

THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE AKINCIS
IN OTTOMAN RUMELIA

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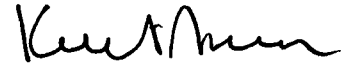
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ABSTRACT

THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE *AKINCIS* IN OTTOMAN RUMELIA

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This study's primary objective is to shed light on the peculiarities of one military corps in the Ottoman army, particularly that of the *akıncıs*'. Examining the first so far known *akıncı defteri* from the second half of the fifteenth century with all its peculiarities and putting it into the historical context of the time, this research stresses upon its importance. Moreover, taking a look on the preceding centuries of the Ottoman history, in which the raiders (*akıncılar*) and especially their military commanders have played great role in the Ottoman military advance on the Balkans, a prominence is given to the possible breaking point in the organizational status of a defined body of the *akıncı* corps in the Ottoman army, which the *defter* from 1472 marks in this troop's existence.

Thus the study attempts to examine the corps in its first formative stage when it became a distinctive body of the centralized Ottoman military forces. Therefore, an examination is made on the character of the first Ottoman advance into Balkan territories, when the traditions of the marches, represented by the prominent *akıncı* leaders, was still playing grate role in the Ottoman

military actions. The time of Mehmed the Conqueror and especially the register for the raiders' recruitment from the second half of the fifteenth century, come to illustrate the assimilation of the representatives of the frontier culture into the centralized structures of the growing Empire. The development of both – the corps itself and its commanders, has been examined. Consequently, the final aim of this study is to reveal the early stages of the *akıncı* corps in terms of organization.

Keywords: *akıncı*, *uc-beyi*, Evrenos-oğulları, Mihal-oğulları, Turahan-oğulları, Malkoç-oğulları, raider, military, Balkans, Thrace.

ÖZET

RUMELİ'DEKİ AKINCILARIN ASKERÎ TEŞKİLÂTI

Kiprovska, Mariya

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İşbu araştırma Osmanlı ordusunun bir mühim parçası olan akıncı kuvvetlerini ele almaktadır. Araştırmanın esas arşiv kaynağı XV. yüzyıldan kalmış olan bir akıncı defterinin ışığı altında adı geçmiş olan askeri birliğin özellikleri tespit olmaktadır. Osmanlı tarihinin ilk asırlarında önemli rol oynayan atlı bölüklerinin önemini araştırırken bunların Balkanlar fütuhâtındaki önemini daha sarîh bir surette araştırılmış olmaktadır. Sofya Osmanlı Arşivinde yeni bulunmuş olan 1472 tarihli defter yardımıyla akıncı kuvvetlerinin organizasyon prensipleri tespit edilmiş olmaktadır. Böylece araştırmamız akıncıların Balkan yarımadasındaki Osmanlı fethi sırasında önemli bir askeri kıta olarak ortaya çıkışı izah edilmektedir. Bunun yanısıra ileri gelmiş olan akıncı beylerinin Balkanlar fütuhâtının sırasında uc geleneklerine göre oynadıkları muazzam rolü açıklanmış oluyor.

1472 tarihli defter akıncıların Fatih Sultan Mehmed devrinde merkezlenmekte olan Osmanlı devletinde akıncıların yeni siyasal gerçeklere nasıl uydukları, yani, bunların ortaya konulmuş olan yeni sosyo-politik şartlara nasıl uymuş olduklarını göstermektedir. Bununla beraber akıncı kuvvetlerinin

tarihi tekâmülü ile beylerin sosyal ve siyasal önemi incelenmiş olmaktadır. Şöyle ki işbu araştırmanın esas görevi, akıncı organizasyonun tespit ettiğimiz genel prensipleri ışığı altında, bunun gelişiminin ilk safhasını aydınlatmak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *akıncı*, *uc-beyi*, Evrenos-oğulları, Mihal-oğulları, Turahan-oğulları, Malkoç-oğulları, raider, military, Balkans, Thrace.



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INTRODUCTION

1. A brief evaluation of the secondary literature, concerning the *akıncıs*

Very little was written about the organization of the *akıncı* corps in historical literature. The attention is mostly directed towards the leaders of this military body, namely – the *akıncı beys* who played a significant role in the early Ottoman conquests on the Balkans. Moreover, they proved to be not only excellent military commanders, but linked their names also with the places they conquered, exactly where they left pronounced traces. As a result of large scale building and foundation activities, associated with the names of those “Rumelian” families, they fully transformed the lands that they established themselves. Precisely to this cultural heritage of the *akıncı* leaders is devoted another part of the historical writings.

As the first representatives of those families played crucial role in the conquest of the Balkan lands, historical studies were initially orientated towards the problems of the early Ottoman conquests and towards purely political history in order to elucidate the role of the *akıncı* commanders. And, as the early Ottoman history is still the field of historical dispute, and also because of the very character of the Ottoman sources, which often are misleading and inaccurate, invariably most of the publications’ main accent is the clarification of the political events of the Ottomans’ early centuries and their chronological

succession, as well as the identification of the then historical figures and the elucidation of the genealogies of these important families in Ottoman history as a whole. As a result fundamental research, devoted to some of the most impressive figures from early Ottoman history or to whole *akıncı* leaders' families, such as *Evrenosoğulları*¹, *Mihaloğulları*², *Turahanoğulları*³, *Malkoçoğulları*⁴, appeared. These studies mainly emphasize the clarification of the genealogies of these families and chronology of the military campaigns, which they launched. The main source materials are Ottoman or Byzantine

¹ Fahamettin Başar, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş Döneminde Hizmeti Görülen Akıncı Aileleri: Evrenosoğulları", *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi*, İstanbul, 6 (64), 1992, pp. 47-50; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, c. I (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998), pp. 562-565; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Evrenos" maddesi, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, c. IV, 1940, pp. 414-418; Fahamettin Başar, "Evrenosoğulları", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, pp. 539-541; Vahit Çabuk, "Sultan I. Murad'ın Gazi Evrenos Bey'e Gönderdiği Yönetimle İlgili Bir Emr-i Şerif ve Bunun Düşündürdükleri", *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi* 6, 63/1992, pp. 34-40; Vasilis Demetriades, "The Tomb of Ghazi Evrenos Bey at Yenitsa and Its Inscription", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (University of London) Volume 39, Issue 2 (1976), pp. 328-332; Osman Ferid, "Evrenos Beğ Hanedanına 'Aid Temlik-name-i Humayün", *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmu'ası* 6, 31/1334 (1915), pp. 432-438; Hamid Vehbi, "Gâzi Evrenos Beğ", *Meşahir-i İslâm*, II. cild, İstanbul: 1301 (1895), pp. 801-843; Hamid Vehbi, "Evrenos Zade 'Ali Beğ", *Meşahir-i İslâm*, III. cild, İstanbul: 1301 (1895), pp. 945-976; Irène Melikoff, "Ewrenos oghulları" article, *Eİ²*, II, pp. 720-721; Irène Melikoff, "Ewrenos" article, *Eİ²*, II, p. 720.

² Fahamettin Başar, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş Döneminde Hizmeti Görülen Akıncı Aileleri: Mihaloğulları", *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi*, (İstanbul) 6 (63), 1992, pp. 20-26; M.Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Mihaloğulları", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 8. cilt (1960) p. 285-292; Franz Babinger, "Mikhal-oghlu", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (second edition), VII, p. 34-35; Faruk Sümer, "Osman Gazi'nin silâh arkadaşlarından Mihal Gazi", *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi*, sayı 50, (İstanbul, 1991) pp. 3-8; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, c. I, pp. 570-572; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Köse Mihal" madd., *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, VI, pp. 914-915; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey neden dolayı Çelebi Mehmed tarafından Tokat kalesine hapsedilmiştir?", *Belleken*, XXI/173, (Ankara, 1957) pp. 181-185; Юрдан Трифонов, "Михал Бейовци в преданието и историята", В: *Българска историческа библиотека*, т. 3, София, 1929 and its Turkish translation – Yordan Trifonov, "Tarih ve Rivayetlerde Mihalbey Oğulları", (Bulgarca'dan çeviren: Türker Acaroğlu), *Ülkü Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Dergisi* 95 (Ankara, 1941) pp. 390-399 and its second part in *Ülkü Halkevleri ve Halkodaları Dergisi* 96 (Ankara, 1941) pp. 533-541; Олга Зироевић, "Смедеревски санџакбег Али бег Михалоглу", *Зборник за историју Матица Српска* (Нови Сад, 1971), pp. 9-27. [Olga Zirojević, "The sancakbeyi of Smederevo 'Ali beğ Mihaloğlu", *Symposium for the history of Serbia* (Novi Sad, 1971) pp. 9-27.]

³ Franz Babinger, "Turahan Bey", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, XII/2, pp. 104-106; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, c. I, pp. 576-579.

⁴ Fahamettin Başar, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş Döneminde Hizmeti Görülen Akıncı Aileleri: Malkoçoğulları", *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi*, (İstanbul) 6 (66), 1992, pp. 47-50.

chronicles, as well as the preserved *vakfiyes* of *vakfs*, founded by the *akıncı* commanders.

Moreover, the examination of the early centuries of Ottoman history on the basis of surviving sources, led to extreme conclusions fully denying the existence of some of the principal figures in the origins of the Ottoman state. Such was the radical view expressed by Colin Imber that Köse Mihal is an “entirely fictitious” figure from the Ottoman past, created by the imagination of the Ottoman chroniclers.⁵ Still, comparing the information of the Ottoman narrative sources with that of the preserved archeological artifacts and official Ottoman documents (*berats*, *fermans* and *vakfiyes*) as well, the Bulgarian scholar Orlin Sabev has successfully refuted Imber’s thesis and proved the actual existence of Köse Mihal, as well as of his descendents.⁶

The *vakfs* of these families are the source for cultural studies on different places.⁷ The large foundation activities of the renowned families in the

⁵ Colin Imber, “The Legend of Osman Gazi”, in Elizabeth Zahariadou (ed.), *Halcyon Days on Crete. A Symposium held in Rethymnon 11-13 January, 1991* (Rethymnon, 1993), pp. 67-76.

⁶ Orlin Sabev, “The Legend of Köse Mihal”, *Turcica*, 34 (2002), pp. 241-252.

⁷ Mahmud R. Gazimihal, “İstanbul Muhasaralarında Mihaloğulları ve Fatih Devrine Ait bir Vakıf Defterine göre Harmankaya Malikânesi”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, IV (1957), pp. 125-138; Semavi Eyice, “Sofya Yakınında İhtiman’da Gazi Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey İmâret-Camii”, *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası*, 2, (1975), pp. 49-61; H.Çetin Arslan, *Türk Akıncı Beyleri ve Balkanların imarına katkıları: (1300-1451)* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001); Vasilis Demetriades, “Problems of Land-Owning and Population in the Area of Gazi Evrenos Bey’s Waqf”, *Balkan Studies*, XXII/1 (Thessalonica, 1981), pp. 43-57; Вера Мутафчиева, “За чифлиците върху поземления вакъф на Гази Евренос Бег в началото на нашия век”, *Известия на Държавните Архиви*, кн. 63 (София, 1992), p. 51-67 [Vera Mutaftchieva, “The Farms on the Lands of the Gazi Evrenos Beg’s Vakf at the Beginning of Our Century”, *Bulletin of the National Archives*, No. 63 (Sofia, 1992), pp. 51-67.]; see also the article of Machiel Kiel about the town of Plevna, “Plewna”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (second edition), VIII (Leiden, 1995), pp. 317-320; see also his “Urban Development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: The Place of the Turkish Architecture in the Process”, *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1989), pp. 79-129 and “The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman-Turkish Architecture in the Balkans: The Imaret and the Mosque of Ghazi Evrenos Bey in Gümülcine (Komotini) and the Evrenos Bey Khan in the Village of Ilıca/Loutra in Greek Thrace (1370-1390)”, *Sanat Tarihi Yılığ*, 12 (1983), pp. 117-138.

lands granted to them by the first Ottoman sultans as *mülks* and enlarged with donations by later Ottoman rulers, changed the appearance of many places and differentiated their Ottoman face, and at the same time transformed them into centers of not only cultural life⁸, but made out of them urban centers as well, which played an important role in the periphery of the Ottoman realm – the *uc* territory.

Unfortunately, there are only few historical publications, devoted to the *akıncı* organization as such.⁹ The *akıncı* corps as a distinctive military unit in the Ottoman army did not receive the necessary attention by historians. In many of the historical writings *akıncıs* are described simply as light Ottoman cavalry, situated on the Ottoman borders, making incursions into enemy territory, plundering and putting into fire everything on its way. It seems that there is still the concept that the *akıncıs* were a band of plunderers who were disorganized

⁸ Орлин Събев, “Родът Михалоглу и мюсюлманското образование в българските земи на Османската империя”, *Съдбата на Мюсюлманските общности на Балканите* (София), p. 136-164. [Orlin Sabev, “The Family of Mihaloğlu and Muslim Education in Bulgarian Lands of the Ottoman Empire”, *The Destiny of the Muslim Communities on the Balkans* (Sofya), pp. 136-164.]; Mustafa İsen, “Rumeli’de Türk Kültür ve Sanatını Besleyen Bir Kaynak Olarak Akıncılık”, *Balkanlar’da Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri (17-19 Mayıs 2000, Şumnu – Bulgaristan)*, cilt 1, pp. 391-397.

⁹ Mehmed Zeki, “Akıncılar ve Akıncılar”, *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* (İstanbul), sene 8, No. 47, 1 Kanun-i Evvel 1333, pp. 286-305; “Akıncılar”, *Tarih Dünyası*, 2 (İstanbul, 1950), pp. 84-85; Aurel Decei, “Akıncı” article, *The Encyclopedia of İslam* (second edition), c. I (1960), pp. 340-341; Malkoç Nami, “Akıncılar, Akıncılar ve Büyük Akıncılar”, *Süvari Mecmuası*, (İstanbul, (97), 1936), pp. 68-89; Abdülkadir Özcan, “Akıncı” maddesi, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, II, pp. 249-250; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, “Akıncı” maddesi, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, c. I (1940), pp. 239-240; Aurel Decei, “L’expédition de Mircea I contre les *akıncı* de Karınovasi (1393)”, *Revue des Etudes Roumaines*, I (Paris, 1953), pp. 130-151; Ragıp Şevki Yeşim, “Fatih’in Bosna Seferine Yol Açan Akıncılar”, *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası*, (İstanbul), 1, (4), 1968, pp. 19-22; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “En marge d’un acte concernant le pengyek et les aqıngi”, *Revue des études islamiques*, XXXVII, f. I (Paris, 1969), pp. 21-47; Yılmaz Öztuna, “Türk Akıncıları ve Akıncı Ocağının Sönmesi”, *Hayat Tarih Mecmuası* (İstanbul), 1, (5), 1973, pp. 13-16; H.Çetin Arslan, “Erken Osmanlı Dönemi (1299-1453)’nde Akıncılar ve Akıncı Beyleri”, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, c. I, (Ankara, 1999), pp. 217-225; H.Çetin Arslan, “Erken Osmanlı’nın Fetih ve Yerleşim Sisteminde Akıncı Beylerinin Stratejik Önemi”, *Türkler*, cilt 9, pp. 116-121.

and whose primary objective was pillage and outrage against the peaceful population. Their military structure seems to be regarded as something outside the rules of the Ottoman military organization, and as far as they are examined as a part of the military attacks of the Ottomans, they get into the light of the plundering raids. Rarely is put forward the question of their possible organization, as a result of which very little is known about the *akıncı* corps – recruitment procedures, requirements for their appointment, armaments, way of waging military expeditions, payment, leadership, chain of command, ethnic and social background, etc. These problems of the so far known studies derive from the character of the source materials that were mainly used – Ottoman or Byzantine chronicles. These narratives' primary objectives were not the particularities of the *akıncı* troops, but the target of their attacks. Therefore, many details were omitted. For that reason, historical research should consider other sources as well, in order to clarify more fully the then existing reality.

The first historian to shed light on the *akıncı*'s organization was İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. In his article in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*¹⁰ he described the principle tasks of the *akıncı*s and their organization as small or big military units while attacking enemy territories. On the basis of not only chronicles, but also special *kanunnâmes* for the *akıncı*s, as well as *mühimme defterleri*, he depicted the requirements of becoming a member of this corps, the rules of ascribing them, as well as their economic status in terms of tax-exemption and land possession. Further, although not in direct connection with the corps, he

¹⁰ Uzunçarşılı, "Akıncı" maddesi, *İA*, pp. 239-240.

published two *kanunnâmes* concerning the *pençik* tax, collected from the *akıncıs* on their return into the Ottoman territories.¹¹

These particular documents were noticed by Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, who on the basis of one of them published an article¹². Analyzing the data contained in the *kanunnâme* and supporting and verifying its contents with other documents, the author presents an approximately good depiction of the *akıncıs* as a military corps. Thus, she pays attention to the principal military units in the *akıncı* corps, i.e. the *ucbeyis*, the *tovices*, as well as to the regular *akıncı* soldiers. On the basis of two additional *fermans*, the author depicts the theoretical rules of ascribing the soldiers and describes the procedures of composing the actual *akıncı defters*. But though she makes mention of two of the preserved registers, she does not use in her study these essential sources.

Lately, interest towards the use of an Ottoman source, namely the abounding in different kinds of information *mühimme defterleri*, which allow the study of the functions and the territorial disposition of the members of this corps, is gaining ground.¹³ Thus, a conclusion is reached that the *akıncıs* in the Balkans were divided into wings – right and left, known under the names of the *akıncı* commanders (*Mihallu* and *Turhanlu* respectively). But, in order to obtain more precise idea of the geographical regions, where the *akıncıs* were located, one should search for richer in data historical sources. Such are the *akıncı*

¹¹ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları, I: Acemi Ocağı ve Yeniçeri Ocağı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1943), pp. 86-89.

¹² Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "En marge d'un acte concernant", pp. 21-47.

¹³ Gyula Kaldy-Nagy, "The first centuries of the Ottoman military organization", *Acta Orientalia*, Budapest, XXXI (2), 1977, pp. 147-183; Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650. The Structure of Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Publisher, 2002), p. 260 ff.

defters, specially combined to recruit *akıncıs*, in which the places that they inhabited are clearly registered and, moreover, the registers themselves are compiled on a territorial basis, i.e. there exist inventories of the *akıncıs* pertaining respectively to the right or to the left wing of this corps.

2. Sources

Up to now three such *defters* are known to be preserved in the Archives. Two of them are to be found in the “St. St. Cyril and Methodius” National Library in Sofia, and the third one – in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi) in Istanbul. The first one is from 1472¹⁴, the other bears the date 1560¹⁵, and the one, preserved in Istanbul is from 1586¹⁶.

