoman period.

After a brief explanation about the distant measurements in the Ottoman State and the public perception about the distances, in this thesis, we will study whether the formation of administrative units within the boundaries of *memalik-i mahrusse* and the establishment of road network were based upon the reality of accessibility or not. While studying this, the distance that could be travelled in the daytime will be taken as a basis. This argument will be tested in the example of Eyalet of Rumelia and even the *sandjak* of Sofia and the *kada* of Sofia specifically.

First of all, we will evaluate the road network in the Eyalet of Rumelia. Rumelia was in a strategic position as a gate to Europe. Therefore, the road network used to be held open in Rumelia. This was also important for the communication among the *sandjaks* of Rumelia. In order to study the interaction among the Rumelian *sandjaks*, we should lay emphasis on the distances among *sandjaks*. As we mentioned before, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were eighteen *sandjaks* in the Eyalet of Rumelia and three of them comprised of the *voynugan sandjaks*, the *çengan sandjak* and the *yörükan sandjak*. The other *sandjaks* were these: Sofia (*pasha sandjaghi*), Köstendil, Janina (Yanya), Delvine, Ilbasan, Iskenderiyye (Iskodra), Avlonya, Ohrid, Alaca Hisar, Selanik (Thessalonica), Dukakin, Prizren, Üsküp

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<sup>79</sup> Colin Heywood, “Osmanlı Döneminde Via Egnatia: 17. Yüzyıl Sonu ve 18. Yüzyıl Başında Sol Kol’daki Menzilhaneler”, *Sol Kol Osmanlı Egemenliğinde Via Egnatia (1380- 1699)*, Ed. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, trans. Özden Arıkan, Ela Güntekin, Tülin Altınova (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 140.

(Skopje), and Vulcitrin.<sup>80</sup> Here, based on the *pasha sandjagi* Sofia, the distances between Sofia and other *sandjaks* will be given. For instance, the distance between Sofia and Köstendil was fourteen hours. Here, we should note that the calculations were made in accordance with horse speed. Also, we should remember that this period of time shows minimum time. In other words, it denotes the journey that was made without stopping the horse. However, at that period, to arrive on such short notice was impossible because only in the daytime people could travel. On the other hand, at nights, the travelers could accommodate in some places called as *menzils*<sup>81</sup>, *derbends*<sup>82</sup> and caravansaries along the main road network that ensured the security of travelers. In addition to this, these places were important for getting the animals rested; thus, they could cover long distance journeys. After these explanations, to make sense of travel time could be easier. Another example is that the distance between Sofia and Janina (Yanya) was 110 hours. Although it seems that this journey only took 5 days, in reality it could take a month by taking into account the travel time only in daytime. Other examples will be given in the following table:

**Table 1.** The Distances between Sofia and Other *Sandjaks*<sup>83</sup>

<i>Sandjaks</i> of Eyalet of Rumelia	Travel time
Sofia - Köstendil	14 hours

<sup>80</sup> Kılıç, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İdari Taksimatı*, 45.

<sup>81</sup> Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Ulaşım ve Haberleşme (Menziller)* (Ankara: PTT Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2002).

<sup>82</sup> Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Derbend Teşkilatı* (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1990).

<sup>83</sup> Table 1: The following distances were taken from the maps of Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Umumiye Dairesi. “*Memalik-i mahruse-i şahane'nin havi olduğu bilad ve mevaki-i askeriyye beynindeki yollar ile bilad ve mevaki-i mezkurenin yek diğerine olan mikdar-ı mesafesini saat hesabı ile irae iden işbu turuk ve mesafat haritası saye-i terakkiyat- piraye-i cenab-ı hilafet- penahide Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Umumiye Dairesi 4. Şubesinde tertib olunarak daire-i mezkure matbaasında tab olunmuştur. Sene h. 1309- m. 1891/1892.*”

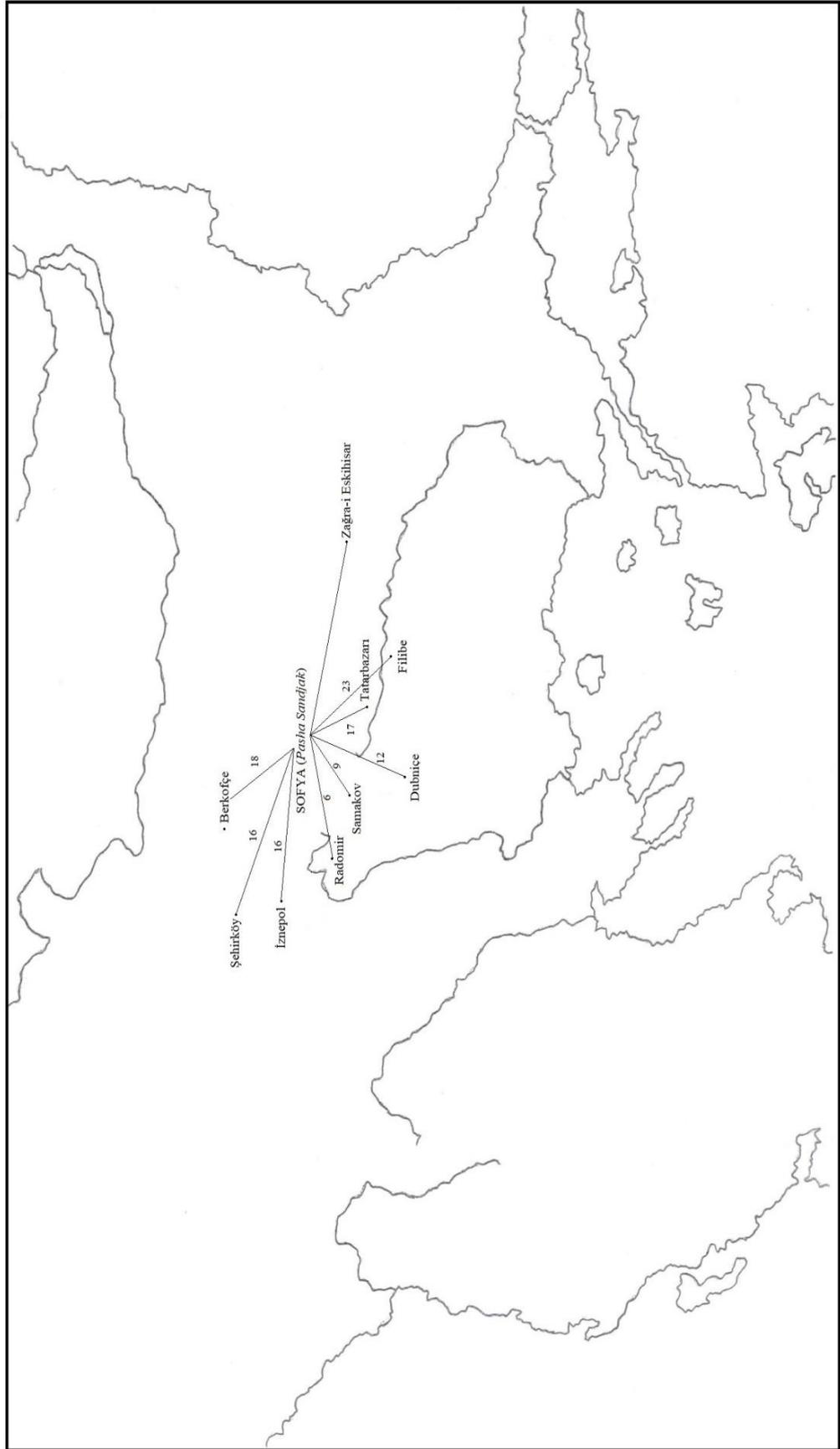
Sofia – Yanya	110 hours
Sofia - Ilbasan	94 hours
Sofia - Iskenderiyye	80 hours
Sofia - Ohrid	78 hours
Sofia- Thessalonica	62 hours
Sofia - Skopje	38 hours
Sofia - Vulcitrin	49 hours

Secondly, we will evaluate the road network in the kada of Sofia. The sandjak of Sofia consisted of four *kadas* which were Sofia, Berkofce, Sehirköy and Samakov and there were two *nahiyes* (sub-districts) Ihtiman and Iznepol. The distances between the *sandjak* of Sofia and its *kadas* will be given in the Table 2.

**Table 2.** The Distance Between *Sandjak* of Sofia and Its Districts and Sub- districts

The districts and sub-districts of <i>sandjak</i> of Sofia	Travel time
Sofia - Sehirköy	16 hours
Sofia - Berkofce	18 hours
Sofia - Samakov	9 hours
Sofia - Iznepol	16 hours
Sofia - Ihtiman	9 hours
Sofia - Breznik	10 hours

**THE DISTANCE BETWEEN SOFIA AND SOME KADAS**



As noted earlier, this time measurement denotes the non- stop traveling. However, practically travel time took a long time by taking into account the conditions of the eighteenth century. Based on available documents we would like to show the amount of time a journey takes from one place to another within the Eyalet of Rumelia.

First of all, the travel diary of Hans Dernschwam<sup>84</sup> who was of Magyar origin and traveler will be useful in order to answer the question of how long Dernschwam and his crew travel from Vienna to Istanbul. For arriving to Istanbul they followed the main route across Rumelia and throughout the journey Dernschwam conveyed his impressions about the cities of Rumelia in his notes. Also, the notes of Dernschwam included some information about the travel time between the cities over the route. At this point, these notes will be helpful in embodying of our theoretical knowledge.

