

RELIGIOUS AND DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH-  
WESTERN RHODOPE MOUNTAINS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE *TAHRİR* REGISTER OF 1478

A Master's Thesis  
By  
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Ankara  
June 2012



*For My Grandfather,  
Tadeusz Czarny*

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Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences  
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in

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BILKENT UNIVERSITY  
ANKARA

June 2012

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## ABSTRACT

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The spread of Islam into non-Muslim territories has always followed their conquest by some expanding Islamic polity. Ottoman military expansion into the Balkans was followed by the establishment of a new administrative and Islamic institutional order. Yet not all areas in the Peninsula were affected equally by the expansion of this new Muslim power, let alone impacted in the same manner by the introduction of their religious beliefs. This thesis focuses on the religious developments following the conquest of the *kaza* of Drama, located in eastern Thrace, in accordance with the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri 07*, which covers the year of 1478. A case study of 25 villages from various geographic regions of the area, as well as the town of Drama, has been chosen in order to analyze the religious situation found in that year. Through a focus on the geographic, economic and local religious characteristic of the region, an analysis concerning the conversion process to Islam will be provided. The representative value of the villages chosen will provide

explanations as to the role of colonizers, urban town-dwellers and *yürüks*. This in turn will present an analysis concerning the preliminary stages of conversion and the various elements that either halted or motivated the process of Islamization.

**Keywords:** Conversion, Islam, Pomaks, Balkans, Rhodope Mountains, Northern Greece, Via Egnatia, Ottoman Empire.

## ÖZET

### ON BEŞİNCİ YÜZYILIN İKİNCİ YARISINDA RODOPLAR’DA DİNÎ VE DEMOGRAFİK DEĞİŞİM: 1478 TARİHLİ MUFASSAL TAHRİR DEFTERİNE DAYALI BİR ÖRNEK- OLAY İNCELEMESİ

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İslam’ın Müslüman olmayan coğrafyalara yayılışı, bu coğrafyaların bir İslam devleti tarafından fethini izlediği bir süreçtir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Balkanlar’a doğru genişlemesini de o bölgede yeni idarî ve dinî kurumların tesis edildiği bir süreç takip eder. Balkanlar’daki farklı bölgelerin Osmanlı yayılmasından aynı şekilde etkilendiğini söylemek mümkün olmadığı gibi, fetihlerle birlikte gelenlerin dinî inançlarının yarımadaadaki her bölgede aynı etkileri yarattığından bahsetmek de mümkün değildir. Bu çalışma, 1478 tarihli mufassal tahrir defterini temel alarak, Doğu Trakya’daki Drama bölgesinde fethi izleyen süreçte yaşanan dinî gelişmeler üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Bölgenin farklı coğrafi alanlarından yirmi beş köy, 1470lerde söz konusu bölgede mevcut dinî durumu değerlendirmek üzere örneklem olarak seçilmiştir. Bölgenin coğrafi, ekonomik ve yerel dinî koşullarına odaklanılarak, İslamlaşma sürecinin bir analizi sunulmaktadır. Seçilen köylerin örneklem değerleri; yerleşimcilerin, şehir ahâlisinin ve göçebelerin bu süreçteki



rolünü açıklamaktadır. Böylece, bölgedeki İslamlaşma'nın ilk aşamaları ile bu süreci aksatan ya da arttıran farklı unsurların rollerinin incelenmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İslamlaşma, İslam, Pomaklar, Balkanlar, Rodop Dağları, Kuzey Yunanistan, Via Egnatia, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Subject and Sources

The continual scholarly and literary focus on Islam in the Balkans has for decades associated itself with the quick and so-called mass conversion to Islam in Albania and Bosnia, occurring almost immediately after their conquest by Ottoman forces. Although this interest includes Albania proper and Kosovo Pokrajina extending into Macedonia,<sup>1</sup> it clearly fails to take into account the similar characteristics displayed in the region of the Rhodope Mountains<sup>2</sup> at nearly the same time. Here, scholarly interest depending on Ottoman primary material concerning conversion to Islam has been minimal at best.<sup>3</sup> Historical, ethnographic and anthropological studies are mainly biased-nationalistic studies of the Slavic-speaking

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<sup>1</sup> H.T. Norris, *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 43.

<sup>2</sup> The Rhodope Mountains are situated in southern Thrace straddling the modern-day borders of Bulgaria and Greece, with more than half of the mountains located in southern Bulgaria.

<sup>3</sup> Of particular importance are the studies focused on the Nevrokop region of the Rhodope Mountains by E. Radushev, *Pomatsite* [The Pomaks], Vol. 1 (Sofia: St. Cyril and Methodius National Library Oriental Department, 2008), including various and recent articles.

Muslims, known today as the Pomaks and their place in today's political milieu.<sup>4</sup> The idea of placing this region into a greater trend of a gradual large-scale, voluntary conversion to Islam within a similar framework as Albania and Bosnia has been skimmed over and has remained out of interest within the historical community.

The intent of this work is then to not only include the territory within a similar study in the field of conversion to Islam, but to also reveal a trend within the process that both mirrors and precedes it in other parts of the Balkans. Through a focused case-study of the town of Drama and villages throughout the *kaza* of the same name, which includes the western parts of the Rhodopes, I hope to expose a pattern that is comparable in scope and nature to that found in both Albania and Bosnia. Not only do the Ottoman Archival sources reveal the spread of Islam in this region earlier than elsewhere in the Balkans, it also contains many characteristics similar to those of the above mentioned areas. Briefly, to name a few, the Rhodope Mountains resemble those of Albania and Bosnia geographically, socially, economically, religiously (to an extent) and even ethnically, yet scholars have maintained them at a distance within works concerning the spread of Islam.

When considering a large-scale spread of Islam many continuously reference the same two areas. John V. Fine claims that the 'only two Balkans regions where mass Islamization occurred were in Bosnia and Albania, Bosnia easily melded into Islam with its already eclectic religious nature and Albania, with its mountains and poor communication, also had few priests and a very weak Church organization in

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<sup>4</sup> See D. Anagnostou, "National interpretations in Bulgarian writings on the Pomaks from the communist period through the present," in *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans Online*, Vol 7. No. 1 (2005): 54-74. Here a comparison is presented of various writings on the Pomaks dividing the work into mostly four stages: nationalistic writing in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, followed by the Marxist perspective on the place of Pomaks in Bulgarian society, post-communist and revival writings. Yet as shown by Anagnostou, even the most recent studies on the Pomaks continue to display nationalistic tendencies without a clear and un-biased study of early Ottoman documents about the region.



the interior'.<sup>5</sup> Both of these descriptions, as to the causes of large-scale conversion can easily be reworded to claim that both areas had a weak Church organization in general, were isolated geographically and thus perhaps socially and economically as well. The same can also be said of the Rhodopes, where even when referencing Islamic activity in the Balkans, Albania and Bosnia remain at the centre. Some study has been given to major Islamic centres in Bulgaria and Greek Macedonia; however these are only mentioned as having played a part in the Islamic life of the Balkans.<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, no mention is given to the Rhodope Mountains as a place noted for a large-scale spread of Islamization, and the role it played in creating a large Islamic population in the heart of the Balkans.<sup>7</sup>

Keeping the above in mind, there are several reasons why this region in the Balkans is noteworthy and why it will be the focus of this work. The Rhodope Mountains, the western area administered as part of the *kaza* or district of Drama, have a long and ancient history. They played an important role throughout antiquity as both the home of the Thracians, and as the Roman province of Thrace and later on as the *theme* of Thrace for Rome's successors, the Byzantines. It is only logical to assume this area would also play an important role during the reign of the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>5</sup> J. V. Fine Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1987), 485. For the 'uniqueness of Bosnia and why it was easily incorporated into the Empire and converted *en masse* to Islam see also A. Sućeska, "The Position of Bosnian Muslims in the Ottoman State," in *Ottoman Rule in Middle Europe and Balkan in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Papers Presented at the 9<sup>th</sup> Joint Conference of the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Historical Committee* (Prague, 1978): 142-175.

<sup>6</sup> H.T. Norris, *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World*, 43. Studies of such do not refer to the process of conversion to Islam, but rather what role these places played in the development of an Islamic culture, art and social society.

<sup>7</sup> See E. Radushev, "Meaning of the Historiographic Myths About Conversion to Islam" in *Halil Inalcik Armağanı* ed. Taşkı Takış and Sunay Aksoy (Doğu Batı, 2009): 205-248, where references to conversion in the Rhodopes are mostly concerned with mass forced conversion at the hands of the Ottomans through force and the threat of violent mass killings. Also in Anagnostou's study scholars from the nationalist period of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century writing about the origins of the Pomaks focus intently on the so-called atrocities the Ottomans committed in forcing the population to convert to Islam. See D. Anagnostou, "National interpretations in Bulgarian writings on the Pomaks from the communist period through the present."

There are several reasons that I will outline as to why this mountainous region, which was administratively a part of both the *kazas* of Drama and Nevrokop, has been included in this study.<sup>8</sup> Of primary importance is the fact that this region was one of the first to be conquered by the Ottomans, once they entered Europe. While settling on Edirne (Adrianople) as their first capital, conquest then proceeded westward, following the ancient Roman road of Via Egnatia (Sol Kol).<sup>9</sup> The town of Drama, lying near this road, became one of the first areas to be conquered militarily. Accordingly, this long established road was the only real connection between the Adriatic coast and the interior Balkans until the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Following it, the Ottoman conquest moved westwards into Albania, gaining access to the Adriatic Sea and the port town of Dubrovnik, which later came to be an important part of an imperial plan to conquer Italy. They continued northward, conquering Macedonia, parts of Bulgaria, Serbia (Belgrade) and Bosnia. Thus the town of Drama and eventually the western Rhodopes, as a part of this *kaza*, were one of the first areas conquered by the Ottoman military, opening the gates to the conquest of Selanik, another important port-city used by the Ottoman navy.

Secondly, this region is economically significant, due to its location on the Aegean sea coast, which included commercial control of the Mediterranean (through Selanik) and also allowed for the production of salt and rice, among other important products such as wax, various grains and animal husbandry (of mainly sheep and

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<sup>8</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>9</sup> See G Škrivanić, “Roman Roads and Settlements in the Balkans,” in *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*. Ed. Francis W. Carter. (London: Academic Press, 1977), 123. The Via Egnatia (Sol Kol) ran westward overland to the interior of Macedonia, then via Thessalonica (Selanik), as the mid-point of the road, it veered northward toward Roman *Illyricum* (present-day Albania) and the Roman port of *Dyrrachium* (situated on the Adriatic Coast), leading to the sea-route to Italy. Compare Appendix B.

<sup>10</sup> Besides the ‘main’ track of Via Egnatia, there were also deviations from it, which in turn connected it to another Roman road through the Balkans, coined Via Militaris (Orta Kol), which eventually led to Belgrade and to the Danube River. Refer to Appendix B.

pigs).<sup>11</sup> The mountains themselves however, became an economic periphery in a sense, within the empire. The production value of the above commodities was significantly lower in the mountains than those of the plains along the sea coast, and the rough terrain made penetration into the region a difficult and long process for the Ottoman administration. The gradual contact between the Ottomans and the local population will be shown to have greatly affected the religious environment of the time. The importance of the Mesta River<sup>12</sup> running through the western part of the Rhodopes, contributed greatly to the inclusion of some Turkish nomadic elements, which used the mountains and the plains below, as summer and winter pastures to graze their flocks of sheep (transhumance). This not only affected the area economically, but by the mid-fifteenth century increased its importance for the Ottomans and their policies affecting placement and control of the Turkish nomadic, or *yürük*, elements crossing into the Balkans.

Although military conquest occurred in the late fourteenth century, tax registration shows that Ottoman economic administration of the space developed at a slow pace, over a span of a century.<sup>13</sup> Unlike the established town of Drama, registered earlier due to its slightly greater economic importance, the spacious mountain territory in the region did not seem to have been of primary importance for the Ottomans.<sup>14</sup> One of the earliest tax-registers available for this geographic area, recorded in 1464-65<sup>15</sup>, supports this idea, as it is one of the only documents that can

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<sup>11</sup> F.W. Carter, "Urban Development in the Western Balkans 1200-1800," in *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*. Ed. Francis W. Carter. (London: Academic Press, 1977), 178.

<sup>12</sup> Known in Greek as the Nestos and in Turkish as the Karasu River.

<sup>13</sup> Compare Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), MAD 525 from 1444-45 and Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) İstanbul TD3 from 1464-65, from here on referred to as MAD 525 and TD3, respectively.

<sup>14</sup> E. Radushev, "Das "belagerte" Gebirge," [The "besieged" Mountain] in *Bulgarian Historical Review*. Translated by Maciej Urbaniak. Vol. 3, No.4 (2005), 18.

<sup>15</sup> See TD3, note that there are several pages missing, either destroyed or lost through time and thus it is not as complete as the one composed 13 years later. In fact, the only record from the *kaza* of Drama

be studied to reveal the extent of the “Ottomanization” of the space<sup>16</sup> (meaning the administrative order of the conqueror). This register is not as extensive as the following one recorded in 1478, which shows greater penetration into the mountainous regions, although it was compiled almost a century after initial conquest.<sup>17</sup> This gradual registration of the area, revealing its secondary value to the Ottomans, leads to another significant reason as to why I consider this district to be of primary importance.

After initial military conquest, the Ottoman army continued on and registration gradually developed, yet this area did become one of the earliest to be administratively incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. Although this process did not happen equally, in the plains with their towns and well-developed village network, the transformation of a space formerly only militarily occupied into an area integrated into the Ottoman economic and political model occurred more quickly and intensively.<sup>18</sup> In contrast, the Western Rhodopes were not as rapidly incorporated into the administrative order of the Ottomans, due to the complicated geographical characteristics, which made access difficult and thus rendered this specific space not as important in strategic-military and economic views.<sup>19</sup> Despite the lapse in time between conquest and administration,<sup>20</sup> by the end of the fifteenth century, this region already shows initial signs of intensive self-conversion by the local population, negating any ideas concerning the intervention of state institutions.

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is a registration of the town itself. No record of other villages in the district, if they had been registered, have survived.

<sup>16</sup> E. Radushev, “The Spread of Islam in the Ottoman Balkans,” in *Oriental Archive* Vol. 78 (2010), 369.

<sup>17</sup> See Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) Istanbul TD7 pp. 1-646, from this moment referred to as TD7.

<sup>18</sup> E. Radushev, “Das “belagerte” Gebirge,” 22.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>20</sup> In many cases, administration and therefore taxation is seen as a tool by some scholars used to force or coerce conversion to Islam through economic pressure. See M. Todorova, “Conversion to Islam as a trope in Bulgarian historiography, fiction and film”, in *Eurozine*. <http://www.eurozine.com/pdf/2003-11-04-todorova-en.pdf>, 8.

The *kaza* of Drama, although along the militarily important route of Via Egnatia (Sol Kol), was of secondary importance in terms of conquest, administration and economy, in particular due to the geographical difficulties of its location. Specifically, the northern mountainous parts of the *kaza* as a part of the Ottoman administrative space would become a social and economic periphery within the empire. Through a study of groups of villages from various locales within the entire district, a pattern or trend will be revealed to show that an initial process of conversion to Islam had already begun. This development occurred at an earlier time than in other areas of the Balkans yet with just as much rapidity and significance to negate previous ideas concerning the introduction and spread of Islam.

This case-study is based on the third known tax-register (*tahrir defter*) compiled for the area in the year 1478<sup>21</sup>, one of the earliest known registers for this region.<sup>22</sup> The study itself will focus on an analysis of villages chosen from a set of 25 representing the general religious, demographic and economic patterns found at the time. These selected villages are firstly divided geographically, some located in the eastern part of the region, in the Rhodopes (10), followed by those located along the plains north and south of the town of Drama in the central part of the district (9), with the rest found in the western most parts of the *kaza* (6).<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, they have been chosen for their representative value of all the villages listed in the register. They are of small, medium and large variety with 1) fully Christian, 2) mix Christian-Muslim, and 3) fully Muslim populations. Many of these villages reveal

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<sup>21</sup> TD7 pp. 1-114 used in this study. Subsequent pages include the *kazas* of Karasu, Zihna, Serres, Keşislik, Timur-Hisar, Nevrokop and Selanik. These are all part of what is referred to as the Sol Kol region or those areas administered along the old Roman Via Egnatia.

<sup>22</sup> There are two known earlier registers for the region: MAD 525 from 1444-45 and TD3 compiled in 1464-6. In general, the first known surviving register for the Balkans is the so-called *Arvanid* register from 1431, published by Halil Inalcık. The *Arvanid* register from 1431-32 in particular refers to previous registrations of the region and thus one can speculate that this register was most probably a result of at least a second registration of the region.

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix C.

large populations of Muslims. My task, through the use of various research techniques, is to attempt to discuss the origins or causes of this spread of Islam. Questions such as whether this occurred due to settlement or colonization from Anatolia or through a conversion of the local population are of primary importance. If conversion is to be considered, then questions of how and why this occurred must also be pursued. By shedding the biases and influences of previous scholarly theories I will explore and evaluate the source of this Islamic establishment.

*Tahrir defters* or tax-registers have been studied by many, in ways and for purposes that the Ottoman administration itself did not intend for them to be used. Since the publishing of the *Arvanid* register by Halil Inalcık concerning a region of Albania and the extensive and pioneering use of various *defters* by Ömer L. Barkan<sup>24</sup>, the purpose of many of these *defters* has been to study the economic and demographic composition of the empire. Thus what Heath Lowry has coined ‘defterology’ has focused on *tahrir defters* in relation to demographic studies, however it should be noted that these are not ‘official censuses’. The Ottoman bureaucracy instead viewed them as sources of taxable revenue for their everyday needs. These were earmarked as income for *timar*-holders who were the backbone of the Ottoman army. This in turn means that such *defters* do not include any tax-free income generated from private property and the population generating this income, along with those attached to *vakıfs* or religious endowments.<sup>25</sup>

Through the use of certain methodologies, the *defter* can provide much information concerning the spread or rate of Islamization in these territories. In

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<sup>24</sup> See for example, Ö. L. Barkan, “Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l’Empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles,” in *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (August, 1957): 9-36.

<sup>25</sup> H. W. Lowry Jr., “The Ottoman *Tahrîr Defterleri* As a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations,” in *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1992), 7-8.

general, the level of information preserved in the *tahrirs* is demonstrably more useful for non-Muslim areas of the Empire, particularly immediate post-conquest registers, than for regions whose populations were wholly or predominantly Muslim.<sup>26</sup> Lowry maintains that *tahrir defters* alone, should not provide the basis for any kind of quantitative study,<sup>27</sup> thus in order to be able to conduct a quantitative analysis and to study the rate of Islamization for example, previous and subsequent *defters* would have to be used. For the purpose of this work, a single *defter* will be used in order to demonstrate a pattern or a trend of conversion in a particular area.

Another important factor to note is that the *defters* compiled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are generally more reliable in terms of the care with which they were compiled compared to those drawn up after the second quarter of the sixteenth century, where large parts were simply re-copied.<sup>28</sup> The *defter* in question, TD7, reflect all the characteristics of the period very thoroughly. Thus, once the Ottomans finally managed to venture into the Rhodope Mountains, one can be more certain of the accuracy of the first few registers, than of those that follow and that the register reflects what truly appeared to be at the time.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 8. Instead Lowry suggests that in order to achieve an overall perspective of particular areas they must be used in conjunction with other surviving contemporary sources, such as the *fatwa* (Sultanic decrees), chronicle accounts, court records (*sicils*), etc. Therefore, in this study I will not be looking at real population numbers, for example a quantitative analysis of exactly how many Muslims vs. Christians there are in the region, but instead will consider the tendencies, the patterns or spread of Islamization and what state is represented during this period.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>29</sup> The accuracy of this *defter* is particular to my study as subsequent *defters* reveal that not all villages were registered in 1478, therefore figures used for demographic studies must be subjected to criticism and doubt. In addition it is possible that Muslims and Christians alike hid or fled during the period of registration in order to avoid paying any taxes at all. This however, is speculation, although quite possible in the difficult terrain of the mountains. However in terms of studying the religious and ethnic character, this register can be used. As will be revealed, converts would want to be registered for the purposes of, for example, tax-reduction. Christians where taxed at a higher rate than Muslims and thus for the purposes of studying conversion, this *defter* is a reliable source particularly for mountainous regions where incomes would have been lower and the taxes levied on Christians higher, thus for socio-economic reasons, a convert would want to be registered in order to lower the taxes that were levied on him.

In having the chance to work with the *defter* I will attempt to come to some kind of conclusion or understanding of the ethnic and religious composition of the society in question. The early *defters* or registers that have survived are categorized into two types: the *mufassal* or detailed registers and the *icmal* or summary form, which simply list the villages that were accorded to a particular *timar* and the income taken from them. Although both the *mufassal* and the *icmal defters* not only list all the villages of a *kaza* (district) with the number of households (*hane*), bachelors (*mücerred*) and widows (*bive*), the detailed or *mufassal defters*, list the names of each male of a household who is of age to pay taxes. The *mufassal* register also lists the names of the widows, who at this early time are listed under the names of the Christians and Muslims alike,<sup>30</sup> and also the various taxable items produced or manufactured by each village.

Through a study of the individual names and taxes a great deal concerning the cultural and socio-economic atmosphere, as well as the religious and ethnic situation of many villages can be revealed. Many of these show a much more complex and integrated society than previously believed. For example, one can find that many religiously mixed villages existed, some with predominantly Muslim populations, while others with chiefly Christian occupants. Another important detail in many of the *mufassal defters* (including TD7), are the references to special tax exemptions for certain groups or professions, or special status awarded to particular places, such as monasteries, regardless of religious adherence.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> After the fifteenth century a change occurs where widows are no longer listed after the names of Muslims in villages or towns.

<sup>31</sup> For example in the *kaza* of Drama we find Sultanlic decrees (*fermans*) for a monastery and two churches exempting them from paying certain taxes or the allowance of colonizers to settle in a particular area for the cultivation of rice. A careful reading of the *defter* is needed in order to reveal the actual religious, ethnic and socio-cultural conditions of the period. See TD7, 34.



The *mufassal defter* used in this work is located in the Istanbul archives, *tapu tahrir defteri 7* (TD7) and as mentioned above includes 7 districts within its 646 pages. This specific *defter* gives me the opportunity to reveal and study the religious situation in the area. I hope to discover specific environmental characteristics which influenced the region and how this affected the development of various Islamic and administrative structures. Through this, I intend to learn and analyse the situation presented in the register.

While this work is particularly focused on the Drama region and the part of the Rhodope Mountains which are included under its administrative jurisdiction, the purpose of this study is neither to deliver a total history of the area nor to provide a single snap-shot of it. Rather a detailed case-study of 25 villages in different geographic areas in the *kaza* of Drama will be studied. Through the use of different methodologies, I hope to reveal, in its early stages, a pattern concerning the large-scale, self-conversion to Islam. At the same time I hope to convincingly argue that this process was well within its initial stages, before that of any other area in the Balkans.

## **1.2 Methodology**

The first generation of scholars to utilize *tahrir defters* paid great attention to the demographic value of such documents. However, as discussed, the *tahrir defters* alone do not provide the basis for any kind of quantitative study, be it toponymy, topography, taxation, agricultural production or population, unless, according to

Lowry, they are used in conjunction with other surviving contemporary records.<sup>32</sup> In recent years, *tahrir defters*, as well as other documents, have come under the attention of scholars studying religious conversion. Although there were some who made use of these registers in their mentioning of conversion to Islam in the Balkans<sup>33</sup>, these studies generally focus on demographic, rather than religious changes. Most recently, some scholars have focused solely on the growth of Islam in reference to changes in the religious composition of certain areas in the Balkans, using *tahrir defters* as a main starting point for analysis. The change here can be found in the application of a different methodology to the registers based on the research of Richard Bulliet.<sup>34</sup> His analysis of the development of an Islamic society through a sociological approach to the sources, resulting in a quantitative analysis, has prompted some scholars to apply such techniques to the Balkans.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> H. W. Lowry Jr., *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, 8.

<sup>33</sup> See the pioneering demographic studies using *tahrir defters* by, N. Todorov, *The Balkan City*; and N. Todorov and A. Velkov, *Situation démographique de la Péninsule balkanique (fin du XVe s.–debut du XVIe s.)* (Sofia, 1988), the various contributions by S. Dimitrov including his, “Demografski odnoshenia i pronikvane na islama v zapadnite Rodopi i dolinata na Mesta prez XV–XVII vek [Demographic Relations and Spread of Islam in Western Rhodopes and the Valley of Mesta in the 15th–17th Centuries],” *Rodopski Sbornik*, 1 (1965), 63–114, A. Zelyaskova, *Razprostranenie na islama v zapadno-balkanskite zemi pod osmanska vlast. 15–18v.* [The Spread of Islam in the Western Balkan Lands under Ottoman Rule. 15th–18th Centuries] (Sofia, 1990), among others, all referred to by A. Minkov in *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670- 1730* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>34</sup> See R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

<sup>35</sup> See in particular the contributions of A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670- 1730* and E. Radushev, “The Spread of Islam in the Ottoman Balkans”. Minkov attempts to apply Bulliet’s methodology to the entire region of the Balkans for a period of essentially three centuries, only mentioning anomalies where conversion occurred more rapidly (such the Rhodope Mountains, Bosnia and Albania) using *defters* as well as other sources to attempt to also explain the motivation behind conversion. The weakness in this work is that conversion did not happen uniformly throughout the Balkans and thus the application of Bulliet’s methodology leaves scholars with unanswered questions concerning regions where either no conversion occurred or where conversion occurred outside of the S-curve determined by Minkov. Bulliet himself admits that ‘There is every reason to believe that the curves would differ in different areas, but it also stands to reason that the shape of each curve would show logistic characteristics’. (R. W. Bulliet, “Conversion to Islam and the Emergence of a Muslim Society in Iran,” in *Conversion to Islam*. Ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1979), 41. This can be seen in Radushev’s study, where a more focused approach is taken, regarding the Western Rhodope Mountains in the *kaza* of Nevrokop, through the use of *defters*, providing a more accurate statistical survey and data which more or less correlate with the S-curve supplied by Bulliet’s methodology.

In order to avoid falling under the trap of the usual paradigms concerning conversion historiography in the Balkans, I will attempt to apply certain parts of Bulliet's methodology in order to analyze the emergence of villages with large or completely Muslim populations. Some of Bulliet's techniques will also be applied to explain why others were mostly or fully populated by Christians during the same period. Bulliet's methodology, initially used by geographers and sociologists who adopted it to study technological and cultural diffusion among society in general<sup>36</sup>, has been criticized as a positive methodological development towards the study of the development of an Islamic society.<sup>37</sup> The sociological technique describing a population's adoption of technological innovations is therefore a significant idea borrowed by Bulliet.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, 28.

<sup>37</sup> See J. O. Voll, "Review of *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, by R. W. Bulliet" in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Winter 1981): 522-523, where Bulliet's work is considered to have provided 'a stimulating, new perspective for the analysis of the impact of conversion to a new religion in general and for the interpretation of Islamic history in particular'. (pg. 522); as well as Umar Abd-Allah, "Reviewed Work(s): *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* by Richard W. Bulliet," in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 44, No.3 (Jul., 1985): 239-241, where he states that 'Bulliet's contribution deserves to be highly commended; his exploratory study of such quantifiable data, in addition to deepening our understanding of the process of conversion to Islam in the medieval period, should encourage other researchers to make more extensive use of quantitative methods in the study of Islamic history.' (240-241) and also J. Waltz, "Review of *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, by R. W. Bulliet," in *Speculum* Vol. 56, No. 2 (1981): 360-362 where Bulliet's work is praised as 'important for its methodology and exciting in its challenges to accepted interpretations.' (360).

<sup>38</sup> Graphing this data on a cumulative basis reveals an S-shaped graph (also known as the 'logistics curve') that closely mirrors a graph depicting the introduction of new technology into a population. The first five Islamic centuries are the time period from which Bulliet bases his theory on the rate of conversion to Islam. He then totals the number of families falling into twenty-five year periods and converts the totals into percentages of the entire sample of 469 names (R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, 22). When compared to the technological curve, Bulliet's curve displays similar features. A few "innovators" first adopt the technique, or religion in this case, causing others to be influenced and at first slowly adopt the new technique/religion. This causes a steep rise in the middle of the S-curve graph as more and more people convert. Soon thereafter there is a lull in conversion 'as the potential market for the new technique, or religion, is saturated' and the curve evens out. The logistics curve serves as the basis of Bulliet's quantitative approach, the comparison based on a bell-shaped curve graph which is similar in principle to the curve describing a population's adoption of technological innovations (28) The application of the innovation diffusion theory can therefore divide the adoption of Islam by a population into 5 parts: the "innovators", "early adopters", "early majority", "late majority" and finally the "laggards". According to Bulliet what is useful about this division into categories is that it suggests that people who converted at different times had very different motives and experiences (31-32). Conversion due to force during the actual conquest, must also be addressed as it may change the notion of the first stage, the "innovators". In the region chosen however, there are no available sources

This aspect of Bulliet's methodology, 'the study of innovation diffusion',<sup>39</sup> will feature prominently in my analysis of the villages in the *kaza* of Drama. The spread of information, in this case concerning the Islamic religion, will be revealed to have played an important role in the initial Islamization process in the area. Informing a newly conquered population about the new rulers' religion is a process that can be compared to other regions of the world, as can be seen in the work of both Fernand Braudel and Richard Eaton.<sup>40</sup> Eaton in particular, partially attributes the spread of Islam in Bengal as due to a diffusion of knowledge about the religion among the population, though adoption of Islam is not analyzed in a quantitative manner similar to Bulliet. The rate of conversion, which Bulliet's methodology is particularly concerned with, will not be applied to the *kaza* of Drama, as this study is devoted to the information provided in one *deft*. This makes such an analysis impossible, as the rate of conversion would have to be studied using numerous registers over a longer period of time.

Another important aspect of Bulliet's methodology concerning what he calls the 'curve of Muslim names',<sup>41</sup> or what I have termed the 'Name Systems Theory', will provide a new way of meaningfully analyzing the lists of names provided in each village under study. Here, Bulliet gives great importance to the names choseb by new Iranian converts and how they reflect the level of conversion as well as the increase in the rate of conversion. He classifies the names into three groups; firstly those who took Arabic tribal names during the initial period of conversion. Once

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that indicate and war-time forced conversion due to resistance on the part of the local population. Thus war-time forced conversion due to conquest, at this time, is not relevant for the district under study.

<sup>39</sup> R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, 31.

<sup>40</sup> Compare F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Vol. 1) (California: University of California Press, 1996) and R. M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

<sup>41</sup> R. W. Bulliet, "Conversion to Islam and the Emergence of a Muslim Society in Iran," in *Conversion to Islam*. Ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1979), 49.

conversion grew, he then classifies these converts among those who specifically chose Qur'anic names. As conversion peaked Bulliet then noticed a small trend of returning to the acceptance of some previously used Persian names.<sup>42</sup> Thus a theory can be deduced from Bulliet's work where the choosing of names for converts played a significant role in their understanding and acceptance of Islam.

The 'Name Systems Theory', as a way to analyze Christians and Muslims listed in the *kaza* of Drama in 1478, may prove to be essential in understanding what kind of people we find in the area. The method used by the Ottomans to record the names of tax-payers allows scholars to determine which Muslims were of convert origin. The choosing of a new Muslim name came to symbolize one's acceptance of Islam and was followed by the recording of either the patronymic *Abdullah* (Servant of God)<sup>43</sup> or by the Christian name of the convert's father, such as *veled-i İstoyan* (son of Stoyan). Therefore through a study of such names, one can judge who new converts came into contact with through the frequency of the use of certain names. A prevalence of names from the *yürük* onomasticum, for example, would indicate contact with Anatolian transnomadists. While other names, primarily from Qur'anic origin, may indicate stronger influence from Anatolian colonizers or Ottoman authorities whose religiosity was most likely less heterodox than of the *yürüks*.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 46. To be more specific about Bulliet's trend he claims that initial converts took the names of their Muslim Arab counterparts, whether they were of Islamic origin or not, in order to advertise, in a sense, their conversion to Islam. As the religion began to spread, names of Qur'anic origin gained more popularity, finally during the peak of conversion, the main 5 Qur'anic names (Muhammad, Ahmad, 'Ali, al-Hasan and al-Husain) were among the highest frequency, followed finally by a small, yet significant return to pre-Islamic, Iranian names once Islam became the majority religion.

<sup>43</sup> It is commonly accepted among scholars that '*veled-i Abdullah*', or 'son of the Slave of God', was the indicator of a new Muslim among the group listed. A study of any village with a large convert population, indicated only with the patronymic *Abdullah*, clearly negates this idea as no one village could have so many of its male members listed as having *Abdullah* as their father. See H.W. Lowry Jr., "Changes in Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radilofo," in *Studies in Deftology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1992), 172 or E. Radushev, "Das "belagerte" Gebirge," 33 and one of the more recent studies on the adoption of new names for converts in general, Y. Kurt, "Sivas Sancağında Kişi Adları," in *OTAM*, Ankara, Vol. 4 (1993), 235-6, footnote 55 in particular.

In terms of analyzing Christian names, the register provides scholars with the means to determine the prevailing or most influential ethnic culture among the locals. It is possible to find an environment where the Greek Orthodox influence, deriving from the Byzantine Greek heritage, was greatly felt by the Slavic population. The changing of some initially Slavic names to sound more Greek can account for this. Also, a prevalence of names originating from the Biblical tradition could be seen in an environment further influenced by the Greek Orthodox tradition. While, in terms of the impact of Slavic culture, pagan/tribal names also appear at a large frequency in the registers, thus revealing the interaction and influence of both groups on each other. This is not an issue that has been studied with any great detail, yet due to the large amount of names in the register it is one avenue, through the 'Names Systems Theory' that could determine the religiosity of the local Christian population as well.

The study of the names of the Muslims listed, however, may also further illuminate ideas concerning how new converts, if they were converts, felt about their new religion. Once again, Bulliet's theories concerning the spread of Islam, particularly in the initial phase, come to play an important role. Through his quantitative analysis of the expansion of Islam in the medieval period, the conclusion reached is that the phenomenon of conversion was normally an 'individual, non-political, choice or experience, without profound religious meaning.'<sup>44</sup> Therefore, he argues that the nature of conversion during this period reflects what might be considered as a general principle of conversion, that of a social process.<sup>45</sup> The formal

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<sup>44</sup> R. W. Bulliet, "Conversion Stories in Early Islam," in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 125.

<sup>45</sup> R. W. Bulliet, "Conversion to Islam and the Emergence of a Muslim Society in Iran," 33. What Bulliet means by the term 'social conversion' is individual rather than communal action, where the convert sees his identity in terms of the new religious community that he has joined. Bulliet therefore implies or presupposes a society where social identity was normally defined in religious terms as opposed to tribal or national terms (see also R.W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, 34)

process in the sense of publicly proclaiming one's entrance into the new faith is not as significant as the social one. Social conversion involves the movement from one religiously defined social community to another.<sup>46</sup> It is not defined by a change of belief systems, but rather by the exiting of one religious community into another.

The use of a different type of approach in tandem with Bulliet's may provide the answers as to why certain regions show larger numbers of Muslims as opposed to others. The answers may lie in the type of geography found within the region. The potential importance of the impact of this and of the climate of a region can be traced back to the works of Fernand Braudel, in particular *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (Vol. 1)*.<sup>47</sup> Through his rejection of the influence of the individual in history, and hence much of the significance of political development, the role of physical and material constraints based on the geographical environment of the Mediterranean,<sup>48</sup> became the crux of historical study. In general little attention has been paid to the role that geography played in Eastern Europe, in this case the Balkans. There has been some attempt to examine the composition of ethnic groups and the growth of settlements/cities in pre- and Ottoman times.<sup>49</sup> In terms of applying Braudel's approach in understanding the spread of Islam, some

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<sup>46</sup> R.W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, 33.

<sup>47</sup> See F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (Vol. 1)*, 23. Here Braudel claims that geography in this context is no longer an end in itself but a means to an end. It helps us to rediscover the slow unfolding of structural realities, to see things in the perspective of the very long term. Geography, like history, can answer many questions. Here it helps us to discover the almost imperceptible movement of history, if only we are prepared to follow its lessons and accept its categories and divisions.

<sup>48</sup> O. Hufton, "Fernand Braudel" in *Past & Present*. No. 112 (Aug., 1986), 209.

<sup>49</sup> See, in particular F.W. Carter, "Urban Development in the Western Balkans 1200-1800," for a geographic explanation of the development of cities in the Balkans and also P. S. Koledarov, "Ethnic and Political Preconditions for Regional Names in the Central and Eastern Parts of the Balkan Peninsula," in *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*. Ed. Francis W. Carter. (London: Academic Press, 1977): 293-317 for an analysis of the role of geography in the development of Balkan ethnicities.

efforts have been made in recent times, though generally one can say this kind of studying has been neglected by Balkan scholars.<sup>50</sup>

The important role prescribed to the mountains, the plains and the role of transhumance by Braudel, can be applied to the region and perhaps shed light as to the nature of Islamization. For Braudel, the historian is not unlike the traveller, tending to linger over the plains and does not seem eager to approach the high mountains nearby.<sup>51</sup> Yet according to him, a separate religious geography emerges for the mountain world, compared to that the plains and sea coasts. The mountains are as a rule a world apart from the urban and lowland achievements, almost always on the fringe of the great waves of civilization. This can be applied not only to Western Europe, but to the Balkans as well, for everywhere in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the hilltop world was very little influenced not just socially and economically, but also religiously by those at sea level; mountain life persistently lacked behind the plains.<sup>52</sup>

This does not contradict the idea that contact with the plains or lowlands was indeed a steady and continuous process. The population in the mountains was continually tapped as a source for military needs, in terms of human possibilities. The harsh conditions of simply living in such an area forced many dwellers to relocate to the geographically (thus economically) richer region of the plains. There was no line drawn to eliminate contact between the mountain dweller and the village

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<sup>50</sup> For works specifically referencing the role of geography and climate in terms of Islamization and the Balkans see both M. Kiel, "İzladi/Zlatitsa. Population Changes, Colonization and Islamization in a Bulgarian Mountain Canton, 15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries," in *Studia in Honorem Professoris Verae Mutařčieva* (Sofia, Amicitia Publishing House, 2001): 175-187 and again E. Radushev, "Das "belagerte" Gebirge."

<sup>51</sup> F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (Vol. 1), 29.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 34-36. During the time of Philip IV Braudel uses letters of various travellers or statesmen to explain the situation in Granada. In the mountains, Catholicism had not taken such deep root and it was feared and remarked upon that if the Muslims of Spain were to invade the mountainous area and conquer it, it would be no wonder that the entire population would convert. He also comments that religions were able to make massive, though unstable, conquests in these regions. In the Balkans in the fifteenth century, whole areas of the mountains went over to Islam, in Albania as in Herzegovina around Sarajevo. What this proves above all is that they had been only slightly influenced by Christianity.



or town populations. Rather a slow and constant communication existed, whether through economic need, the movement into villages or towns once a year for religious celebrations or through military participation.

Along with such spurts of contact, perhaps the most important communication which linked mountain and plain dwellers together was the inevitable experience of transhumance. The regular movement of flocks and shepherds from winter to summer pastures, from the plains to the mountains, is perhaps one of the most distinctive and in this case most important characteristics of the entire Mediterranean world.<sup>53</sup> In its simplest form it is the movement from the winter pastures of the plain to the summer pastures in the hills. It is a way of life combining the two levels, and at the same time a source of human migration, which concerns a specialized population; the shepherds.<sup>54</sup> In terms of how this applied to the Rhodopes, the Mesta River valley, allowed for such a way of life to come into existence for the Turkish nomadic elements that migrated into the Balkans after the conquest. Whether through normal transhumance<sup>55</sup> or inverse transhumance<sup>56</sup> the local population, at least twice a year would have come into contact with these Turkish shepherds. In Bulliet's terms, these shepherds, whose life was dominated by Islamic elements, fill the initial role of informers of Islam. It is through them that the

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 87. More specifically, these men may belong to one village or another, one rural- or non-rural-group or another; they may be simply shepherds, or they may, during one of their stays, hastily cultivate the earth, sometimes burning the scrubland in autumn to make crops grow more quickly; they may have their homes in the hills or on the plains; they may or may not have fixed dwellings. In short there are many variations on the theme, but they are imposed by local conditions and are virtually unavoidable.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 86. In 'Normal Transhumance' sheep farmers and shepherds are in this case people from the lowlands; they live there but leave in summer, which is an unfavourable season for stock-raising on the plain. For this purpose, the mountains simply provide space. And even this space may often be the property of the peasant farmer from the plain, even if it is more often rented out to the mountain dweller.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 86. In 'Inverse Transhumance' flocks and shepherds would come down from the highlands. The lowlands served only for marketing purposes, that is when there was a market. This transhumance was a frantic rush down from the mountains in the winter; for example in Spain cattle and men hurried to escape the cold of the mountains and flooded into lower Navarre like an invading army.

local population would have its first exposure to the Muslim belief system and way of life.