The latter two *defters* from the sixteenth century represent “classical” examples of what is known from the sultanic orders to be an *akıncı defter*. They contain information, prescribed by the rules, i.e. each *akıncı* is recorded with his personal name and his father name, his place of residence is clearly defined, the needed guarantors are listed in the register. Each *defter* has its natural beginning, where the heading of the survey is written (*akıncı defteri*), then the wing of the *akıncıs* is specified – if it is a register of the right-flank *akıncıs*, it is

¹⁴ “St. St. Cyril and Methodius” National Library, Sofia. As the document is in two pieces, it is preserved under two different call numbers: OAK 94/73 and Пд 17/27.

¹⁵ “St. St. Cyril and Methodius” National Library, Sofia, Fond 1, Archival unit: 19 447. For Bulgarian translation of the document see Bistra Tsvetkova (ed.), *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae XVI: Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgaricae* (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1972), pp. 39-41.

¹⁶ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul, Tahrir Defteri No. 625.

indicated as *Mihallu*-wing, and if left-flank was to be recorded, it is mentioned under the name of *Turhanlu*-wing accordingly. Hence, in one of those registers, dated 1560, the recruited *akıncı*s from the provinces belonging to *Turhanlu* wing are listed, and the other preserved *defter* from 1586 is related to the recruitment of the *akıncı*s of the *Mihallu* (i.e. right) wing.

The third, but first in chronological order, the *defter* from 1472 does not follow this structure. Moreover, it is rather closer to the well known *mufassal tahrir defterleri*, as it includes the population of the areas, for which it is compiled, on the basis of *hanes*. Further, after each 30 households, the name of an *akıncı* is listed. This peculiarity of the source is explained at the very beginning, where there is a decree from the Sublime Porte, giving details of the *defter*'s composition. Thus, it becomes clear that the document's compilation was ordered for a recruitment of *akıncı*s, for whose military expenses the population had to pay a fixed amount of money. The particular military campaign, for which the *akıncı*s were recruited and were supported by the populace, appears to be the campaign of sultan Mehmed II against the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan during 1473. The *akıncı*s were under the leadership of the well known Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey, whose name is mentioned in the Sultanic decree at the beginning of the register. Though this document does not represent a typical example of the later *akıncı defters*, one can extract approximately the same information about the *akıncı*s included in it, as the purpose of its compilation is the same as the others – recruitment and registration of *akıncı*s, pertaining to certain territory.

However rich in valuable information they may be, the *akıncı defters* in essence contain limited data. The use of supplementary sources for better understanding of this military formation is essential. Thus, the *mühimme defters*, containing Sultanic decrees issued daily on different matters, are precious in their details about the direct orders, received and applied by the *akıncı beys*. This historical source elucidates the exact procedures in making the *akıncıs'* registration, as well as the requirements of becoming a member of this corps. Further, details can be found about their social status, economic situation in terms of land-owning etc. These decrees contain mostly orders for the summoning of a certain wing of *akıncıs* for a certain campaign, something included in no other source, except for the chronicles that are often erroneous. Unfortunately, the earliest preserved *mühimme defterleri* are only from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. Therefore, researchers of the earlier centuries should rely on other source materials as well.

Hence, we find it necessary to examine in deeper detail the register from the second half of the fifteenth century in order to shed some light, as far as possible, on this military group's peculiarities. The Sultanic decree in the beginning of the document will allow us to conclude on certain matters, concerning the *akıncıs'* summoning for a campaign, armament, geographical location and ethnic origins as well. A comparison with the preceding historical reality and the later *akıncı defters* will stress the importance of this particular register, which in our opinion marks a braking point in the organization of the

akıncıs who became fully integrated into the Ottoman military forces as a defined body of the army.

3. Structure of the present study

The study is divided into three chapters. The first discusses the role of the *akıncı beys* in the early Ottoman conquests in the Balkans. Except for their importance in military plan, emphasis shall be on the *beys*' disobedience towards the center and on their more or less "independent" actions in the territories they conquered. The second chapter describes the shift in the central politics of the Ottoman sultan towards the hereditary *akıncı* families during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror. The third chapter contains an analysis of the register from 1472. Here several points shall be discussed: ethnic origins of the *akıncıs* themselves, their territorial spread, peculiarities of the area under consideration, recruitment procedures, and chain of command. Finally, the conclusion shall sum up the observations made throughout the different stages of the study.

Chapter I

THE OTTOMANS AND THE FRONTIER ZONES' *UC-BEYIS*

1. The Ottomans' frontier origin and the role of the frontier *beys* during the early Ottoman conquests in the Balkans

The Ottoman state emerged at the end of the thirteenth century as one of the frontier principalities facing the borders of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor. This frontier character continued to play a central role in Ottoman conquests in the early centuries of their existence (actually it did so throughout Ottoman history, but clearly distinguished features of the frontier society were observed primarily until the second half of the fifteenth century). Thus, the early Ottoman conquests in the Balkans are associated with the names of the frontier leaders, who became founders of dynasties such as Evrenos-oğulları (the descendents of Evrenos Bey), Mihal-oğulları (descendents of Köse Mihal), Turahan-oğulları, Malkoç-oğulları, etc. On the other hand, the organization of the early Ottoman conquests followed the Turko-Mongol *ülüş* tradition of dividing the territories among the *bey's* sons.¹⁷ In such a way, the command of the marches in Thrace was given to the eldest son of Orhan – Süleyman, who was surrounded by the right and left flank of the marches, commanded

¹⁷ Halil İnalcık, "Periods in Ottoman History. State, Society, Economy", in Halil İnalcık and Günsel Renda (eds.), *Ottoman Civilization*, Ankara: Ministry of Culture (Istanbul: Mas Printinghouse), vol. I: 2003, p. 43.

respectively by Yakub Ece, Gazi Fazıl, by Hacı İlbegi and Evrenos. Süleyman himself was acting in the middle.¹⁸ Later, when Süleyman died (1357), his brother Murad was entrusted with the leadership of the frontiers. Under his command conquests followed three main directions: in the center – the valley of Maritsa River; on the right – the valley of Tundja; and on the left – the southern march following the old *Via Egnatia* road. In these conquests the main role played several Ottoman military commanders, who later became frontier *beys* in the conquered territories and were entrusted with the governing of the marches.

After the death of the older Orhan's son – Süleyman, Lala Şahin Paşa, the tutor of Murad I, was sent along with his pupil to Rumeli, where they continued the conquest in the so-called *orta kol*. For the first time the title of *beylerbeyi* was bestowed on Lala Şahin Paşa by Murad I when, after the capture of Edirne, he himself returned to Bursa. That meant that Lala Şahin was left in charge of all military actions in the Balkans, so he was the leader under whose command the first Ottoman conquests were accomplished. Moreover, his martial abilities were demonstrated in the capture of two important towns, laying on the way of the Ottomans' expansion to the North – Filibe and Eski Zağra.¹⁹

After the emirate of Karasi was occupied by the Ottomans, into Süleyman Paşa's service came the *beys* of the *amirs* of Karasi: Hacı İlbegi, Ece Bey, Gazi Fazıl and Evrenos. Gazi Evrenos Bey took part in raids on the region of Dimetoka and personally occupied Keşan and İpsala. Hereafter, he linked his

¹⁸ Halil İnalcık, "The Rise of the Ottoman Empire", in M. A. Cook (ed.), *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730* (Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 21.

¹⁹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, I. cild, s. 572.

name with the history of the conquest of Rumeli. He distinguished himself in the capture of Edirne by Murad I, who next sent him to occupy the towns of İpsala and Gümölcine in Thrace, appointing him *uc-beyi* of the conquered territories. Evrenos Bey took part in the battle of Çirmen, which not only brought victory to the Ottomans, but opened the road to Macedonia for further conquests as well. He was sent to conquer Ferecik and then he occupied the areas of Pori, İskeçe, 'Avret Hisar, where from he levied *haraç*. As a reward, the sultan gave him the region of Serez, of which he became *uc-beyi*. Evrenos continued his raids now in the direction of Macedonia, capturing Yenice-i Vardar, Manastır and Üsküb. On behalf of Sultan Bayezid I, he occupied Voden and Kitros and led several incursions into Albania. He was also present at the big battles that followed – the battle of Nikopolis in 1396 and the battle of Ankara in 1402.²⁰ He also took part in the invasions of Hungary and Wallachia. Thus, this prominent leader linked his name with the advance of the Ottomans on the Balkans acting as a leader himself of the left-wing of Ottoman conquests, and later was replaced by his descendants.

Another family that flourished in the service of the early Ottoman sultans in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was that of Timurtaş-oğulları, whose most prominent member was Timurtaş Paşa. His name is mentioned for the first time associated with the conquests along the Tundja valley in the time of Murad I. He captured Yenice Kızılağaç and Yanbol in the plain of the Tundja River. When Lala Şahin Paşa died, Timurtaş succeeded him

²⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, I. cild, s. 562-564; Melikoff, "Evrenos", *ET*², p. 720; Başar, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş Döneminde... Evrenosoğulları", pp. 47-50; Uzunçarşılı, "Evrenos", pp. 414-418.

as *beylerbey* of Rumeli. He was, however, constantly taking part in the raids. He took the fortresses of Manastır, Pirlepe and İştîp, crossed the Vardar River and invaded the south of Serbia conquering several strongholds. Timurtaş was active in Thessaly and in Epirus, where Turahan Bey also fought with success. For some time he was present on the battlefield in Anatolia. When he appeared again in the Balkans, he took Kratova, east of Üsküp, which was famous for its copper and silver mines. Throughout his life, he was busy with warlike enterprises sometimes in Europe and sometimes in Asia Minor gaining glory and territories on behalf of the sultans.²¹

The governing of the marches of Thessaly was associated with the members of another family of the Ottoman warrior nobility, and particularly with the name of Turahan Bey, conqueror of Thessaly himself. Descendant of Paşa Yiğit Bey who conquered Üsküb and governed part of Bosnia after 1390 as Ottoman warden of the marches, Turahan Bey was active in the Peloponnesus, attacking several Byzantine towns like Mistra, Gardhiki, and Dabia, subduing this area for the Ottomans as far as the lands held by the Venetians. He commanded a part of the Ottoman forces at the battle against John Hunyadi at the end of 1443. His name, as well as the names of his two sons, are further associated with several important raids again in the Peloponnesus. Turahan Bey's official residence was at Larissa in Thessaly, the lands of which he held as a fief, and which grew as an important center thanks

²¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, I. cild, p. 573-575; Franz Babinger-[C. E. Bosworth], "Timurtash Oghulları", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (second edition), X, pp. 528-529.

to the large building activities, mainly of buildings for charitable purposes, pursued by his family.²²

Malkoçoğulları were the next prominent family, who left a deep mark in the history of the Ottoman military advance in the Balkans. Although not that active during its first decades, they distinguished themselves in the course of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Contemporary of Mihaloğlu ‘Ali and İskender Beys as well as of Evrenosoğlu İsa Bey, the son of Malkoç Mustafa Bey – Bali Bey, acted along with the above-mentioned in the *akıncı* incursions against Hungary. In 1478 he was Semendire *sancakbeyisi*, and after this – Silistre *sancakbeyisi*. He led raids against Moldavia and Poland. He had two sons, one of whom – Damad ‘Ali Bey, was *akıncı sancakbeyi* of Sofya, and the other one – Tur Ali Bey, *akıncı sancakbeyi* of Silistre. Those two died on the battlefield, serving Sultan Selim I, during the Çaldıran battle.

The other son of Malkoç Mustafa Bey, the actual founder of the family, Damad Yahya Paşa, was also one of the prominent *akıncı* leaders in the Balkans. He held the offices of *sancakbey* and *beylerbey* in Rumeli. His name is closely associated with the post of Bosnian *beylerbeyi* between 1475-1481 and 1494-1501. He was also occupying three times the office of *beylerbey* of Rumeli and once that of Anadolu. He held large estates in Filibe, Tatar-Bazarı and Sofya, and erected numerous charitable buildings in Lofça, Bosna-Saray and Üsküb. As all of the prominent *akıncı* families’ members during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Malkoçoğulları were permanently

²² Başar, “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluş Döneminde... Turahanoğulları”, pp. 47-50; Babinger, “Turahan Bey”, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, pp. 104-106; Babinger, “Turakhan Bey”, *EF*², pp. 671-672.

appointed *sancakbeys* of strategically important areas of the Empire. Thus, Malkoçoğlus frequently held the *sancakbeyliks* of Semendire, Belgrad, Bosna, Budin, İnebahtı, İstolni-Belgrad, Vidin etc. Until the time of the weakening of the *akıncı* corps, members of this family were among the most eminent and vigorous *akıncı* leaders in Rumeli.²³

Among the most emblematic leaders during the early Ottoman conquests was Köse Mihal, founder of the renowned Mihaloğulları dynasty of *akıncı* commanders. This lord, originally Greek, appears in the reign of Osman I as a governor of Harman-Kaya. Later, as an ally of the Ottoman ruler, he earned merit for aiding Ottoman expansion. Converted to Islam, he appeared in the reign of Osman's son Orhan and distinguished himself in the conquest of Bursa. Because he had rendered great services to the early Ottoman sultans, Köse Mihal was granted a fief in the region of Harman-Kaya as *mâlikâne*, which later was held by his descendants as *mülk*.²⁴ The presumptive sons of Köse Mihal gave rise to the beginning of the two main branches of this family – in Anadolu and in Rumeli. Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey, who is mentioned in a *berat* from the time of Bayezid I (December 1390), and his descendants settled in Amasya and Bursa, and 'Aziz Bey and his son Gazi Mihal Bey – in Edirne. According to the Enveri's *Düsturnâme* from 1464-1465 in Rumeli (and more precisely in İhtiman) has also settled Mahmud Bey, son of İlyas Bey and grandson of Balta

²³ Başar, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin... Malkoçoğulları", pp. 47-50; Franz Babinger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes der Malkoç-oghlu's", *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, t. I (Münich, 1962), pp. 355-377.

²⁴ Gazimihal, "İstanbul Muhasaralarında Mihaloğulları", pp. 125-138.

Bey, the latter considered a son of Köse Mihal.²⁵ Later on, part of the Rumelian branch of the family settled in Plevne. Judging from the preserved *vakfiyes*, one can assume that the first member of the family, who appears in Plevne is Gazi Mihal Bey himself. This region later is associated with the names of his sons and grandsons, who firmly established themselves in the region and left their traces especially in this town, founding *vakfs* for the sustenance of the numerous charitable buildings.²⁶ The rank of commander of the *akıncıs* became hereditary in the family of Köse Mihal. His son – Mehmed Bey, ascended the office of *beylerbey* at the time of Musa Çelebi. The son of the latter was Hızır Bey, who distinguished himself in the wars of Murad II's reign. The sons of Hızır Bey – Gazi 'Ali Bey, Gazi İskender Bey and Gazi Bali Bey, were famous *akıncı* leaders and played a great role in the Ottoman expansion in the time of sultans Mehmed II and Bayezid II. The right wing of the *akıncıs* was known by the name and under the leadership of the family members – *Mihaloğlu akıncıları*, and was called so from the beginning to the end of this corps existence.

In the course of early Ottoman expansion, names of prominent military commanders came to the fore. Since the emergence of the Ottoman state military advance was entrusted and was possible by virtue of those warriors' enterprises. Close companions of the first Ottoman rulers, they presented the warrior nobility of the early state, giving birth to dynastic families whose members continued to play a central role in Ottoman conquests throughout

²⁵ Sabev, "Family of Mihaloğlu", p. 137.

²⁶ Sabev, "Family of Mihaloğlu", pp. 138-140.

centuries. During the early years of Ottoman history, when state institutions were still not clearly defined and regulated, the ones who followed the tradition of frontier life were these warrior noblemen. Coming to the Balkans, pursuing the line of their military expansion, they transported the concept of the *uc* culture. The descendants of the original frontier lords in Anatolia became *beys* of the marches and were entrusted with the governing of the then frontier territories and with further Ottoman military advance.

Following the old frontier tradition, conquests were divided under the leadership of several commanders on a territorial basis. There was a main wing in the middle of the advance, surrounded by a left flank in a direction of the west and a right one – to the north-east. The command of each wing was entrusted to different frontier-lords, who conquered these territories on behalf of the sultans. This particular situation could be traced thanks to the information provided in the Ottoman chronicles. Thus, we learn from Hoca Sa'deddin Efendi that Timurtaş Bey was entrusted with the conquest of Yanbol and Kızılağaç Yenicesi, and Lala Şahin Paşa was a leader of the expansion towards Samakov and İhtiman, after he had previously captured Filibe and Eskihisar-i Zağra.

...[Sultan] bu arada Timurtaş Beyi Yanbolu ile Kızılağaç Yenicesinin fethine memur etmişti. Lala Şahin Paşa'yı da sancağı altındaki askerle Samakov ve İhtiman İllerini yağmalamak, zabt etmekle görevlendirmişti. 786 H. Tarihinde Kızılağaç Yenicesi fethedildi... Zaferleri emel bilen Gazilerin her biri sayısız ganimetler ele geçirdiler. Timurtaş Bey de değerli

ganimetler ve padişaha lââyık hediyelerle sultanın otağına gitti.
Lala Şahin Paşa ise Samakov ile İhtiman üzerine akın etmiş...²⁷

The relationship between Ottoman rulers and the lords of the marches could be clearly demonstrated by a letter, published by Ziya Hanhan, from the time of Orhan, in which the sultan himself expresses his admiration for Evrenos Bey and sends his son along with the honorable warrior to Rumeli.

... Baka Evrenos demişti. Bileğinin hünerini, kılıcının keskinliğini biliriz, atının bastığı yerde ot bitmez, adı bilinir bir akıncımızsın. Gerektir ki, Urumeli seferinde paşa oğlumuzla varasın, yüz aklığı edesin, hüner gösteresin. Murad'ımı da sizinle bilece göndermek isterim. Yanımızda cenk ahvalin görüp bilmeli, ona göre adlanmalı.²⁸

In the same article, Ziya Hanhan published another letter from the time of Murad I, where there is a clear indication of the way in which Evrenos Bey acquired his lands.

... İmdi, malumun ola ki, vardığın yerde durasın. Biz dahi ol tarafa varmak üzere olup ayağımız üzengidedir. Buluştuğumuzda bilece söyleşir, her hangi tarafa gitmek gerekirse ol canibe varırız. Gümülcine'yi sana ihsan eyledik. Orada eyleşip hoşca dirlik kurasın. Kılıcım ekmeğidir deyu fukaraya zahmet vermeyesin. Vergilerin adalet üzre toplayasın. Bilginlere, riayet

²⁷ Arslan, *Türk Akıncı Beyleri ve Balkanların imarına katkıları: (1300-1451)*, p. 37.