According to the notes of Dernschwam, they started off from Vienna on 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 1553 and they arrived in Istanbul on 25<sup>th</sup> of August<sup>85</sup>. Through the entire journey, they stopped over in the cities of Ottoman Rumelia. The cities are these: Belgrade, Nish, Sofia and Edirne (Adrianople). When we look at the route, we might say that the route that was followed from Belgrade to Istanbul was the military route of the Roman Empire (*Via militaris*). However, what is important for us is the travel time between these cities. Dernschwam stated that they arrived in Istanbul in twenty- five days by travelling two hundred and nine hours<sup>86</sup>. This means that they travelled approximately eight and a half hours per day. When we examine in detail, they came from Nish to Sofia in five days. Bearing in mind that they travelled eight and a half hours per day, their journey took approximately forty- three hours. According to the

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<sup>84</sup> Hans Dernschwam, *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü*, trans. Yaşar Önen (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1992).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

information received from the maps of *Erkan-ı Harbiye Nezareti*, the distance between Sofia and Nish takes roughly thirty hours. At this point, we should remember that these measurements are at minimum. Also, the map of *Harbiye Nezareti* was prepared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and travel time showed a change due to the development of transportation technology from 16<sup>th</sup> century to 19<sup>th</sup> century. As a result, the information obtained from the notes of Dernschwam bears our argument out.

Another example that supports our work is that the journey from Sofia to Istanbul takes fourteen days according to Dernschwam. That is to say, the distance between Sofia and Istanbul lasts roughly 120 hours. When we compare the Dernschwam's data with the map, from Sofia to Istanbul it takes about a hundred hours. When we evaluate these data, we should also note that Dernschwam was travelling with the officials of Ferdinand I and they had sufficient equipment and enough money. However, one of the subjects of the Sultan (*rea 'ya*) could travel from one place to another more than the journey time of Dernschwam because *rea 'ya* did not have sufficient equipment and they had to make care of their pack animals in order to travel for a long time.

Another example from the Sofia *sidjill* in the 18<sup>th</sup> century also supports our argument. This document is about the service that was provided to Austrian envoy throughout the journey. According to the aforementioned document<sup>87</sup>, from the

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<sup>87</sup> Sofia JCR 309/51-52 “..... bu def'a taraf-ı Devlet-i aliyyeme gelecek Nemçe çasarı Kapı kethüdasına hudud-ı İslamiyyeden Asitane-i devlet-medarıma gelinceye dek yevmiyye ta'yinatı ve bargir ve arabaları virdirmek mukteza olmağla nüzul eylediği menazilde ihraç ve irsal olunan suret-i defter mucebince yevmiyye iki bin doksan akçelik ta'yinat ve yirmi res' bargir ve on kut'a araba virilmek fermanım olmağla imdi Dersaadetinden mübaşir tayin olunan .....-zide kadrihu- ile işbu emr-i şerifim vusulünde vech-i meşruh üzere bu def'a Nemçe Çasarı tarafından Devlet-i aliyye-i bedü'l- istiharuma gelecek Kapı kethüdası hudud-ı İslamiyyeden Asitane-i saadet-medarıma gelince menzil-i rahda nüzul eylediği menazilde virilen suret-i defter mucebince yevmiyye iki bin doksan akçelik ta'yinat ve ağırlığı tahmil için on kut'a araba ve yirmi res' bargir ahali-i kaza taraflarından

borders of Ottoman territories (*hudud-ı İslamiyye*) to the Porte, the expenses of the envoy would belong to the Ottoman State (*Devlet-i aliyye*) and they would stay in the halting places (*menazil*) on the road. Their requirements would be met by the inhabitants of the district that the halting place was located in. In return, the fees of products that were provided by the inhabitants of the district for the mission of the Austrian envoy would be deducted from their taxes. Also, the fee of *menzil*- horse was given to the people who came from other countries like Austria, Russia as a matter of course by the Ottoman State<sup>88</sup>. The same opportunities were also provided for the Dernschwam's group.

Probably, the Dernschwam's group and mission of the Austrian envoy would use the same route and stay in the same halting places. Although these journeys were carried out in different centuries, nearly the same conditions were valid. Therefore, to analyze the halting places that they stayed throughout the journey will be useful in order to understand the document and to compare it with the Dernschwam's journey. Although the halting places have a lot of functions such as using for communication, transportation and military goals; one of the important functions is that they were used in delivering the envoys and high state officials.<sup>89</sup>

It is understood from the notes of Dernschwam and the Sofia *sidjill* that both Dernschwam and Austrian envoy came from Austria and they probably followed the route of Rumelia's middle branch (Istanbul- Belgrade). When we look at the notes of

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*viridirülüb ve baha ve ücretleri tekaliflerinden takas olunmak üzere mübaşir-i müma-ileyhin yedinden memhus temessük alınub hıfz ve bu vechle menzilden menzile ulaştırılmakda ihtimam ve dikkat olunub zaruret ve müzayakalarına ba'is olur hareketden begayet ittika olunmak babında ferman-ı alışanım sadır olmuştur..... tahriren fi'l- yevmi'l hadi min şehri muharrem sene ihda ve erba'in ve mie ve elf (h. 1 Muharrem 1141/ m. 7 Ağustos 1728)."*

<sup>88</sup> Yusuf Halaçoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Ulaşım ve Haberleşme (Menziller)* (Ankara: PTT Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2002), 47.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 17--45.

Dernschwam, they confirm our prediction since their resting places were located in the route of middle branch. Belgrade, Jagodina (Yagodina), Razna (Ratzno), Niş, Sofia, Tatarpazarı (Pazarçık), Filibe (Plovdiv), Papazlı (Konisch), Semizce (Semendre), Edirne, Silivri, Büyükçekmece and Istanbul were the halting places of middle branch<sup>90</sup> and the group of Dernschwam arrived in Istanbul by travelling on this route.

Since our topic is about the Sofia's relations with other administrative units, to lay emphasis on the *menzil* of Sofia will be to the point. In order to cover the expenses of *menzil*, money that was acquired from the *avarız- hane* was assigned as fees of the *menzil*. In addition to this, to analyze the distances between the *menzils* will be useful so as to compare it with the above- mentioned tables. According to the documents that were used by Yusuf Halaçoğlu, records dated 1766 show that from Sofia to Şehirköy, it lasts 15 hours, to Köstendil for 12 hours, to Ihtiman for 9 hours and to Berkofce for 18 hours<sup>91</sup>. When we compare it with our tables, we see that our data was confirmed by these records.

After the analysis of distances between the halting places, the road safety is also important at least as much as the distances. Even though the roads were protected by the *derbend* and *menzil* organizations and the roads that were within the boundaries of a *sandjak* were preserved by the *sandjakbegi* and his subordinates, to ensure the road safety became difficult especially at nights and in rainy days. Therefore, some problems could arise due to these difficult conditions. One of these problems is that despite all precautions, the robbery cases were encountered in *menzils* and

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 103--110.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 108.

caravanserais. For instance, a robbery attempt occurred in a journey that was carried out by the Sultan himself as well. According to the available document from the Sofia *sidjill* is about the meeting of the Sultan with Nogai tatar envoy. During the journey, the *hurc* (carpetbag) in the hand of *ic kilercibashi* that was full of silver stuffs was stolen between the halting places on the road. The stolen stuffs were not found out in no way and therefore the costs of stolen stuffs were collected by the *mütesellim* of Sofia from the inhabitants of surrounding districts.<sup>92</sup> The *mütesellim* collected too much money under the name of “*hurc akçesi*” from the inhabitants and they suffered from the *mütesellim*’s action in tort. When considered from this point of view, the travel of a *rea ’ya* was relatively too risky. Therefore, the travelers should be in the position of more prudent. Undoubtedly, this is also an important factor that affects the travel time. Therefore, the road safety has a great importance in order to avoid such cases.

Yet another example that emphasizes the importance of road safety from the Sofia *sidjill* is about the arrest of a brigand called Seyyid İsmail<sup>93</sup>. He escaped from Sofia due to blame and when he went to Samakov, he robbed the money of *rea ’ya* who he met in the road unduly. Therefore, he was taken to the court of Samakov and then he

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<sup>92</sup> According to the Ottoman laws, when the perpetrator was not confirmed in the cases like theft and murder, the local community was held responsible collectively in locale because the whole community dwellers were registered as the joint guarantor of each other.

<sup>93</sup> Sofia JCR 309/60 “..... eşkıyadan Seyyid İsmail nam kimesne Sofya ’dan töhmet ile firar ve Samakov kazasına giderken esna-i rahda müsadife eylediği ehl-i zimmet rea ’yanın bi- gayr-i hakk akçelerin alub ve Samakov mahkemesinde marifet-i şer’le bir mikdarı redd itdirilüb küsurunu inkar ve bir müddet Selanik taraflarında gezüüb ve yine Sofya ’ya gelüb bir avrata hançer çeküb kızını Ahmed namında bir ademe vir deyu hilaf-ı şer’-i şerif ... naşi ahz ve zabitinde habs olunduğu Divan-ı Rumiliye ihbar olmağla şaki-i mezbur Seyyid İsmail ma ’rifet-i şer’le ve mütesellim-i müma- ileyh ma ’rifetiyle Eğridere kal ’asında kale- bend olunub itlakına Divandan buyruldu tahrir ve isdar ve ..... mübaşir ta ’yin ve irsal olunmuşdur vusülünde gerekdir ki vech-i meşruh üzere ma ’rifet-i şer’le ve mütesellim-i müma- ileyh ve mübaşir-i merkum ve zabiti ma ’rifetiyle şaki-i mezbur Seyyid İsmail kayd ü bend ile eğridere palankasına irsal ve sen ki dizdar-ı mezbursun şaki-i mezbur Seyyid İsmail mustahfızı olduğun Eğridere palankasında muhkem kale- bend idüüb Divan-ı Rumilinden itlakına buyruldu sadır olmadıkça itlakından ziyade hazer idüüb ve palanka-i mezbura vusulünü ilam idüüb mucceb-i buyruldu ile amil olasın deyü.”

was freed from the court by giving some amount of money and denying its remainder. For a while, he spent time around Selanik and when he turned back to Sofia, he committed an offense once again by drawing the sword to a woman. He said her that “you give your daughter in marriage to a man called Ahmed”.