It is plausible to assume two possibilities from this continual contact with the transhumanist. If 'inverse transhumance' occurred, then a division of labour is implied, where a part of the population would have settled, and according to the season would lose some of it to either the plains or the mountains.<sup>57</sup> Possibly, this partial settling could lead to the creation of an Islamic environment. This was a state of living known to the Turkish shepherd and thus one came assume an attempt on his part to create an atmosphere similar to the one left behind in Anatolia. However, another possibility should also be considered influenced by 'normal transhumance'. Here shepherds simply move into the mountains due to the space they provided. Contact with local villages, particularly if there were markets to sell their wares on the way back to the plains for winter, would have facilitated a slow but steady process of spreading information concerning Islam in a more benign way. If contact was both peaceable and fruitful economically, then it is possible to assume that it assisted local population in accumulating knowledge concerning the Islamic way of life.

At this point it is simply enough to state that transhumance in the Rhodopes played a significant role in the socio-economic, religious and cultural environment of the mountain. This is in stark contrast to previous theories concerning the spread of Islam, which concerns themselves with the prosperous plains and the large towns residing within them. Here an opposite idea is put forth where colonizers settling in towns, expedited Islamization and from these centres, it spread out into the rural (and

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 88. Many documents of the sixteenth century mention these half-empty mountain villages, where only women, children, and old men remain.

mountainous) areas due to contact with town-dwelling merchants.<sup>58</sup> What cannot be ignored, however, is the large amount of Muslims listed in the entire *kaza* of Drama in comparison to the town of Drama itself with only 69 *hanes* (tax-units or households) listed. Or stated plainly, there were a significant amount of Muslims in the rural areas of the *kaza*, leading to the questions of how and why. The geography of the region is in this case noteworthy, as is the economy that derives from the high plains and above. This includes the economic differences between the mountains, the lowlands and plains, the impact of transhumance and the relative unimportance of the mountainous region in contrast to the economically fruitful plains and seacoast.

In finishing with these theoretical techniques a significant point must also be considered, one which considers the “language” of the historian; the kind which scholars choose to express themselves in their work. Historians use different ways to express their approaches and attitudes, concerning the spread of Islam in the Balkans. This problem has drawn the attention of both philosophers and historians in this field, creating a space for the scholar that is important in terms of how to express and describe the situation. Each national school is characterized by its own language of research and follows different paths and ways, and therefore finds different words that apply to their point of view. For example, the historian from Christian nations in the Balkans, such as Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, etc., would consider their nation to have been under Ottoman ‘occupation’, rather than a part of the Ottoman Empire in general. This period is usually described as the ‘dark period’, where nationalism, culture and religion were halted. Islamization is therefore one of the

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<sup>58</sup> S. Vryonis uses statistics from *defters* between 1520-1530 in order to show that the Muslim element, although only 18% of the whole population of the Balkans, was significant in particular regions. It was the most numerous in Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Silistria. He concludes that Islamization and demographic changes were more spectacular in the towns in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was from these centers that the forces of Islam radiated into the adjacent countryside and along the main routes, see S. Vryonis Jr., “Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” in *Aspects of the Balkans*. Eds. H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis (Paris: The Hague, 1972), 162-3.

most important symbols of that loss which was forced upon them by the Ottomans. Much of the scholarly language used, particularly that consistently referred to by Balkan historians, carries with it implicit meanings which affect the overall picture presented, intensifying, even distorting the realities of the religious change in the area. Therefore in order to provide a balanced study, an identification of past and present connotations given to specific terminology should be made, revealing why certain ‘research language’ may or may not be referred to.

A prime example of the misrepresentation of even a single word, when referring to the Muslims of the past and present living in the Rhodopes is that of their identification as Pomaks. Although this classification of Slavic-speaking Muslims is commonly used today, in all the censuses of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century this group of Muslims was entered under the heading of “Turks” until the 1905 census where a separate group – “Pomaks” – appeared.<sup>59</sup> In both historical studies and political diaspora the term is applied to the group *ad nauseam* in an attempt at integrating them into neighbouring nations.<sup>60</sup> Yet what is often neglected is the realization that the term Pomak was originally a derogatory one and today has come to mean Bulgarian Muslims or even Turks.<sup>61</sup> Among themselves, the Pomaks have

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<sup>59</sup> M. Todorova, “Conversion to Islam as a trope in Bulgarian historiography, fiction and film,” 6.

<sup>60</sup> Bulgarian historiography supports the idea that due to the Pomak use of Bulgarian as a primary language, they are early Bulgarians, who were later Islamized. Turkish historiography, relying on the Turkish vindication of the Pomaks because of religion, supports that they are Turkish speaking races, probably Kumans. While the Greek position is that they are descendants of ancient Thracian races, who in some, relatively recent, phase of their history have been Islamised and linguistically traumatized. See G. V. Manolis, “Historical and Ethnological Influences on the Traditional Civilization of Pomaks in the Greek Thrace,” in *Balkanica XXXIV* UDC 930.85 (4-12) (Belgrade, 2004), 270. For further theories on the Greek origins and attempted Greekification of the Pomaks see H. Poulton, “Changing Notions of National Identity among Muslims in Thrace and Macedonia: Turks, Pomaks and Roma,” in *Muslim Identity and the Balkan State* (London, 1997), 82-102.

<sup>61</sup> According to Todorova, it was through the work of Felix Kanitz where an etymology of the word was studied in detail. He suggested the term could possibly derive from the Slavic word *pomoci*, meaning ‘to help’, which intimated that this group were helpers of the Turks. Folk etymology of other Christians suggest meanings such as ‘being cheated, duped’ (*pomamvam*, *pomamil se*) or ‘betrayed, abandoned’ (*pometnal se*) and even ‘garbage’ (*pomiya*), all without any exceptions, pejorative. The accepted scholarly term used primarily today ‘Bulgaro-Mohammedans’ is used in order to emphasise the Bulgarian origins of these Muslims. Yet in general, ‘Pomaks’ continues to be used outside of

established a self-identity similar to Muslims in Bosnia,<sup>62</sup> one rooted in elements of ethnicity and religion, suggesting an awareness of being different, an identity separate from the one imposed upon them by their neighbours.<sup>63</sup> As a historian dealing with sources from the fifteenth century the use of ‘Pomak’ to identify the Muslims found in the region can be interpreted in unintended ways. In this study, if ‘Pomak’ appears in reference to the identification of the Muslims in TD7, this simply means Slavic-speaking Muslims, with none of the usual nationalistic and cultural-ethnic associations attached to it.<sup>64</sup>

The complexities surrounding a single designation for a group of people are reflective of the general pool of the scientific and historical language drawn from in trying to understand the spread of Islam in the Balkans. Research “language” such as Islamization, Turkization<sup>65</sup>, and Mohammedanization<sup>66</sup> all elicit various definitions

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Bulgarian scholarly circles, although the Pomaks themselves at one point, in rejection to the pejorative meaning of the word adopted ‘Bulgaro-Mohammedans’ as a neutral term. See M. Todorova, “Identity (Trans)formation among Bulgarian Muslims.” in *The Myth of “Ethnic Conflicts”, International and Areas Studies Research Series* No. 98. Ed. Beverly Crawford and Ronnie D. Lipschutz (Berkley: University of California, 1998), 306-308.

<sup>62</sup> As the Muslim Bosnians argue that they are a separate ethnic group, the *Bošniaks*, the Pomaks of the Eastern Rhodopes and those from the mountains living in Turkey today, maintain a similar approach. Some vestiges of the idea of ‘being different’ also exist among the Western Rhodope Pomaks, who at times dispute their ethnic origins among other Bulgarians. See for example <http://www.pomak.eu/> where Pomak issues are discussed suggesting a nationalistic consciousness among this group.

<sup>63</sup> Among the Pomaks, the issue of their ethnic identity is in itself debated varying from Turkish lineage, Slavic lineage that is separate from the Bulgarians or directly linked to them, to even more distinguished lineage of converts influenced by Arab missionaries (traders) long before the arrival of the Turks. See Y. Konstantinov, ‘Strategies for Sustaining a Vulnerable Identity: The Case of the Bulgarian Pomaks’, in *Muslim Identity and the Balkan State* (London, 1997), 37-38.

<sup>64</sup> In order to avoid speculation as to how this term is being applied, yet without constantly referring to this population as Slavic-speaking Muslims, the designation ‘Pomak’, stripped of any previous assumptions can in turn be used. It is a traditional way to name them and I will use this as a technical term.

<sup>65</sup> According to N. Filipović conversion to Islam was identified by the Balkan Christians with Turkization, the renouncing of one’s own nation and a rebirth into a Turk, a term that can also be associated with assimilation. Therefore Turkization results in assimilation in this case. Refer to N. Filipović, “A Contribution to the Problem of Islamization in the Balkan under the Ottoman Rule,” in *Ottoman Rule in Middle Europe and Balkan in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Papers Presented at the 9<sup>th</sup> Joint Conference of the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Historical Committee* (Prague, 1978), 306. While for Radushev, Turkization although associated with an ethnic process also corresponded to the notion of ‘colonization’. E. Radushev, “The Spread of Islam in the Ottoman Balkans,” 369.

<sup>66</sup> This term was particularly in wide-spread use during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century where various articles on the Muslims of the Balkans were referred to as Mohammedans. Works by J. Cvijić, A.

and meanings steeped in long-ago established biases.<sup>67</sup> The use of any of these by a historian can bring to mind different ideas as to how Islam was spread and implemented, whether through force, through the establishment of an Islamic environment, or a natural progression and adoption of it. Islamization, which is consistently used by historians even today, carries with it a larger meaning. To Islamize can bring to mind the implementation of a deliberate policy by the Ottomans to forcefully establish an Islamic environment in the Balkans. Yet it is also used to describe an area that maintains all the sign of an Islamic community, a mosque, soup kitchens, Islamic schools etc. Primarily, it is expressed in studies concerning conversion, thus conversion to Islam often becomes synonymous with Islamization.<sup>68</sup>

Among Balkan scholars, the use of the words ‘mass’ and ‘Islamization’ together has often created an indistinct and imprecise version of the past. It more often than not implies that any area with a large amount of Muslims, particularly

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Snowden and O. Mann are some examples. In general today this term is applied to the Pomaks by Bulgarian scholars as mentioned above. (See M. Todorova, “Identity (Trans)formation among Bulgarian Muslims.” According to Popovic, in 1902 it was the Austro-Hungarian authorities who enacted a law that required the word “Muslim” to be used to denote the followers of Islam and “the Islamic faith” to denote Islam itself. This was designed to replace the use of the words Mohammedan and Mohammedanism, which were in common use in Bosnia although they were offensive to the Muslims of the area. See A. Popovic and E. Karić. “Balkan States” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*. [http://ceeres.uchicago.edu/education/training/islamidentity/OxfordIslamicStudiesOnline\\_Balkan%20States.pdf](http://ceeres.uchicago.edu/education/training/islamidentity/OxfordIslamicStudiesOnline_Balkan%20States.pdf), 4.

<sup>67</sup> Labels given to Muslims who lived in the Balkans can also bring to mind ideas of forced conversion, colonization as well as changes in ethnic, not only religious identity. Turkization and the much older used term Mohammedanization were often used to describe not only the spread of Islam but often describing the Muslims themselves. These terms, have generally carried with them pejorative meanings particularly for Balkan scholars. They are directly linked with negative ideas of the spread of Islam and conversion, of deliberately (whether forcefully or not) shedding ones ethnic and religious identity for that of the Turkish or the Mohammedan (Islamic) one.

<sup>68</sup> For Minkov, Islamization in its literal sense has somehow a larger connotation than conversion. It implies more than simply exchanging one set of beliefs with another, but involves a change of life-style, culture and often incidentally social status. It has even been suggested that Islamization in society may occur without religious conversion necessarily taking place. However, since religious conversion, *per se*, cannot lead to anything but conversion to an Islamic way of life, it can be also used in the broader sense of Islamization. A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670- 1730*, 2. Filipović claims that Islamization must be considered from the point of view of the broader socio-historical context and must not be reduced to mere abstract categories of religiosity or mechanical numerical data. See N. Filipović, “A Contribution to the Problem of Islamization in the Balkan under the Ottoman Rule,” 306.

converts, has undergone mass Islamization. Here two points of contention arise, once concerning Islamization and the second, of equal importance that of ‘mass’. Although A. Minkov claims that conversion to Islam inevitably leads to an Islamic society and therefore Islamization, there is no evidence of this found in the early tax registers.<sup>69</sup> This leads to the problem of associating many Muslims, possibly converts, who appear at a quick rate in one area with the idea of mass conversion or Islamization.<sup>70</sup> Mass conversion implies the inclusion of almost an entire population and also gives one the impression that conversion occurred *en masse*, all at once at the same time, perhaps even by force. In contrast, a demarcation such as “large-scale” simply implies a significant amount of Muslims in comparison to Christians in the area. As the registers only list a comparatively large amount of Muslims in a specific area, one cannot assume that either Islamization or mass conversion (also mass Islamization) has taken place. In order to steer away from the above implications and avoid any confusion, large-scale conversion or Islamization will be referred to in this work in the way it traditionally has been. That is to say it is a technical term describing a place where signs of Islam are in place, allowing for me to remain close to what is presented in the sources without applying any unnecessary preconceptions.

Mass conversion versus large-scale conversion or Islamization has not provoked as much debate as the ideas of voluntary versus non-voluntary, which accompany studies on conversion in the Balkans. Non-voluntary or forced

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<sup>69</sup> A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kısve Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670- 1730*, 2. Refer to note 68 for further information concerning Islamization and an Islamic society.

<sup>70</sup> This is particularly evident when scholars use the so-called ‘domestic’ sources in order to justify why a large group of people converted to Islam. In this case ‘Mass Islamization’ comes to mean mass *forced* Islamization, supported by contemporary chronicles of supposed witnesses to the atrocities the Ottomans incurred upon the local Christian populations. Refer once more to E. Radushev, “Meaning of the Historiographic Myths About Conversion to Islam”, D. Anagnostou, “National interpretations in Bulgarian writings on the Pomaks from the communist period through the present” and M. Todorova, “Conversion to Islam as a trope in Bulgarian historiography, fiction and film,” 1-20.

conversion can also include coerced conversion or conversion due to economic pressure.<sup>71</sup> In this way, the language of the researcher suggests that although there may not have been a violent forced conversion process or an imperial conversion plan, through economic pressure, indirect coercion forced some to convert. Yet, the same may be said in favour of the opposite. Again we encounter a multitude of words suggesting conversion to Islam that was neither forced nor coerced. Here the scholarly language used in studying varies from voluntary<sup>72</sup>, to self-conversion<sup>73</sup>, conversion of the self<sup>74</sup> and even personal, non-enforced conversion.<sup>75</sup> Clearly the issue of the spread of Islam in the Balkans can easily become convoluted with hidden meanings and different ideas simply due to the choice of words a historian uses.

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<sup>71</sup> An example of how such language can suggest forced conversion is represented in A. Zelyazkova's *Razprostranenie*, as explained by Minkov, where terms such as "direct" and "indirect" or "economic coercion" are used. As shown by Zelyazkova who carefully avoids the term voluntary conversion, thus falling into the idea of forced or what Minkov calls coerced conversion. "Direct" coercion, such as conversion through the institutions of slavery and *devşirme* is viewed as occurring under the control and with the participation of the central government. In this form of conversion "the possibility of personal choice, even less, of voluntarism, is entirely excluded. Although other types of conversion are not instigated by the government and appear voluntary on the surface, they are not due to the "forced integration of the conquered people into the structure of the imperial mechanism." A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730*, 65-66.

<sup>72</sup> Although voluntary is often applied to non-forced conversion, this too can leave one with a different impression than desired. Voluntary can assume the same aspect that 'mass' conversion has attached to it in that it suggests that a group of people were asked if they wanted to convert to Islam and those who did and thus 'volunteered' converted. Throughout this study self-conversion will be used when referencing conversion that does not fall under the category of forced.

<sup>73</sup> Self-conversion implies that a person or group of people decided for whatever reason, on their own to convert. This negates any concept of coercion that the idea of 'voluntary' can exclude, nor any other coercive or negative aspects of converting to Islam for whatever personal reasons, even if those converting are in large numbers at roughly the same time.

<sup>74</sup> This idea can be found in M. Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6, where conversion of the self refers not necessarily to initial conversion to Islam but rather a return to piety and a purer understanding of Islam according to Baer.

<sup>75</sup> According to Todorova, admittedly voluntary conversion or non-enforced conversion occurred, but she continues to maintain that this was still under indirect economic pressure in a similar vein to Zelyazkova. However she objects to using indirect economic pressure in order to explain en masse conversion in large or smaller groups, irrespective of whether they were voluntary or enforced, such as in the Rhodopes, Albania and Bosnia. See M. Todorova, "Conversion to Islam as a trope in Bulgarian historiography, fiction and film," 8.



### 1.3 Historiography

The spread of Islam into the Balkans has continuously garnered considerable debate among scholars leading to various and often clashing conclusions. Although there are several opposing and over-lapping views, the historiography concerning the diffusion of Islam into the Balkans can essentially be placed into four different categories.<sup>76</sup> The most influential and pervasive group of scholars, who continue to influence Balkan historiography even today are those who maintain that Islam was violently forced on the local population. Such scholars would fall under Eaton's "Theory of the Sword"<sup>77</sup>, the greatest exemplar being the Bulgarian historian Hristo Gandev.<sup>78</sup>

Minkov summarizes this approach by stating that Balkan historians portrayed the Ottoman state as essentially a repressive force whose goal was to de-nationalize the region by converting the native population to Islam forcefully.<sup>79</sup> Although Gandev's methodology has been heavily criticized<sup>80</sup>, through a demographic study of Ottoman sources his conclusions of mass slaughtering, which he proved by listing

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<sup>76</sup> These categories have been borrowed from Eaton who developed 4 theories of conversion concerning historiography about conversion in Bengal. As a set of categories they are all encompassing, and with some modification on my part can be justifiably applied to Balkan historiography as well. See R. M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, 113-120.

<sup>77</sup> Theory of the Sword, or in Eaton's terms the Religion of the Sword Thesis stresses the role of military force in the diffusion of Islam, bringing to mind the idea of 'convert or die'. See R. M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, 114.

<sup>78</sup> H. Gandev, *The Bulgarian People during the 15<sup>th</sup> Century: A Demographic and Ethnographic Study* (Sofia: Sofia Press, 1987).

<sup>79</sup> A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670- 1730*, 65.

<sup>80</sup> See S. Dimitrov, "Mezrite i demografskiya colaps na balgarskiya narod [The Mezraas and the Demographic Collapse of the Bulgarian Nation]," *Vekove*, 6 (1973), 54-65 and N. Todorov, *Balkanskiyat grad XV-XIX v. Socialno-ikonomitichesko i demografsko razvitie* (Sofia, 1972), translated by P. Sugar as *The Balkan City: Socio-economic and Demographic Development, 1400-1900* (Seattle, 1983), where Todorov shows that at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century a substantial part of town dwellers were Christians, while among the Muslim inhabitants, converts to Islam were the majority in response to Gandev's claim of a "demographic collapse" after the Ottoman conquest. As referred to by A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670- 1730*, 30.

numerous empty spaces (*mezra'a*s), argues that these were Bulgarian villages left empty due to their refusal to convert. Gandev's critics however note that his greatest weakness lies in his definition of *mezra'a*, which denotes a field for cultivation or a large farm with no settlement.<sup>81</sup> As to his claim of demographic collapse in Bulgaria and the displacement of Christians in towns, a number of leading Bulgarian and Balkan historians continue to support this, despite continued appearance of evidence to the contrary.<sup>82</sup>

The "Theory of the Sword," which outwardly states the violent nature accompanying the spread of Islam, also relates to two other theories which lean towards a similar view. Both the "Immigration Theory"<sup>83</sup> and the "Religion of Patronage Theory,"<sup>84</sup> although in more subtle ways, touch upon the idea that the population was either coerced in some way to accept Islam or colonized by other Muslims. The "Immigration Theory," which can include Anatolian colonizers, nomads and even Sufi orders, presupposes that most of the Muslims found in the

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<sup>81</sup> For a more extensive explanation see *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914*. Ed. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert. Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 999, where a *mezra'a* is, among other explanations, primarily determined to be a field under cultivation.

<sup>82</sup> See, for example, E. Grozdanova, *Bulgarskata narodnost prez 17v. Demografsko izsledvane* [The Bulgarian People in the 17th century: A Demographic Survey] (Sofia, 1989), 25, and M. Kiel's criticism of Todorov, Melnichki and Dinov, 'Bulgaria, Historical and Geographical outline.' (Sofia, 1965) in M. Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: A Sketch of the Economic, Juridical and Artistic Preconditions of Bulgarian Post-Byzantine Art and its Place in the Development of the Art of the Christian Balkans, 1360/70-1700* (Maastricht, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1985) 33. As well as the study by F.W. Carter which claims that Muslims pushed Christians out of Balkan towns and replaced them, forcing them to live on the outskirts. F.W. Carter, "Urban Development in the Western Balkans 1200-1800," 147-196. For use of other sources to support Gandev's claim, mainly "domestic" Bulgarian chronicles see P. Petrov "Bilgarskite letopisni svedeniya za pomohamedanchvaneto v Chepino", *Rodopski sbornik*, I (Sofia, 1965) as referred to by M. Todorova, "Conversion to Islam as a trope in Bulgarian historiography, fiction and film," 2-4.

<sup>83</sup> For Eaton, the Immigration Theory is not really a theory of conversion at all since it views Islamization in terms of the diffusion not of belief but of peoples, to this I will not only add Turkish colonizers settling in the Balkans as well as the forced re-settlement of Anatolian nomadic populations, but also the spread, influence and settling of Sufi dervishes. See R. M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, 113.

<sup>84</sup> The Religion of Patronage Theory, for Eaton is the view that in the pre-modern period, locals converted to Islam in order to receive some on-religious favour from the ruling class – relief from taxes, promotion in bureaucracy and so forth. See R. M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, 116.

Balkans were of non-Christian origin. This three pronged approach found much support among Balkan scholars due to the Ottoman policy of *sürgün*, or the forceful exile of Anatolian nomads into the plains along the Black Sea.<sup>85</sup> The (supposedly) forceful settlement of these groups, for some scholars accounts for the large number of Muslims in certain areas of the Balkans.

Colonization, another prong of the “Immigration Theory,” is used in order to account for the large numbers of Muslims that appear in particular regions.<sup>86</sup> Although the *defters* provide historians with evidence of such colonization, in many cases the Muslim population in the towns was usually much smaller than that of the Christian population recorded. In TD7, for example, in the town of Drama in 1478 only 69 Muslim households are recorded in one Muslim *mahalle* (quarter), compared to the 120 Christian households in 6 *mahalles* (not including widows listed in all quarters).<sup>87</sup> Other evidence of colonizers, such as salt and rice producers, show the existence of Sultanatic decrees which gave them special permission to move to the Balkans and presumably resume production previously engaged in before coming to the Balkans.<sup>88</sup> These groups were settled in areas either alongside other Christians or in areas previously unused for such production, which can be observed in TD7,<sup>89</sup> also

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<sup>85</sup> Compare Ö. L. Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Sürgünler” in *Osmanlı Devleti’nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi. Tetkikler – Makaleler*, Cilt 1 (Istanbul 2000), 509-555 and H. İnalcık. ‘Ottoman Methods of Conquest’, in *Studia Islamica* No. 2 (1954), 122.

<sup>86</sup> See in particular P. F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977) and again F. W. Carter, “Urban Development in the Western Balkans 1200-1800.” For arguments pertaining to colonizing Muslim Turks settling in towns and displacing the Christian population.

<sup>87</sup> TD7, 24-27. Similar comparisons can be found in other larger towns such as Zihne, Demir-Hisar, Siroz, etc. M. Sokoloski, *Aperçu sur l’évolution de certaines villes plus importantes de la partie meridionale des Balkans aux XVe-XVe siècles*, AIESEE – Bulletin, col. 12 (1974), No.1. Bucharest, 1974 as referred to by E. Radushev *Pomatsi*, Vol.1, 184-200.

<sup>88</sup> For how the Ottomans settled rice producers in the Ottomans, a previously unknown commodity, see H. İnalcık, ‘Rice Cultivation and the *Celtukci-Reaya* System in the Ottoman Empire’ in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985) Chapter VI, 69-141. Also see E. Radushev, “Das “belagerte” Gebirge”, 34.

<sup>89</sup> TD7, 10-11. Both Turkish rice cultivators are shown here with specific permission to move and settle in the area from the Sultan as well as salt producers with Sultanatic decrees allowing them to settle alongside Christian salt producers are listed as part of the same group.

showing that special permission was needed from the centre to move and colonize certain areas of the Balkans. Perhaps the close contact, within the cities and among specialized producers induced some to convert to Islam, but according to this theory, scholars simply claim that colonizers account for the presence of Muslims in the Balkans.

In terms of the third prong of this theory, the effect of Sufis or dervishes in the Balkans, although mentioned as an aspect of the process of Islamization, has been given little support.<sup>90</sup> Despite work on the influence of Sufism outside of the Balkans,<sup>91</sup> the effects of Sufi orders within are mainly focused on rural areas and as agents working outside of the Ottoman administration, introducing a heterodox Islam to the population.<sup>92</sup> The heterodox properties of the type of Islam practised by these mystical ‘holy men’, coined by Barkan as “colonizing dervishes”<sup>93</sup>, has given way to the argument that syncretism is largely responsible for any conversion to Islam,

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<sup>90</sup> Sufis are usually connected with the idea of Islamic heterodoxy and thus were able to incorporate Christian and even older pagan elements into their belief system, allowing for the local population to find it easier to accept the foreign religion. However, few scholars have extensively studied Sufism as a mode through which Islamization spread. See A. Zhelyazkova, “Islamization in the Balkans as an Historiographical Problem: The Southeast-European Perspective” in *The Ottoman and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*. Eds. Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faroqi (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 224.

<sup>91</sup> See R. M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760* for the important role of Sufism in the spread of Islam in Bengal as well as N. Levtzion, “Toward a Comparative Study of Islamization” in *Conversion to Islam*. Ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1979), 18, for the importance of Sufis in Anatolia and their effects on the conversion of the Christian population there. The Islamization of Greek Anatolia is further studied by S. Vryonis Jr. in his work *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971).

<sup>92</sup> An example of how to explore the problem of conversion to Islam, particularly on an individual level that does not exactly conform to any of these approaches is in T. Krstić, *Contested Conversion to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011). Based on personal narratives, this work focuses on personal understanding of Islam, with a large emphasis on the impact of heterodox work and its incorporation into the cosmological understanding of the Christian world. Thus, although avoiding any broad statements about the impact of Sufism, Krstić focuses on the literate converts whose personal diaries reveal the influence of certain mystics or Islamic scholars, within and outside of the Balkans. Therefore in essence this work maintains that a connection between a heterodox understanding of Islam became influential in the decision to convert for certain individuals.

<sup>93</sup> Ö. L. Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir Iskan ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler: İstila Devrinin Kolonizatör Türk Değişleri ve Vakfiyeleri,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 283-284. Referred to and explained in detail by S. Deringil, “‘There is no Compulsion in Religion’: On Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire: 1839-1856,” in *The Ottomans, the Turks, and World Power Politics: Collected Studies* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2000), 303-304.

particularly in rural areas. Given the reference of “colonizing dervishes”, scholars who argue that their influence was indeed rather dramatic fall under the “Immigration Theory” as these dervishes or Sufis wandered about, eventually settling in large numbers all over the Balkans.<sup>94</sup> This theory, however, does not explain the large number of converts in the Western Rhodope Mountain for example, where there is no evidence of Sufi influence, such as *zaviyes* (dervish lodges) and *tekkes* (dervish complexes). The fact that the population there today practices Sunni Islam, as opposed to that populating the Eastern part of the mountain, further questions how much of an impact the “colonizing dervish” had on the spread of Islam.

Echoes of the “Theory of the Sword” can also be found in the “Religion of Patronage Theory,” of which I have modified to include any kind of economic incentive, mostly referred to as economic coercion.<sup>95</sup> In this case, scholars accepted the idea that many Muslims in the Balkans were indeed converts and that the vast majority of these conversions were individual ones.<sup>96</sup> However, this idea is supported by evidence which suggests that Christians converted in order to escape economic

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<sup>94</sup> See in particular: J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (Hartford: Hartford Seminary Press, 1937), J. V. Fine Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1987), S. Vryonis, Jr., “Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries” in *Aspects of the Balkans*. Eds. H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis (Paris: The Hague, 1972): 151-176 and S. Faroqi, “Agricultural Activities in a Bektashi center: the *tekke* of Kizil Deli, 1750-1830,” in *Peasants, Dervishes and Traders in the Ottomans Empire* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986): Chapter I, 69-96. In particular see the studies by H.T. Norris, *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World, Popular Sufism in Eastern Europe: Sufi brotherhoods and the dialogue with Christianity and ‘Heterodoxy’*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006) and “Aspects of the Sufism of the Rifaiyya in Bulgaria and Macedonia in the Light of the Study Published by Canon W. H. Gairdner,” in *The Muslim World in Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol. 7, No.3 (1996): 297-309.

<sup>95</sup> This is clearly discussed on multiple occasions in A. Zhelyazkova. “Islamization in the Balkans as an Historiographical Problem: The Southeast-European Perspective,” 224 and M. Todorova, “Conversion to Islam as a trope in Bulgarian historiography, fiction and film,” and “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans,” in *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*. Ed. L. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996):45-77. In particular page 49 where although conversions are called non-enforced, they are also referred as “voluntary” as a result of indirect economic and social, but not administrative, pressure.

<sup>96</sup> M. Todorova, “Conversion to Islam as a trope in Bulgarian historiography, fiction and film,” 8.

pressure or to gain higher positions within the Ottoman administration.<sup>97</sup> These conversions are still referred to as ‘voluntary’ conversions, but are viewed as the result of indirect pressure or coercion with the goal of attaining social re-categorization.<sup>98</sup> Although perhaps such a theory can be applied to major cities, particularly Istanbul, it cannot explain any large-scale conversion in rural areas where peasants did not migrate into the cities. In terms of political patronage, or social re-categorization, this would have occurred in urban centres and decreased rather than increased as one moved towards rural areas where re-categorization was limited to Muslim versus non-Muslim.<sup>99</sup> Incentives, such as gifts of money and clothes given to new converts would also be mostly limited to the centre, in this case Istanbul, although scholars have argued that such incentives played a large role in the spread of Islam amongst non-believers.<sup>100</sup> The difficulty that arises is in trying to explain the large-scale conversions in villages and rural areas where there is evidence

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<sup>97</sup> See M. Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*, 121-138, where even the chief physician to the Sultan was eventually subjected to convert to Islam if he wanted to maintain the position, while others ‘voluntarily’ converted in order to attain this position. As well as M. I. Kunt, “Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment,” in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 5, No.3. (Jun., 1974): 233-239 where he also comments on Ottomans befriending one another, forming patronage relations, or helping each other in their troubles (236).

<sup>98</sup> M. Todorova, “Conversion to Islam as a trope in Bulgarian historiography, fiction and film,” 8.

<sup>99</sup> R. M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, 116.

<sup>100</sup> M. Baer claims that conversion can have its rewards when the converter offers the convert gifts of money and other financial and social incentives such as tax breaks, pardon for crimes, and clothing. The giving of clothes, especially robes of honor, signals both a change in social status of the convert and his or her introduction into an ongoing relationship with the agent of conversion: “The hand of the giver left its ‘essence’ on the robe.” (M. Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*, 15). In another study of petitions to the Sultan for such rewards, Minkov attempts to use the petitions of these new converts to explain a general trend of conversion for the entire Balkan region during the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, the number of these petitions is a small percentage of the general convert population and the material gain given due to conversion was limited and can be considered a symbolic act by the Sultan in order to model himself as a good Muslim, rather than to actively promote conversion. This also became an opportunity for some convert to attend a ceremonial conversion in front of the Sultan himself and his court, thus adding to both his prestige as a new convert and possibility of some tangible reward. Once again, however, the question of who could afford to travel to the capital must be asked as well as what would have happened to the State Treasury if all Muslims in the Balkans were converts who converted for material gain. Again see A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670- 1730*. One of the newest contributions includes Y. Norman’s Ph.D. thesis on the Islamization of the city of Sarajevo which also refers to economic incentives and patronage by both state and city officials in the islamization of the city. Y. Norman, *An Islamic City? Sarajevo’s Islamization and Economic Development, 1461-1604*. Ph.D Thesis (Georgetown University, 2005).

of thousands of converts. In these regions no such incentives were given locally and the difficulty of reaching the capital in order to receive the offered incentives prevented most from doing so.

Another phenomenon, partially attributed to the “Religion of Patronage Theory” by some scholars,<sup>101</sup> is that of crypto-Christianity. This is a peculiar occurrence, evidence of which exists long before the emergence of the Ottomans.<sup>102</sup> Not only historians, but many outside of the scholarly community firmly believe that the practice of hiding one’s true religion explains the large number of convert Muslims in the Balkans. During the Ottoman period, crypto-Christianity is the appearance of individuals or groups who, while publicly professing Islam, placated their conscience by practicing Christianity in private.<sup>103</sup> There is much evidence that such a practice did occur, yet the nature of maintaining one’s true religion in private can still be questioned. There are also some scholars who indicate that the practice of crypto-Christianity does not by itself prove that Christians had embraced Islam unwillingly: it might indicate only that some were hoping to make the best of both worlds.<sup>104</sup> Conversion to a new and relatively unknown religion takes time, usually only after a few generations do converts completely shed ties to their former

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<sup>101</sup> A. Zhelyazkova attributes crypto-Christianity among Catholic Albanians who adopted Islam outwardly in order to escape capitation tax, while secretly continuing to observe old customs, especially in outlying areas and were allowed by local parish priests to take part in religious services. See A. Zhelyazkova, “Islamization in the Balkans as an Historiographical Problem: The Southeast-European Perspective,” 244-245.

<sup>102</sup> For example during ancient Roman times Christians outwardly practiced paganism, while hiding their churches in caves and secretly practicing Christianity in order to avoid persecution from the Roman authorities. Similarly Greeks in Anatolia adopted similar practices during the initial Turkish invasions. See for example both S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* and “The Experience of Christians under Seljuk and Ottoman Domination Eleventh to Sixteenth Century” in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Eds. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990): 185-216.

<sup>103</sup> S. Skendi, “Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans,” in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 26, No.2 (June 1967), 227.

<sup>104</sup> V. L. Ménage, “Islamization of Anatolia,” in *Conversion to Islam*. Ed. Nehemia Levtzion. (NewYork: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1979), 65.

Christian community and practices. Thus the practice of crypto-Christianity could be seen as a transitory period for the convert, who, once drawn into the sphere of Islamic society would have eventually shed any lingering attachment towards their previous religion. Once again, the “Religion of Patronage Theory” leaves many unanswered questions as to why Islam spread more rapidly in some areas of the Balkans and that despite ideas of crypto-Christianity, continues to remain in those areas today.

The final approach concerning conversion to Islam is that of the “Religion of Social Liberation,”<sup>105</sup> perhaps one of the more provocative theories, as most Balkan historians tend to avoid it with surprising tenacity. Although most historians subscribing to this idea are of Turkish or Western origin, they maintain that the diffusion of Islam and any subsequent conversion was a natural process that came with conquest.<sup>106</sup> Many even claim that the conquest of the Balkans was a positive event that rid the peninsula of constant wars between small states or kingdoms and oppressive tax-regimes.<sup>107</sup> Even M. Kiel argues that the people suffered terribly

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<sup>105</sup> This theory, mostly represented by British scholars in regards to conversion in Bengal, postulates that the local population had laboured and suffered under a crushing burden of oppressive and tyrannical rule. Eaton of course mentions this in terms of the Hindu caste system and the social liberation of Islam in contrast, yet the general theory can still be applied to Balkan historiography. Thus when Islam “arrived”, carrying with it a liberating message (in that no people of the book were to be slaughtered) and with it the stabilizing presence of the Ottomans, the attraction of a new ‘peaceful’ regime was enough to convince many to convert *en masse* to the religion of their new and peaceful leaders. R. M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, 117.

<sup>106</sup> This view is best described by İnalcık who claimed Ottoman society was “multilingual, multi-religious and multicultural political system” and therefore non-oppressive in any way. H. İnalcık, “The Meaning of Legacy: the Ottoman Case,” in *Imperial Legacy*. Ed. L. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 19. As well as S.J. Shaw, “The Aims and Achievements of Ottoman Rule in the Balkans,” in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 21, No. 4. (December, 1962), 612-622.

<sup>107</sup> Among these are H. İnalcık, “The Meaning of Legacy: the Ottoman Case,” and various other works, including S.R. Sonyel, *The Ottoman Armenians: Victims of Great Powers Diplomacy* (London: K. Rustem & Brother, 1987), S. Deringil, “‘There is no Compulsion in Religion’: On Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire: 1839-1856,” C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), M. Vasić, “Social Structure of Yugoslav Countries under the Ottoman Rule till the End of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century,” in *Ottoman Rule in Middle Europe and Balkan in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Papers Presented at the 9<sup>th</sup> Joint Conference of the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Historical Committee* (Prague, 1978): 45-77 and D.



under ever mounting taxes and forced labour duties imposed by greedy landlords and that the peasantry was further repressed because of the constant warring between lords, making the Balkans a war-ravaged area.<sup>108</sup> Thus when the Ottomans arrived, there was no pre-conceived notion of forcefully converting the population and in the process stripping the lands bare. Rather, these historians argue that Ottomans were able to maintain or improve the pre-conquest customs, taxes, and local institutions of the Balkan people.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, some Christians were even given *timars* by the government as compensation and acknowledgement for services rendered without the prerequisite of conversion.<sup>110</sup>

The liberation of the Balkan people from their former oppressors is argued as having the positive effect of beginning a natural conversion process that was in no way forced or instigated by the state. This analysis however is an illogical one as it stems from 19<sup>th</sup> century ideas of nationalism that have been projected back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, simplifying what in fact was a much more complex situation.<sup>111</sup> There are many objections to this theory, which include the colonizing policies of the government and the so-called economic coercion brought on by collecting higher taxes from the Christian population. A benevolent, yet foreign ruler with a new and foreign religion which exerted some favours and a large amount of tolerance does not explain the large number of Muslims in certain areas and almost none in others. If the Balkan people were in fact so relieved at being rescued from themselves, the comparatively small number of Muslims, including converts in most of the peninsula

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Rustow, "The Military Legacy," in *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*. Ed. L. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996): 246-260.

<sup>108</sup> M. Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period*, 37.

<sup>109</sup> Halil İnalcık, "The Meaning of Legacy: the Ottoman Case," 24.

<sup>110</sup> Milan Vasić, "Social Structure of Yugoslav Countries under the Ottoman Rule till the End of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century," 50.

<sup>111</sup> Even Eaton in his work accuses British scholars of a parallel development in regards to conversion in Bengal and the liberation of Islam from the strict and oppressive Hindu caste system seemingly in place. See R.M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, 117.

does not portray this gratitude. Once again, the historian must look beyond the general paradigms of all-encompassing theories in trying to comprehend the spread of Islam in the region.