²⁸ Ziya Hanhan, "Murad Hüdâvendigâr'ın Gazi Evrenos Beye Hak ve Adalet Öğütü", *Tarih Konuşuyor Dergisi*, sayı: 7/37, 1967, pp. 3039-3042; p. 3040, quated after Arslan, *Türk Akıncı Beyleri*, p. 41.

edip, düşkünlere merhamet gözüyle nazar kılasın. Sen, bize cennet mekan karındaşımız yâdigârisin ve dahi babam, atam armağanısın. Onlara nice hizmet ettinse bize de öylece hizmet edesin...²⁹

It becomes clear that the sultan himself gave to his loyal *bey* as a reward the lands that the latter had conquered on his behalf. Moreover, the *beys* were given these areas in a form of an *uc*, i.e. they acquired the right to rule them as *uc beyleri*, which once again confirms the formal dependence of the lords of the marches in the early centuries of the Ottoman Empire. In the following two examples from Aşıkpaşazâde's chronicle, we may find confirmation that under the *beys'* governance were given the territories that they themselves subdued by means of their swords' strength.

Han, devletle Edirne tahtına oturunca lalası Şahin'e Zağra tarafına ve Filibe'ye akın emrini verdi. Evrenuz Gazi dahi vardı, İpsala'yı fethetti. Bunlar yerli yerinde Uç beğları oldular.³⁰

Veziri Hayreddin Paşaya emretti: "Varın Evrenuz ile o illeri fethedin" dedi Evrenuz, Gümölcine'yi yer edinip oturdu. Büre'yi, İskeçe'yi, Marulya'yı fethetmişti. Haracını Murad Han'a gönderdi. Daha başka memleketlere de hücum ederdi... Aldıkları yerlerde padişahlık kanunu tatbik ettiler hana gönderilmesi gerekli olanı gönderdiler gazilere verilmesi gerekli olanı verdiler... o dahi bütün civarı ile fetholundu memleketini tımar erlerine paylaştırdılar. Kafirlerine haraç tayin ettiler oradan

²⁹ Hanhan, "Murad Hüdâvendigâr'ın", s. 3042, quoted after Arslan, *Türk Akıncı Beyleri*, p. 41.

³⁰ Arslan, *Türk Akıncı Beyleri*, p. 36.

devletle yine buna geldiler Evrenuz Gazi'ye Serez'i uç verdiler...³¹

From the preserved *berâts* and *temliknâmes* we learn about the newly settled places by the *beys*, which they previously conquered. From a *berat* published by E. von Kraelitz we can judge that Gazi Evrenos Bey had been granted a *sancak* by sultan Murad I in the lands that he himself had captured (Gümülcine, Serez and Manastır).³² Again from a *temliknâme* pertaining to Evrenos Bey, it becomes clear that in order to prevent the debts of his *vakf*, he transformed several villages and *çiftliks* into *temliks*.³³ As the conquered lands were state property, *akıncı beys* were given *temliknâmes*, through which the lands captured in the time of Murad I were granted to them as *malikâne* in order that they could be inherited by their sons.³⁴

Ever since the time of the first sultans, Mihaloğulları were granted the lands they have conquered and settled in, where later on they founded pious endowments. Bayezid I granted a *sancak* to Köse Mihal Bey-oğlu Gazi 'Ali Bey as a reward for his participation in the Kosovo battle. Afterwards, in the course of a century, every sultan gave estates to members of this family in different parts of the Empire, enlarging their possessions. According to Mihaloğulları's merits the family was awarded *mülks* from which after some time *vakfs* of the

³¹ Arslan, *Türk Akıncı Beyleri*, p. 43.

³² E. von Kraelitz, "İlk Osmanlı Padişahlarının İhdas Etmiş Olduğu Bazı Berâtlar", *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası*, No. 28 (İstanbul, 1914/15), pp. 242-250, 242.

³³ Osman Ferid, "Evrenos Beğ Hanedanına 'Aid Temlik-name-i Humayün", *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* 6, 31/1334 (1915), pp. 432-438, 432-433.

³⁴ Arslan, "Erken Osmanlı'nın Fetih ve Yerleşim Sisteminde", p. 118.

family emerged and became hereditary until the latest times of the existence of the Ottoman Empire.³⁵

From a preserved *vakfiye* of Hızır Bey-oğlu Gazi ‘Ali Bey, known also as Mihaloğlu ‘Ali Bey, from 1494/95 we can account for the large building activities of Mihaloğulları family in the *kasaba* of Plevne. With the revenues from the villages, in the town of Plevne were built a mosque, *medrese*, *zaviye*, and *‘imaret*. In order to maintain his mosque and *‘imaret* in Edirne, Gazi Mihal Bey received from sultan Murad II as land-possession two villages in the *nahiye* of Üsküdar. One of the villages was made a *vakf*, and later sultan Mehmed II added to it Pınar Hisar, Urum Beylü, Geredelü and Manastır, giving them possession of his sons. Later, Bayezid II and Selim II confirmed the family possessions.³⁶

As a confirmation that the granted lands were inherited by the family, we may take as example the codicil of Mihaloğlu ‘Ali Bey from 1505. It is mentioned there that the then intendant of the *vakf* in Plevne – ‘Ali Bey’s son Hasan Bey, had the right to control not only the estates turned into *vakf* from his father, but also all of the possessions bequeathed by his grandfather and his great-grandfather, i.e. the *vakfs* of Hızır Bey and Gazi Mihal Bey.³⁷

The frontier lords not only took possession of strategically important localities along the main roads, but afterwards played a crucial role in the history of these places as they established themselves firmly there and made out of them “strongholds” and even ruled them like small principalities on the

³⁵ Gökbilgin, “Mihaloğulları”, p. 289.

³⁶ Gökbilgin, “Mihaloğulları”, p. 289.

³⁷ Sabev, “Family of Mihaloğlu”, p. 139.

borders of the Ottoman state. In such a way Mihaloğulları established themselves in Bilecik, Edirne, and later in Plevne and İhtiman; Evrenosoğulları – in Yenice-i Vardar, Serez, Gümülcine and Loutra; Turahanoğulları – in Yenişehir, Tırhala, Üsküb, Ohri and its environs; Malkoçoğulları – in Niğbolu, Plevne and Silistre, and entrenched these areas as their own bases.³⁸

The role of the *beys* of the marches was great not only in the course of the conquests, but their actions influenced the internal politics of the state as a whole. In the early stages of their history, the Ottomans were highly dependant on the frontier-*beys* who at that time were ruling their territories more or less independently. Moreover, they had their own loyal armies and thus could support the sultan, whose politics they liked more. Their disobedience towards the Ottoman rulers could be better examined during the years following Bayezid I's defeat at Ankara in 1402, when they were easily changing sides, supporting one or another of the pretenders to the Ottoman throne.

2. The role of the *beys* in the times of trouble after Bayezid's defeat at

Ankara

After the defeat at Ankara the Ottoman state fell apart. The youngest son of Bayezid – Çelebi Mehmed, established his control over Anatolia first in Amasya and then in Bursa, trying to subdue Rumelia. His elder brother – Çelebi Süleyman, who was ruling at Edirne, directed his attempts in enlarging his rule

³⁸ Arslan, "Erken Osmanlı Dönemi (1299-1453)'nde Akıncılar ve Akıncı Beyleri", p. 217.

over Anatolia as well. The local states and rulers, both in the Balkans and Anatolia, played a great role in this struggle for supremacy, trying to keep the *status quo*, established in 1402. In the same manner as the independent principalities in Anatolia that renewed their existence after 1402, the rulers of Byzantium, Serbia, Walachia and Albania restored some of their possessions in Rumelia and began to act autonomously. The events from this period show that the influential Anatolian families opposed the central administration of the Ottomans. The local dynasties in the Balkans held approximately the same position. On the other hand, the frontier-lords, supporting the old traditions of the marches, also opposed centralization, supporting that of the pretenders for the Ottoman throne, who guaranteed their own privileges and in such a way played a crucial role in the civil war of that period. Already settled in the newly conquered territories in the Balkans, they obtained certain areas on the borders of the empire as private property, and gaining enough glory on the battlefields against the Infidels, gathered around themselves loyal “private armies” and established their own military bases. After the battle of Ankara, there was basically no sultan whose orders they had to obey, and feeling themselves strong enough to rule their small “principalities” independently, were acting according to their own political interests. On the contrary, the sultans were those who had to conform to the lords’ wishes, as any disobedience of these warlords could cost them the throne. Hence, the contender who could gain the support of the *beys* of the marches could ascend the throne in Edirne.³⁹

³⁹ İnalcık, “Rise of the Ottoman Empire”, p. 33.

Musa Çelebi

Thus, Musa Çelebi utilized the help of the Rumelian *beys* to defeat his brother Süleyman, which allowed him to gain the throne (17 February 1411). He appointed to the office of *beylerbeyi* the famous Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey, which meant that this frontier-lord was in control of all the military forces in the Balkans.⁴⁰ This once again shows the big authority and strength that the *akıncı* leaders had during the first centuries of Ottoman history. After some time, however, the *beys* switched sides. The Ottoman lords Mihaloğlu Mehmed and Çandarlı İbrahim fled over to Musa's brother – Mehmed, in Anatolia. This information is confirmed by a non-Ottoman source as well. Konstantin the Philosopher, who was a clerk in the court of the Serbian ruler Stefan Lazarević, in his eyewitness account states that Musa wanted to kill his great military commander Mihal Bey, i.e. Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey, because the latter gained too much glory and because he held him responsible for the escape of George Branković, whom Musa failed to kill.⁴¹ The reason for Mehmed Bey's escape was, as the Ottoman chroniclers put it, that Musa aroused the hatred of the Rumelian lords by killing some of them and confiscating their property.⁴² Soon more of his lords such as Paşa Yiğid and Mihaloğlu Yusuf deserted him and fled to Stefan Lazarević, from where they plundered Musa's territories with

⁴⁰ İncalcık, "Rise of the Ottoman Empire", p. 33-34.

⁴¹ The period of the Ottoman struggle for the throne between the sons of Bayezid is vividly narrated by Konstantin Kostenečki. See Анна-Мария Тотоманова (превод, бележки и коментар), Константин Костенечки. Съчинения. Сказание за буквите. Житие на Стефан Лазаревич, (София: Славика), 1993 [Anna-Mariya Totomanova (translation and commentary), *Konstantin Kostenečki. Writings. Saga for the letters. The life of Stefan Lazarević* (Sofia: Slavica), 1993]. For the story relating the flight of Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey to Mehmed see § 68, p. 176.

⁴² Colin Imber, "Mūsā Çelebī", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (second edition), VII, pp. 644-645.

Serbian troops. When Mehmed came from Asia to wage a campaign against his brother Musa, he received word from Evrenos that his son Barak, Paşa Yiğid and Sinan bey of Trikkala would desert Musa and join him. When Mehmed reached Pirot, he received soldiers from Evrenos. When the troops of the Rumelian beys joined Mehmed, this gave him prevalence over Musa's forces and finally resulted in Musa's defeat near Sofya (5 July 1413).

The first years of Murad II's reign and the rebellion of Düzme Mustafa

At the death of Mehmed I (1421), another pretender for the throne – Düzme Mustafa, became master of the Balkans and of Edirne, largely through the support of the house of Evrenos. To outweigh this, Murad released Mihaloğlu Mehmed, who had been imprisoned in Tokat after the fall of Musa⁴³, and with his help succeeded in winning over the *beys* of the marches and eliminating his rival.⁴⁴

When Mustafa crossed the Dardanelles and came to the Balkans, he was supported by most eminent Rumelian *uc-beyis*, including Turahan Bey, the Evrenos-zades and Gümlü-oğlu. After some time, however, they all deserted him, and this again was one of the reasons of the weakening of Mustafa and of

⁴³ Because he held the office of *beylerbey* at the time of Musa, Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey was imprisoned for a short time by the new Ottoman ruler in Tokat. Shortly after this he was released, fact which is confirmed by the preserved *vakfiye* of Timurtaş Paşa-zade Oruç Bey from 1420, where Mehmed Bey is present as one of the witnesses. Maybe because of his relations with Şeyh Bedreddin of Simaw from the time of Musa, Mehmed Bey is again put in the prison of Tokat. He is later discharged by sultan Murad II in order to help him against the rebellion of Düzme Mustafa. See Uzunçarşılı, "Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey Neden Dolayı", ss. 181-185. Mehmed Bey was sent to capture İznik, where he was killed by the *beylerbey* of Mustafa – Taceddin-oğlu Mahmud Bey, in 1422/23. See Konstantin Kostenečki, *The life of Stefan Lazarević*, § 82, p. 184; Uzunçarşılı, "Köse Mihal" madd., p. 915; Babinger, "Mikhaloghlu", *EF*², p. 34.

⁴⁴ İnalcık, "The Rise of the Ottoman Empire", p. 34.

his final defeat by Murad (1422). Mustafa's generous accession donative and his granting privileges to the lower paid troops ('*azebs* and the *yaya*) in the end failed to ensure his followers' loyalty. The Rumelian *uc-beyis*, likewise, abandoned him in the face of clever propaganda for the cause of Murad.⁴⁵

Later years of Murad's rule:

During the Crusade of 1443, which ended with the battle of Zlatitza, the turbulent actions of the Rumelian *bey*s again came to the fore. Turahan *bey* was the person who expressed the feelings of the troops of the marches, who claimed that there is no possibility to withstand such a strong enemy. Under these circumstances contradictions arose between the *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli Kasım Paşa and Turahan *bey*. All Ottoman sources claim that it was Turahan's inactivity which led to the Ottomans' failures and their retreat before the enemy. According to the author of the *Gazavatname*, after the first defeats by the crusaders, the Sultan stated that one cannot trust the *uc-beyis* any more. After the battle of Zlatitza, Murad ordered the arrest of Turahan and imprisoned him in Tokad.⁴⁶

As we have seen, the *uc-beyis* played a crucial role not only in the course of Ottoman expansion, but also in the internal politics of the state during the first centuries of its existence. During the period that followed the battle of

⁴⁵ Colin J. Heywood, "Mustafa" (1.), *EF*, VII, pp. 710-711.

⁴⁶ Halil İnalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi), 1995, pp. 57-58.

Ankara (1402), the sons of Bayezid I could not retain the throne without the support of the *beys*. Descendents of original frontier leaders, they were representatives of the frontier culture from the very beginning of Ottoman history. Their turbulent actions and disobedience towards centralism of the now emerging Ottoman Empire had to be stopped by the Sultan, who had to be a warlord like them and a figure that could subordinate and infiltrate them into a strong military system of command, in which the army would be commanded by the Sultan and nobody else. This vigorous person was sultan Mehmed II.



Chapter II

THE *AKINCI* LEADERS AT THE TIME OF SULTAN MEHMED II

1. A certain shift in Ottoman politics.

During the early stages of Ottoman history, the greatest threat to central authority of the sultan came from the frontiers. Ottoman *beys* of the marches might have established independent principalities in the Balkans, following the example of the other frontier principalities.⁴⁷ This was due to the fact that the institutions and traditions of the marches, which existed at the time of Osman Gazi, lived on in the early period of the Ottoman state. In the beginning, when the Ottoman state was a small *beylik* facing the borders of the Byzantine Empire, the frontier leaders were acting independently as “comrades” of Osman Gazi. They were given the regions that they conquered as an appanage or *yurtluk*. Osman used to “divide the provinces conquered among the *gazis*”, and this system was later applied for the frontier *beys* who engaged in conquests in Rumelia.⁴⁸

In course of time, however, Ottoman rulers came to realize that their supremacy over the greatly-expanded state would be preserved only by means of centralized power and a strong army, obedient to the Sultan. After 1361 a

⁴⁷ İnalcık, “The Rise of the Ottoman Empire”, p. 33.

⁴⁸ İnalcık, “Periods in Ottoman History. State, Society, Economy”, p. 48.

number of central institutions were set up and the Janissary force, a paid standing army of *kuls* personally bound to the sultan, was established. At his succession to the throne Mehmed II increased the pay of the Janissaries, improved their weapons and raised their strength from 5 000 to 10 000.⁴⁹ Thanks to this force, the sultan could overpower any opponent in the imperial lands or in the marches. Thus, the *uc-beyis* could not preserve their former position in the face of the Conqueror's strong policy of centralization.

We possess no direct evidence for the methods that Sultan Mehmed II applied to reduce the power of the lords of the marches. Further, we have no information about the possible resistance on the part of the *beys*. The only indication of resolute actions on the part of the sultan is contained in Ducas's account. The Byzantine historian reports that Mehmed II has executed Evrenosoğlu 'Ali Bey, after the latter had assassinated his brother under the sultan's compulsion.⁵⁰ Except for this information, it appears that the disobedient leaders of the marches suddenly became loyal to the sultan and acted according to his orders. This sudden shift in the *beys*' behaviour suggests to us that most probably there was a certain agreement between the lords and the sultan. One thing is definite – to a certain degree they preserved the situation before Mehmed II's accession, but were incorporated in the "classical" institutions of the Ottoman Empire. They continued to reside in the places they previously possessed, but instead of remaining as *uc-beyis* now they were transformed into the position of the ordinary *sancak-beyis*. Moreover, they

⁴⁹ İnalcık, "Rise of the Ottoman Empire", p. 46.

⁵⁰ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "En marge d'un acte concernant", pp. 31-32.

preserved their hereditary command of the *akıncı* troops, but now fully integrated into the centralized Ottoman army, subdued to the Sultan.

This new situation could be successfully traced by the example of the life of the famous *akıncı* leader Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey who was constantly holding the office of *sancakbeyi* of several frontier regions. His name appears in the Ottoman sources linked with the events from the time of Sultan Mehmed II. He was the leader of the *akıncı* troops acting in Bosnia, Serbia, Anatolia, but mostly across the Danube River, plundering the territories of Wallachia and Hungary.

After the conquest of Semendire (1459), the post of *sancakbeyi* of Semendire was given to Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey. At the same time the northern part of the Serbian lands was governed by Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey, who had the task to defend the whole Danubian frontier to the east of Belgrade. Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey held the post of *su-başı* of Braničevo until 1460, and to this office he was only appointed after the conquest of Serbia, i.e. from 1459 to 1460.⁵¹ In 1460 'Ali Bey was granted by the sultan the post *sancakbeyi* of Vidin because of the latter's victory over Mihály Szilágyi, relative of the Hungarian king, whom Ali Bey took prisoner.⁵²

After the unsuccessful campaign of Mehmed II against the Wallachian ruler in 1462, 'Ali Bey undertook an *akın* against Srem, but he was defeated by the Hungarian king Mátyás, who followed him to the Serbian lands. In spite of the defeat that 'Ali Bey suffered, he successfully accomplished his task, which

⁵¹ Зироевић, "Смедеревски санџакбег Али бег Михалоглу", p. 11.

