

DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF OTTOMAN UPPER THRACE:
A CASE STUDY ON
FILIBE, TATAR PAZARCIK AND İSTANİMAKA
(1472-1614)

A Master's Thesis

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September 2004

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of
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in

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September 2004

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ABSTRACT

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The thesis examines the demographic processes of three Ottoman cities in the period late fifteenth – early seventeenth centuries. Seen through the data provided by the Ottoman tax and population censuses (*tahrir defterleri*) the research illustrates three different types of urban development and demographic trends in the Ottoman Upper Thrace. The first type, representative of which was the city of Filibe, points pre-Ottoman settlements, which as a consequence of the policy of the central Ottoman administration, have been recreated and repopulated with Turkish colonists from Asia Minor. The central authority played a crucial role in the demographic processes there. The second type, Tatar Pazarcık, is an example of newly founded Ottoman city in the development of which the state also took active part. The third type, İstanimaka, represents settlement from the medieval Balkan period, which stayed out of the strategic interest of the Ottoman government, having minor state interference in the natural demographic processes.

Keywords: demography, colonization, deportation, *tahrir defterleri*, Filibe, Plovdiv, Tatar Bazarı, Tatar Pazarcık, Pazardjik, İstanimaka, Asenovgrad.

ÖZET

YUKARI TRAKYA'DA DEMOGRAFİK DEĞİŞMELERİ:
FİLİBE, TATAR PAZARCİK VE İSTANİMAKA ŞEHİRLERİ
(1472-1614)

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Araştırmamız XV. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı ile XVII. asrın başlangıcı çerçevesi içinde üç Osmalı şehrinin demografik proselerini incelemektedir. Uzun bir seri tapu tahrir defterleri ışığı altında Osmanlı Yukarı Trakya'daki gelişmekte olan birbirinden farklı üç tip şehircilik ve demografik inkişat açıklanmaktadır. Birinci tip Filibe şehri temsil etmektedir. Bu şehrin tarihi gelişimi Osmanlı idaresinin yoğun kolonizasyon çabaları Balkanlar'daki geleneksel şehirciliğin nasıl etkilendiğini ortaya koymaktadır. İkinci tip Tatar Pazarcık şehri temsil etmektedir. Bu Osmanlılar tarafından yeni kuruluş bir şehrin misali olup, bunun şenlendirmesinde de merkezi idarenin rolü muazzam. Araştırmamızın üçüncü tip Osmanlı şehri İstanımaka'dan temsil edilmektedir. Bu şehrin Osmalılardan önceki dönemde kalmış ve gelişmiş bir merkez olup, fakat dönem boyunca fatihlerin stratejik planlarının dışında kalmaktadır. Bunun için de İstanımaka'nın demografik gelişiminde devletin rolü her zaman düşük olunduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: demografi, kolonizasyon, sürgün, tahrir defterleri, Filibe, Plovdiv, Tatar Bazarı, Tatar Pazarcık, Pazardjik, İstanımaka, Asenovgrad.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	i
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
<u>CHAPTER ONE:</u> INTRODUCTION	1
<u>CHAPTER TWO:</u> UPPER THRACE IN THE PRE-OTTOMAN AND EARLY OTTOMAN PERIOD	18
<u>CHAPTER THREE:</u> DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF FILIBE IN THE PERIOD 1472-1614.....	38
<u>CHAPTER FOUR:</u> DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF TATAR PAZARCIK (1472-1614)	76
<u>CHAPTER FIVE:</u> DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF İSTANİMAKA (1472-1614).....	90
CONCLUSION	101
BIBLIOGRAPHY	106
APPENDICES.....	116
<u>APPENDIX A:</u> Table of the <i>defters</i> used in the work.....	116
<u>APPENDIX B:</u> Filibe 1472-1614	117
<u>APPENDIX C:</u> Tatar Pazarcık 1472-1614.....	118

<u>APPENDIX D:</u>	
İstanimaka 1472-1595.....	119
<u>APPENDIX E:</u>	
City quarters of Filibe (1472-1614).....	120
<u>APPENDIX F:</u>	
City quarters of Tatar Pazarcık (1472-1614).....	124
<u>APPENDIX G:</u>	
City quarters of İstanimaka (1472-1595).....	127
<u>APPENDIX H:</u>	
City plan of Filibe.....	129
<u>APPENDIX I:</u>	
City plan of Tatar Pazarcık.....	130
<u>APPENDIX J:</u>	
Professions in Filibe (1472-1614).....	131
<u>APPENDIX K:</u>	
Professions in Tatar Pazarcık (1472-1614).....	138

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>FIGURE 1</u> – Filibe in 1472.....;	45
<u>FIGURE 2</u> – Professions in Filibe in 1472.....;	50
<u>FIGURE 3</u> – Filibe in 1489.....;	52
<u>FIGURE 4</u> – Professions in Filibe in 1489.....	55
<u>FIGURE 5</u> – Filibe in 1516.....	57
<u>FIGURE 6</u> – Filibe in 1525.....	63
<u>FIGURE 7</u> – Filibe in 1530.....	65
<u>FIGURE 8</u> – Professions in Filibe in 1516.....	67
<u>FIGURE 9</u> – Professions in Filibe in 1525.....	68
<u>FIGURE 10</u> – Filibe in 1570.....	69
<u>FIGURE 11</u> – Filibe in 1595.....	70
<u>FIGURE 12</u> – Filibe in 1614.....	71
<u>FIGURE 13</u> – Professions in Filibe in 1570.....	72
<u>FIGURE 14</u> – Professions in Filibe in 1595.....	73
<u>FIGURE 15</u> – Professions in Filibe in 1614.....	74
<u>FIGURE 16</u> – Tatar Pazarcık in 1525.....	81
<u>FIGURE 17</u> – Tatar Pazarcık in 1530.....	82
<u>FIGURE 18</u> – Tatar Pazarcık in 1570.....	83
<u>FIGURE 19</u> – Tatar Pazarcık in 1595.....	84
<u>FIGURE 20</u> – Tatar Pazarcık in 1614.....	86
<u>FIGURE 21</u> – Professions in Tatar Pazarcık in 1570.....	87
<u>FIGURE 22</u> – İstanimaka in 1516.....	93
<u>FIGURE 23</u> – İstanimaka in 1525.....	96
<u>FIGURE 24</u> – İstanimaka in 1570.....	98
<u>FIGURE 25</u> – İstanimaka in 1595.....	100
<u>FIGURE 26</u> – Muslims in Filibe 1472-1614.....	102
<u>FIGURE 27</u> – Muslims in Tatar Pazarcık 1472-1614.....	103
<u>FIGURE 28</u> – Christians in İstanimaka 1516-1595.....	104

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In the course of the past century a number of studies on the demographic development of Ottoman cities in the Balkans, based on original source materials from the archives in Turkey or the neighboring Balkan countries, have been published. These pioneering works contributed greatly to our better understanding of the processes that took place in the Balkan cities under Ottoman rule in a larger scale, but failed in the attempts to provide a realistic picture of the colorful Balkan localities. This is, probably, partly due to the nature of the late medieval Balkan society, which had strongly emphasized its local character and reacted in different ways to the Ottoman challenge, predetermining in a way, the policy undertaken after the conquest. The Ottoman state, itself, followed its strategic interest and as a result the policy concerning the cities and villages in the Balkans differed in accordance with their geo-strategic importance. On the other hand, studies on Balkan demographic history often focused on larger problems like Turkish colonization, or conversion to Islam of the local population, rather than attempt to offer a comprehensive study of a certain area or settlement. Furthermore, on the

basis of partial and scattered evidences, general conclusions about territories all over the Balkans have been drawn up, which quite often were misleading or simply wrong. Thus, in order to do not lapse into discrepancies, in our opinion, the only possible way for researchers in obtaining an approximately realistic idea about the demographic situation in the Ottoman Balkans, is a painful and time consuming research on the local history of a particular region or settlement, studied through the data provided by the Ottoman financial and administrative documents – population tax surveys.

The Ottoman tax surveys (*tahrir defterleri*), compiled to serve the military and administrative apparatus of the Ottoman state, in their basic variety – detailed (*mufassal*) and summary (*icmâl*), are known to be rich and valuable sources of information that allow the researcher to get an idea about the demography of a definite geographical locality, or to take a look on the dynamics of its economic life and social history.¹ However, it should be underlined that their usage requires certain inevitable reservations. The *tahrir defters* were compiled and served the Ottoman administration, not as population censuses, but only to meet the needs of the *timar* system, particularly to provide the necessary resources for the Ottoman

¹ The importance of the *tahrirs* was pointed out more than half a century ago by the prominent historians of the Ottoman Empire. Halil İnalcık discovered and published the earliest preserved register, with a detailed introduction, which became a hand-book for the studies on the *tahrir* registers. See: Halil İnalcık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954), XXI-XXXVI. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, in his numerous impressive articles both in Turkish and western languages, was the one who demonstrated the importance of the *tahrirs* for the demographic history of the Ottoman Empire. See: Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “«Tarihî demografî» araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi.” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10 (1951-1953): 1-26. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys”, *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, Michael A. Cook (ed.), (London, 1970), 163-171; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l’Empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles”, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1/1 (1957): 9-36; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Quelques remarques sur la constitution sociale et démographique des villes balkaniques au cours des XVe et XVIe siècles”, *Istanbul à la jonction des cultures balkaniques, méditerranéennes, slaves et orientales, aux XVIe-XIXe siècles* (Bucarest, 1977), 279-301.

cavalry members (*sipahi*). In this respect, the *defters* include almost no information about the members of the *askeri* class, along with most of the Imperial subjects who enjoyed the so called “special or privileged status” as well as the *re’aya* attached to the pious endowments (*vakıfs*). In order to come closer to more complete and relatively precise picture of the settlement network and the demographic pattern of a particular region, the researcher inevitably must combine the information provided by the *tahrirs* with the data from other records, like *vakıf defters* or registers of *voynuks*, *müsellems*, miners, rice-growers, salt-producers etc.²

Another major problem that a researcher faces in his/her work with the Ottoman tax surveys is the way of registration of the taxable population. The Ottoman administrative practice used in the compilation of the *defters* is not based on the individual member of a certain community, but rather uses the financial and taxable unit *hane* (comprised of several persons), which consequently poses serious difficulties in the attempts to reach relatively precise demographic reconstruction. It is well accepted in the historiography, at least regarding the

² Heath Lowry who is considered to be the one who introduced the term “defterology”, published a paper discussing the usage of the *tahrir defters* as a historical source and stressed certain methodological problems of data interpretations see Heath W. Lowry, “The Ottoman *Tahrir Defterleri* as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations”, in Heath W. Lowry, *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1992), 3-18; on the question how exactly the registration was taking place see İncalcık, *Arvanid*, XXI-XXXVI; Halil İncalcık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest”, *Studia Islamica* 3 (1954): 103-129; an original order how to be conducted a registration, published in French translation and Ottoman facsimile, could be found in: Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr and Nicoară Beldiceanu, “Règlement ottoman concernant le recensement (pemièrè moitié du XVIIè siècle)”, *Südost-Forschungen* 37 (1978): 1-40; See also: Mehmet Öz, “Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler”, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 12 (1991): 429-439; Kemal Çiçek, “Osmanlı Tahrir Defterlerinin Kullanımında Görülen bazı Problemler ve Metod Arayışları”, *Türk Dünya Araştırmaları* 97 (1995): 93-111; Bruce McGowan, “Food Supply and Taxation on the Middle Danube (1568/69)”, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 1 (1969): 139–196.

tahrir registers, that the term *hane* refers to the members of one household.³ However, the question about the size of this household has been an object of numerous scientific debates, as a result of which a conclusion must be drawn that the *hane* from the *tahrir defterleri* is variable in accordance with the demographic trends in different periods and it is in direct connection with the local traditions, climatic conditions, natural calamities and epidemics and many other factors.⁴ The above-mentioned problems – groups of population that could remain out of the records and uncertainty about the family size, presuppose that one could hardly offer absolutely precise numbers in demographic works, based on the *tahrirs*. These surveys would rather present a rough data showing approximately the

³ The registers of the type of *cizye* or *avarız* follow different methods of registration. For the *cizye* tax and its collection See Halil İnalçık, “Djizya – ii.”, *EF*², II: 562-565; Machiel Kiel, “Remarks on the Administration of the Poll Tax (*cizye*) in the Ottoman Balkans and Value of Poll Tax Registers (*cizye defterleri*) for Demographic Research” *Etudes Balkaniques* 4 (1990): 70-104. For *avarız* See: Harold Bowen, “Awarid”, *EF*², I: 759-761, and Oktay Özel, “Avarız ve Cizye Defterleri”, in: Halil İnalçık and Şevket Pamuk (eds.), *Osmanlı Devleti’nde Bilgi ve İstatistik / Data and Statistics in the Ottoman Empire*, (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), 35-50.

⁴ It was Professor Barkan who offered the multiplier 5 for the *hane* in the *tahrir* registers. See the works of Ömer Lütfi Barkan referred in note 1. Modern researchers more or less come close to this coefficient. However, the majority of them are primarily based on sources from the later period. The work of Heath Lowry is a good example of a comparison between pre-Ottoman data and early *tahrirs*. See: Heath Lowry. “Changes in Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radilofo”, in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*. Antony Bryer and Heath Lowry (eds) (Birmingham – Washington, D.C.: the University of Birmingham Centre for Byzantine Studies & Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 23-37. Accurate and detailed bibliography on the topic could be found in: Nejat Göyünç, “Hane Deyimi Hakkında”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979): 331-348. For certain theoretical work on the topic and the usage of statistics methods see Leyla Erder, “The Measurement of Pre-industrial Population Changes. The Ottoman Empire from the 15th to 17th Century”, *Middle Eastern Studies* 11 (1975): 284-301; See also Alan Duben, “Household Formation in Late Ottoman Istanbul”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22/4 (1990): 419-435; Kemal Karpat, “The Ottoman Family: Documents Pertaining to its Size”, *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4 (1987): 137-145; Justin McCarthy, “Age, Family and Migration in the Black Sea Provinces of the Ottoman Empire”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10 (1979): 309-323; Rıfat Özdemir, “Avârız ve Gerçek-hâne Sayılarının Demografik Tahminlerde kullanılması Üzerine Bazı Bilgiler”, *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara: 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol. 4 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), 1581-1613; Maria Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern: Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria* (Washington: American University Press, 1993); Muhiddin Tuş and Bayram Ürekli, “Osmanlı’da Ailenin Niceliği, Eş Durumu ve Çocuk Sayıları: Konya Örneği”, in Saadettin Gömeç (ed.), *Kafalı Armağanı*, (Ankara: Ançağ Yayınları, 2002), 269-279.

number of the taxable population and its fluctuations in a time period and region. Any further estimation on the exact number of the inhabitants of a particular place should be seen as an oversimplification or just a speculation. Therefore, the data that this work puts forward follows the *hane* basis without making any claims for absolute comprehensiveness or completeness of the historical demography of the cities under consideration.

The aim of the present thesis is to stress, once again, the significance of the local studies for the completion of Ottoman Empire's general demographic picture.⁵ The region of Upper Thrace for many years remained out of the scientific interest of various research works on Balkan demography, which attracted our attention. Bulgarian historiography, which should have been naturally interested in studying it, neglected Upper Thrace, partly because of the lack of reliable sources⁶, but also because if a researcher studied consciously the demographic processes in Thrace, he/she would inevitably come to certain conclusions, namely the predominantly Muslim population, which would not have fit the ideology of the

⁵ The importance of local studies was first noticed by the pioneers in "defterology" like İnalçık and Barkan. In this respect Turkish historiography produced numerous works, published by the Turkish Historical Society in the past 20 years. Without underestimating the contributions of the Turkish historians' research works, their limitation to Anatolian provinces must be pointed. Similarly, Balkan historiographies focused on their national territories relying mainly on the material that could be found in the Balkan national archives. It was the Dutch historian Machiel Kiel who introduced the idea of studying various parts of the Balkans seen through long series of Ottoman documents, combined with field trips and a research on the local architecture and archaeology. See his brilliant monograph on Bulgarian lands, Machiel Kiel, *Art and Society in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period. A New Interpretation* (Assen/Maastricht, The Netherlands, 1985). With a very recent Bulgarian translation.

⁶ The *tahrirs* housed in Istanbul for many years were inaccessible for Bulgarian historians, due to political reasons. As for the *tahrir* registers housed in Sofia, it should be noted that most of them are fragments from different registers, often roughly dated, which poses serious problems in their usage. The best preserved examples were collected and published, but they offer almost no information on the demography of Upper Thrace. For this reason Bulgarian historiography was particularly strong in the studies of *cizye* records, as a large number of them are available in Sofia. However, *cizye defters* could hardly be helpful in demographic studies of an area inhabited predominately by Muslims, which was the case of Thrace.

then ruling communist regime in Bulgaria. Contrarily, Turkish historiography was very productive during the 1950s when the important publications of Barkan and Gökbilgin appeared⁷, and then there was a wave of publications in the 1980s, which unfortunately did not have the quality of the earlier works. Machiel Kiel and his numerous contributions to the demographic history of Thrace, based on original source materials from Turkey and the Balkans, must be considered as the first well argued attempt of shedding some light on Thracian demographic patterns in the Ottoman classical age.⁸

The present research work will focus on the urban development and demographic patterns of three well-known Thracian cities situated in the very centre of modern Bulgaria – Filibe (ancient Philippopolis, modern Plovdiv), Tatar Bazarı/Pazarcık (modern Pazardjik) and İstanımaka (Byzantine Stenimachos, modern Asenovgrad). These settlements are located in Upper Thrace lying in the

⁷ Ömer Lütfi Barkan “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 11 (1949-1950): 524-569; *İÜİFM*, 13, 1951-1952, pp. 56-79; *İÜİFM*, 15, 1953-1954, pp. 209-237. And the excellent books of Gökbilgin, containing a lot of information on Thrace. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin. *XV.-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı. Vakıflar-mülkler-mukataalar* (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952); M. Tayyib Gökbilgin. *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân* (İstanbul: Osman Yılçın Matbaası, 1957). See also: Münir M. Aktepe. “XIV. Ve XV. asırlarda Rumeli’nin Türkler tarafından iskânına dair.” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10 (1951-1953): 299-312.

⁸ See his article dealing with most of the major cities of present day Bulgaria. Machiel Kiel, “Urban Development in Bulgaria in the Turkish period: The place of Turkish architecture in the process” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4 (1989): 79-159. This large contribution was recently translated and with some additions published in Turkish. Machiel Kiel, *Bulgaristan’da Osmanlı Dönemi Kentsel Gelişimi ve Mimari Anıtları*, İlknur Kolay (trans.), (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000). A paper on Tatar Pazarcık presented in the Tenth Congress of Turkish history, was published by the Turkish Historical Society, See Machiel Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcık. A Turkish Town in the Heart of Bulgaria, Some Brief Remarks on its Demographic development, 1485-1874”, *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi Ankara: 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, Vol. 5 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 2567-2581. See also his larger contribution Machiel Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcık. The Development of an Ottoman Town in Central-Bulgaria or the Story of how the Bulgarians conquered Upper Thrace without firing a shot”, in Klaus Kreiser, Christoph Neuman (eds.), *Das osmanische Reich und seinen Archivalien und Chroniken, Nejat Göyünc zu Ehren*. (İstanbul, 1997), 31-67. And his numerous contributions to *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, dealing with various settlements in Thrace.

vast and fertile plain of the Maritsa River (ancient Hebros, Ottoman Meriç), standing some 20-30 km from each other. The logical assumption that, due to their similar geography and identical climatic conditions, the cities under investigation must have followed similar trends during the Ottoman period, is not confirmed by the archival materials. Furthermore, on the basis of the *tahrir* registers, this work will attempt to demonstrate that each of the cities followed different models of urban development. A study on their demographic history will show the existence of at least three different developments in the city-building processes in the present day Bulgarian lands during the time of Ottoman rule.⁹

Filibe that could be seen as the first model of urban development is an example of well-known, but declining settlement from the Byzantino-Slavic period, which as a consequence of large Turkish migration from Asia Minor, combined with state-sponsored building activity, was transformed into an important Muslim urban centre. Muslims had a large majority until the end of the 17th and the beginning of 18th c. when a wave of expending Bulgarian population coming down from the mountains settled in the city, slowly gaining more importance in urban life.

⁹ Compare with Kiel, "Urban Development", 83-84, where the author distinguishes five types of Ottoman cities: 1. Cities survived from the Byzantino-Bulgarian period, later on developed by the Ottomans, having a mixed population since the beginning of the Ottoman period; 2. Cities that have been developed during the Byzantino-Bulgarian period (which could have been, but also may have not been supported by the Ottomans after the conquest), having mixed population, whose development was encouraged by the building of some important public buildings; 3. Pre-Ottoman cities, recreated by the Ottomans and resettled by the Turks, whose development was assisted by the large building activity – policy of the state; 4. Original Ottoman towns created around important buildings sponsored by the government; 5. Towns which spontaneously emerged from villages – some developing slowly in a gradual process, other growing rapidly, having insignificant Ottoman building activity.

Tatar Pazarcık, our second model, was a settlement originally created by the Ottomans. It came into being as a result of state-organized colonization of Tatars and Turks from Asia Minor in the beginning of 15th century and rapidly growing since the 16th century, emerged as a centre of a *kaza*. The population of the city remained exclusively Muslim until the late 16th c., when Bulgarians began to settle there in large numbers.

İstanimaka demonstrates completely different demographic trends and could be regarded as a third type of urban development. It was a fortified town of secondary importance in the pre-Ottoman period that kept its Christian appearance during the Ottoman rule, having almost an invisible Muslim minority. Christians retained their position of overwhelming majority until the end of the Ottoman rule in Bulgaria.

Our intent here is to bring together all of the preserved Ottoman tax surveys (*tahrir defterleri*) containing data about Filibe, Tatar Bazarı and İstanimaka from the archives in Turkey and Bulgaria and comparing their figures with the information included in various travel reports, to come up with a comprehensive picture of the demographic trends and urban development of the three cities under question. The importance of a serial usage of the *tahrirs* was pointed out long ago by most of the prominent “defterologists”.¹⁰ A study on long series of *defters* would offer the possibility for a detailed look on cities’ structure, taxable population fluctuations, and dynamics of the economic life.

¹⁰ See Heath Lowry’s summarized notes on the topic. Heath W. Lowry, “The Ottoman *Tahrir Defterleri*”, 3-18.

As a result of a research in the archives at Sofia¹¹, Istanbul¹² and Ankara¹³, there have been found more than 15 *tahrir* records (both detailed and synoptic), in which the three cities of our interest were included, covering the period 1472-1614. Most of the *icmâls* were excluded from this work, because they just present a summarized version of the data included in the preserved *mufassals*, which did not serve our needs.¹⁴

The earliest preserved register¹⁵ including the settlements under study, which we were able to find, is a *mufassal* housed in Sofia, dating from the late years of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror's reign - (H.877/1472).¹⁶ The document was damaged by moisture and despite the excellent restoration some parts of it are unreadable. Furthermore, before being catalogued, the *defter* was torn into pieces and for this reason its parts lie under different call numbers, as separate registers, some dated wrongly. In fact, the document is not a typical *tahrir defteri*, but it is rather more similar to the *avarız* records of the later period. The purpose for its composition was an extraordinary due levied on the Thracian population, needed for the recruitment of the *akıncı* troops.¹⁷ In this way, the population listed in the register is limited only to those tax-payers who were charged with this exceptional

¹¹ Oriental Department of the Bulgarian National Library "Sts Cyril and Methodius", Sofia, hereafter only Sofia.

¹² Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul, hereafter only BOA.

¹³ Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Kuyûd-ı Kadîme Arşivi, Ankara, hereafter only KuK.

¹⁴ The only exception in this respect is the summary register TD 370 from BOA. See the publication of this document in two parts by the General Directorate of the Turkish Archives. *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rum-İli Defteri (937/1530)* Vol. 1, (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivrelî Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2001) and Vol. 2, Ankara, 2002. See APPENDIX A.

¹⁵ It is very probable that the first registrations of Upper Thrace have been conducted around the mid-15th c. or even earlier. Unfortunately, none of these early records is to be found for the moment.

¹⁶ Sofia, call number ПД 17/27 (PD 17/27) and OAK 94/73.

¹⁷ The information concerning this interesting document was offered to me by Mariya Kiprovska to whom I am very indebted.

burden, predetermining the fact that those who were exempted would not appear in the document. It could be immediately noticed that the spiritual leaders of both Christians and Muslims were excluded from the register, additionally there is no single entry of unmarried young men, which leads us suppose that the *mücerreds* were also exempted. The presence of unknown number of unregistered in the *defter* tax-payers makes the usage of the document for precise demographic studies impossible, but despite this the register has a high value. It does not provide the researcher with exact numbers, but clearly shows the proportion of Christians and Muslims in the cities of our interest. Furthermore, the document is exceptionally valuable for the history of Tatar Pazarçık, demonstrating convincingly that the city was not established by Crimean Tatars under Bayezid II, since it already existed at the time of Mehmed the Conqueror.¹⁸

The following register at our disposal is a *mufassal* from H.895/1489 housed in BOA in Istanbul.¹⁹ It should be considered as a *tahrir defteri*, but of a rather strange type. The beginning and the end of the register are not preserved and it covers a relatively small area - the territories of the *kazas* Filibe and Eski Zağra.²⁰ For some unknown reason the settlements in the register are entered in a disorderly fashion as many of them remained out of the document. It lists the Sultanlic *hasses*, *zeamets* and some of the *timars* and *vakıfs* from the above-

¹⁸ Franz Babinger, *Beitrage zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien*, (München, 1944), 68; Kiel, "Tatar Pazarçık. The Development", 39. It should be noticed here that in a correspondence Professor Kiel stated that he was never satisfied with the idea of having Tatar Pazarçık established under Bayezid II, but he was unable to find any earlier document containing information about the city. The question about the time of establishment of Tatar Pazarçık will be discussed further on in the related Chapter Four.

¹⁹ BOA, TD 26.

²⁰ For a detailed description of the document See Evgeni Radushev and Rumen Kovachev, *Inventory of Registers from the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul at the General Directorate of State Archives in the Republic of Turkey*, (Sofia: St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, 1996), 3.

mentioned territories. In this respect, we do not get information about İstanimaka and Tatar Pazarcık, doubtlessly belonging to the *kaza* of Filibe at the time. Despite this, we have at our disposal a very detailed description of the population of Filibe, which belonged to the *zeamet* held by Mesih Pasha.²¹

The first “classical” *tahrir* that includes all three cities of Filibe, Tatar Pazarcık, and İstanimaka is BOA, TD 77. This *defter* is also without beginning and end, which poses some difficulties in dating its compilation.²² A marginal note gives an idea that in 1516 the register already existed, which in a comparison with the following documents let us suppose that 1516 should be accepted as a *terminus ante quem* of the registration.²³

The register that follows chronologically belongs to the *Maliyeden Müdevver* collection of Istanbul Archive and includes all of the three cities under question.²⁴ The first and the last pages of the document are missing, which again poses difficulties in its dating. The date H. 925 offered by the catalogue of the Istanbul archive is undoubtedly wrong. It is highly unlikely that Sultan Selim I ordered a new registration only couple of years after the registration of 1516 unless there was a special need. A closer look on the document shows that an extraordinary reason for its composition could exist, but it only happened at the

²¹ For an English translation of the part related to Filibe See Grigor Boykov, Maria Kiprovska. “The Ottoman Philippopolis (Filibe) during the Second Half of the 15th c.” *Bulgarian Historical Review* 3-4 (2000): 128-136.

²² Machiel Kiel in his works states that the *defter* was compiled in 1519, but the actual information in it refers to 1516 or 1517. Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcık. The Development”, 36; Gökbilgin dates the document H. 925. See Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, 534.

²³ In page 733 of the register it is mentioned the *mezra* of Ostro mogile, *çiftlik* possession of Pir Mehmed Paşa and a date 17 muharrem 922 (21 February 1516).

²⁴ BOA, MAD 519

time of Sultan Süleyman I.²⁵ A convincing evidence for the compilation of the register under Sultan Süleyman I is the presence of the *hasses* of his Grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha.²⁶ He was appointed to the post in 1523 which indicates that the *defter* must have been composed after this date. An important event gives the clue toward the determination of the date before which the registration took place. It is known that in 1529 Ibrahim Pasha received sizable increase of his *hasses* up to the level of 3 million *akçes*.²⁷ There is no doubt that this register was composed before the increase of Ibrahim Pasha's *hasses*²⁸, which lets us assume that the compilation of the document took place in the period 1523-1529. A detailed look on the content of the *defter* confirms this time period as the large majority of the tax payers listed in 1516 register were still alive at the time of the following registration. Furthermore, most of the people recorded as unmarried in 1516 are now to be found among the married ones, which shows that the time distance between these two registrations cannot be more than 10 to 15 years. To define more accurately the date we should think of a period no longer than 10 years after the 1516 registration, since the data of 1530 *icmâl* differ greatly from the one offered by the previous two registers. Finally, a marginal note, pointing the year 1525 let us accept it as the most probable date of the *defter*'s composition.²⁹

²⁵ The extraordinary reason that remained behind the composition of the register is a possible deportation of population from the regions of Filibe and Tatar Pazarcık. This point will be further developed in Chapter Three of this work.

²⁶ The Grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha held the office in the period 13 Şaban 929 (27 June 1523) – 22 Ramazan 942 (14-15 March 1536). See M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Ibrahim Pasha." *EF*², III: 998. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975), 545-547.

²⁷ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Ibrahim Pasha." *EF*², 998.

²⁸ The *icmâl* of 1530 clearly shows the increase. Many of the villages listed in the Pasha's *hasses* in 1530, were not included in MAD 519.

²⁹ "Karye-i Pastuşa-i Köhne, halya hassa-i Padişah..., Muharrem 932" (October-November 1525), MAD 519, f. 239.

The detailed register of 1525 is chronologically followed by the large *icmâl* from 1530 housed in Istanbul.³⁰ This *defter* is considered to be a part of an Empire-wide registration that took place during the first years of Sultan Süleyman's rule and includes data from various *mufassal* registers, some of which did not survive until the present day.³¹ However, it is still to be clarified how exactly the data which served as a basis for the composition of the *defter* was selected. It is known that for some Rumelian areas it was simply copied from the last registration of Sultan Selim I, dating around 1516. In other cases, like the İstanimaka region, information included in the summary register was taken from the *mufassal* of 1525, as for the districts of Filibe and Tatar Pazarcık it is clear that data is based on some unknown detailed account.

The 1530 *defter* is the last *timar* register in which İstanimaka is to be found. The reason for this is an important change in the administrative status of the town along with other settlements in Filibe and Tatar Pazarcık districts. In the 1550s İstanimaka was attached to the enormous pious foundation of the newly built Süleymaniye in Istanbul and remained part of the *vakıf* until 19th century.³² After 1530 the whole information regarding İstanimaka is based on the *mufassal vakıf* records that we were able to find in the archives in Istanbul and Ankara.

After the big *icmâl* of 1530 there is a gap of 40 years without a registration of the area under study. The following piece of information is offered by two *defters* preserved in Istanbul which were composed in the middle of Sultan Selim

³⁰ BOA, TD 370.

³¹ 370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rum-İli Defteri, 7-9. Gokbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, 534.

³² The large complex of Süleymaniye was built in the period 1550-1557. The *vakıfname* published by Kürkçüoğlu in 1962 should be dated around that time. See Kemâl Edip Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi* (Ankara: Resimli Posta Matbaası, 1962), 65-67.