## CHAPTER II

### CONQUEST AND THE SPREAD OF ISLAM

It is a challenge to reconstruct the changing meaning of a new and continuously evolving authority and its newly subjected or conquered population. This is particularly so, as in the Ottoman case, where the “conquest dynasty”, began to rule over a people whose culture and religion were fundamentally different from that of the new rulers. This raises the question how these rulers effectively maintained and expanded power over this foreign populace without resorting to the indefinite and prohibitively costly use of coercive force?<sup>112</sup> In general, scholars argue that one of the initial consequences of an Islamic conquest was Islamization.<sup>113</sup> Conquest of such a type, in various parts of the world, has therefore followed this pattern. It becomes a precondition for the Islamization of a previously non-Muslim region, characterized by colonization and conversion. Without it, neither colonization nor conversion can proceed, never leading to the development of an Islamic society.

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<sup>112</sup> R.M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 22-23.

<sup>113</sup> See for example the conquest of Anatolia by the Muslim Turks and the Islamization of the Greek population in S. Vryonis Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971). Compare with above Chapter 1, 24 and footnote 68.

The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans however, follows a slightly different path. Through various methods, sometimes through military action, other times through diplomacy, initially large areas quickly came to be under Ottoman control.<sup>114</sup> Yet the general pattern of these methods gradually leading to an Islamized society does not fit the scheme. Submission to Ottoman rule did not inevitably sow the seeds for Islam to take root through colonization, followed by conversion in the area. Instead, vast areas of the Peninsula, for instance the Western/North-western Balkans were not effectively colonized, and during the period under Ottoman rule they remained mostly Christian, with little to no colonization, followed by no conversion having taken place in rural areas.<sup>115</sup>

Conversely in the other parts, despite being some of the first areas to come under the control of the conquerors, the establishment of an Islamic society required a historically long period of time. Many Ottoman territories were in fact placed in the position of vassalage, before coming under direct control of the state.<sup>116</sup> Simultaneously, some regions witnessed a successful and rapid conquest, followed by an effective colonization, such as lower Thrace, the Via Egnatia (Sol Kol, Batı Trakya) territories, eastern Bulgaria along the Black Sea littoral and adjacent territories of Upper Thrace and Deliorman regions. The earliest sources for this period indicate signs of state-supported colonization in those territories. Western Thrace, where the object of my study is located, is also characterized by an early

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<sup>114</sup> The practice of *istimalet*, a terms meaning to literally make someone inclined to accept, in this case an Ottoman term for winning over the local population, also allowed for an area which surrendered to maintain churches, groups, etc. If the Ottomans were met with resistance, the place would be attacked until it surrendered and those on the campaign maintained the right to loot once conquest occurred. See H. İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914*, Ed. Halil İnalcık and Donal Quataert. Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 998.

<sup>115</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>116</sup> Such as Konstantin ili (today's Kristendil) in Eastern Macedonia or a number of other places in Macedonia, which remained under vassalage for a long period of time. See Hr. Metanov, *Vaznikvane i oblikna Kyustendilski Sancak prez XV-XVI vek*. [The establishment and development of the Sancak of Kyusentdil in 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Century] (Sofia, 2000). Also see H. İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," in *Studia Islamica* No. 2 (1954), 103-129.

establishment of the Ottoman military-administrative order (“Ottomanization”) through the implementation of the conqueror’s institutions. However, even within this particular area, there is a peculiarity, where immediate conquest, followed by colonization, appears only along the Aegean coast. In contrast, the near-by adjacent mountains required over a century to become entirely administered by the Ottomans. This dichotomy (areas showing no Turkish-Islamic colonization versus those showing significant amounts of Muslims) demonstrates different consequences of Islamic conquest. Therefore, the contrasting situation of the immediate Ottomanization along the coast, versus the slow penetration of administration into the mountains, is a real challenge for researchers when studying the Ottoman registers. These conditions lead to a number of questions that can be asked about the main elements found in the sources.

Perhaps one of the most pressing ones is why and how did Ottoman presence influence some regions to Islamize or become Islamic, whereas others remained non-Muslim? This can be interpreted in many ways, such as: did they pursue a policy of forceful conversion, an administrative policy advocating conversion or one where colonization and the propagation of Islamic institutions led to actively introducing the locals to Islam. Furthermore, did the building of Islamic institutions, such as mosques and dervishes lodges in the towns, play a role in diffusing Islam among the local Christians? More specifically then, who were the Muslims living in the towns and were they the only ones who benefitted from such establishments? What kind of contact did these Muslims have with the Christians? Were they the bearers of Islam, leading to conversion? If so, what was the role of the nomads which entered the Balkans from Anatolia? Perhaps more importantly, did either of these groups have any role in bringing about the existence of a large number of Muslims in the

mountains? Are these Muslims colonizers or converts? Here perhaps, lies the most important question: if they are converts, what kind of contact did this population have with Islam and how did it influence the conversion process, what were the conditions that could have led to this?

Essentially, many of these questions can be narrowed down to two specific matters: Why do the sources reveal so many Muslims in the mountains, where Ottoman penetration took time to develop versus the very few in the plains, and secondly, who were the bearers of Islam, if conversion in fact occurred? Therefore the study of administrators (and conquerors), colonizers and nomads, through an analysis of the sources, can possibly reveal what role they played in the spread of Islam in certain areas, the lack of it in others and their effect on the conversion process. This chapter will analyze how the conquest of the Western Rhodopes and its adjacent regions may have been introduced to the religion of the conquerors and essentially explore the idea of ‘what happened next’?

## **2.1 Conquest and ‘Ottomanization’ of the Space**

The chronology of the Ottoman conquest of the Peninsula, divided into two stages and completed during the better part of a century, has been catalogued by many scholars.<sup>117</sup> However, the chronology concerning the conquest and subsequent

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<sup>117</sup> See H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (Great Britain: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973) 3<sup>rd</sup> reprint 2003 and “Ottoman Methods of Conquest,” S.J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), H. W. Lowry Jr., *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550: The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece* (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Publications, 2010), A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670- 1730* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 29, C. Finkel, *Osman’s Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1932* (Great Britain: John Murry Publishers, 2005), J.V. Fine Jr., *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: The University of

administration of the Western Rhodopes continues to remain under obscurity, shrouded in mystery.<sup>118</sup> This is in contrast to the Aegean coastal road of Via Egnatia, lying along the plains flanking the neighbouring mountains. Moving westward, there are plenty of sources, chronicles, *defTERS* and architectural remains that decisively confirm the chronology of the conquest. By 1352, the Ottomans had moved into Thrace and began with the capture of Edirne (Adrianople), Dimetoka (Didymoteichon) and Gümülcine (Komotini).<sup>119</sup> Conquest moved westward, where many sites between the Meriç (Maritsa or Evros) and Karasu (Nestos or Mesta) rivers fell to the hands of the Ottomans, such as Ferecik (Feres), Loutra or *Kara Kaplıca/Kara Ilıca* (Traianoupolis), Narlı Köy (Polianthos), and Bori (Peritheorian).<sup>120</sup> Thus between 1366 and 1399 Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly were conquered, which included Karasu Yenicesi/Yenice-karasu (Genesee), Kavala, Drama, Siroz/Serez (Serres), Demirhisar (Sidirokastro) and by 1431, finally the conquest of Selânik (Thessaloniki).<sup>121</sup>

The sources also provide information concerning military conquest and administrative development in the mountains bordering the Aegean coastal plains. They do so through their silence, meaning that little to no information is provided concerning the conquest of any town or village in the high-lands and further north. Most likely, one can postulate that the difficult terrain, the relative military-strategic unimportance of the region and the potentially low economic significance, did not

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Michigan Press, 1987), as well as a contemporary account of the conquest Bedai ul-vekai. *Pomyatniki literaturi narodov Vostoka*. Vol. XIV (Moscow, 1961) fol. 68a-68b; F. Giese. *Die altosmanische Chroniken in Text und bersetzung*. I Tiel. (Breslau, 1922), as described by E. Radushev, "Das "belagerte" Gebirge," [The "besieged" Mountain] in *Bulgarian Historical Review*. Translated by Maciej Urbaniak. Vol 3. No.4 (2005), 17.

<sup>118</sup> E. Radushev, "Das "belagerte" Gebirge," 17.

<sup>119</sup> C. Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1932*, 557-558.

<sup>120</sup> H.W. Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350-1550: The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*, 17-18.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 75-76. For further towns conquered until 1399 in Thrace, consult other pages in the above publication.

render it an immediate concern. However in the first available registration of the region, in existence today,<sup>122</sup> administration of some parts of the mountain had already begun. Due to an ever expanding army, income in the form of *timars* became increasingly necessary and thus areas previously unregistered for taxation purposes began to gain importance. In this way, the mountains found themselves undergoing a slow process of becoming part of the administrative and military control of the state.

The ‘conquest’ of the mountains, in direct contrast to that of the plains, has been greatly exaggerated by some historians through the use of speculative and fabricated reports of organized military campaigns against the locals.<sup>123</sup> The lore of these tell of the devastating actions of certain Ottoman leaders such as İbrahim Paşa, Cadit Ali Paşa and Daud Paşa, which the historian S. Dimitrov has pointed out that no such commanders or officials existed amidst the campaigning Ottomans during that period, indicating these accounts to be unreliable.<sup>124</sup> In support of this, another historical text, a chronicle by one Huseyn, makes no mention of any military campaigns into the Rhodopes. It does allow the historian to speculate that it was not until the late 1370-80s that the first Turkish Muslims appeared in the region, probably as *yürüks* whose lifestyle altered into the form of transhumance, rather than military personnel part of a conquering campaign.<sup>125</sup>

This is further supported by a thorough study of the available Ottoman registers of the region today. Rather than military penetration into the mountains, it is

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<sup>122</sup> It is believed that the first registration of the region occurred around 1431, sometime during or directly after the conquest of Selânik. See MAD 525 + MAD 250 from 1431-32, which includes the registration of the Albanian mountains and parts of Western Thrace and the Rhodopes. Further registration of the Rhodopes is also found in TD3 from 1464-65. Neither of these registers include the south-western Rhodopes belonging administratively to the *kaza* of Drama.

<sup>123</sup> Refer to the circulated writings of St. Zachariev and W. Detshev who refer to chronicles dealing with mass slaughtering of Christians due to Ottoman campaigns, cited by E. Radushev, “Das “belagerte” Gebirge,” 17.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>125</sup> Bedai ul-vekal. *Pomyatniki literaturi narodov Vostoka*. Vol. XIV (Moscow, 1961) fol. 68a-68b; F. Giese. *Die altosmanische Chroniken in Text und bersetzung*. I Tiel. (Breslau, 1922), as described by E. Radushev, “Das “belagerte” Gebirge,” 17.



the administrative organization of the Ottomans, the “Ottomanization” of the space that put the region under the direct control of the state. As the western part of mountains were already surrounded by the conquered towns of Zihne (Nea Zichni), Drama and Siroz (Serres), it is plausible that campaigns further north occurred. However, this is only speculation as no Ottoman chronicles mention any advances into the inner Rhodope Mountains. Administratively, some seventy years after the conquest of these outlying towns, only an initial registration had begun revealing Ottoman presence in the area. This is again in contrast to the plains, where the above mentioned towns had already for some time been registered in at least two known *defters*, which include TD7.<sup>126</sup> This shows the plains to have come under direct control at some point during the seventy years after conquest, while at this time the mountains were very slowly coming to be administered by the state.

I have mentioned the possibility of Turkish Muslim entering the mountains during the second half of the fourteenth century, yet evidence of this is speculative. Even more so is the likelihood that these colonists settled high in the mountains or came into contact with the local population. What is certain is that the Ottoman administration itself, did not venture into this particular region immediately and that a gradual administrative process occurred over a span of at least eighty years if not more. For instance, in the 1444-45 registration, the geographically highest place registered, the *nahiye* of Nevrokop, refers to 25 villages, out of more than the 130 settlements mentioned in the following registrations until the sixteenth century.<sup>127</sup> Therefore by the middle of the fifteenth century only about 19% of the villages, which would later be registered under the *kaza* of Nevrokop, were under direct administrative control. Due to the need for more *timars* to provide income to *sipahis*

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<sup>126</sup> TD3 and TD7.

<sup>127</sup> This includes MAD 525, TD3, TD7, until 1530: TD403 or TD167.

in an ever expanding army during Mehmed the Conqueror's active campaigning period,<sup>128</sup> the mountains began to gain, at the very least, some economic significance.

One can speculate that a similar situation occurred in the western Rhodopes which depended to the *kaza* of Drama. The register from 1444-45 does not list any villages or even the town of Drama, though these pages may have been lost. By comparing the registration process in the Nevrokop region, a similar process may have occurred in the part Rhodopes, which administratively belonged to Drama. With each subsequent register, it is possible to assume that a growing number of villages from this part of the mountains were placed under Ottoman administration. This number would have steadily increased into the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The reasons behind the registration of certain villages before others however can only be speculative. Why were some villages registered at a later time than others from a nearby or identical region? It is possible that geography played more of a role here than previously thought. Perhaps the terrain originally dictated when the registration of villages, that were difficult to reach, occurred. More likely however, villages that were not thought to be initially profitable were registered later as part of the *timar*-system, due to the increasing need to pay a growing army. Or perhaps, another reason existed, requiring further study, caused the Ottomans to consider some regions to be more significant than others. Eventually however, the Ottomans did manage to administer the Western Rhodopes, though through the century or so that it took for this to occur, the environment found there reveals some very interesting developments.

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<sup>128</sup> For references to an increase in campaigning under by the Ottomans under Mehmed II see F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, (1978), H. İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest" and H.W. Lowry Jr., "Changes in Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radilofo," in *Studies in Deftology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1992), 165-178.

Before revealing or analyzing the religious contacts between Muslims and Christians, it is important to understand the mechanisms of the conquest of the towns along the Sol Kol, which is in contrast to the situation in the mountains to the north. When the Ottomans entered the Rhodopes to register the population as official tax payers, they initially found a small/zero Muslim population (which in only a couple of years greatly increased) and several wandering monks serving the local Christian population (indicating both poor villages without the ability to maintain churches and a tenuous Orthodox network), who received state permission to continue their activities.<sup>129</sup> Secondly they encountered *voynuks*, pre-Ottoman Christian military organizations, which were registered and utilized by the Ottomans.<sup>130</sup> During the early period, these militarized locals would have represented Ottoman military power in the mountains. Finally, they also found of *yürüks* who had already adopted the transhumance way of life provided by the mountains. No large campaigns or influx of settlers occurred in the Rhodopes. The plains however, offer the more traditional view of conquest, which is followed by colonization and conversion. Conquest also resulted in the direct control of each town or city that was seized by the Ottoman state. This was done by directly establishing an administrative order (“Ottomanization” of the space).

The sequence of conquest has already been referred to; however conquest did not mean submission followed by an immediate push of the army westward. Rather, direct control of each city or town conquered was of primary concern before moving onwards. This meant basically the application of the *timar* system which was based upon a systematic recording of the population and resources of the space in a

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<sup>129</sup> See MAD 525, 59.

<sup>130</sup> For further information on the origins, organization and use of *voynuks*, see R. Murphey, “Voynuk(Woynuk),” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Vol. 11, 214.

register.<sup>131</sup> The earliest register known to scholars, the Arnavid *defter*, possibly composed around 1431-32 directly after the conquest of Selânik is one of the first examples of the application of this system.<sup>132</sup> The implementation of the *timar* system was, according to İnalçık, a ‘conservative reconciliation of local conditions and classes with Ottoman institutions which aimed at gradual assimilation’, not a revolutionary change in the former order.<sup>133</sup>

The application of an administrative order in each town conquered was conducted in tandem with the building of visual structures to solidify the presence of the new state. The simultaneous construction of mosques, *zâviyes* (dervish lodges), *imârets* (soup-kitchens), military fortifications such as fortresses, hans/caravansarys (inns for travellers and merchants) and even *hamams* (Turkish baths) provided physical evidence of the new rulers in many places conquered along the way.<sup>134</sup> The laying of this infrastructure in parallel with conquest, encouraged not only the acceptance of the new foreign rulers (and their different religion), but also paved the way for Muslim Turks to enter the Balkans and settle in areas with familiar Islamic institutions already in place.

A similar pattern thus emerges even in the small town of Drama, in a geographical position of little importance, strategically to the Ottomans. However, its position along the Sol Kol route to the larger towns of Timur-Hisar (Sidirokastro) and Selânik (Thessaloniki) still deemed it worthy of establishing a solid Ottoman presence. This was done not only through the administration of the town and some of its surrounding villages, but also through the building of one of the earliest mosques

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<sup>131</sup> H. İnalçık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest,” 103.

<sup>132</sup> H. İnalçık, “Stefan Duşandan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna,” in *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü* (Istanbul, 1953): 211-212. As referred to in H. İnalçık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest.”

<sup>133</sup> H. İnalçık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest,” 103. Also refer to pages 110-111 for the measures taken to compose a *tahrir defter*, given in great detail step-by-step in these pages.

<sup>134</sup> For a full chronological order of such constructions and their particular functions along the Via Egnatia during the conquest and their functions refer to H.W. Lowry Jr., *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350-1550*. In particular Chapters I and II, pages 16-106.

in Eastern Macedonia in today's Greece. Initially, conquest was followed by the building of new establishments, however, by the 15<sup>th</sup> century; Ottoman practice changed considerably, where leading Christian sanctuaries in several conquered towns began to be converted to Mosques.<sup>135</sup> Thus the building of a new mosque followed 14<sup>th</sup> century practice, showing Drama to be a part of this earlier pattern.

The mosque in Drama, now thought to be the modern-day church of Agios Nikolaos, was constructed in the center of the city's marketplace, and appears to be one of the oldest surviving Ottoman imperial mosques. According to Lowry, through a description of it by the traveller Evliya Çelebi, the Yıldırım Bâyezîd Cami'i<sup>136</sup> was constructed ca. 1389-1402 and endowed by Sultân Yıldırım Bâyezîd, rather than any of the March lords (*uc beyler*) or grand viziers part of the conquest. Thus showing that even in a small town, such as Drama, not only was state presence clearly presented through administration, but also through a mosque endowed by the Sultan himself.

By the time of the oldest extant *defter* covering Drama,<sup>137</sup> there is also a clear administrative presence in the town. The construction of the mosque validates the idea that directly after conquest, the Ottomans put into place the infrastructure that would allow for Muslims to follow. Therefore by 1464 we have a Muslim quarter already registered in Drama with 54 adult male-headed *hanes* (households) and 6

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<sup>135</sup> H.W. Lowry Jr., "An Unknown Fourteenth Century Sultanic Mosque in the Macedonian City of Drama: The Yıldırım Bâyezîd Câmî'i," in *Monuments, Patrons, Contexts: Papers On Ottoman Europe Presented to Machiel Kiel* (Leiden, Nedelands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2010), 22. According to Lowry there are 3 mosques in Drama which remain *in situ* until the present day and other numerous Ottoman era structures surviving in the city as well. (16) Refer to entire article for evidence provided as to why this mosque was built during this time period and endowed by the Sultan himself.

<sup>136</sup> Also known as the Sultân Bâyezîd Câmî'i, the Câmî-i Aflk (Ancient Mosque), the Eski Câmî'i (Old Mosque or as the Çarşı Câmî'i (Marketplace Mosque). H.W. Lowry Jr., "An Unknown Fourteenth Century Sultanic Mosque in the Macedonian City of Drama: The Yıldırım Bâyezîd Câmî'i," 16.

<sup>137</sup> Refer to TD3 from 1464-65.

*bives* (widow-headed households).<sup>138</sup> Thirteen years later in 1478 this number had grown to 69 *hanes* with an additional 12 households headed by widows. Thus an obvious Muslim environment can be noted, although in both *defters*, the Christian community was more than double that of the Muslims, comprising of several Christian quarters as compared to the single Muslim one.

Despite this disparity between Christian and Muslim households, it is obvious that ‘Ottomanization’ had already taken hold in Drama from the time of its conquest somewhere around the later 14<sup>th</sup> century. Not only did the Ottomans endow what was at best a small town, with a monumental mosque built by a sultan, administratively there was also the presence of an *imam* in the Muslim quarter, several scribes and law official, representing the administration. This of course is in keeping with the registration process. Drama became an administrative centre, and the only place listed in TD7 to have a Muslim quarter, with an imperial mosque and eventually other Ottomans structures by the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>139</sup> Conquest here clearly shows evidence of immediate ‘Ottomanization’ of the territory, which inevitably led to an influx of a number of colonizers and perhaps even spurred the spread of Islam through the town and its surrounding region. Therefore, in contrast to the slow administration of the adjacent mountainous areas, Drama itself and some surrounding villages in the plains followed the traditional pattern of conquest, resulting in the relatively quick colonization and eventual spread of Islam.

The simultaneous development of conquest and Ottomanization thus paved the way for one of the most important informers of Islam to enter the Balkans, the Turkish-Muslim colonizers who settled in various towns and areas. Contrary to some

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<sup>138</sup> TD3, 489.

<sup>139</sup> For further construction of Ottoman mosques and *imârets*, see H.W. Lowry Jr., *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350-1550: The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*.

arguments that the Ottomans and those who followed them into the Balkans were in essence nomadic, the *defters*, in fact propose a very different picture.<sup>140</sup> A study of the naming patterns or customs<sup>141</sup> of the Muslims in both towns and rural areas, under specific cultivation (such as rice and salt production), determine that most of the Muslims were of Anatolian origin. The proper or personal names of those in towns also generally list the occupation of the population confirming that they were colonizers engaged in various activities, a continuation of those performed while still living in Anatolia.<sup>142</sup> Here we find town-dwellers with various professions or specialties, Muslims engaged in animal husbandry and agriculturalists, painting a colourful and markedly different picture, in juxtaposition to the idea of them being simple nomads wandering through the Balkans.

Although there is some debate as to how these colonizers entered the Balkans, the military-administrative matter of the *timar* system confirms not only their existence but at times the official support from the centre for their settlement.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> See R.P. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, 1983) in which Lindner argues that essentially the origins of the first Ottoman rulers were nomadic, leading to his idea of going from ‘the tent to the palace’, which in turn led the way for other scholars to also argue the nomadic origins of the Ottomans. However, many scholars counter this argument, while my study of TD7 shows many skilled workers as well as merchants settled along the Aegean Coast and in the town of Drama. See C. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* and H.W. Lowry Jr., *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003) for arguments against Linder.

<sup>141</sup> The system of names encompasses both Muslim (Qu’ranic/Biblical, such as Muhammed/Mehmed, Ahmed, Ali, Hasan and Huseyn as well as Ibrahim, Ismail, Yusuf, etc. and mystical Arabic names, such as Abdhullah, Adu’l-Jelil, Abdu’l-hamid, etc.) names and also pre-Islamic Turkic pagan names, (Bazarlu, Kaya, Kurd, Karaca, Saruca, Timur, etc.), including traditional Persian names (such as Hamza, Pervane, etc.) where roughly fifty percent from each group of names appears among the Muslims in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, compare with E. Radushev, *Pomatsite* [The Pomaks], Vol. (Sofia: St. Cyril and Methodius National Library Oriental Department, 2008), 341-343. This system prevails as the representative of Islam in the Balkans, despite the heavy Turkish linguistic influence.

<sup>142</sup> Occupations listed derive from Arabic, Persian and Turkish origin; therefore it is definite that they came to continue their previous occupations. Some include: *dükkandâr* (shopkeeper), *hiyat* (tailor), *cullah* (weaver), *pabuçci* (shoemaker), *debbağ* (leather tanner), *saraç* (leather worker, saddler), *bozacı* (boza maker), *eşekci* (donkey driver), etc.

<sup>143</sup> Compare Ö. Lütfi Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir Iskan ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler: İstila Devrinin Kolonizatör Türk Değişleri ve Vakfiyeleri,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942) as described in S. Deringil, “‘There is no Compulsion in Religion’: On Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire: 1839-1856,” in *The Ottomans, the Turks, and World Power Politics: Collected Studies* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2000) and H. İnalcık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest.”

Whether through spontaneous colonization spurred by the stories of the ‘fertile lands’<sup>144</sup> of the Balkans or through state sponsored forced colonization (*sürgün*), the impact of the colonizers is of great value in terms of understanding the spread of Islam in the region. These colonizers, whether migrating before, during or after conquest, can be categorized in many ways. With the help of the registers, it is clear that Drama and its adjacent territories were primarily settled with what can loosely be termed three types of groups. The first falls under the category of agriculturists or ‘specialist’ groups, such as salt and rice producers, followed by those who settled in urban areas practicing certain crafts and finally the nomads and their practice of animal husbandry. The settlement or movement of each of these groups helps to determine the changes that emerged after their appearance in the Balkans, affecting the demographic and ethno-religious processes which occurred in the area.

## **2.2 Ottoman Colonization of the Region of *Via Egnatia***

The character of Turkish-Muslim colonization is important to explore in order to reveal possible interaction between groups of people from Anatolia and the local Christian population. Of particular interest are entire groups under the leadership of a ‘captain’ or *re’is* who settled along the Aegean coast near the mouth of the Mesta as both salt and rice producers. Developed areas for salt mining had in fact existed along the Black, Marmara, Mediterranean and Aegean Sea coasts since ancient times, and required the ability to use specific techniques and skills.<sup>145</sup> These techniques, in many cases were passed on from father to son or sons and involved the

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<sup>144</sup> Compare Neşri Cihannûmâ (ed. Unat-Köymen:1987).

<sup>145</sup> E. Radushev. “Das “belagerte” Gebirge,” 34.



organization of guild-like communities, called *cema'ats*. Within the first pages of the late fifteenth century register, examples of such organized communities can be found. At least two salt producing, or *tuzcu*, *cema'ats* are listed, with their captains who hold sultanic *fermans* or decrees allowing them to settle in the region which administratively belonged to the district of Yenice-i Karasu.<sup>146</sup> Furthermore, these salt producers were not considered as *re'aya* or tax-paying peasants, and thus were not subjected to the same kind of taxes as the rest of the population. They also most likely practiced salt mining previously along the Anatolian Sea coast, and thus after migrating to the Aegean coast continued in the same trade.

In 1478, this scenario can be found in the register, not only through the description of the Sultanic decree and the organization of the *cema'at*, but also through a study of the names of the Muslims. Owing to the listing of predominantly pre-Islamic names such as Durmuş, Köpek, Deniz Bazarlı, Turgut, etc.,<sup>147</sup> it becomes clear that this group were previously salt producers, of Turkmen origin, who migrated from somewhere in Anatolia. Due to the importance of salt in general, not only for the daily nutrition of people, but also for the development of traditional economic branches such as animal breeding, leather working, dye works, metallurgy and others, we further find that not only were there Muslims involved in salt mining, but also Christians. In the same area that these colonizers are listed, a similar organization of local salt producers is also listed around the mouth of the Mesta, showing a pre-Ottoman existence of this specialized production in the area. Thus, after the conquest, these new producers were able to insert themselves into the local economy, with the backing of the state, leading to the incorporation of foreign elements into the ethno-religious *milieu*.

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<sup>146</sup> TD7, 10-12.

<sup>147</sup> TD7, 10.

The interaction of Christians and Muslims over a common mode of production resulted in placing the Muslims into the role of informers of a new religion. The physical presence of Islam in the form of these early colonizers led to the exposure of Christians to Islam, initially informing them of it and in turn promoting its spread. This influence resulted in a preliminary adoption of the new religion among some of the local salt producers. By 1478, in the village of Tuzcu,<sup>148</sup> for example, among 59 *hanes* there are two converts listed, evident by being recorded as the ‘sons of Abdullah’,<sup>149</sup> one convert recorded with his non-convert name, Michal son of Rado and six slaves, freed upon their conversion. The names chosen by the converts also reflect those prevalent among the salt-producing Muslims demonstrating the extent of the colonizers’ influence and the knowledge they passed on.

A similar pattern of colonization can be observed among the rice-producing Muslims located in the same region. Rice was a basic ingredient in the Ottoman diet, where large amounts were consumed in *tekkes* and *zaviyes* as well as royal palaces, stimulating rice growing under state control.<sup>150</sup> Therefore, although previously an agricultural novelty in the Balkans, after the conquest, the state extended rice growing into the Peninsula and allowed organized groups of peasants to establish themselves as rice growing cultivators. The organization of these groups (again *cema’ats*), was similar to that of the salt producers, with a *re’is* leading a group of

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<sup>148</sup> TD7, 10-11.

<sup>149</sup> It is commonly accepted among scholars that ‘*veled-i Abdullah*’, or ‘son of God’, was the indicator of a new Muslim among the group listed. See H.W. Lowry Jr., “Changes in Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radilofo,” 172 or E. Radushev. “Das “belagerte” Gebirge,” 33.

<sup>150</sup> H. İnalcık, “Rice Cultivation and the *Celtukci-Reaya* System in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), Chapter VI, 113.

Muslims in a guild-type community, which enjoyed special privileges (such as certain tax exemptions) guaranteed by a Sultan's decree.<sup>151</sup>

A look at the same register confirms this development with the settlement of a *cema'at* of *çeltükçi* (rice producers), under the leaders, two brothers Halil and İbrahim who, similarly to the salt producers have a Sultan's *ferman* in their hands.<sup>152</sup> This decree allowed them to settle in the area and occupy themselves with rice farming 'like their fathers',<sup>153</sup> further demonstrating their Anatolian cultivating origins. These colonizers, totaling 29 *hanes* and 2 *mücerreds* (bachelors)<sup>154</sup> were not only among the first to grow rice in the region, but also became informers of both rice cultivation and eventually of Islam in the area. Of particular importance is the fact that neither the rice nor salt producers fall into the category of nomads or wandering shepherds. The coastal plains offered a climatic and geographically sound environment for the cultivation and production of these two commodities. The specialization required for this and the indication in the register that these groups participated in the same activities in Anatolia 'as their fathers' clearly demonstrates that these colonizers were organized, skilled farmers. This distinction and organization is important as it facilitated the contact of Muslims with the local population to a daily degree, something that would not have been possible had these been simply nomads.

A similar observation can be made of the colonizers who settled in towns, also with specific skills and organized in this case into *mahalles* or quarters, by the new Muslim local authorities. Those who settled in towns generally performed a particular trade, rather than participating in any form of agriculture outside of the

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 98-100. These pages explain the organization of the rice-producing groups and how the state supported them.

<sup>152</sup> TD7, 12.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 12.

area. The town of Drama, in the late fifteenth century can be taken as a representative of this typical Ottoman arrangement in towns and cities. In the 1478 register, a Muslim quarter is listed among the *mahalles* of the town. It is evident that those listed in this quarter are Anatolian colonizers due to the method used by the authorities to list them in the register. Through various case studies of different towns and cities,<sup>155</sup> it has been demonstrated that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Ottoman administrative practice generally listed the local Christian population using their proper name, followed by either their patronymic or family name. For newcomers, however, the registers provide the proper name followed by the occupation or place of origin of the newly settled person.<sup>156</sup> This was most likely done in order to be able to identify new comers to the town, and thus gives a fairly accurate picture of what kind of settlers migrated towards the newly conquered urban areas in the Balkans.

In the town of Drama, a well-established Muslim population appears by 1464-65, recorded as consisting of 54 Muslim *hanes*, with another 6 run by widows. By comparison there were 153 Christian *hanes*, 24 bachelors and 92 widow-headed households during this time.<sup>157</sup> Although a substantial Muslim presence existed, just after the middle of the century, the number of Christian households exceeded that of the Muslim ones. At this time the *defter* did not list any separate quarters for its

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<sup>155</sup> See the studies of H.W. Lowry Jr., "Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selanik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478," and "Changes in Fifteenth Century Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radilofo," both in *Studies in Defterology* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1992), Chapters IV, pp. 65-69 and IX, pp. 165-178.

<sup>156</sup> H.W. Lowry Jr., "Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selanik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478," 89. According to Lowry this practice stems from the basic purpose of listing the names of the tax-payers in the first place: ease of identification. For among the residents of a well-established quarter referring to someone as Mehmed son of Mustafa served as a sufficient means of identification, as all the neighbours knew who was being indicated. However in a community composed of new settlers from various regions, identifying someone as Mehmed the son of Mustafa was simply not adequate. If on the other hand, Mehmed is identified as Mehmed the shoemakers, or Mehmed from Anatolia, the chances of his being recognized increase.

<sup>157</sup> TD3, 484-9.

Christian or Muslim inhabitants. In keeping with the procedure of registering villages, the population of the town was simply divided under the headings of *Gebr* (unbeliever) and Muslims. However, just over a decade later the entire town, relatively small compared to others along the *Via Egnatia*, was organized into both Muslim and Christian *mahalles* (quarters). In this short period, the development of the Ottoman administrative process can also be observed, increasing in its control and presence in the town.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Drama's Muslim population had increased from 54 to 69 *hanes* and now also included some bachelors (17) and an increased number of widow-headed households (12).<sup>158</sup> Despite this increase, the Christian population remained in the majority with 120 *hanes*, 12 bachelors and 61 widow-headed households.<sup>159</sup> Although there is a slight decrease in the Christian population compared to thirteen years earlier, the register does not indicate that this decrease was primarily a result of conversion. Rather one may speculate that perhaps the death rate increased among the town-dwellers or migration to other villages may have occurred. In contrast, perhaps the Muslim population grew either naturally or was supplemented by more migrants. In any case, there is an increase in the number of Muslims households, though they continued to remain in the minority, and all were now settled in one quarter in the town, named the *mahalle-i mescit*, headed by an *imam*. In contrast, the register reveals 6 Christian quarters, each headed by a priest who would have been familiar with the constituents living in his area of the town. This also reveals a strong Orthodox Christian religious infrastructure in the town, with a number of priests, despite the relatively small population residing there.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> TD7, 24-27. Compare Appendix I.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 24-27.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 25-27 list the Christian quarters in the register. Despite a number of priests registered, there is no indication of how many (if any) churches existed in Drama at the time. No current study mentions

Clearly the *defter* shows a developed and well preserved Orthodox religious network within the town, which under Ottoman rule, remained in the form of both well-organized Christian and Muslim communities.<sup>161</sup>

The register also includes information concerning an organized market (*bazar*) which is revealed through the taxes collected for the renting of lots in the bazar and a market tax for selling goods.<sup>162</sup> This is important for two reasons: it further solidifies the fact that most of the urban population was engaged in craftsmanship and trade, either as producers or merchants and that both the Christian and Muslim population interacted with each other through similar modes of production. As noted before, the fact that newcomers were registered by their professions is a clear indication of the possible urban roots of colonizers from Anatolia. The knowledge needed in order to participate in a particular trade<sup>163</sup> would have been passed down from father to son or from master to apprentice and required years of training, thus again negating any idea that colonizers who settled in urban areas were of nomadic origin. Furthermore, the names of these colonizers, continues to indicate their Anatolian origin. Once again, such as among the salt and rice producers, many of these names are of both pre-Islamic/Turkic and Qur'anic origin and the professions are also usually listed in Ottoman Turkish. This differs sometimes among the Christians, who generally are not listed with their trades, as they are well known amongst each other and do not need to be referred to by their professions in order to distinguish themselves. However, at times the authorities did in fact note the professions of some Christians and did so using the Slavic variant of

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these pre-Ottoman structures either, leading us to speculate as to the existence of a physical presence of Christianity in the form of churches.

<sup>161</sup> E. Radushev. "Das "belagerte" Gebirge," 39.

<sup>162</sup> TD7, 27.

<sup>163</sup> Some of the trades or services listed in TD7 (pg. 24) include: *imam*, *naib* (scribe), *dükkandâr* (shopkeeper), *hiyat* (tailor), *cullah* (weaver), *pabuçci* (shoemaker), *debbağ* (leather tanner), *saraç* (leather worker, saddler), *bozacı* (boza maker), *eşekci* (donkey driver), *bakkal* (shopkeeper/grocer), *tuzcu* (salt producer/seller), *serbunî* [*sabuni*] (soap producer), etc. Compare Appendix I.

the profession, rather than the Turkish.<sup>164</sup> Drama therefore can be seen as a representative of the general pattern of other Ottoman towns with Muslim settlement.

Although Muslims and Christians are listed as being settled in separate quarters, these quarters did not encompass any sort of physical separation of the populace. The evidence of bazar taxes being exacted from the entire town-dwelling population (as they are listed as part of the taxes after all the inhabitants' names), shows evidence of daily interaction between all town dwellers. Furthermore, despite a very strong Orthodox Christian presence in Drama, by 1478 a few converts are listed as living in the Muslim *mahalle*. Although this number is quite low, about five or so, their convert origin is clear through the Slavic names of their fathers, indicating that the initial process for the spread of Islam had begun.

Along with converts within the town borders, the marketplace would have also been an important economic centre for those living in villages nearby. This interaction with the Muslims due to the use of the *bazar* could also have informed Christians in neighbouring villages about Islam. Therefore, the Muslims in the marketplace could have acted as informers, although admittedly at a lower level as interaction between those within the town and outside of it would have been different in frequency. The small amount of converts in the neighbouring villages near Drama, such as two or three in a village, supports the idea of limited exposure while at the same time providing an example of a possible origin for an initial spread of Islam in the surrounding region. Again, what is important to realize is the limited spread of Islam in both Drama and its neighbouring villages. At this time the number of settled Muslims is only half of the Christian population or includes only two or three

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<sup>164</sup> An example would be the listing of a blacksmith as *kovaç* instead of the Turkish variant of *çilingirn*. For further information concerning the recording of Christians in towns and their professions see in particular H. W. Lowry Jr., "Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selanik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478," 65-99.

converts in an otherwise entirely Christian village. Yet the daily interaction between these skilled and settled colonists and the local population did spark an initial spread of Islam which was further promoted through the Ottoman organization (Ottomanization) of the town.

Colonization in the form of skilled migrant settlers has shown to have had a somewhat limited influence in terms of the initial stages of the spread of Islam near the end of the fifteenth century. Although the sources show some conversion among the local population, what is perhaps most surprising is the large presence of Muslims in the mountainous region as compared to the plains and coasts of the region. A close examination of the registers shows that many villages in this terrain reveals a much larger scale of conversion, at times resulting in either a Muslim majority or an entirely converted Muslim village. The influence of another group, the *yürüks* or nomads, arriving from Anatolia may account for an increased level in the spread of Islam following the conquest.

### **2.3 Transhumance and the coming of the *yürüks***

The migration of nomadic groups is in general a spontaneous act where the state has little to no control over the areas where such movement occurs. Due to this it is difficult to ascertain exactly when the first nomadic elements from Anatolia entered the Balkans, as they may have preceded the conquest itself. Despite the question of timing, it is evident that nomadic groups existed in the Peninsula after the conquest and that their influence on the local population is of particular importance.



The impact of these wandering shepherds was perhaps as equally important as the administrative one of the state.

The wandering element of these migrants, however, had to change as the mountainous terrain encountered in Rumeli was markedly different from that left behind in Anatolia. The Alp-like conditions of the Rhodopes and the subsequent difficult geography changed the natural nomadic ways of the *yürüks* into a transhumance way of life. Due to these restrictions, these wandering shepherds eventually followed two paths which began in the plains and took them up through the mountains and back, where winter and summer pastures emerged respectively. These paths put them in contact with many villages along the way, as well as with local transhumanist groups that had been using the terrain in such a way before the arrival of the Ottomans.

The contact of the *yürüks* with the Christian population is significant as this group of Muslim may have acted, though unintentionally, as some of the first informers of Islam from other Ottoman lands. This group would have had to have very specific relations with locals living in villages along their path up and down the mountain. They would have needed the cooperation of settled populations in allowing them to temporarily keep their flocks in an area near each village along their route. Since there were only two paths that were the easiest to take high into the mountains, the same villages were in contact with these wandering shepherds at least a few times a year. At the same time, the registers not only reveal the existence of transhumance through the taxes collected due to the renting of land called *yaylak* (summer pastures) and *kışlak* (winter pastures), but also reveal a different religious situation among the Christians. In the mountainous regions, in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century through the study of the 1478 register, there is no evidence of any Christian

Orthodox infrastructure, unlike that seen in the town of Drama or some of its surrounding villages. Even larger villages at this time do not have any priests listed as living among the population, which can lead to the speculation that perhaps the influence of the church or the lack therefore in this case, was another important aspect.