⁵² Gökbilgin, "Mihaloğulları", p. 287.

was to eliminate the menace of a possible Hungarian attack and moreover to detract Hungarian attention from Bosnia. Because of the accomplishment of this mission, 'Ali Bey was granted by the sultan the *sancakbeylik* of Semendire, replacing Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey who went to Bosnia.⁵³ At the end of the following year (1463), 'Ali Bey was again appointed to the dignity of Vidin *sancakbeyi*, and his place in Semendire was taken by Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey. Mihaloğlu held this office until 1467, when a survey of the region Braničevo, pertaining to the *sancak* of Vidin at that time, was carried out and where he was still mentioned as *sancakbey* of the region⁵⁴. Moreover, Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey was the surveyor (*emin*) of this register himself.⁵⁵

'Ali Bey was again *sancakbeyi* of Semendire from 1467 to 1472, when under the command of prince Mustafa he took part in the military clash with the Akkoyunlu leader Uzun Hasan. Because of the planned campaign against Uzun Hasan for the spring of the following year, 'Ali Bey was transferred from the Rumelian *serhad* to the office of Sivas *sancakbeyi*.⁵⁶

From 1475 to 1479 Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey was again holding the office of the Semendire *sancakbeyi*. In a letter of Mátyás Korvin to 'Ali Bey from 1476 he named him "un gran bessa del Turco et ha lo guberno de Smedro et quasi de tutta la Servia".⁵⁷

⁵³ Зироевић, "Смедеревски санџакбег", p. 14.

⁵⁴ Зироевић, "Смедеревски санџакбег", p. 14.

⁵⁵ Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr & N. Beldiceanu, "Règlement ottoman concernant le recensement (première moitié du XVI^e siècle)", *Südost-Forschungen* 37, 1978, pp. 1-40, 32.

⁵⁶ S. Tansel, *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Siyasî ve Askerî Faaliyeti*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1953, pp. 312-313; Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Gazavat-nameler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Gazavatnamesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000), p. 191.

⁵⁷ Зироевић, "Смедеревски санџакбег", p. 16.

The appointment of 'Ali Bey as *sancakbeyi* of Niğbolu took place in 1479.⁵⁸ After 1486 he was again *sancakbeyi* of Semendire, but it is not known until when he held this office. In 1492 he was again appointed *sancakbeyi* of the same province, the post which he held until 1494 when he was replaced by Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey.⁵⁹ Towards the end of 1498 or at the beginning of 1499 Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey was again Semendire *sancakbeyi*.⁶⁰ Very little is known about the last years of the life of 'Ali Bey. He died in Plevne, where he spent the last years of his life.⁶¹

Thus, throughout his lifetime, we see Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey holding consecutively the office of *sancakbey* of several areas, all of them (except that of Sivas) situated on the northern borders of the Ottoman Empire. He was *sancakbeyi* of Vidin (1460-1462, 1463-1467, 1473-1475), Semendire (1462-1463, 1467-1472, 1475-1479, 1486-?, 1492-1494, 1498-1499), Sivas (1472-1473) and Niğbolu (1479-?). Hence, we can observe that during the time of Mehmed II, the family of Mihaloğulları retained their leadership in the Ottoman military advance on the northern marches of the Empire. They were, however, restricted to the position of *sancakbeyis* of not only one province, but were appointed governors of several border districts for short periods of time. By doing this, the sultan prevented the *akıncı* leaders of residing in their own

⁵⁸ Trifonov, "Tarih ve Rivayetlerde Mihalbey oğulları", p. 539.

⁵⁹ Зироевић, "Смедеревски санџакбег", pp. 21-22.

⁶⁰ Зироевић, "Смедеревски санџакбег", p. 24.

⁶¹ There are different versions on the exact date of the death of 'Ali Bey. But from the preserved *vakfiyes* of his pious endowment in Plevne, we could narrow the possibilities between two dates. Thus, as his own *vakfiye* is dated 1496, and in the complement to it from 1505, which was made at the request of his son Hasan Bey, Alaeddin 'Ali Bey was already mentioned as deceased, thus, the date of his death is restricted within these two years, i.e. 1496 and 1505. See Sabev, "Family of Mihaloğlu", p. 139.

strongholds – in the case of Mihaloğulları this was the Plevne region, where the family possessed large hereditary estates. In such a way, the descendants of the noble families from the early Ottoman history were reduced to Ottoman officials integrated into the military and administrative system of the fifteenth-century empire, though preserving their leadership on the borders.

Mehmed II's politics towards the members of Mihaloğulları family was not exceptional. One could observe the same alteration with the position of the other noble families' members. Thus, Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey was in 1478 Semendire *sancakbeyi*, and after this – Silistre *sancakbeyi*. Malkoçoğlu Damad Yahya Paşa was Bosnian *beylerbeyi* between 1475-1481 and 1494-1501. In such a way Malkoçoğlus frequently held the *sancakbeyliks* of Semendire, Belgrad, Bosna, Budin, İnebahtı, İstolni-Belgrad, Vidin.⁶² The grandson of Evrenos Gazi and a son of Evrenosoğlu 'Ali Bey – Şemseddin Ahmed, was in 1466 *sancakbeyi* of Tırhala, and then of Semendire. Another descendant of Evrenos, his other grandson – Mehmed, son of 'İsa b. Evrenos, was at the very beginning of the sixteenth century *sancakbeyi* of İlbasan.⁶³

Until the reign of Mehmed II, the lords of the marches played a crucial role in Ottoman expansion. Members of these noble families took part and their actions were decisive in the period after the battle of Ankara (1402), when the pretenders to the Ottoman throne mostly depended on the *beys*' good will and support. Their strength could be opposed only by a vigorous person like sultan Mehmed the Conqueror who succeeded to diminish the *beys*' power by

⁶² Başar, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş Döneminde... Malkoçoğulları", pp. 48-49.

⁶³ Irène Melikoff, "Evrenosoghulları" article, *EF*², II, p. 721; Fahamettin Başar, "Evrenosoghulları", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, II, pp. 539-541, 541.

integrating them successfully into the Ottoman system. Mehmed II's politics towards them was clever enough to leave the *beys*' superior position in the military hierarchy, appointing them *sancakbeyis*, and to retain their leadership of the *akıncı* troops in the periphery of the empire's territories, thus preventing their dissatisfaction and possible riot. Mehmed II was, however, a most authoritative sultan, who gained more respect and awe not only from his rivals, but his subjects as well after the conquest of Constantinople. Increasing the number and power of the army of his personal slaves, he increased his supremacy over the warlike elements in the Empire even more. Thus, when the Conqueror decided to diminish the vigor of the *beys* of the marches, he did not hesitate to confiscate their property along with the other noble families' lands, strengthening absolute power in the person of the Ottoman sultan. The *vakf* of Malkoçoğulları in the region of Hasköy was transformed into a *timar* with a Sultanic order from 11 July, 1475. The same fate met the lands of Turahanoğulları in Thrace, which were also transformed into *timars* by Mehmed II.⁶⁴

2. Mehmed II's campaign against the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan.

Although Mehmed the Conqueror had left the leadership of the frontier troops (*akıncıs*) to the well-known commanders from the marches, he succeeded in diminishing their independent actions and incorporated them into the military

⁶⁴ See M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası. Vakıflar – Mülkler – Mukataalar* (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), p. 276, 341.

system of his empire. Contrary to their paramount role during the very first Ottoman conquests in the Balkans, in the course of time the *akıncıs* and their leaders occupied a subordinate place in further Ottoman expansion. Thus, they acquired the position of auxiliary troops, acting as vanguards of the standing Sultanic army. Their task was not to conquer lands on their own, but to invade foreign territories in order to reconnoitre and plunder, disturbing the enemy forces and destroying their preparations, securing a safer inroad for the regular army.

In order to illustrate the position of this particular troop of the Ottoman army, we will take as example one military expedition, in which the *akıncıs* took part. Maybe the most valuable and richest accounts of the Ottoman warfare during the fifteenth century are those related to the Ottoman – Akkoyunlu rivalry. Contemporary accounts of Mehmed II's campaign against Akkoyunlu are very interesting not only because each provides information about the *akıncı* troops, but also because their exactness could be compared with other eye-witness descriptions. Moreover, the personal histories of the men participating in this military clash are much more important because of the fact that we have at our disposal an official Ottoman document composed for the purpose of recruiting the necessary *akıncı* troops especially for this campaign.

The struggle between the Ottoman sultan and the ruler of Akkoyunlu, Uzun Hasan, had begun long before 1470 and was a result of complicated political games between the rulers of this region.⁶⁵ By that time, however, Uzun

⁶⁵ Halil İnalcık, "Mehmed the Conqueror (1432-1481) and His Time", *Speculum*, XXXV (1960), pp. 408-427; Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time* (translated from the

Hasan was the most powerful eastern neighbor of the Ottomans, and direct conflict with him was unavoidable.

In September-October 1472 Mehmed II crossed into Anatolia and, as Tursun Bey⁶⁶ implies, he had the intention of making a full-scale assault on the Akkoyunlu realms. His viziers, however, recommended to proceed more slowly, as there was a shortage of supplies and equipment. Thereupon, Mehmed II ordered the imperial tents to be pitched on the Anatolian shore for a campaign against Uzun Hasan. At this juncture he recalled Mahmud Paşa and made him Grand Vizier once again. From this time on Mahmud busied himself with military preparations.⁶⁷

Those preparations ended with the summoning of the great Ottoman army in Anatolia in the following year – 1473. Tursun Bey notes that, in the spring of 1473, Mehmed II had left his younger son, Prince Cem, in Edirne for the defense of Rumelia, while he himself crossed into Anatolia to encounter Uzun Hasan. The command of the right wing of the army with the troops of Rum (Amasya and Sivas) was given, according to Tursun Bey, to Prince Bayezid, while the left wing with the Karaman soldiery was commanded by

German by Ralph Manheim), Bollingen Series XCVI, (Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 302-368.

⁶⁶ Tursun Bey was an expert in Ottoman state finances. He started his career as a government surveyor in Istanbul; then he became a secretary in the office of the Grand Vizier Mahmud. Based on his personal experience, his work is a first hand source for Mehmed II's reign. Moreover, his position gave him access to valuable information about military as well as financial matters.

⁶⁷ Tursun Bey, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, Halil İnalçık and R. Murphey (trans. and eds.), Bibliotheca Islamica (Minneapolis & Chicago, 1978), p. 59.

Prince Mustafa.⁶⁸ Identical description on the division of Mehmed II's army is also presented by Kemalpaşazade.

The best account that describes the military formation of the imperial army, however, is given by the treasurer of Mehmed II, Giovan Maria Angiolello, in his eyewitness account of the campaign against Uzun Hasan. According to him, the army was divided into five columns: the first was under the command of the sultan himself; the second was entrusted to Prince Bayezid; whereas Prince Mustafa commanded a third column, in which were included Wallachian soldiers under certain Basarab, and this column took up a position next to the sultan; the fourth column was led by the governor of Rumelia, Has Murad Paşa, but because of his youth and inexperience, the Grand Vizier Mahmud Paşa was assigned to him as an adviser. In the ranks of this column there were many Greeks, Albanians, and Serbs; they occupied a position in front of the sultan. Finally, behind the sultan, was placed Davud Paşa, governor of Anatolia, with a column comprised of infantry and cavalry. Thus, Mehmed II and his army were in the middle, surrounded by four columns. The army was added by auxiliaries and supply troops – the first represented by the *akıncıs* under the command of Mahmud Aga, and the task of supplying was entrusted to

⁶⁸ Tursun Bey, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, p. 60. According to the Persian chronicle of Hasan Rumlu (which gives seemingly accurate account), from the Bosphorus Mehmed II proceeded to Yenishehir near Iznik, where he awaited the arrival of the Rumelian troops, who had crossed into Asia at Gallipoli. At Beypazarı on the road to Ankara, Prince Mustafa joined with his troops of Karaman, whereas Prince Bayezid and his contingent joined on the plain of Kazova near Amasya. See Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire (1300-1481)*, (İstanbul: ISIS Press, 1990), p. 214.

the two *arpa emini*.⁶⁹ In such a way the whole Ottoman army was finally summoned up.

Before Mehmed II entered Akkoyunlu territory, he sent ahead the *akıncıs* who, according to Catarino Zeno, “traversed the country thirty, forty or fifty miles before the Turkish armies, and plundered, burned and slaughtered whatever they found before them”.⁷⁰ These were the Rumelian *akıncıs* of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey, who according to Aşıkpaşazade, plundered Uzun Hasan’s territories and took prisoners as far east as Kemah on the Euphrates southwest of Erzincan. The main body of the army followed the raiders.⁷¹ The auxiliary troops of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey’s Rumelian *akıncıs* played a crucial role also in the course of the decisive battle against Uzun Hasan, which finally resulted in a victory for the Ottomans. The battle itself took place on August 11, 1473 at a place called Başkent, as was later announced by Mehmed II himself in his Uighur proclamation of 30 August, 1473 – addressed in the Uighur language to the inhabitants of Anatolia, informing them of his victory over Uzun Hasan and describing details of the battle.⁷² The participation of the *akıncıs* in the final battle is confirmed also by the accounts of Angiolello and Zeno. It becomes clear from the sources that these troops were acting as an inseparable part of the main army, fully integrated and following the tactics of organized military corps. Although generally the role of the *akıncıs* in a campaign was to disturb enemy territory marching ahead of the main army, they were disciplined enough

⁶⁹ Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, pp. 312-313.

⁷⁰ Imber, *Ottoman Empire (1300-1481)*, p. 214.

⁷¹ Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, p. 313

⁷² Rahmeti Arat, “Fatih Sultan Mehmed’in ‘Yarlığı’”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 6 (1936-39), pp. 285-322. For partial English translation of it see Imber, *Ottoman Empire (1300-1481)*, pp. 216-217.

and well equipped in order to participate in main army battles, a fact that is confirmed by the best account on those auxiliary troops given by Angiolello:

Besides the five columns we have mentioned, there was also another of the Aganzi, who are not paid, except by the booty which they may gain in guerrilla warfare. These men do not encamp with the rest of the army, but go traversing, pillaging, and wasting the country of the enemy on every side, and yet keep up a great and excellent discipline among themselves, both in the division of the plunder and in the execution of all their enterprises. In this division were thirty thousand men, remarkably well mounted.⁷³

From this description one can evaluate the *akıncıs* as a separate military unit in the Ottoman army. Moreover, it becomes clear that they had a special task to invade the enemy territories in front of the main army, “pillaging and wasting the country”, in order to destroy the rivals’ preparations and to facilitate the regular Ottoman army’s advance. Thus we see them in the second half of the fifteenth century changed into defined military corps, something completely different from Michael Dukas’s depiction of the *akıncıs* presented in the first half of the same century. Going back to the first raids of the Turks in Asia Minor, he mentions in his account that they were sending messengers, representatives of their ruler, welcoming everybody who was willing to join them in their raids against the infidels, which they liked doing ones against the other and against the Christians. Those raids in their language, continues Dukas,

⁷³Decei, “Akindji” article, *EF*², p. 340.

were called *akan*. And like an overflow river they used to run in the Byzantine territories without being paid for that. Most of them had swords and pikes, but there were also some who did not hold anything more in their hands but clubs. In this way they were attacking the Christians in great numbers and multiplied by a number of troops, taking many prisoners like sheep.⁷⁴

Comparing the two accounts one can observe a certain change not only in the armament of these particular warriors, but in their discipline and principal organization as well. The definite corps organization of the *akıncıs* in accordance with all military rules, could be observed better in an official Ottoman document compiled a few months earlier than the campaign itself with the purpose to summon the *akıncıs* from the Mihallu wing in order to send them under the command of Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey against Uzun Hasan in Asia Minor.

⁷⁴ Dukas, *Historia Byzantina*, (Bonn, 1834), ch. XXIII.

Chapter III

THE REGISTER FROM 1472 REPRESENTING THE AKINCIS' POSITION AND ORGANIZATION IN THE OTTOMAN MILITARY FORCES DURING THE TIME OF MEHMED II

This particular document is a *mufassal defteri* of several Ottoman *kazas* along the Maritsa valley. It contains the whole population of this area, registered on the *hane* basis, as well as the names of the *akincis*, who lived there. As it is stated in the beginning of the *defter*, the document's compilation was ordered for a recruitment of *akincis*, for whose military expenses the ordinary population had to pay a fixed amount of money. Consequently, after each 30 households, a name of an *akıncı* was listed along with the sum of money that was collected from the population for his military expenses (*harçlık*). Thus, this register resembles a lot and follows the structure of the well known *mufassal tahrir defterleri*. There is, however, one peculiarity that should be mentioned here. As it is stated in the beginning of the *defter*, an inventory of the provinces of Zağra Yenicesi, Akça Kazanlık, Eski Hisar, Filibe, Has Köy, and Çirmen, should have been made, in order that the needed *akıncis* be recruited, as well as the money for their expenses to be collected. Taking a closer look on the registered places and their inhabitants, one observes the

absence of several big villages along with their population. The villages of Çelopiçe (modern village of Tsalapitsa, Plovdiv district), Kuklene (modern Kuklen, Plovdiv district), Markova (modern Markovo, Plovdiv district), and İzladi Trab (modern Zlati Trap, Plovdiv district) were omitted by the Ottoman scribe in his registration. This was not due to the registrar's negligence, but to the villages' privileged status. Kuklene was the *vakf* property of Hadım Şehabeddin Paşa, Markovo was İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey's *vakf*, and Çelopiçe and İzladi Trab enjoyed the status of *voynuk* villages. This situation comes to illustrate that those villages and their population were exempted from paying the money for *akıncı*'s *harçlık*, which on the other hand makes us think that this money was collected as extraordinary (*avariz*) tax from the ordinary population. The absence in the *defter* of any kind of spiritual leaders (*imams*, *müezzins*, or priests), as well as of people who performed special services (*çeltükçis*, *madencis*, *tuzcus*, etc.) corroborates the theory that the collected money was an extraordinary tax, which usually and especially during the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire was not paid by certain privileged groups of the population. Moreover, taking into consideration the purpose of the *defter*'s compilation and the use of the collected money, as well as the presence of *akıncı* in it, makes it not only extraordinary, but also one which could be called an *akıncı defteri*.

It was compiled few months earlier than the campaign against the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (i.e. 2-11 December, 1472) with the only purpose to recruit the *akıncı* from Rumelia in order to fight in Anatolia under the command of Mihaloğlu 'Ali Bey. Moreover, from this Ottoman source

(*mufassal defteri*) we are able to extract information that will shed light on the question of the recruitment procedure applied for this military group in the time of Mehmed the Conqueror.