II's reign. The first of the documents is a typical *timar* register, containing a detailed list of the tax payers in Filibe and Tatar Pazarcık.³³ The *defter* is preserved in its entirety, with all the components of a “classical” *tahrir* record, dating from H. 978 (1570). The second register, having the same date is the first *mufassal evkaf* record in which the population of İstanimaka is included.³⁴ It is probably safe to state that this *defter* is the first example of a registration of *vakıf* properties in Upper Thrace in a separate *defter*, a practice used long before in the other provinces of the Empire. Since that time, it turned to be a settled practice of the Ottoman administration to produce two registers simultaneously – one to serve the needs of the *timar* system and the other for the *vakıf* possessions in Upper Thrace, which belonged to the *vilâyet* of Edirne.

The following bit of information dates from the time of Sultan Mehmed III (1595-1603). There were two separate registrations covering the area of our interest – one of the *miri* lands and another of the lands attached to the pious foundations. Two separate sets of registers, were produced respectively which could be found in Ankara and Istanbul. This case could be an illustration of the fact that the Ottoman central administration had a practice of producing more than one copy of the *tahrirs*. We had the good luck to find the “main copy”, which was used for many years by the officials, having plenty of *der kenars*, additional pieces of paper containing information and sometimes even Imperial orders glued to the *defter*. This nicely written document is preserved in Tapu ve Kadastro Arşivi in

³³ BOA, TD 494.

³⁴ BOA, TD 498.

Ankara, being part of a two-volume set.³⁵ In the catalogue, the register is roughly dated as being produced under Sultan Selim II (1566-1574), which is doubtlessly mistaken. Firstly, it is hard to believe that after 1570 the Sultan ordered a new registration and secondly in its beginning the *defter* has a Sultanic monogram (*tuğra*), which belongs to Sultan Mehmed III. An additional comparison of data included in the 1570 register and KuK 65 shows that the Ankara *defter* is from a later date and should be regarded as having been produced at the time of Sultan Mehmed III. However, it is difficult to say when exactly the registration took place and what the precise date of the composition of the *defter* was. In accordance with the practice of the new Sultans to order a new registration, we should assume that the register was produced in the beginning of Sultan Mehmed III's reign – around 1595, or a year later.

As it was stated above, the 1595 Ankara register has two copies housed in Istanbul – TD 648 and TD 1001. A careful comparison between these three documents shows that they are absolutely identical. TD 648, incorrectly dated in the catalogue H. 1022, was torn into pieces and rebound in the wrong order. In this way, parts of some cities lay in the middle of others, which makes the usage of the document extremely difficult. TD 1001 is a nice and arranged copy of KuK 65. This register, despite being catalogued as undated (*tarihsiz*), has the *tuğra* of Sultan Mehmed III, which confirms the fact that it is a spare copy to be kept untouched in the central Ottoman administration.

The other set of registers from 1595 covers all of the *vakıf* possessions in Upper Thrace, part of which was İstanımaka. The “main” register in its original

³⁵ KuK 65 and KuK 66.

binding is to be found in Ankara. Similar to the *timar* register, it is in two volumes, dated from Selim II's reign, but having the *tuğra* of Sultan Mehmed III.³⁶ The copy in Istanbul³⁷ is preserved in a very good shape but is dated wrongly in the catalogue – H. 976. This register is the last *tahrir* in which we were able to find information about the city of İstanimaka.

The last source at our disposal is most probably part of the last *timar* registration of Upper Thrace or even of the whole Rumelia.³⁸ It is accepted that Sultan Ahmed I was the one to order the registration, but when exactly it took place remained unknown.³⁹ Machiel Kiel in his paper on Tatar Pazarcık, presented at 10th Congress of Turkish History, tried to date the register more precisely.⁴⁰ An important event in local history offers a hint about the possible time of *defter*'s composition. According to Kiel the Armenian community of Filibe settled there in 1610.⁴¹ In this respect the presence of Armenians in Filibe would prove that the register was made after 1610. A look at the data shows that the Armenians were entered in the *defter* which made the Dutch researcher to conclude that 1610 or a year later should be accepted as the time of registration.⁴² However, if we suppose that TD 729 was part of an attempt for renewal of the existing documentation of Rumelian provinces, then we should accept a later date. The registers, covering Rumelia and dating from the time of Sultan Ahmed I, were composed around H. 1023 (1614/15). Some of them were just copies of previously made registers,

³⁶ KuK 563 and KuK 564.

³⁷ BOA, TD 470.

³⁸ BOA, TD 729.

³⁹ Gokbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, 535.

⁴⁰ Kiel, "Tatar Pazarcık. A Turkish Town", 2572.

⁴¹ Kiel, "Tatar Pazarcık. A Turkish Town", 2572.

⁴² Kiel, "Tatar Pazarcık. A Turkish Town", 2572.

others contained new information, which is the case of TD 729.⁴³ Finally, knowing that our register was composed after 1610 and having in mind the process of update of the documentation that took place in 1614, we accept the latter as the most possible date of BOA TD 729's composition.

⁴³ In this respect, an example could be KuK 58 from Ankara archive. It has the *tuğra* of Sultan Murad III and a date – 1579/1580. The content of the same *defter* could be found in Istanbul archive, also having a date – 1023 H. (1614). It is obviously not a different register, but just a copy of the information from the earlier.

CHAPTER TWO

UPPER THRACE IN THE PRE-OTTOMAN AND EARLY OTTOMAN PERIOD

In order to discuss the continuity or discontinuity in the urban development of Filibe, Tatar Pazarcık and İstanimaka after the Ottoman conquest some remarks are needed on their geographical position, climatic particularities and pre-Ottoman political history. Such information may give an idea about the situation in Upper Thrace that the Ottomans faced in the 1360s and up to some extent could provide an explanation about the policy followed after the conquest of this territory. A look on the demography of the region prior to the conquest would illustrate the reason that was behind the colonizing activity of the state in one region and its complete absence in another.

İstanimaka was situated at the foot of the Rhodope Mountains, being a starting point of an ancient road that was leading to the Aegean Sea through the mountain. Both Filibe and Tatar Pazarcık laid on the Military Road (Roman Via Militaris) in the valley of the Maritsa River (Ottoman Meriç) that runs into the vast plain of northwestern Thrace. The plain is enclosed from the south by the large massif of the Rhodope Mountains and from the north – by the low mountain of

Sredna Gora (Ottoman Karaca Dağ) and further to the north – by the much higher Stara Planina (Ottoman Koca Balkan). A large number of smaller rivers coming down from the mountains cross the plane and flow into the Maritsa River. The climate is extremely hot and moist during the summer, which together with the high fertility of the soil offers excellent conditions for growing cereals and especially – rice. The foot of the mountains to the South and to the North is known for the excellent vineyards and wine production since Antiquity.

The Ottoman officials immediately noticed the suitable conditions for rice-growing in Upper Thrace and paid special attention to organize and control the cultivation of this crop in the region. It is believed that rice cultivation in Thrace and especially in Filibe region was introduced by Lala Şahin Pasha soon after the conquest.¹ The Burgundian traveler Bertrandon de la Broquière in 1433 witnessed rice growing in the region of Niş, captured by the Ottomans years after Filibe. This fact lets us suppose that if rice growing existed in Niş region in the 1430s, it was established in the Filibe area even earlier, which makes İdrisi's remark quite possible. An official source, the *mukata'a defteri* form 1487, illustrates that production in the Filibe area was quite well developed bringing an annual income of 3,400,000 *akçes*.²

¹ The source of this information is Hoca Sa'adeddin to whom Joseph von Hammer and Babinger refer. However, Halil İnalçık argues that this passage is just a summary of what was written in *Haşt Bihîst* of İdris-i Bidlisi. Furthermore, İnalçık considers the information of İdris as incorrect, pointing out that the drastic increase of the rice production that occurred under Mehmed II and Bayezid II. Halil İnalçık, "Rice Cultivation and the *Çeltükci-Re'âyâ* System in the Ottoman Empire", *Turcica* 14 (1982): 70-71.

² İnalçık, "Rice Cultivation", 70. İnalçık refers to Gökgilgin's detailed information about the rice production in the Filibe area, based on *mukata'a* records. See M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı. Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar* (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), 126-134.

The development of rice production in the region should have a direct connection with at least two factors – the existence of the necessary human resource and the availability of free arable lands to be turned into rice fields.³ Furthermore, it could be stated with some degree of probability, that the human resource was brought to the area because there was plenty of arable land which was abandoned. In order to clarify this point further we need to take a brief look at the political events in the investigated region during the period before the Ottomans arrived there and the first decades of Ottoman domination.

The region of our interest was situated in the Thracian fertile plain and lied in the most important trade and military highway of the Medieval Balkans, *Via Militaris*. However, this geographical position, except being beneficial for its inhabitants had also important negative aspects. Taken as a whole, because of being relatively flat and having the road which facilitated the transportation of military troops, the area was vulnerable to military actions and was exposed to numerous invasions from one or another side since Antiquity. The rise of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, created by the Turkic Old-Bulgars and Slavs, put the Byzantine Empire in a situation of a constant fight for control of the territories south of the Balkan (Stara Planina or ancient Hemus). After the 10th century and especially after the destruction of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, in the 11th century under Emperor Basil I, there was a period of almost two centuries without any major military conflict in the area. However, the end of 12th c. marked the reemergence of the Bulgarian state in the territories north of the Balkan, which renewed the old struggle for control of Thrace.

³ See İnalçık, “Rice Cultivation”, pp. 69-141.

A rebellion of two brothers, Asen and Petar (most probably from Cuman origin) in 1185, gave birth to the Second Bulgarian kingdom. After establishing themselves in the north, the brothers, supported by Cuman mercenaries launched booty raids south of the Balkan and devastated the region of Philippopolis.⁴ The following year brought a time of unrest and anarchy in Thrace, due to the passing of the knights of the Third Crusade led by Emperor Frederick I. Nicetas Choniates who was at the time governor of *tema* Philippopolis fortified the city, but later on he was forced to destroy some of the fortifications and to abandon the city together with most of its population.⁵ The main body of the crusading army stopped for some time in Philippopolis, terrorizing the locals for provisions and finally burning the city down. Additionally, three other armies were sent – one towards Adrianople, another to the south – towards the small strongholds in the Rhodopes and a third one – to the northeast of Philippopolis. The sources underline the fact that the Crusaders suffered a great shortage of provisions and decided to collect them by any possible means. This resulted in the destruction of cities like Philippopolis, Berhoe (modern Stara Zagora), Sliven etc. Many smaller settlements disappeared for good as a result of the activity of the Crusaders in the region.⁶

⁴ The main source for these events is the Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniates. Here, we refer to Krassimira Gagova, “La Thrace du Nord dès la fin du XIIe jusqu’à la fin du XIVE siecle (la Bulgarie au Sud de Hemus)” *Byzantinobulgarica* 8 (Sofia, 1986), 196.

⁵ Krassimira Gagova, *Trakia prez bulgarskoto srednovekovie. Istoricheska demografia* (Thrace in Bulgarian Middle Ages. A historical demography) (Sofia: University Publishing House St. Kliment Ohridski, 2002), 272.

⁶ See: Machiel Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcik. The Development of an Ottoman Town in Central-Bulgaria or the Story of how the Bulgarians Conquered Upper Thrace without Firing a Shot 1485-1875” in Klaus Kreiser und Christoph Neuman (eds.), *Das Osmanische Reich in seinen Archivalien und Chroniken. Nejat Göyünç zu Ehren*, In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag (Stuttgart, 1997), 34. Machiel Kiel refers to the data offered by local archeologists which is not published yet.

Immediately after the Crusaders went away, the Bulgarians and Cumans reappeared in Thrace, raiding the area for a whole year and devastated the region of Philippopolis again.⁷ The booty raids stopped for some time after the appointment of the Emperor's cousin Constantine for administrator of Philippopolis.⁸ However, in 1193 the same person proclaimed himself Emperor and marched towards Adrianople, devastating the province. In 1196 the Bulgarian *boyar* Ivanko killed Bulgarian King Asen and escaped to Constantinople. Shortly afterwards he was appointed governor of Philippopolis, but his loyalty to the Byzantine Emperor lasted only for two years and he proclaimed himself an independent ruler. This provoked punitive expedition, led by Alexis Paleologos and Theodore Lascaris, along with continuous and destructive actions in the region of Philippopolis, finally resulting in the recapture of the city.⁹

The man who contributed greatly to the destruction of the settlement network and devastation of Upper Thrace was the Bulgarian King Kaloyan (1197-1207). Since the year 1198, supported by his numerous Cuman mercenaries, he started regular booty raids in the entire Upper Thrace.¹⁰ In 1201, along with others, he destroyed the old castle of Konstantia near modern Simeonovgrad on the bank of the Maritza River, which disappeared for good.¹¹ After Kaloyan defeated the

⁷ Ivan Bojilov, *Familiata na Asenevsi. Genealogia i prosopografia*. (Asen's Family. Genealogy and Prosopography) (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1985), 29.

⁸ Gagova, "La Thrace du Nord", 197.

⁹ Vasil Zlatarski, *Istoria na bulgarskata darjava prez srednite vekove* (A History of Bulgarian State in the Middle Ages) Vol. 3 (Sofia: Royal Print house, 1940), 117-119.

¹⁰ Bojilov, *Familiata*, 45.

¹¹ Zlatarski, *Istoria*, 136. Zlatarski wrongly localized Konstantia close to Kostenets. It was Gjuzeev who first pointed the exact location of the castle. Quoted after Machiel Kiel, "Tatar Pazarcik", 35. Machiel Kiel refers to Vasil Gjuzeev, "Forschungen zur Geschichte des Thrakiens im Mittelalter, 1: Beitrage zur Geschichte der Stadt Konstantia", in Vasil Gjuzeev, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bulgariens im Mittelalter* (Wien, 1986), 47-86.

knights of the Fourth Crusade near Adrianople in 1204, he decided to establish himself firmly in Thrace while following a policy of destruction of the cities and deportation of the local population.¹² In 1205 Kaloyan marched with his army towards Philippopolis. The Latin commander of the city Renier de Trit¹³, abandoned by most of his people, fled the city and enclosed himself in the stronghold of Stenimahos (İstanimaka).¹⁴ While leaving the city, Renier de Trit passed through the neighborhood of the Popelicans (Heretics) and burned most of it down.¹⁵ However, the Greek aristocracy in Philippopolis refused to surrender to Kaloyan and organized the defense of the city under the command of Alexis Aspietis.¹⁶ The Bulgarian king ordered continuous attacks and finally in June 1205 took the city by assault. Philippopolis, which was just hardly rebuilt after the damage of the Third crusade, was again put into fire.¹⁷ Furthermore, the Bulgarian king ordered the demolition of the city walls, executed at the spot many of the Greek notables along with the archbishop and deported to the north the whole population of the city.¹⁸ These events were vividly described by Geoffroi de

¹² Bojilov, *Familiata*, 53.

¹³ According to Geoffroi de Villehardouin, the chronicler of the Fourth crusade, Renier de Trit was very well accepted by the citizens of Philippopolis. Probably the main reason for this was the policy followed by the Bulgarian king, which showed to the Greeks that any union with Kaloyan against the Crusaders could be more dangerous than the Latins themselves. On the other hand, there is information about resistance of some of the smaller strongholds, which suggests that Renier de Trit did not establish himself in the region as easy as de Villehardouin tries to convince us. See Jofrua de Vilarden, *Zavladiavaneto na Konstantinopol* (Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *The Conquest of Constantinople*), Introduction, translation and comments by Ivan Bojilov (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1985), 98.

¹⁴ Jofrua de Vilarden, *Zavladiavaneto*, 104.

¹⁵ Jofrua de Vilarden, *Zavladiavaneto*, 114; Gagova, *Trakia*, 273. Ani Dancheva-Vasileva, *Bulgaria i Latinskata Imperia 1204-1261* (Bulgaria and the Latin Empire) (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1985), 71.

¹⁶ Bojilov, *Familiata*, 52, Gagova, *Trakia*, 273.

¹⁷ Gagova, "La Thrace du Nord", 199.

¹⁸ Bojilov, *Familiata*, 52, Gagova, *Trakia*, 273.

Villehardouin who wrote that this was the end of the noble Philippopolis – one of the three most beautiful cities of the Byzantine Empire.¹⁹

After Kaloyan took Philippopolis, he besieged Renier de Trit in Stenimachos, but never managed to take the castle. Renier remained under blockade more than a year, but finally the Bulgarians were forced to move, due to the arrival of the army of the Emperor Henry.²⁰ The years 1206-1207 passed with numerous continuous military actions in Thrace led by the Knights and Bulgarians. Both of the sides caused such big damages to the local settlement network that made Villehardouin conclude that at a distance of 5 days of ride out of Constantinople there was hardly anything left to be devastated.²¹

After the death of Kaloyan in 1207, while besieging Thessalonica, Boril took the Bulgarian throne. He challenged the Emperor Henry and in July 1208 he faced him in a decisive battle near Philippopolis. Bulgarians were badly defeated and fled to the north, thus letting the Crusaders to take control over the city again after pillaging the area.²² They controlled the region until 1228 when the Bulgarian king Ivan II Asen annexed it following an agreement with the Latin Empire.²³ In 1230 Theodore Comnenos ahead of a big army marched in Thrace towards Philippopolis, but was stopped and defeated by the Bulgarians in Klokochnitsa (near modern Haskovo). It was John III of Nicea who captured most of the strongholds in Upper Thrace after the death of Ivan II Asen. In 1254 Bulgarians managed to

¹⁹ Jofrua de Vilarduen, *Zavladiavaneto*, 114; Gagova, *Trakia*, 273-274.

²⁰ Gagova, *Trakia*, 305.

²¹ Bojilov, *Familiata*, 52

²² Bojilov, *Familiata*, 70; Dancheva-Vasileva, *Latinskata Imperia*, 85; Zlatarski, *Istoria*, 275-277.

²³ Gagova, “La Thrace du Nord”, 200-201.

retake the majority of the strongholds, just to keep them for less than a year.²⁴ These campaigns resulted in a peace treaty between the Byzantine Empire and Bulgaria according to which the latter could keep all of the castles situated to the north of the Maritsa River.²⁵ The peace lasted for less than 10 years and in 1263 the Byzantines captured all of the Thracian cities, including Philippopolis and Stenimachos. This provoked the Bulgarians, who in 1265 appeared in Thrace, badly devastating the province supported by numerous Tatar mercenaries.²⁶

Byzantine Empire managed to keep the province under nominal control until 1322 when the Bulgarians succeeded to capture Philippopolis. Meanwhile, the pressure of the Turks from the east forced the Empire to look for foreign mercenaries. In the very beginning of 14th c. 10, 000 Alan mercenaries were hired to fight the Turks. These measures did not bring the expected results as the Alans did more damage to the Thracian population, where they were active for some years, than to the Turks in Asia Minor. The Alans were replaced in 1303 with a group of Catalan mercenaries, who were successful in Asia Minor for a couple of years. The situation was changed after the Byzantines failed to provide the salaries of the mercenaries and organized the assassination of their leader. Catalans united the Alans and settled a base in Gallipoli peninsula fighting the Imperial army and devastating entire Thrace. After 5 years of constant pillage, the Catalans were

²⁴ Bojilov, *Familiata*, 107.

²⁵ Gagova, "La Thrace du Nord", 200-201.

²⁶ Gagova, "La Thrace du Nord", 201.

forced to move westwards, because in accordance to the words of their chronicler there was nothing to be taken in a distance of 10 days ride from their base.²⁷

The death of the Bulgarian king George II Terter was immediately followed by a Byzantine campaign against Philippopolis. While besieging the city, Andronicus III had the Bulgarians in his rearguard, devastating the province.²⁸ The Byzantines took the city in 1323 which was followed in 1328 by a long and very destructive Bulgarian campaign in Thrace.²⁹ In the course of the next 20 years the Philippopolis region remained under Byzantine control, but it could hardly be called a period of peace due to “civil wars” in the Empire. Bulgarians managed to benefit from the difficult political situation in the Byzantine Empire and in 1344, in accordance with a treaty, annexed Philippopolis along with nine other castles in the region.³⁰ After this date the area was in Bulgarian possession until the Ottomans conquered it in the 1360s.

However, the Ottomans were not the first Turks from Asia Minor to be active in Thrace. In 1344-45 mercenaries of Umur Beg from Imir, acted in support of John Cantacuzenus and destroying many settlements in Thrace, devastated the province and took rich booty.³¹ The needs of the civil war in the Byzantine Empire required the recruitment of fresh Ottoman troops to replace Umur Beg’s army. The lack of resources forced the Byzantine commanders to allow the Turkish mercenaries to raid the neighboring areas, taking rich booty. Byzantines soon lost

²⁷ Ramon Muntaner. *Hronika*. Rositza Panova (trans.) (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1994), 85. The translation was made after Ramon Muntaner, *L’Expedicio dels Catalans a Orient (Extret de la Cronica)*. Text, introduction and notes Luis Nicolau D’Olwer (Barcelona, 1926).

²⁸ Bojilov, *Familiata*, 121; Gagova, *Trakia*, 275.

²⁹ Bojilov, *Familiata*, 124.

³⁰ Bojilov, *Familiata*, 154-155; Gagova, “La Thrace du Nord”, 202.

³¹ *Le Destan D’Umur-Pacha (Düsturmâne-i Enveri)*, Text, translation and comments by Irène Melicoff-Sayar (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), 102-107.

control over their allies who started acting independently looting this or that province, but mostly it was Thrace which suffered the biggest damage. In 1354 Emir Süleyman, the first-born son of the Ottoman ruler occupied a small castle in the Gallipoli peninsula, setting the first Ottoman base in Europe. The following years witnessed numerous Ottoman booty raids and campaigns in Thrace, bringing even more destruction to the area.

Following the events in the course of the late 12th until the mid-14th century, it could be noticed that the city of Philippopolis, in most of the cases accompanied by Stenimachos, changed hands between the Byzantines, Bulgarians and Latins at least 14 times. The region of Upper Thrace acquired clear characteristics of a military border zone where the actions, except being destructive often have been followed by deportation of the population by one side or another. Invaders like Alans and Catalans were active in the region only for couple of years, but their presence left visible traces. Since the beginning of the 14th century, the civil wars in the Byzantine Empire brought even more destruction to the area. In the middle of the century the Turks of Asia Minor started booty raids exactly there. In the beginning the troops of Umur Beg from Aydın, being mercenaries in Byzantine service, later on the Ottomans led by Süleyman Pasha and after him by Lala Şahin and other lords of the marches followed. It could be supposed that instability in the region continued even after the Ottomans put it under control. The numerous campaigns against the remains of Bulgaria and further to the west against Serbia, presuppose difficult times for the inhabitants of Upper Thrace. The beginning of 15th century brought a period of disturbance in the

Ottoman Empire due to the wars of Bayezid's sons. Thrace was exposed several times to military action, witnessing first the rivalry between Süleyman and Musa and later on – between Musa and Mehmed. Filibe, in particular, was burned by Musa who terrorized the local population several times, executing the bishop of Filibe.³² It was only after the first decade of the 15th c. when a long peaceful period was finally established in Thrace.

If we combine the information for destruction caused by human activity with the unfavorable demographic trends of the 14th century, along with the consequences of the Black Death, which affected the settlements in the plains very badly, it would not be an exaggeration to suppose that the Ottomans found the region almost depopulated.³³ It is highly likely that most of the settlements in the flat plain were either destroyed or affected so badly that they were abandoned by the inhabitants during the centuries of constant wars. The Ottoman documentation of the 15th c. shows that the surviving settlements from the pre-Ottoman period were those situated at the foot of the mountains (the Rhodopes to the south or the

³² A clear indication that the Ottoman *emirs* looked at the area as a war zone is a *firman* issued by the *emir* Süleyman on behalf of the monks of the Rila Monastery. According to the document it was composed “in the military camp Filibe”. See Boris Nedkov, *Osmanoturska diplomatika i paleografia*, vol. 2, (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1971).

It is very probable that the city-walls of Philippopolis have been demolished exactly in this period. It is known that Süleyman besieged Musa in Filibe, which shows that the fortification of the city was still in use. However, in 1433 De la Broquière states that the city-walls had already been demolished. It is unknown who demolished the walls, but since that time they were never rebuilt.

³³ The Bulgarian historian Petar Nikov pointed this fact years ago. He states that “... as a consequence of the civil wars in the Byzantine Empire and the Turkish raids, Thrace was turned into a depopulated desert.” To this process contributed the Catalan and Tatar invasions in these lands. Petar Nikov, “Turското zavladiavane na Bulgaria i sadbata na poslednite Shishmanovtsi (The Turkish Conquest of Bulgaria and the Destiny of the Last Shishmanids)”, *Izvestia na Bulgarskoto Istorichesko Drujestvo* 7-8 (1928): 42.

Balkan to the north).³⁴ These villages retained their predominantly Christian appearance throughout the whole Ottoman period. Just opposite of this, the settlements of the empty plains were colonized and turned to be exclusively Muslim. The Muslim colonizers appeared exactly there because plenty of arable land was available. The depopulation of the plain and the damage on the settlement network must be considered as one of the factors explaining the lack of information for any major military actions of the Ottomans in the region.

The sources providing particular information about the Ottoman occupation of the cities in Upper Thrace are extremely scarce and even contradictory. They agree only on the fact that the area was conquered in the period between the Ottoman occupation of Adrianople (*Edirne*) and the battle of Çirmen³⁵. As to the question how and when exactly the cities were captured and who was the leader of the Ottoman troops, their information differs greatly. The Byzantine historian Chalcocondyles attributes the conquest of Philippopolis to the already dead “Süleyman, Orhan’s first-born son”, adding that he “attached this city

³⁴ Machiel Kiel demonstrates this point in a convincing way in his study on Pazardjik. Kiel, “Tatar Pazardjik, Development”, 31-67. A study on the rural area of Filibe shows a very similar development.

³⁵ The question of the Ottoman occupation of Adrianople has been a subject of long scientific discussions. Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr offered as a date the spring of 1369, concluding that the city was first captured by semi-independent Turkic commanders, who “were not attached to the Ottoman dynasty” and only around 1376/77 the Ottomans established full control over Edirne. Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “La conquête d’Adrianople par les Turcs, la pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes”, *Travaux et Mémoires* 1 (1965): 439-461. Elizabeth Zachariadou, using different sources, also comes to the date of 1369 see Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, “The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks”, *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970): 211-217. Halil İnalçık, after careful examination of the existing source material, argues that the city was captured in 1361, which is the most acceptable conclusion and this work follows the dating of İnalçık. See Halil İnalçık, “The Conquest of Edirne (1361)”, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3 (1971): 185-210, which is an English translation of the Turkish original - Halil İnalçık, “Edirne’nin Fethi” in *Edirne’nin 600 Fetih Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1965), 137-59. Compare with Aleksandar Burmov, “Türkler Edirneyi ne vakit aldılar”, *Belleten* 13 (1949): 97-106; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Edirne”, *EF*, II: 683-686.

to his kingdom by a treaty”³⁶. The Ottoman chronicles point to Lala Şahin Pasha as conqueror of Upper Thrace acting in accordance with the orders of Sultan Murad I. According to Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri, after Sultan Murad established himself in Edirne, he asked Lala Şahin Pasha to start raids in the direction of Filibe and Eski Zağra³⁷. However, neither chronicler mentions when and how Filibe was conquered. The only information to be found in their writings concerns Eski Zağra, which was captured by Lala Şahin during the winter which followed Sultan Murad’s retreat to Anatolia.³⁸ Hoca Sa’deddin Efendi’s account, primarily based on İdris-i’s work, is much more detailed.³⁹ The chronicler mentions that after Sultan Murad conquered Edirne and established himself in Dimetoka he entrusted Lala Şahin Pasha with the leadership of a numerous army for the conquest of Filibe, Zağra and other regions to the north.⁴⁰ The *gazis* raided the area, pillaged the infidels’ lands, enslaved them, sacked their gold, silver and treasuries.⁴¹ Firstly, Lala Şahin conquered Zağra, “one of the most important and most beautiful cities of this area”, capturing countless booty in gold and slaves.⁴² In H. 765⁴³ the Pasha led his army in a raid towards Filibe. The governor of the city fled the battlefield

³⁶Laonik Chalcocondylas, *Za Turskite Raboti* (About the Turkish Works) in *Fontes Graeci Historiae Bulgaricae* VIII, (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Science, 1980): 32.

³⁷ “Devletle Edirne de oturdu Lalasına Zağra tarafına ve Filibe tarafına akın verdiler”. Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih-i Âli Osman* (İstanbul: Ali Bey’s edition, 1332), 54; Mehmed Neshri, *Ogledalo na sveta. Istorija na osmanskia dvor* (The Mirror of the World. A History of the Ottoman Court), translated and edited by Maria Kalitsin, (Sofia: Otechestven Front, 1984), 74. The Turkish edition – Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-i Cihan-nûma*, Edition of Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995) (3-rd edition), vol. 1, 196-197.

³⁸ Neshri, *Ogledalo na sveta*, 76; Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih-i Âli Osman*, 55.

³⁹ I would like here to express my special thanks to Professor Halil İnalçık for his assistance with the sources and for letting me use his own personal notes of İdris-i’s *Haşî Bihîşt*.

⁴⁰ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite* (Crown of the Histories), translated and edited by Maria Kalitsin (Veliko Tarnovo: Abagar, 2000), 169.

⁴¹ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 169.

⁴² Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 170.

⁴³ 10 October 1363 – 27 September 1364.

and enclosed himself in the castle. After a continuous siege, the Christian commander surrendered the keys of the fortress and after discussing the conditions, fled to the Serbians together with his family.⁴⁴ Lala Şahin left a garrison in the castle and went back to Edirne to announce the happy news.⁴⁵

In addition to these accounts, we have at our disposal a Greek legend related to the capture of the city, preserved by the common memory of Plovdiv's population. We shall briefly summarize it here for the sake of additional information about the conquest of Filibe. This legend, in accordance with the whole Balkan epic tradition of anti-Ottoman resistance, has emphasized heroic spirit and naturally ends in a tragic way.

According to the legend, the Ottoman Sultan Murad I entrusted the occupation of the Maritsa Valley and the conquest of Philippopolis to the courageous and experienced commander Lala Şahin Pasha. The garrison of Philippopolis, commanded by a Bulgarian *boyar*, shut itself in the fortress while part of the inhabitants remained outside and fled to the mountains. The Pasha immediately got down seizing the city by bold and fierce attacks but none of his efforts yielded results. The siege took quite long. The Turks were in a critical position, but by accident one of the soldiers of İsfendiyar Beğ discovered the city water reservoir which was in a cave next to the village of Markovo, close to the city. Lala Şahin Pasha then immediately ordered the cutting off of the water supply which had a bad effect on the spirit of the defenders. This measure encouraged the Turks and they expected the garrison to surrender. The defenders of the fortress,

⁴⁴ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 172.

⁴⁵ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 173.

facing the impossibility to defend it any more, decided to abandon it. For this reason, on a dark night, they installed on the northern hill – *Nebet Tepe* – a unique machine which simultaneously had beaten many drums making a loud noise. The besiegers took this as a sign of attack or an attempt to flee, and gathered at the eastern gate. At that time, very silently, the garrison succeeded to escape the city through the western gate and in order to deceive the enemy and frustrate some possible pursuit, the soldiers nailed the horses the opposite way and thus from the traces they left, they created an impression of cavalry entering the stronghold. The next day the clergy sent a delegation to the Pasha, presenting him the keys of the city gates on a silver tray. The Pasha was most satisfied, he reprieved the population and granted many privileges to the priests, including that of wearing round their hats green silk cloth pieces on which on a square red satin was embroidered the Sultan's monogram (*tuğra*) as a guarantee of the immunity and sanctity of their personalities⁴⁶.