Contact with these semi-nomadic Muslims and their effect on the local population, in terms of the spread of Islam, can be followed through the registers as well. Initial conversion began in the villages that lay along the path from the winter pastures in the south to the summer pastures located in the highest points of the mountains, where no other settlement existed. Historians have not only been able to determine the two main routes taken by these shepherds, but also the exact figures of Muslims and Christians in the villages located along these routes, by the 1460s.<sup>165</sup> Access to the winter pastures, located past the Nevrokop valley, in the western part of the mountains began either from the town of Drama or the mouth of the Mesta River in the Yenice-i Karasu region.<sup>166</sup>

The easiest path to follow would have been along this river beginning in the Yenice-i Karasu basin and crossing over the Çeç region with a number of villages on both sides of the river both encountered and used as stopping points along the way.<sup>167</sup> From Çeç onwards, some examples can be found showing the impact that contact with these Muslims may have had on the local population. The first village lying along this route after the Çeç region was Rakishten listed as having 60 Christian households and 1 convert.<sup>168</sup> The following villages that lay on the river are then

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<sup>165</sup> See E. Radushev, *Pomatsite*, 344-46. Here both routes, as described above are determined in detail through the study of TD3 from 1464-65.

<sup>166</sup> For further information see M.T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yurukler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-i Fatihan*. (Istanbul, 1957), which gives detailed explanations concerning *yürüks* in the region.

<sup>167</sup> See Appendix F.

<sup>168</sup> E. Radushev, *Pomatsite*, 346.

encountered, passing around the Nevrokop valley into the Alpic regions of the mountains: Slashten listed as having 51 Christian *hanes* and 1 Muslim one and Valkosel with 65 Christian *hanes* and 1 Muslim one. At Valkosel, the path branched out into two parts, both leading to the same drainage basin where the summer pastured were located. The eastern path led away from the river and went directly to the Aplic region. The second part of the route continued to follow the right bank of the Mesta River. Following the short-cut around the valley to the winter pastures the next village the *yürüks* met was Hvostyane (Ostana) with 38 Christian *hanes* and 1 Muslim household, followed by Krushev with 16 Christian *hanes* and 1 Muslim. The following villages along the path were Girmen with 42 Christian *hanes* and 1 Muslim one, Fotovishta (Hotagošta) with 32 Christian *hanes* and 1 Muslim, and finally Danitsa with 31 Christian households and 2 Muslim *hanes*.<sup>169</sup> Therefore, by the mid-fifteenth century a very small-scale, yet initial conversion process began. A study of the Muslim households listed in the 1464-65 register reveals that these were of convert origin and that again most of their names stemmed from a Turkic-pagan/Mystical or *yürük* origin.<sup>170</sup> This possibly could have been a result of contact with the Muslim shepherds whose own Islam was less strictly representative of the orthodox variety, allowing for some speculation as to how and why Christians came to adopt non-Qur'anic names upon conversion.

A similar pattern of initial conversion and thus the spread of Islam along the path from summer to winter pastures can be seen when examining the route taken using the region around Drama and Siroz as a starting point. Here the shepherds moved through the mountainous pass of Gurecik, to the Zirnovo plain and from there towards the Nevrokop valley which led to the high winter pastures. In the vicinity of

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 346.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 340. Here a list is given of names from *yürük* origin, a pattern of naming that is observed also among some of the newly converted population in the mountains.

the Gurecik pass, we find the villages of Gorno Brodi with 132 Christian and 4 Muslim *hanes* and Libyahova, listed as having 80 Christian *hanes* and 4 Muslim converts.<sup>171</sup> Through the study of the names listed in the 1464-65 register it is clear that these Muslims are indeed converts. Most are listed as having fathers with Christian names indicating their recent conversion to Islam. In contrast, villages that also lay on the slopes of the mountains, yet not directly along the route used by the *yürüks*, are listed as having no Muslims among their population at all.<sup>172</sup> Once again, the influence of the Muslim shepherds on the local population along the route used to reach the summer pastures is similar to that of the villages located along the Mesta River valley path.

A short comparison of the population listed in the 1464-65 *defter* along the Drama/Siroz route reveals this situation again, although perhaps to a larger extent as the number of converts is slightly greater. After the two villages located after the Gurecik pass, the trail then continues northward and enters the valley of Nevrokop. Here two villages were located: Singarti with 122 Christian *hanes* and 7 converts to Islam and Sadovo listed as having 90 Christian *hanes* and 6 converts.<sup>173</sup> Once again, villages not directly on the route show no Muslims listed within their population. The next village that lay exactly on the path travelled was Musomishta listed as having 80 Christian *hanes* and 2 Muslims, which then led directly to the town of Nevrokop itself with 208 Christian *hanes* and 12 converts. The *yürüks* then passed through one more village, Banichan, which at this time is listed as having 18 Christian *hanes* and 1 convert, before entering the Alp-like region where the summer pastures were located.

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid., 344-345.

<sup>172</sup> See BOA TD3 for further information concerning villages in the Nevrokop region lying near the transhumance path with fully Christian populations.

<sup>173</sup> E. Radushev, *Pomatsite*, 345.

This process of transhumance along the Rhodope mountain range was as instrumental in the spread of Islam as the colonization and Ottomanization of the plains and coastal regions directly conquered by the Ottomans. Furthermore, this process after one or two centuries also could have led to the eventual sedentarization of some of the *yürük* population resulting in the formation of new villages with wholly Turkish-Muslim populations. These villages can be identified through their names, found in the registers, which were both Turkish in origin and with mystical properties attached to them in order to bring about good and plentiful harvests.<sup>174</sup> The *yürük* population and its contact with the local Christians placed these nomads into the role of informers of the new religion in areas which were not immediately under direct administrative control by the state. Through their contact with the Christians, these wandering shepherds became, in practice, the representatives of the religion, also introducing new ethnic elements into the Peninsula. Most importantly however, in regions where the geography not only made the region relatively unimportant in economic and administrative terms, this group of Muslim Turkmen became the representatives of the new power in the Balkans.

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<sup>174</sup> E. Radushev, "Das "belagerte" Gebirge," 38-39. For example villages named *Bereketlu* meaning 'with luck', given possibly to a new settlement in order to bring about some kind of good fortune in terms of personal prosperity based on a mystical belief in the naming system.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT**

In the previous chapter I attempted to map out the how the spread of Islam developed through the conquest and subsequent colonization, in various forms, of the Balkans. The foundations that were put in place by the Ottomans and other settlers from Anatolia, including the migration of Turkmen into the mountains, played a large role in the initial stages of conversion to Islam. Therefore the information revealed concerning the establishment of a Muslim presence in the Peninsula, in particular in the region around the town of Drama, provides the necessary background in order to enter the specific environment which will now be analyzed in the following pages. Through a detailed description and analysis of 25 out of 80 villages, recorded in the tax-register of 1478, chosen for their general representative value, I hope to reveal the ethno-religious composition of the region in that year, through the paradigm of conversion.<sup>175</sup>

These 25 villages have been chosen due to the characteristics they display, which are particular to the geographical regions they are located in.<sup>176</sup> They demonstrate different religious situations found in the mountains, along the high

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<sup>175</sup> TD7, 24-113.

<sup>176</sup> See Appendix D.

valley plains and also the low plains/coastal areas. Some villages, positioned around the town of Drama, further reflect the influence location had on their religious composition. The environment is found to have determined the local economy as well, perhaps affecting the pace of conversion. The contact with various Muslims, as indicated in the previous chapter, along with geographical elements and economic production, all together may be indicative of the religious characteristics displayed in the *kaza* of Drama at the end of the fifteenth century.

The purpose of conducting a case study based primarily on one particular register is to convincingly argue that voluntary or more accurately, self-conversion to Islam, began at an earlier time than previously suggested. Not only are there signs of an initial process under way in this region before that in any other area of the Balkans, but also in certain geographical spaces this process was well on its way towards completion. The territory, therefore, not only displays the development of conversion in its beginning stages, but also a more intense one in certain areas. This leads to another noteworthy observation, where the region becomes distinctively important due to its geography and the influence this had. In my opinion, topography played the role of a significant element in the process. The Rhodopes, in general, are a relatively small and purely mountainous region with a substantial settled population, dating back to antiquity. The highest point, located in the *kaza* of Nevrokop also held the town of Nevrokop, similar in its size and Muslim population to that of Drama. Between these two points however, the number of converts from the south to the north steadily increased, as will be discussed in detail.

The difficult terrain further reveals the importance of economy and the significance of production, which facilitated contact between Muslims and Christians. The plentiful agricultural production in the plains and the varied, yet

limited contact with Muslims led to the development of a different religious landscape. This is in stark contrast to the one found in the mountainous regions of the *kaza*. The plains and the mountains contained two different cultural universes in which the farmer and the nomad, the settles and the transhumance elements, co-existed. This type of relationship was not new during Ottoman times and its continued endurance maintained a way of life where these two lifestyles occurred in different areas, yet lived in parallel with each other with no direct economic competition or cultural influence. This is evident when considering the names of villages: those located in areas of low-mid altitudes have Slavic names whereas in highest altitudes, one can find villages of Turkish origin. Despite this divergent way of life, transhumanists inevitably had interacted with local Christians in the mountains; however, what must be considered is the degree of influence this contact initiated. Different levels of exposure and exchange between Muslims and Christians developed different trends that changed the religious composition of the region. Therefore, the *kaza* of Drama, particularly the mountainous area demonstrates some interesting patterns related to the conversion of the local population.

After an analysis of the villages listed in the 1478 tax-register, a clear geography of conversion becomes evident, leading to a division of the territory into three distinct units. The general religious situation in each region is represented by various stages in the process. Conversion as a religious phenomenon therefore occurred primarily in the eastern most section, which encompasses the south-western Rhodopes. The central section contains the low-lands and plains to the west of the mountains, where the majority of villages are located near the town of Drama, revealing a complex and varied religious situation. While the western most, and third section of the *kaza*, reflects an economic and religious character almost exactly



opposite to that of the mountainous eastern part.<sup>177</sup> This division represents areas with villages consisting of a majority or totally converted population in the eastern, mountainous portion. In the central part, villages contain only a few converts within a Christian majority. Finally, in the western part, there are some villages with no Muslims recorded at all in the register. A general pattern can therefore be detected where conversion to Islam was primarily centred in the east, lessening in its intensity throughout the central parts of the region and finally petering out completely in the western areas.<sup>178</sup> An analysis of the 1478 register will help to provide an explanation as to why and how this picture emerged. The villages selected will represent this trend in extensive detail outlining how the above mentioned factors, when considered together, coalesced into the resulting situation: a majority of Muslim converts in the mountainous, economically and administratively isolated areas in contrast to the sporadic or no conversion in the state-integrated, prosperous lower and coastal plains.

In order to be able to comparatively measure the impact of conversion between different villages, they must also be further sub-divided according to their size. To simply state that a village has a convert majority or an entire population of converts does not reveal the pace of conversion that took place. Rather by comparing like-size villages, not only can the intensity of conversion be more accurately compared, but also possible reasons for why and how this conversion occurred in some places and not others. The 25 villages in my case study can be grouped into three types: small, medium and large. Small villages contain at their maximum 20 *hanes* or less, medium-sized ones are between 20 and 60 households, while large villages are listed

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<sup>177</sup> See Appendix G.

<sup>178</sup> See Appendix H for full list of villages analyzed for this case study, listed alphabetically by region for the number of Muslim *hanes*, *mücerreds* and *bives* as well as Christian *hanes*, *mücerreds* and *bives* in each village.

as having more than 60 *hanes*.<sup>179</sup> These villages show that of the ten located in the eastern part of the region, the majority contain medium-sized populations. (see Table 1).

| Size of Village | Large | Medium | Small |
|-----------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Eastern Section | 0     | 7      | 3     |
| Central Section | 4     | 3      | 2     |
| Western Section | 3     | 3      | 0     |

*Table 1: Division of 25 villages in the kaza of Drama in 1478 according to their size.*

The medium-sized villages are therefore comparable to the ones in the central and western parts where there are others with similar population sizes. What will be analyzed is whether the religious composition of these villages is also comparable. As we will see, this is not the case at all. Instead, a trend emerges where villages located in the east contained a larger convert population than in the central or western parts. Also of particular note is the fact that the majority of large-sized villages are located in the plain areas, which I have found to be mostly in the central and western regions. On the other hand, high in the mountains, the majority of villages have populations between 20 and 60 *hanes*. As conversion appears to be concentrated in the eastern region, according to *Table 1*, small to medium-sized villages generally consisted of converts. Larger villages appear to have contained significantly less numbers of Muslims. Therefore *Table 1* reveals that conversion decreased as one moved to the central and western regions of the *kaza*, where villages sizes generally to increased.

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<sup>179</sup> See Ts. Georgieva. *Prostranstvo i Prostranstva na Bulgarite (XV-XVII v.)*. (Sofia: 1999), 70-78.

Each of the 25 villages can be further sub-divided based on the religious configuration found there. This is possible due to the recorded total number of Muslim and Christian households in each village. As each male of taxable age appears in the register, the actual number of male converts can be determined. This allows for the calculation of the amount of male converts in each village in 1478 and reveals a trend where the emergence of Islam is identified to be concentrated in the eastern section (See Table 2).

| <b>Location of Village</b> | <b>Muslim</b> | <b>Muslim Majority</b> | <b>Christian Majority</b> | <b>Christian</b> |
|----------------------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| <b>Eastern Section</b>     | 3             | 4                      | 3                         | 0                |
| <b>Central Section</b>     | 0             | 0                      | 6                         | 3                |
| <b>Western Section</b>     | 0             | 0                      | 2                         | 4                |

*Table 2: Religious composition of 25 villages in 1478 in the kaza of Drama*

Of particular interest here is the fact that all the Muslims in the eastern region are from local origin. Due to the way they are listed in the register it is possible to determine that not long before, these villages contained mostly Christians. I will attempt to convincingly argue that these Muslims were in fact the pioneers of conversion in the area. Villages with no Muslims residing within them are ones where pre-Ottoman Christians continued to exist under the Ottoman regime, even almost a century after their conquest. Mixed-villages on the other hand, present various religious situations that classify a place as either a space with a Muslim or Christian majority. These situations can indicate a span of villages with either a handful of Muslims or Christians, or with an almost equal population of each. This large range within mixed-villages presents different stages in the conversion process.

The final outcome of the process, however, can realistically result in two different options: either a village remains with a Christian-majority, or in the following years, eventually, becomes entirely Muslim. Through a comparison of subsequent registrations, it is evident that Muslim-majority villages, which tend to be located in the mountains, do not remain with this religious composition for long. *Table 2* reflects the general situation in the register, where Muslim-majority villages are all located in the eastern region, while those located in the central or western sections show the Muslim population to be very low. Therefore, this relatively small place reflects a complex religious situation that reveals a particular trend in the religious composition and location of its villages.

### **3.1 Eastern Section of the *kaza* of Drama**

The first area this study will focus on is the north-eastern part of the *kaza* of Drama, the primarily mountainous terrain of the Rhodopes.<sup>180</sup> Here the selection of villages, with a total of ten included in the general study, will be primarily focused on five which are representative of the overall situation found in the region. These particular villages also reflect how several elements coalesced together and led to an area with a great number of converts. Of these five, two Muslim majority villages, a Christian majority village and two entirely Muslim convert villages will be examined in detail. These villages will show the different stages of the process of conversion in the mountains revealing the intensity and influence of Islam here in comparison to other spaces in the entire Balkan Peninsula.

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<sup>180</sup> Appendix G.

The study will begin with an analysis of certain villages starting with the eastern region of the *kaza*, followed by the central and western regions. Out of the ten villages listed in the 1478 register that can be assigned to the eastern, mountainous area, five particular villages have been chosen to represent the area in general.<sup>181</sup> Nine out of the ten villages are officially located in a region known as Çeç (*Çeç bölgesi*), on the eastern banks of the Mesta River. During the Ottoman period the Çeç Region was administratively part of both the *kazas* of Drama and Nevrokop. Although today only a small southern portion located in modern-day Greece is still known as Çeç, the mountainous terrain directly below was also part of this region during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The most northern part of Çeç is located in the Nevrokop district, dividing the region into Nevrokop Çeç and Drama Çeç. Therefore today, most of this region is located in Bulgaria and encompasses the northernmost part of the eastern Rhodope Mountains.<sup>182</sup> The Nevrokop basin located in this region has been studied in depth, with a focus on the ethno-religious and demographic situation during Ottoman times, which led to the emergence of today's Pomak population.<sup>183</sup> However, the tax-register of 1478 reveals that in the religious environment further south, in the western Rhodopes, the process of conversion began earlier and was greater in its intensity at this time than further north in Nevrokop. This relatively small region has focused the attention of many historiographical schools and has become one of the most historically important regions due to the existence of the Pomaks.<sup>184</sup> Each scholar, therefore, attempts to explain how the area

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<sup>181</sup> Compare Appendix D with Appendix H.

<sup>182</sup> This geographical position is from the point of observation of Drama. In Greece the Çeç region is located along the Mesta valley up down to the village of Buk, where the modern-day Pomak villages are located on the right bank of the river. In the western direction the area is confined by the Dospat River and in the eastern and northeastern direction it is separated by the Kruscha Mountains.

<sup>183</sup> See E. Radushev. *Pomatsite* [The Pomaks], Vol.1 (Sofia: St. Cyril and Methodius National Library Oriental Department, 2008) and various other articles.

<sup>184</sup> See Chapter 1, page 22 where some studies on the ideas concerning the Pomaks' origins are discussed in the footnotes.

gained such a large population that converted to Islam. The analysis of villages located in the Drama portion of Çeç is therefore both representative and explanatory of the historical and fifteenth century process of conversion.

Although there has been much speculation as to the origin of the name of the region,<sup>185</sup> it is clear in both the late fifteenth and also later in the early sixteenth century that this particular part of the Rhodopes was referred to as Çeç. Simultaneously the *defters* also list a medium-sized village of the same name. Unfortunately, the exact location of the village is unknown to scholars today. Although many villages, as late as 1530, were recorded as belonging to the *kaza* of Drama and were found in the Çeç region, only through the work of scholars have these villages been physically located.<sup>186</sup> There are many that are known to have been in to the region, yet it is impossible to determine exactly where, due to, for example, the change of their names, particularly in the twentieth century by the Greek and Bulgarian nations. Despite this gap in information, the village of Çeç is located somewhere near the other villages listed in the register that belong to this

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<sup>185</sup> During the last hundred to two hundred years various theories have emerged as to the origin of the name of the region, due to the fact that the Pomaks occupy the Bulgarian and Greek Çeç region. One such theory attempts to find a connection to the Caucasian Chechens even. The village of Çeç may either have taken its name from the region, or given its name to it. In any case, the origin of the name continues to remain a mystery for scholars. For the theory concerning the Caucasian Chechens see P. Deliradev *Rodopite Kato Selishtna Oblast i Planinska Sistema*. (Sofia: 1987), 55, as referred to and discussed by E. Radushev in “Das “belagerte” Gebirge” [The “besieged” Mountain], in *Bulgarian Historical Review*. Translated by Maciej Urbaniak. Vol. 3, No. 4 (2005), 42.

<sup>186</sup> The published version of the *icmal* or synoptic 1530 *defter*, provides both a map of the area as well as the location of many of the villages listed in the register. In the index, many of these villages are listed as belonging to the administrative unit of Drama, Çeç. However, there are many villages that although listed as such in the index, do not appear on the map that was published along with the register. This includes the village of Çeç itself. Therefore, although we know that the village of Çeç was located in the region of Çeç, the exact location eludes us. This also includes some other villages listed in the register, some of which are part of my study. The villages of Zuplane, Momçil, Brodilova and Çeç are all listed as part of the region of Çeç although their exact location continues to be a mystery. See 167 *Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri (973/1530)*, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Vol. 1 (Ankara, 2001). Due to mass deportations and re-naming the same problems occurred in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in both Greece and Bulgaria.

region, most likely near or around the village of Divoçane.<sup>187</sup> This puts Çeç, not only along the Mesta River, but also near one of its tributaries, lying along the transhumance path used by the *yürüks* to reach the high mountain summer pastures.

In regards to the location of the other villages in my study, once again the problem of finding their geographic positions emerges. Among the ten villages chosen, I have been unable to locate four of them with certainty, including the village of Çeç, although all are listed as belonging to the Çeç Region.<sup>188</sup> Another two villages in contrast, Radibošte and Divoçane, most likely had their names slightly changed over the centuries.<sup>189</sup> Through the consultation of various maps of the region I have been able to determine that these are the original names of these villages, later changing slightly either due to the way they were recorded by Ottoman authorities or purposely as part of Greek state policy.<sup>190</sup> In reference to Çeç specifically, by the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it disappears from subsequent tax-registers. This is not an anomaly however, as other villages also vanished while new ones continued to be added. Çeç, however, in comparison was a fairly large village and its disappearance may have occurred for several reasons, perhaps due to its large Muslim population, the name was changed from its Slavic origin to a Turkish one. Another possibility is

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<sup>187</sup> See TD7, pp. 60-67 and compare with Appendix D & E. Some scholars have placed the village further north, near Radibošte/Radiviş, however after studying the register, I have placed it further south due to the fact that villages listed after it follow a northern route. Although this is not necessarily a reliable method of locating the village, as the villages recorded in other areas at times also do not follow any particular path or pattern, but rather they are listed according to the *timar* that they belong to. In this case, due to the geography, I believe the recording of villages followed a particular route as the terrain would have blocked any other kind of round-about visits to villages for the purpose of recording the population. In comparison see E. Radushev. “Das “belagerte” Gebirge,” 42.

<sup>188</sup> Compare with Appendix D, where village with questionable location are marked with a question mark next to them on the map, also see index in *167 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri (973/1530)*.

<sup>189</sup> Some incarnation of Radibošte include Radiviş/Radiboş; Divoçane appears to have been changed or distorted in later years as Diviçane or Delopçani in the registers.

<sup>190</sup> Compare in *167 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri (973/1530)*, 139 and *Mübadele Öncesi ve Sonrası Eski ve Yeni Adları ile Kuzey Yunanistan Yer Adları Atlas* [Atlas of Old and New Toponyms of Norther Greece: Before and After the Population Exchange]. Compiled by Sefer Güvenç (Istanbul, 2010), 22-23.

that the village merged with a neighbouring village also inhabited by a large convert population. Unfortunately, once again the available material does not provide the scholar with a concrete answer, leaving only the possibility of speculation. A name change, as well as the disappearance of a village in general<sup>191</sup> in this region of the Balkans, was very common. What continues to be of value is the fact that the village of Çeç existed in 1478 and is representative of an overall process developing in the Rhodope Mountains.

As a starting point, through the analysis of the village of Çeç, I hope to explain and lay out the depth or intensity of conversion to Islam in this part of the *kaza* of Drama. The register provides all the data needed in order to demonstrate Islamization as a process that was not the result of terroristic, violent actions on the part of the Ottoman authorities. In 1478, Çeç had reached a level of conversion that was at its core complete. The entire village of 53 *hanes* and 18 *mücerreds* had by this time converted to Islam, with the apparent exception of two men, named Dobrenik and Dimitri.<sup>192</sup> Yet even these two remnants of Christianity, are not only listed along with the rest of the population under the heading “*Müslim*”, but Dimitri is also listed as being the “son of God’s servant” (*veled-i Abdullah*), marking his conversion to Islam.<sup>193</sup> What is odd is the fact that he had not adopted a new Islamic name and the fact that the word “*gebr*” (unbeliever) is noted in the margin next to it. The same note was recorded next to Dobrenik, the brother of a certain Karaca, a new convert to Islam. The fact that both these men were listed under the Muslim population, instead of under a *Gebr* heading, and that one was already named *veled-i Abdullah*, implies

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<sup>191</sup> Compare M. Kiel, “İzladi/Zlatitsa. Population Changes, Colonization and Islamization in a Bulgarian Mountain Canton, 15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries,” in *Studia in Honorem Professoris Verae Mutařčieva* (Sofia: Amicitia Publishing House, 2001): 175-187.

<sup>192</sup> TD7, 60. Appendix J.

<sup>193</sup> See in particular page 15, footnote 43 above. And E. Radushev. “The Spread of Islam in the Ottoman Balkans: Revisiting Bulliet’s Method On Religious Conversion,” in *Oriental Archive* Vol. 78 (2010), 368.



that both had already expressed an intention to convert and had simply not yet publicly chosen a new Islamic name. Since, in other cases in the register, even two or three Christians are usually written under a separate *Gebr* heading, the fact that this was not done so for the village of Çeç suggests that the village had completed the process of conversion and these two men were, according to Bulliet's technique, "laggards" in the last stages of this development.<sup>194</sup>

This further highlights the importance of Çeç as it allows the scholar to become a direct witness to the process of conversion to Islam. The names of these two men and of the non-Islamic names of some new converts, demonstrate who these people were in religious and ethnic terms. The population of the village was therefore initially of Slavic Christian origin, which adopted a new religion. Not only are converts noted through the patronymic of *veled-i Abdullah*,<sup>195</sup> but it is also possible to determine a convert due to the Slavic name of their father. For example, I have found some Muslims whose fathers had Slavic names, such as Ali *veled-i* (son of) Kosil, Saruca *veled-i* Dimitri and Uğurlu *veled-i* Radoslav.<sup>196</sup> These, along with those whose patronymics are *Abdullah*, I consider to be first generation converts, as their fathers were clearly not Muslims. In Bulliet's terms these men would have been the "late majority". The rest contain Muslims patronymics. These men may have

<sup>194</sup> See page 13 above for Bulliet's 5 stages of conversion, footnote 38.

<sup>195</sup> Of the 72 names listed in Çeç, 23 of those have *Abdullah* listed as their 'father'. Such an abundance of the same name occurs in other villages in my study as well, negating any scholarly arguments that continue today to doubt the use of this patronymic to indicate a new convert. The possibility of 23 or so fathers existing in one village, as well as many more in other villages in the area is highly unlikely. Therefore, along with the inclusion of some other converts' father's Slavic names, it is obvious that *Abdullah*, 'the servant of God', indicates that these are all first generation converts. This is not to say that *Abdullah* was not also used as a first name, as it may also appear as a proper name, followed by the father's name. However, as a patronymic it generally indicates a new convert to Islam.

<sup>196</sup> TD7, 60. One may suppose that all mystical names, such as *Abdullah* or *Tanrıvermiş* can be considered as names given to converts, also used interchangeably with the Christian name of the father at this time. This period can be considered to be an administratively transitional one, where the Ottomans used different methods interchangeably until a certain process became standardized. This was the use of *Abdullah* regularly, to indicate a convert. There is much speculation as to why only *Abdullah* began to be used to denote a convert, perhaps as Islamization gained ground over the whole empire, they tried to regularize the registration of converts. In the sixteenth century *veled-i*(son of) began to be used for Christian only, *bin* (son of) *Abdullah* for converts and *bin* (son of) for Muslims.

been second-generation converts, although only through a comparison with the previous registration of Çeç could it be determined which generation is in fact listed. This is impossible as the previous registration in 1464-65 available to scholars does not include any villages in the *kaza* outside of the town of Drama itself.<sup>197</sup> The closest I can come to determining the generation is through two particular names, the convert Uğurlu son of Radoslav, whose son may be listed directly after him as Hamza *veled-i* Uğurlu. In this case I can postulate that Hamza is the son of Uğurlu who was the first in the family to convert, followed by his offspring, the second generation of converts to Islam.<sup>198</sup>

The question of how this particular village allows the witnessing of the actual conversion process is therefore provided due to the two *gebran* (unbelievers) listed. Unlike in Christianity, Muslims did not generally keep detailed records on conversion, thus rendering the actual process difficult to study for modern researchers.<sup>199</sup> Instead, conversion to Islam was informal and relatively simple, not characterized by such actions as ceremonies of baptism or formal acceptance into a congregation, records of which might have left clearer evidence of patterns of conversion, such as in Christianity.<sup>200</sup> Rather, religious treatises speak of the simple utterance of the confession of faith, the *shahāda*<sup>201</sup> and one immediately became a Muslim.<sup>202</sup> A convert then would recite a creed in a language he did not understand and without necessarily understanding much of what it implied, such as having to

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<sup>197</sup> See TD3.

<sup>198</sup> This is only speculation as the two may in fact not be related at all, but I am sure that they are as they are listed next to each other.

<sup>199</sup> Umar Abd-Allah, "Reviewed Work(s): *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval period: An Essay in Quantitative History* by Richard W. Bulliet," in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Vol. 44, No.3 (Jul., 1985), 239. This is in terms of Islamic institutions, comparative to Christian institutions. The state however, did record some conversions as found in *defters*, *sicils* (occasionally) and *kisve bahası* petitions.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 239-240.

<sup>201</sup> Translated along the lines of 'Allah is the true god and Muhammad is his prophet'.

<sup>202</sup> R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 33.

wear new clothing and adopting a new name in order to separate himself from his old religious community.<sup>203</sup> New prayer and ways of praying would also have to be learned and yet in many towns and villages of the initial period there were no mosques or even *imams* to guide the new converts in prayer.<sup>204</sup> This is certainly the case in Çeç where no *imam* or any other religious or Ottoman authority is listed as opposed to, for example, the town of Drama.<sup>205</sup> Therefore, it was only through the acceptance of a new name, considered to be Islamic, that a new convert was identified by both his neighbours and the Ottoman authorities.

The value of having two ‘unbelievers’ listed among a population of Muslims then becomes evident. Here, I speculate that these two men are both in the process of converting, having yet to decide or declare their new Muslim identity. This is particularly obvious in the case of Dimitri who is already listed as *veled-i Abdullah*. Although Dobrenik is simply listed as the brother of a new convert, Karaca *veled-i Abdullah*, most likely in the next register either he or his sons, if he had any, would have converted by then. If this intention had not been made clear to the authorities, neither *gebr* would have been listed among the Muslims and neither would have eluded *ispenç* and *cizye*,<sup>206</sup> a tax of higher value levied on the Christian population. Instead we find the entire village is listed as having to pay *resm-i kulluk* combined with *ispenç*, the former a land-tax placed on Muslims that consisted of a lower

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<sup>203</sup> R. W. Bulliet, “Conversion Stories in Early Islam,” in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 131.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>205</sup> Compare Appendix I with Appendix J.

<sup>206</sup> See Ö. L. Barkan, 894 (1488/89) *Yılı Cizyesinin Tahsilâtına âit Muhasebe Bilânçoları, Belgeler*. Vol. I, No.1 (1964), 36: *Minhâ: zâyî*, *be-cihet-i sâl-i âyende ki müslüman şude est*, where new Muslims were to be taken out of the *cizye* register in the following year. For example compare the published *cizye* register from 1488-89, where new converts are shown to have been exempt from *cizye* after their conversion. Therefore also, in the next generation *resm-i kulluk* would be paid by these new Muslims, instead of *ispenç*.

amount than the latter for Christians.<sup>207</sup> Normally these amounts would have been separated, as the difference between them warranted a distinction.

The mechanism of this process is further highlighted due to the names of the widows in the village. Included in the population of 53 households and 18 bachelors in Çeç, 3 widows are also listed. All three widows either have Christian Slavic names or were married to a Christian: *bive* Kala, *bive* İzlata and *bive-i* (widow of) İstamat. These widows could also have been heads of households, thus increasing the number of *hanes* from 53 to 56. However, this is only speculation, as it is unclear whether they were in fact included in the total of 53 households. What is clear, however, is that none of these females converted to Islam as their names would have reflected their religious affiliation. The widow married to the Christian İstamat, was also most likely a Christian. According to Islamic law, men were able to marry Christian women, but the reverse was not permitted. Thus we have three Christian women listed in the register as well. The relevance of this again points to the varying degrees of the process of conversion. Since males consisted of the taxable population, their religious position would have impacted the religious tax levied upon them, whereas females would not be affected in the same way.

This reveals another interesting point, that of religiously divided families whose members co-existed together. An assumption can be made here that although some members of the household converted to Islam, others did not. In Çeç, even the two Christians that are listed under the heading of *Müslim*, indicate that at least one of them, Dobrenik, may have lived in the same household as his newly converted

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<sup>207</sup> Muslims paid a land-tax with differentiations in payment, depending on the proprietary and marital status of the taxpayer: 22 *akçes* from a married peasant who held farm land workable by a pair of oxen, 11 *akçes* from the single and poor and 6 *akçes* from widows. All non-Muslims who possessed land, whether married, single or poor needed to pay 25 *akçes*. Thus for example a Muslim and his two single sons would pay 22+11+11=44 *akçes*. A non-Muslim in the same position would pay 25+25+25=75 *akçes*. See E. Radushev, "The Spread of Islam in the Ottoman Balkans," 382.

brother, Karaca. The two Christian widows may have been married to Muslim men, indicating that living together, despite religious differences, was not at this time an odd or contradictory idea. Nor did this pose any problems for the authorities, where as long as Islamic law was not violated, they simply noted Christians in the register and taxed them accordingly.

Once again the mechanism behind conversion at this time is further exposed. Although all the males, of taxable age, either married or single, had converted to Islam in the village of Çeç, two males reveal the process with which conversion took place and the Christian widows reveal that the acceptance of Islam did not necessarily extend to all members of a family. The process for females to accept Islam was in fact a longer one. As some studies have shown, the impetus behind these decisions could have been other factors that did not necessarily include the conversion of one's husband or children.<sup>208</sup> In cultural terms, women, particularly in rural areas were conservative, preserving local traditions. In contrast, men generally searched for the means to preserve the family in economic terms acting quite pragmatically. This perhaps led many men to convert to ease excess economic strain on their family. Despite this familial division in terms of religious identity, it can be claimed that the entire village had converted at this time in the region of Çeç. The silence in terms of conversion by females in the register does not negate the idea that the process had reached the stage of completion. Scholars must also remember that male children born to a Muslim man also had to practice Islam, regardless of the religious affiliation of their mothers. Islamic inheritance rights by-passed Christian

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<sup>208</sup> For some studies concerning the reasons behind the conversion to Islam of females see M. Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Ottoman Istanbul." in *Gender & History*, Vol. 16 No.2 (August 2004): 425-458 and T. Krstić. *Contested Conversion to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011) where the role of some female converts and the influence they had over passing down their religious beliefs to their children is taken into consideration.

wives, thus should the male head of the household die, legally, his son would inherit his possessions.<sup>209</sup> Therefore, over time, as each generation continued to proclaim Islam as their religion, eventually the choosing of a Muslim bride would also have gained popularity. This in turn resulted in a complete conversion of every single member of the population, as can be seen today among the Pomak population of the Rhodopes.

Now that I have established that the population of the village of Çeç can be considered to have converted almost in its entirety to Islam, the question of why this occurred must be considered. In the register, Çeç is first listed as belonging to a part of *timar*, with a line devoted to the income of the *sipahi* (cavalry soldier) from his own personal growth of walnuts (*ceviz*). As mentioned above, this is followed by a list of the tax-payers, under the heading of *Müslim*, with each male's name listed below. The names of the widows are entered last followed by a number of taxes. These are both economic, such as the taxes for raising sheep or growing wheat among other things, as well as the income raised from land-taxes, both Muslim and non-Muslim (*İспенç*), in this case only Muslim (*resm-i kulluk*). The total that the *sipahi* is to receive from this village as a part of his *timar* income then follows.<sup>210</sup> The listing of the taxes can be referred to as the synoptic part of the *defter* and may be studied in order to provide some causes as to why large scale-conversion occurred in Çeç. The village is the largest of the ten, with a total income for the *timar* of 7,615 *akçes*. This is more than any other single village in the region, as the other nine villages are part of three other *timars*, with Draçište as part of one *timar* and the other eight divided among two other *timars*. Only the village of Çeç is listed as belonging

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<sup>209</sup> See M. Kalicin, A. Velkov, E. Radushev, ed. *Osmanski izvori za islamizacionnitate procesi na balkanite XVI–XIX v.* [Ottoman Sources for the Islamization Processes in the Balkans, 16th–19th centuries]. (Sofia, 1990), 293–301.

<sup>210</sup> See TD7, 60–61.

to one *timar*, yet its size places it on the high end of a medium sized village. Despite this, the village income is still lower than that of similar sized village located in the lower plains or coastal regions of the *kaza*.<sup>211</sup>

This follows a general trend that is found in the pre-industrial period, where the income of villages in mountainous areas was much less than that of other villages of the same size located in the plains. For example, in a study of the Nevrokop region a comparison of small, medium and large-sized villages reveals a considerable disparity between their incomes. In this case, a large village located high in the Rhodopes, Breznitsa with 78 *hanes* generated an income of 4,843 *akçes* while comparatively, a village containing 81 *hanes*, Doksonbos, located in the plains recorded an income of 13,392 *akçes*, almost three times that of Breznitsa. Similarly, the medium-sized village of Satovça with 42 *hanes* situated at the highest point in the mountains was recorded as having a total income of 2,941 *akçes* in taxes, while Homondos also with 42 *hanes*, located in the plains produced an income of 6,548 *akçes*; again almost triple that of the previous village despite an identical size in tax paying units. To finish, the small-sized village of Pletena with 12 *hanes* records 953 *akçes* in taxable income, whereas the village of Verjani of the same size located in the plains, listed a total income of 2,795 *akçes*, once more almost triple the income of even a slightly larger village situated in the mountains.<sup>212</sup>

This can be explained due to the harsher terrain encountered at higher altitudes which was not conducive to large-scale agricultural production. Village

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<sup>211</sup> To compare, Doksad, a village located near the town of Drama in the central region of the *kaza* with 53 *hanes*, and 10 bachelors, the number of households almost exactly that of Çeç, generated a total income of 8,560 *akçe*, about 1,000 *akçe* more than the total income listed in Çeç. This is also despite the lesser amount of bachelors in the village as well. In general, one would assume that the income would be equal in such a case, yet clearly here we see that despite a similar household size, the income exceeds that of a village of the same size in the mountains. The village of Doksad is also part of a *timar* with other villages included in its income, thus the total income of the *timar* itself is much larger than that of one located in the Rhodopes. See TD7, compare pages 60-61 and 28-29.

<sup>212</sup> See E. Radushev, *Pomatsite*, 76. Compare with original *defter* from 1464-65, TD3, pp. 11-472.

production, which can be determined due to the synoptic part of the register, reveals that it was mostly based on agricultural production of certain kinds of wheat<sup>213</sup> and some nuts, as well as some small scale products as honey and wine<sup>214</sup>. Animal husbandry also played a large role in the economic production of the mountains, both that of sheep and interestingly enough of pigs.<sup>215</sup> The level of production and the taxes levied on goods was markedly lower in the mountains than in the plains, indicating that life in this environment was difficult. The economy was rural, based on agriculture and animal husbandry, amid a high altitude not conducive to large-scale production and therefore the villages in this region can be termed as poor compared to those located in the lower plains.

A comparison between the village of Çeç, and that of Doksad located in the plains south of the town of Drama shows that the production of agricultural products was both less and larger in variety. Despite the fact that both villages have the same number of households, although in Doksad 51 households are Christian and 2 are Muslim, the exact opposite of Çeç, the level of production is markedly different. For example, the amount of *Kendüm* (wheat) produced in 1478 in Çeç was 2 mud<sup>216</sup>, the tax of which was 600 akçe.<sup>217</sup> In contrast, the village of Doksad produced 36 mud of *Kendüm*, the amount of which was taxed at 4,320 akçe.<sup>218</sup> A village of exactly the same number of households in the plains therefore produced 12 times as much wheat

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<sup>213</sup> *Kendüm, yulaf, çavdar* and *daru* were the types of wheat produced in Çeç in 1478. See TD7, 61.

<sup>214</sup> In Çeç the register listed the tax for *Öşr-i hamr* (Wine Production), *Resm-i kovan* (Bee Hives for honey production) and at the beginning the *sipahi* is recorded as having an income from a walnut grove (*Escar-i ceviz*).

<sup>215</sup> This is evident in Çeç due to the tax on sheep (*resm-i ganem*) and a tax on acorns, historically an area of land with acorn trees, where domesticated pigs were grazed to feed on the fallen acorns (*resm-i pelut*), thus showing evidence of the raising of pigs.