The *defter* is housed in the National Library in Sofia, Bulgaria. The register itself contains a *hükm* (Sultan's order), in which the conditions of recruitment are described. This imperial order was published by the Bulgarian scholar Boris Nedkov in 1972 in facsimile and Bulgarian translation.⁷⁵ As the author himself correctly supposed while introducing the register⁷⁶, the document is only a part of a big *defter* without a beginning and end, with disorderly numerated pages. Luckily enough, we had a chance to find another register (under different call number)⁷⁷ in the Sofia Archive, which turned to be the second part of the mentioned document.⁷⁸ Thus, now we have at our disposal a more complete, although not full⁷⁹, version of this Ottoman "*akıncı*" register as it had once existed during the fifteenth century.

⁷⁵ Борис Недков, *Османско-турската дипломатика и палеография, II: Документи и речник*, (София: Държавно Издателство "Наука и Изкуство", 1972), pp. 175-177, 320. [Boris Nedkov, *Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats and Paleography, vol. II: Documents and Dictionary*, (Sofia: State Publishing House "Science and Art", 1972), pp. 175-177; 320]

⁷⁶ National Library "Sts Cyril and Methodius", Sofia, Oriental Department, Call No. OAK 94/73

⁷⁷ National Library "Sts Cyril and Methodius", Sofia, Oriental Department, Call No. ПД 17/27

⁷⁸ We should express here our deep gratitude to Prof. Evgeniy Radushev, who in fact first found out the existence of a second part of the same *defter* and kindly informed us about his findings.

⁷⁹ The fact that makes us suppose that there is a third part of the same document is that in its very beginning, in the Sultan's order, it is clearly stated exactly from which administrative territories *akıncıs* should have been registered. Thus, in the *hükm* are mentioned Zağra Yenicesi (today's city of Nova Zagora on the territory of Bulgaria), Akça Kazanlık (today's city of Kazanlık in Bulgaria), Eski Hisar (Stara Zagora, Bulgaria), Filibe (city of Plovdiv, Bulgaria), Has Köy (city of Haskovo, Bulgaria), and Çirmen (today's village Ormenion in the province Alexandroupolis, Greece). But, in the two present parts of the register, there are listed only Akça Kazanlık, Zağra Yenicesi, Has Köy and Eski Hisar-i Zağra in register No. OAK 94/73, and Filibe in the register No. ПД 17/27. Thus, most probably there is a third part of the same document, including the territories of Çirmen.

One of the fragments (OAK 94/73), which proves to be the first part of the big *defter* as it contains a Sultanik decree and a heading *mufasssal defteri*, which usually are at the beginning of such types of documents, contains 80 consecutively enumerated pages, but it is bound disorderly. Thus, on page 1a begins the enlisting of the villages from the *nahiye* of Akça Kazanlık, and then appears one empty page (p. 3a), followed by the actual beginning of the *defter* on page 3b with the *hükm* explaining the reasons for its compilation and the beginning of the new *nahiye* of Yenice Zağra. The villages from this *nahiye* follow until page 11b, where the Ottoman scribe made recapitulation of the money and *akıncıs* collected from that province. Then, on page 14a, preceded by two empty pages, several *mahalles* are recorded, and then begins the listing of villages. Unfortunately, the heading as well as the ending (where recapitulation of the area should have been done) of this section is either lost or the scribe omitted to register it, thus making the identification of the *kaza* more difficult. Comparing the place names with the data contained in later *defters*, however, we managed to discover that the mentioned villages were from the *nahiye* of Has Köy.⁸⁰ The pages from 21a to 22a are empty. On page 22b begins the listing of a new *nahiye*, which this time is recorded – *nahiye-i Eskihisar Zağra*. The villages of this province follow until page 38a, where there is a summing of the district. Although there are no missing pages, they have been bound out of order. Thus, after page 32b follows 37a, and 33a-36b are bound

⁸⁰ In this case we used the information from an *icmal defteri*, particularly BOA, TD 370 from 1530, where the towns and villages were well-arranged in accordance with the *kaza* and *nahiye* to which they belonged. Moreover, after some of the villages have been identified with the modern ones, we can certainly state that the place names from the OAK 94/73 *defter*, were from the Has Köy *nahiyesi*.

after 38b, followed by four blank pages, enumerated respectively from 39a to 40b.

The other fragment of the *mufassal defteri* (ΠΔ 17/27) consists of 56 pages, from which only 1a and 24a are empty. Thus, from page 1b to 28b the province of Filibe is listed, beginning with the city of Filibe itself. The fact that there is no recapitulation of this district makes us suppose that there is a third part of the *defter* that is not known for now, or it is completely lost.

Consequently, we have at our disposal a *mufassal defteri* consisting of two parts, the first of which represents an inventory of the *akıncıs* and the ordinary population, who had to support them financially, from the provinces of Akça Kazanlık, Zağra Yenicesi, Has Köy and Eskihisar-i Zağra, and the second one – the *kaza* of Filibe. Thus, we have at our disposal a list of the villages of quite a large area, as well as the *akıncıs* recruited from there. Therefore, on the basis of this rich source material we could shed light over several questions concerning the *akıncı* corps as a whole, as well as its members. The data from this *mufassal defteri* elucidates the problems of their recruitment procedures, geographical location, chain of command and ethnicity.

1. The *hükm* (Sultanic order) contained in the document.

The Sultanic order, a copy of which is preserved in the beginning of the *defter*⁸¹, was sent to the *kadıs* of Zağra Yenicesi, Akça Kazanlık, Eski Hisar, Filibe, Has Köy, and Çirmen. According to the decree, those *kadıs* had to make

⁸¹ On page 3b of the OAK 94/73 *defteri*.

an inventory of their provinces (*vilâyets*) in order to appoint *akıncıs*. Further, the exact manner in which the warriors should be registered is described. From each 30 households (*hanes*), 33 *akçe*s were to be collected. The sum of 990 *akçe* was to be given for expenses to a certain mounted *akıncı*, who was to be appointed from each thirty-first household out of the Muslims and the Christians (Infidels). The *akıncı* himself was ordered to have *doldurma fiston*⁸² and a cuirass (*cebe*), and each ten persons (*akıncıs*) were obliged to have a tent. The so-recruited raiders were ordered to accompany ‘Ali Bey in his campaign. This ‘Ali Bey is the hereditary *akıncı* leader from the family of Mihaloğlu, who was mentioned by all of the contemporary sources describing the campaign of Mehmed II against Uzun Hasan, for which particular campaign the register under consideration was compiled.⁸³ We reach this conclusion not only because of the mention of Mihaloğlu ‘Ali as a leader of these *akıncı* troops; it corroborates, moreover, with another interesting note included in the *hükm*. It is clearly stated there that the *kadıs* of the mentioned provinces were to take their *akıncıs* (i.e. those recruited from their *vilâyets*) to Anatolia, which once more confirms our assumption of their final destination. Finally, we may state with certainty that the *defter* was composed in December 1472 in order to recruit the necessary *akıncı* troops, whose leader was Mihaloğlu ‘Ali Bey, for Mehmed II’s campaign against Uzun Hasan waged in 1473.

⁸² *Doldurma fiston* – from *piston* (fr.) – iron stick for filling a rifle; and *doldurmak* (tr.) – to fill, to load firearm

⁸³ For the deeds of ‘Ali beğ Mihaloğlu see: Зироевић, “Смедеревски санџакбег Али бег Михалоглу”, pp. 9-27 and Levend, *Gazavat-nameler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey’in Gazavat-namesi*, pp. 181-361.

This document is unique not only because it is the earliest known *akıncı defter*, but its value comes from the fact that it was composed with the purpose of recruiting *akıncıs* for a certain campaign, which on the other hand comes to illustrate that the military formation of the *akıncıs* towards the end of the fifteenth century had its strict organization and represented a defined body of the Ottoman army. Moreover, it not only gives details about their organization on the eve of one very important battle, but it sheds light on the recruitment and the organization of this auxiliary troop as a whole. Furthermore, it provides information about the ethnic composition of these irregular soldiers as well. In the very beginning of the *defter*, in the imperial decree, there is a direct indication about the origins of the *akıncıs* who were to be levied. The *kadis* of the provinces were ordered to appoint *akıncıs* from among the Infidels (i.e. the Christians) whom they have had found capable of being *akıncı*, but in case if such persons were not found, the decree continues, *akıncıs* were to be registered also from the Muslims. This statement, taken by its own, suggests that the *akıncıs*, the irregular troops of the Ottoman vanguard who were expected to penetrate in enemy's territories and to disorganize the rival's defenses, were composed not only of Muslims, but of Christians as well. In such a way, the information provided by this imperial order, should change completely the existing opinions about the origins of the *akıncıs*.

Exactly this sentence attracted the attention of an Ottoman historian. In his recently published book about the early centuries of the Ottoman state, the American scholar Heath Lowry focuses his attention on this particular topic,

introducing his new findings, part of which were based on the Sultanic order included in the *akıncı defter*, which we attempt to analyze in this study. The author uses the *hükm* preserved in the beginning of the *mufasssal defteri* as one of his main sources to prove his hypothesis about the nature and ethnic origins of the *akıncıs*. Discussing the problem of *gaza/gazi* origins of the early Ottoman conquests, and criticizing the works of the historians which were built upon the so-called “Gazi Thesis” (in particular Paul Wittek), Heath Lowry tries to prove on the basis of Ottoman chronicles and official documents, that the terms *gaza* and *gazi* were in Ottoman usage “synonymous with *akın/akıncı*”⁸⁴. Furthermore, he attempts to demonstrate that the auxiliary troops of the *akıncıs*, as representative for the *gaza* ideology of the Ottomans, were composed not only of Muslims but of Christians as well. At that point, the author reveals the content of the imperial order issued by Mehmed II as his strongest argument against the popular opinion that “the *akıncıs* were a Muslim body of mounted irregulars”⁸⁵. Moreover, Heath Lowry takes one single sentence out of this decree, which not to forget is only one small part of a whole *akıncı defter*, and asserts that in the late fifteenth century the forces of the *akıncıs* were primarily comprised of non-Muslims. So far, his statement seems reasonable. It is true that in the Sultanic order included in the register, it is said that the *akıncıs* should be appointed from among the Infidels too in case that they were found such being capable of practicing this service. However, even a cursory glance at the content of the *defter* itself is sufficient for one to realize that what is ordered

⁸⁴ Heath Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), p. 46.

⁸⁵ Lowry, *Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, p. 51.

to be done and what in fact was done are two different cases. Since the name of every single *akıncı* is listed in the document, it is not hard for the researcher to check the accuracy of the sultan's decree. In doing so, one would come to realize that none of the registered warriors was Christian. Their names are all Muslim, and moreover, there is no indication even of any first generation converted to Islam (indicated by the name *Veled-i 'Abdullah*).⁸⁶ It is, of course, possible that some of the *akıncıs* were Christian in origin, but the way of their registration does not allow us stating so clearly. This case of discrepancy between the content of the Imperial order and the actual substance of the document itself comes to illustrate one of the main principles which a researcher should follow while working with these type of sources in order to do not lapse into misunderstandings. The usage of only one small part of the document and avoidance of the content of the whole register itself, leads to Heath Lowry's distortion of the source material. In such a way, the strongest argument of Lowry not only loses its significance, but his main idea weakens and appears to be a superficial one.

Moreover, the author not only does not consult the original document in its entirety, but makes further groundless assumptions on the basis of secondary literature. Lowry chooses arbitrarily one of the six provinces mentioned in the imperial decree in order to support his inference about the predominantly Christian character of the population living in this region. He picks up the province of *Çirmen*, and attempts to prove his hypothesis with the help of

⁸⁶ In the Ottoman practice of registration names followed by "son of 'Abdullah" were clear indication of newly converted to Islam persons. Their progeny, however, was recognized already as Muslim, and did not bear the official "veled-i 'Abdullah".

demographic data for the area from the beginning of the sixteenth century, a generation later than the compilation of the *akıncı defteri*. Lowry does not even presume that certain changes could have happened during the period between the two records. Neglecting the possibility of any kind of alteration in the population figures, he even calculates the probable percentage of *akıncıs* from both Christian and Muslim communities. Applying the recruitment procedure that was to be followed by the Rumelian *kadı*s in 1472, Lowry estimates the “mustering of 432 Christian *akıncıs* and just 53 Muslim ones”⁸⁷. This assumption leads the author to state with certainty that Mehmed II was primarily interested in Christian *akıncıs* and that during this period preference was given to non-Muslims for service in this military corps. It could have been so, but the author’s evidence is not sufficient to substantiate it. Moreover, checking carefully the existing source material, it appears that the *akıncıs* in their major part were Muslims. Besides, taking a look on Lowry’s source, on the basis of which he makes his assumptions, it is easy to notice that the numbers to which he refers are completely opposite to those that he in fact uses as a basis of his estimation. The author uses a table illustrating the population figures of several Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire, presented by the Turkish historian Ömer Lütü Barkan in an article, published in 1957.⁸⁸ Thus, we see in Barkan’s article a table where in the beginning of the sixteenth century the total population of the province of *Çirmen* was compound of 14 264

⁸⁷ Lowry, *Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, p. 52.

⁸⁸ Ömer Lütü Barkan, “Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l’Empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I (1), 1957, pp. 9-36, see particularly p. 32.

households, from which 12 686 *hanes* were Muslim and 1 578 *hanes* were Christian⁸⁹, and not as Lowry suggests – “12 684 Christian households (*hanes*) and 1 578 Muslim ones”⁹⁰. Therefore, the author’s estimations are not only wrong, but they are in total contradiction with his main thesis. The calculated 85 percent of the *akıncıs* by Lowry were not Christian as he suggests, but on the contrary, if we apply his method of calculation – they must have been Muslims.⁹¹

The most logical question which one can ask is: **Why is there such an unconformity between the order and the actual ethnic character of the *akıncıs* who were to be recruited?**

2. The population of the area

First of all the geographical area from which the warriors were conscripted is to be investigated. The *sancaks* under consideration are situated around the military routes, which the Ottomans had followed in their first conquests in the Balkans. Muslims were settled densely along the two historical routes of the Peninsula, one going through Thrace and Macedonia to the Adriatic and the other passing through the Maritsa and Tundja valleys to the

⁸⁹ Barkan, “Essai sur les données statistiques”, p. 32 [Table No. 6].

⁹⁰ Lowry, *Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, p. 52.

⁹¹ For comparison one may consult a short article by Yusuf Halaçoğlu, in which on the basis of several Ottoman *tahrir defters* the author confirms the data, presented by Barkan, i.e. the population of Çirmen *sancağı* during the first half of the sixteenth century was predominantly Muslim. See Yusuf Halaçoğlu, “XVI. Asırda Çirmen Sancağı’nın Sosyal ve Demografik Tarihi”, *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi Ankara: 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, IV. Cilt, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993), pp. 1795-1801.

Danube.⁹² Thus, they settled into these areas as soon as they conquered them and already until the middle of the fifteenth century the population of this region (Zağra Yenicesi, Akça Kazanlı, Eski Hisar, Filibe, Has Köy, and Çirmen) was predominantly Muslim.

Moreover, we may trace the settling of Anatolian population in these regions from the beginning of the Ottoman advance in the Balkans. Thus, even from the time of Orhan's son Süleyman, there were people from Anatolia, who joined him in military actions.⁹³ There were *beys* and soldiers from Karesioğlu. Kemalpaşazade states that many of them had been engaged in agricultural activities in Anatolia and abandoning their houses and selling their oxen, they obtained a horse and an armor in order to practice *akıncılık*. They crossed to the other side, i.e. in Rumelia, and settled in many towns and villages in order to participate in the conquests.⁹⁴

During the reign of Murad I a part of the *yürüks* of Saruhan were transported into Rumelia and settled around Serez. At the same time, the Rumelian *beylerbeyi* Timurtaş Paşa, who had replaced the late Lala Şahin Paşa, transported the *yürüks* of Saruhan to Serez.⁹⁵ Similar transportation of Anatolian nomads took place during the reign of Yıldırım Bayezid (1400-1401), but this time their destination was the region of Filibe.⁹⁶ Aşıkpaşazade relates this story

⁹² Halil İnalçık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Studia Islamica*, No. 2/1954, p. 125.

⁹³ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1957), s. 14.

⁹⁴ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XIII: 1951-1952, pp. 56-79, 60-61.

⁹⁵ Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân", 1951-1952, pp. 67-68; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler*, p. 14.

⁹⁶ Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler*, p. 15.

with an interesting detail: he states that the *akıncı* leader Paşa Yiğid Bey became a chief of the *yürüks* from Saruhan taken by him to Rumelia.⁹⁷

In the process of deportation of Anatolian people to the Balkans we may distinguish also a group of Tatars. The most important of those were the Tatars deported in the time of Mehmed Çelebi (around 1418) from İskilip to Bursa and Rumelia. Aşıkpaşazade describes this story and after him it is repeated by the other chroniclers with little differences. The transportation of the Tatars from the region of İskilip is narrated in the Ottoman chronicles as follows: After the capture of Samsun on his way to Bursa, Sultan Mehmed called in at İskilip where he saw a lot of Tatar houses. When he understood that they had their own *beys*, he got angry, because they were not joining his army at the time of the campaigns. Then he saw the solution in their deportation and ordered Minnet Bey to deport them to Filibe and its surroundings. Thus, they were settled around the castle of Konuş.⁹⁸ Oruç Bey reports that in the second half of the fifteenth century (1460), after Gedik Ahmed Paşa had conquered Sinop and Kastamonu, nomadic groups were also settled around Filibe, whose leader probably was İsfendiyar oğlu İsmail Bey.⁹⁹

There is, however, another significant settling of Tatars around Filibe during the reign of Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid. İbn-i Kemal is the one who describes it in detail. This time the Tatar wave came from the Crimea as a result

⁹⁷ Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân", (1951-1952), p. 69-72.

⁹⁸ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak sürgünler", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XV (1953-1954), pp. 209-237, 209-210; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler*, p. 16; See also Мехмед Неşри, Огледало на света. История на османския двор, (съст. и превод: Мария Калицин), София: Издателство на Отечествения Фронт, 1984, p. 208 [Bulgarian translation of Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-ı Cihan-Nümâ*, translated by Mariya Kalitsin].