In the course of the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans the local population formed a specific legendary epic tradition which very accurately reflected the *mentalité* of the Balkan people of that and also of a more recent time. The inhabitants of each town captured by the Ottomans presented their legendary version of what had happened. What is characteristic of the majority of these legends is the fact that they were composed later than the time of the event that

⁴⁶ The legend of the conquest of Plovdiv still lives in the common memory of the older inhabitants of Plovdiv. Its detailed description could be found in the publications of a Greek historian, who lived for many years in the city. Mihail Apostolidis, "Prezemaneto na Plovdiv ot turtzite (The Conquest of Plovdiv by the Turks)", *Plovdivski Obshtinski Vestnik*, (18th of November 1922), issue 22: 3-5. See also Vasil Peev, *Grad Plovdiv, minalo i nastoyashite* (The City of Plovdiv, Past and Present), Vol. 1, *Plovdiv v minaloto* (Plovdiv in the Past) (Plovdiv: u.p., 1941), 95-96.

had given rise to them and that they did not differ substantially. The tragic situation and heroism were compulsory elements and each of them contained at least three basic components. Namely: 1. numerous and strong enemy; 2. a small number of heroically resisting defenders, and 3. an external force which destroyed and made meaningless the efforts to preserve the city.⁴⁷

Examining Plovdiv's legend carefully, we could easily discover the above-mentioned three components in it. The numerous and strong enemies are present, the heroic defenders are also present, and the external cause which crushes the efforts of the garrison was the cutting off of the water supply.⁴⁸ It is more than obvious that the legend reflects a reality and involves personalities of a much later period. The mentioned İsfendiyar Beğ doubtlessly should be İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Beğ who at the time of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror was appointed governor of Filibe where he lived until his death in 1479.⁴⁹ However, instead of cutting off the city's water supply, he is considered to be the one who built an aqueduct coming down from the Rhodopes providing the city with enough fresh water.⁵⁰ Additionally he must have been the sponsor of a large double bathhouse (1460s) and several fountains.⁵¹ The village of Markovo was given to İsmail Beğ as a *mülk* and

⁴⁷ Similar legendary stories were also created about the Anatolian Byzantine cities. See for example Wittek's work which examines a particular case. Paul Wittek, "The Taking of Aydos Castle: A Ghazi Legend and its Transformation", in George Makdisi (ed.), *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, (Cambridge, Mass.: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures of Harvard University, 1965), 622-672.

⁴⁸ The disconnected water supply which becomes the cause for the surrender of the fortress is not an exclusive Plovdiv invention. Many other instances related to castles in the Rhodopes are known where animals, kept for a long time without water, discovered the water mains and became the cause for the Ottoman penetration in the strongholds.

⁴⁹ For the story of the transfer of İsmail Beğ from Yenişehir to Filibe in 1461 See: Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih-i Âli Osman*, 157; Mehmed Neshri, *Ogledalo na sveta*, 290.

⁵⁰ Machiel Kiel, "Urban Development in Bulgaria in the Turkish period: The place of Turkish architecture in the process", *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4 (1989): 89.

⁵¹ Machiel Kiel, "Plovdiv", *Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 25, (London-New York, 1996), 51-52.

later on turned into *vakıf* which is well documented in the registers. The family residence of İsmailoğulları in Markovo stood until 1896 when a big fire burned it down⁵².

The available sources do not offer the researcher an opportunity for a full reconstruction of the events of the second half of the 14th c. However, certain circumstances around the conquest of the cities could be elucidated. Following the information provided by the Ottoman chronicles it could be established that after the conquest of Edirne in 1361 Lala Şahin Pasha was asked to launch *akıncı* raids in Upper Thrace. Most probably he did not have the task to siege and directly attack the big cities of the province, but rather to plunder their surroundings. The practice of devastation of the rural area around the cities which should exhaust the citizens and finally to bring its voluntarily surrender was long ago known to the Ottomans and tested in their military actions in Asia Minor and Rumelia. It is highly likely that this is the probable reason for the confusion of the sources. Neşri and Aşıkpaşazade just mention that Lala Şahin Pasha conquered Eski Zağra and its environment without any further details⁵³ and kept silent about what happened in Filibe. Sa'deddin also mentions that Lala Şahin was sent to the north for *akıns*, but gives the important additional information that Eski Zağra was conquered first.⁵⁴

⁵² Peev, *Grad Plovdiv*, 96.

⁵³ “*Lala Zağra ilini ve Eskiye feth edti*”, Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevârih-i Âli Osman*, 55; Mehmed Neshri, *Ogledalo na sveta*, 76.

⁵⁴ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 170. The degree of reliability of this account could be questioned. The chronicler enthusiastically relates about the rich booty, slaves etc., taken after the conquest of the city, which presupposes that the city did not surrender but was taken by an assault. However, there are some hints showing that the city surrendered voluntarily to Lala Şahin. In the very early court records (*kadı sicilleri*) of Eski Zağra it was recorded that Lala Şahin imposed *harac* over the citizens, who remained to live there with a guarantee for their property. A *kadı* and other officials appeared only a year after the conquest. See Nikov, “Turskoto zavladiavane”, 53. All these facts convincingly demonstrate that we should think of voluntarily surrender of the city,

His account on the conquest of Filibe gives important information about the tactics used by the Ottoman commander and probably must be considered the most reliable date for the conquest of the city – 1364.⁵⁵ This information is confirmed by the Byzantine sources from 1366 according to which at that time the Turks lived safely in Thrace and the Bulgarians were fortifying the capital of Tarnovo.⁵⁶ In other words, until 1366 the conquest of Upper Thrace was basically accomplished and we should set a period between 1361 and 1366 in which the cities of Upper Thrace were captured one after another. Particularly Filibe and İstanimaka, along with the other small strongholds at the foot of the mountain must have been conquered in 1364, and the city of Eski Zağra – a year earlier.

If there is something on which most of the sources agree, this is the fact that Filibe was not taken by an assault. Chalcocondyles, who attributes the conquest to Emir Süleyman, claims that he occupied the city in accordance with a treaty. Sa'deddin speaks favorably about the victorious *gazis* and the incompetence of the Christian commander, but at the end of his story states that the ruler of Filibe submitted the keys of the castle after he posed certain conditions and they were accepted.⁵⁷ Seen through a different perspective, the information that Sa'deddin offers to us could be summarized like this: in 1364 a group of *akıncıs*

rather than it was taken by an assault. The Ottoman registers from the 15th c. however, show that Eski Zağra was an exclusively Muslim city, without a single Christian. This curious fact could find its explanation in the *sicils* of Eski Zağra where there was an account about a rebellion of Christians after 1402, which resulted in their deportation and the city was repopulated with colonists from Asia Minor. Unfortunately these valuable sources have been destroyed during the war of 1877-78, when the library of the old mosque in the city burned down in a big fire. See Nikov, "Turското zavladiavane", 53.

⁵⁵ H. 765 lasted from 10th of October 1363 to 27 of September 1364. It is highly unlikely that the campaign against Filibe took place late in the Fall or in the Winter. It seems more logical to assume that it was the Spring of 1364 when the Ottomans marched towards the city.

⁵⁶ Nikov, "Turското zavladiavane", 46.

⁵⁷ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 172.

appeared near Filibe, the governor decided to surrender the castle, posed certain conditions which were accepted and afterwards he was allowed to leave with his family, the Ottomans occupied the city. All other details must be regarded just as a beautiful decoration of the narration of the learned man.

It is far more interesting to question what conditions Lala Şahin accepted. In accordance with the Islamic traditions, the Ottomans had to ask a besieged city three times to surrender. If the population of the city surrendered and agreed to pay *harac*, then the private property and the lives of the inhabitants along with the free exercise of their religion were guaranteed.⁵⁸ In the opposite case, when a city was taken by an assault, the properties of the citizens and the inhabitants themselves had to be left to the conquerors for a three days' pillage (*yağma*). In this respect, the local legend for the conquest of Filibe gives important details. As it was stated above, it was formed later on and was a sophisticated mixture of important events and personalities from local history during different periods. If we tried to summarize all bits of information, we should conclude that the inhabitants of Filibe seemed to have received certain guarantees for their life and property. The Christians continued to live in their former neighborhoods, i.e. inside the fortress. As far as religion was concerned, they retained relative freedom. The existing churches were preserved, and when at a later time they were damaged, Christians obtained the right to rebuild them. Their spiritual leaders – priests, enjoyed absolute immunity, the guarantor of which was the Sultan himself. Unquestionable evidence for this were the *tuğras* that they really wore on their hats up to the

⁵⁸ For the Islamic tradition of conquest and city building process see Halil İnalcik, "Istanbul: An Islamic City", *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 1-23.

Crimean War (1853-1856), and some of them even up to the establishment of the independent Bulgarian Kingdom in 1878.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Apostolidis, “Prevzemaneto na Plovdiv”, p. 4.

CHAPTER THREE

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF FILIBE (1472-1614)

Not too much is known about the history of Filibe in the first decades immediately after the Ottoman conquest. From the narratives, we could obtain an idea that a certain garrison was settled in the city to replace the Christian soldiers there.¹ According to Hoca Sa'deddin, Sultan Murad I give Filibe and its surrounding area as a *timar* to Lala Şahin Pasha who was entrusted to redesign the city in accordance with the Islamic urban tradition.² It is believed that Lala Şahin had built a large bridge over the Maritsa River spending for this “a large amount of gold”.³ This information seems to be questionable since we have at our disposal another account stating that in 1388 on its way to the north Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha's army was forced to spend two months in Filibe because the campaign started in the Spring, Maritsa was overflowing and there was not any crossing the river.⁴ Regardless whether Lala Şahin had built the already mentioned bridge or

¹ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite* (Crown of the Histories), translated and edited by Maria Kalitsin, (Veliko Tarnovo: Abagar, 2000), 172.

² Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 186.

³ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 173.

⁴ Mehmed Neshri. *Ogledalo na sveta. Istorija na osmanskia dvor* (The Mirror of the World. A History of the Ottoman Court), translated and edited by Maria Kalitsin, (Sofia: Otechestven Front, 1984), 99.

not, it is highly likely that after he was appointed as the first *beğlerbeği* of Rumeli around 1362, the Pasha settled his residence in Filibe.⁵ While presenting the story of the conquest of İhtiman and Samako, Hoca Sa'deddin states that after taking rich booty, Lala Şahin came back to his residence in Filibe.⁶ In another instance, when the *akıncıs* of Lala Şahin pillaged the area around Sofia, they distributed the plunder in their base in Filibe, sending the most valuable trophies and many gifts to the Sultan.⁷ After the death of Lala Şahin, it was Kara Timurtaş Pasha who took control over the *beğlerbeğlik* of Rumeli.⁸ From the sources it does not become clear whether he was also based in Filibe or moved somewhere else. The sources of the later period show that the *beğlerbeği* was in constant move from one place to another despite the fact that he might have had a permanent residence in Edirne, Filibe, Sofia or some other location.⁹

The question whether or for how long the governor of Rumelia resided in Filibe is of minor importance. It is far more interesting to note what changes occurred in the city's life as a consequence of the introduction of the Ottoman administration there. It was already stated above that the Christians remained to live inside the castle, a fact that could easily find confirmation in the sources. But how many were those Christian inhabitants of Filibe and whether all of the citizens really remained to live there cannot be stated with certainty. It is logical to assume that except the garrison left by Lala Şahin Pasha, the city must have accepted new

⁵ Victor L. Menage, "Beglerbegi", *El²*, I: 1159b; Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih-i Âli Osman*, (İstanbul: Ali Bey's edition, 1332), 55; Mehmed Neshri. *Ogledalo na sveta*, 76.

⁶ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 187.

⁷ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 187.

⁸ Hoca Sadeddin, *Korona na istoriite*, 194.

⁹ Halil İnalçık, *Fatih Devri üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar I* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954), 89.

Muslim settlers. There is no doubt that a certain number of Ottoman administrators and members of the military class arrived in the newly conquered city. It is highly likely that along with the Ottoman officials a number of unorganized settlers also appeared in the city. Dervishes, *ahis* and regular craftsmen are known to be among the first colonizers of the newly conquered territories.

However, the existing sources do not offer the possibility for a more detailed picture of the ethnic profile of Filibe in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. Apparently, there was a Muslim community in the city in the first decade of the 15th century. Constantine the Philosopher, describing the destruction of Filibe, mentions that Musa was drinking wine in a bathhouse (*hamam*), while his men enslaved the distinguished Muslims in the city in order to be executed.¹⁰ This short notice provides important information about the Muslims who lived at that time in the city. The community must have been quite large since Musa ordered the notables to be gathered and more importantly – Filibe already acquired some of the main characteristics of an Islamic city – Musa was drinking in the bathhouse. The presence of a *hamam* in 1410s shows that the Muslim community already started a building activity, the traces of which did not reach modern times. It could be stated that if there was a *hamam* in the city, it is more than certain that a Friday mosque was erected as well. Additionally we could think of several *mescids*, fountains (*çeşme*), trading places etc.

¹⁰ Konstantin Kostenechki, *Sachinenia. Skazanie za bukвите. Jitie na Stefan Lazarevich*, Anna-Maria Totomanova (ed.), (Sofia: Slavika, 1993), 174.

The mass immigration and settlement of Turks from Asia Minor in Thrace began in the 15th c. and especially after Timur's occupation of Anatolia.¹¹ References about deportation of nomads from Saruhan at the time of Sultan Bayezid I¹² and of Tatars from İskilip during the reign of Sultan Mehmed I¹³ could be found in the narratives. However, this information is not enough to obtain an idea about the influence of these deportations over the citizens of Filibe. We could just speculate that the general process of repopulation of Thrace and Dobrudja that took place in the course of the 15th century, must also have affected Filibe. The first colonists probably appeared together with the officials and militaries at the end of 14th c. and continued their migration in the course of the following century.

We owe the first detailed account of Filibe to Bertrandon de la Broquière who visited the city in 1433. According to the Burgundian traveler Filibe was quite a big city inhabited predominately by Bulgarians who confessed "the Greek Faith" (Orthodoxy).¹⁴ Unfortunately the author does not provide even rough numbers of

¹¹ Halil İnalçık, "Rumeli", *EF*², VIII: 607.

¹² "... Saruhan ilinin göçer halkı vardı. Menemen ovasında kışlardı ve ol zamanda tuz yasağı vardı. Anlar ol yasağı kabul etmezdi. Bayezid hana bildirdiler, oğlu Ertogrula haber gönderdi. O göçer evleri uyat zabt ile yarar kollarına ismarlayasın Filibe yurasına gönderesin. Ertogrul dahi atasının sözünü kabul etdi, ol göçer evleri Filibe yurasına gönderdi. Şimdiki hinde Saruhan beğlükim dirler Rum İlinde." See Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih-i Âli Osman*, 74; Mehmed Neshri. *Oğledalo na sveta*, 76.

¹³ "... Filibe yurasına geçirdi Konuş hisarının yurasında koydu. Minetin oğlu Mehmed Beğ şimdi Konuş 'imaretin yaptı ve bir kârbanseray dahi yaptı". See Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih-i Âli Osman*, 90-91; Mehmed Neshri. *Oğledalo na sveta*, 208. Crimean Tatars led by Aktav were settled around Filibe at the time of Sultan Bayezid I. This problem will be discussed further in the Fourth Chapter of the present work. See Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15 (1953-54): 211. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihan* (İstanbul: Osman Yılıçın Matbaası, 1957), 13-17.

¹⁴ Bertrandon de la Broquier. *Zadmorsko pateshestvie* (Overseas travel), translated from the original by Nikola Kolev, edition and comments Vera Mutafchieva, (Sofia: Otechestven Front, 1968), 97-98. The French edition is *Le voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*. Publié et annoté par Ch. Schefer, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892).

population and leaves the researcher to guess what he meant by the term a “large city”. Far more interesting is the traveler’s assertion that mainly Bulgarians lived in the city at that time. From Broquière’s description of the sights of the city it becomes clear that he spent most of his time in Filibe in the Christian part where he was naturally attracted by the ancient ruins. Under these conditions, spending most of his sojourn in the city among the Christians, it is not impossible that he erred about the actual size of the Muslim community there. He never mentioned any Ottoman building in Filibe, although some buildings must have been already erected at the time of his visit.¹⁵ On the other hand, the fact that Broquière was entrusted with a special mission should not be forgotten. His task was to observe the Ottoman lands carefully and to collect intelligence information about the Ottoman military forces, castles, population etc. which makes high the reliability of his account.

Finally, if we accepted Broquière’s information that in the 1430s predominantly Bulgarians lived in Filibe, then we should conclude that the following decade brought significant changes to city’s profile. Towards the end of the 1430s and the beginning of 1440s, the *beğlerbeği* of Rumeli at that time – Hadım Şihabeddin Pasha, started a large building activity in the city. For a short time, after the complex of the Great mosque was constructed, another big complex including an *‘imaret, medrese, hamam* and a mosque fully sponsored by

¹⁵ According to some researchers, the Great mosque (*Cumaya cami*) of Murad II was erected *c.* 1425. This large stone building was noticeable from faraway and laid exactly on the way up to the castle. No doubt, de la Broquière must have seen the mosque, but never even mentioned it. It is not excluded that for one reason or another, the traveler underestimated the Muslims who lived in Filibe at that time. For the mosque see Machiel Kiel, “Plovdiv”, *Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 25, (London-New York, 1996), 51-52; Machiel Kiel, “Filibe”, *TDVİA*, Vol. 13, (Istanbul, 1996), 79-82.

Şihabeddin Pasha was erected.¹⁶ Additionally a caravansary, a roofed market, inns, *hamams*, and *mescids*, sponsored by various people, had been established. The main trade street, paved with large stones came down to the river, connecting the square of *Ulu Cami* with the complex of Şihabeddin Pasha, situated at the right bank of the Maritsa. It is obvious that all these efforts were made and resources spent because of a certain necessity. The only reasonable explanation seems to be the enlargement of the Muslim community in the city. The building improvements completely redesigned the pre-Ottoman Philippopolis making it well arranged and established in accordance with the Islamic tradition Filibe.

There could be two possible explanations for such sudden change in urban life. Either in the course of a decade a massive conversion to Islam of the local population took place, or a large wave of immigrants arrived from Asia Minor and settled in the city. There is no reason the version of mass-conversion to be accepted. Doubtlessly, such an event would leave traces in the folklore tradition and historical memory of the locals. The Ottoman state itself would not obtain any benefit from such an action and additionally it would violate the agreement with the population. As a consequence of the Islamization the government would lose a large amount of money collected from the poll-tax (*cizye*) paid by non-Muslims. Analyzing the available information, it becomes clear that the transformation of Filibe into an Islamic city is a result of state activity. The central government stimulated and financially supported the erection of numerous public buildings

¹⁶ The mosque of Şihabeddin Pasha was built in 1444, which could be seen from the original inscription housed now-a-day in the Archeological museum in Plovdiv. The content of the inscription was published by İ.Tatarlı in 1966. İbrahim Tatarlı, "Turski kultovi sgradi i nadpisi v Bulgaria (Turkish worship buildings and inscriptions in Bulgaria)", *Annual of the Sofia University, Department of Western Philology* 60 (1966): 606-607.

which in a short period of time turned the city into a typical Islamic urban center. Undoubtedly this large building activity was accompanied by colonization of Turks from Asia Minor.¹⁷ The first colonists must have settled in the city in the years immediately after the conquest. Since the beginning of the 15th c. a wave of colonizers was directed towards Thrace and settled in the empty areas around Filibe. It is highly likely that this process also affected the city itself. The second part of the 1420s must be seen as a beginning of organized Turkish colonization of the city. Though de la Broquière does not say a word about the Turks in Filibe, their presence in 1433 could be confirmed by the erection of the large Friday mosque in the very center of the city. The process of colonization must have reached its peak in the late 1430s and 1440s which is the plausible explanation for the expanding building activity at the time of Şihabeddin Pasha.¹⁸ In the 1450s the Muslims in Filibe already had a visible majority¹⁹ and continued their expansion.

The well-founded motives regarding the Muslim appearance of Filibe as a consequence of the colonizing activity of the Ottoman state, do not give us a reason to exclude the conversion to Islam from the process.²⁰ Although we do not have reliable information on this matter, it could be supposed that a certain number

¹⁷ Evidence of immigration from Asia Minor could be easily traced in the Ottoman documents from the later period. Surnames and nicknames like Anadolu, Saruhani, Menteşalu etc. are clear reference to colonization. For further details on the matter see Grigor Boykov, Maria Kiprovska, "The Ottoman Philippopolis (Filibe) during the Second Half of the 15th c.", *Bulgarian Historical Review* 3-4 (2000): 121.

¹⁸ There is a possibility that in 1443 some Muslims came to Filibe from Sofia, since the city was completely burned down due to the military actions in that area. However, there is no any written evidence for such a migration and this thesis cannot pretend for accuracy.

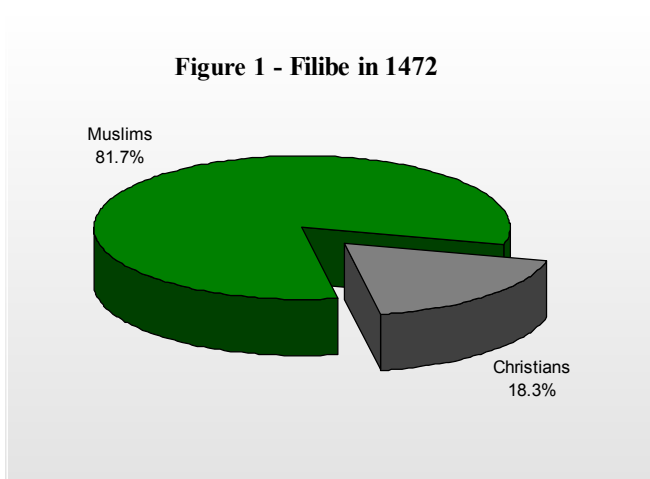
¹⁹ Halil İnalçık, "Bugaria", *EF*, I: 1302.

²⁰ See İlhan Şahin, Feridun Emecen and Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Turkish Settlements in Rumelia (Bulgaria) in the 15th and 16th centuries: Town and Village Population", *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4 (1989): 28. Researchers present valuable information from unpublished sources, but failed in its interpretation. According to the authors the Muslims in Filibe "were practically all ethnic Turks". The incorrectness of this statement could be easily seen in the same sources witnessing a large number of converts who cannot be ethnic Turks.

of the local population embraced Islam in the early years after the conquest. The Ottoman censuses of the later period show that conversion was a part of people's life in the second half of the 15th c. Even though only few of the Muslims were converts at that time, the process should not be underestimated because in the beginning of the 16th c. it would find its full development accounting for the whole demographic growth of Muslims in the city.

The first detailed demographic picture of Filibe is provided by the 1472 register.²¹ It is safe to state that at that time the city already acquired the main characteristics of a typical Muslim city. It had altogether 28 neighborhoods (*mahalle*), out of which 25 were inhabited by Muslims and 3 by Christians.²²

To these figures we add the nearby village of Polad, which in the following registers was entered among city's quarters. The specificity of the register does not give the opportunity for a



reliable and complete demographic reconstruction, but at least offers a possibility some general conclusions to be drawn up. The Ottoman surveyor entered 672 heads of households (*hane*), of which 549 were Muslim and 122 Christian.²³

²¹ Sofia, PD 17/27. For a detailed description of the registers used in the work see Chapter One.

²² See APPENDIX B.

²³ Out of these 122 Christian households, 27 belong to the village of Polad. The village was included in the general figures, in order to present a more detailed picture of the demographic

However, it is highly possible that these numbers do not reflect the real situation in the city at that time. It was already stated above that apparently some of the citizens were excluded from the extraordinary levy which was the purpose for the composition of the register.

If we try to speculate, in order to come closer to a more realistic demographic picture of Filibe, we should add to these figures some 30 religious personalities (both Muslim and Christian), between 80 to 100 unmarried Muslims and Christians²⁴ and most probably a group of around 30 Gypsies. Certainly such conclusions are exclusively based on analogy with the following registrations and cannot pretend to be accurate.

The names of the Christian *mahalles* show their possible location in the city's geography. Three of them could be pointed out as placed on the three-hills, where the ancient acropolis and market-place were situated. The first neighborhood registered under the name "Infidels allowed inside the castle"²⁵ and in the following registers only as "Inside the castle" (Hisar-içi), undoubtedly must have been situated within the walls of the medieval citadel. Most probably at the time when the registration took place, not much remained of the walls, but the fact that Christians were left to live in this important point is an indication of the voluntary surrender of the city to the Ottoman troops. The other two quarters also

fluctuations, since all of the chronologically following documents contain it as a neighborhood of the city.

²⁴ The percentage of unmarried young men in a rapidly expanding population is considered to be 30-35%. The following registers show 10-25% of unmarried Muslims in Filibe.

²⁵ Sofia, PD 17/27, f. 6b.

laid on the slopes of the three-hills. “Bazar-i Gebran” or “Infidels’ market”²⁶ and “İsklopiçe”²⁷ are known to be situated in the same area.

There is no information about the density of the population in the remaining parts of the city, lying out of the citadel, but still inside the city walls, in the years prior to the Ottoman conquest. It was already discussed that the numerous wars and devastations must have affected the population of Filibe badly and the Ottomans found the area almost depopulated. However, the presence of only 122 Christian families in 1472 seems to be too few. The city was a center and a residence of a bishop, which presupposes that the Christians must have been naturally attracted there. Despite this fact, the numbers show a different reality. In comparison with other settlements in the region, the Christian community of the city looks very small. What happened to the Christian inhabitants of Filibe and where they possibly went is a very difficult question. It is highly possible that before the Ottomans conquered the city a migration towards the safer mountainous rural areas had already started. It probably continued even in the years after the conquest, when the first Muslim settlers like *ahis* and dervishes settled there, trying to gain more importance in urban life.²⁸ The process was accomplished with

²⁶ Sofia, PD 17/27, f. 6a. In the following register the *mahalle* was registered under the name “Bazar-içi”.

²⁷ Sofia, PD 17/27, f. 6b. “İsklopçan-i Gebran” or “İsklopiçe” is a Turkish corrupted version of original Slavic name of the neighborhood “Sklopitsa”, which existed until the 19th century.

²⁸ The *Ahis* in Anatolia played an important role in transferring the administrative tradition of the earlier Islamic emirates in Asia Minor to the emerging Ottoman state. The role which *Ahis* played in the Balkans after the Ottoman conquest has not been well studied yet. In Filibe the presence of *Ahis* is visible until the beginning of the 16th c. There are two *Ahis* mentioned in the 1472 register. One in the *mahalle* “Hacı Yusuf” and the other in “Hacı Mes’ud”. See Sofia PD 17/27, ff. 4a; 5b. On the *Ahi* organization See Friedrich Giese, “Das Problem der Entstehung des osmanischen Reiches”, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 2 (1924): 246-271; Neşet Çağatay, “Anadolu’da ahilik ve bunun kurucusu Ahi Evren.” *Bellekten* 182 (1982): 423-436, Neşet Çağatay “Les Akhis en Anatolie. Ahi Evren et son entourage”, *Anatolia Moderna* 1 (1991): 3-10. Neşet Çağatay, *Ahilik nedir* (Ankara: 1990); Georgiades Arnakis, “Futuwwa Traditions in the Ottoman

the arrival of a large wave of colonizers from Asia Minor after the 1430s. However, if the Christians gradually abandoned Filibe, they must have gone somewhere leaving visible traces. The Ottoman documentation from the late 15th and early 16th c. could be very helpful in this respect. In accordance with the information provided by the registers there are several settlements which could be seen as possible hosts of the migrants from Filibe. The first serious candidate is no doubt İstanımaka, which except that was less vulnerable to destructions in the pre-Ottoman period, in the following years became a sizable town inhabited exclusively by Christians. Additionally, at the foot of the Rhodopes (some 15-20 km away of Filibe) there are several villages that immediately attract researcher's attention due to their unusual size. Villages like Kuklene, Markova, İzlati Trab, Çelopiçe etc. numbered more than 200-300 *hanes*. Comparing these figures with the rest of the settlements in the Filibe area, it becomes clear that these villages are extremely larger. Furthermore, all of the above mentioned settlements enjoyed a special status in one way or another. Kuklene was attached to the rich *vakıf* of Şihabeddin Pasha, Markova belonged to İsmail Beğ's *vakıf*. On the other hand, İzlati Trab and Çelopiçe are mentioned in the registers as *voynuk* villages enjoying many tax-exemptions. In conclusion, it must be underlined that though we do not have at our disposal any clear evidence that Filibe's Christian inhabitants migrated to those places, this theory still looks like the most probable one.

Empire Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes, and Craftsmen." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12 (1953): 232-247; Vladimir Gordlevskiy, *Izbranniye sochinenia* (Selected works), (Moskow: Soviet Academy of Sciences, 1960), Vol. 1, 135-142.

The 549 Muslims families settled in 25 quarters situated around small mosques (*mescid*) concentrated around the new city center, accomplished after Şihabeddin's building activity. The *mescids* were sponsored by Ottoman military commanders, religious leaders or just rich craftsmen who most probably brought to the city the new settlers from Asia Minor.²⁹ However, not much is known about the personalities of these people. The *mahalle* "İsmail Beğ" must have been named after the well-known İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Beğ who came to the city in the 1460s. In 1472, it was apparently a new neighborhood with only 14 Muslim households. In the following registers its name disappeared on the account of new ones like "Debbag Hisarı" or "Çukacı Sinan". Another example is the *mahalle* "Rüstem", which in time was renamed "Veled-i Rüstem". Rüstem Pasha is known only to be the sponsor of a *mescid* in Filibe, which was renewed and enlarged by his grandson İskender Beğ. The *vakfiye* of İskender Beğ from the late 15th c. is preserved in Ankara and was published in facsimile by Gökbilgin.³⁰

It was already mentioned that the large majority of Filibe's Muslims in 1472 must have been Turks from Asia Minor. It could be also supposed that certain number of local Christians converted to Islam, but due to the characteristics of the source it cannot be defined whether there was Islamization in the city. The Ottoman scribe who compiled the document had very rarely entered the second names of the heads of *hanes*, which is the only possible way to extract data about Islamization from the *defters*. In most cases the Muslims have been registered only

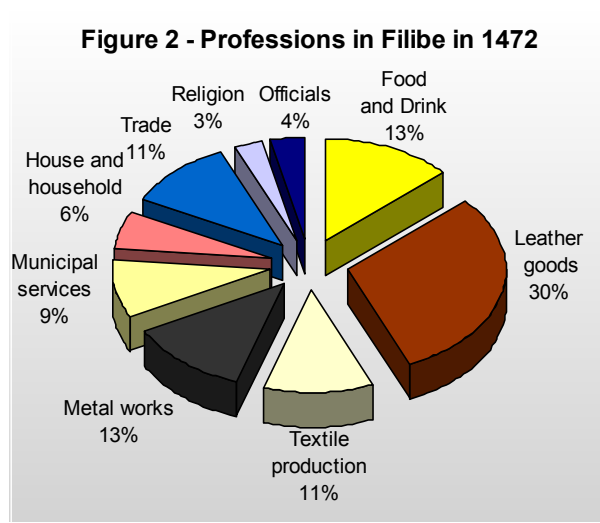
²⁹ References for this could be traced in the later registers. For example the *mescids* of Aslıhan Beğ, İsmail Beğ, Bahşayış Ağa, Keçeci İne Beğ, Yakub Fakih, all of them hypothetical founders of *mahalles*, could be found in the registers.

³⁰ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı. Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), 299-301.

by their first name and the presence of patronymics is to be regarded as an exception.

Regardless of the fact that patronymics appear rarely in the register, the surveyor was quite careful in registering the craftsmen. A large number of people belonging to different crafts were recorded in the *defters*. They could be basically classified in several big groups of similar or connected crafts.³¹ The biggest group brings together the producers of **leather goods**, like shoemakers, tanners, skimmers, saddlers, spinners of goat hair etc., followed by **food and drink** producers as bakers, cooks, butchers, and producers of various sweet foods and drinks. The third biggest group is the one connected to **metal works** – blacksmiths, sword makers, knifsmiths, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, tinsmiths etc.