<sup>216</sup> *Mud* was a measure of capacity that was usually originally used for grain, rice and flour. It was also a larger unit of measurement than *kile*, also used as a unit of measurement in TD7. In each area and century of the Ottoman Empire these measurements were equal to different equivalency in kilograms. For further information see H. İnalcık, "Introduction of Ottoman Metrology," in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), Chapter 10, 324-329.

<sup>217</sup> TD7, 61.

<sup>218</sup> TD7, 29.



as the village of Çeç high in the mountains. A comparison of other similar agricultural products as well as the production of commodities such as wine between Doksad and Çeç show similar disparities in amounts and taxation. Therefore, it is clear that the economic production of villages in the mountains was markedly lower than that of other areas in the *kaza* of Drama confirming this region to be a poor, rural one.

The different economic situation of the Çeç region facilitated the process of conversion as its inhabitants searched for a way to decrease financial engagements with the state. Since taxes based on production were fairly regularized for Muslims and Christians, dependent on the actual amount cultivated, the option that remained for the Christians to change their social and financial status was to search for a cheaper religion.<sup>219</sup> Christianity not only led to an increase in the amount of taxes collected by the Ottoman state,<sup>220</sup> but also included taxes that were collected by the Orthodox Church itself.<sup>221</sup> The economic isolation created by the mountainous terrain of the Rhodopes made actually paying the taxes owed, in order to maintain one's Christianity, extremely difficult.<sup>222</sup> The elimination of payments exacted by the church could also have provided a significant initial impetus behind conversion. Conversion would eliminate the *cizye* tax levied on Christians, as well as decrease the land-tax collected by the state. The significance of a decrease in the land-taxes

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<sup>219</sup> M. Kiel, "Razprostraneniina Islama v bulgarstkoto selo proj osmanskata epoha (XV-XVIII v.)" [The Spread of Islam in Bulgarian Rural Areas in the Ottoman Period (15th–18th Centuries)] in Rositsa Gradeva and Svetlana Ivanova, ed. *Musulmanskata kultura po balgarskite zemi. Izsledvaniya* [Islamic Culture in the Bulgarian Lands. Studies] (Sofia, 1998). 75. For example he claims that 'one should work for 11 or 12 days to pay for his or her Christianity.', 75.

<sup>220</sup> For a detailed explanation of the poll-tax (*cizye*) and its mechanism concerning the 'People of the Book' according to Islamic law see D.C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

<sup>221</sup> H. Gandev, "Faktori na Bulgarskoto Vazrajdanje 1600-1830" in *Problemi na Bulgarskoto Vazrajdanje*. (Sofia, 1976), 86. Here Gandev claims that the Orthodox Church collected 19 different taxes from their believers.

<sup>222</sup> M. Kiel, "Razprostraneniina Islama v bulgarstkoto selo proj osmanskata epoha (XV-XVIII v.) [The Spread of Islam in Bulgarian Rural Areas in the Ottoman Period (15th–18th Centuries): Colonization and Islamization], 75.

can be examined through another comparison between Çeç and the village of Doksad. Not only is Doksad a mirror image of Çeç with the same number of *hanes*, it also highlights once more the production difference between the mountains and the plains. In both examples, the register combines the taxes as *resm-i kulluk ma' ispenç*, with 2 *gebr* paying *ispenç* in Çeç and 2 Muslims paying *resm-i kulluk* in Doksad. The difference between a village with a Muslim majority and that with a Christian majority provides an exact comparison between the two taxes. In Doksad, the population was expected to pay 1,540 *akçes*, while in Çeç the same number of households was taxed with 1,306 *akçes*. Not only was the population of Doksad expected to pay for 200 *akçes* more, but this figure further shows the higher tax rate for Christians, as there are less bachelors listed in Doksad than in Çeç.<sup>223</sup>

The search for a less expensive religion may have prompted a few Christians living in such difficult and poor conditions to consider the option of conversion. A number of initial converts would certainly have realized that such an act placed them into a different economic and social sphere. In a region where high agricultural production was always in doubt due to the difficult terrain and climate, a certain amount of relief from the burden of taxation determined by religious affiliation invariably impacted the decision of a number of converts. Some scholars maintain that this was a state policy which placed economic pressure on the population, in a sense, forcing it to convert.<sup>224</sup> This argument, however, presupposes that religion was used as an official tool to consciously promote a change in the local environment in favour of the state. No evidence of a state-enforced conversion policy has to date been found by scholars. Furthermore, it fails to recognize that in doing so, the state

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<sup>223</sup> For comparison in exact number of households, bachelors and widows in each village refer again to Appendix H.

<sup>224</sup> See M. Todorova, "Conversion to Islam as a trope in Bulgarian historiography, fiction and film", in *Eurozine*. <http://www.eurozine.com/pdf/2003-11-04-todorova-en.pdf>, 8.

itself, would have incurred great monetary losses if the majority of Christians converted to Islam. This argument also ignores the fact that Ottoman administration was slow to penetrate the mountains and that evidence of conversion in its very early stages already existed before registration.<sup>225</sup> Thus, although the difficult economic climate appears to have played a role in the conversion process as a whole in the Rhodopes, it cannot be presumed to be the only factor which motivated it in general.

The geographic location of the region could have also influenced the process of conversion, particularly in its initial stages. The use of certain mountain routes by Turkish *yürüks* from Anatolia, informed the local population about the existence of Islam and opened the door for Christians to attain information about it. This aided in the processing of diffusing Islam among the village inhabitants.<sup>226</sup> The importance of the *yürüks* stems from their contribution to the diffusion of Islam, although the actual role they played in the process of conversion does not seem to be of major importance.<sup>227</sup> However, through a study of the naming pattern among converts in Çeç, as well as other villages along or near the *yürük* transhumance route, it is evident that contact with these Muslims occurred and did in fact influence the local population in some way. The *yürüks* became another participant in the spread of Islam, changing the previous nature of the local environment. Their presence created a multi-religious environment, it allowed for the knowledge of another religion, for another religious choice to emerge. Contact between *yürüks* and Christians was inevitable due to their use of a difficult and isolated terrain, what must therefore be

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<sup>225</sup> Compare TD3 from 1464-65 and TD 7, villages listed farther north of Drama Çeç, in the *kaza* of Nevrokop where many villages already have a number of convert households by 1464-65. See E. Radushev, *Pomatsite*, 406.

<sup>226</sup> The diffusion of Islam refers to Bulliet's use of the innovation diffusion theory, where the spread of Islam or diffusion of knowledge concerning the religion is compared to the adoption and spread of a new product among sociological studies. See R.W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, 31 and Chapter 1, section 1.2 for detailed explanations of the theory.

<sup>227</sup> E. Radushev, "The Spread of Islam in the Ottoman Balkans," 369.

considered is the level of influence that they had on the locals. They did this, not only through the development of a poly-religious environment, but also by informing the Christian population about the existence of both a new religion and a new administrative order. The change in the religious characteristics of the area led to the availability of a choice, that of choosing to adopt a new religion, which in turn resulted in conversion.

The nomadic lifestyle of Anatolian Turkmen who migrated to the Balkans altered greatly due to the dynamic change in the geographical environment they encountered. In accordance with Braudel's argument that the Rhodopes had been used for the purposes of transhumance movement for centuries before the Ottomans, these new elements were forced to fit themselves into this somewhat similar, yet distinctly different lifestyle. The resulting practices of normal and inverse transhumance placed the *yürüks* into regular seasonal contact with the local population along the routes they travelled between winter and summer pastures.<sup>228</sup> Normal transhumance, relying on the route directed through the Mesta River valley, as detailed in the previous chapter, most likely passed through or near the village of Çeç. Muslim sheep farmers and shepherds would have come into contact with the population on their way up to the summer pastures or down to the winter pastures along the Aegean. The breeding of sheep was also common among the local Christian population, as can be seen through the listing of the tax *resm-i ganem* and

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<sup>228</sup> 'Normal' transhumance defines those sheep farmers and shepherds who live in the lowlands in the winter but leave in the summer, which is an unfavourable season for stock-raising in the plains. The winter pastures could belong to some farmers, however and thus rented out to these shepherds, thus coming into contact with them during seasonal periods. See, Ferdinand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (Vol. 1)* (California: University of California Press, 1996), 86. For information concerning 'inverse' transhumance and its influence on the local population refer to page 19, footnote 56 above.

the relatively large amounts collected.<sup>229</sup> Therefore contact was established between both Muslim and Christian shepherds as well as with in the villages on the routes to summer or winter pastures. Information concerning the existence of Islam would in turn have been relayed, not only between those with the same mode of production (the raising of sheep) but also between transhumanists and settled populations in villages used as rest-stops along the route. An analysis of the naming patterns of the converts listed in Çeç validates the theory posited that the *yürük* elements of the population were initially the primary informers of Islam.

The names chosen by new Muslims in the village of Çeç are further relevant as they demonstrate one of the ways the local population was introduced to Islam. The Muslim-Turkmens of Anatolia continued to draw names from a wide variety of pools: old Turkic pagan ones connected with ideas of fortune, good omens, magical ideas and even nature, Islamic mystical names and Qur'anic ones.<sup>230</sup> Many of the names of new converts reflect this diversity, which was particularly prevalent among the *yürüks*. Although the five sacred Islamic names appear often, along with Qur'anic/Biblical names, such as İsa, Davud and Yusuf, there is a prevailing frequency of Turkic pagan and mystical names in use. This pattern of naming among the *yürüks* is prominently displayed among new converts as well. In the village of Çeç, roughly 36% of the names of taxable males stem from Qur'anic/Biblical origin.

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<sup>229</sup> In Çeç this is the largest single tax amount collected, see TD7, 61, where the tax for sheep is 1,300 *akçes*, compared to a tax on the growth of all the different types of wheat, collectively amounting to 1,000 *akçes*.

<sup>230</sup> See M.T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli-de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-I Fâtihân*, 101-104, for one of the first attempt at grouping Turkish nomadic names, into Arabic, foreign (ex. Persian) and Mystical-religious names. Compare with I. Baski and L. Rásonyi, *Onomasticon Turcicum: Turkic Personal Names*. As collected by L. Rásonyi. Vol 1&2 (Indiana: Indiana University, 2007), XXXVII-LII for explanations of categories for Turkic names in general, not only specific to the *yürüks*. Here names are grouped into 4 categories, with several subcategories. Briefly the four categories are: 1) Totemistic names (having to do with plants and animals), 2) Group of omen-names (ex. Protective and symbolic of deities), 3) Fortuitous names (ex. Meteorological event, name of enemy, people or tribe defeated at birth, month of birth), and finally 4) Names which are not in connection with magic concepts and cannot be arranged in the above categories. Alphabetical listings of all Turkic names in both volumes then provide explanations as to origin or names, whether Persian, Arabian or Turkic and its meaning.

The remainder of the names listed stem from the over-all *yürük* or Turkmen name system. Such names include Doğan (Falkan), Şirmert (Courageous), Uğurlu (Luck One), Atmaca (Sparrow) and Kurd (Wolf) which, along with many others, appear regularly among convert populations, not only in the village of Çeç but generally in the region as well.

The high frequency of these names among new converts leads me to argue that contact with Muslims was primarily of the *yürük* variety in villages along the transhumance routes. The fact that Çeç had converted in its entirety by 1478, clearly then places it along this route and indicates the influence these transhumanists had on the conversion process. Information about the religion itself, perhaps some Islamic practices common among the *yürüks* as well as knowledge concerning the new religious affiliation, was therefore passed on through contact with these groups and is demonstrated in the name patterns which are evident in the register. Consequently, *yürüks* played the role of ‘informers’ of Islam, in this particular situation, even perhaps suggesting names for new converts, which derived from their own Turkic traditions. Therefore the majority of names considered to be Muslim were from Turkmen/pre-Islamic origin. In turn, this exhibits similar patterns that have been identified by Bulliet. The name system which appears in the village of Çeç evidently follows the trend where Bulliet claims that initial converts took the names of their Muslim Arab, in this case Turkmen, counterparts. This was regardless of whether the names were of Islamic origin or not, but were chosen for their representative value of the actual act of conversion to Islam. It is possible to therefore assume, that in the second stage of the process (early to late majority level of conversion), once attaining further knowledge about official Islamic doctrine, one would have eventually chosen names primarily from the Islamic onomasticum. Thus the symbolism behind the

naming patterns would have changed: from an initial acceptance of Islam advertised simply through the choosing of names of the Turkish Muslim variety, to names more traditionally associated with Islam, in order to demonstrate complete acceptance and integration of the religion.

Evidently, the village of Çeç is of primary importance in demonstrating the complex religious situation in the mountains. The village is indicative of a point in the conversion process nearing its completion. Factors such as economy, geography and contact between particular groups of Muslims, all facilitated the relatively quick and large-scale process observed. On its own, Çeç can be seen as a representative village of the general pattern observed in the Rhodopes. In the near future, subsequent registers reveal that the entire region would be covered by Islam. The region would come to always bear its name, populated by the Pomaks of today in its two parts, Drama and Nevrokop Çeç. However, a comparison between other villages further illuminates different stages of the process in the space, while solidifying the argument that the eastern section of the *kaza* demonstrates an area with a rapidly changing religious environment.

The small village of Divoçane (also known as Diviçane or Delopçane)<sup>231</sup> appears as a religiously divided village, with a Muslim-majority population composed entirely of converts. Located in the southernmost part of the region of Çeç, it geographically lies at a slightly lower altitude along the Mesta River valley. It is also directly along the *yürük* transhumance path, with an environmentally difficult terrain. Divoçane is listed as having 13 Muslim *hanes* and 4 Muslim *mücerreds*, while its Christian population consisted of 5 households and 2 bachelors.<sup>232</sup> No widows appear as part of either religious group. Therefore, although a small place,

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<sup>231</sup> TD7, 61.

<sup>232</sup> TD7, 61.

with a total of 18 *hanes*, Divoçane, with its Muslim majority is representative of a particular stage of conversion. While Çeç demonstrates the finalization of the process, in this village we see how the process itself works. In Divoçane, many signs of conversion are present, and thus as a reflection of the general process itself, it holds as much value as the village of Çeç. Therefore, Divoçane signifies a stage of conversion that Bulliet terms the ‘late-majority’ stage.<sup>233</sup> Unlike Çeç, clearly in the ‘laggard’ stage with its two Christians mid-way through the conversion process, Divoçane has a clear Christian minority of 5 *hanes*. The number of households that converted to Islam, place the percentage of Muslims at just over 70%. Despite this majority, in a village of this size, there would be no possibility of a physical division between religious sects, such as in towns with their *mahalles* or quarters. Rather, the village can be considered a religiously divided one where Christians and Muslims interacted with each other on a daily basis.

The new converts are of particular interest in this village as no single Muslim in the majority is listed with the patronymic of *Abdullah*. Instead, all new converts in Divoçane were listed with the Christian names of their fathers.<sup>234</sup> This method of registration suggests that during the initial period of conversion, the Ottoman administration made use of two ways in identifying converts. However, in later *defters* this becomes regularized and all converts become recognizable through the use of *veled-i Abdullah*<sup>235</sup>. This irregularity in early Ottoman registration allows us to definitively conclude that in Divoçane, as in the whole region of Çeç, new Muslims were of Slavic origin and were either the first or second generation of converts. For

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<sup>233</sup> See R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, 31-32 to refer again to the different stages of conversion according to the application of the study of innovation diffusion.

<sup>234</sup> For example: Balaban *veled-i* Rayos; Eynehan *veled-i* İzlatil; Ali *veled-i* İstayko, Mahmud *veled-i* Vejan, etc. See TD7, 61 and compare with Appendix J.

<sup>235</sup> In the sixteenth century, converts would be listed as *bin Abdullah*, and all Christians would be registered with *veled-i* while all Muslims with *bin* regardless of convert origin.



example, the first two names listed demonstrate three generations of men in this village, as well as their religious affiliation. Here we have listed Balaban *veled-i* Rayos and Mahmud *veled-i* Balaban.<sup>236</sup> The original head of the household was Rayos, with his convert son Balaban and probably his grandson, Mahmud. Not only do we encounter a religiously divided family once more, but a clear example of the process itself. Although Rayos remained a Christian (or perhaps he died before the time of registration), both his son and grandson opted to convert to Islam. It is even plausible to suggest that Mahmud was born a Muslim and named so by his father, though this assumes that Mahmud was both a bachelor and probably a very young one as well. If so, it is possible to speculate that the first converts to Islam lived in the early fifteenth century, as during the early modern period one generation can be estimated to have spanned approximately 25 years. In this case then, conversion most certainly began long before the Ottoman authorities entered the region, as the locals would have encountered the Turkmen first. Most likely, however, both father and son converted to Islam, though perhaps during a similar period of time and so were listed as Muslims at the time of registration.

The above example is not an isolated instance, not only in Divoçane itself, but in other villages as well in this region. The presence of religiously divided families at this time suggests the existence of a particularly controversial idea, that of crypto-Christianity.<sup>237</sup> This was a practice where individuals or groups publicly professed Islam, while satisfying their conscience by practicing Christianity

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<sup>236</sup> TD7, 61.

<sup>237</sup> Some examples include S. Vryonis Jr., "Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries," in *Aspects of the Balkans*. Eds. H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis (Paris: The Hague, 1972), 151-176, A. Zhelyazkova, "Islamization in the Balkans as an Historiographical Problem: The Southeast-European Perspective," in *The Ottoman and The Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*. Eds. Fikret Adanir and Suraiya Faruqi (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 223-269 and S. Skendi, "Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans," in *Slavic Review*. Vol 26, No.2 (June 1967), 227-246.

(Orthodox and Catholic in certain Balkans regions) in private.<sup>238</sup> Although there are examples of Muslims, for example in Albania and Cyprus, revealing their crypto-Christianity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this practice can also be seen as a bridge between the shedding of Christian beliefs and the acceptance of Islam. As S. Skendi has put it, in crypto-Christianity the two religions coexisted; the South Slavs called it “double faith” (*dvoverie* or *dvoverstvo*) and the Greeks until the nineteenth century gave it the same name (*dipistia*).<sup>239</sup> In the words of E. Rahushev, crypto-Christians simply obeyed “two gods”: the first to protect their pockets (economy) and the second to protect their souls. Despite this duality, in the crypto-Christian world, these ‘two’ gods lived in peace, in the minds of the believers. With rural society generally thought to be a traditional and conservative one, not quick to adopt changes and new cultural or religious ideas, crypto-Christianity could have provided a viable solution addressing concerns surrounding conversion to Islam. Studies questioning the level of authentic Christianity practiced by the Slavs in the Balkans, and the idea of heterodox Islam, mixing Islamic, Christian and pagan elements together, all serve to question how intensely such isolated villages adopted new religions.<sup>240</sup>

The existence of crypto-Christianity in the Rhodopes, however, is entirely speculative.<sup>241</sup> There are no known documents confirming that the practice existed, no personal diaries, narratives or chronicles by new converts exist from both the region and the period under study. The village of Divoçane, with its religiously divided families suggest that this practice was possible, yet its influence or extent cannot be confirmed. The register alone allows scholars to suppose the possibility of

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<sup>238</sup> S. Skendi, “Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans,” 227.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>240</sup> S. Vryonis Jr., “Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” 156-160.

<sup>241</sup> However, in terms of evidence from a scientific point of view, rather than an ethnographic or folkloric one, for example one can still find the caves that had been used as churches during this transitional period.

its practice through an analysis of the name patterns of converts, however this is only supposition that can in no way be validated.

The resultant trend of Muslim names listed in Divoçane once again reflects a *yürük* influence as about 50% of converts adopted names that are not considered as part of the Qur'anic name system. Christian names similarly reveal a comparable pattern, where many names derive from a Slavic-pagan origin, such as Valkan, Borşo, Duşman and İzlatil<sup>242</sup>. These names have no Christian Biblical connotation, leading me to suggest the possibility that Orthodox Christianity had a similarly pagan element deeply entrenched in the local psyche.<sup>243</sup>

The economic isolation present in this region is also reflected in Divoçane revealed by the amount of taxes listed in the register for the mountainous regions. Through the interaction of all of these elements, geography, economy and changing religious ideas, a newly-converted population began to emerge. Therefore, this small village, with its Muslim-majority population laying directly on the *yürük* path, a situation mirroring that of the village of Çeç, similarly presents a stage in the general process of conversion prevalent in the mountains at this time.

Registers from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century reveal that both the villages of Çeç and Divoçane become entirely Muslim in their populations, showing a similar process and pace of conversion.<sup>244</sup> In 1478 however, there are villages listed where this process had already been completed. The medium-sized village of Zuplane and the small village of Konuşani, located at the highest altitudes in this region are both entirely converted Muslim villages. Zuplane, with its 30

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<sup>242</sup> For example the Ottoman recording of İzlatil is a distortion of the Slavic *Zlatil*, meaning 'gold'.

<sup>243</sup> See S. Vryonis Jr., "Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries," 152-154 where the elements of pre-Christian pagan beliefs are determined to have continued to be practiced although officially the region was considered as Orthodox Christian.

<sup>244</sup> There is a large sequence of registers for this region showing that this process is a long one, covering a span of a century and a half. For example see TD3, TD7, TD70, TD 403, TD167, Mevkufat Kalemi 2873, etc.

households and Konuštani with 17 *hanes* indicated that no males in either villages remained Christian by the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>245</sup> It is particularly important to distinguish between males and females, as in Zuplane, (similarly to Çeç) we find widows listed with Christian names. Simultaneously, in both villages the registration of converts is also reflective of that found in Divoçane, where all converts are listed with the names of their Christian fathers, instead of the *Abdullah* patronymic prominently found in the village of Çeç. In fact, other than Çeç village, of the other 9 villages analyzed, the patronymic *Abdullah* is only used in three other cases, one in fact in the village of Momcil where a convert was still listed with his Christian name.<sup>246</sup> Thus generally at this time, the Christian-Slavic origins of every convert can be confirmed with certainty.

The concept of religiously divided families has already been discussed above and an analysis of the patronymics of the Muslim men in both villages further supports this supposition. Many of these men were the first generation in their families to adopt Islam, thus at some point religious differences existed between them and their fathers. Specifically, a difference between the religious affiliation of fathers and bachelors (their sons), is prominent as many single men converted probably as soon as they came to be of tax-paying age. There are villages with large numbers of bachelors who converted, possibly in a short period of time. An example of this can be found in Brodilova, where added to a population of 49 households, 30 converts are listed as bachelors. However, among the Christian population of the village there are no bachelors.<sup>247</sup> This is a case or instance where this group, the bachelors, are an example of a concentrated mass or large-scale conversion. These bachelors may have converted as a separate group, or were influenced by their

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<sup>245</sup> TD7, 65-66. For locations see Appendix D.

<sup>246</sup> TD7, 65 and compare with Appendix J.

<sup>247</sup> TD7, 62, and compare with Appendix J.

Christian fathers to do so, perhaps in order to avoid the payment of *cizye* and *ispenç*. In either case, the conversion to Islam of the bachelors stimulated the process itself to move more rapidly towards completion, despite any religious divisions among families at this point.

The fact that both Zuplane and Konuštani show to have actually completed the process of conversion does not invalidate the idea that religious differences continued to exist, this time within the married-households themselves. As Zuplane has 3 Christian widows listed, one who had been married to a Christian man, one can suppose that their male children would have been Muslim. It is also possible to assume that two of the widows could in fact have been married to Muslim converts as well. These presumptions have been mentioned not only to further explore the possibility of religiously divided families, but to once again refer to the concept of crypto-Christianity, including the idea of ‘double-faith’, as described by S. Skendi.<sup>248</sup> Widows, without exception in all of the ten villages analyzed, were listed with either Christian names or as having had Christian husbands, regardless of whether they were recorded among the Muslim population of the village.<sup>249</sup> In reference to the historically traditional and conservative environment of rural areas, the role of women particularly reflected resistance to any innovations in their daily lives. Women, in this case, took on the role of the bearers and saviours of tradition, allowing it to continue through their presence in the home.<sup>250</sup> Cultural and religious

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<sup>248</sup> S. Skendi, “Crypto-Christianity in the Balkan Area under the Ottomans”, 227.

<sup>249</sup> TD7, 32 and 60-70.

<sup>250</sup> A story told to me by E. Radushev reveals that this was true not only in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but continues to be so today. During his field studies in 1995/6, E. Radushev witnessed the Orthodox celebration of Mother Mary’s death, which is in August in a village of mixed origin in the Rhodopes. In the church, during a mass to commemorate the day, a few very old Muslim women participated. They were huddled in the back of the church, apart from the congregation, yet at the same time part of the tradition of this celebration, in a way remaining ‘friendly’ with the Virgin Mary, despite professing to be orthodox Muslim women. Thus we see evidence of traditions from hundreds of years ago still alive today in the Rhodopes, passed down generation through generation by the women of the household.

traditions are generally maintained by women, along with the domestic and economic roles they play in home production, such as the production of traditional clothing, preservation of food, organization and participation in festivals, etc. The existence of Christian widows within villages with entirely Muslim households, such as Zuplane, allows us to speculate whether there was reluctance towards conversion to Islam. The idea of ‘double faith’ can be extended to also include traditions, where the wearing of certain types of clothing, the eating of certain foods and even the celebration of traditional festivals that had nothing to do with Islam continued to be included in the daily lives of newly converts.<sup>251</sup> Therefore, in these economically isolated villages, where the grace of God was traditionally thought to affect one’s livelihood, an analysis of the registers gives us the right to speculate that initial Muslim converts lived in a transitional state for at least the first few generations.

The geographical position of both Zuplane and Konuštani, further north in the mountains, located at a higher altitude, yet within the same *timar*, reflect the general religious and economic environment found in the rest of the villages as well. These two villages represent the small to medium-sized population residing in the terrain along with the low level of production which led to the registration of many villages as part of one *timar*. Neither Konuštani nor in my opinion Zuplane, lay directly along the *yürük* path. Yet an analysis of the names shows many first generation converts

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<sup>251</sup> Non-Islamic practices and rituals would have been difficult to shed immediately and entirely as soon as one converted. For example a general Muslim majority in this eastern section, taxes for both the production of wine (*resm-i bağ* or *öşr-i bağ* or *öşr-i hamr*) and for the use of acorns (*rem-i pelut*) which are used to feed pigs, continued to be collected. Therefore conversion to Islam in the sense of practicing the religion according to its laws required a long period of time to pass. A new convert’s old habits of eating pork and drinking wine would have taken more than one generation to dispense of, and even then perhaps not completely. Instead, it can be assumed that during the initial establishment of Muslim communities the religious life of at least two or three generations of converts hovered between Christianity and Islam. Compare TD7, 61, 64 and 67 for lists of taxes collected in the Rhodopes. For *fatwas* written to the Sheikh al-Islam from Muslims complaining about converts still practicing Christian customs such as drinking wine and singing songs at the houses of their infidel family members during Christian holidays such as Easter, as well as other similar complaints, see E. Radushev, “The Spread of Islam in the Ottoman Balkans,” 372-374.

who chose their Muslim names from among the nomadic Turkmen name-system. Again, these initial converts, though they consist of entire villages, chose names they believed were representative of Islam. How they came across these names, however, is again speculative. Clearly there was contact with Muslims in this region and any influence they may have had on the population only remains through an analysis of the pattern of convert names.

Finally, the influence of the Ottoman administration itself can be considered as well. Although initial information concerning the existence of Islam may have been transmitted through the *yürüks*, social and economic benefits in such a low-production area could only have been realized through the implementation of the *timar/sipahi*-system in the area. The “Ottomanization” of the space through the formation of a Muslim institutional order, built an imposing and normative command in the region, deepening the influence of Islam through the establishment of a differential taxation system based on religion.<sup>252</sup> Whether due to registration itself or through a particularly active *sipahi* in the region, knowledge concerning some economic and social benefits to conversion also became well-spread through the area, as seen in the resulting changes in the religious *milieu*. Thus, with the venture of the Ottoman authorities into the mountains, a general pattern can be observed where villages in the eastern section of Drama converted to Islam at a comparatively high rate, eventually resulting in an entirely converted population.

The theory presented here, however, is not a definitive one that can unquestionably be applied to every single village in the eastern part of the *kaza*. Rather, the pattern observed is generally representative of what was occurring at the end of the fifteenth century. As precise information concerning the process of

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<sup>252</sup> Compare E. Radushev, “The Spread of Islam in the Ottoman Balkans,” 368.

conversion is lacking, there are some developments that are difficult to explain or understand. Therefore, within this general trend of the conversion process, there are some different occurrences that, in a sense, diverge from the general trend by retaining their original, local Christian environment. By this I mean that there are some villages in the mountains whose particular religious composition cannot be explained with the available sources. These villages continue to maintain their way of life with no changes over the centuries, under Ottoman administration. In my study of the eastern section of the district of Drama, I have found such a situation represented by the village of Çireşova.

The village of Çireşova is located at the same altitude as many other villages in the region of Çeç, along the Mesta River valley. It is a medium-sized village with a population of 26 *hanes*, 20 of them Christian and 6 of them Muslim, making this a Christian-majority village.<sup>253</sup> It is the only one of its kind located in the Çeç region that is listed in the register.<sup>254</sup> An analysis of the Muslims in this village also does not show any indication as to their origin; meaning there is no way to determine whether they are of convert origin or colonizers. They may even be settlers of nomadic origin, as their names represent both Turkmen and Qur'anic name-systems, both generally found among most *yürüks*, allowing us to speculate that perhaps they were shepherds who decided to settle. Although the register records there to be six separate households, the head of each household was related the brother of one or two others, thus leading me to conclude the *hanes* consisted of only 2 or 3 families in total.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> TD7, 63-64.

<sup>254</sup> The village of Draçişte also, at this time, retains a Christian majority, however it is located at a lower altitude and not a part of the Çeç Region. It is included in the Eastern Section as geographically and economically it is similar to villages located at higher altitudes and it also is located on the same slopes of the Rhodopes near the Mesta River. For Draçişte see TD7, 32 and compare with Appendix E and Appendix J.

<sup>255</sup> It is unclear whether there are 2 or 3 families, as the last head of the household listed, is Karaca *birader-i* Balaban, (Karaca, brother of Balaban), yet as his name is listed last, he may be the brother of



As there must have been contact between these households and the Christians in the village, the fact that Çireşova lay on the *yürük* transhumance path may have even increased the exposure of the local population to a different religious situation. Due to these Muslim families, knowledge concerning Islam existed in some way among the population. Also, the fact that Çireşova's neighbouring villages consisted of either a Muslim-majority or entirely Muslim convert population would have in some way exposed its inhabitants to the existence of Islam.

The fact that I found a Christian-majority village in a region dominated by Muslims in the sources indicates that this village did in fact, exist. Economically, Çireşova experienced the same type of (in the words of Toynbee) challenges as its neighbouring villages and was subjected to the same tax-regulations as all others under Ottoman administration. Perhaps location did influence the local population, where one can speculate that maybe there was contact with other villages, and yet, due to a river and local terrain separating Çireşova with many of the villages that are part of the same *timar*, perhaps this contact was actually quite limited.<sup>256</sup> Yet conversely, the village was in fact located along the *yürük* path and exposure to the settled Muslims there would have placed it in direct contact with Islam and the Ottoman authorities. Therefore one must speculate in different ways as to why Christianity dominated there. In fact, Çireşova remains without a drastic change in its Muslim population until the end of Ottoman rule, with no more than two or three Muslim *hanes* listed in later registrations.<sup>257</sup> Examples of village with similar religious characters exist in other Muslim-dominated areas of the Balkans, yet there

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another Balaban, rather than the Balaban initially listed among the Muslims. See TD7, 63 and Appendix J.

<sup>256</sup> Among Balkan scholars a 'Valley theory' exists within the mountains where villages are located in valleys between peaks, and are therefore geographically separated. Thus they also become culturally different from the village on the other side of slope. From village to village culture differs slightly.

<sup>257</sup> See E. Radushev, *Pomatsite*, 406-414. Çireşova is listed in the tables on these pages, which record the same villages and the number of households of Christian and Muslims registered over a period of almost two centuries.

are no possibilities available to scholars that explain why they endured. Simply, Çireşova remained a Christian enclave within an area surrounded by villages populated by Muslims of convert origin.

The existence, of Christian-majority villages in the Rhodope Mountains, is indicative of a process that is both complex and distinctive. These places, such as Çireşova, may be difficult to explain in comparison to their surrounding environment, however they continued to survive. The village of Çireşova is, therefore, representative of other similar situations all over the Balkans. Rather than considering it an exception, the village itself simply reveals how complex the conversion process was. It occurred differently and at different rates in various areas for a multitude of reasons. Perhaps there is some element that is unknown to the historian that could clarify the situation found in Çireşova or some element that is lacking in comparison to other villages. What is clear is that conversion to Islam was a natural process that occurred due to the contact and influence of various elements in a geographically and climatically difficult region. The fact that not all villages were impacted in the same way supports the reasoning that there was no intentional policy heavily promoting or forcing conversion.<sup>258</sup> If this was so, the religious composition of Çireşova and many other places in the Balkans would not have remained preserved in an entirely Muslim landscape. Instead, we find a state that was conscious of the poly-religious situation in the mountains, yet only interested itself with the financial opportunities this presented. If force had been a dominant factor behind the process of conversion, the small village of Çireşova could have easily

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<sup>258</sup> M. Baer in contrast argues that the sultan followed a specific policy to convert the population to Islam, even promoting such conversion on his hunting trips into the interior of the Balkans. Although Baer's work refers to a later century, in general this idea cannot be applied to the Balkans in general in all period. Baer's work is specific to one sultan and particularly to Istanbul rather than to the Balkans in general. Compare M. Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

been forced to convert, instead of remaining as a Christian village. Therefore, by the end of the fifteenth century, the eastern section of the *kaza* of Drama is revealed to have contained in general, a large, converted population, with mostly villages comprising of either a Muslim-majority or entirely Muslim converts. It reflects some of the last stages of a process that had only begun some 50 years earlier and of a process that would continue to influence and change the religious landscape of the Western Rhodopes.

### **3.2 Central Section of the *kaza* of Drama**

The pattern of conversion moving south-west into the plains in the district markedly differs in its intensity and numbers. In both the central and western sections, village sizes and religious compositions are altered. Firstly, there are no Muslim-majority villages and secondly, they are generally either medium or large in size, and finally, due to their location primarily in the plains, all have higher economic incomes.<sup>259</sup> The central area of the district, located primarily in the plains, is represented by 9 different villages. 2 of which will be analyzed reflecting the general trend in the process of conversion.<sup>260</sup> Of these nine, one village containing a Christian-majority and one with an entirely Christian population, will be examined in some detail. Therefore, the pattern that emerges is one of little to no conversion in the central section, only a small, initial process of conversion to Islam is evident. The villages chosen for this study reflect the general trend of this point in the process, in the plains, near the administrative centre, the town of Drama.

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<sup>259</sup> See Table 1 and Table 2 above, pages 68 and 69 respectively.

<sup>260</sup> See Appendix E & G.

The village of Rahoviçe, located just east of Drama along one of the branches of the Struma (Strimon) River is a large village of 66 *hanes*, 15 of which are Muslim while the remaining 51 households are listed as Christian.<sup>261</sup> The village thus has a Christian-majority, with a small number of converts among its population. A review of the names listed as a part of the Muslim population reveals a similar pattern to that of the previous village of Çeç. Of the 15 names listed, 7 are accompanied by the patronymic *Abdullah*, revealing their recent conversion to Islam. However, once again, some converts are recorded with the Christian name of their fathers, such as Firuz *veled-i* Nikor, while other converts are mentioned as brothers of new converts along with one groom or son-in-law, Atmaca *damad-i* (son-in-law) Nikor.<sup>262</sup> Thus of the 15 Muslims registered, 9 can be confirmed as new or first generation Muslims. With an almost 30% Muslim population, Rahoviçe is clearly in an early stage of conversion, the ‘early-adopters’ stage, according to Bulliet’s technique.<sup>263</sup> Among these early-adopters, over 60% have Turkish names, rather than those stemming from the Qur’anic tradition, once again demonstrating that new converts chose any name they believed to be associated with Islam.

The primary difference of this village situated in the low-lands, in comparison to those located in the eastern mountainous section, is the existence of a large Christian population. Of particular note is the presence of both a monk, İvlad, *keşiş* and the widow of a priest, *bive-i papa* Sugarko,<sup>264</sup> listed under the *gebr* or Christian households. In this section, the appearance of a priest here or there in the register is not uncommon. The proximity to Drama, containing as many as 6

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<sup>261</sup> TD7, 51-52.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., 51. Compare with Appendix K.

<sup>263</sup> R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, 31-32. See also page 13, footnote 40 above.

<sup>264</sup> TD7, 52.

priests,<sup>265</sup> further reveals that villages in this central area were a part of a historically established Orthodox Christian network.<sup>266</sup> There are neither priests nor monks recorded in the register at this time in the eastern mountainous part of the *kaza*. One of the earliest *defters* for the Rhodopes lists various wandering monks in the district of Nevrokop.<sup>267</sup> This registration shows some sort of representation of Orthodox authority in the mountains, yet over 30 years later I have found no indication of such a presence in the Drama region of the Rhodope Mountains. However, in Rahoviçe, not only was there a local monk, but also the wife of a priest, indicating that the Christian ‘flock’ had for some time been under guidance of a ‘shepherd’. The presence of Christian authority could have been influential enough that only a few Christians had an idea to convert, while the rest of population maintained their previous beliefs.

The location of the village near the town of Drama could also have played a role in the religious composition found there. Proximity to the town may have introduced the elements of both the new religious situation, as well as the new administrative order of the Ottomans. Depending on the production of the village, the market in the nearby town could have served as an opportunity to interact with town dwellers, both Muslim and Christian alike. Although exposure to the Ottoman administration must have occurred, the strength of the Christian community was greater than that of the Muslim one, in both numbers as well as religious leaders. It is possible to speculate that proximity to Drama would therefore have strengthened the

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<sup>265</sup> TD7, 25-27.

<sup>266</sup> This network particularly refers to the monastic republic geographically close to the *kaza* of Drama, the province of *Keşişlik* in southern Macedonia. See H.W. Lowry Jr., “Changes in Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radilofo,” in *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1992): 165-178. The existence of a monastic republic before and during the conquest by the Ottomans contrasts S.Vryonis’ statement that the ‘church suffered economic impoverishment and administrative disruption in many areas’ of the Balkans. See S. Vryonis Jr., “Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” 166.

<sup>267</sup> MAD 525, 18 and compare TD3, *passim*.

connection of the Christians with those in the town, as well as with the Orthodox authorities. Festivals and religious celebrations, along with trade in the market place would have worked to maintain the Christian network with villages near or around the town. The existence of several villages with either a large Christian majority or fully Christian populations serves to further validate this possibility.<sup>268</sup> However there is some evidence which contradicts this idea to some extent, represented by the village of Rahoviçe. Although a Christian majority remains in all the villages of the central section, despite having a proximity to the Ottoman administration and the strong Orthodox presence, Rahoviçe had several converts among its population.<sup>269</sup> How can we explain the presence of these Muslims?

Here, once again, the geography in the region where the village is located can help to clarify how Rahoviçe could have obtained its Muslims inhabitants. The central section of the district is a transitional area in every sense of the word. Not only is it religiously transitional, where only a few Muslims, if any, inhabit each village in the region, but it is also transitional in a geographic sense. The terrain is semi-mountainous, with low-lands extending into the plains and several water sources running through the area. The fertility of the low-land plains also makes this region transitional in that an increase of population occurs as one travels westward towards the larger towns of Serres and Timur-Hisar. The agricultural production of the plains has, historically, always been more plentiful and diverse than in most other geographical areas.<sup>270</sup> Therefore, from the difficult terrain of the east, with its low population, limited production and high-level of conversion, the central section

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<sup>268</sup> See Appendix G. Christian and Muslim populations in the *kaza* of Drama according to sections. See in particular the village of Visoçane, located west of Drama, at a similar distance as Rahoviçe, yet has no Muslims listed among its population.

<sup>269</sup> Compare R.M. Eaton where the centre, Delhi, had little to no conversion unlike Bengal, considered as a periphery. R.M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, 183.

<sup>270</sup> See F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (Vol. 1)* Chapter 1.

transitions towards the fertile plains and coastal areas. With this comes an increase in population, production and a more stable Christian environment.