⁹⁹ Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler*, p. 16.

of Timur's invasion there. Consequently, one group of the local Tatars led by their *bey* – Aktav, and he himself along with his family, sought refuge with Bayezid, who gave them pasture lands (*yaylak ve kışlak*) and a place to settle in the surroundings of Filibe. Thus, in the course of time, some of the Tatars who came to the Filibe region, settled and busied themselves with agriculture. The Tatars' concentration around Filibe became a cause for worry and suspicion about a possible military organization among the Tatars, which raised Bayezid's anxiety. In order to understand whether there was a reason for worry, the sultan asked Aktav what the size of the troops was so that he could join the sultan if an unexpected attack from enemy territory appeared. Aktav's answer that he could gather in a period of three days 30 000 horsemen, made the sultan's concern grow more. In order to eliminate the danger of the Tatar forces, Bayezid invited Aktav to his palace in Edirne, where he was poisoned. As a result, part of Aktav's men left their lands and scattered throughout the Ottoman realm. According to İbn-i Kemal, those who remained in their places and showed the desire to perform military service, were enrolled as *sipahis* and thus were recorded in the *defters*.¹⁰⁰

We may suppose here that either the Tatars who came at the time of Bayezid¹⁰¹, or those transported from İskilip by Minnet Bey¹⁰² were the first settlers in the newly established city of Tatar Bazarı (today's city of Pazardjik in

¹⁰⁰ Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân", (1953-1954), pp. 211-212.

¹⁰¹ The village of *Aktav Tataran* is recorded on page 7-b in the register Пд 17/27, from where an *akıncı* – Mahmud oğlu Yusuf, is conscripted to go on the campaign with the *kadı*.

¹⁰² From the *vakıfname* of Minnetoğlu Mehmed bey it becomes clear that he had built a *kervanseray* and an *imaret* in the village of Konuş near Filibe. See Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, p. 241.

Bulgaria). In our register from 1472 Tatar Bazarı already appears as a developed Muslim settlement with six *mahalles* and 105 Muslim households¹⁰³.

After they moved to the Balkans, the Ottomans seem to have encouraged immigration into the newly conquered territories where they transferred nomads.¹⁰⁴ Nomad Turks (*yürüks*) were especially numerous in the areas which lay in the passageway of the armies as well as in the marches.¹⁰⁵ In the first centuries of their conquests the Ottomans seem to be interested in using deportation rather for military purposes. During this period a number of nomadic people from Anatolia were transferred to the Balkans, and having been settled in the border zones were given a special military status.

Thus, from a register for the *sancak* of Tirhala from 1454-1455, we learn that many of the *timars* were given to the people who came to this area along with Evrenos Bey and Turahan Bey.¹⁰⁶ In another register for the *nahiyes* of Yeleç, Zveçan, Hodided, Senitza, Ras, Üsküp and Kalkandelen from the same year, there are 160 *timars* out of 189 which were given to the people (his *gulâms*) of 'İsa Bey, the son of İshak Bey.¹⁰⁷ The same situation was true for the *timars* in the *vilâyets* of Bosna, Hertseg, and Yeleç for the year 1469, where

¹⁰³ OAK 94/73, pp. 35b-36a.

¹⁰⁴ Halil İnalçık, "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role", in Halil İnalçık, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, (Bloomington: Indiana University of Turkish Studies, 1993), pp. 97-136, originally published in *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies II: Carpets of the Mediterranean Countries, 1400-1600*, eds. Robert Pinner and Walter B. Denny, (London: Halı Magazine, 1986), pp. 39-65.

¹⁰⁵ İnalçık, "The Rise of the Ottoman", p. 36.

¹⁰⁶ Халил Иналджък, *Епохата на Султан Мехмед II Завоевателя (Изследвания и материали)*, София: Amicitia, 2000, p. 196 [Bulgarian translation of Halil İnalçık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu)].

¹⁰⁷ Иналджък, *Епохата на Султан Мехмед II Завоевателя*, p. 200.

most of the *dirlik*-holders were *gulâms* of the prominent leader of the frontier troops in the region of Skopje – İshak Bey.¹⁰⁸

After the conquest of Argos, Evrenos Bey had transported many people from this area to Anatolia. As a response to this, Bayezid took Turkmen and Tatar deportees from Anatolia and settled them in Rumelia. Chalcocondyles also relates a story about an emigration of Anatolian people into Skopje and Thessaly at the time of Murad's son, Bayezid. Moreover, from the preserved archival documents it becomes clear that exactly in this area were situated the pious foundations (*vakfs*) of the son of Evrenos – Burak Bey, and his descendants.¹⁰⁹

Moreover, from the data of the earliest known Ottoman *tahrir defteri* for the *sancak* of Arvanid (1431-1432), we see that in the area controlled at that time by the son of Evrenos Bey – 'Ali Bey, who was enrolled as a *sancak-beyi*, one third of the *sipahis* were mentioned as people who had come from Anatolia. For instance, for 26 *timariots* their origin is recorded either as “*Saruhanlu* (or *Saruhanludan*), *sürülüp gelmiş*” or as “*sürülüp gelmişin oğlu*”. Another 16 *sipahis* were mentioned as “*Koca-İli'nden gelmiş*”.¹¹⁰

Examining the fact that Turkish emigrants from Anatolia who came across to Rumeli along with Evrenos Bey and Turahan Bey, as well as the men led by the famous *uc-beyi* of Üsküp, Paşa Yiğit Bey, who transferred to Üsküp nomads from Saruhan, had been granted *timars* in the conquered lands, it becomes apparent that in the frontier districts the deportees as warriors were

¹⁰⁸ Иналджък, *Епохата на Султан Мехмед II Завоевателя*, p. 205.

¹⁰⁹ Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân”, (1951-1952), p. 77.

¹¹⁰ Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân”, (1953-1954), p. 215-216.

treated in an exceptionally generous way.¹¹¹ Moreover, keeping in mind that those deportees came to Rumeli along with the hereditary *akıncı* leaders of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, it would not be mistake if we supposed that exactly these companions of the frontier *beys* performed the service of *akıncıs* on the Balkans, for which service, on the one hand, they were granted lands and certain privileges on the *beys*' part, and, on the other hand, they themselves were loyal to their commanders in chief – the *akıncı* leaders.

Hence, we have seen that the Ottoman policy of colonization had followed the main routes of their conquests in the Balkans, and as a result the area under our consideration was settled with Turkish settlers from Anatolia, mainly under the command of the leaders of the march-forces and were further employed in military services. In this respect, we may assume that this was the actual reason that remains behind the Turkic origin of the *akıncıs* who were ascribed in the register of 1472. This explanation, however, is not sufficient to account for the Sultanic order in the beginning of the *defter*, where it is stated that the auxiliary troops had to be recruited from among the Christian population as well. In this respect, we find it necessary to take a look at **the Ottoman policy of preserving the military status of some of the local Christian population, and especially the integration of the *voynuk* corps into the Ottoman military system.**

¹¹¹ İnalçık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", pp. 124-125.

3. The voynuks

It is well-known among the specialists in the field of Ottoman studies that the Ottomans did make use of many of the preexisting institutions in the conquered territories. It could be stated that the Ottomans pursued quite a conservative policy in the conquered territories. They kept the existing religious institutions, the administrative division, the taxes, the native customs, and the military estate. Even the newly introduced *timar* system was not in contradiction with the local traditions and with the statute of the nobility, as the members of the Balkan military and administrative elites were incorporated into the *timar* organization. The need of manpower, moreover, stimulated the Sultans in the integration of non Turkic people into the military structure of the army. Thus, in the fortified places the Ottomans employed mostly the native population as auxiliary forces. For their service, on the other hand, they were granted privileges such as exemption from certain taxes. Likewise, the Ottoman Empire met its military needs by transforming into *sipahis* members of the old military nobility.¹¹²

Thus, the numerous *voynuks* who were incorporated into the Ottoman army, came from among the small proprietors – owners of *baştinas* (land-posessions) in the pre-Ottoman territories. There are certain statements in the defters either in the text itself or in the marginalia, from which certain conclusions could be drawn about the origins of the *voynuk* organization. There

¹¹² Иналджък, *Епохата на Султан Мехмед II Завоевателя*, pp. 243-245.

exist a lot of notices, on the basis of which it becomes clear that the Ottomans preserved the soldier's land-possession (*baştina*) in the form that it existed in the pre-Ottoman period. In this respect very interesting is one note in a *defter*, concerning the *voynuks* of Debir: "After the conquest of those lands a full amnesty was given, and the owners of *baştinas* kept their possessions in the form they had before" [BOA, Mal. Müd. No. 508]¹¹³. Another note concerning the origin of the *voynuks* also deserves mention here. It is about the *vilayet* of Prespa and it states: "*Voynuk* Nikola, son of Dushnik. His *yamaks*: Gin, Milan, and Dimitri. Because the abovementioned are sons of old *sipahis*, they were registered as *voynuks*, and the land, vineyards and fields in their possession, received the statute of *voynuk* property. It was recorded in Edirne in the beginning of January 1454" [BOA, Mal. Müd. No. 303, p. 62]¹¹⁴. As it becomes apparent, the Ottomans incorporated the "old *sipahis*" and their sons, that should be regarded simply as "militaries", in the military forces of the Empire. They were left in their previous places and the pre-Ottoman status of their land-possession was preserved.

In the period between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the *voynuk* corps fully corresponded to its name, i.e. "soldier", and continued to carry out the traditional obligations of the military populace from pre-Ottoman times. Essential in this respect is a note in a *defter*, concerning the *voynuks* from the *vilâyet* of Kaloyan: "*Voynuk* with a chain-mail: Kalo, son of Marul. His *yamaks*: the brothers of the abovementioned – Yovan, Gyorko, Boyo and

¹¹³ Иналджък, *Епохата на Султан Мехмед II Завоевателя*, p. 234.

¹¹⁴ Иналджък, *Епохата на Султан Мехмед II Завоевателя*, p. 234.

Milosh. Those were registered as *voynuks*, and their possession got a *voynuk* statute. Each year one of them presents himself dressed in chain-mail for a campaign. It was written in Edirne in the beginning of June 1454".¹¹⁵ Thus, there is no doubt that they performed real military service and were taking part in the battles.

We find confirmation about this in the Ottoman legislation. In one *kanunname* from 1516 regarding the *voynuks*, it is recorded:

...Among the *reaya* there are certain infidels called *voynuks*. They serve along the *serhad* and, once a march is announced, they leave for the field of battle following the *sancak-beyis* and *voyvodes* on horse and in full armor. Their task is to capture prisoners of war, make inquiries about the enemy territory and other military obligations. Because the *voynuks* are on active military service they are completely exempt from taxes... Because, as it is, they participate in marches or serve the *uc*, no shortage or flaws should be allowed in their armament or their means of defense...¹¹⁶

It is clear that if the Ottoman Empire kept the *voynuks* and the Christian *timariots* for some time, it subordinated these institutions to its administrative and military structure. Thus, the similarities between the corps of *yaya* and *müsellem* on the one hand and the *voynuks*, on the other, are apparent. For example, to the terms like *voynuk*, *lagator*, *baştina*, which are typical for the *voynuk* organization in its pre-Ottoman existence, the Ottomans added terms

¹¹⁵ Иналджък, *Епохата на Султан Мехмед II Завоевателя*, p. 235.

¹¹⁶ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI-ıncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirat Ekonominin Hukuki ve Malî Esasları*, (İstanbul, 1945), pp. 265-266.

like *çeribaşı*, *ser-asker*, *gönder*, *yamak*, and *eşkünci*. The *müsellem çiftlik* resembles the *voynuk baştina* a lot. And with the *çiftlik*, as it is with the *baştina*, the right of inheritance is wide. It goes to the one who stays in the *müsellem* corps from among the sons, brothers, or other relatives. In the organization of both corps the commanders in chief – *yaya başı*lar within the *yaya* or *müsellem* corps, on the one hand, and *lagators* of the *voynuks*, on the other hand, received *timars*. In both corps the lowest levels were comprised of *yamaks* and candidates. The duties of the *yamaks* were the same in both organizations. Their number in both corps varies from 2 to 8 *yamaks*. The group of *yamaks* linked to a certain soldier (*yaya*, *müsellem*, or *voynuk*), was called in one and the same way – *gönder*. At the end, both corps had the same fate – from the line of battle they were given rear or transport services, after which they were dismissed, and the revenues of their possessions were given to the *sipahi timars*.¹¹⁷

The Ottomans preserved the existing military organization of the local populace in the Bulgarian territory, mainly in the lands north of the Balkan Range. To the South, the *voynuk* villages extended to the line drawn between Kyustendil, Dupnitsa, Pazardjik, Plovdiv, Stara Zagora and Yambol. The *voynuk* populace was particularly dense in the Nikopol region and along the old road *Via Militaris*, particularly in the Plovdiv-Sofia section in the direction of Belgrade.¹¹⁸

Thus, we see the *voynuk* population incorporated in the Ottoman army again in the strategically important localities, such as the old Roman military

¹¹⁷ Иналджък, *Епохата на Султан Мехмед II Завоевателя*, pp. 236-237.

¹¹⁸ Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), pp. 43-45.

road – *Via Militaris*, which the Ottomans followed from the very beginning of their conquests in the Balkans and continued to use throughout their military campaigns westwards. We may say with a great degree of certainty that the Ottomans were leaving in their places and giving privileges to the pre-Ottoman military population, especially along the important routes and border-territories. This tendency of the Ottoman military policy of Christians' integration into the new military organization could also explain the Sultan's decree from the second half of the fifteenth century. Hence, we may suppose that the increased need for military manpower for the campaign against the Akkoyunlu leader Uzun Hasan, is the reason for the sultan to order recruitment of Christians for the *akıncı* service. Moreover, keeping in mind that the area was largely populated by members of the *voynuk* corps, it becomes more logical and not that surprising that some percentage of the Christian population of the area was ordered to be employed for *akıncılık*.

Furthermore, the connection between the two corps – *akıncı* and *voynuk*, goes back to the time of Murad I when the *voynuk* corps is said to have been established. In the chronicle of İdris-i Bitlisi, as in most of the other Ottoman narrative sources, it is said that the *voynuk* organization was founded by the then Rumelian *beylerbeyi* Timurtaş Paşa at the time of sultan Murad I. Hoca Saadeddin Efendi, repeating İdris, states that the foundation of this corps took place in the year H. 778 (21 May 1376 – 9 May 1377).¹¹⁹ In all the chronicles approximately the same date is given for this event. Thus for instance,

¹¹⁹ Мария Калицин (пр.), Корона на историите на Ходжа Садеддин. (Велико Търново: Абагар, 2000), с. 194-195. [Bulgarian translation of Saadeddin's history]

Solakzade Mehmed Efendi relates this episode for the year 1375-1376 (H. 777).¹²⁰ According to Yavuz Ercan, the establishment of the *voynuk* organization should be related to the period of peace, after 1376, when the sultan came back to Edirne, and when several military organizations were established, along with some changes in the organization of the *timar* system that took place. Thus the author thinks that the appropriate date for the foundation of the *voynuk* corps should be set at 1376 (H. 778).¹²¹

Emphasis should be made here on the connection that all the narrative sources make between the *voynuk* corps and its establisher – Timurtaş Paşa, one of the most prominent *akıncı* leaders at that time. The information from the chronicles is corroborated, moreover, by a *kanunname* from the time of Sultan Süleyman I. We find a confirmation in this document that the *voynuk* organization was established in the time of Murad I by the Rumelian *beylerbeyi* Timurtaş Paşa. The only difference mentioned is that Timurtaş established this corps in Rumeli and Bosna.¹²²

The close connection that existed between the *akıncı-beyis* and the *voynuks* is further reiterated at a later date. In the mid-seventies of the fifteenth century the *voynuks* from Lomnitsa were in service of the *sancak-beyi* of Smederevo. The *voynuk* reserves (*zevaïd voynuklar*) constituted 145 persons,

¹²⁰ Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, p. 4.

¹²¹ Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, pp. 4-5.

¹²² Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, p. 7.

who were giving by 25 *akçe ispençe* and *bad-i heva*, which money was recorded as income of the then *subaşı* of Braničevo – Mihaloğlu ‘Ali Bey.¹²³

Taking a closer look on the *voynuk* taxation, we learn that they were generally exempt from taxes, except for the “*gönder akçesi*” or “*resm-i nize*”, which was collected for the Sultanic *hasses*, and the “*bad-i heva*” taxes, which were collected exclusively by the *voynuk* commanders – *çeri-basis* and *voynuk-beyis*.¹²⁴

Thus, once more, the link between the *voynuks* and the *akıncı-beyis* is proven. Moreover, it becomes apparent that the *akıncı* leaders were also *voynuk* leaders at the same time. Furthermore, taking into consideration the similarities that existed in the very purpose of the two corps, i.e. making incursions into enemy territory with the purpose of enquiry acting as vanguard forces and taking prisoners, as well as the geographical location of their members (both in the path of the main military roads and along the border territories), it may be concluded that the connection between the two corps becomes even stronger. Probably it did not make much difference in which corps they would be conscripted considering the military tasks that they performed in the very beginning of their existence.

¹²³ Олга Зиројевић, *Турско Војно Уређење у Србији (1459-1683)*, (Београд: Историјски Институт, 1974), p. 165 [Olga Zirojević, *Turkish Military Organization in Serbia (1459-1683)*, (Belgrade: Institute of History Monographs, vol. 18, 1974), p. 165.]

¹²⁴ Вера Мутафчиева, “Категориите зависимо население в нашите земи под турска власт през XV-XVI в.”, В: Вера Мутафчиева, *Османска социално-икономическа история*, (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1993), p. 270. [Vera Mutaftchieva, “The categories subject population in our lands under the Turkish rule during 15th – 16th centuries”, in Vera Mutaftchieva, *Ottoman socio-economic history*, (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Publisher, 1993), p. 270.]

In addition, we may suggest another connection between the *akıncıs* and the *voynuks* from the fifteenth century. There might be a stronger reason for mentioning of the Infidels in the *defter* from 1472, who were to be registered as *akıncıs*. No matter when exactly the *akıncı* and the *voynuk* corps were established, the earliest known separate registration of the members of the two military groups is known only from the second half of the fifteenth century. Thus, the first known *voynuk* separate registers (*voynuk defterleri*) go back to the reign of sultan Mehmed II¹²⁵, and the earliest so far known *akıncı defteri* dates from the same period. An assumption could be made that at the time when the first steps were taken to register the members of one or another military corps, and the rules for their members' conscription were then to be set up, the state tried to incorporate all the militants from a certain geographical area into the ranks of a certain military troop, subordinate to the authority of the Ottoman sultan.