The other groups are those of **textile production** (tailors, weavers, dyers, cloth and silk merchants etc.), **municipal services** (water carriers, bathhouse attendants, public criers, executioners etc.), crafts related to the **house and**



³¹ See the work of Cohen for a detailed description of many professions in Jerusalem. Most of the crafts that Cohen analyzes in his book are to be found in Filibe as well. Amnon Cohen, *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*, (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001).

household (builders, carpenters, potters, stone cutters, servants etc.), **traders** (grocers, soap merchants, salt merchants, perfumers, wine sellers etc.), **religious personalities** and various kinds of **officials** and **military personnel**.³²

It could be seen from Figure 2 that Filibe's economy was relatively proportionally distributed between five major groups of producers. A leader in the urban market, with a 30 % share, was definitely the group of leather goods producers. Traders, metal workers, textile production and food and drinks industry constituted most of the remaining part of Filibe's market. The groups of religious personalities and officials look very tiny, but a probable explanation for this fact is the tax exemption in our case, which is the reason for their absence in the *defter*. In the following documents these two groups will gain more importance, illustrating in a way changes of urban life in Filibe.

The following register is a *mufassal* of 1489, where our interest is focused on the *zeamet* transferred from Davud Beğ to Mesih Pasha, which includes the city of Filibe.³³ In the *defter* 791 Muslim household, 107 unmarried Muslims, 80 Christian *hanes* together with 5 unmarried and 12 widows plus a Gypsy group of 36 *hanes* were registered³⁴. According to the data contained in the register, the city

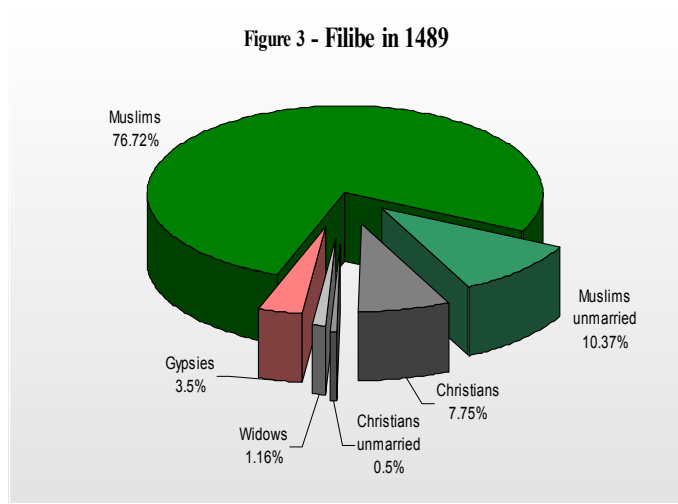
³² See APPENDIX J.

³³ BOA, TD 26.

³⁴ On page 82 of the document the Ottoman surveyor had made a recapitulation of all the registered households, the unmarried young men, the widows and all taxes and the amount of money which Filibe's population was supposed to deliver. According to the calculations of the Ottoman scribe the numbers are as follow: Muslim *hanes* – 796; Unmarried Muslims – 99; Infidel *hanes* – 78; Unmarried Infidels – 6; Widows – 11; Gypsies – 33, and it numbers 1023. After careful examination of the data in the *defter* and precise calculations have been made, it became clear that none of the numbers it the totals of the Ottoman scribe is correct. The lack of only two households in the totals and the fact that none of the final amounts was calculated in a correct way, shows that in the case the problem must be attributed to the incompetence of the Ottoman official.

had at that time 26 Muslim and 4 Christian neighborhoods and in addition there was a group (*cema'at*) of Gypsies.

Later on the Gypsy community formed the *mahalle* “Hacı Hasan”, which is the modern “Acisan maala”, still predominantly inhabited by Gypsies.³⁵



Analyzing the information from the register, it could be concluded that the city grew in size. This is illustrated by the integration of the former village of Polad within the city and the appearance of three new Muslim quarters³⁶. However, it must be pointed out, that such assertion is connected with the elucidation of at least two problems. First – along with the appearance of the new quarters, two of the old neighborhoods disappeared from the register³⁷. This fact may have two explanations – either because of some unknown reason the inhabitants had left their *mahalles* and new ones were created at the same or in other places, or simply the quarters had changed their names. The last explanation looks most probable, because one of the “newly appeared” neighborhoods (Hisarlu) disappears again in the following

³⁵ “Acisan maala” is situated in the central part of modern Plovdiv, very close to Monday market.

³⁶ These are “Çuhacı Sinan” with 23 *hanes* and 1 unmarried; “Cuneyd” with 20 *hanes* and “Hisarlu” with 26 *hanes* and 5 unmarried. See APPENDIX E.

³⁷ These are “Hacı Yusuf” with 21 *hanes* and “İsmail beg” with 14 *hanes*.

register on account of new ones.³⁸ In short, the probable real territorial growth of the city in the period between two of the registrations is the integration of one Christian village and the foundation of one new Muslim neighborhood.

The second major problem which comes out while generalizing the available source information is the fact that even though formally the city grew and the number of Christian *mahalles* increased, the Christian community as a whole did not increase. According to the data from 1472 there were at least 96 *hanes* in the three Christian quarters and together with 27 households from the neighboring village of Polad makes all together 123 *hanes*. In the register of 1489 the number of the *hanes* in the four Christian quarters is 80, the young unmarried men are 5, the widows – 12 as their total of 97 is below the totals from the previous register, i.e. the city's Christian community had decreased by about 30 households. Such development may be explained if we trace the level of conversion to Islam marked in the register. In the *defter* from 1489, the official recorded all together 38 heads of households with the official name “son of Abdullah”, or newly converted to Islam. These results clearly show the reason for the decrease of Christian population in Filibe. In the limits of one generation, even though the city territorially grew, integrating one Christian village, the position of the Christianity was considerably weakened and around one fourth of Filibe's Christians accepted Islam.

The Muslims in 1489 constituted 87% of Filibe's inhabitants. Comparing the data with this from the register of 1472 this could be specified, even though we have not an absolutely clear idea about exactly how many were Muslims in the

³⁸ It is highly likely that “Hisarlu” became “Debbag Hisari”, which appeared in the 1516 *defter*.

time of the compilation of the first register, and how for the period until the second registration their number has increased. Information from the 1472 *defter* shows 549 registered Muslim *hanes* in the city. If we add to them the eventually missing 30 imams and 80-100 unmarried persons³⁹ this would result of around 650 *hanes* – a number which more or less must be closer to the real one. For the 15 years between the two registrations, Muslim neighborhoods had increased by one and the total of registered Muslims about 150. From 81,7% of the whole urban population in 1472 Muslims became 87% in 1489, mainly due to the decrease of the Christian community. However, this growth is too large to be explained as a consequence of Islamization alone. It is very probable that in this case we observe an extensive natural growth of the Muslims, accompanied by a migration into the city, probably the last waves of colonization.

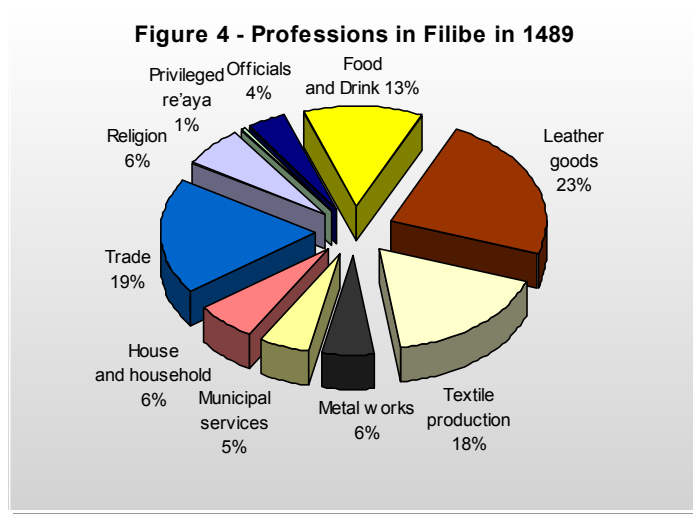
Turning our attention to the data about Filibe's economy in 1489, it is safe to say that this register provides the most detailed information about the craftsmen and traders in the city. For one reason or another, the craftsmen listed in this register were much more in comparison with the rest of the *defters*. In general, different types of crafts were proportionally distributed in the 26 Muslim and 4 Christian neighborhoods. However, in some of them, certain differentiation by types of craft could be were observed. For instance, in "Durbeği Hoca" *mahalle* resided 12 tanners (*debbag*), in the "Tatarlu" were concentrated nine butchers

³⁹ In the case the number of registered unmarried from 1489, which is 12,5% is used for criterion. Of course such an analogy cannot pretend for accuracy, as shows the case with the following *defter*. In 1516 the percentage of unmarried Muslims was 25. The preference for the first one as criterion comes from our belief that the existence of large numbers of bachelors in 1516 was rather a consequence of an external factor, migration for example, but not a result of the natural population growth.

(*kassab*), there were seven tailors (*hiyat*) in the “Idris Hoca” *mahalle* and six shoemakers (*pabuççu*) were to be found in “Veled-i Kasım” etc.

There was a great variety of crafts among the 540 Muslim artisans. The Ottoman official recorded more than 100 different crafts and trades which generally could be fit into the previous grouping. The leather works and shoemaking, although lost 7% of the market share again had preponderance in the economic space. The group comprised seven handicrafts and here the production cycle was fairly clear. The *debbag*, i.e. the skin tanners, carried out the original processing after which leather was taken up by the *saraç* (saddlers), shoemakers (*başmakçı, pabuççu, çizmeci*) and whip makers (*kırbaç*) who gave it the final appearance.⁴⁰

The number of artisans active in this branch was a clear indication for the destination of their output. It is quite possible that the sixty shoemakers sold their



footwear not solely in the city market but also outside the city.

The traders and artisans engaged in the textile production had quite a development on the account of metal workers who lost their previous importance. The activities connected with food and drink production included 22 kinds of

⁴⁰ For more details see Cohen, *Guilds of Jerusalem*, 85-96.

crafts. The internal division of this group is illustrative for the food preferences of Filibe's population. The consumption of meat was the greatest and this is noticeable from the considerable number of people engaged in this sector. The butchers (*kassab*) alone numbered 26 and they ranked fifth as regards size among the artisans in the city. The need for bread came next - 15 bakers (*etmekçi, habbaz*) points to a relatively developed commercial network to which could be referred also the registered confectioners, *şerbet* and *boza* makers.

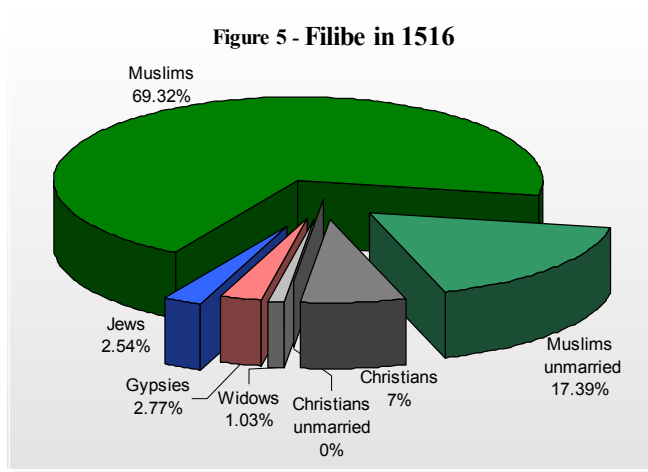
Here we add a new group of population that was not engaged in craftsmanship, but certainly had some influence over the urban economy. Provisionally, we call it a group of **privileged *re'aya***. It covers the taxable population that enjoyed a special status and tax-exemptions because of being involved in certain activity of importance for the Ottoman state. Subjects like *çeltükçis, bazdars, yağcıs, yuvacıs, celebs, ulakçıs, yamaks* etc. lived under different conditions in most of the cases united in groups (*cema'ats*) headed by their own leaders.⁴¹ In 1489 the group of "privileged *re'aya*" is almost invisible but the following registrations show that in time exactly this group will experience the biggest development.

Among the officials and military personnel the presence of an *Ahi* and two raiders (*akıncıs*) along with their officer (*tovica*) deserve to be mentioned. Additionally, there were recorded six *re'ises*, three *kethüdas* and a *kadı's* substitute (*naib*).

⁴¹ For detailed analysis on the organization of the rice-growers, with some references to the region of Filibe see Halil İnalçık, "Rice Cultivation and the *Çeltükci-Re'âyâ* System in the Ottoman Empire", *Turcica* 14 (1982): 69-141. Compare with Nicoară Belidiceanu and Irène Belidiceanu-Steinherr, "Riziculture dans l'Empire ottoman (XIVe-XVe siècle)", *Turcica* 9/2-10 (1978): 9-28.

The next bit of information comes from the register of 1516⁴² indicating that the growth of the city continued. Data from the *defter* shows that the Muslim neighborhoods increased by one⁴³, as also a group of Jewish settlers appeared, recorded in the *defter* as community of Jews (*Cema'at-i Yahudiyen*)⁴⁴.

The population totals looked as follows:
 877 Muslim households,
 220 unmarried Muslims,
 88 Christian *hanes*, 13 widows and there was not a single unmarried Christian. Additionally



there were recorded 35 Gypsy and 32 Jewish families.

The Christian community of Filibe continued to live in the four previously mentioned quarters, as “Hisar İçi”, which appears to be the “heart” of Christianity in Filibe, kept a constant number of its inhabitants.⁴⁵ The former village of “Polad”, despite showing some variations during the three registrations, as a whole also kept a stable level of inhabitation. However, the same could not be said about the two other Christian neighborhoods. The *mahalle* “Bazar” for example lost more than a half of its inhabitants in the period 1472-1516. The quarter “İsklopiçe”

⁴² BOA, TD 77.

⁴³ “Koca Hüseyin” with 17 *hanes* and 6 unmarried. There is no doubt that this is a new quarter since the scribe recorded it as “*mahalle-i hadis*” (new neighborhood).

⁴⁴ BOA, TD 77, f. 559. These are the so called “Spanish” Jews who migrated to Filibe from Thessalonica.

⁴⁵ In 1472 the quarter had 34 *hanes*; in 1489 – 33 *hanes*, 2 bachelors, and 5 widows; in 1516 it had 32 *hanes* and 3 widows.

in 1489 had a significant decrease remaining with only 9 households from 31 in 1472, but in the time of the third registration (1516) it seems that it started to recover, reaching the level of 16 *hanes* and 3 widows. The total number of the registered Christians in Filibe in 1516 shows a small increase in comparison with the previous registration. The fact that there is no single registered bachelor among the Christians immediately attracts attention. It is hard to believe that this might be a mistake made by the Ottoman registrar or there was some other reason because of which the unmarried Christians were not listed in the *defter*. Even though strange, the idea that at the time of the registration of 1516 there was not any unmarried Christian in Filibe seems reasonable. It is highly likely that the major part of the natural growth of the Christians in the city disappeared as a consequence of the Islamization process that took place there. The trend that appeared in 1489, the young unmarried Christians to be the most vulnerable to conversion group, reached its peak in 1516, when among the members of Christian community there was not even one person registered as unmarried. Such a development can be explained by the change of the dynamic of the Islamization process itself. In the register of 1489, the converts were hardly 3.3% of the whole city's Moslem population, while in 1516 their level reached 24,6%⁴⁶ and in practice they accounted for most of the demographic growth of Filibe for the years between the two registrations. It is more than obvious that the Christian community in the city could not be the basis of this growth. However productive the 88 Christian households had been, it is certain that for a time period of 27 years they could not be able to ensure the necessary human potential for the size of

⁴⁶ In 1516 register 270 were recorded with the patronymic "*veled-i Abdullah*".

Islamization in the city. Most probably if the Christian population offered the Islamization the whole of its growth, from the 270 new Muslims registered in the city, these previously belonging to Filibe's Christian community should be much less than one tenth. The appearance of a significant number of converts must be in direct connection with the processes taking place in the Muslim community.

The immediate impression after examining the data of the register is the increase of the Muslims in the city. From 791 *hanes* in 1489⁴⁷, they had grown to 877 households in 1516⁴⁸ or a growth of 10.87% (0.40% annually). However, after a closer look at the data provided by the *defter*, the researcher inevitably comes across the fact that even though the Muslim community as a whole grew, the old Muslim inhabitants decreased in numbers and instead of regular natural growth we witness a demographic drop. For example, if we take all of the tax-payers registered as "veled-i Abdullah", i.e. converts,⁴⁹ out of the total number of recorded Muslim households, we find out that in 1516 in the city were listed 657 *hanes*, who supposedly must have been successors of the colonizers from Asia Minor. Compared with the data from 1489 (when 791 Muslim *hanes*⁵⁰ had been registered) we can ascertain a significant decrease of 16.94%. In other words, for the period of 27 years separating the registrations, the Turkish community in Filibe had been gradually declining, losing annually 0.63% of its members. The loss was

⁴⁷ Including the "sons of Abdullah"

⁴⁸ Also including the neophytes.

⁴⁹ There were 250 (28.5%) converts registered among the Muslim *hanes*.

⁵⁰ From these numbers we do not exclude the small percentage of converts in 1489 in order to facilitate the estimations.

compensated by the converts who not only stopped the drop of the Muslim community, but also ensured its 10.8% growth.⁵¹

The logical assumption that, if the Muslim-Turkish families were declining, then it must be the same with the unmarried Muslims, does not find confirmation in the data of the register. Just in reverse, for the years between the registrations the bachelors rapidly increased, more than doubled. From 107 in 1489 in the *defter* of 1516 they were already 220, or an enormous growth of 105.6% (3.9% annually). Using the system of taking the converts out, followed with the households, we reach different results. There were 50 (22.7%) men registered as new Muslims, which makes 170 unmarried Turks in 1516. Compared with 1489 data it is still a huge increase of 58.8% or 2.18% annually.

This situation needs some further explanations. It is clear that due to certain reasons at the end of 15th and beginning of 16th century, Filibe's Turco-Muslim community entered a crisis, which brought a decrease in its reproduction. On the other hand, this process opened free living space in the city and the converts benefited by settling there in large numbers. However, this process raises more questions to be answered. Firstly, what exactly happened with the descendents of the colonizers and why did they decrease in such a drastic way? Secondly, if almost one third of the Turks in Filibe within 27 years disappeared, then from where did the converts appear, since it was already stated that Christians living in

⁵¹ Compare with Şahin, Emecen and Halaçoğlu, "Turkish Settlements in Rumelia", 28-29. The authors presupposed that all of the Muslims are ethnically Turks and attributed to them the whole growth. This example shows that conversion to Islam should not be underestimated, because occasionally could be of great importance in the demographic processes.

the city were not able to offer such human potential. Finally, how could the presence of such a large amount of unmarried Muslims (25%) be explained?

It is not an easy task to answer these questions since we do not have at our disposal any information different from the one provided by the *defter*s. What could be the reason for the decrease of the Turks, it is really hard to say. Natural calamities, diseases and epidemics should not be regarded as possible explanations. Christians remained to live in the city, without being affected by any disaster and instead of decreasing had a 10% growth. There is no information about military actions in the area which could probably be the reason for the decrease, or in other words it is highly unlikely that the Turks perished.

It is quite probable that this strange situation needs an unusual explanation. There is a possibility according to which Filibe played a role of temporary location on the way of the Turkish migration to the western parts of the Balkans. Settlers from Asia Minor stopped in the city, spending some time there and afterwards were driven to the newly conquered territories, resettling the cities in these areas. The Ottoman administration must have played a crucial role in the process, but voluntary migration, because of tax-preferences, is also highly possible. If we rely on this theory and conclude that the “missing” part of the Muslims in Filibe had gone somewhere else, then we should conclude that Turks were replaced by the converts. The new Muslims probably represented the whole growth of Christians in Filibe⁵² and the rural environment’s surplus. The sixteenth century is characterized by a substantial population growth both in the Ottoman Empire and

⁵² It is worth pointing out again that there was not a single unmarried Christian recorded in the *defter*.

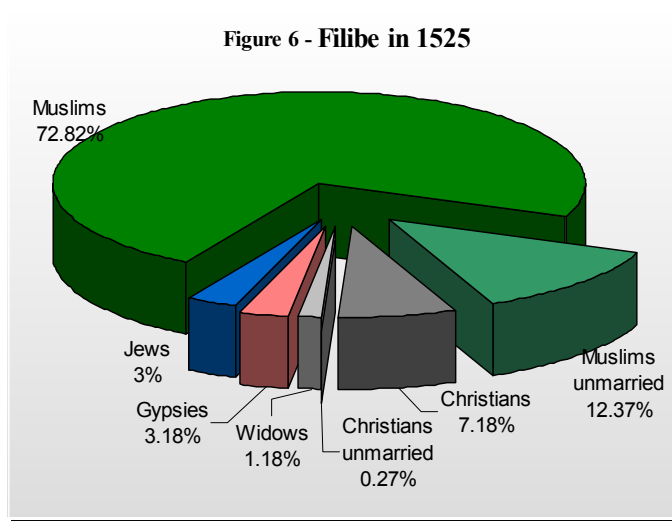
Europe and it is quite possible that jobless people from nearby villages took advantage of the situation. They converted to Islam before or after coming to the city where they were integrated into the city's economy. Converts could be found in most of the crafts, official positions and even some were religious leaders.

Turning our attention to the large number of unmarried Muslims, who were not converts, it seems that only one explanation looks plausible. Though some people left the city going west, most of the bachelors must have been yet again immigrants from Anatolia coming to the city from the east. The high percentage of unmarried men was typical for Anatolian provinces at that and later periods, however it does not represent the Rumelian reality. The percentage of single Muslims at that time in the surrounding cities of Rumelia is ten or below. The newcomers did not stay long in Filibe as the following documents illustrate.

The next register dates from 1525⁵³, or a period of less than 10 years, and suggests that there should not be big changes in the demographic development of the city. However, contrary to expectations that it should develop and grow in accordance with the suitable conditions of the time, the population of the city declined. This time the Muslim community, taken as a whole, together with the converts to Islam was decreasing.

⁵³ BOA, MAD 519.

The Ottoman official recorded 801 Muslim households, 136 Muslim bachelors, 79 Christian *hanes*, 3 unmarried Christians, 13 widows, 33 Gypsy families together with 2



singles and 32 Jewish *hanes* plus 1 unmarried Jew.

What immediately attracts our attention is the fact that single Muslims for the nine-year period decreased as rapidly as they grew between the previous registrations. From 220 in 1516, Muslim bachelors shrank to 136 in 1525, or 38.2% of loss, which makes annual decrease of 4.2%. It could be supposed that the single Muslims have just married in large numbers and for this reason disappeared from the register. In this case, they must be found among the married adult Muslims in the city, who should increase in numbers. However, instead of growing, the Muslim households were dropping off as well. From 877 in 1516, there are to be found 801 in 1525, or 8.66% (0.96 % annually) of fall. Turning to the converts, it could be noticed that they also could not keep their previous position. On the one hand, the converts to Islam constituted 23% of the adult male population, preserving the correlation between “new” and “old” Muslims, but on the other hand, the adult neophytes alone decreased in numbers – from 250 in 1516 to 185 in 1525, a drop of 26% (2.9% per year). The situation with the unmarried

converts was even more dramatic. They shrank to only 12 men in 1525 from 50 in 1516, or 76% of decrease (8.44% per year). The Christians in Filibe accordingly did not increase, quickly falling to the level of 1489, a drop of 10.2% (1.1% annual decrease).

These numbers indicate that something extraordinary was happening in the region of Filibe. Firstly, it is quite unusual that a new registration was conducted only 9 years after the previous one, except if big changes took place, or the Ottoman government had in mind to undertake big changes in the area. It could be immediately noticed that this register was not a typical *mufassal tahrir defteri*. It included only the settlements in Filibe, Tatar Pazarcık, Samako, and a couple of other neighboring *kazas*, which was not the usual administrative practice. Secondly, for many settlements the register shows a rarely observed practice of tax reduction, in the case of Filibe the total amount of taxes was reduced by six thousand *akçes*. In the third place, the document is very detailed in regard to the population that enjoyed certain tax exemptions or had special duties. Finally, the tax-payers in the city had been registered in a rather strange way.

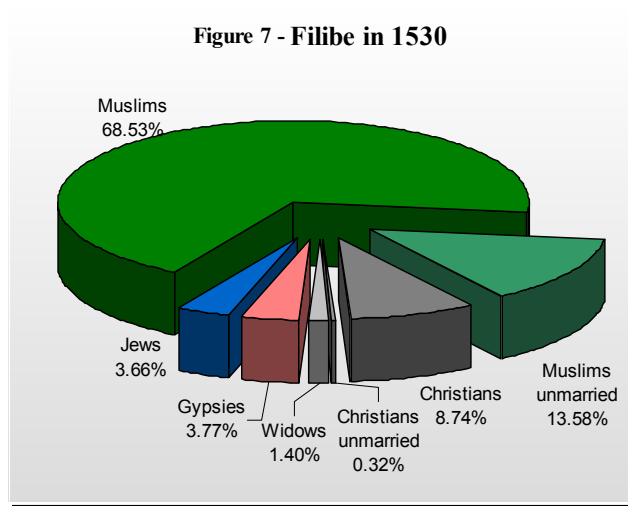
After the heading of each neighborhood there was a group of people who must be considered as the “old tax-payers”. All of them were married and could be easily found by name in the previous register of 1516, as some people had been single at that time. In 1525, they were registered among the married “old tax-payers”, but the total number of bachelors from 1516, who were also recorded in the 1525 register, does not exceed 20, the rest having just disappeared. The record of the “old-taxpayers” is followed by a hieroglyph that must be read as “*hâliyâ*”

(now, at the present), indicating the newly appeared tax-payers. There were 428 Muslim and 49 Christian households registered as a new taxable population.

The exceptional attention of the registrar to record the old and new tax payers in a particular territory, the reduction of some levies and the extremely detailed list of the subjects, enjoying a special status, is probably an indication that the central Ottoman government was preparing a major change. A loss of population in such large numbers in a very short time period could be only explained as a governmental policy. The drop did not affect all groups of population equally which excludes the natural reasons of the process. Muslims were constantly losing people while at the same time Christians, Gypsies and Jews remained quite stable. The enormous drop of the unmarried Muslims in the limits of only nine years could be only explained by the well known Ottoman administrative practice of deportation (*sürgün*).

The following *defter* at our disposal confirms the theory.⁵⁴

In the 1530 *icmâl*, only five years after the previous registration, there were recorded 636 Muslim *hanes*, 126 Muslim



bachelors, 81 Christian households, 3 unmarried Christians, 13 widows, 33 Gypsy

⁵⁴ BOA, TD 370. Published in very good facsimile with index and additional information: *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rum-İli Defteri (937/1530)* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2001).

families and 2 single Gypsies, 33 Jewish families and 1 unmarried Jew. It could be seen that Jewish and Gypsy communities remained unchanged, while Christians had just a slight increase of 2 households, which is a normal natural growth. Unmarried Muslims had a small decrease of 7.4%.

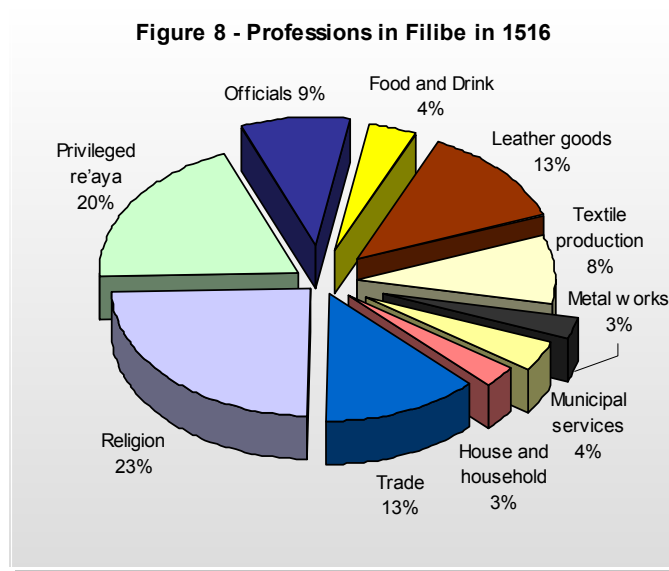
However, the same could not be said about the Muslim households that during five years separating the registrations suffered a dramatic drop of 20.6% or an annual decrease of 4.1 per-cent. For the fourteen-year period between 1516 and 1530 close to one third (27.5%) of the Muslim families disappeared from the city. Definitely this extreme demographic situation was a result of the official policy of the Ottoman state for population exchange and resettling of the newly conquered territories. It is highly likely that Filibe's Muslim population was transferred to the west, particularly to the Serbian territories conquered in the beginning of the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.⁵⁵ Simultaneously Serbs from Belgrade and Srem were deported to the Gallipoli peninsula and Istanbul.⁵⁶

Along with the city's demographic development, major changes took place in the urban economic life as well. In 1516, the group of "privileged re'aya" emerged as the second biggest group in the city. 32 rice growers (*çeltükçi*), 18 *yamaks*, 4 *yağcıs* etc. were recorded in the *defter*. The group closely related to the

⁵⁵ In a *defter* from H. 943 Belgrade and its tax-payers could be found. However, regardless the fact that most of the inhabitants were new comers there is no particular information that certain number of them came from Filibe. See BOA, TD 187, f. 243 onward. Since it is not known when exactly Filibe Muslims were deported they could have been settled in any other location. Belgrade was just an assumption as the chronologically closest event to the documents at our disposal.

⁵⁶ Feridun M. Emecen, "The history of an early sixteenth century migration – Sirem exiles in Gallipoli", in Geza David and Pal Fodor (eds.), *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent*, (Budapest: Lorand Eötvös University and Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1994), 77-91.

religion was the most numerous one – 36 *imams*, 23 *müezzins*, 4 *halifes*, 3 *hatibs* demonstrated that in spite of demographic crisis of the Turkish settlers, Islam was gaining more power, illustrated by numerous converts. Leather goods producers and traders remained the leaders among the craftsmen keeping together a share of 26%.



The register of 1525 marks the height of the group of privileged *re'aya* constituting 36 % of the productive urban population. The most numerous were again rice-growers, followed by *ulakçıs*, *yamaks*, *bazdars* etc. Contrary to those connected to the religious life of the city who did not see an increase, the group of the officials and members of the military class had a significant increase. The presence of 2 *kadis*⁵⁷ is to be pointed out. The head of the *esnafs* (*Ahi-i şehir*)⁵⁸ was only registered in 1525. There were also 17 *akıncıs* and their officer (*tovica*), 15 tax-collectors (*muhassıl*), 5 scribes, *muhzirs*, *nazırs*, *emins*, *sipahis*, and *voynuks* recorded. The members of these three groups occupied 74% of the productive population in 1525 and in fact they were mostly affected by the deportation which happened in the

⁵⁷ *Mevlâna Hasan halife, kadı-i Yürük in Mahalle-i "Çalık Hacı", BOA, MAD 519, f. 22 and Mevlâna Müsliheddin, kadı-i Zağra-i Yenice in Mahalle-i "Muhsin Hoca", BOA, MAD 519, f. 24. The same person in 1516 register was recorded as a *naib* of Filibe.*

⁵⁸ *Ali, v. Yunus, Ahi-i şehir in the quarter "Kurucu tabi' Tataran", BOA, MAD 519, f. 30.*

following 5 years. The 1530 register, because of its synoptic nature, does not provide an information about the craftsmen in the city, but religious

leaders, military

personnel and the

special *re'aya* were

recorded separately.

According to the data of

the *defter*, in 1530 from

33 *imams* (in 1525) only

3 remained along with 2

müezzins, 1 *hatib* and

one *şeyh*. From the *re'aya* 8 *çeltükçis* and 1 *yamak* had been recorded all together.