Rahoviçe certainly portrays this type of situation, with a diverse, high level of production and a large-sized, Christian-majority population. The fact that it is located along a river could also have increased its economic output and the variety of production. The river may have some further added value, as it could have been used as another mode of transportation, another route to travel and even trade, by. Not only does this further link Rahoviçe with the town of Drama, but also with other people who could have used the river for various reasons, some of whom could have been Muslims. In this case, due to the converts residing in Rahoviçe, I would argue that both the river and the proximity to Ottoman administration influenced some villagers to choose to convert to Islam.<sup>271</sup> This small number of converts now takes on the role of becoming the pioneers of conversion in this village. They were the first to accept the new religion, or in Bulliet's terms, they were the 'innovators', taking the chance to convert for some personal reasons that cannot definitely be known to us today. These first converts, however, do support the fact that certain members of many of the villages in this central section decided to separate themselves from their previous religious affiliation. However they remained in the village, living with those who remained a part of their former community.

The mixed character of such villages shows us that a small sector of the community was in a state to be influenced by the Islamic idea. It is difficult to

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<sup>271</sup> In contrast, I once again refer to the village of Visoçane, at a similar distance from Drama, yet situated on its western side with no access to a river. Perhaps this lack of a waterway positioned it in a place where very limited contact with Muslims occurred, outside of any contact with Drama itself. A strong Orthodox Christian presence could also be a possibility here as Visoçane also lists many sons of priests residing in the village. A further connection can be established after a reading of the population in the town of Drama. A group of 15 households are listed as living in Visoçane, yet they are taxed a part of the population of Drama. This obviously shows a strong connection between the inhabitants of Drama and Visoçane. Compare TD7, 73-74 with Appendix K. and Appendix I for Drama.

determine what factors influenced this part of the population. Perhaps they were the most vulnerable group; the poorest or destitute inhabitants, or those in a state unable to comply with the financial demands of the Orthodox administration. The rest of the population however, in contrast, remained Christian. Yet in terms of human relations, or daily contacts, the situation in such villages shows these converts preferred to remain a part of the community, while the local Christian inhabitants accepted them despite their religious otherness. Therefore, the village of Rahoviçe demonstrates the transitional nature of this central section of the *kaza*, a development which can be found in the Balkans as a whole.

Another characteristic feature of the central section, along with villages of mixed populations, are ones with no Muslim inhabitants. The small village of Kranişte, with 18 Christian *hanes* and no Muslims<sup>272</sup> is representative of such a situation.<sup>273</sup> The geographical location places it in the higher low-lands, with a fertile terrain which still allowed for greater agricultural production. Although there are no priests mentioned in this village, the existence of both a monastery and two churches in the close vicinity of the village perhaps accounts for the religious situation there.

In our register one finds an interesting text referring to the income from a big monastery and two churches in the near vicinity of the town of Drama.<sup>274</sup> The exact location of the monastery, *Manastır-i Yako Mitropolid*, which through its name suggests it to be an episcopal centre (*Mitropolid*), and of both churches, *Kilise-i Koşniç* with a population of 15 monks attached to it and the Church of *Ayo Yorgi* (St. George), recorded as belonging to the above monastery, is unknown to scholars to this day. Due to its listing after the town of Drama and of the villages north of it, as

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<sup>272</sup> TD7, 58.

<sup>273</sup> Compare villages in Central Section in Appendix H with the location of villages as seen in Appendix E and G.

<sup>274</sup> TD7, 34.



well as the similarity of the name of the first church (*Koşniç*) with that of the village of Kozniçe, leads me to propose that both the monastery and the churches were located somewhere in the low-lands, within a triangle created by the villages of Kobalişte, Kranişte and Kozniçe.<sup>275</sup> The monastery and the churches also had to be near a water source as they were taxed for the use of water-mills, leading me to further speculate that they were located near one of the tributaries of the Struma River, between the town of Drama and Kobalişte. The incomes of both the monastery and the churches also suggest that this could have been one large complex, worked by the monks and local population from nearby villages, in a region agriculturally high in production.

Villages in proximity with this possible episcopal centre and its population of monks would inevitably have been influenced both in religious and perhaps even in economic terms. The monastery and the churches would have required the participation of inhabitants to support the monastery in its agricultural production, for example during harvest times or during religious festivals. The presence of monks could have further played a role in maintaining strong ties with Christians in the area to the Orthodox Church. Although speculative, the presence of the possible episcopal centre could account for the entirely Christian villages in the central section, north of Drama, particularly the large village of Visoçane as well as the small village of Kranişte nearby.

The central section of the *kaza* of Drama reveals a region in transition, wavering between the influence of Islam and that of the Orthodox Christian networks. This area was not an isolated, difficult terrain as that of the mountains near it, but rather its geographical features provided better opportunities for economic

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<sup>275</sup> Refer to Appendix D, to triangulate an approximate area where the monastery and both churches may have been located.

prosperity and good contacts between villages and their inhabitants. Unlike in the mountains, priests and monks are listed as part of the population in a number of villages. The church and its infrastructure played a positive role in the preservation of Christianity, in turn hampering Islamic influence. The combination of these different elements served to establish an environment that encouraged the existence and growth of Christianity. Therefore, the region shows little indication that it was extensively impacted by Islam.

### **3.3 Western Section of the *kaza* of Drama**

A move towards the western-most part of the district reveals a religious and economic situation in stark contrast to that found both in the mountains and the central section containing the low-lands and plains. No longer do we find small villages with low agricultural production and Muslim populations, nor even the transitional environment of the central section with villages ranging from small to large populations with mixed religious affiliations. In the western section of the *kaza* an overall picture emerges of medium to large-sized villages with generally entirely Christian populations.<sup>276</sup> Even outside of the region, moving west towards the towns of Zihne, Siroz and Timur-Hisar, the trend of entirely Christian-populated villages continues, despite the heavy presence of Ottoman administration and concentration of administrative staff in those regions.<sup>277</sup> The general pattern in the western region, with its 6 villages, demonstrates some noteworthy developments. Here we find

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<sup>276</sup> See Appendix H, Western Region.

<sup>277</sup> See Appendix C.

medium to large-sized villages with entirely Christian populations, with varied and larger agricultural production, situated in the fertile plains of the *kaza*.

The medium-sized, fully Christian village of Kobalışte with 36 *hanes*, 5 bachelors and 6 widows is representative of the situation found in the western region.<sup>278</sup> Of the six villages studied in this section, one of them needs to be mentioned as a special case with its Christian majority, and small Muslim population. The large village of Prosaçane, with its 75 Christian households and 15 Muslims ones is located very near to the village of Kobalışte, yet obviously displays a very different religious situation. Being in such close proximity with each other, no great difference, other than in population size, can be determined between each village. Economically, agricultural production is similar in variety and amount, relative to the number of households. Therefore we have a number of similarities with one significant difference. Thus the question remains, why does Prosaçane have a Muslim population?

After a look at the Muslim names listed in the register, only four of them orient us towards the idea that they are of convert origin.<sup>279</sup> It is impossible to determine the origin of the remaining 15 Muslims. It is rather more plausible to suggest that they are Turkish colonizers. Thus I propose that the Muslim population of Prosaçane is of both colonizer and convert origin. I believe that this is important as this village is the only one in the western section with a large Muslim population. Due to the different religious situation, I think that all Muslims (both colonizer and possible converts) from other villages in the area migrated to Prosaçane, to establish a small local Muslim community. According to Bulliet, in fact, Muslims who are of a minority, particularly converts, from villages in rural areas tend to be marginalized

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<sup>278</sup> TD7, 42.

<sup>279</sup> These are: Kara Göz *veled-i* Abdullah; İbrahim *veled-i* Abdullah; Şirmert *birder-i* (brother of) İbrahim; and Hamza *veled-i* Abdullah. TD7, 52.

from the rest of the community. This marginalization caused many new converts to migrate from rural areas to more urban and larger places with established Muslim communities.<sup>280</sup> In this case, I suppose that those who converted in nearby villages, moved to Prosaçane where perhaps a small community of colonists initially integrated themselves in an economically prosperous settlement. Therefore the fertile geography, high agricultural output and the local presence of Orthodox institutions explains why the population in this region did not need to change their social or economic position through religious apostasy.

Within vast territories of the Balkans, the same situation is demonstrated, except for some particular areas characterized by high levels of conversion.<sup>281</sup> As for our western section, the value of recording the Christian population is evident in terms of studying the ethnic situation in the region. By observing the pattern of naming among the Christians a variety of assumptions can be determined. For example, although this district is located in modern-day Greece, an analysis of the names determines a large cross-cultural exchange between ethnically Slavic and Greek peoples there. Many names among the Christians, particularly in the villages located in the western section, in fact come from a Slavic origin. Other names can be found to have come from a Slavic onomasticum but had been changed to represent a ‘Greekified’ version of the same names.<sup>282</sup> Also, similarly to the Muslim names, an

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<sup>280</sup> According to Bulliet, for the individual, conversion meant that he was no longer a part of his old community. He many actually have been regarded as legally dead in the eyes of his former coreligionists. If there were too few Muslims in his home community for him to feel that he could live a good Muslim life he was likely to emigrate to a community with a larger Muslim population. This last tendency might well be enhanced by economics insofar as a convert might find himself frozen out of his customary participation in the economic life of his erstwhile coreligionists and consequently seek out a large Muslim community in whose economic life he could participate more or less in his accustomed fashion. Bulliet found this to be particularly true in Iran, where the majority of converts were found to be in cities, rather than in rural areas. See R.W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, 36-37.

<sup>281</sup> See Appendix C, where blue dots indicate Christian villages.

<sup>282</sup> For example names such as Rayo or Stoyo can be found written as Rayos or Stoyos, showing a Greek influence.

in-depth study of the name-system of the Christians could also lead scholars to determine the religiosity of the local population. Names from Biblical origin, in both Greek and Slavic incarnations are evident, as are names of Slavic pagan/mystical origin.<sup>283</sup> Other names indicate perhaps Albanian and Vlach origins of some Christians, while others are recorded with patronymics indicating their ethnicity, such as Bulgar or Arnavut. The value of assessing the non-Muslim name-system is therefore great, although beyond the scope of this work, requiring further in-depth study drawing on ethnography, linguistics and folklore.

The fertility of the plains and coastal regions in this third section contributed to existence of large, economically prosperous and entirely Christian villages without any signs of conversion, such as the representative sample for this region. The nearness to larger towns west of the *kaza* would have further contributed to the maintenance of the local networks in existence before the Ottoman conquest. This continuity is clearly retained in later centuries as this area continued to exhibit a majority Christian population.

The general pattern of conversion observed in the eastern, central and western regions of the *kaza* of Drama serves to provide an image of a complex and varied situation during the end of the fifteenth century. Although many historians, particularly Balkan scholars, continue to state that the first occurrence of large-scale conversion to Islam took place in Albania and Bosnia, my study questions this well-established concept.<sup>284</sup> In the eastern section of the district, a religious environment

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<sup>283</sup> Ostrogosky claims that it is impossible to determine which of the Christians is of a Greek or Slavic origin, due to the Byzantine cultural tradition which prevailed in the Balkans. See *Documents sur l'Histoire du Peuple Macedonien* Vol. IV. Compiled by A. Stojanovski (Skopje, 1978), 30, footnote 15. Compare R.W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*. Similarly, Bulliet claims the same for the Near East in terms of determining the difference between Christians, Muslims and Jews due to the Qur'anic/Biblical origins of their names.

<sup>284</sup> See in particular H.T. Norris, *Islam in the Balkans: Religion and Society between Europe and the Arab World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahasi Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670- 1730* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), S.

in its last stages, the ‘laggard’ period is revealed, a point that had nearly reached the end of the conversion process long before Albania and Bosnia. Therefore, by the end of the fifteenth century the process had already finished in that region in the Balkans.

The contact with *yürüks* travelling along the transhumance path provided the locals with knowledge about the new religion. Through this inevitable interaction, the influence of Muslim transhumanists led to some initial conversions. Conversion to Islam as a process was stimulated by the penetration of the Ottoman administrative-military order into the difficult geography of the mountains. This is in contrast to the low-lands, plains and coastal regions, where although Islamic-Turkish colonization was prominent, the region is characterized by economic prosperity and well preserved Christian Orthodox networks and institutions.

Although a general pattern does emerge, the process towards conversion cannot be said to have happened uniformly and in one particular way. There were many routes towards conversion and even within areas with majority Muslim populations, not every village can be said to have taken exactly the same steps. The region as a whole however is representative of a certain stage in the process at this time. If we consider the idea that conversion in the Balkans consisted of many stories, of many paths and stages, the *kaza* of Drama embodies only one: the story or stage of initial conversion to Islam.

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Vryonis Jr., “Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” A. Zhelyazkova, “Islamization in the Balkans as an Historiographical Problem: The Southeast-European Perspective,” etc.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **CONCLUSION**

In order to study the process of conversion in the Balkans a number of factors must be taken into account. In the *kaza* of Drama, in the fifteenth century, it has been shown that one of the most essential factors affecting the process is the geography and climate of the area. The natural environment influenced the space in religious terms, dividing the region into three sections. The eastern mountainous section proved to be a difficult terrain in which to establish large-scale agricultural production. This in turn made it an economic periphery within the region, initially of secondary economic and administrative importance. The geography also facilitated the life-style of the transhumanists, who used the routes along the western Rhodopes to reach their summer and winter pastures in the mountains and plains respectively. Through their travels, they became the first to inform the local population of the existence of Islam and thus contributed to the religious composition of the region. As a result of this contact some groups of the Christian community were stimulated and encouraged to convert to Islam. The eastern section therefore displays a general pattern of an almost complete process of conversion in most of the villages in the

area, one that would lead the region to become completely veiled by Islam in the following centuries.

The neighbouring low-lands and plains at the foot of the Rhodope Mountains, with their fertile and agriculturally productive soils, influenced the religious character in different ways. The fact that the geography allowed for a diverse economy and larger income hampered the spread of Islam among the local population. The terrain enabled easier contact between Christian villages and the town of Drama, as well as with the various authorities that made up the well-established Orthodox network in the central and western section of the area. The less difficult topography facilitated the maintenance of the relationships that Christians had established before the emergence of the Ottomans. The geography also enabled the easy settlement of colonizers with specialized skills who found a place to inhabit and continue their production in a new landscape. This resulted in the physical Islamization of the territory through the actual presence of new Anatolian Muslims. It led to the development of a central region with some conversion among the inhabitants of its villages and to a western region, which was and would remain, empty of any Islamization of the people, meaning conversion, until the beginning of the twentieth century.

The development of the administrative order or the ‘Ottomanization’ of the spaces of the *kaza* developed different levels of influence in each section. The registration of the mountains in the eastern region and the presence of Ottoman officials through the application of the *timar*-system imposed a new order upon the local population. ‘Ottomanization’ was therefore demonstrated to the inhabitants by the economic, social and military institutions put into place by the authorities. As a result Islam was institutionalized, forcing locals to consider and reconsider their



religious affiliation, according to their position in the local economy and culture. This led to the conversion of those who felt that they would benefit through the participation in the new religious system, many who resided in the eastern sections of the territory.

Although in the central and western regions of the district, the ‘Ottomanization’ of the area occurred rapidly after conquest, it did not have the same level of influence among the local population. The pressure from the authorities or the realization of the state, though equal throughout the region, did not affect these sections in a similar manner. The new order was applied and the locals complied with it, yet they were not as equally influenced by it in religious terms. The economic and social conditions of the low-land and plain areas were different, placing the local Christians in a position where they were able to continue paying for their religion. Although Islamic institutions, particularly in the town, were obviously evident, they were countered by the presence of the Christian ones. Therefore these two sections composed a religious landscape that remained stable.

As a whole, this region demonstrates every aspect related to the process of conversion. Not only can various levels of the pace of conversion be observed, but also every factor that affected conversion in general. One may judge about the role of colonization, the relationships between different economic groups (such as agriculturalist and producers or manufacturers of specialized products), the interactions between various ethnic groups, between different religious authorities, the contacts between the locals and the state, as well as the influence and impact of transhumance and the *yürük* groups in general. Therefore, this very small region in the Balkans, the *kaza* of Drama represents all the different aspects found throughout the territory in relation to conversion. It also displays these characteristics long

before any other area that was influenced by the spread of Islam. For this reason, one may say that the region is a micro-cosmos of the ethnic and religious inter-relations which existed in the rest of the Peninsula, displaying the complex relationships between different ethnicities and two dominant religions, characteristic of Ottoman rule in the Balkans.

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APPENDIX A:  
Map 1

The *kazas* of Drama and Nevrokop in reference to Modern-day Borders in the Balkans



Source: Topographical map acquired from the below website:

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Macedonia\\_topography.svg?uselang=tr&fb\\_source=message](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Macedonia_topography.svg?uselang=tr&fb_source=message)

## APPENDIX B: Map 2

### Ancient Roman Routes in the Balkans



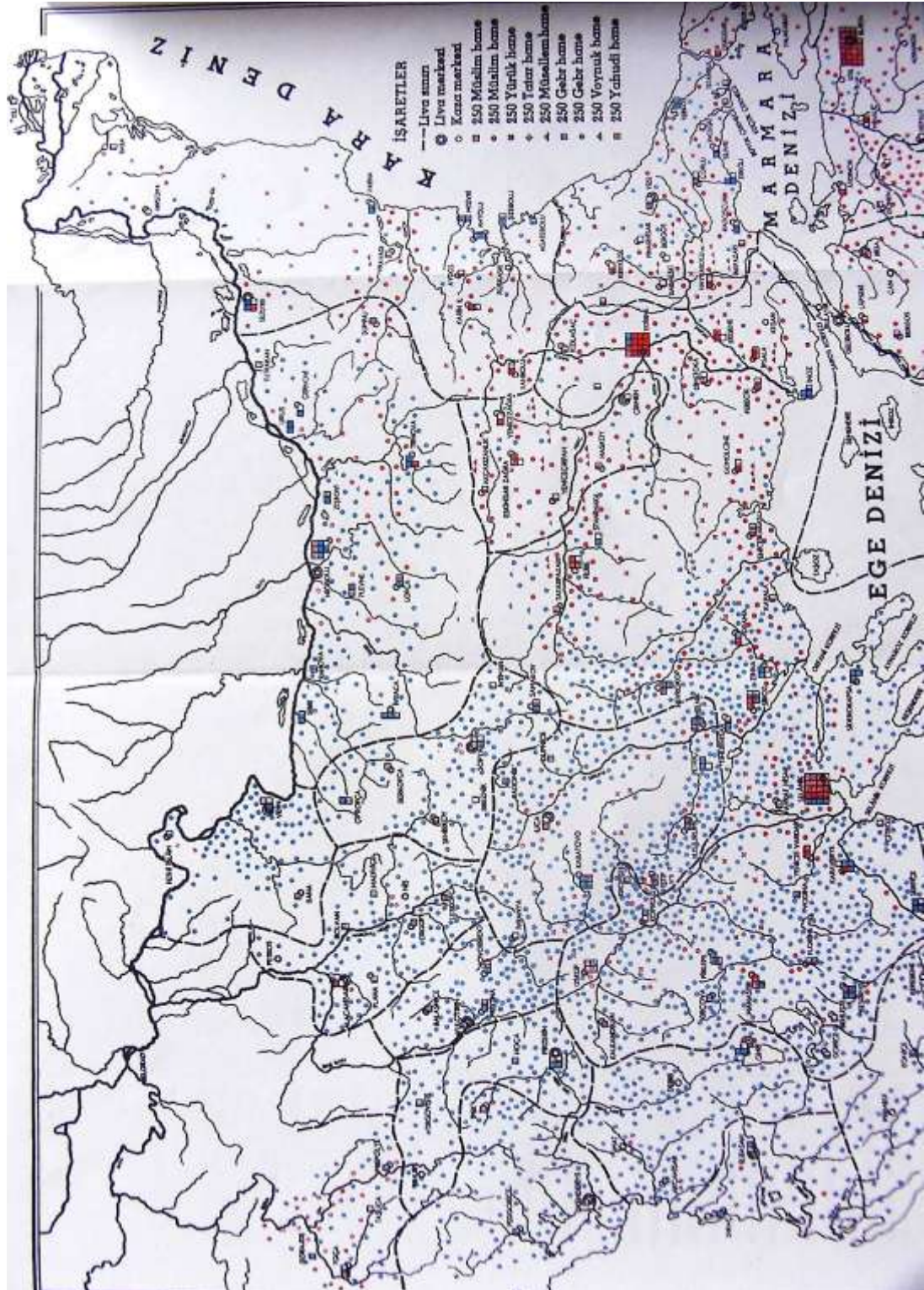
Source: G. Škrivanić, "Roman Roads and Settlements in the Balkans." in *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*. Ed. Francis W. Carter. (London: Academic Press, 1977), 136.



## APPENDIX C

### Map 3

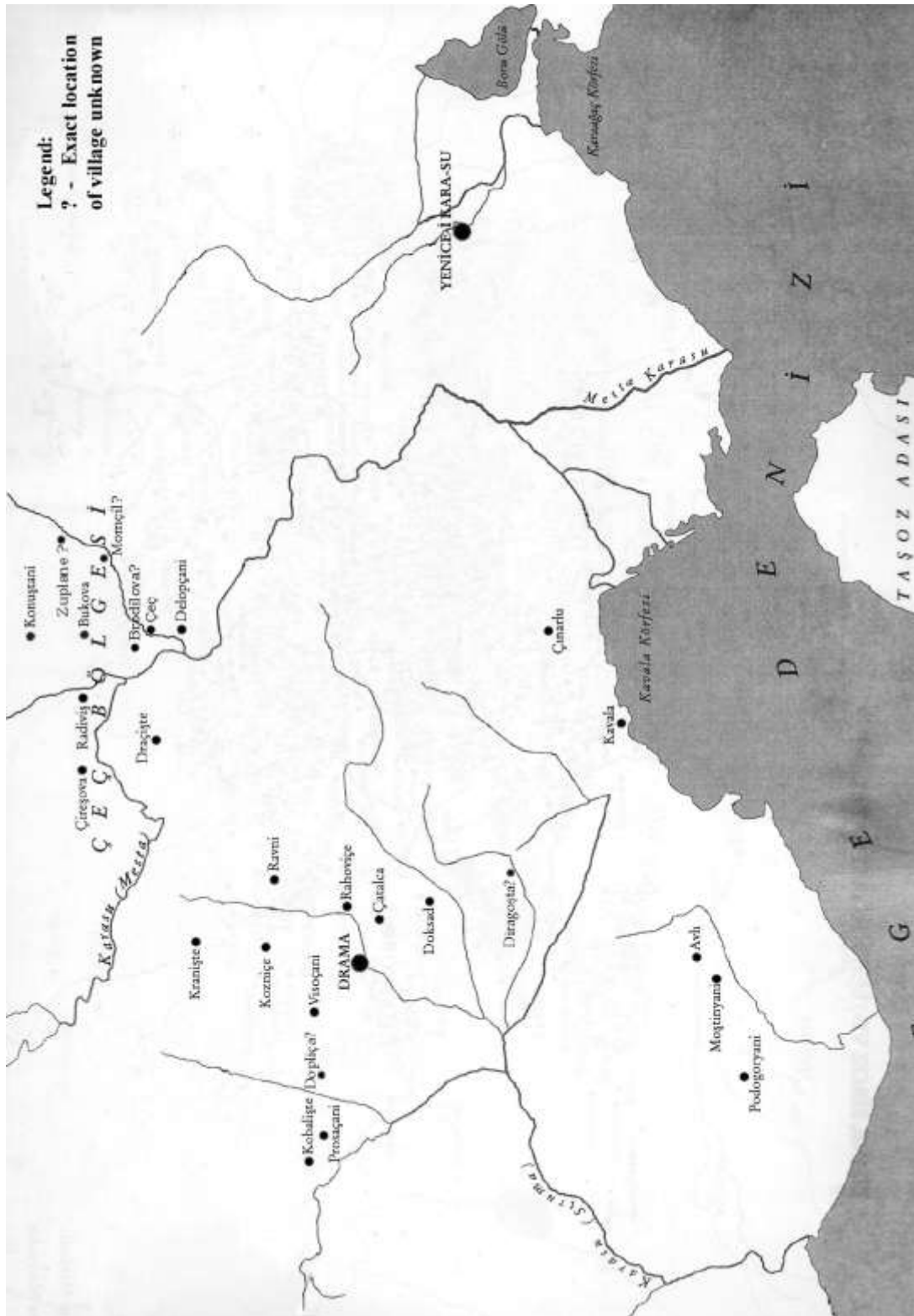
Religious situation in the Balkans in the Beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century



Source: Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi. Tetkiklet – Makaleler*, Cilt 1 (İstanbul 2000).

Map 4.

### Case-Study Villages in the *kaza* of Drama

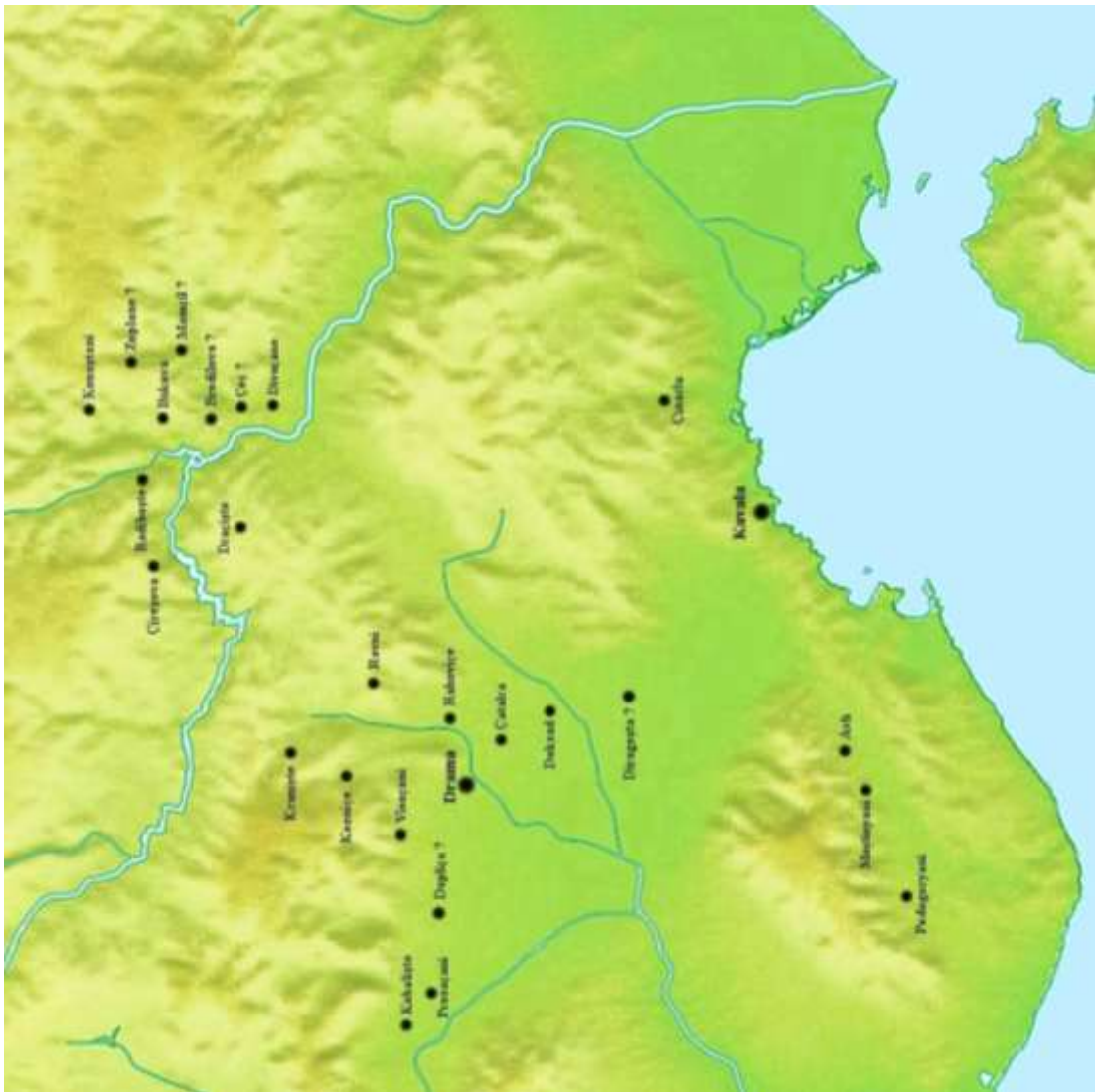


Source: Background of map and location of some villages taken from *167 numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-ili Defteri (937/1530)*, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Vol.1, Ankara, 2001, 139.

## APPENDIX E

### Map 5

#### Topographic Map of Case-Study Villages in the *kaza* of Drama



Source: Topographic map with no villages from  
[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Macedonia\\_topography.svg?uselang=tr&fb\\_source=messag](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Macedonia_topography.svg?uselang=tr&fb_source=messag)



APPENDIX F  
Map 6

*Yürük* Transhumance Paths in the Rhodope Mountains

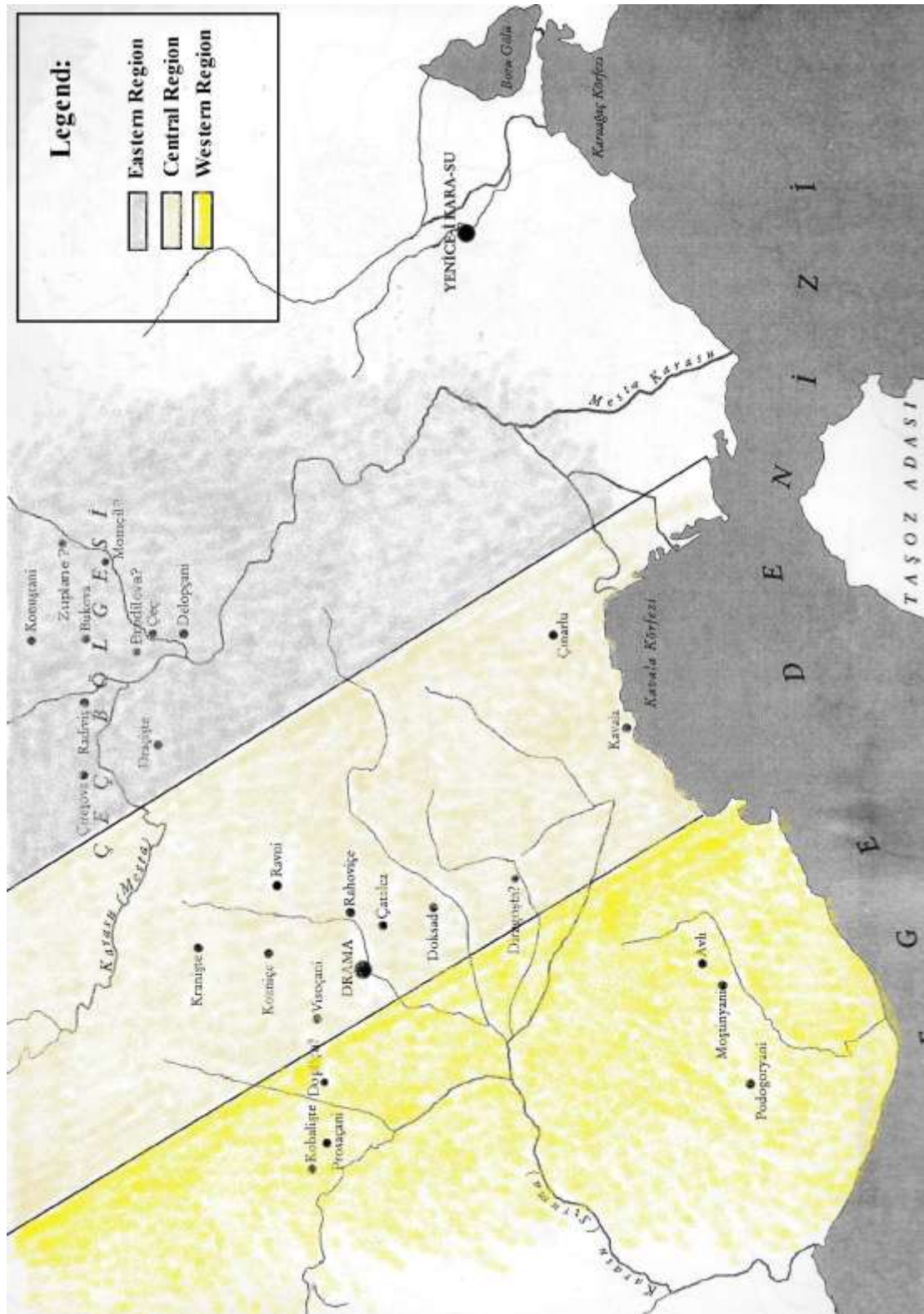


Source: Topographic map with no villages from  
[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Macedonia\\_topography.svg?uselang=tr&fb\\_source=messag](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Macedonia_topography.svg?uselang=tr&fb_source=messag)



## Map 7

### East, Central and Western Sections of the *kaza* of Drama



Source: Background of map and location of some villages taken from *167 numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-ili Defteri (937/1530)*, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Vol.1, Ankara, 2001, 139.

APPENDIX H:  
Table 1

| <b>Village Name</b>     | <b># of Muslim hanes</b> | <b># of Muslim mücerreds</b> | <b># of Muslim bives</b> | <b># of Christian hanes</b> | <b># of Christian mücerreds</b> | <b># of Christian bives</b> |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>Eastern Section:</b> |                          |                              |                          |                             |                                 |                             |
| Brodilova               | 49                       | 30                           | 4                        | 7                           | -                               | -                           |
| Bukova                  | 32                       | 14                           | -                        | -                           | 2                               | -                           |
| Çeç                     | 53                       | 18                           | 3                        | 2                           | -                               | -                           |
| Çireşova                | 6                        | -                            | -                        | 20                          | -                               | -                           |
| Divoçane                | 13                       | 4                            | -                        | 5                           | 2                               | -                           |
| Draçište                | 9                        | -                            | -                        | 15                          | -                               | 3                           |
| Konuştani               | 17                       | 15                           | -                        | -                           | -                               | -                           |
| Momcil                  | 33                       | 14                           | -                        | 3                           | -                               | 2                           |
| Radibošte               | 3                        | 5                            | -                        | 6                           | 5                               | 1                           |
| Zoplane                 | 30                       | -                            | 3                        | -                           | -                               | -                           |
| <b>Central Section:</b> |                          |                              |                          |                             |                                 |                             |
| Çatalca                 | 6                        | 2                            | -                        | 30                          | -                               | 2                           |
| Çınarlu                 | 16                       | -                            | -                        | 61                          | 10                              | 5                           |
| Diragošta               | 3                        | -                            | -                        | 76                          | 5                               | 9                           |
| Doksad                  | 2                        | 2                            | -                        | 51                          | 8                               | 7                           |
| Kozniçe                 | 1                        | -                            | -                        | 23                          | -                               | 3                           |
| Kranište                | -                        | -                            | -                        | 18                          | 2                               | -                           |
| Rahoviçe                | 15                       | -                            | -                        | 51                          | 3                               | 7                           |
| Ravne                   | -                        | -                            | -                        | 10                          | -                               | -                           |
| Visoçane                | -                        | -                            | -                        | 77                          | 6                               | 4                           |
| <b>Western Section:</b> |                          |                              |                          |                             |                                 |                             |
| Avli                    | -                        | -                            | -                        | 20                          | 2                               | -                           |
| Dopliçane               | -                        | -                            | -                        | 63                          | 4                               | 1                           |
| Kobalište               | -                        | -                            | -                        | 36                          | 5                               | 6                           |
| Mostinyani              | -                        | -                            | -                        | 28                          | 2                               | 5                           |
| Podgoryani              | 2                        | -                            | -                        | 64                          | 4                               | 2                           |
| Prosaçane               | 15                       | 4                            | -                        | 75                          | 5                               | 7                           |

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Hasha-i ziamet Hızır bin Mehmed Paşa dame davlathu.

Nefs-i Drama

Müslumanan:

Mahalle-i Mescit

Mevlana Ahmed bin Muslihetin, hatib ve İmam; İlyas veled-i Mehmed, müezin; Hamza veled-i Durmuş, kayım; Karaca; İbrahim [from] Megri<sup>285</sup>; Bayıku İlyas, cüllah.

Durud veled-i o; Mustafa, pabuççi; Dursun, hıyat; Durali, debbağ; Bayramlı birader-i o; Hasan, hıyat.

Hızır, pabuççi; Mustafa, debbağ; Ali, muzeduz; Mustafa, sarac; Murad, bozacı; Mahmud veled-i Ahmed.

Ali, cüllah; Ahmed, danışmend; Hamza, naib; Mehmed veled-i Mustafa; Mehmed, eşekci; Ali, bakkal.

Ali, bakkal *diğer*; Yusuf, naib; Karahoşkadem; Ali [veled-i] Vastak [?]; Yusuf, tabah; İskender, سربونی.

Resil; Şirmerd, tuzcu; Eynebeği veled-i Mirko; Doğan, dukkandâr; Bayezid, naib; Mustafa veled-i pabuççi, Hamza.

İvaz veled-i İvaz; Mustafa birader-i o; İlyas, debbağ; Abdullah; Hasan, naib.

Karaca, debbağ; Yunus, kilikci [?]; Murad, سربونی; Yusuf, hıyat; Yusuf veled-i Karaca; Murad, cüllah.

Kasım, سربونی; Hamza [veled-i] İstaniş; Hızır veled-i Vılkan; Mustafa veled-i Eynebeği; Mehmed, deveci; Bazarlu, hıyat.

Huseyn veled-i Hacı; Suleyman veled-i Yakub; Burak veled-i Doğan; Mehmed, pabuççi; Hacı [veled-i] Bayram; Ramazan veled-i Bayıku İlyas.

Ahmed, Küplü; İbrahim, sabuni; Ali, Uskublu; İlyas veled-i Yusuf; Yusuf veled-i Şirmert; Evrenos veled-i Hızır.

Hizmetker Yusuf [veled-i] Subaşı; Hamza veled-i Hızır; Şirmert, tuzcu; Mehmed veled-i o; Mamak veled-i Hasan; Mehmed veled-i Durmuş.

Barak veled-i Yusuf; Ali veled-i Hamza; Köşek Mehmed; Devlethan, sarac; Bayezid veled-i Eyenebeği; Mehmed veled-i Murad.

<sup>285</sup> A place in mid-Thrace in the vilayet of Edirne.

Mahmud veled-i Murad, cüllah; İlyas, eşekci; Saruca veled-i o; İsmail, eşekci; Emirçelebi veled-i Zeyn ül-abiddin; Bive Şamdana.

Lütfi; Hasan, sarac; Doğan veled-i Bayezid.

Bive-i Devlet; Bive zen-i Lala; Bive-i Hızırlı; Bive Gülşen; Bive-i Hacı; Bive Parsa.

Bive zen-i cüllah; Bive zen-i Hızır; Bive zen-i Hamza; Bive Tuti; Bive-i Seferi; Hane – 69; Mücerred – 17; Bive – 12.

Gebran:

Mahalle-i Mitrepolid.

Mihal veled-i Lividno; Kosta Meriç; Manol [velde-i] Marin; Yorgi veled-i Granik; Hristodul Kokorca; Yani veled-i Lividno.

Manol veled-i Triyoni; Todor veled-i Manol; Kosta veled-i Eksaniyot; Kalivros; Yani veled-i Manol; Moskovlu, zerger.

Andronikos veled-i o; Bive-i Lividno; Bive-i Todore; Bive-i ممغنى; Bive Petrusta; Bive-i İstamad.

Hane – 13. Bive – 5.

Mahalle-i Papa Dimitri.

Mezkûr; Todor [veled-i] Panoni; İspartino; Manol Koçori; Yani Siropulo; Dimo veled-i Behadoni.

Papa Kaligrayo; Markos [veled-i] Kaligrayo; Yorgi veled-i İstavrino; Ulah [veled-i] Arnos; Dimitri [veled-i] İvlamirno; Senadino [veled-i] Zagorno.

Dimo veled-i Birak; Livnos [veled-i] Yorgi; Kladinos [veled-i] Nikita; Bive-i Mankani; Bive-i İstavrino; Bive-i Mosko.