4. Structure of the corps and recruitment procedures.

Akın beyleri. The commanders of the raids were called by this title. These were usually the hereditary leaders of the *akıncıs* from the families of the *uc-beyis*, the members of the genuine dynasties of local chiefs: Evrenos-oğulları, Mihal-oğulları, Turahan-oğulları, Malkoç-oğulları. In order that the

¹²⁵ Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar*, p. 8-9. As an example for this could be given a register from 1487 (BOA, TD 21): "Defter-i Voynugan-i liva-yi Köstendil ve liva-yi Alacahisar".

incursion was called *akın*, its leader should be the *akıncı beyi* himself. Otherwise, in case that he did not take part in the invasion, but was substituted by someone else in his leadership, and if the number of the *akıncı* forces was more than hundred or hundred, the expedition was then called *harâmîlik*. And in case that *akıncıs'* number was less than a hundred, it was identified as *çete*.¹²⁶

Tovicalar. There are two versions about the etymology of the word. Some think that it derives from the Slavic word “*tvitsa*” (meaning “bird”)¹²⁷, though the correct form is “*ptitsa*” and has little to do with the word *tovica/toviça* in terms of spelling at least. We rather accept the other etymology for this term. The word is of Mongol origin (*tovaçi*) and defines a person who inspects the military forces, on behalf of the Khan and who transmits to them his orders.¹²⁸

In the Ottoman Empire, the *tovicas* were the officers of the *akıncıs*. Being *çeribaşıs* of the *akıncıs*, they were responsible for informing the latter of the forthcoming expedition as soon as a Sultanic order came from Istanbul.¹²⁹ As it was determined in the Ottoman law-codes, in time of war, their obligation was also to convene the *akıncıs* and to guide them to the place where the whole Sultanic army was being summoned.¹³⁰ This theoretical prescription from the

¹²⁶ Uzunçarşılı, “Akıncı” madd., p. 239; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “En marge d’un acte concernant”, p. 32.

¹²⁷ Midhat Sertoğlu, who has edited and published the law-code of Sofyalı ‘Ali Çavuş, in his comments to the text claims that *toyça* derives from the originally Slavic word “*tvitsa*”, which as expression had the meaning of “officer in the light cavalry”. See Midhat Sertoğlu (hazırlayan), *Sofyalı Ali Çavuş Kanunnâmesi. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Sistemi’nin hukukî ve malî müeyyede ve mükellefiyetleri*, (İstanbul, 1992), p. 66.

¹²⁸ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “En marge d’un acte concernant”, p. 32.

¹²⁹ Uzunçarşılı, “Akıncı” madd., p. 239.

¹³⁰ Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri, IV. Kitap: Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Devri Kanunnâmeleri. I. Kısım: Merkezî ve Umumî Kanunâmeleri*, p. 479.

time of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, was already put in practice in the second half of fifteenth century. In the *defter* from 1472, there is a special note at the end of the first part of the register (OAK 94/73) and after the recapitulation of the *vilayet* of Eskihisar Zağra was made, a *tovica* is mentioned.¹³¹ It becomes clear that fourteen *akıncıs* were given to Halil veled-i İbri, because the latter was told to lead them to the Imperial army.¹³²

For their service, the *tovicas* were granted *timars*. Their land-holdings were from the so called *arpalık* type, which meant that it was given for this specific service and was not private. So that, if in place of a certain *tovica* was appointed another one, but performing the same service, i.e. *tovicalık*, the latter received the *timar*.¹³³ Their incomes differed considerably obviously in accordance with the performance of their service. Thus, there were *tovicas* with a *timar* comprised of only one village and income from 730 to 2700 *akçe*¹³⁴, and there were *timars* of *tovicas* of 2 or 3 villages with annual income of 2 000 to 2 700 *akçe*¹³⁵. The *tovicas* were recruited in the same manner as the *akıncıs*. To replace the already dead, crippled or *tovicas* who were too old, preference was given to their sons.¹³⁶

Akıncılar. In the register from 1472 all of the registered *akıncıs* (their number from the both parts of the *defter* is 198) were Muslim, though in the Sultanic decree preserved at the beginning of the document it was said that they

¹³¹ OAK 94/73, p. 38a.

¹³² *On dört nefer akıncı sanıa Halil veled-i İbri nam tovisa'ya ısmarlanub asakir-i mansur ile teslim idüb gönderleri.*

¹³³ Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri, IV. Kitap, I. Kısım*, p. 478.

¹³⁴ Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Kuyud-u Kadime Arşivi (from now on KuK), Ankara, Tapu Tahrir Defteri No. 212 (*icmal defteri*) – Edirne Livası, s. 55a, 55b, 56a, 74b, 81a.

¹³⁵ KuK 212, s. 56a, 74a, 74b, 81a, 81b.

¹³⁶ Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri, IV. Kitap, I. Kısım*, p. 479.

should be recruited from among the Infidels as well. There are, however, certain statements, both in the chronicles and Ottoman official documents, that there were *akıncıs* of Christian origin. In the collection of Leunclavius we find the following description:

... et akenzilari sive volones et voinuchi, quo nomine veniunt rustici quidam graecae originis, in locis bozinae regno finitimis habitantes et religioni adhuc christiane addicti; sed misera servitute oppressi, facere coguntur, quidquid eis a turcis imperatur.¹³⁷

And if there is any doubt about the truthfulness of Leunclavius's source, the Ottoman *tahrir defterleri* from later centuries point unmistakably to the Christian origins of part of the *akıncıs*. Thus, in 1525 in the city of Filibe among the ordinary *re'aya* there were 21 *akıncıs* registered, from whom 8 were indicated as *veled-i 'Abdullah*, meaning Christians newly converted to Islam.¹³⁸ In 1544 in the city of Skopje there were 19 *akıncıs*, *veled-i 'Abdullah*¹³⁹; and in 1570 in Filibe there was one *akıncı* who had recently accepted Islam¹⁴⁰, while in the same year in Tatar Bazarı lived two raiders of Christian origin¹⁴¹. Although in the sources from sixteenth century we see that the *akıncıs* of Christian origin had changed their faith, while some of them retained their religion. In the city of

¹³⁷ Leunclavius, *Historiae musulmanae Turcorum, de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae*, Francofurti, 1591, col. 635, quoted after Nicoară Beldiceanu, "La région de Timok-Morava dans les documents de Mehmed II et de Selim I", *Révue des Etudes Roumaines*, tomes III-IV (Paris: 1955-1956), pp. 111-129, 113.

¹³⁸ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (from now on – BOA), MAD 519, p. 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 31.

¹³⁹ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Quelques remarques sur la constitution sociale et démographique des villes balkaniques au cours des XVe et XVIe siècles", in *Istanbul à la Jonction des Cultures Balkaniques, Méditerranéennes, Slaves et Orientales, aux XVe-XIXe siècles*, (Bucarest, 1977), p. 301.

¹⁴⁰ BOA, TD 494, p. 522.

¹⁴¹ BOA, TD 494, p. 717, 718.

Skopje, in 1544, along with the *akıncıs* who converted to Islam, we can distinguish also 9 raiders, who preserved their Christian religious conviction.¹⁴² The majority of the members of this auxiliary troop, however, were of Muslim origin.

At the second half of the fifteenth century we see them totally integrated into the Ottoman military system – a defined body of the army, warriors who in time of peace were settled in the towns and villages of the Ottoman Empire and most probably were engaged in agricultural production or had been craftsmen respectively, until they were called for a campaign. Thus, in the register from 1472, along with the personal names of the *akıncıs*, some are registered with their place of residence, so we can trace where they lived. In the first part of the *defter* (OAK 94/73) out of the total number of 105, sixteen raiders are listed as living in the villages, and another five are with indicated city residence¹⁴³. Eleven *akıncıs* have been indicated as citizens of Akça Kazanlık, but they rather lived in the *nahiye* of Akça Kazanlık, than in the city center itself. An explanation for this supposition is contained in the register itself, where the scribe has pointed out that it was not possible to collect the money for expenses of those eleven raiders from the *vilayet* of Akça Kazanlık, so that this money was collected from the *vilayet* of Eskihişar Zağra.¹⁴⁴ In the second part of the *defter* (IIđ 17/27) out of the total number of 93, sixty-two *akıncıs* are registered

¹⁴² Barkan, “Quelques remarques sur la constitution”, p. 294.

¹⁴³ From the townsmen one was a citizen of Yenice Zağra, one was from Hass Köy, one lived in Eskihişar Zağra, and two – in Tatar Bazarı.

¹⁴⁴ *Eskihişar vilâyetinden yiğirmi sekiz nefer akıncı ‘Ali Beğ’le ile yoldaşlığa gönderlerü gide hük-m-i şahî ile / Akça Kazanlık’da yoldaşlığa ‘Ali Beğ’le ile gide dinilen on bir nefer akıncıya Akça Kazanlık’dan harçlık müsa’ade eylemedü ki acilden yazar yoldaş olub Mehmed Beğ m’arifetiyle / bu on bir nefer akıncılara Eskihişar’dan harçlık virilüb ‘Ali Beğ’le yoldaşlığa / gönderilüb defterde esamileri kayd olunub* – OAK 94/73, p. 38a.

as villagers, and another eight – as townsmen¹⁴⁵. In total, there were seventy-eight villagers and thirteen city dwellers among the *akıncıs* registered in 1472.

We may assume that they were both engaged in agriculture and in certain crafts as well, basing our supposition on the fact that they were recruited from the villages as well as from the cities. Unfortunately in the register from 1472 only one of the registered *akıncıs*, who were living in the cities, is registered with his occupation – ‘Ali, citizen of Has Köy, was *pabuççu* (shoemaker)¹⁴⁶.

In 1525 in the city of Filibe there was one *akıncı* registered also as rice-grower (*çeltükçi*)¹⁴⁷, and another one was a tanner (*debbag*)¹⁴⁸. In the city of Tatar Bazarı in 1570 two of the listed *akıncıs* were *debbag*¹⁴⁹ and one was farrier (*na’lband*)¹⁵⁰. In a later *akıncı defter* (from 1586)¹⁵¹, most of the raiders have been recorded as craftsmen – they were butchers (*kassab*), cooks (*tabah*), *helva* makers (*helvacı*), soap makers (*sabuni*), hair rope makers (*muytab*), etc.¹⁵² Some others, as we learn from an entry in the *mühimme defterleri* from the second half of the sixteenth century, preferred to remain rice-growers or cattle-drovers (*celebs*) instead of going to campaign as *akıncıs*, for which actions they were to be punished.¹⁵³ From this particular order, it does not become clear

¹⁴⁵ Seven of them were citizens of Filibe, and only one – of İstanımaka.

¹⁴⁶ OAK 94/73, p. 15b.

¹⁴⁷ BOA, MAD 519, p. 27 – in *mahalle-i Veled-i Rüstem*.

¹⁴⁸ BOA, MAD 519, p. 27 – in *mahalle-i Durbeği Hoca*.

¹⁴⁹ BOA, TD 494, p. 716 and 718, in the neighborhoods of *Cami’-i Kebir* and *Mescid-i Hacı Mahmud* respectively.

¹⁵⁰ BOA, TD 494, p. 716 – in *mahalle-i Karamanlu, nâm-i diğer Pabuççu İlyas*.

¹⁵¹ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul, Tahrir Defteri No. 625

¹⁵² Зиројевић, *Турско Војно Уређење у Србују (1459-1683)*, [Turkish Military Organization in Serbia (1459-1683)], p. 193.

¹⁵³ İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri V, Hükm No. 1277.

whether the *akıncıs* were really practicing these services or they were using them only as a pretext not to attend the military campaign. There is, however, another entry in the *mühimmes*, which confirms their engagement in cattle-droving.¹⁵⁴ With regard to the shortage of cattle in Istanbul due to different reasons, the Sultan ordered the *kadis*, whose territories were related to this trade, to be careful with the recorded as *celebs* from among the *tovinces* (*akıncıs*' officers) and the *akıncıs*, as they may reject their supply of livestock.

An eloquent testimony to the fact that the *akıncıs*, who lived in urban centers, were engaged in certain crafts, is an example given by the Turkish historian Ömer Lütfi Barkan, from two important cities in the Balkans. Towards the mid-sixteenth century Sofya was inhabited by 179 *akıncı* warriors, from whom 99 (or 55.3%) were registered as craftsmen¹⁵⁵. Similarly, 172 raiders were living in Skopje, from whom only 12 were not marked with their occupation, i.e. 160 *akıncıs* (or 93%) were listed as either traders or craftsmen¹⁵⁶.

This situation during the reign of Süleyman Kanunî was obviously prevailing and led to dissatisfaction on the part of the Sultan, who was forced to order the dismissal of all the raiders who were engaged in craft or had become townsmen, which prevented them of participating in the military expedition.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Mühimme Defteri V, Hükm No. 1088.

¹⁵⁵ BOA, TD 236 from 1544. See Barkan, "Quelques remarques sur la constitution sociale et démographique des villes balkaniques", p. 293.

¹⁵⁶ BOA, TD 232 from 1544. See Barkan, "Quelques remarques sur la constitution sociale et démographique des villes balkaniques", p. 296-298.

¹⁵⁷ Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri, VII. Kitap: I. Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Devri Kanunnâmeleri. II. Kısım: Kanunî Devri Eyâlet Kanunnâmeleri (III)*, p. 243.

In time of peace those *akıncıs*, living in the countryside, earned the means of their livelihood from the granted lands, which were tax-exempt.¹⁵⁸ Otherwise, they relied on the booty from a certain campaign, which seems to be their real source of income.

Constantin Mihailović, who fought with the Ottoman army between 1453 and 1463, and Iacopo di Promontorio in 1475, provide a nice description of these troops. Mihailović notes that “they live by means of livestock and raise horses”¹⁵⁹. Iacopo writes: “They have the privilege of surviving on the holdings of the Sultan, as much as two or three pairs of oxen can plough, without paying tithe”¹⁶⁰. The information from these accounts, showing that *akıncıs* were exempted from some taxes, is corroborated by an order from 922 H./ 5 February 1516 – 23 January 1517, concerning the territories of Bosnia. It becomes clear from its content that the *akıncıs* were exempted not only from the payment of ‘*öşr*, i.e. a tithe, but they also did not pay *rusum-i ‘örfiyye* as well as extraordinary taxes (*‘avarız-ı divaniyye*). They could not be obliged to perform certain services and their horses could not be confiscated.¹⁶¹

At least until the second half of the sixteenth century the *akıncıs* and the *tovicas* (their officers) still had their land possessions. We have information about it again from a Sultanic order preserved in the *mühimme defterleri*.¹⁶² The order itself is about the summoning of *akıncıs* and *tovicas* to guard Preveze and

¹⁵⁸ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, “En marge d’un acte concernant”, pp. 21-47.

¹⁵⁹ Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, p. 261

¹⁶⁰ Franz Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio – de Campis über den Osmanenstaat um 1475*, (München: Verlag der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1957), pp. 54-55.

¹⁶¹ Barkan, *XV ve XVI-ıncı Asırlarda Osmanlı*, pp. 397-398.

¹⁶² Mühimme Defteri XII, Hükm No. 222.

Ayamavra. It is mentioned, however, that those auxiliaries were either *çiftliklî* or *mu'aflu* (i.e. exempted), which once again shows that they were given lands or were exempted from certain taxes in return for their service.

Most of the raiders' income, however, came from booty, whether they collected it during formal campaigns or from their independent incursions across the frontier. Mihailović describes their raids as follows: "...the Turkish raiders do not linger long, but wherever they strike, they burn, plunder, kill and destroy everything". The Ottoman chronicler Aşıkpaşazade who served as a raider at Skopje during the 1430s and 1440s, while writing about the aftermath of a raid across the Sava in 1440, comments: "I bought a fine lad of six or seven years...and on that raid, I acquired seven slave girls from the raiders. It was such that, if the army had moved off, the crowd of prisoners would have been more numerous than the troops".¹⁶³ These accounts, however, also find confirmation in an official Ottoman order from 1493, composed only 21 years later than the date of our *akıncı defter*, a fact that makes it possible to relate the two situations in terms of similarities. The document is generally about the collection of one-fifth (*pencik*) of the booty that the raiders had taken from the enemy's territory in favor of the sultan.¹⁶⁴ The collection was made in certain places on the borders of the Empire, on the Danube passes for example or at the sea ports. The loot consisted of people as well as animals, objects and clothes. The

¹⁶³ Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650*, p. 261.

¹⁶⁴ Originally the document was first published by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, vol. I, pp. 1-12, 86-89. In Uzunçarşılı's version the document is without a date. Later on Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr published the document and dates it on the basis of its other versions found in different libraries. See Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "En marge d'un acte concernant", pp. 44-47.

appointed *pencikbaşı* took one-fifth of the value of the loot (each item had its fixed price), with one exception – the Sultan took from the *akıncı*s all boys at the age between 10 and 17. The strict organization of the process of *pencik* collection and the appointment of special state officials (*pencikbaşı*) reveals the profitability of the collected booty itself. Therefore, it is a clear indication of the far bigger incomes for the *akıncı*s from their loot taken in the course of campaigns than could possibly be the incomes from their land, although exempted from certain taxes.

In the order for *akıncı*s' recruitment from the fifteenth century, included in the *defter* from 1472, we see that each of them should have had a horse, as it is said in the order: "From among 30 houses out of the Infidels and the Muslims assign one **mounted** *akıncı*". This statement could be regarded in two ways: the appointed *akıncı*s either already had horses, or they had to be supplied by the state. Taking a look on some other official Ottoman documents, concerning the recruitment of the *akıncı*s, we see that there were certain regulations and requirements about their conscription. In order to be appointed as *akıncı*, the candidate should fit several conditions. He should have been, for example, young and strong, to possess a good horse and appropriate garment.¹⁶⁵ According to another Sultan's order to the *sancakbeyi* of Vidin, he was supposed to make a conscription of the military capable people, who possessed a horse and good clothes, as well as those who were sons of already dead or very old *akıncı*s. Under the name of the *akıncı* should have been recorded his place of residence and his father's name, as well as the name of the person who

¹⁶⁵ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "En marge d'un acte concernant", p. 27

guaranteed for him. In case of mobilization they were supposed to present themselves with turban or a red headgear and sword and lance as well.¹⁶⁶

The *sancakbeyi* who was supposed to make the levy was also to forward a copy of the completed register to the Palace. And this was really the case, because we find the final approval in two Ottoman documents from 1560. The first one is an Imperial order to the *sancak* governor of Vulčitrn, in which the Sultan orders an *akıncı* register to be prepared and as soon as the registration is completed, a copy was to be sent to the palace.¹⁶⁷ The register was compiled the same year as we learn from the preserved part of the mentioned *defter* itself. In its beginning the reason for its compilation was recorded – “It is written on the basis of the Sultanic order... with the help of Turahan Bey”¹⁶⁸, as well as the exact date of the registration – June 26, 1560. The fact that the register under consideration was in fact a list of the left wing *akıncıs*, i.e. belonging to *Turhanlu* and the mention of certain Turahan Bey, who had helped in its compilation, makes us think that the mentioned Turahan was in fact the *sancakbeyi* of Inebahtı (Lepanto), who is mentioned as a leader of the left wing of the *akıncıs* in the *mühimme defterleri* from the same time. Certainly, as an *akıncı* Bey, he was a person who could be of assistance in the process of choosing people capable of being *akıncıs*. In the preserved fragment of this *akıncı* register we also find verification of the fact that the *akıncıs* had to have

¹⁶⁶ Káldy-Nagy, “The first centuries of the Ottoman military organization”, pp. 170-171; See also Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, VI. Kitap: I. Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Devri Kanunnâmeleri. II. Kısım: Kanunî Devri Eyâlet Kanunâmeleri (II), pp. 391-392.