Therefore, he was held for trial in the castle of Eğridere. Unless an order was sent from *Divan-ı Rumili*, he would not come out of the castle. Here, the point to be emphasized for our topic is the mobility of people among different places. When we look at the distance between Sofia and Selanik, it takes 62 hour at minimum.

Although there is a long distance between the two cities, the organization of road network makes the journey possible. At the same time, a Sofia- centered integration comes into question. Another important point is that he was held in the castle of Eğridere. This place is also called as “Eğridere *palankası* (redoubt)”. However, in the maps we could not find any place under name of “Eğridere *palankası*”. According to the research that we made, there is a redoubt under the name of “Eğri *palanka*” in the maps and we think that they are the same places. Today, Eğri *palanka* was within the boundaries of Macedonia and near to the boundary of Bulgaria. When we look at the map, we see that its distance from Sofia takes 20 hours. Although he committed a crime in Sofia, he was held in Eğri *palanka*. According to our estimation, after his perpetration, he intended to escape and on the road he was captured by the *mütesellim*. Therefore, he was jailed in the castle of Eğridere. This shows us that communication network between the spaces was developed and from one place to another the messages were carried fastly.

## CHAPTER III

### THE POPULATION OF SOFIA AND ITS NUTRITIONAL CAPABILITIES

After we explained the long, medium and short range relations of Sofia, in the third chapter we would like to explain the social structure of Sofia, its population and its feeding ground. Firstly, we would like to mention how the population in the Balkans took form after the Ottoman conquest. After the conquest of frontier zones in Rumelia, Turkic mass migration and settlement occurred from Anatolia to Rumelia. In many areas of Rumelia, especially in the city centers, the Turks constituted the major part of the population. The similar situation is also valid for Sofia. When we look at the *tahrir defteri* which was surveyed at the end of the sixteenth century, there were 39 *mahalles* (25 Muslim and 14 non-Muslim *mahalles*, 2 *zaviyes* and 3 *djema'ats*) which consisted of over 9000 inhabitants in the city center of Sofia<sup>94</sup>. In the Muslim *mahalles*, there were 1020 tax- payer householders and 17 bachelors. On the other hand, in the non- Muslim *mahalles*, there were 499 householders and 12 bachelors. The military class who was not responsible for tax-payment and some tax-exempted groups were not included in *tahrir defters*<sup>95</sup>. However, various research shows that these groups constituted an important part of total population and their

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<sup>94</sup> Nevin Genç, *XVI. Yüzyıl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri 'nde Sofya Kazası* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1988), 23--25.

<sup>95</sup> Yaşar Yücel, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Desantralizasyona Dair Genel Gözlemler," *Belleten* XXXVIII, no. 152 (1974): 662.

numbers corresponded to 20%- 25% of total population<sup>96</sup>. In addition to this, in population forecasts, it is assumed that an Ottoman family consisted of 5 individuals.<sup>97</sup> On the basis of these data, we can say that the population of Sofia's city center was at least over 9000 at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>98</sup> It shows that the majority of population comprised of Muslim inhabitants. The reason why the Ottomans constituted the majority of population in the city center is that the Ottomans settled Turkic people in the conquered city centers in Rumelia in order to enable Turkification in these centers.<sup>99</sup> The same holds true for Sofia in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The study of Genç also supports this argument because the *tahrir defteri* surveyed in the period of Mehmed III shows that the majority of population consisted of Muslim people in the city center of Sofia. However, in the countryside non- Muslims constituted the majority of population<sup>100</sup>. On the basis of Nevin Genç's dissertation, there were 1239 Muslim people, 9870 non- Muslim householders and 1566 non- Muslim bachelors<sup>101</sup>. The reason why we use these data is that there is no possibility to find total population from the documents of 18<sup>th</sup> century.

From the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman treasury office could not pay sufficient attention in the organization of *tahrir defters* and it became difficult to find

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<sup>96</sup> Özer Ergenç, "1600-1615 Yılları Arasında Ankara İktisadi Tarihine Ait Araştırmalar," in *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri*, eds. Osman Okyar and Ünal Nalbantoğlu (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1975), 147--50.

<sup>97</sup> Ömer L. Barkan, "Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi," *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, no.10 (1953): 12.

<sup>98</sup> Genç, *Sofya Kazası*, 24.

<sup>99</sup> Bruce W. McGowan, *Sirem Sancağı Mufassal Tahrir Defteri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1983), XXXIII.

<sup>100</sup> Genç, *Sofya Kazası*, 24--25.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 35 : According to the data in the *tahrir defteri*, 1239 Muslim people includes both tax-payer householders and bachelors. The exact number of bachelors was not indicated in the *defter*.

information about total population. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there were only the *tahrir defters* where the *avarız* tax- payers were recorded. For the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the only documents which can give us some information about the Ottoman population are *avarızhane defters* and the copies of *mevkufat defters* that were registered in *sidjills*. Furthermore, starting from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the *avarız* tax was added to the common taxes and it became difficult to determine *avarızhanes*. For this reason, the aforementioned documents lost their importance in terms of population estimates.<sup>102</sup> Therefore, it is not possible to follow the process of population growth exactly. In this work, the research of Nevin Genç about Sofia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century will be used as a basis in our search for population estimate of Sofia for the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The reason for referring to the research of Nevin Genç is that unlike modern societies, pre-modern societies in which production and transportation technology was based on man and animal power, demographical, social and economic developments were not subject to change quite often. Hence, a study about 16<sup>th</sup> century could help us in directing our research.

The population of a city was determined by the agricultural produce of its surrounding rural area. Nourishment of the city- dwellers who owned non-agricultural occupations depended on agricultural production that could be transferred to the city. Therefore, in pre- modern cities, the optimal size of population was approximately 15,000<sup>103</sup>. In the light of such information, we should evaluate whether agricultural production and its provision were sufficient for Sofia or not. In order to do this, firstly we should look into the tithe (*öşr*) revenues. Genç claims that the annual income acquired from the villages of Sofia *kada* was

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<sup>102</sup> Ergenç, *Bursa*, 111.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

1.039.153 *akçes*. Income acquired from cereals that included wheat, adulterated grain and barley was 438.186 *akçes*. As it is understood, the income of cereals constituted considerable amount of total income. Apart from cereals, income acquired from fruits, linen and flax was 38.067 *akçes*. Animal husbandry was also an important source of income and income from husbandry was 53.405 *akçes*. As a consequence, in the *kada* of Sofia, income acquired from agriculture and stockbreeding was 529.658. This data was obtained from the *tahrir defteri* and the data in the *defter* shows the lowest value of the product which was transferred to the city. Probably, the products were transferred to the “*akreb bazar*” (the nearest market) over this value within years. Therefore, calculations in the Genç’s thesis may be considered as a minimum value of income. However we can say that the city of Sofia was in a condition that could be fed from surrounding rural areas because the income that was transferred from rural areas to the city center was the income acquired from foodstuffs.

### **3.1 The Population of Sofia**

After we examine the distribution of income acquired from agriculture and stock-raising, we would like to make inferences about the Sofia’s population at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Before we start to examine the available documents related to Sofia’s population, we would like to mention the importance of demographic factors in a historical research. According to Ö. Lütfi Barkan, research shows that we should consider the condition of population of a state at a certain time, population growth rate, the distribution of population with respect to gender, age and occupational groups in order to examine the characteristics of civilizations, the administrative and military organizations of states and socio- economic situations of societies. In the past, these demographic factors were not taken into consideration

and many events in the past went without a scientific explanation.<sup>104</sup> Barkan also states that the establishment process of states, conquests, international relations, revolts and economic developments could not be explained without demographic observations.<sup>105</sup> The aim of these demographic observations is not filling a historical research with number but benefiting from the demographic data in order to explain a historical event.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, in our thesis giving a place to our prediction about the Sofia's population will be useful in order to see the situation of Sofia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in terms of its demographic structure while we are making the spatial analysis of Sofia.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, there were no *tahrir defters* that was issued unlike the former periods. The only sources that we have to make a population estimate are the *avarız tahrir defters* and *mevkufat defters*. In the *avarız tahrir defters*, the people who were responsible for the *avarız* tax payment were recorded in the same manner just like in the previous periods. The reason why these *defters* were called as *avarız tahrir defters* was to distinguish them from the previous *tahrir defters*. Within the content of these *defters*, *rea 'ya* who were responsible for paying the *avarız* taxes were registered per head. On the other hand, *mevkufat defters* were the *defters* where the names of tax- payer householders were not recorded per head, but only by the number of *avarız hanes*. *Avarız hanes* were the units that constitute a tax assessment.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, they consisted of association of more than one real house.

The number of *avarız hane* of each *sandjak* and each *kada* was recorded in the *mevkufat defters*. When the *avarız* taxes were collected by the appointed officer, the

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<sup>104</sup> Barkan, "Tarihi Demografi Arařtırmaları," 2.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>107</sup> Nejat Gyn, "-Hane- Deyimi Hakkında," *İ Edeb. Fak. Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979): 331.

copy of the *mevkufat defters* were given to the officer and he was asked for collection process depending upon these copies.