This fact is illustrative for the special attention that the Ottoman surveyor paid to

the members of these groups at the time of the 1525 registration. The large

majority of them were most probably supposed to leave the city and settle in a new

place. No doubt, the deportation affected the urban religious and economic life

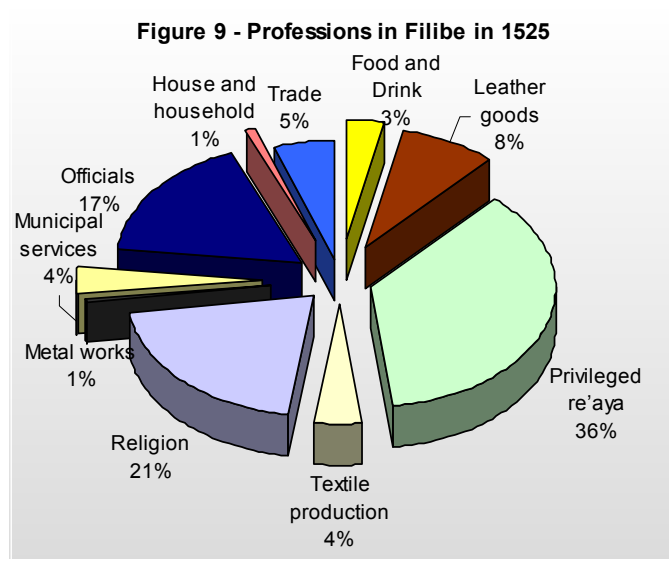
badly. Except that remained for some time without religious leaders, some quarters

were almost about to disappear.⁵⁹ However, it seems that the crisis was taken

under control and 40 years later we could see signs of recovery and prosperity.

The 1570 register⁶⁰ witnessed a significant growth of the city in

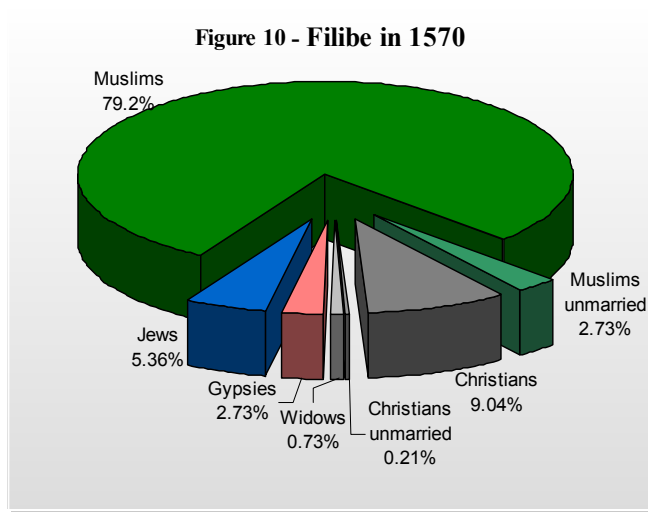
comparison with the situation in 1530. A new Muslim neighborhood appeared as



⁵⁹ The quarters “Çalık Hacı”, “Hacıyan”, and “Hacı Mes’ud” got down to 7 and 9 *hanes* respectively.

⁶⁰ BOA, TD 494.

consequence of the increasing population.⁶¹ There were 752 Muslim households registered in the *defter*, accompanied by 26 Muslim bachelors. Christian families were 88 along with 2 unmarried men and 7 widows. A slight decrease of the Gypsy *hanes* (7 h.) could be observed, as opposed to the emerging Jewish community – 50 households and 1



unmarried. Taken as a whole, the city’s population increased by around 17% mainly due to the progress of the Muslims. From 636 *hanes* in 1530 the Muslim community of Filibe increased to 752 in the 1570 register, with an augmentation of 18.5%. The 0.46% annual increase of the Muslims is in fact a reasonable natural growth, as the level of conversion to Islam went down to 18%. The Christian taxpayers had also a good development of 9% regardless that part of their growth must have been lost, due to the Islamization process. Jews were the most active, having an augmentation of 51.5% (1.28% per year).

The natural growth of Filibe’s taxable population for the forty years between the registrations fits the general demographic trends of the 16th c. and in comparison with the Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire even looks a bit small. However, it should not be forgotten the fact that Rumelia never faced the

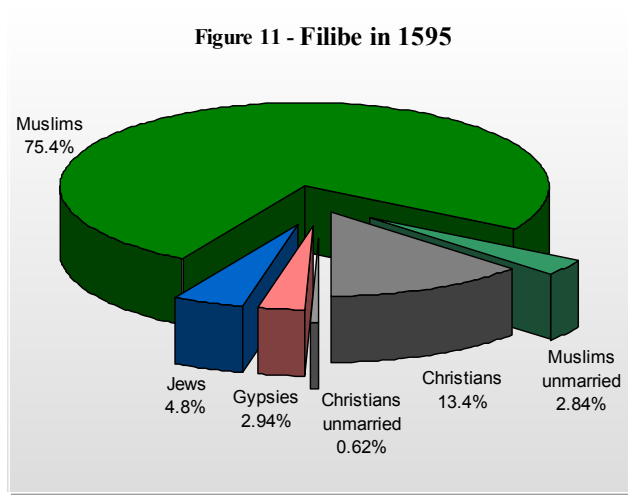
⁶¹ This is the quarter “Ulakçıyan” with 29 household. BOA TD 494, f. 522.

same demographic pressure as Anatolia.⁶² Additionally, it was already discussed that the area of Upper Thrace in the beginning of sixteenth century suffered an essential population loss and needed time for recovery. In this respect, the natural growth observed for the period under consideration is to be regarded as more than satisfactory.

The following *defter* at our disposal confirms this fact.⁶³ In the 1595 register, 844 Muslims households and 32 single Muslims were recorded. Additionally, there were 156 Christian families and 7 bachelors,

54 Jewish and 24 Gypsy
hanes, 9 unmarried
 Gypsies registered.

Muslims followed the same pace of development with an increase of 11.9%, which gives almost an identical rate of annual



growth – 0.48%. However, the big progress this time was made by the Christians. For the twenty five years between the registrations they almost doubled. This makes 2.86% of annual growth, in fact an enormous increase. Certainly, part of the reason for this was the reduced level of Islamization, as the converts in 1595

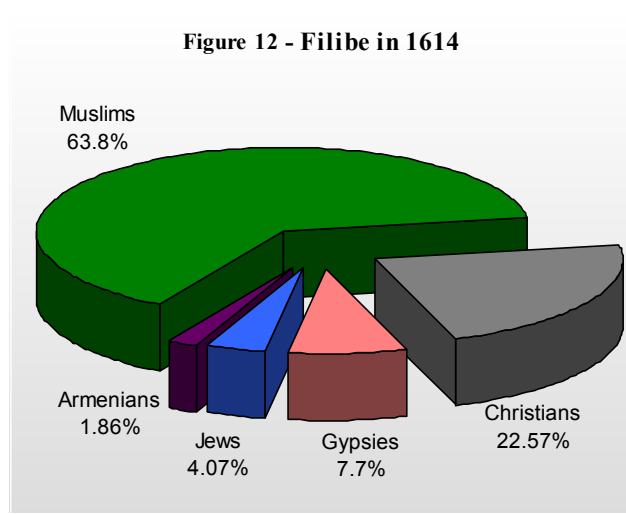
⁶² There is a rich bibliography on the demographic processes of 16th and 17th c. Anatolia. The discussion was raised half a century ago by the works of Ömer Lütfi Barkan. For a recent contribution on the matter with a detailed historiographic survey see Oktay Özel, “Population changes in Ottoman Anatolia during the 16th and 17th centuries: the ‘demographic crisis’ reconsidered”, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* - forthcoming.

⁶³ Ankara, KuK 65. Indeed there are two more copies of this register in Istanbul – BOA, TD 648 and BOA, TD 1001.

dropped to 8.1% of the city's Muslim population. Combined with a large natural growth and migration of the rural population into the city, it must explain such rapid development.

The presence of a big Christian rural surplus that was pushed towards the cities could be observed since the second half of the 16th c. in many other settlements. The healthy climatic conditions of the villages located in the high plains or at the foot of the mountains offered a great human potential who were attracted by the job possibilities in the cities. Simultaneously, the Muslims who settled in the vast lowlands were predominantly occupied in rice-growing or lived close to rice-fields, which affected their reproduction badly.

The numerous malaria epidemics were slowly eating up the Turks in lowlands which offered to the Christian surplus a possibility to occupy the Turkish villages, Bulgarizing the plains.⁶⁴



The last bit of information used in this work, dates from 1614⁶⁵, and witnesses that the expansion of the Christians in Filibe continued. The Ottoman

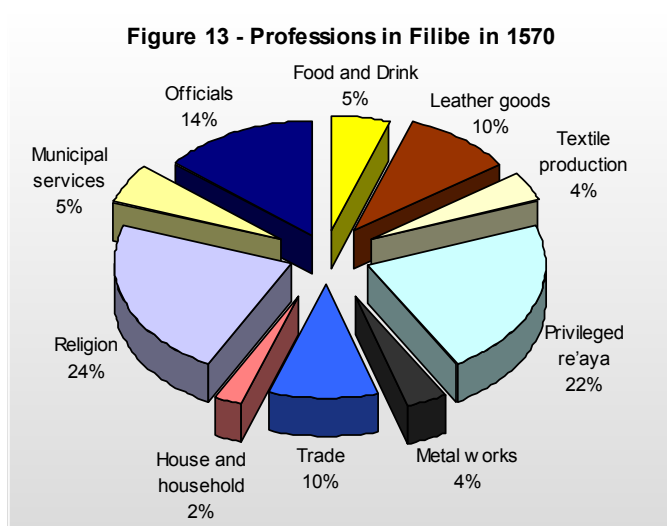
⁶⁴ The process was studied in detail and illustrated in a convincing way in the work of Machiel Kiel on Tatar Pazarçık. Machiel Kiel, "Tatar Pazarçık. The Development of an Ottoman Town in Central-Bulgaria or the Story of how the Bulgarians conquered Upper Thrace without firing a shot", in: Klaus Kreiser, Christoph Neuman (eds.), *Das osmanische Reich und seinen Archivalien und Chroniken, Nejat Göyüncü zu Ehren*. (Istanbul: 1997): 31-67.

⁶⁵ BOA, TD 729.

official had recorded 255 Christian, 721 Muslim, 87 Gypsy, and 46 Jewish households in the city. The Armenian community that was composed of immigrants from Iran and arrived in the city in 1610 was registered for the first time. The 21 Armenian households, who settled in the Christian part of Filibe, after a severe struggle with the Greeks succeeded to acquire a ruined church, which was renovated and used by them.⁶⁶

The enormous increase of the Christians (63.46%, 7.05% annual) for a nine-year period could be seen as an evidence of the migration into the city. It is highly likely that a new group of Gypsy settlers also arrived since they more than tripled in this short period of time. On the other hand, Muslims (8.4% converts) had a rapid decline losing 14.5% of the members of their community.

It is possible that some of them had been affected by diseases, but most probably the majority migrated somewhere. A probable destination could be the neighboring Tatar Pazarçık which during the same period had a great increase of Muslim population.



The demographic changes in Filibe had an important impact on the city's market. In the 40-year period after 1530, the urban economy completely

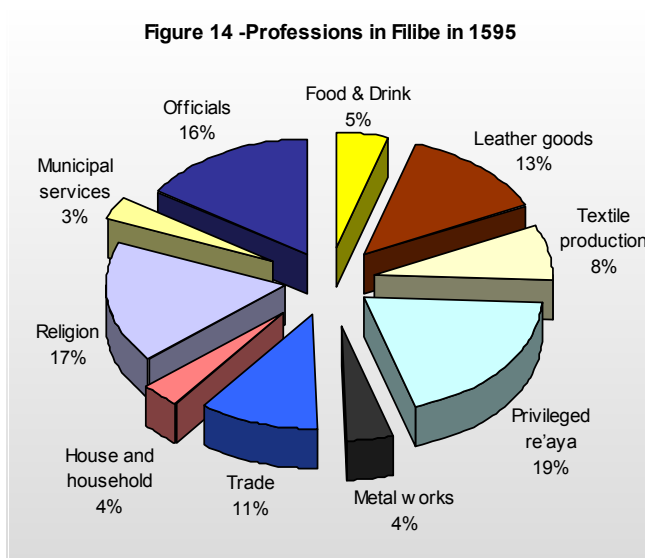
⁶⁶ The Armenian church "Surp Kevork" still stands in the old part of the modern Plovdiv.

recovered, as the leather goods producers and traders were again most numerous among the artisans. The lack of religious leaders observed in 1530 was quickly compensated and in 1570 there were already 57 *imams*, 44 *müezzins*, dervishes, teachers etc. *Çeltükçis* kept the leadership among the *re'ayas* with special duties, followed by the *celeps*⁶⁷, *ulakçis*, *yamaks* etc. The military class members and various officials were the third biggest group in the city.⁶⁸

The situation in 1595 was not much different.

It is interesting to be mentioned the presence of 15 *kadıts* in the city.

Whether they were retired or have been just waiting for the next appointment it is difficult to say. Certainly the *kadı* of Filibe himself was also



recorded in the *defter* together with the tax-payers.⁶⁹ Despite being strange, this is not a unique case. For example in Yenişehir (Larisa) in a register from 1700, 12

⁶⁷ In a *celep* register from 1576, composed by the *kadı* of Tatar Pazarcık there were also included the *celeps* from Filibe. According to the data of the register, in 1576 the Filibe's old and new *celeps* were supposed to deliver 3765 sheep for the winter of the same year. The register is housed in Sofia Archive and published in Bulgarian translation in *Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgariae*, Bistra Cvetkova (ed.), (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1974): 42-45.

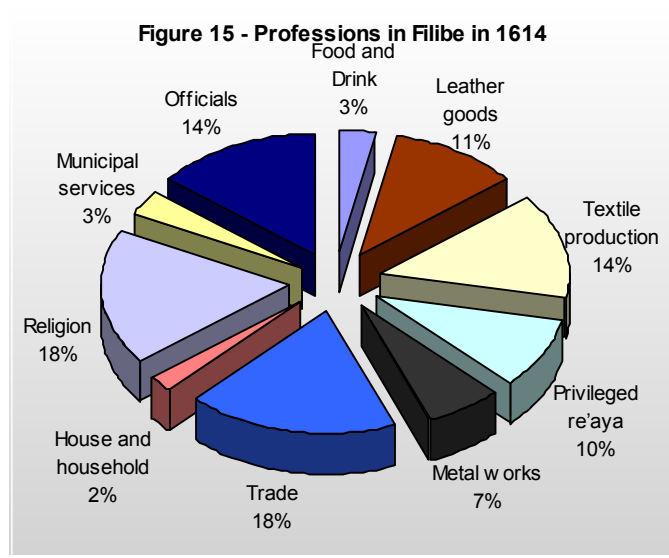
⁶⁸ See APPENDIX J

⁶⁹ "Müsliheddin, *kadı-i Filibe*" in the quarter "Hacı Ahmed, nam-i diğer Okçular", Ankara KuK 65, f. 50a.

kadis and even more strange 216 janissaries were recorded.⁷⁰ In the case of Filibe there was only one janissary registered along with the tax-payers in the city.

The last register shows some changes. The progress of the group, engaged in the textile production, is noticeable. This is connected with the emergence of Filibe's woolen cloth makers guild (*abaci esnafı*) in which mainly

Christians were occupied. It was slowly gaining importance and during the 19th c. it was the largest guild in the city. A *cizye defteri* from 1696 (MAD 1273) listed more than 150 members of the *abaci* guild in the city.



The demographic development of Filibe in the period after the Ottoman conquest in 1364 until the beginning of seventeenth century passed through numerous changes and fluctuations. The Ottomans had captured a city that suffered a serious demographic crisis, due to the endless wars in Upper Thrace. It seems that the Ottoman government paid special attention to the city, quickly

⁷⁰ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Quelques remarques sur la constitution sociale et demographique des villes balkaniques au cours des XVe et XVIe siècles", *Istanbul à la jonction des cultures balkaniques, méditerranéennes, slaves et orientales, aux XVIe-XIXe siècles*, (Bucarest: u.p., 1977), 299-300.

repopulating it with colonists from Asia Minor who constituted the majority of city's Muslim population. Thanks to the financial support of the state and various local leaders, in the middle of the 15th century Filibe already acquired a complete Islamic appearance. The Muslim community was constantly growing until the beginning of the 16th century, when major changes started to take place. Turkish settlers faced a significant decrease and converts to Islam from the rural environment of the city benefited from the situation, settling in Filibe in large numbers. The successful wars of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent required new Muslim settlers to be transported towards the western parts of the Balkans and Hungary and most probably Filibe's Muslim population was affected by the process. For one reason or another, in the beginning of the century in fifteen years time one third of the Muslims disappeared. This affected the demographic processes so badly that the city could never reach its level from 1489. The collapse was followed by a period of recovery in which the Christians played a major role.

In conclusion, it must be underlined that Filibe is a typical example for our first type of urban development in Ottoman Thrace, i.e. a city from the pre-Ottoman period, which as a consequence of a colonization, policy of the state, was transformed into a Muslim urban center designed in accordance with the Islamic tradition. The state had a significant output in the process interfering the city's natural demographic development.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF TATAR PAZARCIK (1472-1614)

Tatar Pazarcık is an example of our second type of urban development, i.e. an original Ottoman city created and established by the state in a place where no mediaeval Byzantine or Bulgarian settlement is to be found. However, this immediately raises some difficulty, namely the question when Tatar Pazarcık was established. The existing historiography generally accepts that the town was founded at the time of Bayezid II, after he settled there Tatars from the Black Sea region.¹ Having at our disposal the *akıncı defteri* from 1472, in which the town was included, we can argue that undoubtedly Tatar Pazarcık was not founded during Bayezid II's time, since it already existed at the time of his predecessor Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror.

¹ According to Babinger the deported Tatars from Bessarabia after Bayezid II's conquest of the Black Sea ports of Kilia and Akkerman, must be regarded as founders of the city. See Franz Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien*, (München, 1944), 68. Machiel Kiel in two of his studies on Pazarcık adopted this thesis. Machiel Kiel, "Tatar Pazarcık. A Turkish town in the Heart of Bulgaria, some brief Remarks on its Demographic development 1489-1874", in: *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 22-26 Eylül 1986. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, vol. 5, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 2568; Machiel Kiel "Tatar Pazarcık. The Development of an Ottoman town in Central-Bulgaria or the Story of how the Bulgarians conquered Upper Thrace without firing a shot", in Klaus Kreiser, Christoph Neuman (eds.), *Das osmanische Reich und seinen Archivalien und Chroniken, Nejat Göyüncü zu Ehren*. (Istanbul, 1997), 39.

Unfortunately, the register does not provide any further information about the creation of Pazarcık and in order to get an idea about the possible founders of the town we should take a closer look at the narratives. In accordance with its name, definitely a certain group of Tatars must have been involved in the town's formation process. The Ottoman chroniclers mention deportation of Tatars from Asia Minor in Upper Thrace under Sultan Bayezid I, but it would be very speculative to state that they established the town.² It is known that the deportation was supervised by Bayezid's son – Orhan Çelebi, and the people of Minnet Beğ settled in Konuş Hisarı, where Minnet's son Mehmed Beğ built an imaret and a caravanserai.³ Konuş is situated some 30 km to the east of Filibe and it is highly unlikely that the mentioned Tatars moved later on to the west establishing Pazarcık. The *imaret* of Mehmed Beğ and its endowment⁴ functioned until the 19th c., which supposes that the descendents of Minnet Beğ were located in this area and in fact were not the founders of Pazarcık.

In case that the Tatars of Minnet Beğ and those settled by Bayezid II could not be the founders of Pazarcık, then we should look at other groups of Tatars who settled in Upper Thrace in the time preceding the reign of Sultan Mehmed II. In the history of Ibn-i Kemal there is a story that could fit our purposes.⁵ It is said that after Timur's invasion in Crimea, a group of Tatars under the command of their

² Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih-i Âli Osman*, (İstanbul: Ali Bey's edition, 1332), 90-91; Mehmed Neshri. *Ogledalo na sveta. Istorija na osmanska dvor* (The Mirror of the World. A History of the Ottoman Court), translated and edited by Maria Kalitsin, (Sofia: Otechestven Front, 1984), 208.

³ This event is also mentioned in the Anonymous Giese. See Friedrich Giese, *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken in Text und Übersetzung herausgegeben*, vol. 2, (Leipzig, 1965), 73.

⁴ For the *vakıf* of Mehmed Beğ see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Lıvası. Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), 241.

⁵ Here we use the detailed summary of Barkan. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15 (1953-54): 211-212.

leader Aktav were forced to abandon their lands and crossing the Danube River asked Sultan Bayezid I for assistance. The Sultan accepted the Tatars and settled them in the area of Filibe, where they were provided with lands and pastures (*yaylak ve kışlak*).⁶ In time some of the Tatars settled down and became farmers. The leader Aktav was later on poisoned on the order of the Sultan, and a part of his people were dispersed. Those who remained in the region were recorded in the *defters* as *sipahis*.⁷

This story might look a bit legendary, but at least offers the researcher an important hint, showing that in the beginning of 15th c. a group of Tatars settled in the area of our interest. It is not clear how reliable the whole narrative is, but at least some part of it must be correct, since a village named “Aktav” is really to be found in the same area, as early as 1472.⁸ At the time of Süleyman the Magnificent, the village was attached to the large endowment of Sultan’s daughter – Mihrimah Hatun.⁹ This should be seen as evidence that Aktav’s people had actually settled near modern Pazarcık and most probably exactly they must be regarded as the founders of the town. A certain settlement in 1440s undoubtedly existed because Şihabeddin Pasha had built a watermill there.¹⁰

The place was selected carefully and had valuable strategic and economic importance. Pazarcık was established at the spot where an important road coming from Macedonia through Samakov joins *Via Militaris*. In the years of the conquest

⁶ Barkan, “Sürgünler”, 211.

⁷ Barkan, “Sürgünler”: 212.

⁸ Sofia, PD 17/27, f. 7b.

⁹ See Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Lıvası*, 500-501.

¹⁰ In the taxes of the city it could be found a tax of the watermill of Şihabeddin Pasha. BOA, TD 77, f. 635; BOA, MAD 519, f. 126.

this road was of vital importance for the Ottomans, which caused the establishment of a military base there. Later on, the spot became a place of distribution of the goods coming from Asia through Istanbul and going to Belgrade or to Macedonia and Albania. The small Tatar settlement was growing quickly attracting migrants from Asia Minor. If we accept that the town was founded in the beginning of the 15th century, then until the 1470s it could not have grown into a large city and the traces of its recent creation should be visible.

The data from the register of 1472 confirms this assumption.¹¹ The town belonged to the *kaza* of Filibe, registered under the name Bazar-i Yenice-i Tatar, an indication that it became a town not that long ago. In the Ottoman realm, in order a village to be considered *kasaba* (town), it needed to have a Friday mosque. Certainly there were *mescids* in the first years after the Tatars established themselves there, but exactly the erection of the Mosque brought more importance to the place. Certainly in 1472 there was a Friday mosque in the town, since along with the other five quarters, there is one bearing the name *mahalle-i Cami*.¹² The six neighborhoods were inhabited exclusively by Muslims, being 106 *hanes*.¹³ There was not even a single Christian living in the city, which could be illustrative of the Ottoman policy of colonization and creation of new towns. Several important buildings, sponsored by the government, had to attract and keep Muslim settlers in the newly created settlements, as often this policy was accompanied by low level taxation or full tax-exemption. The suitable conditions facilitated the growth of the town.

¹¹ Sofia, PD 17/27 and OAK 94/73.

¹² See APPENDIX F.

¹³ Sofia, PD 17/27, ff. 17b -18a and OAK 94/73, f. 33.

In the *defter* from 1516¹⁴ we find the town belonging to the *kaza* of Saruhanbeğlü, having 7 neighborhoods and 197 Muslim *hanes* or a rapid increase of nearly 1% annual growth.¹⁵ Additionally, the Ottoman official recorded 36 unmarried Muslims and 1 Christian. The Christian was obviously a newcomer to the city because he was recorded in the quarter “Helvacı Berak” as “*Boşko, preseliç* (migrant), *kâfir* – 25 [*akçe*]”¹⁶. Boşko was not alone in the migration towards the city. The register mentions 26 married and 4 single Muslims as converts. It is obvious that the converts arrived in the city, because there was not any local Christian community there. A similar process could be observed in the demographic development of Filibe in the period 1489-1516, so it could be supposed that the converts in Pazarcık appeared in the same period.

The town had at that time two mosques. Sultan Bayezid II sponsored the main Friday mosque and there was a smaller one as well, built by Kadı İshak Çelebi from Manastir in Macedonia. Additionally, there were two public baths and an *imaret* built by the lord of the marches Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Beğ.¹⁷ Outside the town was situated the dervish convent (*zaviye*) of Pirzade, founded by another well-known Ottoman commander Malkoçoğlu Bali Beğ.¹⁸

¹⁴ BOA, TD 77.

¹⁵ Here is to be mentioned that these estimations cannot pretend for accuracy. It is highly likely that a certain portion of the taxable population was excluded from the 1472 register. Compare the 197 *hanes* in 1516 with the work of Machiel Kiel, where the author counts them as 153 households. Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcik. Development”, 40.

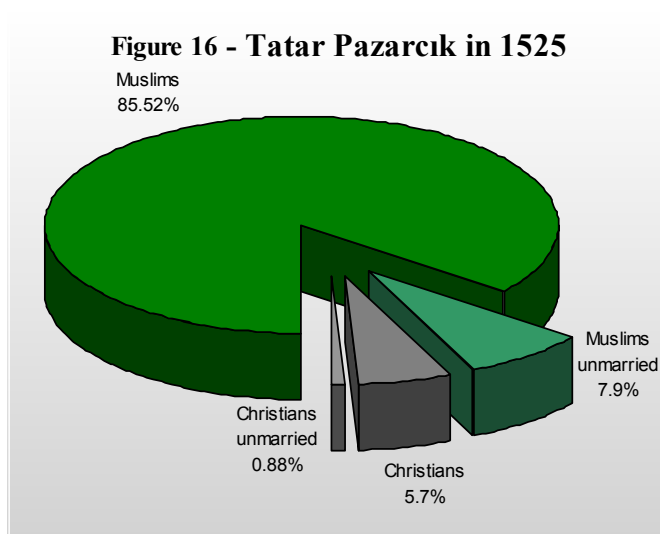
¹⁶ Though it is not mentioned, the recorded 25 *akçes* must be the amount of *ispençe* paid by the Christian.

¹⁷ Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcik. Development”, 40-41.

¹⁸ Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcik. Development”, 40.

The 1525 *defter*¹⁹ is the first to mention a Christian neighborhood in the town. Thirteen Christian households and 2 single Christians were registered at that time. The previously mentioned Christian – Boško, was still alive and was registered together with his son²⁰, among the Christian taxpayers. There is no doubt that all of the Christians were migrants and appeared shortly before the registration.²¹ The name of the quarter illustrates it – *mahalle-i Gebran, hadis* (quarter of the infidels – a new one). It is very probable that these Christians had been just temporarily settled there. In the following register the quarter disappeared and there was not a single Christian recorded in the *defter*. The process of deportation that affected Filibe at the same time must have also touched Pazarcık.

The group of Christians might have been transported because of certain skills or professions that the individuals had. However, only one of them was mentioned as *kürekçi*, which shows that the man was engaged in rice-growing.



¹⁹ BOA, MAD 519.

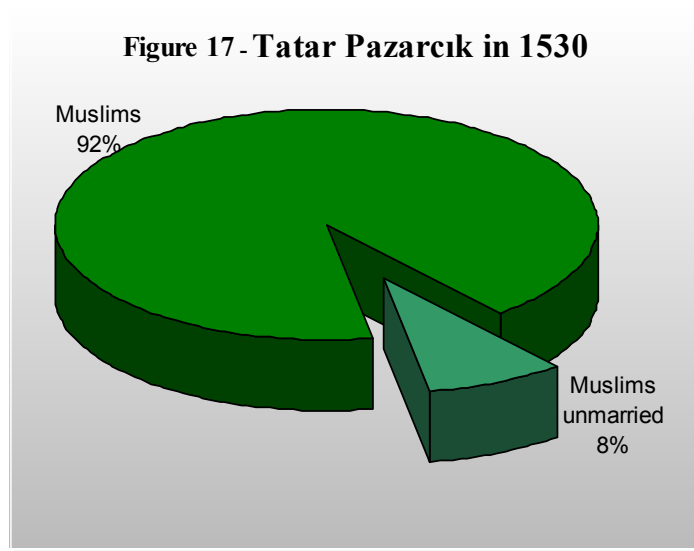
²⁰ “*Bojko Atanas and İstoyan Bojko, hamal*”, BOA, MAD 519, f. 126.

²¹ The Ottoman official even recorded the places where from the newcomers have come – these were 3 villages in the region of Razlog.

Muslims had a small decrease in comparison with the data from 1516. The surveyor recorded 195 households and 18 Muslim bachelors. For less than 10 years, half of the unmarried Muslims disappeared. This drastic drop, similar to the process in Filibe, could be only explained with migration or deportation. It was previously stated that the 1525 register was most probably composed in order to prepare for a deportation, which took place in the following years. However, Pazarcık was a developing city at that time and was not affected as badly as Filibe. The data from the 1530 register confirms this conclusion.

In the *icmâl* of 1530²² the town was already registered as an administrative unit of its own, bordering with the *kazas* of Filibe and Saruhanbeğlü, indicating the growing importance of Pazarcık. There were all together 178 Muslim households and 16 unmarried men registered in the 1530 *defter*. The Christians disappeared

as suddenly as they appeared, most probably as a result of deportation. The rapid decrease of the Muslims (8.7%, or 1.7% annually) illustrates the fact that Muslims had also been

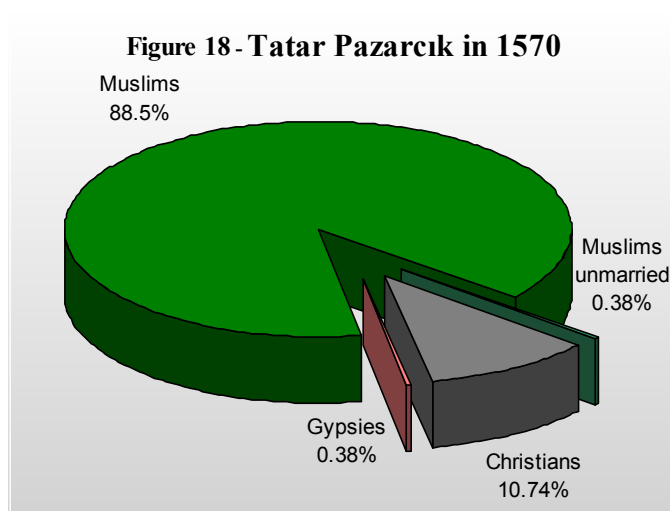


²² BOA, TD 370. *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rum-İli Defteri (937/1530)*, (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivrelî Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2001).

affected by the deportation.²³ The situation was not as dramatic as in Filibe, since a large number of inhabitants were not taken away, a fact that is proven by the further development of the city. The case of Pazarçık is probably a good illustration about the Ottoman policy of deportation. Migrants have been taken in large numbers only from prosperous places where the deportation would not disturb the demographic processes very much. From smaller and developing settlements, like Pazarçık, only a small percentage of the citizens were moved and no major damage to their development was caused. The loss was quickly compensated and the city kept on growing.

The next bit of solid information is the *defter* from 1570.²⁴ Similar to Filibe and in accordance with the general demographic trends of the sixteenth century, Pazarçık was growing. At that time there were 14 Muslim and 1 Christian neighborhoods in the city.²⁵ In fact, this is the first register in which

a permanent Christian community is to be found. The 28 Christians were predominantly a rural population that arrived in the city looking for better job possibilities. Six of them



²³ Compare with the work of Machiel Kiel. The author sees an increase between 1516 and 1530 due to the miscalculation of the data in the 1516 register. Kiel, "Tatar Pazarçık. Development", 42.