Bive-i Kaligrafo; Bive-i Kangari; Bive-i Engi. Hane – 15. Bive – 6.

Mahalle-i Panametkos.

Dimos kefali; Mihal birader-i o; Urlas; [...] [veled-i] [...]; Kosta [veled-i] Magdari; Yovan veled-i Foti.

Margire; [...]; Ditrano; Kosta veled-i Nostori; Manol [veled-i] Silyanos; Nevestos [veled-i] Hridsodul.

Tsveki; İvlahos; Senadinos [veled-i] Mostiç; Kosta birader-i Mostiç; Çenkari [veled-i] Kosta; Yani veled-i Kosta.

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Kaludi veled-i Dimo; Kosta veled-i Dimo; Yorgi [veled-i] Vastagari; Yani veled-i Yorgi; İspeliyot veled-i Bariç; Hristodul [veled-i] Krantar.

Yorgi veled-i Senodo; Moskopolu veled-i Fotino; Dimo veled-i Kozanino; Mihail veled-i Miho; Yorgi veled-i Miho; Kosta [veled-i] Kosta.

Nestor [veled-i] Yerlo; Yanos; Bive Vasilki; Bive Kala; Bive Kozasta; Bive Varsama.

Bive Mariç; Bive-i Krayo; Bive-i Kaludi; Bive Yoragin; [?] Dimitra; Dimo Lahana.

Bive-i Dimitro; Todor, gaib. Hane – 31. Mücerred – 4. Bive – 9.

Mahalle-i Papa Çamandros.

Manol veled-i Kiryazi; Yorgi veled-i Çigari; Kiryakos [veled-i] Mostiç; Manol veled-i Girko; Yorgi veled-i Çigaroz; Bive İvlahyana.

Bive Fostina; Bive-i Gyoro; Bive-i Yano; Bive Rike; Todor veled-i Dimo. Hane – 6. Bive – 5.

Mahalle-i Papa Besyano.

Mezkûr; Komneno veled-i o; Todor veled-i Kosta; Dimo veled-i Mulger; Fotino birader-i o; Mavros veled-i Androniko.

İspeliyot veled-i Naçko; Yorgi veled-i Fote; Senadino veled-i Koçori; Fotino veled-i Eksaynoti; Yorgi veled-i Fotino; İstamad veled-i Eksayos.

Frenk, Konstadin [from] Midillü; Pemalalog veled-i o; Angelos veled-i o; İşliko veled-i İstamad; Kosta veled-i Vrane; Yorgi [veled-i] Kormyani.

Yorgi veled-i İstradi; Miho veled-i Koroyani; Papas Dimitri veled-i Petro; İstamad veled-i Hristodul; Bive-i İstamad; Bive-i İstradi.

Bive İruki; Bive-i Androniko; Bive-i Manyaki; Bive Kalino; Bive-i Filko; Bive-i Mosko.

Bive-i Lamirno; Bive Kortigina; Bive-i Mancuki; Bive Karina; Bive Şamidina. Hane – 22. Bive – 13.

Mahalle-i Papa Manol.

Yani veled-i Kosta; Kiryako veled-i Vuyo; Mihal veled-i Kiryako; İstavrino veled-i Kukuç; Lanude veled-i Tsidiot; Yani veled-i Saruca;

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Kosta veled-i Yani; Yorgi veled-i Kukuca; Sinkifita veled-i Çangari; Kosta veled-i o; Dimo veled-i Ligano; Kiryako veled-i Manol.

Androniko veled-i Yoti; İstamad veled-i Gunari; Vastiarhi veled-i Kortopulo; Kosta veled-i Kortopull; Vasiliko veled-i Panula; Mihal veled-i Koçori.

Dimo veled-i Manol; Yani veled-i Vasil; Adrakta [veled-i] Yani; Yorgi veled-i İstoyan; Kiryako veled-i Petir; Bogdan veled-i Petir.

Papa Dimitri [veled-i] Peskefita; Manol [veled-i] Çenburi; Papas Yani; Bive-i İstoyan; Bive-i Siropulna; Bive-i Peskefita.

Bive-i Mosko; Bive-i Midgiano; Bive-i Papa Todor; Bive [?] Filipo ; Bive-i İpsofote; Bive-i Bahraba.

Bive Mavriya; Bive Çorakna; Bive Romana; Bive-i Velika; Bive-i Kortopulo; Bive-i Yani.

Bive-i Payola; Bive-i İstamad; Bive Dukna; Bive-i Petko; Bive-i Kraditio; Bive-i Polid.

Bive-i Angelo; Bive-i Gyoro; Dimo veled-i Zoryani. Hane – 28. Bive – 23

Mezkûr [?] şehir yanında ve der karye  
Visoçane sakindir.

İvalh Dobro veled-i Koçolid; Bogdan veled-i Koçolid; Anastas veled-i Koçolid; Radun [veled-i?] Koçolid; Hrisafaki; Dimo veled-i mezkûr.

Yorgi veled-i Hrisane; Miho veled-i Presil; Yorgo veled-i Presil; Rusin veled-i Presil; Dimo veled-i Gyeraid; Yorgo veled-i Dimo.

Velço veled-i Popona; Yorgo veled-i Popona; Todor veled-i Rizari. Hane – 16.

Cema'an: Hane – 69. Mücerred – 17. Bive – 12. Hane-i Gebr – 120. Mücerred – 12. Bive – 61.



Hasıl: şehir-i Drama.

Kıst-i bazar ve bac<sup>286</sup> - 13,000 [akçe]. Resm-i kile – 4,000 [akçe].

Monopolye – 6,000 [akçe]. Niyabet resm-i arus ve cürm-ü cinayet ve resm-i hınzır – 3,000 [akçe].

Kendüm – 14 mud, 1,680 [akçe]. Cev – 5 mud, 300 [akçe]. Öşr-i bağ – 9,000 [akçe]. Gevgel – 100 [akçe]. Rugvan – 100 [akçe]. Hassa: ceviz – muddeyn, 200 [akçe].

İспенç – 3,666 [akçe]. Çavdar – 3 mud, 180 [akçe]. Burçak – 4 mud, 50 [akçe]. Sarımsak – 60 [akçe].

Piyaz – 10 [akçe]. Asyab-i valavice – 7 göz, 80 [akçe].

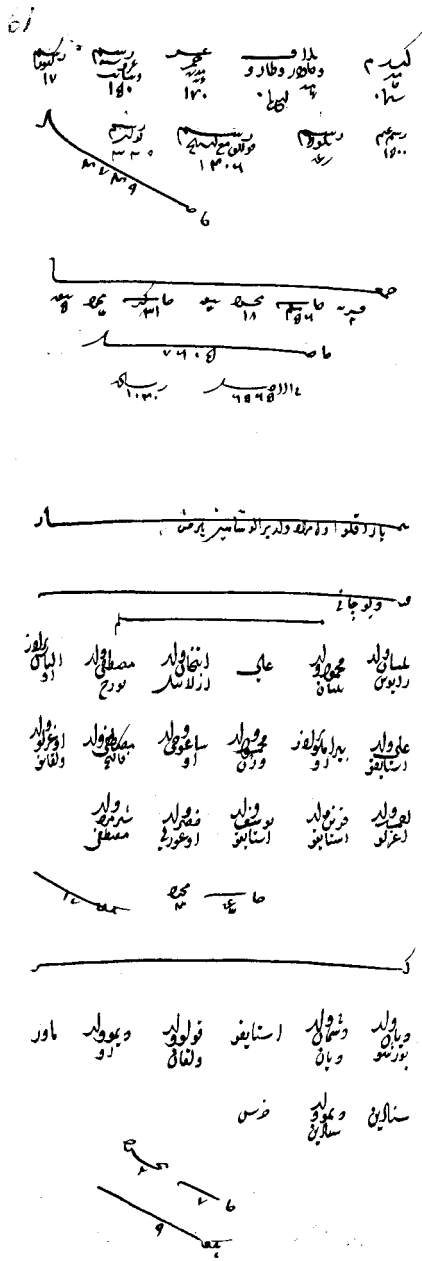
Hasıl: cema'an ma' ispenç – 41,426 [akçe].

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<sup>286</sup> kıst (share/lot) of bazar; ve bac (bac-i bazar – market dues)

# APPENDIX J:

## Villages of Çeç and Divoçane (TD7, 1478)



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## Villages selected from the Eastern Section of the *kaza* of Drama

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K a r i y e-i Ç e ç, tetimme-i timar mezkur.

Hisse.

Hasa-i escar-i ceviz, nısıfhisce – 200 [akçe].

Muslim:

Halil veled-i Ilyas; Isa birader-i o; Bazarlu birader-i o; Hızır veled-i Ilyas; Saltık veled-i Ilyas; Musa veled-i Ilyas.

Hasan veled-i Ilyas; Hızır veled-i Abdullah; Yakub veled-i Abdullah; Huseyn veled-i Abdullah; Kasım veled-i Abdullah; Atmaca veled-i Uğurlu.

Ali veled-i Uğurlu; Hamza veled-i Uğurlu; Behadır veled-i Ali; Kara Göz veled-i Karaca; Atmaca birader-i o; Mehmed veled-i Karaca.

Balaban; Aydın veled-i Balaban; Mustafa veled-i Abdullah; Hamza veled-i Abdullah; Mehmed veled-i Abdullah; Ali birader-i Balaban.

Doğan veled-i Abdullah; Mustafa veled-i Abdullah; Şirmert veled-i Abdullah; Ahmed veled-i Abdullah; Ali veled-i Abdullah; Yusuf veled-i Abdullah.

Doğan veled-i Abdullah; Mehmed veled-i Abdullah; Kuşlu; Şirmert veled-i Abdullah; Davud veled-i Abdullah; Yusuf veled-i Ali.

Veli veled-i Atmaca; Hamza veled- Atmaca; Kasım veled-i Atmaca; Mustafa veled-i Atmaca; Saruca veled-i Dimitri; Ali veled-i Abdullah.

Ishak birader-i Ali; Kurd veled-i Abdullah; Atmaca veled-i Abdullah; Kara Göz birader-i Atmaca; Uğurlu veled-i Radoslav; Hamza veled-i Uğurlu.

Çakır veled-i Surko; Yusuf veled-i Gorgo; Saruca veled-i Surko; Karaca veled-i Abdullah; Dobrenik birader-i o *gebr*; Dimitri veled-i Abdullah *gebr*.

Hamza veled-i Halil; Yusuf veled-i Halil; Umur veled-i Isa; Mehmed-i veled-i Ilyas; Mustafa birader-i Behadır; Suleyman veled-i Karaca.

Ali veled-i Mustafa; Yusuf birader-i Hamza; Musa veled-i Karaca; Ali veled-i Kosil; Ali veled-i Kurd Hasan; Balaban veled-i Doğan.

Halil birader-i Şirmert; Umur veled-i Uzun Ali; Kuşlu; Mustafa veled-i Saruca; Resil [?].

Bive Kala; Bive İzlata; Bive-i İstamat; Ömer veled-i Abdullah.

Hane - 53; Mücerred - 18; Bive – 3.

Hane-i Gebr – 2.

Kendün – 2 mud, 600 [akçe]. Yulaf ve çavdar ve daru – 8 mud, 400 [akçe].  
Öşr-i hamr – medre 170 [akçe]. Resm-i aruz ve niyabet - 150 [akçe]; Öşr-i kenevir -  
17 [akçe].

Resm-i ganem – 1300 [akçe]; Resm-i pelut – 16 [akçe]; Resm-i kulluk ma‘  
ispenç – 1306 [akçe]. Resm-i kovan – 320 [akçe].

Hasıl: 3739[akçe].

Cema‘n: Kura - 2; Hane-i Muslim - 56; Mücerret - 18; Bive - 3; Hane-i Gebr  
- 31; Mücerret - 3; Bive – 5.

Hasıl: 7615.

Fi'l-asl – 6565 [akçe]; Ziyade – 1030 [akçe].

**Timar-i Baraklu, evvel Murad veled-i Yaralu Şahin yermiş.**

K a r y e-i D i v o ç a n e.

Müslim:

Balaban veled-i Rayos; Mahmud veled-i Balaban; Ali; Eynehan veled-i  
Izlatil; Mustafa veled-i Borica [?]; Ilyas birader-i o.

Ali veled-i Istayko; Bayramlu birader-i o; Mahmud veled-i Vejen; Sağuci  
veled-i o; Mustafa veled-i Fakiç; Uğurlu veled-i Valkano.

Ahmed veled-i Uğurlu; Karın [?]veled-i Istayko; Yusuf veled-i Istayko; Hızır  
veled-i Uğurlu; Şirmert veled-i Mustafa.

Hane - 13; Mücerred – 4.

Yekun: 17.

Gebr:

Deyan veled-i Borşo; Duşman veled-i Deyan; Istayko; Kolo [=Kolyo] veled-i  
Valkan; Dimo veled-i o; Mavr[o].

Senadin; Dimo veled-i Senadin; Hris.

Hane - 5; Mücerred – 2.

Yekun: 9.

## K a r y e-i B r o d i l o v a.

Muslim:

Yusuf veled-i Balaban; İlyas veled-i Yusuf; İlyas veled-i Doğan; Şahin veled-i Balaban; Musa veled-i Balaban; Kara Göz veled-i Balaban.

Hızır veled-i Balaban; Kara Ahmed veled-i Balaban; Yusuf veled-i Karaca; Hızır veled-i Karaca; Mustafa veled-i Karaca; Hoşkadem veled-i Karaca.

Doğan, *lenk*; Şirmert veled-i o; Saruca veled-i Doğan; Durali; Bayramlı birader-i Durali; Durhan.

İsmail veled-i Durhan; Samed [?] birader-i Durhan; Suleyman veled-i Velo; İbrahim veled-i Brayko; Şahin veled-i Brayko; Karaca veled-i Brayko.

Doğan veled-i Şahin; Kara Mihal; İlyas birader-i Kara Mihal; Sevgilü [veled-i] Koca; Kara Ahmed; İsa birader-i o.

Ali birader-i o; Kara Göz veled-i Brayko; Bayramlı veled-i Brayko; Tanrıvermiş Bazarlı veled-i o; Kurt Hasan.

İskender birader-i Dimitri; Salih veled-i Mihal; Şirmert veled-i Dragoye; Mustafa veled-i Dragoye; Mehmed veled-i Gırk; İsmail veled-i Tanrıvermiş.

Kasım, dışyak [?]; Kalgıl; Osman; Bazarlı; Mehmed; Hızır birader-i Osman.

Hamza veled-i Yusuf; Umur birader-i İlyas; Karaca birader-i İlyas; Mihal veled-i Karaca; İlyas veled-i Karaca; Hamza veled-i Karaca.

Huseyn veled-i Doğan; Şirmert veled-i Turgut; Saruca veled-i Samed [?]; Kasım veled-i Suleyman; Mahmud veled-i İsa; Hasan veled-i İsa.

Hasan veled-i Şahin; Mahmud veled-i Kara Mihal; İshak veled-i Sevgilü Koca; Saruca veled-i Sevgilü Koca; Kasım veled-i Kara Göz; Sali veled-i Kara Göz.

Bahşas veled-i Bayramlı; Çakır veled-i Bayramlı; Yardım veled-i Bayramlı; Mustafa veled-i Tanrıvermiş; Mustafa birader-i Mehmed; Ayas.

Ahmed veled-i Kalgıl; Ömer veled-i Bazarlı; Rahman birader-i Ömer; Karaca veled-i Ahmed; İstamad; Halil.

Bive-i İzlatı; Bive İsmına; Bive Gina; Bive Vida; İsa veled-i Brayko.

Hane – 49. Mücerred – 30. Bive – 4.

Yekun – 83.

Gebr:

Dimitri; Milko veled-i İstepan; Kiryak veled-i o; Dragiye; Radoslav birader-i Dragiye; Koşar.

Kutlu veled-i İstoyan. Hane – 7.

K a r i y e – i R a d i b o ş d e.

Muslim:

Hasan birader-i Kosil; Hamza birader-i Hasan; İlyas veled-i Bratoslav; Yusuf veled-i Hasan; Karaca birader-i Hamza; Kara Göz veled-i Koyil.

Yusuf veled-i Bratoslav. Hane – 3. Mücerred – 5.

Gebr:

Kosil. Sivan veled-i Kosil; Novak veled-i Dimo; Yorgan veled-i Novak; Rusin veled-i Novak; Rus veled-i Kotil.

Dimitri veled-i Novak; Bratoslav. Bive Kala. Hane – 8. Bive – 1.

Muslim: Hane – 6. Mücerred – 5. Gebr: Hane – 8. Bive – 1.

Yekun: 20.

K a r y e - i Ç i r e ş o v a.

Muslim:

Balaban; Doğan birader-i Balaban; İsmail birader-i mezkur; Ahmed; Yusuf birader-i Ahmed; Karaca birader-i Balaban.

Hane – 6.

p.64

Gebr:

İstayko veled-i an tüccar; Dimo veled-i o; Rayko veled-i Dimo; İstayko veled-i Dimo; Mavriye [sic.] veled-i Kastamal; Rosen birader-i o.

Gyorgo veled-i Rusin; Bratoslav veled-i an tüccar; Dimo veled-i Bratoslav; Rosen veled-i Bratoslav; Belko veled-i Bratoslav; Rusin veled-i Bratoslav.

Brayo veled-i Dobre; Dimo veled-i Dobre; İstoyo veled-i [...]; Radiç veled-i İstoyo; Rayo veled-i İstoyo; Hunbenin [?] [veled-i] İstoyo.

Senadin birader-i o; Dimitri veled-i gayr tüccar. Hane – 20.

*Cemaat-i müteferrika eski defterde üç nefer müslim beş nefer gebr varmış  
ba'zı*

*ölmüşler ve ba'zı mezkûr timar erinin köylerine dağılmış.*<sup>287</sup>

K a r y e-i B o h o v a, hâlî<sup>288</sup>.

Müslim:

Durhan; Şirmerd veled-i o.

Gebr:

Rad.

Cema'an hasıl: kura – 5.

Kendüm – 8 mud, 960 [akçe]. Cev ve daru, çavdar – 15 mud, 900 [akçe].  
Kovan – 1,230 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 206 [akçe]. Resm-i pelut – 20 [akçe].

Öşr-i bağ – 500 [akçe]. Ceviz – 500 [akçe]. Resm-i arus – 150 [akçe].  
Niyabet – 100 [akçe]. Resm-i asyab der kariye-i Bradilova – 3 göz, 60 akçe.

Resm-i asyab der kariye-i Divoçane – 1 göz, 20 [akçe]. Resm-i asyab der  
kariye-i Radilova – 30 [akçe]. Kenevir – 200 [akçe]. Resm-i ganem – 1500 [akçe].<sup>289</sup>

İspenç ma' resm-i kulluk – 2,997 [akçe].

Hasıl: 9,368 [akçe].

Cema'at: Hane-i müslim – 73. Mücerred – 39. Hane-i gebr – 43. Mücerred –  
2. Bive – 5.

Hasıl: 9,368 [akçe].

Fi'l-asl – 6,635 [akçe]. Ziade – 2,733 [akçe].

<sup>287</sup> A group of various people that in the previous *defter* consisted of a population of 3 Muslims and a population of 5 *gebrans*; perhaps some of them died and some of them had spreaded within the timar of the abovementioned sipahi leaving the village empty.

<sup>288</sup> Empty (the village)

<sup>289</sup> The summer pastures for the Yuruks with their sheep;

**Timar-i Mehmed veled-i Çeri başı.**

K a r y e-i M o m c i l.

Müslim:

Hasan veled-i İsmail; İsa veled-i İsmail; Hızır veled-i İsmail; Karaca, cebel; İbrahim, *lenk*; Hamza veled-i o.

Kara Göz veled-i Abdullah; Yanko veled-i Abdullah; Murad veled-i İlyas; Doğan veled-i İlyas; Umur veled-i İlyas; Şirmert veled-i Rosen.

Ishak [veled-i] Rado; Saruca, istar; İsmail veled-i Saruca; Ishak veled-i Saruca; Karaca veled-i Saruca; Karaca veled-i Rad.

İbrahim veled-i Rayo; Kara Göz veled-i Kurd; Momçil veled-i Mukbil; Mustafa veled-i Momcol [sic.]; Karaca birader-i Mustafa; Şirmert veled-i İstanimir.

Mustafa veled-i İstanimir; İskender, Hoca; Mübarek veled-i Karaca, *haddat*; Kıtır Ahmed; Kara Ahmed; Musa veled-i Ahmed-i siyah.

Kasım veled-i *haddat*; Şirmert veled-i Kasım; Mustafa veled-i Doyçe; Doğan veled-i Hamza; İstapan [?] birader-i Umur; İsa veled-i Saruca.

Musa veled-i Karaca; Tanrivermiş veled-i İbrahim; Yusuf veled-i o; Atmaca; İstoyun [veled-i] Karaca; Timur birader-i Mustafa.

Karaca veled-i İskender; Mustafa veled-i o; Şirmert veled-i Ahmed-i siyah; İsa veled-i o; Umur veled-i Kasım.

Hane – 33. Mücerred – 14.

Gebr:

Gorçil. Velço veled-i Gorçil. Rayko veled-i Gorçil. Bive İrina; Bive-i Radoslav.

Hane – 3. Bive – 2.

Muslim: Hane – 33. Mücerred – 14. Gebr: Hane – 3. Bive – 2.

Yekun: 52.

K a r y e-i Z u p l a n e.

Suleyman veled-i Brayko; Saruca veled-i Todor; İbrahim veled-i Todor; Mustafa veled-i Todor; Fenduk [?] veled-i İstanil; Murad veled-i Fenduk.



Subakdi veled-i Dragoş; Taynine [?]; Hasan veled-i İstayo; Mürsel veled-i Grozo; Mehmed veled-i Grozo; Kalgat.

İbrahim veled-i İstanil; Şangan veled-i İstanil; İbrahim veled-i Koca; İlyas veled-i o; İlyas veled-i İbrahim; Atmaca veled-i İbrahim.

Yusuf veled-i Maraslav; Âdil veled-i Maraslav; Demur veled-i Fenduk; Boro birader-i Sivyak; Mustafa veled-i Bayrumlu; İlyas veled-i Doyçe.

Gurur veled-i İbrahim; Kara Göz veled-i İbrahim; Karaca birader-i Âdil; Bektaş birader-i Mustafa; Bive Mariça; Bive-i Dobre.

Bive Ismila.

Hane – 30. Bive – 3.

K a r y e-i K o n u ş t a n i.

Behadır. Şirmert veled-i o; Ahmed birader-i o; Ali veled-i Dimo; Kara Göz veled-i Dimo; Saruca veled-i Dimo.

Momçul veled-i Dimo; İsa veled-i Dimo; Doğan veled-i o; Ali veled-i Doğan, *lenk*. İremiya veled-i Doğan el mezbûr; Doğan, *lenk*.

Hasan veled-i Mihal; Durmuş veled-i Mihal; Yusuf veled-i Ruso; Mehmed veled-i Ruso; Mustafa veled-i Ruso; Umur veled-i Behadır.

Durmuş veled-i Ahmed; Kara Göz veled-i Ahmed; Umur veled-i Ali; Oruz veled-i Kara Göz; Yusuf veled-i İbrahim.

Hasan birader-i İbrahim; Şamin birader-i mezkur; Kara Göz birader-i Hasan; İlyas birader-i mezkur; Ali birader-i Hasan; Atmaca birader-i Hasan.

Hamza birader-i Mehmed; Ahmed birader-i Mehmed. Hane – 17. Mücerred – 15.

K a r y e-i B u k o v a.

Yunus. Hamza veled-i Yunus. İlyas veled-i Hamza; Karaca veled-i o; İskender veled-i o; Hızır birader-i Doğan.

Durhan birader-i Plavil; İskender birader-i Durhan; Budak veled-i Mihal; Doğan veled-i Mihal; Karaca birader-i Pupus [?]; İbrahim veled-i Sivo.

Şahin veled-i Sivo; Hızır veled-i Sivo; İlyas veled-i Sivo; Doçi veled-i Dragiye; Umur veled-i o; Şirmert veled-i mezkur.

Balaban birader-i İbrahim; Kara Göz birader-i Yunus; Devlethan birader-i Yunus; Koyili, istar; Saruca veled-i o; Şirmert veled-i Koyil.

İbrahim veled-i Mihal; Hasan veled-i Mihal; Kara Göz veled-i Mihal; İsmail veled-i İstareç; Saruca, istar; Salhan veled-i o.

Ahmed veled-i o; Atmaca veled-i o; Kara veled-i Yunus; Hızır veled-i o; Doyço veled-i İskender; Atmaca veled-i Dimitrak.

Hamza veled-i Karaca; Durhan veled-i o; Hızır veled-i Şahin; Mehmed veled-i İlyas; Yusuf veled-i Kara Göz; Subakdı veled-i Şirmert.

Balaban veled-i Şirmert; Saruca veled-i Grozo; Karaca veled-i o; Şirmert veled-i Atmaca. Hane – 32. Mücerred – 14.

Gebr:

Dimitrak; Grozo; Bogdan, m [ücerred] – 2.

Cema'an:

Kura – 4. Hane-i Muslim – 112. Mücerred – 43. Hane-i Gebr – 5. Bive – 5. [Neferen]: 165.

Hasil kura-i erba'<sup>290</sup>:

Kendum – 12 mud, 1440 [akçe]. Çavdar ve daru – 15 mud, 900 [akçe]. Kovan – 700 [akçe]. Resm-i bağ – 400 [akçe]. Resm-i ganem – 3000, 3000 [akçe].

Öşr-i ceviz – 250 [akçe]. Resm-i arusane ve niyabet – 200 [akçe]. Resm-i asyab-i [...?]. Der karye-i Bukova – 20 [akçe]. Der karye-i Dublane – 20 [ake]. Kenevir – 170 [akçe]. İспенç ma' resm-i kulluk – 2,857 [akçe].

Pelut – 100 [akçe].

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<sup>290</sup> The total income from the 4 villages.

Hasıl: 10,057 [akçe].

Fi'l-asl – 7,556 [akçe]. Ez ziade – 2,501 [akçe].

Minhâ ispenç – 1,230 [akçe].

p. 32 K a r y e-i D r a c i ş t e hassa-i zaim.

Müslim:

Yusuf veled-i Artur; Suleyman veled-i Abdullah; Kara Göz birder-i o;  
Mustafa veled-i Dimko; Alagöz veled-i İstaniş; Ali veled-i Benude [?].

Hasan veled-i İstefan; Şahin veled-i Yanude; İlyas veled-i Dir [?]. Hane – 9.

Gebr:

Momçi veled-i Nikule; Momcil veled-i Gyorgo; Radoslav veled-i Dobrin;  
İstanko veled-i Yanude; İslav veled-i Radoslav; Proyo veled-i Vitin.

Yovan veled-i İstayko; Grozo veled-i Kosta; İstanil veled-i İstayko; Rayo  
veled-i İstlav; Todor veled-i Trati; Trati veled-i Mihal.

İstayko veled-i Kolo; Vonil veled-i Marin; Rayo veled-i Kralo; Bive-i İstaniş;  
Bive-i Vitin; Bive-i Dobre.

Hane – 15. Bive – 3.

p. 33

Kendüm – 5 mud, 600 [akçe]. Çavdar – 3 mud, 180 [akçe]. Daru – [1] mud,  
60 [akçe]. Kovan – 1400 [akçe]. Bağ – 400 [akçe]. Resm-i pelut – 500 [akçe].

Resm-i ganem – 300 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 20 [akçe]. Ketan – 10 [akçe].  
Ceviz – 50 [akçe]. Resm-i asyab 2 göz, munteba' - 60 [akçe].

İспенç ma' resm-i kulluk – 573 [akçe].

Hasıl: 4155 [akçe].

*Manastir-i Yako Mitropolid* (The Metropolitan Monastery of Yako) and its two Churches (TD7, 1478)

[illegible]

کتاب خوشنویس در عرف سید کاتب مدح و ثناء دارد که از طرف صاحب  
و ادوار کتابخانه و تالیفات آنست و طبعه معارف و معانی و التلخیص

۱۵

کله زېږېدوړا کله کور ته شتم اوه لو کېدا کله رېښا کله ښه شتم ډډه  
کړېده او نور د کون کېدا شوي رېښا نلرم کله ډر لاسه الغېب شخړه او لا  
اوه نده سلطان پراخ واز وم سومان و بابت فرجه

|                        |                        |                        |                        |                        |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ |
| د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ |
| د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ |
| د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ | د رېښا کله<br>کېدو ۳۰۰ |

[illegible]

|       |     |      |     |      |      |
|-------|-----|------|-----|------|------|
| کندیم | چو  | طارو | لف  | حاجو | حاجو |
| ۱۹۸۰  | ۲۰۰ | ۲۰   | ۵   | ۱۲۰  | ۴۰۰  |
| پوریا | مرک | رس   | س   | ع    | ر    |
| ۲۰۰   | ۲۰  | ۲۴۰  | ۱۰۰ | ۲۰۰  | ۲۰۰  |
| رغز   | س   | ا    | س   | س    | س    |
| ۲۰۰   | ۲۰۰ | ۱۰   | ۲۰  | ۲۰۰  | ۲۰۰  |
| ۱۹۸۰  | ۲۰۰ | ۲۰   | ۲۰  | ۲۰۰  | ۲۰۰  |

استان و معانی و لغت از ابن عربی  
بروسا

مات

[illegible]

$\frac{5}{100}$   $\frac{1}{100}$   $\frac{1}{100}$   $\frac{1}{400}$   
 ۲۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۴۰۰  
 ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۴۰۰  
 ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۴۰۰  
 ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۱۰۰ ۴۰۰

۱. بیاد و افق  
 ۲. راه و بار  
 ۳. راه و بار  
 ۴. راه و بار

|                |                |                |                |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>مصطفیٰ | ولید<br>مصطفیٰ | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>اسعد   | ولید<br>اسعد   |
| ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون |
| ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون |
| ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون | ولید<br>فریدون |

[illegible]

The Village of Kranişte

5

م قاشی

م کورانیست اذقی

فوشنه ولدن ولدن ولدن ولدن ولدن ولدن  
ولرینو اولسون فوشنه بوقور کورانیست یاسفازک واکشور

ماورانیست بوقور فلوپان واکشور واکشور واکشور واکشور

کندم ۳۰۰ جو ۱۸۰ طارو ۱۸۰ ملف ۱۵۰ رسم ۱۰۰ حاقور ۷۰

ما ۱۲۸۰

م فوشنه

ما کاشی

ولدن ولدن ولدن ولدن ولدن ولدن  
ولرینو اولسون واکشور واکشور واکشور واکشور واکشور

بوقور واکشور واکشور واکشور واکشور واکشور  
ولرینو اولسون واکشور واکشور واکشور واکشور واکشور

ماورانیست بوقور فلوپان واکشور واکشور واکشور واکشور

کندم ۳۰۰ جو ۱۸۰ طارو ۱۸۰ ملف ۱۵۰ رسم ۱۰۰ حاقور ۷۰

ما ۱۲۸۰

کندم ۳۰۰ جو ۱۸۰ طارو ۱۸۰ ملف ۱۵۰ رسم ۱۰۰ حاقور ۷۰

ما ۱۲۸۰

ما ۱۲۸۰

## Villages Selected from the Central Section of the *kaza* of Drama

p. 4 **Timar-i Mehmed bin Hıdır Tanbure [?].**

K a r y e-i Ç i n a r l u dere, derbend köyüdür ellerinde ferman-i hûmayun vardır ki derbend

bekliyeler, [...] onar akçe ve birer kile buğday ve birer kile arpa ve virüler timar erine ve cem'-i avariz-i divaniyyeden mu'af ve müsellemler olalar.<sup>291</sup>

Dimo veled-i Vılkan; Göre damad-i o; Vesko damad-o mezkur; Yorgan veled-i Hamza; İstoyıl veled-i Hamza; Rado veled-i Hamza.

Yorgi, itkac[?]; Rayko veled-i pop; Yorgi Dede, pañçar; İstamat veled-i İstamat; Todor, ofçar;<sup>292</sup> Yorgi, isfinar<sup>293</sup>.

Senadin; Todor [veled-i] Dragne; Hristodul; Rad [veled-i] [?]; Belo birader-i o; Miha veled-i Gorgo, isfinar.

Nikola veled-i İstanislav; Miho veled-i İstanislav; Yovan; Duşman veled-i İstanislav; Dragne birader-i o; İstanislav birader-i o.

Radul; Radoslav; Todor veled-i Krayo; Yovan birader-i o; Miho veled-i Diman; Diman veled-i Bojik.

Rayko veled-i Koçe; Kiryak; Dimo; Dobre; Grue [veled-i] Todore; Rayo.

Dimitri veled-i Gırko; Yorgi, itkac; Yani birder- i isfinar; İsmil; Dimitri ofçar; Dimo.

İstoyıl veled-i o; Bojik veled-i o; İstavro; Dragoslav; Dimo [veled-i] Petre; Miho birder-i Miho birader-i İstavro.

Radoslav; İstoyan veled-i Dragne; Yano damad-i Dimo; Grozo damd-i Gırko; Dimitri ofçar; Dobre birder-i o.

İstançin; Dimitrie veled-i Brad; Radoslav ofçar; Manol veled-i Todor; Dimo birader-i o; Yani birader-i Todor.

<sup>291</sup> A mountain pass village that gives one kile of wheat and barley to the soldier/man with the timar and they are exempted from the collection of avariz tax.

<sup>292</sup> Means Shepherd in Bulgarian.

<sup>293</sup> Means pig farmer in Slavic.

Dragoslave veled-i Petr; Rusko birader-i o; Manol veled-i Bratan; İstoyan veled-i İsyro; Petko veled-i Deyan; Todor Çernokun.

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Deyan birader-i İsmilo; Dobre veled-i Rayko; Dobroslav birader-i o; Yani veled-i Dimitri isfinar; Nikola veled-i Dojik; Paskal veled-i Yani.

Bive-i Radoslav; Bive-i Izlato; Bive Dimitriçe; Bive-i Niko[?]; Bive Maro.

Hane-i Gebr – 61; Mücerred – 10; Bive – 5.

İспенç: 740 [akçe].

K a r y - i Ç ı n a r l u diğer ki [tamamen] müslûmanan muttasıl-i Çınarlu-i gebran:

Yusuf veled-i Sağırlu Musa; Mustafa birader-i o; Umur veled-i Musa; Hamza veled-i Turhan; Turgut veled-i Turhan; Hıdır veled-i Turhan.

Balaban azade-i Eyne Beği; Mustafe birader-i Yusuf; ‘Adilhan veled-i Mustafa; Gerigör[?] veled-i Alihan; Delu veled-i Turhan; Kurkut[?].

Ali birader-i Sağırlu; İsa veled-i Hasi; Ali birader-i Hıdır; Musa veled-i İsa; Hass – 16.

Kendüm - 8 mud, 800 [akçe]. Cev – 4 mud, 240 [akçe]. Çavdar – 2 mud, 10 kile, 150 [akçe]. Daru – 1 mud, 10 kile, 90 [akçe]. Ketan – 260 [akçe]. Penbe – 200 [akçe].

Niyabet m‘a arusane – 350[?] [akçe]. Asyab üç ocak – 60 [akçe]<sup>294</sup>. Asyab-i gebran bab – 3, 45 [akçe]. Resm-i kulluk – 352 [akçe].

Hasıl: 4,207 [akçe].

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K a r y e - i D o k s a t Hasa-i zaim.

Müslim:

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<sup>294</sup> Tax for the use of the watermill.



Aydın veled-i Kosta; Yusuf veled-i Kara Göz; Murad veled-i Aydın;  
İskender, azade-i yeniçeri.

Hane – 2. Mücerred – 2. Yekun: 4.

Gebran:

Todor veled-i Kosta; Manol veled-i İstefanko; Yorgi veled-i İspalyano; Yorgi  
veled-i Miyar [?]; Miho veled-i Fime; Kosta veled-i Miho.

Dimo veled-i Miho; Susman veled-i Miho; Kaloyan veled-i Dimo; Yorgi  
veled-i Kaloyan; Kosta veled-i Kaloyan; İstamad veled-i Todore.

Todor veled-i İstayko; Dragota veled-i İstayko; İstayko veled-i Dragota;  
Dragota veled-i İstayko; İstayko veled-i Dragota; Yorgi veled-i Fime.

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Yorgi veled-i Papa; Yorgi veled-i Parastuga; Papas Kosta; Papa Argiros;  
Yani veled-i Papas; Todor veled-i Papas.

Androniko veled-i Papas; Dimo veled-i Papas; Kostandin veled-i Eksino;  
Yorgi veled-i Marine; Yorgi veled-i Kaloyan; Todor veled-i Kaloyan.

Paraskevas [veled-i] Frankopolo; Todor veled-i Papano; Yorgi veled-i  
Pançare; Miho veled-i Protoger; Dimo veled-i Miho; Yorgi veled-i Protoger.

Yani veled-i Manol; Manol veled-i Yani; Yani veled-i İstamad; Yorgi veled-i  
İstamad; Dimo veled-i Vatacina; Yani veled-i Yorgi.

Dimo veled-i Yani; Manol veled-i Pesare; İstayko veled-i Pesare; Dimo  
veled-i Vılkan; Yorgi veled-i Vılkan; Susman veled-i Vılkan.

Yani veled-i Andriyano; Surko veled-i Yani; Yorgi veled-i Yani; Dimo  
veled-i Lahana; Bratoye veled-i Eksino; Radul veled-i Lahana.

Vılkan veled-i Becanika [?]; Dimo veled-i Kuzuye; Yorko veled-i Kosta;  
Yorgi veled-i Teluga; Vesno veled-i Lahana; Bive-i İstamad.

Bive Maro; Bive Kala; Bive Marya; Bive-i Frankopulo; Bive-i Yani; Bive-i  
İpsare.

Hane – 51. Mücerred – 8. Bive – 7.

Kendüm – 36 mud, 4320 [akçe]. Cev – 15 mud, 900 [akçe]. Gâvres - 3 mud, 180 [akçe]. Çavdar – muddeyn, 120 [akçe]. Bakla – 30 [akçe]. Burçak – 1 mud, 100 [akçe].

Mercimek – 10 [akçe]. Rugvan – 200 [akçe]. Penbe – 200 [akçe]. Ceviz – 20 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 40 [akçe].

Ketan – 100 [akçe]. Öşr-i bağ – 800 [akçe]. İспенç ma‘resm-i kulluk – 1540 [akçe].

Hasil: 8560 [akçe].

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K a r y e-i K o z n i ç.

Hassa-i amrut – 15 [akçe].

Muslim:

Yusuf, ahriyan.

Momçal veled-i Ustoyko; Vaso veled-i Momçal; İzlato veled-i Momçal; Dimkul veled-i Momçal; Kotran veled-i Dragota; Dragota veled-i Kotran.

Kosta veled-i Kotran; Dimitri veled-i Kotran; Yorgo veled-i Kutruliç; Vaso veled-i Kutruliç; Todor veled-i Kutruliç; Mavrovan [veled-i] Kutruliç.

Nikola veled-i Eksano; Goryan veled-i Nikola; Vilkoslav veled-i Kutruliç; Dimo veled-i Vilkoslav; Niko veled-i Ustoyko; Mavroşan.

Bran veled-i Vılkan; İstamad veled-i Veliko; Rayko veled-i Veliko; Rayko veled-i Kojuhar; Petko veled-i İstanko; Bive Vılkanina.

Bive-i Kotruliç; Bive Vılkoviça. Hane-i Muslim – 1. Hane-i Gebr – 23. Bive – 3.

Kendum – 1 mud, 120 [akçe]. Cev – 1 mud, 60 [akçe]. Öşr-i bağ – 400 [akçe]. Gevgel – 50 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 30 [akçe]. Kovan – 180 [akçe].

Hasa-i amrut – 15 [akçe]. İспенç ma‘ resm-i kulluk – 615 [akçe].

Hasil: 1470 [akçe].

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K a r y e-i R a v n e.

İstavro veled-i İstanimir; Grozo veled-i İstale; Rado veled-i Orlando; Dimitri veled-i İstradi; Dimo veled-i İstrate; Dimitri veled-i Petır.