However, there are some limitations of *avarız tahrir defters* due to their qualities. For instance, in these *defters*, tax- exempted people who were recorded in the previous *defters* were excluded without giving any reason about their exemptions. Although they were recorded in the former *mufassal tahrir defters*, they did not appear in the *avarız tahrir defters*. As they could not understand the reason of this lack, the researchers made various interpretations. For some, a lot of discrete records show that although some people had already been tax- payer householders, they were later held exempt from the *avarız* taxes in return for some services provided by them. Therefore, we should be cautious while we are using the *avarız tahrir defters*.

According to Omer L. Barkan, for the determination of every *avarız hanes* several variables were taken into consideration like the resources of a region, the life style of people (peasant or city- dweller or nomad), the number of shops, houses and arable fields and finally the necessities of the time which all had an impact in the determination of *avarız hanes*. Taking into account these variables, these nominal *avarız hanes* that were constituted as a tax unity included 3, 5, 10 or 15 real houses.<sup>108</sup> In the *defters*, after the registration of population in every neighborhoods and villages, it was also determined that according to particular regulations, how many *avarız hanes* were constituted by taking into consideration this population census. For this reason, it is considered that the number of *avarız hanes* in some

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<sup>108</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Avarız," *MEB İslam Ansiklopedisi 2* (Ankara: MEB Yayınları, 1964), 14--15.

neighborhoods and villages were determined as fractional numbers like  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{8}$ .<sup>109</sup>

According to Halil Sahilliođlu, from four to fifty real houses that were the counting units formed one *avarız hane*, as a tax term. For instance, when the Ottoman navy was in need of paddler in time of war, fifty real houses had a responsibility to provide a paddler for the navy, depending upon a document that was used by Sahilliođlu. On the other and, when the *avarız* taxes were collected by the state's officials, four or five real houses were considered as one *avarız hane*.<sup>110</sup>

After these explanations about the *defters* and *avarız hanes*, we may continue with the analysis of *avarız* registers about Sofia and the surrounding villages. According to the Sofia *sidjill* dated h. 3 cemaziye'l-evvel 1141/ m. 5 December 1728, in the sandjak of Sofia there were 567,5 and one- third (*sülüs*) *avarız- hanes* and in the *mahalles* (quarters) of Sofia's city center there were 76 and one- third *avarız- hanes*.<sup>111</sup> However, in this *sidjill*, the realm of authority of the tax collector was limited with the *kada* of Sofia and there were 131 registered villages, as is seen from the table 3. In these villages, there were 126 *avarız- hanes* in total. The number of

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>110</sup> Halil Sahilliođlu, "Avarız," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 4 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1991), 108--109. For a more detailed information about the "*avarız hanes*" see; Süleyman Demirci, "Demography and History: The Value of the Avarızhane Registers for Demographic Research A Case Study of the Ottoman Sub-Provinces of Konya, Kayseri and Niğde, c. 1620s-1700," *Turcica* 38 (2006): 181--211.

<sup>111</sup> Sofia JCR 309/62-63 "..... işbu bin yüz kırk bir senesine mahsub olmak üzere Sofya kazasının beş yüz altmış yedi buçuk ve bir sülüs haneleri olub nefs-i şehir mahallatına yetmiş altı ve bir sülüs haneleri ihraç olunduktan sonra baki kuraya dört yüz doksan bir buçuk hane hesab üzere tevzi' olunmak lazım gelmeğın merhum üzere hane-i avarız ve bedel-i nüzulünün cem' ve tahsili taraf-ı Saltanat-ı aliyyeden fahrü'l- işbah Mehmed Efendi tefviz ve sipariş olunub yedine emr-i alişan ve suret-i defter-i hakani virilmeğın hane-i avarız ve bedel-i nüzulleri dört bin beş yüz yirmi iki gurus olub.....tahriren fi'l- yevmi's- salis min cemaziye'l- evveli li senet-i ihda ve erbain ve mie ve elf." In the mevkufat defters, the avarız hanes were determined based upon kadas. For this reason, in this document the whole sandjak was named as the kada of Sofia. According to our estimation, the number of avarız hanes (567, 5) is an astronomical number for a kada area. Therefore, we argue that the kada of Sofia mentioned in the document refers to the sandjak of Sofia.

*avarız- hanes* that was greater than one was 68. On the other hand, the number of *avarız- hanes* that was less than one was 58.

**Table 3.** The Number of *Avarız-hanes* in the Villages of *Kada* of Sofia

The villages' names in the district of Sofia	The number of <i>avarız houses</i>	The village's names	The number of <i>avarız houses</i>
Dragalofçe	Hane 2	Ormanlu	Hane 3
Lozene-i Zir	Hane 1,5	?	Hane 1 rub' 3,5
Pançar	Hane rub' 3	Mirovyane	Hane rub' 3,5
Raylova	Hane rub' 3,5	Bukofçe	Hane rub' 3,5
?	Hane rub' 3,5	Çukurova	Hane 1 rub' 3
Meşniçe	Hane 1 rub' 1	?	Hane rub' 3,5
Kurile	Hane 1 rub' 3	?	Hane 1 rub' 3
Buhova	Hane 2 rub' 1	Kalkas	Hane yarım
Pasarel	Hane yarım	?	Hane 3,5
Kaladinçe	Hane 1 rub' 1	Kiremikofçe	Hane rub' 3
Maline-i Bala	Hane 1 rub' yarım	Potob	Hane rub' 3
Abrova	Hane rub' 3	Poduyani	Hane 2 rub' 1
Çiftliği (?)	Hane yarım	?	Hane rub' 3,5
Bezidine	Hane rub' 3,5	?	Hane 1
Lesko Dol	Hane rub' 1	Mihalova	Hane rub' 1,5
?	Hane rub' 1,5	Petriç	Hane rub' 3
Voluyak	Hane rub' 3,5	Neguşova	Hane 1,5 rub'yarım

Manastrište	Hane rub' 3	?	Hane rub' 1,5
Izlataša	Hane 1,5	Bana	Hane 1 rub' yarım
?	Hane 1,5	Tirebiç	Hane rub' 1
Batnofçe	Hane 1,5	Batkofçe	Hane rub' 1,5
Lukova	Hane rub' 3	Dobroslofçe	Hane rub' 2,5
Dragiçevo	Hane yarım	Suhudol	Hane rub' 1,5
Kamenice	Hane yarım	Elhac Kara (?)	Hane rub' 1,5
Divotine	Hane rub' 3	Elhac Kara (?)	Hane 1 rub' 3
Raduy	Hane rub' 3	Çirkova	Hane rub' 1,5
?	Hane rub' 3	?	Hane 1,5 rub'yarım
Kirivina	Hane rub' 3	Oğlak (?)	Hane 1
Islavofçe	Hane rub' 3	Gradiç	Hane yarım
Batolya	Hane rub' 3	Obradofçe	Hane rub' 1
?	Hane rub' 3,5	Braykofçe	Hane yarım
Küçek (?)	Hane rub' 1	Orlandofçe	Hane 1,5
Pernik (müsellem)	Hane yarım	Ivan- Yane	Hane yarım
Pernik (kefere)	Hane 1,5	Verdikalne	Hane yarım
Hrasnik	Hane yarım	Isvidine	Hane rub' 1
Ketina	Hane 1,5	?	Hane 1
Ustolnik	Hane 2	Ofçin Dol	Hane rub' 1
?	Hane 1 rub' 1	Dobroçin	Hane rub' 1
Islatine	Hane 1	Jitene	Hane yarım
Hüseyinlü	Hane 1,5	Koca Ahmedlü	Hane rub' 1

Golanofçe	Hane rub' 3	Koca Ahmedlü	Hane 1 rub' yarım
Şuma	Hane rub' yarım	Musa Köyü	Hane 1,5
Jalava	Hane 2 rub' 1	Orman	Hane 1
Podgumer	Hane rub' 3,5	Dragoşinçe	Hane rub' 2
Doğanova	Hane 2 rub' yarım	?	Hane rub' 1,5
?	Hane 1,5	Küçük Oba	Hane 1,5
Maline-i Zir	Hane 1,5	Yablaniçe	Hane 1,5
Kara Polad	Hane rub' 2,5	Bogdan Dol	Hane 1
Gaytanova	Hane 1,5 rub' yarım	?	Hane rub' 3
?	Hane rub' 3	?	Hane rub' 1
Muşine	Hane yarım	Kokalyani	Hane 1 rub' 1
Mir Çayı	Hane rub' 3	?	Hane rub' 1
Buçine-i (?)	Hane rub' 3	Rakoviçe	Hane rub' 3
?	Hane yarım	Maleşofçe	Hane yarım
Sagirlü	Hane 1,5	Voynugofçe	Hane rub' 2,5
?	Hane 1	Birimerçe	Hane rub' 2,5
Bala (?)	Hane yarım	Bistriçe	Hane 1,5
Kaziçane	Hane rub' 2,5	Ogradişte	Hane rub' 3
Taşkesen	Hane 1,5	?	Hane rub' 3
?	Hane rub' 2,5	Kaçilani	Hane rub' 1
Ak Danişmend	Hane 1,5 rub' yarım	?	Hane rub' yarım
?	Hane rub' 3	Bayhanlu	Hane 1 rub' (?)
Iskriç	Hane rub' 3	Iliyançe	Hane 1 (?)