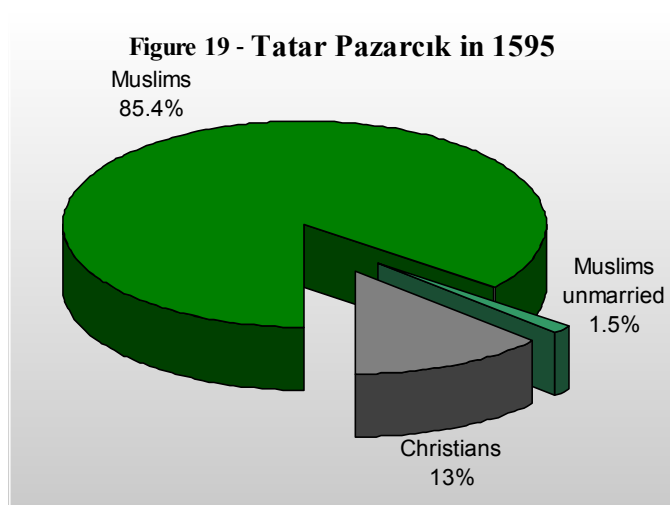
²⁴ BOA TD 494.

²⁵ See APPENDIX F.

were mentioned as *preseliç* (migrant, newcomer), as also goldsmiths, tailors, shoemakers etc. had been recorded. The Muslims increased to 231, a rapid natural growth of 22.9% (0.57% per year). There was just a small percentage of converts (12,6%) among the Muslims, proving that the increase is a consequence of the natural growth for the forty-year period separating the registrations. The 1570 register is also the first to testify a Gypsy presence in the city. One single Gypsy was registered in the Christian quarters and mentioned as a small farmer (*bennak*).²⁶

The rapid increase of both Christians and Muslims continued. In the 1595 register²⁷ 287 Muslim households, 5 single Muslims and 44 Christian families

had been recorded. For 25 years the Muslim community in the city was enlarged by 24.2%, or rapid increase of almost 1% per year. This must be mainly due to a large natural growth and



attraction of new settlers. On the other hand, Christians expanded even more. For the period between the registrations, they increased by 57%, illustrating that the huge annual increase of 2.3% should be a result of the arrival of many newcomers.

²⁶ BOA, TD 494, f. 719.

²⁷ Ankara, KuK 65. Compare with Kiel's article in which the author dates the register 1568/9. Kiel, "Tatar Pazarcık. Development", 43. However, in later works Machiel Kiel abandoned the wrong dating and uses 1595.

In this way, the Christians started slowly to gain more importance in the urban space, starting a tendency that would develop further in the following period.

The population growth shows that the importance of Pazarcik obviously was continually increasing. In the very beginning, it played an insignificant role in the Ottoman administration of Rumelia, but the quick development of the town, obtaining a share from the trade in the Balkans, changed the attitude of the central government and the town was promoted to a center of a *kaza*. At the end of the sixteenth century in Tatar Pazarcik “one of the largest building projects ever undertaken by the Ottomans in the Balkans”²⁸ was accomplished. It was Sultan Mehmed III’s Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha who, following the request of the local population, erected in 1596 an enormous double caravanserai in the center of the city, very close to the place where the annual market was taking place.²⁹ The caravanserai attracted the admirations of travelers with its size and richness of the *imaret* attached to it. This complex functioned for centuries and its ruins were still standing in the beginning of 20th century.³⁰

The erection of the large caravanserai, except being an illustration of the emerging importance of Pazarcik, undoubtedly affected the local economy in a favorable way offering additional job opportunities. This new situation made the city more attractive and as a consequence many new settlers arrived there in large numbers. The last *tahrir* at our disposal from 1614³¹ testifies to the quick development of the city. In the nine-year period between the registrations the

²⁸ Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcik. Development”, 45.

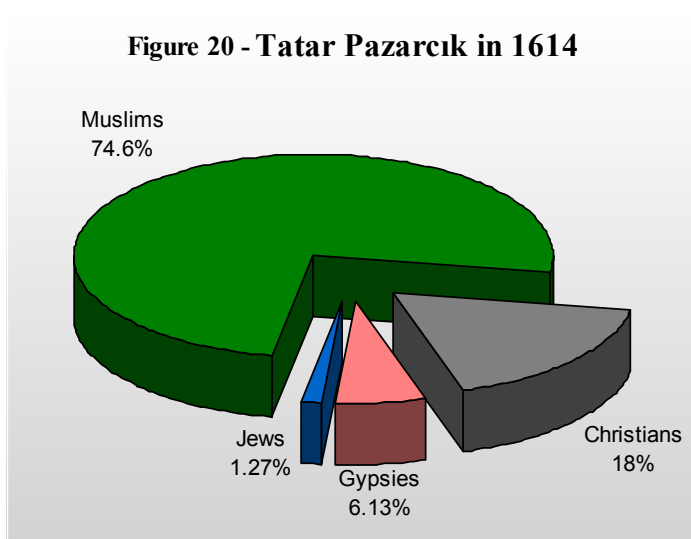
²⁹ See APPENDIX I.

³⁰ Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcik. Development”, 45.

³¹ BOA, TD 729.

Muslim community in Pazarcık enlarged with 127 households, witnessing an increase of 44.25% or almost 5% of annual growth-rate. It is apparent that such fast development cannot be a result of the natural growth of Pazarcık's population. A comparison with the demographic processes in Filibe, during the same period (1595-1614), will explain to a certain extent the processes in Pazarcık. Between the years 1595 and 1614 exactly 128 households disappeared from Filibe³². It would be too speculative to state that all Muslims who left Filibe in these years arrived specifically in Pazarcık, but the perfect coincidence of the numbers is obvious.

Similar to the Muslims, the Christians in Pazarcık had a great demographic progress. From 44 households in 1595, they amounted to 100 in 1614.



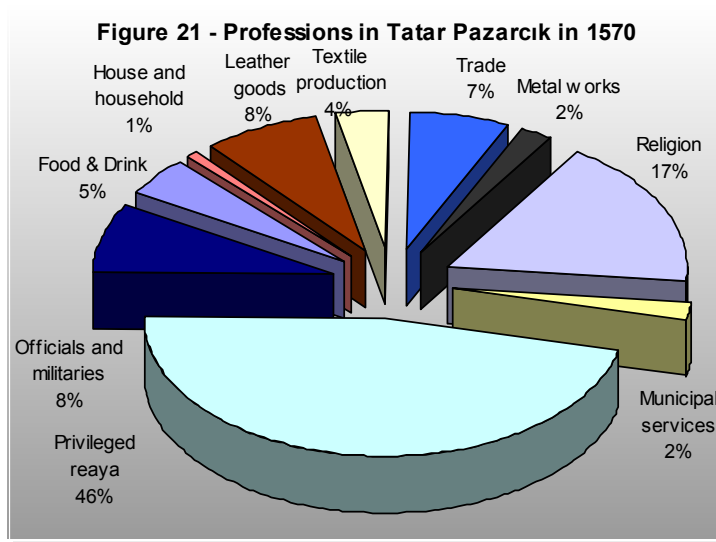
Speaking with numbers, this makes a 127% increase or 14% annual growth, indeed an enormous development. The great majority of them must have been rural population that, like in Filibe, came down to the cities from the surrounding mountainous area, looking for better life possibilities.

³² For Filibe see Chapter Three of the present work, or APPENDIX B.

The 1614 register is the first to mention a permanent Gypsy group in Pazarcık. The 34 households arrived together with 7 Jewish families and settled in the city in the period 1595-1614. Since that time Jews and Gypsies were always to be found as a part of Pazarcık's taxable population.

Turning our attention to Pazarcık's economy in the period 1472-1614, it is not difficult to distinguish the same production groups as they were found in Filibe for the same period.³³ The group that definitely dominated the urban space was the one of the "privileged *re'aya*".³⁴

The members included in this group were the most numerous throughout the whole period. For example in 1570 43 rice-growers



(*çeltükçi*), 30

servants in the Imperial mail (*ulakçı*), 21 *yamaks*, *bazdars*, *yağcıs* etc were recorded. Among the officials and military personnel there is to be mentioned the presence of *akıncıs*, *subaşıs*, *çauşes* etc. In 1614 three *kadı*s were registered together with the regular tax-payers.³⁵ The group composed of various religious

³³ See Chapter Three

³⁴ See APPENDIX K.

³⁵ One of them was recorded in the quarter "Baba 'Acem", BOA, TD 729, f. 443 and in the *mahalle* of "Kadı İshak", "Halil Efendi, el-kadı and Ahmed Efendi, el-kadı", BOA, TD 729, f. 446.

personalities was the second biggest in the city. Around 15 *imams* and the same number of *müezzins*, plus some dervishes, teachers etc. looked after the Muslim community of Pazarcık. The Christians had neither priests nor church and for any procedure like baptism of the children, weddings or funerals, they were forced to travel some 30 km and to get a priest from Filibe.³⁶ Among the craftsmen, leaders on the local market were the leather goods producers and traders along with those engaged in food and drinks industry, mainly bakers, cooks, butchers and *boza* makers.

Tatar Pazarcık is an example of our second type of urban development in Upper Thrace during the early and classical Ottoman period. The city came into being on a blank spot of the Thracian map and undoubtedly must be considered to be an original Ottoman creation. It emerged from a minor settlement of Tatars from Crimea, who arrived in the Ottoman realms in the beginning of fifteenth century. The central Ottoman administration saw a good chance to develop the strategically important point, settling the Tatars there. In the very beginning Pazarcık most probably looked like a military camp, but the facilities and public buildings, sponsored by well-known military commanders and the central authority, soon attracted new settlers. Towards the end of the century we see Pazarcık as a small, but very prosperous *kasaba*, which in the 1530s became a seat of a *kadı* and administrative unit of its own. The Ottoman government obviously tried to ensure the prosperity of the city and the process of deportation of Muslims that took place in the beginning of sixteenth century, did not affect Pazarcık much.

³⁶ Kiel, "Tatar Pazarcık. Development", 44.

In the following years the city kept growing mainly due to the arrival of newcomers from Asia Minor or from the mountainous rural environments. Until the mid-sixteenth century the city was exclusively Muslim as the Christians settled there only after this period. Both communities were growing quickly and in a century time the population more than doubled. Christians, however, had a larger demographic reserve and in the course of seventeenth century doubled again, thus breaking the Muslim hegemony in urban life. This process continued and reached its final development in the nineteenth century when the Christians already constituted the majority of Pazarcık's inhabitants. In this manner, for a period of three centuries the Bulgarians managed to capture the original Ottoman creation "without firing a shot"³⁷.

³⁷ Machiel Kiel "Tatar Pazarcık. The Development of an Ottoman Town in Central-Bulgaria or the Story of how the Bulgarians conquered Upper Thrace without firing a shot", in: Klaus Kreiser, Christoph Neuman (eds.), *Das osmanische Reich und seinen Archivalien und Chroniken, Nejat Göyünc zu Ehren*. (Istanbul, 1997): 31-67.

CHAPTER FIVE

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF İSTANİMAKA (1472-1595)

İstanimaka represents our third type of urban development, or in the category of towns and cities that existed in the pre-Ottoman period and after the conquest retained their Christian appearance, with a small Muslim minority. The town was mentioned for the first time in a document related to the foundation of the Bachkovo Monastery in the eleventh century.¹ The document shows that the then village of Stenimachos and the nearby stronghold of Petrich were attached to the estate of the monastery.² It seems that, in time, the monastery, in one way or another, lost most of its possessions keeping only the churches in the village and the stronghold as well as part of its immovable property.³

During the endless wars in Thrace, the town was besieged only a few times. The most destructive siege was in 1205 when Renier de Trit was enclosed by the Bulgarian king Kaloyan. Thanks to the inaccessibility of the stronghold, built on top of very high rocks, the blockade lasted for some months and ended with no

¹ Rossitza Moreva-Arabova, "Written sources of the history of Asenova fortress" (in Bulgarian), *Bulletin of the Museums of South Bulgaria*, 20 (1994): 41.

² Moreva-Arabova, "Written sources", 41-42.

³ Mina Hristemova, "The Monastery of Bachkovo in 16th century according to an Ottoman tax survey", unpublished paper in Bulgarian. Mina Hristemova who is a researcher in the local museum of Asenovgrad was kind to offer me the manuscript of the text for which I am grateful. The author argues that the monastery inevitably lost its full property of the town and the castle, because the sources several times mentioned Byzantine, Bulgarian and Latin administrator residing there.

result for the Bulgarians. After these events, there is no information about any other major military activities around Stanimachos. The Bulgarian king John II Asen in 1321 repaired the castle, which could be seen from an inscription there.⁴ It is possible that the town suffered some damage during the years of the Turkish raids in Thrace, but as a whole it remained untouched and most probably was captured by the Ottomans after the conquest of Filibe. We could assume that, similarly to Philippopolis, the town and its castle have surrendered to the Ottomans, since the Ottoman chroniclers do not mention it at all.

Not much is known about the urban development of İstanimaka in the period after the conquest. It is quite possible that at that time the city grew in size accepting settlers from Filibe and other places. The area around the city was of great importance for Christianity in the medieval Bulgarian kingdom, due to the developed monastic network.⁵ In the system of Ottoman administration in Rumelia, İstanimaka became a center of a *nahiye* belonging to the *kaza* of Filibe.

The first Ottoman register in which İstanimaka could be found is the *akıncı defteri* from 1472.⁶ The register had been torn into pieces and later on rebound in two main bodies as some of the pages are disorderly arranged. After detailed examination of the document, it became clear that it must have had at least one more part that has been lost. Furthermore, research on the register showed that some settlements had been messily entered in two or even three places in the

⁴ Vasil Zlatarski, “Asenoviat nadpis pri Stanimaka (Asen’s inscription in Stanimaka)”, *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique Bulgare*, Tome II, fascicule 2, 1911 (Sofia: Impremerie de la cour Royal, 1912): 231-247. See also Yordan Ivanov, “Asenovata krepost nad Stanimaka i Bachkovskiat manastir (The Asen’s castle above Stanimaka and the Bachkovo monastery)” in the same volume pp. 191-230. For detailed bibliography on the castle see Rositsa Moreva-Arabova, “Historiographic notes on the research of Asenova krepost” (in Bulgarian), *Bulletin of the Museums of South Bulgaria*, 18 (1992): 101-118.

⁵ Except the Bachkovo monastery, the second biggest monastery in the Bulgarian lands, there were numerous smaller local monasteries. Because of the concentration of monasteries around İstanimaka, this area is known among the local population as the “small Mount Atos”.

⁶ See Chapter One.

register, i.e. in order to reconstruct the picture of the whole settlement one must go through the whole *defter* and check in how many places parts of a certain town or city had been registered. In our case Filibe was registered only in one place. However, the same could not be said about Tatar Pazarcık and İstanimaka. The taxable population of Pazarcık had been recorded in two different places in the *defter*, as one of the entries is in one of the rebound registers and the other record is to be found in the second rebound *defter*. Certainly, this condition of the document is not very pleasant for the researcher, but at least offers the possibility, after careful examination, the needed information to be brought together, as we did in the case of Tatar Pazarcık. However, the case of İstanimaka is different. There is no doubt that the town had been registered, but unfortunately the taxable population was recorded in two or more places in the document. We have at our disposal a list of only 10 Muslim households⁷, located at that time in the town. It is highly possible that the Christians were recorded in the following pages of the document, but these pages must belong to the part that was lost.⁸ Thus, we cannot draw some conclusions about this early period, but the Christians definitely constituted the majority of the citizens.⁹

The *mufassal defteri* from 1489¹⁰, even though İstanimaka is mentioned several times (certain villages are recorded as *tabi' İstanimaka*), does not provide a list of the city's taxpayers. This fact could be explained with the specificity of the document, which is not a typical example of the *tahrirs*, but it rather includes only Sultan's *hasses* and *zeamets*, as well as *vakfs* of members of the Ottoman elite.

⁷ Sofia, PD 17/27, f. 28b.

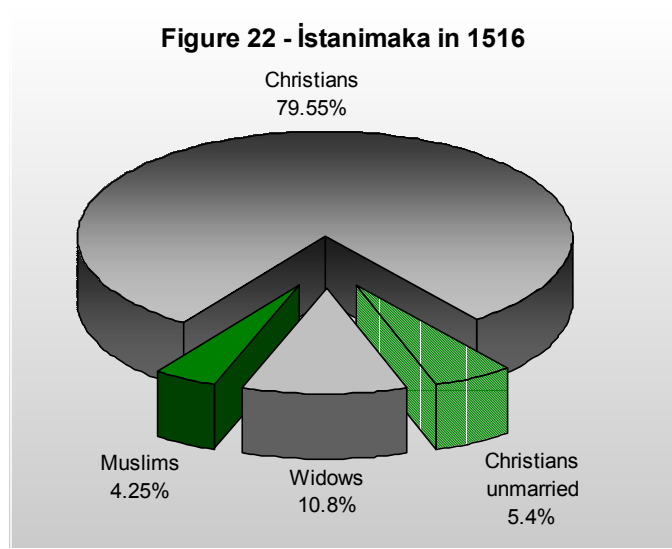
⁸ In the *defter* they are recorded as "*Müslümanan-i nefis-i İstanimaka*", which suggests that there must have been also Christians there. Even a brief look on the following registers shows that Muslims in the town were constantly around 10-15 *hanes* and the Christians were the large majority of the inhabitants.

⁹ See APPENDIX D.

¹⁰ BOA, TD 26.

The first available register that provides a detailed list of the taxpayers in İstanımaka is the *mufassal defteri* from 1516.¹¹ The data shows that in 1516 the town was divided into 9 Christian *mahalles* and one Muslim quarter.¹² In comparison with the previous available register, Muslims retained approximately the same number adding one *hane* to the previous 10 households.

Except the *imam*, the rest of the Muslims were occupied with agriculture, most having a *çift*. Christians were proportionally distributed in 9 quarters, numbering 206 *hanes*, 14 unmarried men and 28 widows.



Having these numbers at our disposal, we can already firmly state that İstanımaka is an example of a city from the pre-Ottoman period that was not much affected by the process of Turkish colonization, retaining its Christian character. It is highly likely that during the endless wars in the 13th and 14th c. Stenimachos was more successful in self-protecting. Certainly the strategic importance of the town was not great (it is situated some 20 km to the south of *Via Militaris*) and for this reason was less attractive for assaults, but it is very surprising to find out that in İstanımaka twice more Christians lived than in the metropolis of Upper Thrace - Filibe. The probable explanation, as already mentioned, is the withdrawal of population from the vast plains to the settlements situated at the foot of the

¹¹BOA, TD 77.

¹² See APPENDIX G.

mountains for the sake of security.¹³ It is possible that part of the population living in İstanimaka came from Filibe before the Ottoman conquest or in the period until the mid-fifteenth century. The information from Ottoman surveys shows that in the 1470s Filibe was already a Muslim urban center and only around 100 Christian households lived there. No doubt, the Muslims in the city appeared as a consequence of colonization of population from Asia Minor, but this does not explain where the Christian population disappeared, if disappeared at all. Certainly, some converted to Islam, but again the registers show that the Islamization in this period was not very intensive. Speculating, it could be said that the transformation of Filibe into a Muslim center caused some conflicts and the Christians kept on leaving the city, some coming to İstanimaka. Certainly this is a very speculative idea, as we do not have at our disposal any information about the exact number of Christians living in Filibe before the process of colonization started.

On the other hand, the fact that we find only ten Muslim households in İstanimaka is very illustrative about the Ottoman policy of colonization. The Muslim migrants settled in the empty or depopulated areas, where their livelihood could be easily ensured. The central government did not follow a policy of settling Muslims at the expense of moving Christians away. Just in reverse, the pragmatic administration, attempted to fulfill the already depopulated territories in order to make the maximum possible profit out of the lands. Settlements like İstanimaka that survived the disturbances of the pre-Ottoman period with minor damages, were of no interest for the colonization policy of the state, they remained unaffected by it and kept a predominantly Christian population.¹⁴ The further

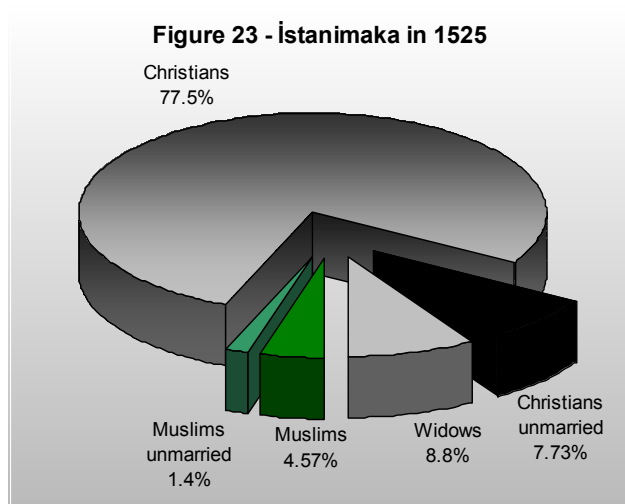
¹³ See Chapter Three.

¹⁴ Even a brief look on any 15th or 16th century register, in which Filibe area is included, could illustrate that the mediaeval Bulgarian or Byzantine settlement situated in the Rhodopes or the Balkan remained Christian.

development of the city, which could be traced in the following Ottoman surveys, demonstrates it in a convincing way.

The next bit of solid information about the population of İstanimaka comes from the 1525 detailed register.¹⁵ The Ottoman official recorded

thirteen Muslim households, four unmarried Muslims and 220 Christian households plus 21 unmarried men and 25 widows. For a period of nine years between the registrations, following the general demographic trends



of the sixteenth century, both Christian and Muslim communities of the city enlarged. Contrary to the process of rapid decrease in Filibe and Tatar Pazarcık during the same time-period¹⁶, İstanimaka's Muslims and Christians increased in numbers. The 6.8% of increase of the Christian taxpayers speaks about good natural growth of 0.75% per year.

It is obvious that the process of deportation, which was the probable reason of the sharp decrease of Filibe's Muslims, did not affect İstanimaka at all. The Muslim community was too small to provide the needed human resource for colonization of other settlements and for this reason, remained untouched. On the other hand, the Ottoman authority did not pay any attention to the Christians in İstanimaka, since it needed mainly Muslim settlers. The only exception in this respect is the group of Christians, who appeared in Pazacık, just to disappear in the

¹⁵ BOA, MAD 519.

¹⁶ See Chapter Three and Four.

following registration. However, in this case, it is highly likely that the Ottoman administration gathered people with special skills and only temporarily settled them in Pazarcık. Thus, we can distinguish another important feature of the Ottoman policy, which affected the urban development of Thrace. Except that, as it was already discussed, the Ottoman government did not settle Turks from Asia Minor in the areas where the medieval settlement network was preserved, it did not use the demographic potential of these places for colonization further to the west either. In other words, the state was only engaged in the demographic processes of areas with disturbed settlement network and tiny population. Settlers were brought to this or that place in accordance with the needs of the state policy at a given time. Contrarily, the Ottoman administration did not interfere in regions where there was stability and expanding population.

The next *defter* in which we find the taxable population of İstanımaka is the *icmal defteri* from 1530.¹⁷ There were no changes recorded in the summary register, which allows us to assume that at least regarding the city of İstanımaka, the 1525 *defter* (MAD 519) is, in fact, its summary version. The cases of Filibe and Pazarcık are quite different and the data included in the 1530 *icmâl* was definitely a result of new registration. However, in the case of İstanımaka, where during the five-year period, no major changes occurred, there was no need for a new registration and the practical Ottoman officials just simply copied the contents of the 1525 *mufassal* into the 1530 summary register.

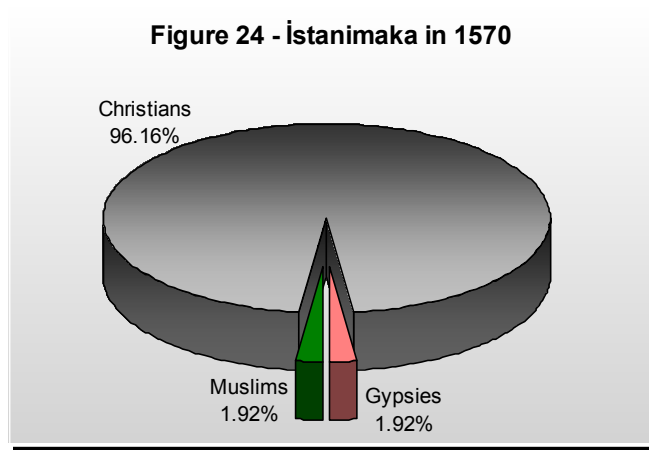
The large *icmâl* is the last *timar* record in which İstanımaka is to be found. In the 1550s, big changes in the status of the city took place. From the *tapu* regime, under which the city was a center of a *nahiye*, it became a *vakıf* property. After the

¹⁷ BOA, TD 370. *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rum-İli Defteri (937/1530)*, (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivrelî Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2001).

accomplishment of the large complex of Süleymaniye in Istanbul, İstanimaka was attached to the enormous pious foundation of the mosque.¹⁸ Since that time until the end of nineteenth century, the city remained among the possessions of the endowment. After 1530 the information about İstanimaka is based on the *mufassal vakıf* records that we were able to find in the archives in Istanbul and Ankara.

The detailed *evkaf* register from 1570¹⁹ shows that the Christian population of İstanimaka found the conditions of the *vakıf* suitable for its development and kept on growing. The Ottoman surveyor recorded 351 Christian

households, 7 Muslim *hanes* and for the first time – a group of 7 Gypsies dispersed in the Christian quarters. The unmarried young men in both Christian and Muslim communities



were not recorded in the *defter*, so we cannot get an idea about their number. The same could be said for the Christian widows, who were also excluded from the register.

Contrary to the Muslims, who decreased in numbers, Christians continued to expand in the forty-year period separating the registrations. Compared with the data from 1530, the Christian community increased by 60.3%, which makes 1.5%

¹⁸ In the *vakıfname* İstanimaka is still mentioned as a center of a *nahiye*.

“*Nahiye-i İstanimaka:*

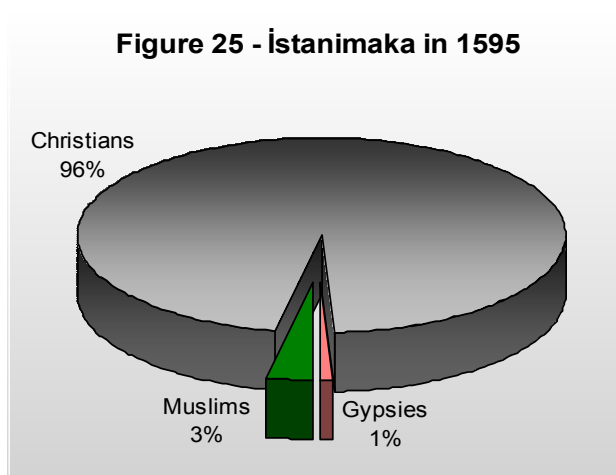
Karye-i İstanimaka; Karye-i Pazuşa, nam-i diğer Arnavudlar; Karye-i Murad Beğlü, nam-i diğer Yitilmiş”. Additionally in the Filibe region there were some 34 more villages, 1 *mezra*, watermills etc. attached to the endowment. For the *vakıfname* of Süleymaniye see Kemâl Edip Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi*, (Ankara: Resimli Posta Matbaası, 1962), 65-67, with many mistakes in the transliteration of the place names, but provided with a very good, readable facsimile.

¹⁹ BOA, TD 498.

of annual growth, in fact a big progress. This increase is too large to be attributed only to the natural growth of İstanimaka's population. Similar to the other cities in the region, at the time when the demographic pressure reached a peak, the city has probably accepted a portion of the rural population that arrived in there looking for a better life.²⁰

The 1570 register is the first to mention a neighborhood of *voynuks*. In the preceding *tahrir* records *voynuks* were encountered among the taxpayers of İstanimaka, but they never exceeded the number of two to three men. It cannot be answered positively where the *voynuks* came from in such large numbers.²¹ In a fragment of a *voynuk* register, dated generally in the second part of the 16th century, in İstanimaka were registered 12 *voynuks* with a number of *yamaks* and one officer (*lagator*).²² What was the reason for this increase of the *voynuks* remains unknown, but their reserve (*zevayid-i voynugan*) is also to be found in the city. The last register at our disposal, in which İstanimaka is included, dates from 1595.²³ It is possible that

one more *mufassal evkaf* register was composed in the beginning of the 17th c., but we were not able to find it. The *defter* shows that the development of the city



²⁰ As an evidence for this could be seen the presence of many heads of households, who instead of a patronymic, had a nick-name - "*preseliç*" (migrant, newcomer).

²¹ BOA, TD 498, f. 364. "*mahalle-i Voynugan, neferen 35*".

²² Sofia, PD 1/87, f. 9b. The document is published in Bulgarian translation in *Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgaricae*, Bistra Cvetkova (ed.), Vol. 5, (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1974), 186-196.

²³ Ankara, KuK 563. The Istanbul copy of this register is BOA, TD 470.

went further on and it was growing in size. There were 13 Muslim households, 8 Muslim farms (*çiftlik*), 4 Gypsy families and 416 Christian households. The increase of the Christians reminds of the previously discussed percentage of natural annual growth in the period 1516-1525. For the time between 1570 and 1595 Christians increased by 18.5%, or had exactly the same annual growth of 0.75%. Therefore, we may conclude that this increase is mainly a result of the dynamic natural growth of the local Christian population. In the following centuries, Christians in İstanimaka, similar to the rest of the cities in Thrace, continued to expand preserving the tiny, almost invisible Muslim minority.

The general demographic trends of İstanimaka show that the city may be regarded as a good example of our third type of urban development, i.e. pre-Ottoman settlement in which the Christians kept population majority and almost no Turkish colonists had settled. During the period of continuous wars in Upper Thrace, due to the safer geographical position of the town, it attracted migrants from the nearby lowlands. This process kept the place inhabited and the Ottoman administration did not interfere in the demographic development of İstanimaka. The small Muslim minority that could be seen in the city was probably a result of migration of individuals who arrived on their own. Most of them were occupied in agriculture and for a period of more than a century did not have a visible increase. It is quite possible that, since the end of the 16th century İstanimaka started sending back to the plain its surplus, as it happened in the case of the mountainous villages in the Filibe and Tatar Pazarcık regions. The demographic development of both Filibe and Tatar Pazarcık at that time shows that the cities made room for this surplus.

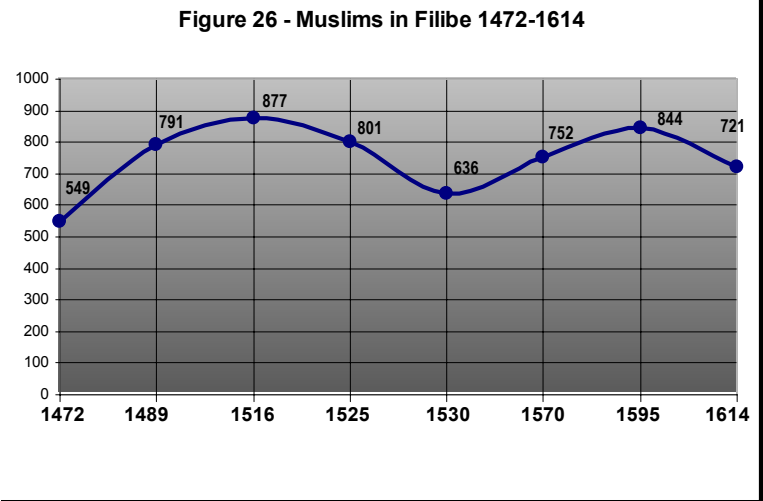
CONCLUSION

Following the urban development and the demographic trends of the three Ottoman cities, that have been an object of this study, it can be firmly stated that, it is of great importance, more studies on the local history of certain settlements or regions, to be made for the completion of Ottoman Empire's general demographic picture. The demographic patterns of Filibe, Tatar Pazarcık and İstanimaka demonstrated that, in spite of being situated in the same and relatively small area, the cities did not follow the same development.