Gyorgo veled-i Petır; Dobri veled-i Vitko; Todor birader-i o; Boğdan, papa.  
Hane – 10.

Kendüm – 10 kile, 60 [akçe]. Çavdar - 14 kile, 42 [akçe]. Daru - 8 kile, 24 [akçe]. Kovan – 150 [akçe]. Öşr-i hamr – 150 [akçe].

Ceviz – 50 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzir – 130 [akçe]. Kenevir – 100 [akçe]. İспенç – 250 [akçe].

Hasıl: 861 [akçe].

Mezra‘-i Boyalık. Hasıl: 400 [akçe].

Mezra‘-i Radomir. Hasıl: 500 [akçe].

Mezra‘-i Viran Demürcü. Hasıl: 100 [akçe].

Mezra‘-i Asice [?] .Hasıl: 40 [akçe].

Mezra‘-i Rance [?] .Hasıl: 60 [akçe].

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Adet-i çeltük ki der her ark bin mud [...?] hassa-i zaim ziraa‘t [...?].

Tohum – 6 mud. Hasıl-i tarih-i zam - 3 mud, 6000 [akçe].

Âmil hasılı zam olunmuşdur.

Cem‘an:

Nefs-i Drama; Kura – 9; Mezra‘ - 5; Hane-i muslim – 98; Mücerred – 26;  
Bive – 13; Gebr – 335; Mücerred – 25; Bive – 87.

Hasıl: 84,476 [akçe].

Fi‘l-asl – 75,671 [akçe]. Ez-ziyade – 8,805 [akçe].

Minha çeltük-i ifraz ve has şüd - 6,060 [akçe].

[Hasıl]: 78,416 [akçe].

Manastır-i Yako Mitropolid.

Asyab [...?] - 200 [akçe]. Bağ – 600 [akçe]. Bostan – 3 kıta‘, 400 [akçe].  
Çayır – 250 [akçe], haric ez defter. Kilise-i Ayo Nikola, *der karye-i mexbur*. Hasıl  
[...?] - 50 [akçe].

Hasıl: 1500 [akçe].

Kilise-i Koşniç der tasarruf-i Petko keşiş. Mezkûr papasların ellerinde  
ferman-i hûmayun vardır ki, bağlarına ve tarlalarına kimesne dahl itmiye, mu‘af ve  
müsellem olalar.

Nefer: 15.

Kilise-i Ayo Yorgi ki mezkûr Koşniç adlı kilisanın ruhbanlarına muta‘likdir,  
viriye  
kesride [?] olur mezkûr kilisanın ruhbanlarına ne götürürlerse alunup mutasarrıf ola  
ellerinde sultanımız beratı var ve hem subaşı ve naib karışmıya.

Asyab der ab-i Drama – 2 göz, 500 [akçe]. Escar-i zeytun der karye-i  
Hotolişte [?] – 300 [akçe]. Bağat der Manastır-i Koşniç - 2 kıta‘. Der kariye-i  
Mekşane [?], bağ – 200 [akçe]. Der karye-i Boştanos, poros – 1 çift, 200 [akçe].

Der karye-i İzdravik, poros – 2 çift, 400 [akçe]. Mezkûrlere virilen muaf ve  
müsellem kağıdlarının mazmunıdır ki kayıd olundu. Bağat der karye-i Kormid [?] –  
2 kıta‘, 400 [akçe].

Hasıl: 2300 [akçe].

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Cema‘an mezkûrin bermucebi takridiultanic padişah cihan mutâ‘ ma‘ evlad-i  
[...?] muaf ve müsellem end.

Duka veled-i Uzgoropulo; Lipo birader-i o; Angelos veled-i Tirhaniyat; İlyan  
veled-i Angelos; Monos veled-i Uzguropulo. Hane – 5.

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**Timar-i Bıyıklı Ali.**

K a r i y e - i D i r a g o ş t a .

Hassa-i talyan<sup>295</sup>: 150 [akçe].

Muslim:

Ilyas; Hızır veled-i ماراج; Ahmed [veled-i] Adnan [?].

Hane: 3.

Gebrân:

Papas Nikola; Miho veled-i Papas; Dobroslav veled-i Papa; Dimo veled-i Prodav [?]; Vasil veled-i İstormano; Yorgi veled-i Vasil.

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Yani veled-i Moskoline [?]; Yani veled-i Moskopulo?; Kosta veled-i Mariç; Koynos veled-i Kosta; Lukano veled-i Agriyovasil [?]; Dimo birader-i o.

Todor veled-i Laskarine; Miho veled-i Puhle; Nikola veled-i Akropini [?]; Kosile veled-i Ran; Dragota veled-i Eksino; İstoyan veled-i Eksino.

Dimo veled-i Kalo; İstanimir veled-i Rayko; Hristodul veled-i Lukano; Yorgi veled-i Paraskevga; Dimo veled-i Yorgi; Yani veled-i Bratan.

Yorgi veled-i Puhle; Dimo veled-i Puhle; لودی veled-i Bone; Yorgi, Sırbin; İstamad veled-i Kosta; İstoyan veled-i Eksino.

Paraskevga [veled-i] Yorgi; Kostas veled-i Rahuya; Kosta veled-i Rado; Todor veled-i Papas; İstamad veled-i Miho; Yorgi veled-i Rudav.

Yorgi veled-i Triposkos [?]; Dimo veled-i Dobro; Komneno veled-i Hristodul; Dimo veled-i Yani; Rado veled-i Dağlu; Yorgi veled-i Moskopulo.

Yorgi veled-i Kosta; Senadinos veled-i Agropovasil; Kosta veled-i Agropovasile; Manol veled-i Puhle; Dimo veled-i اپودیو; Bratanos.

Duşman veled-i Rado; Dano veled-i Eksino; Miho veled-i Bejano; Androniko; Dimo veled-i Rayko; Lukan veled-i Pandi.

Kosta veled-i Pesare; Todor veled-i Yorgi; Kosta veled-i Yorgas; Vasil veled-i Bratan; Şurbuta veled-i Puhale; Hristodul veled-i Yono.

Angelo, Sırbin; Yorgi veled-i Pesare; Miho veled-i Yorgi; Miho veled-i Vuyo; Yorgi veled-i Kosta; Sotiris.

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<sup>295</sup> Fishing nets.

İstamad veled-i Pesare; Todor veled-i Vale; Ulaho veled-i Toma; Balo veled-i Veline; بالنحتو veled-i Dobre; Todor veled-i Eksano Konyoroz.

Yani veled-i Ayonos; Balo veled-i Ayolo; Bive Yoriya; Bive Todora; Bive-i İstamad; Hristodul veled-i Kosta.

Hrisyano veled-i Petko; Kosta veled-i Moskopulo; Hrostovopolinas [?] [veled-i] Vuyo; Bive Şuma [?]; Bive Koslana; Bive Marolina.

Bive Hristodulina; Bive-i Yani; İftaliya, bive-i İzlato; Yani veled-i Miho; Kosta; Yorgi veled-i Boyo.

Hane-i Muslim – 3. Hane-i Gebr – 76. Mücerred – 5. Bive – 9.

Kendum – 35 mud, 4200 [akçe]. Cev – 35 mud, 3900 [akçe]. Daru – 65 mud, 900 [akçe]. Yulaf – 10 mud, 500 [akçe]. Çavdar – 7 mud, 420 [akçe]. Burçak – [1] mud, 100 [akçe].

Ketan – 140 [akçe]. Mercimek – 30 [akçe]. Resm-i Kovan – 200 [akçe]. Resm-i Hınzır – 600 [akçe]. Monopolye - 550.

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Öşr-i şira - 620 [akçe]. Bostan – 100 [akçe]. Rugvan – 150 [akçe]. Resm-i Ağıl<sup>296</sup> – 100 [akçe]. Resm-i arus ve niyabet – 200 [akçe].

Öşr-i Amrut - 10 [akçe]. İспенç ma' resm-i kulluk – 2145 [akçe].

Hasıl – 14995 [akçe]. 'An asıl – 9746 [akçe]. Ziade – 5249 [akçe].

**Timar-i Bayıklı Davud, her yıl eşer.**

K a r y e-i R a h o v i ç e ve nâm-i diğer Rahovite.

Hassa:

Muslim:

Firuz veled-i Nikor; Mustafa veled-i Nikor; Mustafa veled-i Abdullah; Karaca veled-i Abdullah; İsmail birader-i Karaca; Barak veled-i Şamin.

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<sup>296</sup> A 'pen' for the sheep to stay cared for by the some wandering shepherds;

Kurd veled-i Atmaca; Hoşkadem veled-i Ahmed; Mihayil birader-i Hoşkadem; Bayramlu veled-i Abdullah; Ahmed veled-i Abdullah; Saruca veled-i Abdullah.

Karaca veled-i Abdullah; Balaban veled-i Abdullah; Atmaca damad-i Nikor.

Hane-i Muslim – 15.

Gebr:

Yorgan veled-i Momçil; Nikola veled-i Yorgan; Kostandin veled-i Yorgan; Vaso veled-i Momçil; Yanço veled-i Vasil; Duşman veled-i İvlado.

Diman veled-i İvlado; İstayko veled-i Basaro; Angelo veled-i Maryas; Todor veled-i İspaliyot; Anasko veled-i Dragan; Dimo veled-i Eksino.

Dimo veled-i Dimo; Diman veled-i Vaskos; Gyorgo veled-i Diman; Rad [veled-i] Eksino; Dobro birader-i Rad; Senadinos veled-i Dunav.

Rayo birader-i Mustafa; Radoyil veled-i Sivul; İstanislav veled-i Radoyil; Dayço birader-i Radoyil; Duşman birader-i Radoyil; Vılko veled-i Damyan.

Dimo veled-i Kosta; Sivul veled-i Veyil; Rayo veled-i Momço; Dobro veled-i Bratan; Rayko veled-i فزاي; Grozak birader-i o.

Dobre veled-i Grozak; Dobre veled-i Gyorgo; Mavr[o] veled-i Gyorgo; İstamad veled-i Daman; Dimitri veled-i Negoslav; Petko veled-i Lukan.

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Lukan veled-i İstanimir; Miloş veled-i Prakin; Gyorgo, preşeleş; Dobre veled-i o; İstamad veled-i o; Rayko veled-i preseleş.

Dobre veled-i Dragan; Rayko [veled-i] Tihon; Bratan [veled-i] Tihon; İvlad, keşiş; Bive Kala; Bive İvlata.

Bive-i Pale; Bive-i Kostantin; Bive-i İstamad; Bive-i Miloic; Bive-i Papa Sugarko; Girgor veled-i Rayko.

Belko veled-i Radoyil; İstoyo veled-i Radoyil; İstoyo veled-i Dayçul; İstoyo veled-i Dragine; Rosen veled-i Rayo; İstayço birader-i Rad.

İvlad veled-i Rad; İstamad veled-i كل. Hane-i Muslim – 15. Hane-i Gebr – 51. Mücerred – 3. Bive – 7.

Kendum – 14 mud, 1680 [akçe]. Cev – 9 mud, 540 [akçe]. Daru – 1 mud, 60 [akçe]. Yulaf – 1 mud, 50 [akçe]. Çavdar mudeyn, 120 [akçe]. Hassa-i ceviz – 6 mud, 600 [akçe].

Burçak – mudeyn, 600 [akçe]. Mercimek – 50 [akçe]. Resm-i ganem – 260 [akçe]. Penbe – 100 [akçe]. Öşr-i bağ – 200 [akçe]. Resm-i Hınzır – 400 [akçe].

Rugvan – 4 [akçe]. Resm-i niyabet ma' arusane - 200 [akçe]. Ebrişim – 10 [akçe]. Monopolye – 30 [akçe]. İспенç ma' resm-i kulluk – 1500 + 198 = 1698 [akçe].

Hasıl – 6227 [akçe].

Fi-el-asl – 5613 [akçe]. Ziade – 614 [akçe].

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K a r y e-i K r a n i ş t e.

Hassa-i kestanelik – 200 [akçe].

Diman veled-i Radoslav; Velko veled-i Diman; Todor veled-i Radoslav; Velko veled-i Radoslav; Todor veled-i Miho; Diman veled-i İstayko.

Yorgo birader-i Diman; Mihail veled-i İstayko; İstayko veled-i Baniç; Yani veled-i Gırk; Goryan veled-i Radiko; Velço veled-i Radiko.

Yani veled-i Radiko; Gorlo veled-i Ustoyko; Gırlo veled-i İslav; Rayko; Dima Göro; Bogdan veled-i İstoyko.

Dimitri. Karastayko. Hane – 18. Mücerred – 2.

Kendum – 1 mud, 120 [akçe]. Cev – 1 mud, 60 [akçe]. Daru – 1 mud, 60 [akçe]. Çavdar – 10 kile, 30 [akçe]. Kovan – 210 [akçe]. Öşr-i ceviz – 300 [akçe].

Öşr-i hamr – 200 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 100 [akçe]. İспенç – 500 [akçe].

Hasıl: 1780 [akçe].

Cema'an: Kura – 2. Hane-i Gebr – 27. Mücerred – 3.

Hasıl ma' ispenç: 3060 [akçe].

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K a r y e-i Ç a t a l c a ve nam-i diğer Kruştane. Tetimme-i timar-i Mesih Paşa.

Hasa: Ceviz – 30 [akçe].



Müslim:

Mehmed veled-i Abdullah; Yusuf veled-i o; Suleyman veled-i Yiğitçi; İlyas veled-i Saruca; Mızran veled-i Aligeris [?]; Rustem veled-i Abdullah.

Kara; Bali veled-i Kara; Yahşi veled-i Sule. Hane – 6. Mücerred – 2.

Gebr:

Kanaki veled-i Papas; Manol veled-i Kanaki; Yorgi veled-i Kanaki; Yorgi veled-i Novak; Manol veled-i Yorgi; Kosta veled-i Yorgi.

Todor veled-i Androniko; Todor veled-i Lagrelito [?]; Todor veled-i Rafti; Senadinos veled-i Rafti; Vrane veled-i Andriyano; Andriyano veled-i Vrane.

Dimo veled-i Yorgan; Yorgi veled-i Dimo; Miho veled-i Dimo; Argiros veled-i Dimo; Yani veled-i Olrano [?]; Dimo veled-i Yani.

Yorgi veled-i Yani; İspeliyot veled-i Dimo; Miho veled-i İspeliyot; Yani veled-i Kalomino; Filko veled-i Momço; Todor veled-i Yorgi.

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İzgoroz [veled-i?] Vardiç; Miho veled-i Vardiç; Dimo veled-i Miho; Vasilko veled-i Manol; Manol veled-i Kanaki; Yorgi veled-i Todor.

Bive zen-i Manol; Bive Kalomeni; Hane-i Muslim: 6; Mücerred – 3; Hane-i Gebr - 30. Bive – 2.

Kendüm – mudden 21, 2,640 [akçe]. Cev – mudden 7, 420 [akçe]. Yulaf – mudden 6, 300 [akçe]. Daru ma' çavdar – 60 mud, [... akçe]. Burçak – mudeyn, 200 [akçe].

Mercimek – 20 [akçe]. Böğrölce – 10 [akçe]. Kovan – 100 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 350 [akçe]. Öşr-i şira – 800 [akçe]. Penbe – 150 [akçe].

Ceviz – 20 [akçe]. Rugvan – 300 [akçe]. Şîr – 10 [akçe]. İспенç ma' resm-i [kulluk] – 910 [akçe].

Hasıl: 6,320 [akçe].

Fi'l-asl – 5,235 [akçe]. Ziade – 1,085 [akçe].

K a r y e-i V i s o ç a n e.

Hisse.

Hasa: Dut – 10 [akçe]. Ceviz – 10 [akçe].

Vidimo veled-i Sirgodan [?]; İspeliyot veled-i Yorgi; Dimo veled-i İspeliyot; Diman veled-i Dragan; Vılko veled-i Dragan; Yorgi veled-i Dragan.

Rayko veled-i Dragan; Yani veled-i Kosta; Velço veled-i Yani; Gyoraş veled-i Plavile; Kumanos veled-i Eksino; Dimo veled-i Eksino.

Velço veled-i Yani; Yorgi veled-i Kondropulo; Mihal, [...?]; Totro [sic.] veled-i Mosko; İstoyan veled-i Dragne; Koyo veled-i Dragne.

İstayko veled-i Yorgi; Dimitri veled-i Dragne; Miho veled-i Diman; Radomir veled-i Dragne; Mihal veled-i Beçaki [sic.]; Velko veled-i Todor.

Yorgi veled-i Todor; Dimo veled-i Vılkan; Diman veled-i Velço; Yano veled-i Velço, el-mezbûr; İstamad veled-i Belço; İstayko veled-i Belço.

Todor veled-i Belço; Vasil veled-i Beçaki [sic.]; Yorgi veled-i Vasil; Kosta veled-i Vasil; Dimano veled-i Beçaki [sic.]; Vılçano veled-i Beçano [sic.].

Dimo veled-i Vılçane; Todor veled-i Beçaki; Rusino veled-i Todor; Miho veled-i Todor; Todor veled-i Radoslav; Dragoslav.

Velko veled-i Eksino; Kosta veled-i Bratil; Todor veled-i Çukal; Mihayil veled-i Eksino; Dimo veled-i Mihal; İstoyan veled-i Todoraki.

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Yorgi veled-i Todoraki; Dimo veled-i Vasil; Yorgi veled-i Vasil; Dimo veled-i Todor; Sinur [?] veled-i Gloçko; Kaloyan veled-i Dimitri.

Dimo veled-i Filib; Miho veled-i Filib; Yanço veled-i Eksino; Todor veled-i Papas; Yorgi veled-i Papas; Miho veled-i Senagoc [sic.].

Pandos; Yorgi veled-i Papas; Senadinos veled-i Papas; Dimo veled-i Papas; Boyo veled-i Yorgi; Yani veled-i Yorgi.

Yorgi veled-i Bono; Momçil veled-i Bono; Yani veled-i Momçil; Mihal veled-i Bono; İstayko veled-i Bono; Yorgi veled-i Mihal.

Brayko veled-i Mihal; Vasos veled-i Mişyak; Yani veled-i Yovan; Hrano veled-i Momçil; Miho veled-i Papas; Todor veled-i Vılkan.

Dimitri veled-i Vasil; Velko veled-i Todor; Bive Çankana [sic.]; Bive Blagovica; Bive Kala; Bive-i Velko.

Todor, İspeliyot; Dimo veled-i Radoslav; Dimo veled-i Boyo. Hane – 77.  
Mücerred – 6. Bive – 4.

Kendüm – 14 mud, 1,680 [akçe]. Cev – 8 mud, 480 [akçe]. Burçak – 1 mud,  
120 [akçe]. Öşr-i ceviz – 10 [akçe]. Şîr – 10 [akçe]. Rugvan – 150 [akçe].

Resm-i hınzır – 50 [akçe]. Resm-i fuçi - 500 [akçe]. Resm-i arus ve niyabet –  
280 [akçe]. Monopolye – 150 [akçe]. Daru – muddeyn, 120 [akçe].

İспенç – 2,099 [akçe]. Kovan – 200 [akçe].

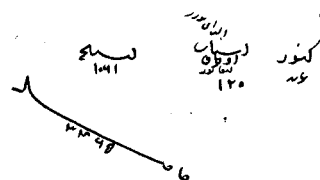
Hasıl: 5,859 [akçe].

Fi'l-asl – 5,532 [akçe]. Ziade – 327 [akçe].

# APPENDIX L:

## The Village of Kobalište (TD7, 1478)

43



مرد و کونور  
ما مار مار مار

مرد و کونور  
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مرد و کونور

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42

مرد و کونور

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مرد و کونور  
ما مار مار مار

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مرد و کونور

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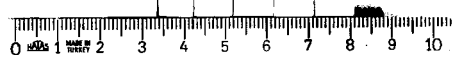
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مرد و کونور  
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مرد و کونور  
ما مار مار مار

T. T. - 0007



52  
لوہان ولولہ  
موسس ولولہ  
کونین ولولہ  
موو ولولہ  
لسمالو ولولہ  
رائیو ولولہ

مورخ ولد  
راغب  
برائے  
والد  
خانہ  
اولاد

پہلو فوسپورہ لسانہ میلوچہ باسولہ عود ولہ

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روايت من  
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باب ما  
محمد  
و

|       |      |     |      |    |      |
|-------|------|-----|------|----|------|
| ماصور | حاور | للف | طارو | حو | لنیم |
| ۴۰۰   | ۱۲۰  | ۶   | ۶    | ۶  | ۱۴۸۰ |

بوریاق ۲۰۰  
مرکل ۵۰  
رستم ۲۴۰  
۱۰۰  
علی ۲۰۰  
رستم ۲۰۰

وغيره  
۲۰

رسید بای  
میرزا محمد  
۴۰۰

ابدریم  
۱۰

سوی  
۳۰

لبنه  
۱۸۹۶  
۱۹۱  
۱۷۰۵

4444 06  
714 0412

مساجد و مصطفی و ولد لیسز ابرار قهر مرکه سوسه

پروستاجا

\_\_\_\_\_

موسیٰ ولد جلیلہ ولد طغیاء ولد ارسلان ولد محمد ولد

موسیٰ ولد علیہ ولد ہاشم ولد ناکا ولد ابرہہ ولد صلیبی

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[illegible]

سوال  
طرح اول

ما  $\frac{1}{10}$  عید

\_\_\_\_\_

[illegible]

نظور ولد معالجی در اعصاب و طو ولد اسلوب در اعصاب و جنو

وایسر    میسور    میسور    بوری    ایساک    بانی

ولدت في سنة ١٢٨٠ هـ في بلدة كركوك في بلاد العراق

میرزا ولد میرزا ولد  
نوروز ولد حسن ولد  
اسحاق ولد حسن ولد  
ابو ولد ابو ولد  
میرزا ولد میرزا ولد

کودغو و لمبو    انسا و لمبو    رلو و لمبو    و بان و لمبو    بنغو و لمبو    و بان و لمبو

میرزا ولی    زنگنه ولی    میرزا ولی    یاسه ولی    وکیل ولی    رشاد ولی

ولقي ولد  
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استانبول

[illegible]

یدر ولد و بمجاهد و زنیله و بیو له و بقوله و میوه له

یونین قولہ    قوی قولہ    و مکر قولہ    ملل قولہ    کبر قولہ    عزبان

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نوقول  
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بورقول  
انقل

وہابیہ خانلوہ لووکی لووکی مبلوکی بلوکی

مورخو واصل و زواله

۱۰۰

T. T.  0007



## Villages Selected from the Western Section of the *kaza* of Drama

p. 42 **Timar-i Umur bin Karaca gulâm-i mîr.**

K a r y e-i K o b a l i ş t e.

Yorgi veled-i Dimo; Todorak veled-i o; Dimo veled-i Yorgo; İstalo veled-i Tolo; Petko [veled-i] Gyodro [?]; Senadin veled-i Yorgo.

Todor veled-i Vılkan; Koyço veled-i Prodan; İstaslav veled-i Vasil; Diman veled-i Petrun; Yanil veled-i Kardiya [?]; Zagor veled-i Mihal.

Gyogo birader-i o; İstoyan veled-i Yorgo; Nostor veled-i Dimitri; Nikola veled-i Mihal; Çirno Yani veled-i Mihal; Dimko veled-i Koçilyat [sic.].

Yorgi veled-i Pruçobro [?]; Kosta birader-i Kiril; Mihal veled-i İstanko; Nikola veled-i Curdin; Miho veled-i Liko; Diman veled-i Eksino.

Yovan veled-i Dragiye; Dimitri veled-i Paraskeve; Petko; Dobromir veled-i İstayko; Yorgo veled-i Dobromir; Dimo veled-i Dobromir.

Brezika veled-i Dobromir; Milko veled-i Dobromir; Yano veled-i Yanil; Nehno, çanakçı; İvlayko; Rusin birader-i o.

İstanko veled-i Rado; Dimo veled-i Vılkan; İstayo veled-i Dimitri; Yani veled-i Liko; İstayko veled-i Yanko; Bive-i Dobriç.

Bive-i Dobre; Bive-i Gyore; Bive-i Hrusa; Bive Todora; Bive Tiha; Hane – 36. Mücerred – 5; Bive – 6.

Kendüm – 8 mud, 960 [akçe]. Cev – 5 mud, 300 [akçe]. Daru ma' çavdar – 4 mud, 240 [akçe]. Mercimek – 100 [akçe]. Burçak – 50 [akçe]. Asyab-i samako - 200 [akçe], *altı ay yürür*.

Hasil escar-i ceviz, incir, emrud – 100 [akçe]. Kovan – 64 [akçe]. Ketan – 50 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 200 [akçe].

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Kenevir – 20 [akçe]. Asyab, ocak – 4 göz, *altı ay yürür* - 120 [akçe]. İспенç – 1,061 [akçe].

Hasıl: 3,465 [akçe].

Mezra‘-i Gönülova. Hasıl ez haric – 200 [akçe].

Cema‘an: kura – 1. Mezra‘ - 1. Hane-i gebr – 36. Mücerred – 5. Bive – 6.

Hasıl: 3,665 [akçe].

Fi‘l-asl: 2,925 [akçe]. Ziade: 740 [akçe].

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**Timar-i Ishak ve Mustafa veledân-i şarabdar Muhammed, müşterek eyüb.**

K a r i y e-i P r o s a ç a n e.

Hassa: ceviz – 50 [akçe].

Muslim:

Yusuf veled-i İlyas; Halil birader-i o; Doğan veled-i İlyas; İbrahim birader-i o; Murad veled-i İlyas; Mustafa veled-i Halil.

Musa veled-i Doğan; Ali veled-i Doğan; Doğan veled-i Ali; Kara Göz veled-i Abdullah; İbrahim veled-i Abdullah; Şirmert birader-i İbrahim.

Hamza veled-i Abdullah; Şahin veled-i Doğan; Mehmed veled-i Halil; Yusuf veled-i İbrahim; Timur veled-i Ali; Hamza veled-i Doğan.

Sule veled-i Doğan. Hane – 15. Mücerred – 4.

Yekun: 19.

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Gebr:

Dimo veled-i Hristodul; İstoyan veled-i Hristodul; Hristodul veled-i Dimo; Pirgos; Mihai veled-i o; Yani veled-i Pirgos.

Todor veled-i Dimo; Mihai veled-i Fotino; Dragne [veled-i] İspanyot; Velço veled-i İspanyot; Asilo [?] veled-i Dragne; Çerno.

Vasil, istar. Miloş veled-i Vasil; Mihai veled-i Vasil; Yorgi veled-i Hlabne [?]; İstayko veled-i Gyorko; Siromah, Yano.

İstamad veled-i Yaniço; Todor veled-i İstamad; Kiryako veled-i Yaniç; Diman veled-i Nastas; Kosta veled-i Nastas; Petko veled-i Nastas.

Makriye veled-i Nastas; Miho veled-i Dimo; Todor veled-i Dimo; İstayko veled-i Dimo; Kirko veled-i Dimo; Mirko veled-i Dimo.

Gyorgo veled-i Dimo; İstayko veled-i Bratan; Radoslav, siromah; Diman veled-i Petko; Nikola veled-i İstyko; Diman veled-i Todor.

Mirko veled-i Diman; Nikola veled-i Todor; Mihal veled-i Nikola; Yani veled-i Todor; Dimo veled-i Belo; İstayko veled-i Milo.

Vilk veled-i İstayko; Yovan, siromah; İstoyan veled-i İvlad; Todor veled-i İstoyan; Vito veled-i Kraislav; Rayko veled-i Kraislav.

Velko veled-i Rayko; Dimo veled-i Rayko; İstoyko, İsfredil [?]; Bratan veled-i Dimo; Dimo veled-i Bratan; Vasil veled-i Dimo.

Yedre veled-i Dimo; Dimçan; Dragiye veled-i Dimçan; Dimo veled-i Pop; Velko veled-i Dimo; Miho veled-i Dimo.

Yorgo veled-i Pop; Koye veled-i Yorgo; Dimitri veled-i Kaludo; Miladin veled-i İvlad; Kirko veled-i Velço; Gruban.

Koyo veled-i İzlatil; İzlatil, istar; Rayko veled-i İzlatil; Todorçe veled-i İzlatil; İstavre veled-i İzlatil; İstayko veled-i Kraislav.

Yani veled-i Yorgo; Totko veled-i Dimo; Vilko veled-i Dimo; Velko veled-i Bratan; Yorgo veled-i İstayko; Bive Angelina;

Bive Dimana; Bive Kaludiya; Bive Todo[r]iça; Bive Todorina; Bive Miloviça; Bive Nedelka.

Yorgo [veled-i] Nastas; Vasil veled-i Yorgo; Venilyo veled-i İzlatil. Hane-i Muslim – 15. Mücerred – 4. Hane-i Gebr – 75. Mücerred – 5. Bive – 7.

Yekun: 105.

p.54

Kendum – 17 mud, 2040 [akçe]. Cev – 20 mud, 1200 [akçe]. Daru – 9 mud, 440 [?] [akçe]. Yulaf – 9 mud, 450 [akçe]. Mercimek – 16 mud, 250 [akçe]. Burçak – 150 [akçe].

Penbe – 150 [akçe]. Ösr-i hamr – 1300 [akçe]. Kovan – 120 [akçe]. Rugvan – 20 [akçe]. Sarımsak – 15 [akçe]. Resm-i agnam - 230 [akçe].

Bostan – 50 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 250 [akçe]. Resm-i arus ve niyabet – 300 [akçe]. Monopolye – 300 [akçe]. Hassa-i ceviz – 50 [akçe], mükerrer.

İспенç ma' resm-i kulluk – 2374 [akçe].



Hasıl – 9789 [akçe].

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K a r y e-i D o p l i ç a.

Hisse:

Dimitri veled-i Hrele; Dimo veled-i Kosta; Yorgi veled-i Kıral; Todor veled-i Sırban; Todor veled-i Sirçan; Yorgan veled-i Baliç.

İspaliyot veled-i Paliç; Vasil veled-i Paliç; Yorgo veled-i Paliç; Dimo veled-i Vasil; Yani veled-i Vasil; Yorgi veled-i Rizar.

Petko veled-i Yorgi; Koye veled-i Kalovir; Miho veled-i Kalovir; Dimo veled-i Zırni; Yorgo veled-i Silot; Vasil veled-i Zırni.

Todor veled-i Yorgan; Todor veled-i Zırni; Miho veled-i Diman; Yani veled-i Paskal; Dimo veled-i Vilkane; Yani veled-i Şumiro.

Mihal veled-i Krale; Vasil veled-i Krale; İstayko veled-i Krale; Todor veled-i Petr; Petro veled-i Todor; Todor veled-i Yorgi.

Yorgi veled-i Komnenos; İstayko veled-i Komnenos; Fotinos veled-i Baldo; Dimo veled-i Nikola; Yorgo; Velko veled-i Hristo.

Todor veled-i Hristo; Vasil veled-i Todor; Grozo veled-i Andro; İvlayko; Yovan veled-i Dimitri; Velko veled-i Çernat.

Mihal veled-i Dobre; İstaslav; Koyo; Todor veled-i Kodro; Todor veled-i Vilkaniye; Kosta veled-i Yorgan.

Grozo veled-i Yorgan; Todor veled-i Yorgan; Dimo veled-i Todor; Yorgo veled-i Vilkaniye; Momcil; Dimanika.

Miho veled-i Moziç; Gruban veled-i Moziç; Senadin veled-i Moziç; Kosta veled-i Tomanço; Todor veled-i Vilkayine; Yorguda veled-i Vılkaşin.

Dimo; Dimitri veled-i Yanil; Yorgo veled-i Yanil; Miho veled-i Baliç; İstoyan veled-i Todore; Bive [illegible text].

p. 57

İstayko veled-i Paliç; Todor veled-i Yorgi; [illegible text] veled-i Paliç, *mukarrer*. Hane – 63. Mücerred – 4. Bive – 1.

Kendum – 5 mud, 600 [akçe]. Cev – 5 mud, 300 [akçe]. Çavdar – 1 mud, 60 [akçe]. Burcak – 4 kile, fî 25 [akçe]. Yulaf – 1 mud, 50 [akçe]. Penbe – 50 [akçe].

Gevgel – 20 [akçe]. Resm-i [?] - 300 [akçe]. Kovan – 150 [akçe]. Kiras – 20 [akçe]. Ceviz – 40 [akçe]. Öşr-i bağ – 300 [akçe]. Pelut – 20 [akçe].

Niyabet ma' arusane – 100 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 100 [akçe]. İспенç – 1637 [akçe].

Hasıl: 3767 [akçe].

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**Timar-i Hızır [b]in Mesih Paşa-i mükerrerrem dame devlethu.**

K a r y e-i M o s t o n y a n i, ve nam-i diğer Moştıyani.

Hasa dut - 12 [akçe], ceviz – 50 [akçe].

Yorgi veled-i İliyo; İstamad veled-i Yorgi; Dimo veled-i Vilk; Yorgi veled-i Apostol; Dimo veled-i Yane; Trayano veled-i Bratano.

Paraskev veled-i Orfane; Potos veled-i Yorgi; Yorgi veled-i Papani; Dimo veled-i Anastas; Yorgi veled-i Todor; Yani veled-i Koso.

Kosna veled-i Yani; Dimo veled-i Yani; Kosta veled-i İstamad; Kosna veled-i Kosta; Miho veled-i Kosta; Yorgo veled-i Kosta.

Yani veled-i Argiro; Yorgi veled-i Todor; Yorgo veled-i Argiro; Rayko veled-i Todor; Yani veled-i Todor; Yorgi veled-i Gonata [?];

Mosko veled-i Todor; Nikola veled-i Yani; Yani veled-i Dimura; Kosta veled-i Rayko; Yani [veled-i] Rayko; Argiro [veled-i] Vasil.

Bive-i Anastas; Bive Pula; Bive Turana; Bive Panoriya; Bive-i Mihal.

Hane – 28. Mücerred – 2. Bive – 5.

Kendüm – 8 mud, 960 [akçe]. Cev – muddeyn, 120 [akçe]. Gâvres ma' çavdar – 120 [akçe]. Ketan – 400 [akçe]. Kenevir – 20 [akçe]. Öşr-i bağ – 20 medre, 170 [akçe].

Rugvan – 200 [akçe]. Kiras – 25 [akçe]. Gevgel – 60 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 350 [akçe]. Kovan – 380 [akçe].

Resm-i arus – 120 [akçe]. Niyabet ve cürm ve cinayet - 60 [akçe]. Monopolye – 150 [akçe]. Resm-i Asyab ocak – 3 göz, 105 [akçe].

İспенç – 780 [akçe].

Hasıl: 4,032 [akçe].

Der asl: 2,431 [akçe]. Ziade: 1,601 [akçe].

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K a r y e-i A v l i B ö ğ r u.

Vestos veled-i Yorgi; Mirko birader-i o; Yorgi veled-i Eksino; Dimo veled-i Koços; Yorgi veled-i Miho; Yovan veled-i Eksino;

Yani veled-i Kosta; Yorgi veled-i Mavrokosta; Marin veled-i İpsifoto; Miho veled-i Androniko; Miho veled-i İstimad; Yani veled-i Krayano.

Dimo veled-i Krayo; Aleksii veled-i Yani; Miho veled-i Manol; Anastas veled-i Yani; Yani veled-i Orfane; Miho veled-i Slane.

Aleksi veled-i Manol; Yani veled-i Çerno; Miho veled-i Yorgi; Yovan veled-i Eksino. Hane – 20. Mücerred – 2.

Hassa-i escar-i ceviz ma‘ dut – 35 [akçe]. Kendüm – 4 mud, 470 [akçe]. Cev – 1 mud, 60 [akçe]. Daru – muddeyn, 120 [akçe]. Çavdar – 10 kile, 30 [akçe]. Kenevir – 300 [akçe].

Ketan – 100 [akçe]. Kovan – 200 [akçe]. Resm-i hıncır – 130 [akçe]. Böğrölce – 20 [akçe]. Resm-i pelut – 200 [akçe]. Resm-i asyab – 30 [akçe].

Burçak – 10 [akçe]. Öşr-i bağ – 100 [akçe]. Resm-i arus ve niyabet – 50 [akçe]. İспенç – 550 [akçe].

Hasıl: 2,415 [akçe].

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Cema‘an:

Kura – 2. Hane-i Muslim – 17. Bive – 2. Hane-i Gebr – 18. Mücerred – 4. Bive – 0.

Hasıl: 6,137 [akçe].

Kesir – 764 [akçe].

**Timar-i Demur veled-i Murad ve Hasan veled-i İlyas ikisi müşterek eyüb.**

K a r y e-i P o d o g r o y a n i.

Hassa: Asyab – 9 göz, 350 [akçe]. Asyab-i valavice - nısf, 15 [akçe]. Escar-i zeytun – 2, 20 [akçe]. Dut – 8 [akçe].

Gebr:

Panayot [veled-i] Kosile; Velko veled-i Diman; Brayo veled-i İstan; Dimo veled-i İstan; Yorgi [veled-i] Tsveki; Atanas veled-i Eksino.

Yorgi veled-i Miloy; Dimo veled-i Dragota; Rayo veled-i Dragota; Yorgi veled-i Bratan; Ruşin veled-i Todor; Dimo veled-i Hristodul.

Yorgo veled-i Todor; Veyo veled-i o; Fotino veled-i Veyo; Anastas veled-i Dimo; Todor veled-i Mihal; Mihal veled-i Vasil.

Mavrudi veled-i Kraçun; Todor veled-i İstoyo; Yorgi veled-i Ayalari; Dimo veled-i Yorgi; Dimo çirbat; Kosta çirbat.

Yani veled-i Yorgi; Yorgi, hıyat; Yorgi [veled-i?] İlyakan; Kiryako veled-i Yorgi; Kosta veled-i Yorgi; Dimo veled-i Koçori.

Kosta veled-i Yorgi; Yani veled-i Todor; Yorgi veled-i İstoyo; Dimo veled-i Zendan; Kosta veled-i Zendan; Kosta veled-i Zendan.

Mosko [veled-i] Orfano; İstamo veled-i Yorgi; Dimo veled-i Vasil; Yorgi veled-i Dimo; Paraskeve veled-i Dimo; İvlad veled-i İstamad.

Kosta veled-i Bedan; Dimo veled-i Kosta; Senadiyo veled-i Kosta; Yorgi veled-i Kosta; Belo veled-i Yorgi; Todor veled-i Dimo.

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Yorgo veled-i Velçan; Dimo [veled-i] Fotino; Dimo veled-i Kiryako; Panayot; Anasto veled-i Panayot; Maldo veled-i Kiryako.

Yorgi [veled-i] Birezik; Kosta veled-i Birezika; Nikola veled-i Birezika; Dimo veled-i Kaloyan; Vasil veled-i Dimo; Dimo veled-i Dibrane.

İstamo veled-i Yorgi; Pardo veled-i Brayo; Yani veled-i Veyan; Vasil veled-i Dimo; İstayo veled-i Hristodul; Bive Alina.

Bive-i Güro; Veyan veled-i Vılçan; Kosta veled-i Vılçan; Miho veled-i Koçuna. Hane-i muslim – 2. Hane-i gebr – 64. Mücerred – 4. Bive – 2. Yekun: 72.

Kenüm – 14 mud, 1,680 [akçe]. Cev – 8 mud, 480 [akçe]. Çacdar ve Daru – muddeyn, 120 [akçe]. Yulaf – 1 mud, 50 [akçe]. Mercimek – 3 kile, 30 [akçe]. Burçak – 4 kile, 24 [akçe].

Ceviz – 15 kile, 75 [akçe]. Ketan – 50 [akçe]. Penbe – 30 [akçe]. Gevgel – 80 [akçe]. Kovan – 141 [akçe]. Resm-i hınzır – 250 [akçe].

Öşr-i bağ – 330 [akçe]. Rugvan – 400 [akçe]. Resm-i asyab – 3 ocak, 3 göz, 120 [akçe]. Pelut – 20 [akçe].

Resm-i türb - 30 [akçe]. İспенç ma‘ resm-i kulluk – 1,754 [akçe].

Hasıl: 6,128 [akçe].

Fi'l-asl – 4,874 [akçe]. Ziade – 1,754 [akçe].