It is difficult to make a prediction about the population of Sofia through the records of *avarız hane*. However, we may make an inference about the number of real houses through these records. By depending on the research of Barkan about the lower and upper limit of *avarız hanes*, we may reach the approximate number of Sofia's population for the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. On the basis of the data in *tahrir defters*, Barkan calculated the number of population of some big cities in the Ottoman Empire and following his research he determined the coefficient of 5 as the equivalent of real number of households in one fictional *avarız hane* and this assumption was adopted by many researchers. As mentioned above, Barkan usually used the lower limit in his *avarız hane* calculations and this was generally accepted by other researchers. However, as we mentioned before, Barkan also states that the number of real houses in the *avarız hanes* may change depending on some particular variables.<sup>112</sup> For this reason, in our research we will make evaluations based upon this assumption.

First of all, we will take the *avarız hanes* at minimum value. If we assume that an *avarız hane* consists of five real houses and the neighborhoods of Sofia's city center comprises of 76 and one- third (1 *sülü*s) *avarız hanes*; the total number of *avarız hanes* in the Sofia's city center becomes  $76,3 * 5 = 381,5$  real houses. Furthermore, it was assumed that an Ottoman family consists of five individuals on the average. If we take an Ottoman family that includes five individuals; the population of Sofia's city center becomes  $381,5 * 5 = 1907,5$  individuals. On the other hand, the *sandjak* of Sofia consists of 567, 5 and one- third. If the same operation is utilized for the *sandjak* of Sofia; the total number of real houses of the *sandjak* becomes  $567,8 * 5 = 2839$  real houses. When we come to the total population of Sofia *sandjak*, it becomes

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<sup>112</sup> Barkan, "Avarız," 14--15.

$2839 * 5 = 14.195$ . Here, we should remember that tax- exempted householders and the state officials are not included in these calculations and they constitute a major part of the total population. As we said before, the population of state officials corresponds to 20%- 25% of the total population. We may come to a conclusion about the *sandjak*'s total population roughly only if we take into consideration the number of state officials who were tax- exempt.

Secondly, we will take the number of *avarız hanes* at maximum value. If we assume that an *avarız hane* consists of 15 real houses, the number of real houses in the Sofia *sandjak* becomes  $567,8 * 15 = 8517$  real houses. When we multiply the number of real houses by five, the population of Sofia *sandjak* becomes  $8517 * 5 = 42.585$ . By depending upon available data, we may calculate the population of Sofia's city center and *kada* of Sofia separately. When the number of *avarız* houses in the Sofia's city center is multiplied by 15 real houses, the result becomes  $76,3 * 15 = 1144,5$  real houses in the city center. If we add five individuals per family, the population of city center becomes  $1144,5 * 5 = 5722,5$ . According to Sofia *sidjill* dated h. 1141/ m. 1728, the *kada* of Sofia consists of 126 *avarız hanes* and the number of real houses becomes  $126 * 15 = 1890$  real houses. In order to find the estimated number of persons, we should multiply by five and the result becomes  $1890 * 5 = 9450$  individuals in the *kada* of Sofia.

To sum up, based upon available data we can make a prediction about the total population of Sofia *sandjak*. According to the calculations that we made, there were 42.585 individuals in the *sandjak* however tax exempted householders and the state officials were not included in these calculations. We only used the data in *avarız tahrir defter* of Sofia as a base and tried to reach an approximate result. If we take the officials as 20% of the total population, our calculations will come up with more

realistic result. The total population becomes  $42.585 + 10.646 = 53.231$ . Apart from the state officials, there were also many *rea'ya* who were tax- exempted due to providing various services to the State such as *derbentcilik* (mining a mountain pass), *menzilcilik* (providing an accommodation for messengers and envoys) and the *voynuk teşkilatı* (military organization that consists of Christians in Rumelia). We do not know their exact numbers because they were not recorded in *tahrir defters*. On the other hand, we know that Rumelia was in the position of transition point for the Ottoman army in time of campaigns and this led to the rise of demands in terms of *avarız* from the *rea'ya*. For example, because of the ongoing wars for sixteen years the *rea'ya* were overwhelmed by the emergency taxes (*avarız*) and many villages became empty.<sup>113</sup> Signing an armistice was inevitable for the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, after the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa accorded the right of tax exemption to the *rea'ya* in order to avoid the pressure on them.

As a result, the ratio of tax- exempted *rea'ya* and the unregistered *rea'ya* among the *avarız hanes* correspond to 15% to 20% of the population. If we add this group of people to our calculations, the total population becomes  $53.231 + 7984 = 61.215$ .

While we are evaluating the tax- exempted groups within Sofia, we deem suitable to give a place especially to the *voynuk* organization because there were a lot of *voynuks* within the borders of Bulgaria.<sup>114</sup> The region where the *voynuks* were the

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<sup>113</sup> Abdülkadir Özcan, “Karlofça,” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi* 24 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001), 505.

<sup>114</sup> *Voynuk* means “soldier” in Slavic language. Bulgaria became the focal point of *voynuk* organization as for the falconer organization. The land condition of Bulgaria and its closeness to Istanbul became influential in the establishment of *voynuk* organization in Bulgaria. When we come to their duties, they have two important duties: the campaign mission and the mission of meadow. Although they had served in the army as the warrior in the establishment period of the Ottoman State, later on they took place in support services. Their primary mission was to cut down grasses within the borders of the Sultan’s stable and to feed the horses which belonged to the Sultan and statesmen. During the campaign, they were also responsible for riding horses and preserving certain materials

most crowded remains within the present borders of Bulgaria. There are two reasons why the *voynuks* were more crowded there. The first one is that Bulgaria was one of the first European territories that were conquered by the Ottomans and accordingly the first *voynuk* organization was established there. The second reason is the geographic proximity of Bulgaria to Istanbul. Therefore, the *voynuk* organizations conglomerated in the villages and towns of Bulgaria. The *voynuk* communities settled especially in the *kadas* of Sofia, Sehirköy, Breznik, Berkofce. The other places where they predominated were Nevrekob, Filibe, Tatarbazarı, Niğbolu, Silistre, Eskihisar and Lofca. Many of these places constituted the right and left branch *kadas* of *pasha sandjaghi*.

Although we know where they settled, we do not have enough information about their population. Actually, there were a lot of *tahrir defters* that give information about the number and distribution of *voynuks*. However, there is not much research done so far about this issue. Yavuz Ercan states that in order to determine the number of *voynuks* we are in a need of long time and team work because the major part of these *defters* was old and worn. It is difficult to read the names of villages and towns that were recorded in the *defters* because of that reason.<sup>115</sup> However, according to the records that Ercan found in the State Archives of the Prime Ministry of Turkey, there were 8909 *voynuks* in the *sandjaks* of Niğbolu and Silistre and in *kadas* of Sofia and Filibe and this data was acquired from the *voynuk defters*. In addition to this, while Barkan was determining the population in the Balkans at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, he asserted that within the 832. 730 Christian households there were 7851

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that belonged to the army (See Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1986, 1--29).

<sup>115</sup> Ercan, *Voynuklar*, 43.

voynuk households<sup>116</sup>. Again, if we assume that a Christian family consisted of four or five family members, the number of voynuk community who lived in the Balkans would become 39 255. As you can see, there was no exact number of the voynuks who lived in Bulgaria. Also, these data belong to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At this point, we do not know whether the number of voynuk population increased in the 18<sup>th</sup> century or not. However, in order to form an opinion we would like to share the data. Even if we cannot give information about the voynuk population in Sofia, we know that the place where the voynuk population was the most crowded in the Balkan region was Bulgaria. Therefore, we can claim that the voynuk population in Sofia became an important factor for the increase in our population forecasts. In other words, when the crowded voynuk population was added to the other exempted groups, our population forecasts can show an increase.

Although this organization started to lose its significance in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we still encounter the documents issued during the 18<sup>th</sup> century which give information about the “voynugan taifesi”. As a result, due to their high population in Bulgaria and having an important place among the exempted groups, we tried to pay more attention to voynuk community. According to the available documents that belong to 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>117</sup>, the land of voynuk community had the right of liberty immemorially

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>117</sup> Sofia JCR 309/59 “ *hala medine-i Sofya'da mesned- ara-ı şeri 'at-ı garra izzetlü faziletlü efendi hazretleri inha olunur ki emirü 'l- ümerai 'l- kiram Rumili Beglerbegiliği payesiyle bi 'l- fiil mirahur-ı sani olan Mustafa Paşa -dame 't mealihu- Divan-ı Hümayunuma arz-ı hal idüb Istabl-ı Amire-i saniyeye tabi Sofya'da vaki ' uhdesinde olan voynugan taifesi mefruzü 'l- kalem ve maktui 'l- kadem min külli 'l- vücuh serbest olub serbestiyyet üzere çeribaşuları tarafından zabt ve birinin dahi cürmü zuhur idüb habs ve tedib lazım geldikde kanun üzere kadimden çeribaşuları ma 'rifetiyle ahz ve habs olunagelüb aherden voynuk taifesine müdahale olunduğu yoğ iken Sofya mütesellimi ve voyvodalar voynuk taifesine müdahale ve hilaf-ı şer 'i şerif ve mugayir-i kanun ve defter kendüleri habs ve cerime namıyle akçelerin alub perakende ve perişan olmalarına ba 'is olduklarından şer 'le görülüüb voynuk rea 'yası hatt-ı hümayun-ı şevket- makrun ile serbest olmağ ile hlaf-ı şer 'i şerif ve mugayir-i hatt-ı hümayun-ı şevket- makrunı aherden müdahale itdirmeyüb teaddileri men ' ve def' olunmak babında emr-i celili 'ş- şan sadır olmağla mucebince Divan-ı Rumilinden buyruldu tahrir ve ısdar olmuşdur vusulünde gerekdir ki vech-i meşruh üzere şeref- yafte-i sudur olan ferman-ı celili 'ş- şan mucebince*

(*serbestiyyet hakkı*) as the pious foundation had. Only their chiefs or the officers could punish them, the *sandjakbegi* did not have the right to interfere directly. However, according to the document included in S309 numbered Sofia *sidjill*, the *mütesellim* of Sofia and *vojvodinas* attempted to intervene in the *voynuk* community although this was against the Ottoman laws. Therefore, in order to emphasize their right of liberty, an order was sent from the *Divan-ı Rumili*. As you can see in the document, the *voynuk* community had continued its existence during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and their rights were put under protection by an order sent from *Divan-ı Rumili*.