Filibe, which represented the first model of urban development, is a pre-Ottoman settlement, which as a consequence of large Turkish migration from Asia Minor, combined with state-supported building activity, became an important Muslim urban centre. Muslims in the city had a large majority until the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of eighteenth century, however, a big fluctuation within the community itself could be easily noticed. After a rapid increase throughout the fifteenth century, the Turks in Filibe started decreasing on the account of arrival of newcomers from the rural environment of the city, all converts. The probable reason for such a development is the state interference in the demographic processes. The numerous successful wars during the Suleymanic age needed a large human potential for reinforcement of the Muslim element in all newly conquered territories. The Ottoman administration did not hesitate to move population from one place to another in order to achieve ethnic balance, which was

seen as favorable for the state policy at a particular moment. The practice of population deportation in the Ottoman state is well known and has been studied since long ago. The research on Upper Thrace adds only certain little known details. In the case of Filibe, recreated and repopulated by the state, the central administration

interfered brutally in the natural demographic processes and for a short period of time almost one third of the city's Muslim

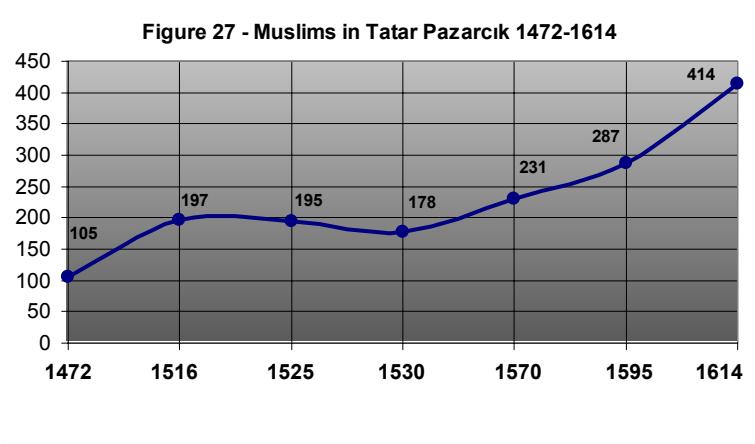


population was carried away. Thanks to the suitable conditions of the sixteenth century, when a huge population growth all over Europe and the Ottoman Empire could be observed, the city managed quickly to recover, compensating the enormous loss. The Ottoman administration however, should not be accused of irrational policy, since it did not mean to depopulate the city. It only took such a big portion of the population which would not affect the development of the city in an extremely negative aspect. At the time of the deportations, Filibe was already a strong urban center with a huge Muslim demographic potential, which allowed the central administration to move away a great number of the local Muslims.

However, the same could not be said about Tatar Pazarcık, the representative of our second type of urban development. The city came into being as a result of the efforts of the Ottoman administration, created from the very beginning. At the time when the deportation was taking place Pazarcık was still a

developing settlement and for this reason the process did not affect it at the same level as Filibe. If the same big percentage of Muslims had been moved from Pazarçık then, instead of making the city attractive for more settlers, it would probably result in a

deep demographic crisis. Just in reverse, the Ottoman government made all necessary efforts to develop and promote

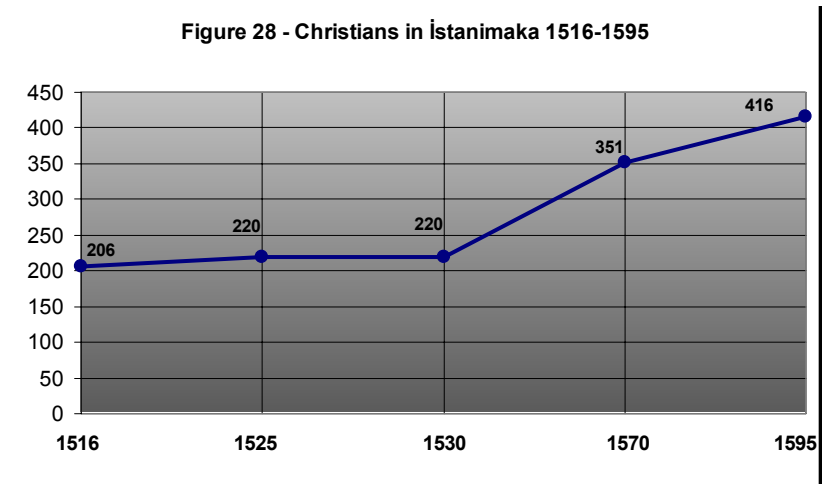


the city. The numerous public buildings sponsored by the state or various military leaders and officials, gave a new face to the city that slowly emerged from a settlement of minor importance to center of a *kaza*. The biggest progress could be seen after the erection of the enormous caravanserai in 1596, when even settler from Filibe moved to the prosperous city.

It was the Ottoman state which played a crucial role in the first two cases – the urban and demographic development of Filibe and Tatar Pazarçık. In our third example, which is the city of İstanımaka, completely different demographic trends have been demonstrated and the central administration almost did not interfere in the city's life. The Ottomans found İstanımaka as a well developed and populated place, which managed to survive the disturbing pre-Ottoman period. There was not enough space for Turkish colonists and in fact, they were never to be found there. İstanımaka retained its Christian appearance throughout the whole Ottoman period, having almost an invisible Muslim minority. Untouched by processes like deportation, which would result in population loss, the Christian community was

constantly growing and for less than a century it doubled. Furthermore, this rapid increase might have been accompanied by a process of sending part of the human surplus to other settlements, like Filibe for example. Taken as a whole, in the course of the

sixteenth century, Christians in the region showed a large demographic



potential which dominated the demographic trends of the following seventeenth century. At the time when Europe and Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire were stricken by a big demographic crisis, the Christian population in Filibe and Pazarçık areas continued to grow, slowly Bulgarizing the plains, which they had abandoned during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In conclusion, bringing together the whole information offered by this work the problem of the importance of local studies should be underlined once again. We did some research on the demography of three Ottoman cities, which were chosen deliberately. One was a big ancient and medieval urban center, the other newly created by the Ottomans without any medieval background of the spot and the third a relatively small pre-Ottoman settlement, but situated at a safe geographic point. The Ottoman documents demonstrate that each of the above-mentioned places followed its own way of development. Some accepted Turkish colonists, others did not. Some places have been purely or predominantly Muslim others had mostly a Christian appearance. At the time when one settlement had a

rapid population decline another remained quite stable or had a large increase. Finally, all of them have been situated in the same, relatively small region, and in general were supposed to have similar demographic trends, but they did not. These differences in the development of settlements in a small area give an idea that, in order, the colorful mosaic of Ottoman Balkan realities to become visible, we need to fill the blank spots on the map of the Ottoman fifteenth and sixteenth century demography. There is only one possible way for this – more research on the local history of particular places, based on the rich Ottoman documentation.

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APPENDIX A

Table of the *defter*s used in the work

Date	<i>Defter's</i> Call Number	<i>Defter's</i> Type	Filibe	Tatar Pazarcik	İstanimaka
1472 (877 H.)	Sofia Pd 17/27 OAK 94/73	<i>Mufassal</i>	X	X	X*
1489/90 (895 H.)	Istanbul BOA TD 26	<i>Mufassal</i>	X	---	---
1516 (922 H.)	Istanbul BOA TD 77	<i>Mufassal</i>	X	X	X
1525 (932 H.)	Istanbul BOA MAD 519	<i>Mufassal</i>	X	X	X
1530 (937 H.)	Istanbul BOA TD 370	<i>İcmâl</i>	X	X	X
1570 (978 H.)	Istanbul BOA TD 494	<i>Mufassal</i>	X	X	---
1570 (978 H.)	Istanbul BOA TD 498	<i>Evkâf</i>	---	---	X
1595 (1004 H.)	Ankara KuK 65 & Istanbul BOA TD 648 BOA TD 1001	<i>Mufassal</i>	X	X	---
1595 (1004 H.)	Ankara KuK 563 & Istanbul BOA TD 470	<i>Evkâf</i>	---	---	X
1614 (1023 H.)	Istanbul BOA TD 729	<i>Mufassal</i>	X	X	---

* Only the data about the Muslims survived. The entry of the Christians is most probably in the part of the register that has been lost.

APPENDIX B
Filibe 1472-1614

Date	Muslims (hane)	Unmarried Muslims	Christians (hane)	Unmarried Christians	Christian Widows	Gypsies (hane)	Unmarried Gypsies	Jews (hane)	Unmarried Jews	Arme- nians
1472 (877 H.)	549	---	95 + (27)*	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
1489 (895 H.)	791	107	80	5	12	36	---	---	---	---
1516 (925 H.)	877	220	88	0	13	35	---	32	---	---
1525 (932 H.)	801	136	79	3	13	33	2	32	1	---
1530 (937 H.)	636	126	81	3	13	33	2	33	1	---
1570 (978 H.)	752	26	88	2	7	26	---	50	1	---
1595 (1004 H.)	844	32	156	7	---	24	9	54	---	---
1614 (1023 H.)	721	---	255	---	---	87	---	46	---	21

1472=Sofia Archive, PD 17/27; 1489=BOA, İstanbul, TD 26; 1516=BOA, İstanbul, TD 77; 1525=BOA, İstanbul, MAD 519; 1530= BOA, İstanbul, TD 370; 1570= BOA, İstanbul, TD 494; 1595=T.K.G.M., Ankara, Edirne 65; 1614= BOA, İstanbul, TD 729.

* 27 households from the village of Pollad.

APPENDIX C
Tatar Pazarcık 1472-1614

Date	Muslims (hane)	Unmarried Muslims	Christians (hane)	Unmarried Christians	Christian Widows	Gypsies (hane)	Jews (hane)
1472 (877 H.)	105	---	---	---	---	---	---
1516 (925 H.)	197	36	1	---	---	---	---
1525 (932 H.)	195	18	13	2	---	---	---
1530 (937 H.)	178	16	---	---	---	---	---
1570 (978 H.)	231	1	28	---	---	1	---
1595 (1004 H.)	287	5	44	---	---	---	---
1614 (1023 H.)	414	---	100	---	---	34	7

1472=Sofia Archive, PD 17/27 and OAK 94/76; 1516=BOA, İstanbul, TD 77; 1525=BOA, İstanbul, MAD 519; 1530= BOA, İstanbul, TD 370; 1570= BOA, İstanbul, TD 494; 1595=T.K.G.M., Ankara, Edirne 65; 1614= BOA, İstanbul, TD 729.

APPENDIX D
İstanimaka 1472-1595

Date	Muslims (hane)	Unmarried Muslims	Christians (hane)	Unmarried Christians	Christian Widows	Gypsies (hane)
1472 (877 H.)	11	---	?*	---	---	---
1516 (925 H.)	11	---	206	14	28	---
1525 (932 H.)	13	4	220	22	25	
1530 (937 H.)	13	4	220	22	25	---
1570 (978 H.)	7	---	351	---	---	7
1595 (1003 H.)	13 (+8) <i>çifiliks</i>	---	416	---	---	4

1472=Sofia Archive, Pd 17/27; 1516=BOA, İstanbul, TD 77; 1525=BOA, İstanbul, MAD 519; 1530= BOA, İstanbul, TD 370;
1570= BOA, İstanbul, TD 498; 1595=T.K.G.M., Ankara, Edirne 563

* The entry of the Christians households is most probably in the part of the defter that has been lost.

APPENDIX E – City quarters of Filibe (1472-1614)

<i>Mahalle</i>	1472 <i>hane</i>	1489 <i>hane</i>	1516 <i>hane</i>	1525 <i>hane</i>	1530 <i>hane</i>	1570 <i>hane</i>	1595 <i>hane</i>	1614 <i>hane</i>
Cami'-i Kebir	32Mh	41Mh 2m	40Mh 21m	43Mh 7m	36Mh 7m	48Mh 2Gh	62Mh	54Mh
Haraççı Hamza Bali	33Mh	41Mh 6m	56Mh ¹ 14 m	52Mh ² 6m	41Mh 5m	38Mh 2m	45Mh 1m	38Mh
İdris Hoca	17Mh	40Mh 4m	26Mh 3m	21Mh 4m	17Mh 4m	28Mh 3m	18Mh	22Mh 2Gh
Hacı Ahmed	16Mh	23Mh 3m	28Mh 12m	26Mh 4m	23Mh 4m	19Mh ³	19Mh ⁴	12Mh ⁵
Musalla	11Mh	18Mh 1m	49Mh 9m	36Mh 7m	25Mh 5m	32Mh 1m	38Mh 2m	52Mh 7Gh
Debbag Hisarı	---	26Mh ⁶ 5m	28Mh 1m	24Mh 2m	18Mh 2m	18Mh 1m	17Mh	26Mh
Aslıhan Beğ	14Mh ⁷	39Mh 8m	46Mh 9m	22Mh 4m	19Mh 4m	46Mh ⁸ 1m	40Mh	12Mh
Hacı Ömer	21Mh	34Mh 13m	39Mh ⁹ 9m	30Mh 6m	22Mh 5m	34Mh ¹⁰ 5m	36Mh ¹¹ 1m	25Mh ¹²
Çalık Hacı	25Mh	18Mh 6m	38Mh 9m	22Mh 12m	7Mh 10m	22Mh ¹³	21Mh ¹⁴	16Mh ¹⁵
Hacı Bun Arı	5Mh	12Mh	16Mh 3m	13Mh ¹⁶ 1m	13Mh 1m	17Mh ¹⁷ 3m	11Mh ¹⁸ 4m	---
Yakub Fakih	14Mh	27Mh 4m	25Mh 12m	25Mh 3m	25Mh 2m	18Mh	13Mh 1m	17MH
Hacı Daud	7Mh	14Mh 3m	28Mh 6m	19Mh	15Mh	16Mh	16Mh	13Mh
Muhsin Hoca	23Mh	21Mh 4m	52Mh ¹⁹ 9m	29Mh ²⁰	25Mh ²¹	20Mh ²²	29Mh ²³ 2m	27Mh ²⁴
Çukacı Sinan	---	23Mh 1m	30Mh 10m	31Mh 1m	28Mh 1m	12Mh	16Mh 1m	17Mh
Hacı Mes'ud	13Mh	15Mh 1m	16Mh 8m	13Mh 1m	9Mh 1m	19Mh	12Mh 2m	20Mh
Veled-i Kasım	42Mh ²⁵	44Mh 6m	30Mh 7m	28Mh 7m	27Mh 6m	29Mh	33Mh 1m	41Mh 20Gh
Koca Hüseyn	---	---	17Mh 6m ²⁶	22Mh 10m	19Mh 10m	10Mh 12Gh	14Mh 12Gh	17Mh
Hacıyan	5Mh	17Mh	10Mh 4m	10Mh 2m	7Mh 2m	16Mh	12Mh 6m	10Mh
Cüneyd	---	20Mh	16Mh 2m	10Mh 2m	7Mh 8m	16Mh ²⁷	16Mh ²⁸ 3m	14Mh ²⁹
Veled-i Rüstem	13Mh ³⁰	19Mh 3m	25Mh 10m	19Mh 9m	14Mh 11m	6Mh ³¹	5Mh ³² 2m 5Gh	2Mh ³³
Durbeği Hoca	24Mh ³⁴	54Mh 12m	27Mh 3m	23Mh 9m	20Mh 9m	34Mh 1m	39Mh 1m	52Mh
Karaca Beğ	30Mh	32Mh ³⁵ 4m	31Mh 2m	19Mh ³⁶ 7m	17Mh 6m	35Mh ³⁷ 3m	46Mh ³⁸	45Mh ³⁹

<i>Mahalle</i>	1472 hane	1489 hane	1516 hane	1525 hane	1530 hane	1570 hane	1595 hane	1614 hane
Hacı Sinan	30Mh	37Mh 3m	27Mh ⁴⁰ 14m	28Mh ⁴¹ 3m	22Mh ⁴² 3m	20Mh ⁴³ 1m	22Mh ⁴⁴	24Mh ⁴⁵
Bahşayış Ağa	24Mh	51Mh 12m	28Mh 3m	50Mh 9m	42Mh 8m	34Mh	27Mh	59Mh 8Gh
Tatarlar	50Mh ⁴⁶	50Mh	39Mh 16m	61Mh 5m	47Mh 4m	50Mh	61Mh	35Mh ⁴⁷
Kurucu tabi' Tataran	---	---	37Mh 5m	33Mh	27Mh	23Mh	31Mh	---
Köprü Başı	---	---	18Mh 6m	29Mh 3m	26Mh 3m	24Mh	24Mh	---
Keçeci Yinebeği	31Mh ⁵⁰	29Mh ⁵¹ 5m	26Mh 5m	34Mh 3m	22Mh 2m	---	33Mh	34Mh 4Gh
Veled-i Şükran	35Mh ⁵²	40Mh 1m	31Mh 2m	28Mh 3m	16Mh 3m	28Mh ⁵³ 1m	30Mh ⁵⁴	26Mh ⁵⁵ 6Gh
Hacı Yusuf	21Mh	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
İsmail Beğ	14Mh	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Ulakçıyan	---	---	---	---	---	29Mh	32Mh	---
Hacı Ali, bazarbaşı	---	---	---	---	---	12Mh 3m	13Mh 2m	---
Hadım Ağa	---	---	---	---	---	---	23Mh	---
Çukur Tekke	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	9Mh
Hisar-içi	34Gh ⁵⁶	33Gh 2m, 5b	32Gh 2b	25Gh 5b	26Gh 5b	35Gh 1m, 1b	45Gh 2m	63Gh ⁵⁷
Bazar-içi	31Gh ⁵⁸	16Gh 1m, 3b	14Gh 1b	14Gh 2b	14Gh 2b	11Gh	32Gh	64Gh ⁵⁹
İsklopiçe	31Gh ⁶⁰	9Gh	16Gh 3b	15Gh 3b	17Gh 3b	16Gh 1m, 2b	21Gh 3m	45Gh
Polad	27Gh	22Gh 2m, 4b	26Gh 6b	25Gh 3m, 3b	24Gh 3m, 3b	12Gh 2b	22Mh 2m	38Gh
<i>Cema'at-i Yahudiyan</i>	---	---	32Yh	32Yh 1m	33Yh 1m	50Yh 1m	54Yh	46Yh ⁶¹
<i>Cema'at-i Çingâneyan</i>	---	36Çh	35Çh	33Çh ⁶² 2m	33Çh 2m	26Çh	24Çh 9m	87Çh ⁶³
<i>Haymaneha-i Gebran</i>	---	---	---	---	---	---	26Gh	---
<i>Cema'at-i Ermeniyan</i>	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	21Eh

* “Mh”= *Muslim hane* (Muslim household); “Gh”= *Gebr hane* (Christian household); “Çh”= *Çingâne hane* (Gypsy household); “Yh”= *Yahudi hane* (Jewish household) “m”=*mücerred* (unmarried); “b”=*bive* (widow); “Eh”=*Ermeni hane* (Armenian household)

TOTALS:

1472

29 *mahalles*
671 *hane* in total
549 Muslim
95 +(27) Christian

1489

30 *mahalles*
1 *cema'ats*
907 *hane* and 124
nefer in total
791 Muslim
107 Unmarried
Mus.
80 Christian
5 Unmarried Chr.
12 Widows
36 Gypsy

1516

33 *mahalles*
2 *cema'ats*
1032 *hane* and 225
nefer in total
877 Muslim
212 Unmarried
Mus.
88 Christian
13 Widows
35 Gypsy
32 Jewish

1525

33 *mahalles*
2 *cema'ats*
945 *hane* and 155
nefer in total
801 Muslim
136 Unmarried
Mus.
79 Christian
3 Unmarried Chr.
13 Widows
33 Gypsy
2 Unmarried
Gypsy
32 Jewish
1 Unmarried Jew

1530

33 *mahalles*
2 *cema'ats*
783 *hane* and 145
nefer in total
636 Muslim
126 Unmarried
Mus.
81 Christian
3 Unmarried Chr.
13 Widows
33 Gypsy
2 Unmarried
Gypsy
33 Jewish
1 Unmarried Jew

1570

34 *mahalles*
2 *cema'ats*
916 *hane* and 36
nefer in total
752 Muslim
26 Unmarried
Mus.
88 Christian
2 Unmarried Chr.
7 Widows
26 Gypsy
50 Jewish
1 Unmarried Jew

1595

36 *mahalles*
2 *cema'ats*
1078 *hane* and 48
nefer in total
844 Muslim
32 Unmarried
Mus.
156 Christian
7 Unmarried Chr.
24 Gypsy
9 Unmarried
Gypsy
54 Jewish

1614

31 *mahalles*
3 *cema'ats*
1130 *hane* in total
721 Muslim
255 Christian
87 Gypsy
46 Jewish
21 Armenian

¹ “Bu mahallenin üç mescidi var”

² “Bu mahallenin üç mescidi var”

³ Nam-i diğer “Okçular”

⁴ Nam-i diğer “Okçular”

⁵ Mahalle-i “Okçular, nam-i diğer Hacı Ahmed”

⁶ “Hisarlu”

⁷ “Aslıhan”

⁸ “Mescid – 3”

⁹ Together with “Kiraciyan mahalle-i mezküre ve gayrihi ma’ ehl-i berat”

¹⁰ Nam-i diğer “Bazar oğlu, mescid - 2”

¹¹ Nam-i diğer “Bazar oğlu, mescid - 2”

¹² “Bazar oğlu, mescid”

¹³ Nam-i diğer “Yeni mescidi”

¹⁴ Nam-i diğer “Yeni mescidi”

¹⁵ Mahalle-i “Tekke, nam-i diğer Yeni mescid”

-
- ¹⁶ The name of the *mahalle* could be read also as “Hacı Yovan”, but it must be a misspelling of the scribe.
- ¹⁷ “Hacı Günarı?”
- ¹⁸ “Hacı Günarı?”
- ¹⁹ Nam-i diğer “Yeşil oğlu”
- ²⁰ Nam-i diğer “Yeşil oğlu”
- ²¹ Nam-i diğer “Yeşil oğlu”
- ²² Nam-i diğer “Yeşil oğlu”
- ²³ Nam-i diğer “Yeşil oğlu”
- ²⁴ Nam-i diğer “Yeşil oğlu”
- ²⁵ “Kasım oğlu”
- ²⁶ “Koca Hüseyin, hadis”
- ²⁷ “Cüneyd Fakih”
- ²⁸ “Cüneyd Fakih”
- ²⁹ “Cüneyd Fakih”
- ³⁰ “Rüstem”
- ³¹ “Rüstem”
- ³² “Rüstem”
- ³³ “Rüstem, nam-i diğer Durmuş Kadı”
- ³⁴ “Durbegi”
- ³⁵ “Karaca Beğ tabi’ Alaca mescid”
- ³⁶ “Karaca Viran”
- ³⁷ Mahalle-i “Hacı Beğ bin Kasım Beğ, nam-i diğer Karaca Beğ”
- ³⁸ Mahalle-i “Hacı Bik bin Kasım Bik, nam-i diğer Karaca Beğ”
- ³⁹ Mahalle-i “Hacı Beğ bin Kasım Beğ, nam-i diğer Karaca Beğ, Alaca mescid dahi dirler”
- ⁴⁰ Nam-i diğer “Kıya Mescidi”
- ⁴¹ Nam-i diğer “Kıya Mescidi”
- ⁴² Nam-i diğer “Kıya Mescidi”
- ⁴³ Mahalle-i “Kıya başı, nam-i diğer Hacı Sinan”
- ⁴⁴ Mahalle-i “Kıya başı, nam-i diğer Hacı Sinan”
- ⁴⁵ Mahalle-i “Kıya başı, nam-i diğer Hacı Sinan”
- ⁴⁶ “Tataran”
- ⁴⁷ Mahalle-i “Tataran ve Kurucu ve Köprü başı”
- ⁴⁸ It was included in “Tataran”
- ⁴⁹ It was included in “Tataran”
- ⁵⁰ “Keçeci”
- ⁵¹ “Hacı Mehmed Keçeci”
- ⁵² “Şükran”
- ⁵³ Mahalle-i “İne Hoca, nam-i diğer Veled-i Şükran”
- ⁵⁴ Mahalle-i “İne Hoca, nam-i diğer Veled-i Şükran”
- ⁵⁵ Mahalle-i “İne Hoca, nam-i diğer Veled-i Şükran”
- ⁵⁶ “Gebran al-ma’ruf be dahil-i kal’a”
- ⁵⁷ Together with the *voynuks*
- ⁵⁸ “Bazar-i Gebran”
- ⁵⁹ Together with the *voynuks*
- ⁶⁰ “İsklopçan-i Gebran”
- ⁶¹ Together with 11 *hane* of *Haymanegân-i Yahudiyan*
- ⁶² ‘An cema’at-i Çaver
- ⁶³ Divided into 3 *mahalles* – “Tatarhan” – 37 *hane*, “Kıptıyan-i Yeni han” – 24 *hane*, “(?)Kümciyan” – 26 *hane*

APPENDIX F – City quarters of Tatar Pazarcık (1472-1614)

<i>M ahalle</i>	1472 <i>hane</i>	1516 <i>hane</i>	1525 <i>hane</i>	1530 <i>hane</i>	1570 <i>hane</i>	1595 <i>hane</i>	1614 <i>hane</i>
Cami’-i Kebir	17Mh	51Mh, 8m	51Mh 5m	47Mh, 2m	35Mh	54Mh, 1m	50Mh, 11Gh
Helvacı Berak	---	27Mh, 9m, 1Gh	32Mh 2m	32Mh, 3m	31Mh ¹	28Mh, ² 3m	34Mh, ³ 15Gh
Tuzcu Mustafa	---	50Mh, 8m	45Mh	38Mh, 3m	20Mh	19Mh ⁴	---
‘İmaret-i Ahmed Beğ	---	10Mh	11Mh	11Mh	5Mh ⁵	5Mh	17Mh ⁶
Mustafa Karamani	---	25Mh	24Mh 5m	23Mh, ⁷ 3m	26Mh	26Mh ⁸	27Mh ⁹
Naib Hamza	---	26Mh, 9m	25Mh 3m	22Mh, 2m	14Mh, ¹⁰ 1m	18Mh	20Mh
Cami’-i İshak Çelebi	---	5Mh, 2m	7Mh 3m	5Mh, 3m	5Mh	5Mh	10Mh ¹¹
Mecid-i Kara derzi	---	---	---	---	10Mh	6Mh, 1m	12Mh
Çarşusu Köhne	---	---	---	---	10Mh ¹²	36Mh ¹³	---
Mescid-i Musallı	---	---	---	---	15Mh	32Mh	38Mh, 13Gh
Mescid-i Hacı Mahmud	---	---	---	---	17Mh	11Mh	19Mh
Mescid-i Divane Sefer	---	---	---	---	16Mh	27Mh ¹⁴	29Mh, 6Gh
Çarşusu	---	---	---	---	13Mh ¹⁵	6Mh ¹⁶	---
Na’lband Ayas	---	---	---	---	14Mh	14Mh	32Mh
Gebran	---	---	---	---	28Gh, 1Çh	44Gh	36Gh
Hacı Sa’adi	---	---	---	---	---	---	29Mh
Ak Mescid	---	---	---	---	---	---	17Mh
İbrahim Paşa	---	---	---	---	---	---	17Mh, 11Gh
Baba ‘Acem	---	---	---	---	---	---	8Mh, 8Gh
Hacı Ali	---	---	---	---	---	---	8Mh

<i>M ahalle</i>	1472 <i>hane</i>	1516 <i>hane</i>	1525 <i>hane</i>	1530 <i>hane</i>	1570 <i>hane</i>	1595 <i>hane</i>	1614 <i>hane</i>
Cedid	---	---	---	---	---	---	22Mh
Boyacı	---	---	---	---	---	---	7Mh
Cedid-i Kâtib	---	---	---	---	---	---	18Mh
Nefs-i Bazar Yenice-i Tatar	13Mh	---	---	---	---	---	---
Nefs-i Bazar- i Tatar Yenice	41Mh	---	---	---	---	---	---
Hacı Amiz [?]	11Mh	---	---	---	---	---	---
Ali Beğ	8Mh	---	---	---	---	---	---
Yenice [?]	15Mh	---	---	---	---	---	---
Yahudiyan	---	---	---	---	---	---	7Yh
Kıptiyan	---	---	---	---	---	---	34Çh
Zaviye-i Pir Zade	---	3Mh	---	---	---	---	---
Gebran-i Hadis	---	---	13Gh 2m	---	---	---	---

* “Mh”= *Muslim hane* (Muslim household); “Gh”= *Gebr hane* (Christian household); “Çh”= *Çingâne hane* (Gypsy household); “Yh”= *Yahudi hane* (Jewish household) “m”=*mücerred* (unmarried)

TOTALS:

1472

6 *mahalles*
105 *hane* in total
105 Muslim

1570

15 *mahalles*
260 *hane* and 1 *nefer*
in total
231 Muslim
1 Unmarried Mus.
28 Christian
1 Gypsy

1516

7 *mahalles*
198 *hane* and 36
nefer in total
197 Muslim
36 Unmarried Mus.
1 Christian

1595

15 *mahalles*
322 *hane* and 5 *nefer*
in total
287 Muslim
5 Unmarried Mus.
44 Christian

1525

8 *mahalles*
208 *hane* and 20
nefer in total
195 Muslim
18 Unmarried Mus.
13 Christian
2 Unmarried Chr.

1614

20 *mahalles*
2 *cema'ats*
555 *hane* in total
414 Muslim
100 Christian
34 Gypsy
7 Jewish

1530

7 *mahalles*
178 *hane* and 16
nefer in total
178 Muslim
16 Unmarried Mus.