Apart from the *voynuk* community, the other military groups were also one of the important factors that determined the population of Sofia. In addition to the “*kapu halkı*”(retinues) of administrators, the Janissaries or the other military groups who were responsible in the city center and the *kadas* of Sofia added value to the Sofia’s population in number although they were not recorded in the *defters*. The available documents can give information to us about their existence, even though we do not know the exact number of janissaries who were on duty in the Sofia *sandjak*.

Moreover, the research of Evgeni Radushev shows that there was other military group named as “peasant” janissaries apart from the military groups who were mentioned above. When he examined the Ottoman records (*mufassal*) that belonged to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the villages of the North- eastern Bulgaria and the West Rhodope Mountain there was an increase in the number of janissaries, many of which were of Christian origin.<sup>118</sup>

Furthermore, voluntary conversion to Islam was a proper way for the Christian

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*amel ve hareket ve husus-ı mezburu şer’le görüb fi’l- vaki mezburlar voynugan taifesine hilaf-ı şer’-i şerif ve mugayir-i kanun ve defter teaddi itdirilmeyüb muceb-i buyruldu ile amel olasız.”*

<sup>118</sup> Evgeni Radushev, “‘Peasant’ Janissaries?,” *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 2 (2008): 449--450.

peasants who aimed to take part in janissary corps.<sup>119</sup> At the same time these groups engaged in trade and crafts along with their military responsibilities.<sup>120</sup> Although the research of Radushev was limited with the *kada* of Nevrekop and the North-eastern Bulgaria, the same thing may be valid for the other regions of Bulgaria. In the Sofia *sidjills*, there were some documents supporting that in Sofia and around Sofia there were such peasant janissaries. Indeed, according to the Sultan edict dated h. evasıt-ı Rebiü'l- evvel 1141/ m. 19 October 1728, the *kadis* and janissaries' commanders of the right branch of Rumelian *Eyalet* and the right and left sides of middle branch were responsible for reporting the heritages of late and heirless janissaries.<sup>121</sup>

However, for several years, the heritages of late janissaries were not delivered to the State's Treasury (*beytü'l- mal-i hassa*) and some people appropriated these heritages. Thereupon, the Sultan ordered that the heritages should be surveyed from the *kadi* records (*sidjillat*) and collected from the appropriators; and a bailiff (*mübaşir*) should investigate the issue. Although this edict is about the heritages of heirless janissaries, this causes us to think that there were a lot of janissaries in Sofia and these janissaries were not limited with the janissaries who came from Istanbul because the number of the janissaries sent from the Porte was limited. At this point, it is not

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 451.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 455.

<sup>121</sup> Sofia JCR 309/57 “Şerayi’- şî’ar Asitane-i Sa’adetinden Rumilinin sağ ve orta kolu yemin ve yesarları ile nihayetlerine varub gelince vaki’ olan kadı efendiler –zide fazlihüm- ve mefahirü’l- emasil ve’l- akran yeniçeri serdarları –zide kadrihüm- inha olunur ki taht-ı kazalarınızda mukim ve misafir bila- varis-i ma’ruf ve ma’rufe fevt olan Dergah-ı ali yeniçerileri ve bölükat-ı erbaa- tavaif-i askeriyenin terekeleri taraf-ı beytü’l- male isal olunması lazım iken birkaç seneden berü vaki olan beytü’l- mal gelmeyüb vazü’l- yed olanların zimmetlerinde kalub beytü’l- mal-i müslimine gadr olmağla ocaktan mutemed mübaşir ma’rifetiyle tefahhus ve vaki olan beytü’l- mal her ne ise müfredat defterleri mucibince vazü’l- yed olanlardan şer’le tahsil olunması ferman olunmağın işbu mektub tahrir ve kıdvetü’l- emasil ve’l- akran .... mübaşir ta’yin ve irsal olundu vusulünde gerekdir ki vech-i meşruh üzere taht-ı kazalarınızda mukim ve misafir bila- varis-i ma’ruf ve ma’rufe fevt olan Dergah-ı ali yeniçerileri ve buna tabi tavaif-i askeriyenin muhalledat ve metrukatların sicillatdan yoklanub müfredat defterleri suretleri ihraç ve vazü’l- yed olanlardan mübaşir ma’rifeti ve ma’rifet-i şer’le tamamen tahsil ve taraf-ı beytü’l- male irsal ve isal eyleyüb beytü’l- mal-i müslimini ketim ve ihva itdirmekden begayet ihtiraz eyliyesiz tahriren fi evasıt-ı rebiü’l- evvel sene ihda ve erbain ve mie ve elf.”

misleading to think that the peasant janissaries mentioned by Radushev also took part in this group. Another important point is that if the number of janissaries sent from the Porte was limited, the Porte would know whether they were alive or not. It shows that there were other janissary groups apart from the janissaries sent from the Porte and the heritages of late janissaries were not controlled by the Porte. Therefore, the Sultan edict was sent to the *kadas* of Sofia in order to determine both the heritages and the exact number of late janissaries.

To sum up, it may be relayed that the janissaries sent from the Porte and peasant janissaries were huge in number that would affect the total population of Sofia. Also, this Sultanic edict shows that the janissary corps did not only consist of a few soldiers; otherwise the Sultan would not send an edict to the *kadas* of Sofia.

These predictions about the population of Sofia cannot reflect the exact population and may only give an approximate value because the data that we reach through *sidjills* is very limited and there are no other documents that give us information about the population. Although the result that we reached is an approximate value, our calculations show that the number of *avarız hanes* in Sofia is over five. As we said before, the *avarız hanes* can differ in terms of various reasons numerically. The first reason why we think that the number of real households within *avarız hanes* is greater than five is that when we analyze the issue with regards to population, it gives us a nominal result. Furthermore, the base of our work on this issue is the previous works about the Sofia's population based upon *tahrir defters*. These works accorded us a right of prediction about the century that we study. Here, if we assume that the *avarız hanes* consist of five real houses, the final result is far below of these population forecasts. Another reason is that according to the document that we used, it was stated that forty *gurus* fell to every *avarız hane* as the cost of *avarız*. If we

consider that one *gurus* was equal to eighty *akces*, one *avarız hane* would pay 3200 *akces*. In this case, one real house's share of amount became 640 *akces*. In addition to this payment, *rea'ya* was also responsible for paying usual taxes. When these taxes were included, it can easily be claimed that this amount was far above of the sum that a real house could pay. By taking these reasons into account, we can claim that the number of real houses within *avarız hanes* was over five. The third and the most important reason can be that in time of war the Ottoman State made too much demand on the *rea'ya* in order to meet the needs of the Ottoman army depending upon the location of the Rumelian cities. Especially the wars against Europe brought Rumelia to an important position strategically and the basic needs of the army were met by the Rumelian cities. Among the Rumelian cities, the position of Sofia was also important because Sofia was located in the main route between Belgrade and Istanbul. This constitutes one of the important reasons because we argue that this can be influential in keeping up the number of *avarız hanes*. Here, it was aimed not to leave the *rea'ya* in a difficult situation and to fulfill the army's needs as soon as possible.

To conclude, we can say that the population of *sandjak* of Sofia was between 50 000 and 70 000 approximately and 9 000 or 10 000 people lived in the city center of Sofia.

### **3.2 The Nutritional Capabilities of Sofia**

After these predictions about the population of Sofia in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the more important point is whether there was any rural area that had the capacity to feed the city or not. Before moving to analysis of the sources of provision of Sofia, it would be beneficial to give information about the physical structure of

Sofia and its surrounding agricultural area and its productive activities to evaluate its rural area properly. First of all, we will give information about the physical structure of Sofia and its surrounding area and evaluate the extent which enabled Sofia's agricultural production. Since the geographical features and climatic conditions of Sofia had an important impact in the mode of production, we will make a short statement about the Sofia's geographical formations in order to interpret the productive activities.

Today, Sofia is the capital city of Bulgaria and the largest city in Bulgaria. Sofia is located in the west of Sredna Gora and foothills of the Mount Vitosha. The city is established around the streams of Vladayska, Perlovska, and Suhudolska which are the branches of the river of Iskir.<sup>122</sup> Svetlana Ivanova claims that "it has a temperate continental climate and there are many mineral springs. It lies on the main road between Central Europe and Istanbul, and that between Vidin on the Danube and Thessaloniki."<sup>123</sup> Sofia was called as Serdica by the Romans, Triadica by Byzantines and Sredec by the Slavs. At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the city acquired the name of Sofia because of the Church of Hagia Sofia that was located in the city center.<sup>124</sup>

After a short statement about the topography of Sofia, the more important point is the productive activities in the surrounding countryside of Sofia. In the villages of Sofia, the majority of population was engaged in agriculture and stockbreeding as well as in most of the rural areas. It takes an important place for us to know the products growing up in Sofia in order to analyze the resource of nourishment of Sofia. As we

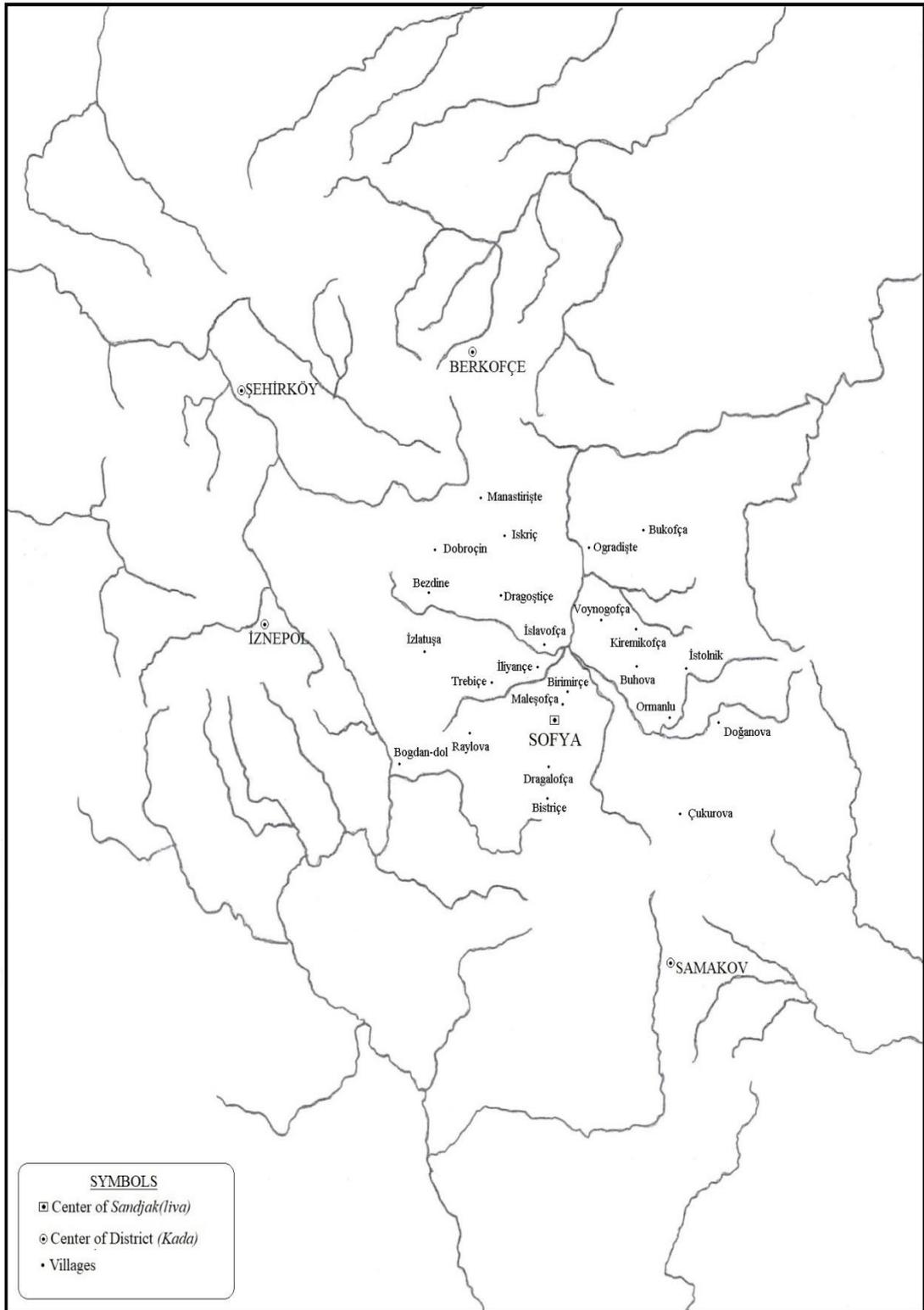
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<sup>122</sup> Pars Tuğlacı, *Bulgaristan ve Türk- Bulgar İlişkileri* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1984), 417.

<sup>123</sup> Ivanova, "Sofya," 702.

<sup>124</sup> Yitzchak Kerem, "Sofia," *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* 4 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 394.

## THE KADA OF SOFIA AND ITS SURROUNDING VILLAGES



mentioned before, the major part of the total income consisted of the income generated from agriculture and stockbreeding according to the information taken from the Genç's thesis.<sup>125</sup> Especially the income obtained from grain attracts attention. In Sofia and its surrounding area, having the highest income of grain does not surprise us due to Sofia's climatic conditions. Sofia and its rural region have the temperate continental climate and because of this climatic type, wheat, adulterated grain, barley, lentil and flax are grown in Sofia's rural area. Apart from these, some fruits could also be grown in accordance with the climatic conditions. For instance, wine and fermented grape juice acquired from grapes had an important place among the income generated from agricultural products. Although this income was generated from manufacturing, wine and grape juices were manufactured with the agricultural products.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, we took these manufactured goods to this part.

Secondly, we can evaluate stockbreeding activities in Sofia's rural region. The income acquired from stockbreeding also had an important share in total income. Here, not only small cattles and bovine animals but also the products acquired from various animals yielded money to the treasury. For example, apiculture and honey were among the income acquired from stockbreeding.<sup>127</sup> In addition to this, the wool that was acquired from the animals was a revenue generating goods. Especially the fleece wool that was produced in the towns and villages of Rumelia was sold as a raw material and then, in the workshop of broadcloth (*çuha karhanesi*) it was manufactured. The available documents that belong to the 18<sup>th</sup> century give

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<sup>125</sup> Genç, *Sofya Kazası*, 36--41.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

information about the production of fleece wool.<sup>128</sup> The information recorded to the *celepkesan defteri* provided information about the stockbreeding in Sofia's rural area. According to a Sofia *sidjill* dated h. gurre-i cemaziye'l- evveli 1141/ m. 3 December 1728, tax acquired from small cattles, the taxes were collected from *avarız hanes* of *kada* of Sofia.<sup>129</sup> The abovementioned villages' residents were also responsible for paying these cattle taxes. According to the document, in the *kada* of Sofia there were 7474 *celepkesan ağnamı*. In this case, approximately 60 small cattles fell to one *avarız hane*. If we assume that one *avarız hane* consisted of 15 real houses, one real house would be obliged to give four small cattles. On the other hand, when we take the *kada* of Sofia as the Sofia *sandjak* as we did in the population forecasts, the result becomes different. In this case, approximately 13 small cattles fell to one *avarız hane*. Again, if we assume that one *avarız hane* consisted of 15 real houses, approximately one small cattle would fall to one real house. We think that appropriating four small cattles to one real house seems to be exaggerated. Therefore, we claim that the phrase of "kada of Sofia" corresponds to the Sofia *sandjak*. Another reason is that the *rea 'ya* of Sofia was responsible for paying various taxes. Hence, appropriating four small cattles to one real house could have left the *rea 'ya* in a difficult situation.

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<sup>128</sup> The transcript of this document is in the first chapter. See page 10.

<sup>129</sup> Sofia JCR 309/60-61 "..... İşbu bin yüz kırk bir senesine mahsub olmak üzere Sofya kazasının yedi bin dört yüz yetmiş dört res' celebkeşan ağnamları tahsil olunub ve hin-i tahsilde miri için alınan akçenin her yüz sekiz akçesinden bir esedi guruş aldırub ve eşref-i cedid ve frengi altun Hazine-i Amiremde alındığı üzere aldırıla halisü'l- ayar paranın kırkda bir guruşa aldırılıub muaflarız deyü niza' itdirmeyüb bundan ziyade ve noksan aldırmayub girihtesi var ise ma'rifet-i şer'le hesap ve asla zam idüüb kesr ve vefretiden ihtiraz eyliyesiz deyü buyrulmağın imtisalen li'l- emri'l- ali cümle ahali ve ayan muvacehelerinde hesap olundukda nefsi-i şehir mahallatına isabet iden bin altı yüz altmış beş res' ağnam müstakilen defter ve ihrac olunduktan sonra mübaşir .... Ağaya yemeklik iki yüz guruş ve mutad-ı kadim üzere efendi hazretlerine yüz elli guruş naib efendiye yirmi guruş katiblere on guruş muhızırbaşıya beş guruş muhızırlara beş guruş kaydiyye üç guruş vilayet katibine on guruş mukaddema sadr-ı ali çukadarı Hüseyin Ağaya voynuklara ve deftere konulub .....(?) virmeğe iktidarı olmayub bu deftere girihte olunan elli guruş celebkeşan bedeli iki bin beş yüz seksen üç guruş ki cem'an üç bin otuz altı guruş defteridir ki ber- vech-i ati zikr olunur fi gurre-i cemaziye'l- evveli li- senet-i ihda ve erbain ve mie ve elf".

To conclude, we can make such an inference: in the countryside of Sofia, the stockbreeding was an important source of income and the topography of Sofia was suitable for agriculture and stockbreeding because it is located in the Sofia plain at the foot of the mountains Vitosha and Ljulin.<sup>130</sup>

The data drawn on the document mentioned above shows the small cattles which were sent to Istanbul. Before they were sent to Istanbul, primarily the meat demand of Sofia should be supplied. If the need was met, the rest of the meat would be sent to Istanbul as a tax. This document shows us that the *rea'ya* of Sofia met the need of meat themselves and the surplus of the small cattles was sent to Istanbul in order to satisfy the need of meat of Istanbul. Heretofore, in his research, Halil Inalcık also described Sofia as the source of meat and rice of Istanbul. This explanation of Halil Inalcık supports our argument. As it supplied the need of meat of Istanbul, in the time of war the food demands of the Ottoman army were also provided by Sofia's *rea'ya* due to its strategic location. This means that the *rea'ya* of Sofia carried out the stockbreeding activities as far as they could supply the needs of Sofia, the army and Istanbul. Our calculations also show that appropriating four small cattles to one real house provide evidence for the common stockbreeding activities among the Sofia's *rea'ya*. Here, it should not be understood that all the meat demand of Istanbul was supplied by the *rea'ya* of Sofia. The other regions in the Balkans were also providing the need of meat of Istanbul. However, we can say that among these regions, Sofia had also an important place for meeting the food requirements of Istanbul.