-
- ¹ Nam-i diğer Mescid-i Hacı Kılıç
² nam-i diğer Mescid-i Hacı Kılıç
³ Hacı Kılıç the former Helvacı Berak
⁴ nam-i diğer Musliheddin Kadı
⁵ the same as 'İmaret-i Ahmed Beğ
⁶ most probably 'İmaret-i Ahmed Beğ
⁷ nam-i diğer Çarşu Mahallesi
⁸ nam-i diğer Babuççu İliyas, ma' Cami'-i Hacı Salih
⁹ Mahalle-i Hacı Salih, the former Karamanlu
¹⁰ nam-i diğer Beğ
¹¹ Mahalle-i Kadı İshak, probably Cami' İshak Çelebi
¹² nam-i diğer Debbag Bali
¹³ nam-i diğer Mescid-i Debbag Bali
¹⁴ ma' Mescid-i İbrahim Paşa
¹⁵ nam-i diğer Mescid-i Ayas
¹⁶ Mahalle-i Çarşusu Köhne

APPENDIX G – City quarters of İstanimaka (1472-1595)

<i>Mahalle</i>	1472 <i>hane</i>	1516 <i>Hane</i>	1525 <i>Hane</i>	1530 <i>hane</i>	1570 <i>hane</i>	1595 <i>hane</i>
Müslümanan	11Mh	11Mh	13Mh 4m	13Mh 4m	7Mh	13Mh ¹
Papa Yorgi	---	21Gh 4b	22Gh 4m 4b	22Gh 4m 4b	36Gh ²	37Gh ³
Papa Kosta	---	25Gh 5b	26Gh 3m 5b	26Gh 3m 5b	42Gh	43Gh
Papa Danil	---	34Gh 5m 5b	35Gh 6m 6b	35Gh 6m 6b	47Gh	46Gh
Harnofil	---	14Gh 1b	15Gh 3b	15Gh 3b	28Gh ⁴ ?3cn	23Gh ⁵
Papa Manol	---	10Gh 3b	9Gh 2m	9Gh 2m	17Gh ⁶	15Gh ⁷
Papa Hrisak	---	34Gh 3m 7b	41Gh 5m 3b	41Gh 4m 3b	34Gh ⁸	33Gh ⁹
Papa Nikola	---	29Gh 2m 2b	28Gh 1m 2b	28Gh 1m 2b	20Gh ¹⁰ 1m	24Gh ¹¹
Papa Kaloyan	---	21Gh 3m 1b	21Gh 2b	21Gh 2b	28Gh ¹²	23Gh ¹³
Çokalohor	---	9Gh 1b	10Gh 1m	10Gh 1m	30Gh ¹⁴	21Gh ¹⁵
Baço	---	9Gh	13Gh ¹⁶	12Gh	---	---
Papa Tişor	---	---	---	---	24Gh	26Gh ¹⁷
Voynugan	---	---	---	---	34Gh	50Gh
Zevaid-i Voynugan	---	---	---	---	11Gh	8Gh
Kiryak ¹⁸	---	---	---	---	---	16Gh
Çeri-başı	---	---	---	---	---	51Gh ¹⁹
Cema'at-i Kiptiyan	---	---	---	---	7Çh	4Çh
Bazdaran ²⁰	---	12Mh 3 Gh	12Mh 4Gh 1Gm	12Mh 5Gh	---	---

* “Mh”= *Muslim hane* (Muslim household); “Gh”= *Gebr hane* (Christian household); “Çh”= *Çingâne hane* (Gypsy household); “Yh”= *Yahudi hane* (Jewish household) “m”=*mücerred* (unmarried); “b”=*bive* (widow); “Eh”=*Ermeni hane* (Armenian household)

TOTALS:

1472

1 *mahalles*
11 *hane* in total
11 Muslim

1516

11 *mahalles*
217 *hane* and 52
nefer in total
11 Muslim
206 Christian
14 Unmarried Chr.
28 Widows

1525

11 *mahalles*
233 *hane* and 70
nefer in total
13 Muslim
4 Unmarried Mus.
220 Christian
22 Unmarried Chr.
25 Widows

1530

11 *mahalles*
233 *hane* and 70
nefer in total
13 Muslim
4 Unmarried Mus.
220 Christian
22 Unmarried Chr.
25 Widows

1570

13 *mahalles*
365 *hane* in total
7 Muslim
351 Christian
7 Gypsy

1595

15 *mahalles*
433 *hane* in total
13 Muslim
416 Christian
4 Gypsy

¹ Additionally 8 *çiftlik*s

² It is mentioned only as *cema'at-i gebran*, but most probably it should be “Papa Yorgi”

³ The same case

⁴ “*Mahalle-i Trendafil, nam-i diğer Harnofil*”

⁵ “*Mahalle-i Trendafil, nam-i diğer Harnofil*”

⁶ Pop Manol

⁷ Pop Manol

⁸ Pop Hrisak

⁹ Pop Hrisak

¹⁰ Pop Nikola

¹¹ Pop Nikola

¹² Pop Kaloyan

¹³ Pop Kaloyan

¹⁴ It must be read as “Çocakalohor”(?), in fact the correct Greek pronunciation is Tsiprihor.

¹⁵ The scribe did not write the name of the *mahalle*, but probably it must be Çokalohor, because he followed strictly the order of the previous register

¹⁶ Baçkova

¹⁷ The scribe did not write the name of the *mahalle*, but probably it must be Voynugan, because he followed strictly the order of the previous register

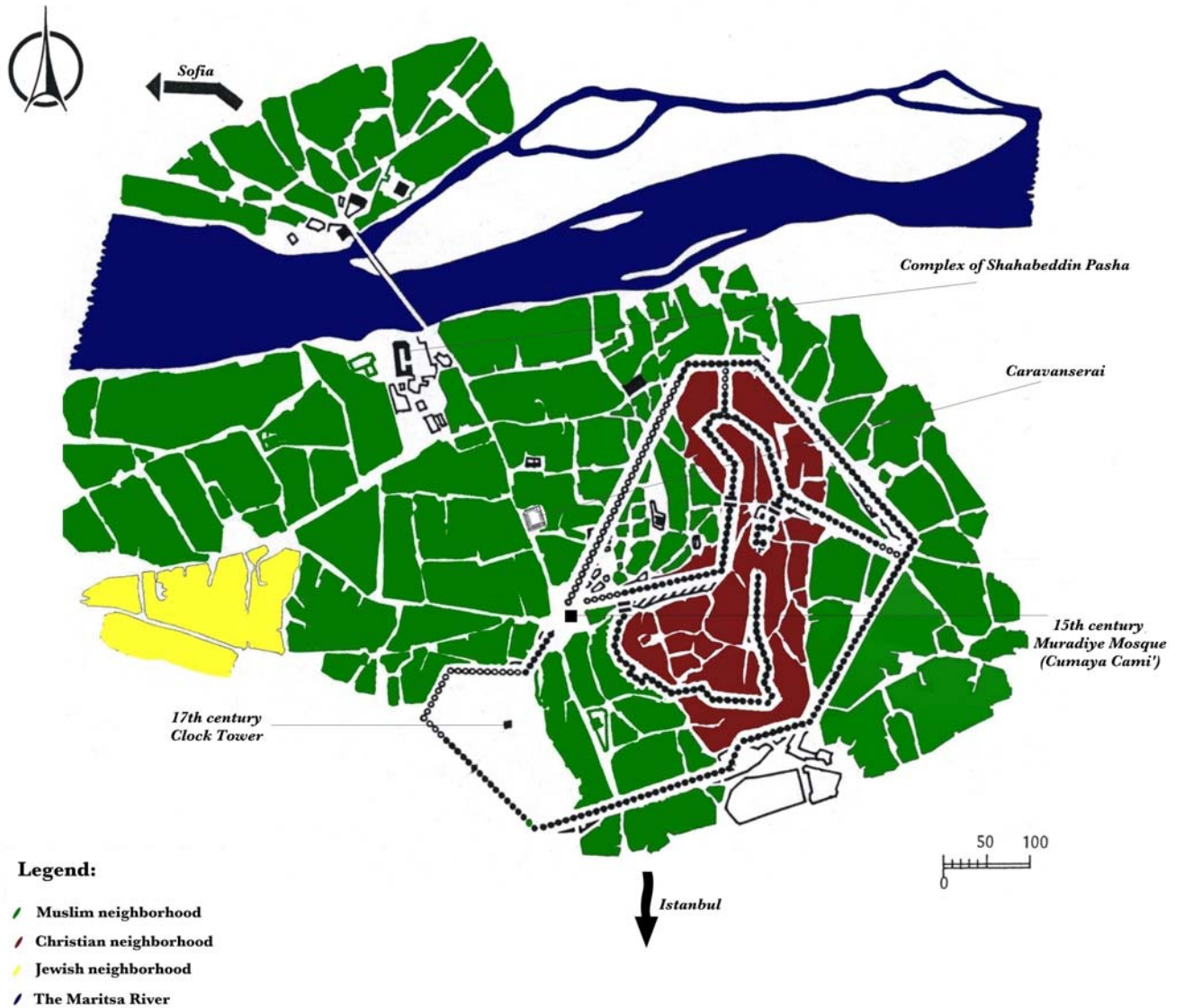
¹⁸ Yeni mahalledir

¹⁹ Cedit mahalledir

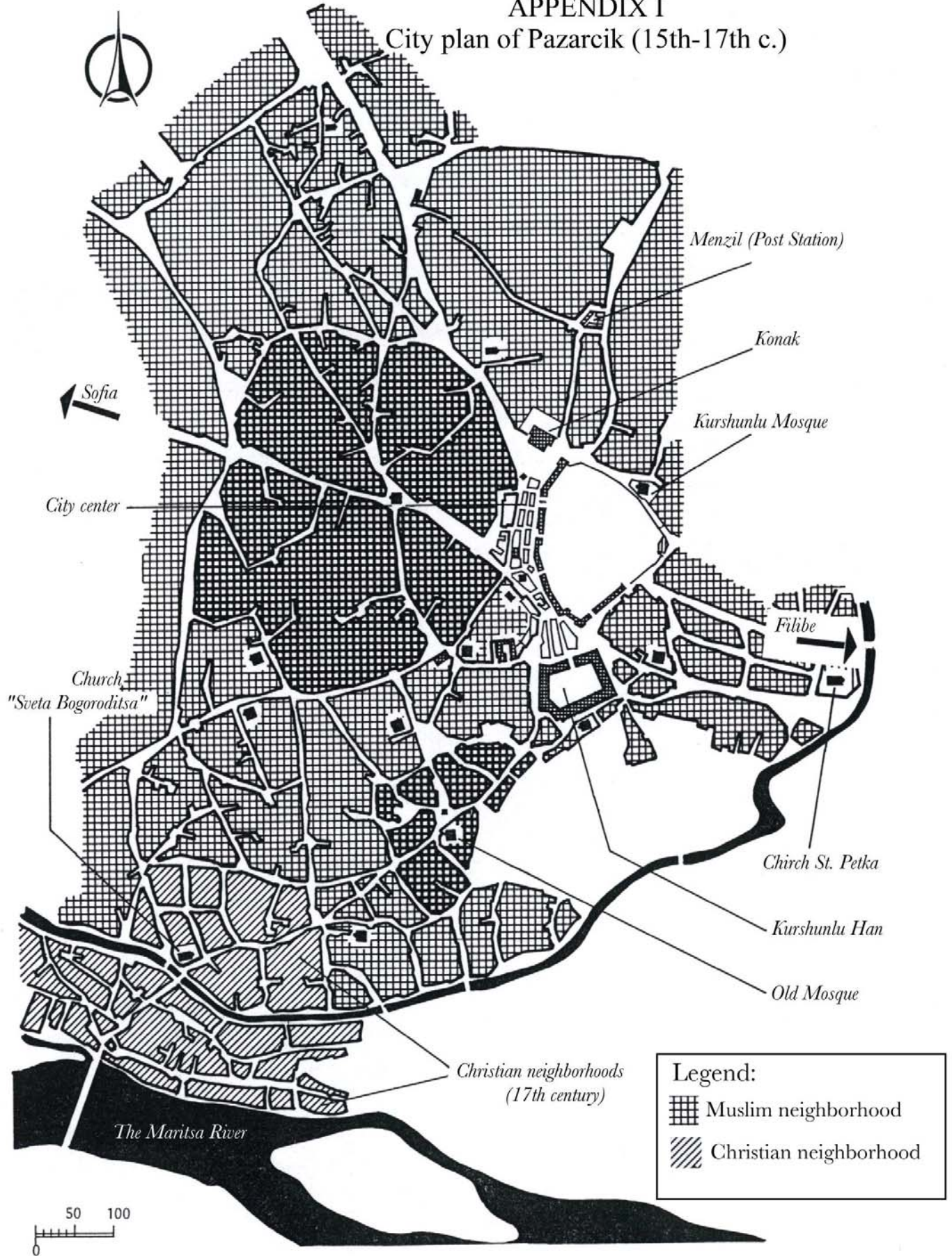
²⁰ Karye-i İstanimaka ‘an bazdaran-i Paşa, nam-i diğer Yeni Köy

APPENDIX H

City plan of Filibe (15th-17th c.)



APPENDIX I
 City plan of Pazarcik (15th-17th c.)



Sofia

City center

Church
 "Sveta Bogoroditsa"

Christian neighborhoods
 (17th century)

The Maritsa River

Menzil (Post Station)

Konak

Kurshunlu Mosque



Filibe

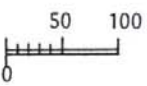
Chirch St. Petka

Kurshunlu Han

Old Mosque

Legend:

-  Muslim neighborhood
-  Christian neighborhood



APPENDIX J
Professions in Filibe (1472-1614)

1472

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Başçı – 1; Börekçi – 2; Etmekçi – 2; Helvacı – 2; Kassab – 10; Lokmacı – 1; Şerbetçi – 1	19
Leather goods	Babuçu – 14; Çizmecı – 6; Debbag – 9; Sarraç – 7; Keçeci – 4; Mutaf – 3	43
Textile production	Bezzaz – 1; Hallaç – 9; Hıyat – 4; Kazzaz – 1; Takkeci – 1	16
Metal works	Bıçakçı – 1; Çilingir – 1; Haddad – 3; Kallaycı – 1; Kazancı – 3; Na'lband – 8; Okçu – 1	18
Municipal services	Cellâd – 1; Hamami – 1; Sakka – 3; Çarcı – 4; Dellâl – 4;	13
House and household	Bina – 2; Çanakçı – 1; Çölmekçi – 2; Dülger – 2; Kuyucu – 1	8
Trade	Arabacı – 4; Bakkal – 1; Bazargân – 1; Buzcu – 1; Devecı – 1; Dükâandar – 1; Eskici – 1; Hergeleci – 1; Katırcı – 1; Kiracı – 1; Sabuni – 2; Kürekçi – 1	16
Religion	Papas – 4	4
Officials	Kethüda – 2; Haraccı – 1; Ahi – 2	5

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Aşçı – 5; Balıkçı – 2; Başçı – 2; Börekçi – 3; Bozacı – 4; Etmekçi – 6; Habbaz – 8; Helvacı – 13; Lokmacı – 1; Ma’cuncu – 1; Kassab – 26; Şerbetçi – 3; Tabbah – 1; Üzümcü – 1	76
Leather goods	Babuççu – 34; Başmakçı – 21; Çıkrıkçı – 3; Çizmeci – 12; Debbag – 29; Keçeci – 3; Muytab – 9; Na’lçeci – 1; Sarraç – 27; Semerci – 1	140
Textile production	Bezci – 6; Bezzaz – 14; Boyacı – 10; Çukacı – 2; Derzi – 2; Hallaç – 8; Hıyat – 50; Kazzaz – 1; Kepenekçi – 1; Takkeci – 13	107
Metal works	Bakırcı – 9; Bıçakçı – 1; Çilingir – 3; Demurcu – 6; Kallaycı – 2; Kalkancı – 1; Kazancı – 4; Kılıççı – 3; Na’lband – 2; Yayıcı – 3	34
Municipal services	Cellâd – 2; Dellâk – 8; Değirmenci – 1; Dellâl – 10; Hamami – 1; Külhancı – 1; Sakka – 8; Zindancı – 1	32
House and household	Bina – 2; Çanakçı – 3; Çölmekçi – 1; Damcı – 1; Dülger – 10; Hizmetkâr – 13; İskemleci – 1; Hasırcı – 1; Kiremitçi – 2; Nakkaş – 1; Neccar – 2; Taşçı – 1	38
Trade	Arabacı – 18; Bakkal – 30; Çoban – 2; Fuççucu – 3; Deveci – 1; Dükândar – 13; Eskici – 4; ‘Itar – 5; Kârbanserayı – 1; Kiracı – 2; Kuyumcu – 8; Kürekçi – 8; Sabuni – 7; Sağırcı – 1; Tuzcu – 10	113
Religion	Halife – 3; Hatib – 4; İmam – 24; Müezzin – 5; Papas – 1; Pop – 1	38
Privileged <i>re’aya</i>	Çeltükçi – 3	3
Officials and militaries	Ahi – 1; Akıncı – 2; Kâtib – 3; Kethüda – 3; Muhzir – 4; Naib – 2; Nazır – 2; Re’is – 6; Tovice – 1	24

1516

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Aşçı – 1; Başçı – 1; Bozacı – 1; Börekçi – 3; Helvacı – 1; Kassab – 5; Tabbah – 1	12
Leather goods	Babuççu – 11; Başmakçı – 4; Debbag – 7; Keçeci – 1; Muytab – 6; Sarraç – 9; Semerci – 1	39
Textile production	Bezci – 1; Derzi – 7; Hıyat – 15; Kazzaz – 1; Takkeci – 2	26
Metal works	Çarkçı – 1; Kallaycı – 1; Kazancı – 4; Okçu – 1; Yayı – 2	9
Municipal services	Berber – 1; Dellâk – 8; Hamami – 1; Sakka – 2	12
House and household	Çanakçı – 2; Kömürcü – 1; Neccar – 4; Taşçı – 1	8
Trade	Arabacı – 8; Bakkal – 11; Bostancı – 2; Deveci – 4; Eskici – 1; Hergeleci – 4; İtar – 3; Kuyumcu – 1; Meyhaneci – 2; Mumcu – 1; Sabuni – 1; Sığircı – 1	39
Religion	Halife – 4; Hatib – 3; Derviş – 1; İmam – 36; Keşiş – 1; Müezzın – 23; Pop – 1; Seyid – 3; Şeyh – 2	74
Privileged <i>re'aya</i>	Bazdar – 2; Çeltükçi – 32; Eşküncü – 2; Kürekçi – 1; Yağcı – 4; Yamak – 18; Yuvacı – 1	60
Officials and militaries	Akıncı – 2; Emin-i Çeltük – 1; Kâtib – 6; Kethüda – 1; Muhassıl – 11; Muhzir – 2; Nazır – 2; Re'is – 1; Tovice – 1	27

1525

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Aşçı – 1; Bozacı – 1; Habbaz – 2; Helvacı – 2; Kassab – 5; Şerbetçi – 1	12
Leather goods	Babuççu – 8; Debbag – 15; Keçeci – 2; Muyltab – 2; Sarraç – 2; Semerci – 2	31
Textile production	Boyacı – 2; Derzi – 4; Hıyat – 7; Kazzaz – 1; Takkeci – 2	16
Metal works	Haddad – 1; Kalkancı – 1	2
Municipal services	Ahurcu – 1; Dellâk – 7; Irgad – 1; Killâri-i ‘imaret – 1; Merametçi-i köprü – 2; Sakka – 1	13
House and household	Çanakçı – 1; Kömürcü – 1; Neccar – 1, Taşçı – 1	4
Trade	Altuncu – 1; Bakkal – 6; Bostancı – 2; Buzcu – 1; Eskici – 1; Katırcı – 3; Meyhaneci – 4; Tuzcu – 1	19
Religion	Halife – 3; Hatib – 2; Derviş – 3; İmam – 33; Keşiş – 1; Müezzın – 28; Papas – 2; Şeyh – 4	76
Privileged <i>re’aya</i>	Bazdar – 3; Çeltükçi – 55; Ellici – 5; Kiracı – 2; Kürekçi – 4; Şuturban-i miri – 3; Ulakçı – 47; Yağcı – 3; Yamak – 5; Yamak-i Voynuk – 6; Yuvacı – 1;	134
Officials and militaries	Ahi-i Şehir – 1; Akıncı – 17; Bacdar – 1; Bazarbaşı – 1; Emin-i Çeltük – 2; Emin-i Göpsu – 1; Kadı – 2; Kâtib – 5; Kethüda-i Dellâlân – 1; Kethüda-i Şehir – 1; Kethüda-i Ulakçı – 1; Muhassıl – 15; Muhzir – 4; Mütevelli – 1; Nazır – 2; Nehir Başı – 1; Re’is – 1; Re’is-i Çeltük – 2; Sipahi – 1; Tovice – 1; Voynuk – 1	62

1570

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Balıkçı – 2; Başçı – 3; Bozacı – 2; Habbaz – 8; Helvacı – 2; Kassab – 7; Simidçi – 1; Tabbah – 3	28
Leather goods	Babuçu – 5; Debbag – 17; Kefşgir – 7; Muytab – 13; Sarraç – 9; Semerci – 1	52
Textile production	‘Abacı – 1; Bezzaz – 1; Çukacı – 2; Hallaç – 1; Hiyat – 6; Kepeci – 6; Kepenekçi – 1; Na’lçeci – 2; Takkeci – 1	21
Metal works	Haddad – 2; Kallaycı – 2; Kazancı – 2; Na’lband – 12; Okçu – 1	19
Municipal services	Berber – 1; Dellâk – 7; Dellâl – 6; Hamami – 3; Hammal – 1; Killâri-i ‘imaret – 1; Köprücü – 1; Külhancı – 1; Reneber – 4; Sakka – 3	28
House and household	Çölmekçi – 1; Neccar – 11	12
Trade	Arabacı – 8; Bakkal – 6; Bazargân – 3; Bostancı – 2; Çoban – 2; Eskici – 2; ‘Itar – 12; Köpekçi – 1; Meyhaneci – 2; Sabuni – 10; Zerger – 5	53
Religion	Derviş – 3; İmam – 57; Mu’allim – 2; Müderris – 3; Müezzîn – 44; Papas – 1; Seyid – 8	118
Privileged <i>re’aya</i>	Celeb – 29; Çeltükçi – 44; Göreci – 1; Kurucu – 2; Kürekçi – 1; Solak – 1; Şuturban – 4; Ulakçı – 28; Yağcı – 1; Yamak – 4	115
Officials and militaries	Akıncı – 2; Bacdar – 6; Bazar başı – 2; Emin – 1; Emin-i Çeltük – 9; Kadı – 4; Kâtib – 9; Kethüda – 3; Kethüda-i Habbazan – 1; Kethüda-i Mahalle – 1; Muhassıl – 13; Muhzir – 6; Mütevelli – 3; Naib – 1; Nazır – 2; Re’is – 4; Sipahi – 1; Subaşı – 3; Topçu – 1; Vekil-i harc – 1; Za’im – 1	74

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Aşçı – 2; Balıkçı – 2; Başçı – 2; Bozacı – 2; Börekçi – 1; Etmekçi – 6; Habbaz – 7; Helvacı – 3; Kassab – 6; Şerbetçi – 1; Tabbah – 2	34
Leather goods	Babuççu – 15; Başmakçı – 8; Debbag – 33; Haffaf – 6; Muhtab – 12; Na'lçeci – 3; Mestçi – 1; Sarraç – 9; Semerci – 1; Tabbak – 6	94
Textile production	Abacı – 7; Bezzaz – 1; Boyacı – 3; Çukacı – 1; Dellâk – 3; Dellâl – 2; Derzi – 13; Hallaç – 4; Hiyat – 8; Kazzaz – 2; Kepeci – 4; Kepenekçi – 1; Takkeci – 8	57
Metal works	Demurcu – 1; Kallaycı – 2; Kazancı – 2; Na'lband – 24; Tenekeci – 1	30
Municipal services	Berber – 7; Çarcı – 1; Hamami – 4; Kamil – 1; Köprücü – 2; Külhancı – 1; Sakka – 2; Zerra' – 5	23
House and household	Çanakçı – 3; Dülger – 1; Kaşıkçı – 1; Kiremitçi – 2; Neccar – 16; Taşçı – 4	27
Trade	Arabacı – 21; Bakkal – 11; Bostancı – 1; Deveci – 4; Eskici – 1; Fuçucu – 1; Hergeleci – 1; 'Itar – 16; Kârbanserayı – 1; Kuyumcu – 3; Meyhaneci – 2; Mücelid – 1; Sabuni – 9; Zerger – 4	76
Religion	Halife – 2; Hatib – 3; Derviş – 11; İmam – 40; Keşiş – 1; Mu'allim – 3; Müezzin – 45; Müderris – 3; Papas – 2; Pop – 2; Seyid – 7; Şeyh – 3	122
Privileged <i>re'aya</i>	Bazdar – 3; Celeb – 31; Çeltükçi – 48; Doğançı – 1; Ellici – 3; Kurucu – 8; Menzilci – 28; Şuturban – 1 Ulakçı – 9; Yağcı – 2; Yamak – 1; Yamak-i Voynuk – 3	138
Officials and militaries	Bacdar – 3; Bazarbaşı – 1; Çauş-i Dergâh-i 'ali – 1; Eşkücü – 1; Kadı – 15; Kâtib – 8; Kethüda-i Mahalle – 1; Kethüda-i Şehir – 1; Mir-i miran – 1; Muhassıl – 7; Muhzir – 12; Müteveli – 2; Naib – 1 Nazır – 1; Re'is – 6; Re'is-i Çeltük – 4; Sipahi – 23; Subaşı – 5; Topçu – 1; Tovice – 1; Vekil-i harc – 1; Voynuk – 15; Yeniçeri – 1	112

1614

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Balıkçı – 8; Bozacı – 1; Kassab – 4	13
Leather goods	Babuççu – 7; Başmakçı – 4; Debbag – 17; Haffaf – 4; Muyltab – 3; Na'lçeci – 2; Sarraç – 8; Semerci – 1; Tabbak – 1	47
Textile production	Abacı – 14; Boyacı – 24; Derzi – 10; Hallaç – 1; Hıyat – 1; İlikçi – 1; Kaftancı – 5; Kazzaz – 2	58
Metal works	Cebeci – 1; Haddad – 1; Kallaycı – 3; Kazancı – 6; Na'lband – 16; Okçu – 1	28
Municipal services	Berber – 4; Çarcı – 1; Dellâk – 4; Dellâl – 2; Hamami – 2; Sakka – 1	14
House and household	Camcı – 2; Dülger – 5; Neccar – 2; Taşçı – 1	10
Trade	Arabacı – 22; Avcı – 1; Bakkal – 11; Bazargân – 1; Bostancı – 7; Deveci – 9; Eskici – 4; 'İtar – 4; Kuyumcu – 12; Meyhaneci – 3; Sabuni – 1	75
Religion	Halife – 1; Derviş – 2; İmam – 30; Müderris – 8 Müezzin – 29; Pop – 2; Şeyh – 3	75
Privileged <i>re'aya</i>	Çeltükçi – 11; Doğançı – 1; Kurucu – 9; Kürekçi – 5 Müsellem – 1; Yamak-i Voynugan – 12; Yürük – 1	40
Officials and militaries	Bacdar – 1; Çauş – 13; Çauş-i Dergâh-i 'ali – 2; Erbab-i timar – 1; Kadı – 3; Kâtib – 2; Kethüda – 1; Mir-i liva-i Çirmen – 1; Mir-i liva-i Voynugan – 1; Muhzir – 7; Mülâzim – 1; Nazır – 3; Re'is – 1; Topçu – 4; Voynuk – 19	60

APPENDIX K
Professions in Tatar Pazarçık (1472-1614)

1472

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Kassab – 1	1
Leather goods	Babuçu – 1; Cizmeci – 2	3
Textile production	Derzi – 4	4
Metal works	Kalaycı – 1	1
Municipal services	Cellâd – 1	1
Trade	Buzcu – 1	1

1516

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Bozacı – 4; Habbaz – 3; Kassab – 1; Tabbah – 3	11
Leather goods	Boyacı – 1; Debbag – 5; Na'lıcı – 1; Sarraç – 1;	8
Textile production	Hıyat - 3	3
Metal works	Kazancı - 1	1
Municipal services	Çarcı – 1; Değirmenci – 1	2
House and household	Neccar – 2	2
Trade	Arabacı – 1; Bakkal – 6; İtar – 2; Sabuni – 1	10
Religion	Hatib – 2; İmam – 3; Mu'allim – 1; Müezzın – 3; Şeyh – 2	11
Privileged <i>re'aya</i>	Çeltükçi – 2; Yağcı – 18; Yamak-i Tatar – 6; Yamak-i Yürük – 13; Yamak-i Müsellem-i Kızılca - 2	41
Officials and militaries	Kâtib – 3; Muhassıl – 3; Muhzir – 1	7

1525

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Balıkçı – 1; Bozacı – 2; Habbaz – 4; Helvacı – 5; Kassab – 3; Tabbah – 3	18
Leather goods	Babuçu – 2; Debbag – 1; Muytab – 3; Sarraç – 1	7
Textile production	Hıyat – 2	2
Municipal services	Cerrah – 1; Dellâk – 2; Dellâl – 2; Killâri – 1	6
Trade	Arabacı – 2; Bakkal – 5; Bostancı – 1; Sabuni – 2; Zerger – 1	11
Religion	Hatib – 2; İmam – 2; Hafız – 1; Halife – 1; Müezzin – 4; Nakib – 1; Şeyh – 1	12
Privileged <i>re'aya</i>	Çeltükçi – 8; Ellici – 6 ; Eşküncü – 1; Kürekçi – 1; Müsellem – 1; Yağcı – 18; Yamak-i Tatar – 3; Yamak-i Yürük – 5; Yamak – 4	47
Officials and militaries	Akıncı – 5; Kâtib – 1; Kethüda – 1; Muhassıl – 2; Muhzir – 3; Nazır – 2; Re'is – 4	18

1570

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Bozacı – 2; Börekçi – 1; Habbaz – 4; Helvacı – 1; Kassab – 1; Tabbah – 1	10
Leather goods	Babuççu – 6; Debbag – 9; Semerci – 1	16
Textile production	Hıyat – 8	8
Metal works	Na'lband – 5	5
Municipal services	Çölmekçi – 1; Dellâk – 1; Dellâl – 1; Hamami – 1	4
House and household	Dülger – 1; Neccar – 1	2
Trade	Arabacı – 1; Bakkal – 6; Çoban – 1; 'Itar – 3; Tuzcu – 1; Zerger – 2	14
Religion	Hatib – 4; İmam – 16; Müezzin – 13; Nakib – 1; Seyid – 2; Şeyh – 1	37
Privileged <i>re'aya</i>	Bazdar – 1; Çeltükçi – 35; Eşkinci – 2; Kürekçi – 1; Müsellem – 1; Ulakçı – 30; Yağcı – 8; Yamak- 21	99
Officials and militaries	Akıncı – 8; Kapucu – 1; Kâtib – 1; Kethüda – 3; Muhassıl – 2; Muhzir – 1; Re'is-i Çeltükçıyan – 1	17

1595

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Bozacı – 5; Börekçi – 1; Etmekçi – 7; Habbaz – 4; Kassab – 2; Tabbah – 2; Tavukçu – 1	22
Leather goods	Babuçu – 3; Başmakçı – 4; Debbag – 8; Çarıkçı – 1; Mutaf – 1; Sarraç – 1	18
Textile production	Derzi – 6; Hıyat – 1	7
Metal works	Demurcu – 2; Kazancı – 2; Kılıççı – 1; Na'lband – 1	6
Municipal services	Berber – 2; Değirmenci – 1; Dellâk – 1; Hamal – 1; Hamamcı – 1; Neccar – 1	7
House and household	Dülger – 1	1
Trade	Bakkal – 1; Bostancı – 1; Eskici – 1; Mumcu – 2; Sabuni – 4	9
Religion	İmam – 9; Müezzin – 10; Seyid – 1; Şeyh – 1	21
Privileged <i>re'aya</i>	Çeltükçi – 31; Ulakçı – 12; Yamak- 14; Yağcı – 6	63
Officials and militaries	Akıncı – 5; Kâtib – 1; Kethüda – 1; Muhassıl – 3 Muhzir – 2; Re'is – 1; Subaşı – 1	14

1614

Group of crafts	Craftsmen	Total
Food and Drink	Balıkçı – 2; Bozacı – 7; Börekçi – 1; Etmekçi – 1; Habbaz – 2; Helvacı – 1; Kassab – 7	21
Leather goods	Babuçu – 2; Debbag – 4; Haffaf – 2; Sarraç – 1; Semerci – 1	10
Textile production	Boyacı – 3; Derzi – 9; Hallaç – 1	13
Metal works	Na'lband – 2	2
Municipal services	Dellâk – 2	2
House and household	Çanakçı – 1; Dülger – 4	5
Trade	Arabacı – 6; Bostancı – 3; Buzcu – 1; Çoban – 1; 'Itar – 1; Kuyumcu – 2; Meyhaneci – 1; Pirinççi – 1; Sabuni – 2	18
Religion	İmam – 17; Müderris – 1; Müezzin – 16; Seyid – 6; Şeyh – 2; Derviş – 3	45
Privileged <i>re'aya</i>	Çeltükçi – 4; Eşkinci – 5; Müsellem – 2; Yağcı – 1; Yamak – 5	17
Officials and militaries	Akıncı – 3; Çauş – 3; Kadı – 3; Kethüda – 1; Muhzir – 4; Re'is – 3	17