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<sup>130</sup> Ivanova, "Sofya," 702.

As we mentioned before, Sofia had also an important place in the production of rice, in addition to the meat supply. According to an order which was sent from *Divan-ı Rumili*, for meeting the needs of *kapu halkı* who worked under the command of the administrators of administrative units, from the right branch *kadas* of Sofia *sanjak*, Filibe and Pazardjik (Tatarbazarı), a sum of rice was bought and it was asked for the transportation of rice to Nish.<sup>131</sup> When we think about the geographical location of these *kadas*, they are situated in the southern- east of Sofia plain and receive a lot of rain. Therefore, these places were appropriate for the rice production.

Although the majority of Sofia's income was acquired from activities of agriculture and stockbreeding, it is understood from the documents that there were also other income- generating products. Especially the iron mines in Samakov and Berkofce and silver mine in Kiremikofce were among the important natural resources of Sofia. According to a Sultan edict dated h. 10 Safer 1141/ m. 15 September 1728, the iron ores were mined in Sofia, Samakov, İznepol and surrounding areas; and they were sold to the merchants with the barrow- load (*araba yükü*).<sup>132</sup> Although the edict is about the *mukata'a* of iron converting to *malikane*, it just gives information about the places where iron was mined.

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<sup>131</sup> Sofia JCR 309/58 “..... *Kapu halkı neferatları için Filibe ve Pazarcık kazalarından mutad-ı kadim rayic olduğu baha ile bir mikdar piriñ mübayaa ve kifayet mikdarı arabalara tahmil ve Niş'e nakl olunagelmekte Divan-ı Rumili'nden buyruldu tahrir ve isdar ve kıdvetü'l- emasil ve'l- akran ..... -zide kadrihu- mübaşir ta'yin ve irsal olunmuşdur vusulünde gerekdir ki zikr olunan kazalardan mübayaa olunub Niş'e nakl olunagelen piriñ her kangınızın kazasına gelüb dahil olur ise ma'rifet-i şer'le ve mübaşir-i merkum ve kethüda yerleri ve yeniçeri serdarları ve ayan-ı vilayet ve işerleri ma'rifetleriyle iktiza iden kifayet mikdarı arabalara tahmil ve bir gün evvel ve bir saat mukaddem mahalline nakl ve isalde cümleiniz takayyüd ve ihtimam idüb ve ihmal ve müsamahadan hazer üzere olub mucceb-i buyruldu ile amel olasız deyü”*

<sup>132</sup> Sofia JCR S309/54 “.....Sofya ve Samakov ve İznebol ve .....(?) ve sair mahallerde ihraç olunan temür cevheri arabalara tahmil olundukda beher araba yükünden beşer akçe resm-i miri alınmak şartıyla ve bin yüz kırk bir muharremi guresinden zabt eylemek üzere ber- vech-i iştirak malikane uhdelinde olmağla sene-i mezbure muharremi guresinden bu vakte değıl ihraç ve arabalara tahmil olunan cevherin berat-ı alışanım muccebince rüsumatı marifet-i şer'le tahsil.....tahriren fi'l- yevmi'l- işrin li'l- şehri Safer sene ihda ve erbain ve mie ve elf.”

To conclude, the relation between the city and rural area in Sofia accords with the model of the isolated city that we based our argument on because this model shows that the cities were dependent on their surrounding rural area and in return the manufactured goods that rural population was in need of were met by the urban population. The practice of “*akreb bazar*” in the Ottoman Empire was an important practice which supports this settlement model. “*Akreb bazar*” was the nearest selling area where the goods that were produced in the cities and the villages were marketed. The prices did not come into being by itself in the “*akreb bazar*” but they were subject to the “*narh*” system. In this respect, “*akreb bazar*” was different from the market where the free market economy controlled.

This isolated city model shows a medium scaled relation. Due to the local relations, almost all units of measurement and weight units were local. The standardization of these units would actualize with the establishment of nation states and with the spread of spatial relations.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **CONCLUSION**

In this thesis, we evaluated Sofia and its relations with the surrounding rural area within the context of the conditions of pre- industrial period. As we mentioned in the introduction part, we confirmed that Sofia has the characteristics of a city that is suitable for the settlement theories related to the cities in the pre- industrial period. The evaluation of primary sources also supports this argument. When we look at Sofia from this point of view, the historical characteristics of Sofia are as below:

Sofia was one of the most significant cities of the Balkans in the pre- Ottoman period and during the long Ottoman control in the Balkans. Sofia has always had much more population when we compare it with other cities and towns around Sofia. In the sorting of cities and towns in the Balkans with regard to the size of area, Sofia was in the forefront. Thanks to this feature of Sofia, it became the administrative center in the Balkan region both in pre- Ottoman and Ottoman period. In the Ottoman classical age, Sofia became the center of all administrative units within the provincial organization in the Balkans. In addition to this, Sofia was the pasha sandjaghi of Eyalet of Rumelia which was the most important sandjak within the Eyalet and at the same time it became the center of kada of Sofia which was one of the kadas within the pasha sandjaghi. This position of Sofia confirmed our argument supported by the primary sources. There are two basic conditions for undertaking these functions. The first condition is to have an agricultural area that could feed the city population. The

second one is to provide accessibility to the further places during daytime in accordance with the conditions of that period. In this thesis we tried to determine these two issues and got results that support our argument. Apart from this result, we think that the following facts have importance with regards to the history of Sofia and general Ottoman social history.

After the Balkans was taken into the Ottoman control, the center of Eyalet of Rumelia was moved from Edirne to Sofia and this was a determinant decision for Sofia. The composition of Sofia's population changed in the course of time and the Muslim population in the city outnumbered the non- Muslim population increasingly. This situation was contrary to the development in Anatolia. In the Turkification process of Anatolia, the Turks generally established new villages and hamlets in rural area and some of them maintained their lives as nomads. It was seen that the Turks who chose to live in cities settled in suburbs in Anatolia, whereas, in Sofia the ruling class constituted the new residents of the city because Sofia was the administrative center of the Eyalet. In addition, within this process, the complexes like mescits and imarethanes constituted the basis of the Muslim quarters of the city. The employees of these complexes and their families and those who migrated to Sofia composed the Muslim majority of the city population by being added to the ruling class. Proving this fact is one of the most important results of this study.

On the other hand, our thesis centers upon the 18<sup>th</sup> century and this enables us to make important observations. One of these observations is that we had a chance to make new evaluations about the mukata'as which had an important role in the provincial organization with regards to economic and financial practices. As is known, in the tradition of Ottoman economic history, mukata'as were only addressed with regards to fiscal functions and they were evaluated as a way of tax collection.

No doubt, this function of mukata'as has great significance. However, the area of mukata'a in which the mültezim was endowed with authority in order to collect taxes was also a place that activities subjected to a tax were controlled. In this respect, on the one hand the mültezim was an officer who collects taxes; on the other hand he was an 'orf member who directs the activity subjected to the collected tax.

While we were studying Sofia and its surrounding rural area, we lay emphasis on the mukata'as of fleece wool and iron and the documents about these mukata'as presented information on two counts. Our first inference provides us to understand that the mukata'as as realm of authority determined the aforementioned field of activity and these fields were integrated with Sofia. Another important inference is that these mukata'as were the original examples that show the effects of developments in Europe to the Ottoman State in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the Ottoman policies in response to these developments. As is known, before the Industrial Revolution which was first started in Great Britain and then expanded to other European countries, there was an important period for the European economic history. The period that was called as "putting out" system or manufacture process by the European economic historians influenced the world economy deeply. Since the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the merchants who discovered new markets outside of European continent had been trying to get more products. However, they could not meet their needs within the guild system and they supplied raw materials and means of production by themselves and started to get more products by benefiting from women, children and the agricultural laborers who did not work in the winter months. There were two important results of this manufacture process in Europe. The first result is that the need for raw materials increased in Europe. Secondly, the agricultural laborers migrated to big cities in course of time and therefore the need

for agricultural products increased in Europe. Since Europe prospered from commerce, the need for raw materials and agricultural products was met from the regions near to Europe. In other words, the European merchants tried to meet these needs from the Ottoman lands, especially Rumelia and Western Anatolia. This led to the collapse of pricing subjected to *narh* system (officially fixed price) and there occurred an illicit trade in the Ottoman lands. When this situation was discerned by the Ottoman State, the State tried to take measures by the mukata'a mültezims. This situation is also observed in the aforementioned mukata'as, the mukata'as of fleece wool and iron. For instance, the fleece wool was firstly sold to the needers and it was aimed to avoid the sale of fleece wool to the Frankish merchants by giving high prices. The same situation can be seen in the mukata'a of mine. While the tax farming system was transformed into the malikane system, a lot of measures were taken in order to return optimal profit from the income of mine for the state treasury. No doubt, this optimal profit is a matter based on the usage within the borders of State.

While this information that we mentioned explains the long, medium and short range relations of Sofia, they also contribute to the Ottoman social and economic history through the empirical information.

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