¹⁶⁷ İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri III, Hükm No. 399.

¹⁶⁸ Bulgarian National Library “Sts Cyril and Methodius”, Sofia, Oriental Department, call No.: fond 1, No. inv. 19 447, 1a.

guarantors. There, we see that under the names of the *akıncıs* of a particular neighborhood of a city, their guarantors were also registered: the *imam* and the inhabitants of the same *mahalle* in particular.¹⁶⁹

Another interesting fact, mentioned in the *akıncı defter* of 1472, is that these auxiliaries were financially supported by the ordinary population, and as it becomes clear from the source, their armaments were quite advanced. They had to be well equipped with cuirass (*cebe*) and ought to possess tents, similar to the ordinary members of the army. The additional money that was collected for the *akıncıs* from the ordinary people could have been exceptional for this campaign in particular, as we have indications that Mehmed II had granted additional payments to his army before the campaign against Uzun Hasan.¹⁷⁰ The money could be, on the other hand, the usual payment of the *akıncıs* collected from the inhabitants of the regions from where they were levied. Or, they may have had a similar organization to that of other auxiliary troops, such as *yayas* and *müsellems* for example, who were organized in *ocaks* of thirty men. Of that thirty only five (*eşkıncıs*) were going to war. The other twenty-five men were ‘helpers’ (*yamaks*), and had the duty to maintain those going to war. Every single one was obliged to pay 50 *akçe* to the *eşkıncıs*, for which they were exempted from paying the extraordinary ‘*avariz*-tax.’¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Bulgarian translation of the document is published in Bistra Tsvetkova (ed.), *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae XVI: Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgaricae*, (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1972), pp. 39-41. The original, however, is under the call No.: fond 1, No. inv. 19 447, 1b.

¹⁷⁰ Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, p. 310.

¹⁷¹ Káldy-Nagy, “The first centuries of the Ottoman military organization”, p. 172. For more information see also Gyula Káldy-Nagy, “The Conscription of *Müsellem* and *Yaya* corps in 1540”, in Gy. Káldy-Nagy (ed.), *Hungaro-Turcica: Studies in Honour of Julius Németh*, (Budapest: Lorand Eötvös University, 1976), pp. 275-282.

The latter possible explanation for the collected money for the raiders, however, has to be rejected, because it's not corroborated by what we know for the further development of this corps. Its members were neither ever organized in *ocaks* of 20 or 30 men, nor were a supported group of *eşkıncıs* in its war preparations. Although in the register from 1472 the 30 households, which were obliged to pay to the *akıncıs* 33 *akçe*, were called *yamaks*, it should be taken not as an indication of *ocak* system, but rather, the term *yamak* should be regarded simply as "helper, supporter". Moreover, if we accepted that the particular *defter* from 1472 resembles an *avariz* register (substantiated by the fact that all of the *avariz* exempted population and villages were not included in the document), we may say that this money (called *harçlık*) was in fact the needed cash collected as an extraordinary tax from the ordinary population for the needs of the *akıncıs*. Besides, during the military campaigns the central government was providing provisions only for the stipendiary army, but not for the rest of the troops. Thus, the provincial *sipahis* supported themselves by the *harçlık* money collected from their *timars*' population, comprised of the "in-kind" tithes due to the *sipahis*, but realized in cash. As the central Ottoman government did not have direct responsibility for provisioning them, the *harçlık* money had been collected by the *timariots* and spent by them to keep themselves fed.¹⁷² The same must have been true for the *akıncıs* as well, but as they had no subject population in their small lands, it seems that the state tried

¹⁷² Caroline Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare: the Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593-1606*, (Wien: VWGÖ, 1988), pp. 198-202.

to provide for provisions by means of money, collected from the ordinary population as an extraordinary tax (*'avariz*).

Comparing the information from the *akıncı* register from 1472 and the contemporary accounts of Mehmed II's campaign against Akkoyunlu, we may state with certainty that Mihaloğlu 'Ali beğ was the leader of the *akıncı* troops recruited from several Rumelian provinces – those of Zağra Yenicesi, Akça Kazanlık, Eski Hisar, Filibe, Has Köy, and Çirmen. These territories were not situated throughout the Balkan lands of the Ottoman Empire, but they are concentrated in the southeastern part of the Balkans. We may also suppose that these provinces were not the only places from where *akıncıs* were recruited, and that not all of the existing Balkan *akıncıs* participated in this campaign. We could presume, based on the existing territorial division, known from later times, that during the fifteenth century there was already certain, but maybe not very clearly defined, division of the *akıncı* troops into two wings on territorial basis – left and right. Thus, for instance, in an imperial order sent to the *sancakbeği* of Vidin, it was clearly stated that the *akıncıs* should be conscripted in such a way that two flanks could be set up.¹⁷³ From the Ottoman official documents of later time we learn that the *akıncıs* had already a well defined territorial division – right and left wings – with separate flank-commanders. Thus, for example, from the *mühimme defterleri* of the late sixteenth century we find the left flank (*sol kol*) under the command of the *sancakbeği* of İnebahtı (Lepanto), and the right flank (*sağ kol*) – under the command of the *sancakbeği* of Çirmen. Moreover those territorial divisions were called after the names of

¹⁷³ Káldy-Nagy, "The first centuries of the Ottoman military organization", p. 171.

their former leaders: thus, the left wing was called *Turhanlu* after the name of Turahan Bey, whereas *Mihallu* was the name of the right wing, obviously named after a member of the Mihaloğulları family.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, there are two preserved *akıncı* registers from the same time (second half of the sixteenth century), the information of which shows that the division of left and right flanks was put into practice. Hence, one of those registers, dated 1560, lists the recruited *akıncıs* from the provinces belonging to the *Turhanlu* wing.¹⁷⁵ Unfortunately only the first page of this *defter* is preserved, but on the other hand it contains data, from the information of which we are able to locate the *kazas* included in this subdivision. It is said in the beginning of the document that it is a register of the *akıncıs* pertaining to *Turhanlu* and the names of all 23 *kazas* are given below as follows: Gümülcine, Yenice-yi Karasu, Drama, Zihna, Siroz, Timur Hisar, Ustrumca, Avrat Hisar, Siderokapsi, Selânik, Yenice-yi Vardar, Karaferiye, Köprülü, Pirlepe, Manastır, Filorina, Cuma Pazarı, Serfice, Alasonya, Tırhala, Fanar, Salina, and Yeni Şehir. In such a way, having the names of the *kazas*, which were part of the left flank of the *akıncıs*' formation, we may easily locate it – this wing was situated on the territories of western Thrace, Macedonia, and nowadays northern Greece. The other preserved *defter* is from 1586 and is related to the recruitment of the *akıncıs* of the *Mihallu* (i.e. right) wing.¹⁷⁶ Registered were all of the *akıncıs* from the *kazas* of Niğbolu,

¹⁷⁴ İstanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri V, No. 716, 903, 1549, 1550, 1659 and 1975; Mühimme Defteri VI, No. 816, 1021, 1427.

¹⁷⁵ For Bulgarian translation of the document see Bistra Tsvetkova (ed.), *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae XVI: Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgaricae*, (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1972), pp. 39-41.

¹⁷⁶ BOA, TD 625 – “*defter-i akıncıyan ve toviceha-i der vilâyet-i Rum İli tabi’ Mihallu der canib-i yemin*”.

Silistre, Varna, Kırk Kilise, Çirmen (the *nahiyes* of Yenice Zağra, Akça Kazanlık), Filibe (the *nahiyes* of Göpsu, Konuş), Sofya (the *nahiyes* of Köstendil, İhtiman), and Vidin. Thus, we see that the “Mihallu” wing of the *akıncıs* was expanding in territory, as only some of the provinces included in the register from 1472, were mentioned in 1586, and others, mostly situated on the Danubian frontier of the empire, were integrated into the right flank *akıncı* formation.

As we have already mentioned, the two *akıncı* wings were controlled by two different commanders – one for the left and another for the right flank. We obtain this information again from the very rich in data *Mühimme Defterleri*. From the same sources, we also learn that in the 1560s the commander of the left flank was situated in İnebahtı (Lepanto), and that of the right flank was the *sancakbeyi* of Çirmen. The *akıncı* *beys* were receiving direct orders from the Sultan and were obliged to summon their warriors before a certain campaign. The Sultan himself sent an Imperial decree, ordering the gathering of the *akıncıs* and the direction to which they were to set off.¹⁷⁷ The usual practice before a military campaign was to gather the whole army at one place – normally on the bordering territories. As the *akıncıs* marched before the army in their attacks, they were to be attached to another commander’s army, from whom they were to receive command for their assaults. Most often they were attached to the *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Mühimme Defteri V, hükm No. 566, 1550, 1659, and Mühimme Defteri VI, hükm No. 879, 1021, 1051.

¹⁷⁸ Mühimme Defteri V, hükm No. 239, 716.

The most widespread difficulty, which the *akıncı* commanders had while trying to gather their warriors, was that they were not very willing to go on campaign. Thus, from an imperial order, we learn that the *akıncıs* of the villages pertaining to the Ermiye *nevahi* of the Çatalca *kaza*, did not obey the Sultanic decree, and remained in their places, instead of waging campaign.¹⁷⁹ This disobedience provoked the Sultan's dissatisfaction. Moreover, from another decree, we see that the Sultan ordered the unsubordinated *akıncıs* were to be registered in the *sicillats* and to be sent to the Porte in order to be punished accordingly.¹⁸⁰

The difficulties with the discipline of those troops did not finish with their remaining in their places. Once summoned, the *akıncıs* were also hard to be controlled. It was difficult to make them stay on one place just waiting for further commands. In his letter to the Sultan an Ottoman official, in that case a certain Mehmed Çavuş, was asking advice for the difficult situation that appeared with the *akıncıs* and their *tovicas*. He was explaining that under the condition of shortage of provisions and supplies, those troops were looting all the time and it was impossible to summon them up in one place for more than four-five days. He finds the reason for that in the very nature of the warriors – “the *tovicas* and the *akıncıs* are special groups for plunder”.¹⁸¹ As becomes clear from another Sultanic order, their functions were to attack the enemy and to pillage, plunder, devastate, ruin and collect booty all along their way. Moreover, they were to do this, says the Sultan himself, for Unbelievers' edification and

¹⁷⁹ Mühimme Defteri V, hükm No. 239.

¹⁸⁰ Mühimme Defteri VI, hükm No. 1223.

¹⁸¹ Mühimme Defteri III, hükm No. 1393.

they had to spend their best efforts in doing so.¹⁸² And, as if it was not enough for them, on their way back from loot, they continued plunder and cast terror over the population in their own territories. It seems that those cases on the part of the *akıncıs* were happening quite often. In almost each Sultanic order, addressed to their commanders, there were warnings to prevent the devastation of the population's lands and properties.¹⁸³

Finally, on the basis of the preserved Ottoman documents, related to the military organization of the *akıncıs*, we may conclude that during the second half of the fifteenth century this body of the Ottoman army already had its strict organization. It is probably not until Ottoman power became firmly established in the Balkan Peninsula that they emerged as a distinctive military body. Service as a raider (*akıncı*) was perhaps, in the early days, voluntary. By the second half of the fifteenth century, however, it had become customary to enroll and formally register the troops. Moreover, the *akıncıs* were strictly divided into defined geographical subdivisions subordinated to certain commanders in chief. There were also certain rules of their conscription which were to be followed, and certain armament was needed. Until the end of the sixteenth century the *akıncıs* formed an important element in the Ottoman army, fighting in campaigns both in Europe and Asia.

¹⁸² Mühimme Defteri VI, hükm No. 1372.

¹⁸³ Mühimme Defteri V, hükm No. 288, 1465, 1583, 1883, 1975; Mühimme Defteri VI, hükm No. 816, 1427.

CONCLUSION

In the course of the early Ottoman advance in the Balkans, decisive role played the light cavalry under the command of the frontier *beys*. These raiders were known by the name *akıncıs*. Coming originally from Anatolia, they came to the Balkans and were united under the leadership of what were virtual dynastic families from the early Ottoman noblemen, by virtue of whose conquests the further Ottoman expansion in the Balkans was possible. Thus, forming kind of private armies under the command of these frontier *beys*, the *akıncıs* became an instrument for their independent actions, allowing them even to disobey the central authority – the sultan himself. Moreover, the Ottoman rulers in the period after the battle of Ankara in 1402, were the ones to seek help from the *uc-beyis* in order to ensure for themselves the throne.

Even when the Ottoman Empire was consolidated and subdued to a single sultan, the powerful lords of the marches continued to disregard the central authority sustaining the newly appeared pretenders to the Ottoman throne, expressing in this way their protest against the centralistic politics of the sultans.

The Ottoman rulers came to realize that the *beys*' power should be diminished, otherwise the monarch's supremacy was endangered. A new institution of standing army, personal slaves obedient only to the sultan – Janissaries, was created as a counter to the frontier forces. Established at the

time of Murad I, its contingent was rapidly increasing in course of time. Frontier warriors' independence was minimized by the imposition of the *pencik* tax ($\frac{1}{5}$ of their booty was collected for the sultan's treasury), proving the supremacy of the Ottoman ruler. Consequently, at the time of Mehmed the Conqueror, the authority of the sultan was such that he could afford to confiscate the big families' *vakf* properties with no fear of resistance on the part of the *beys*. During the reign of Mehmed II they were diminished in power and reduced to the position of simple *sancakbeyis*. Their armies of *akıncı* raiders were incorporated into the sultanic army, forming a distinct military corps, subdued to the Sultan, but not to the *beys*.

Receiving commands directly from the sultan and organized as a part of the Ottoman army, they had the distinctive features of a military corps. They had their military leaders in the face of the *akıncı beyis*, officers (*toVICas*), and regular soldiers. From the end of the fifteenth century their objectives were to penetrate into enemy territories, to make enquiries and to destroy the rival's military preparations, ensuring in this a way the safest march of the main body of the Ottoman army. In course of time the *akıncıs*' position was considerably weakened. From the end of the sixteenth century on, Crimean Tatars deprived this auxiliary troop in carrying out their duties. The organization of the *akıncıs* lost its importance and absolutely disappeared in the beginning of seventeenth century.

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APPENDIX A

[illegible]

یادِ یکتا زلف

ف

عشمان ورد
مصطفی
لوفان
ارلق اور

اوسون و
جانی سولوخ
اصحاب علی

چسپه اورد
مصطفی
صای ور
دارخنده اصحاب علی

آندرام
ارلاق ون
محمد اول
خلیل غنی

$\frac{AB}{AC} = \frac{16}{16}$

It is said in the detailed register (*mufassal*):

From the Sublime Court a decree, requiring submission (subjection), has arrived, according to the sacred matter of which:

Together with Mehmed Beğ, a former Albanian *sancak beğ*, go to Zağra-i Yenicesi, Akça Kazanlık, Eski Hisar, Filibe, Has Köy, and Çirmen. With the above-mentioned *vilâyet-kadıs*, make an inventory of the above-mentioned *vilâyets*. From among 30 houses out of the infidels and the Muslims assign one mounted *akıncı*. Let the 31st be *akıncı* himself. Take from every house by 33 *akçe* for expenses (*harçlık*). 30 houses [have] to give *yamak*, i.e. assistant. The 990 collected *akçe* appoint for the *akıncı*.

As requires my order, give in the hands of those, whom I ordered according to my decree to go [on campaign] with Ali beğ, [the money for] expenses (*harçlık*). They [have] to go out [on campaign] and to accompany Ali beğ.

And those who, as requires my order,
go out with my victorious army, their
akçes [for expenses] to be collected.

And from among the Infidels register those whom you find to have a capacity for *akıncılık*; in a case if you do not find, are you to register [*akıncıs*] out of the Muslims. I am also ordering them to have *doldurma fişton* and a cuirass, and ten people to have one tent. The *kadis* of each *vilâyet* to take their *akıncıs* to Anatolia, to proclaim their payment, to take as a proof a document (*hüccet*).

As requires the decree: *akıncıs* [have] to be appointed; and from each house [have] to be taken by 33 *akçe*, which [have] to be given to the *akıncıs*. This is what the fixed *kadıs* should write down.

In assurance that this is happening during the first ten days of the seventh month (*Receb*) of the eight hundred and seventy seventh year from *Hicriye*.¹

¹ 2-11 December 1472

APPENDIX B

List of the place names, included in the *defter* from 1472

OAK 94/73 from 1472

Page 1-b:

- nahiye-yi Akça Kazanlık
- 1) [karye-yi] Yassıca-Ören Gebran
- 2) karye-yi Keçi Deresi Gebran¹

Page 2-a:

- 1) karye-yi Ak Başlu²
- 2) karye-yi Şipka³

Page 2-b:

- 1) karye-yi Okçılar
- 2) karye-yi Umurculu⁴
- 3) karye-yi İl Delâklu
- 4) karye-yi Doymuşlar⁵
- 5) 'an karye-yi Elvan 'alisi⁶

Page 3-b:

- 1) nahiye-yi Yenice-yi Zağra
- 2) karye-yi Nayıblü⁷

Page 4-a:

- 1) karye-yi Üç Evlü
- 2) karye-yi Yağrancı
- 3) karye-yi Gencelü⁸
- 4) karye-yi Dole (veya Develi)

¹ Today's village of Enina, Kazanlık

² Today's village of Gorno Belevo, Stara Zagora

³ Today's village of Şipka, Kazanlık

⁴ Today's village of Şeynovo, Kazanlık

⁵ Today's village of Osetenovo, Kazanlık

⁶ Today's village of Ovoştnik, Kazanlık

⁷ Today's village of Kamenovo, Nova Zagora

⁸ Today's village of Mladovo, Nova Zagora

Page 4-b:

- 1) karye-yi Karagöz⁹
- 2) 'an karye-yi Haclu
- 3) karye-yi Tırhanlu
- 4) 'an karye-yi Bohça
- 5) 'an karye-yi Alice
- 6) 'an karye-yi Kurucu¹⁰
- 7) 'an karye-yi Eşekçiler¹¹

Page 5-a:

- 1) karye-yi 'Adil
- 2) karye-yi Kadı¹²
- 3) karye-yi Kortene Gebran¹³

Page 5-b:

- 1) karye-yi Ürlemiş¹⁴
- 2) 'an karye-yi Ürenlü¹⁵
- 3) 'an karye-yi (P)Başalular
- 4) karye-yi Eskice Köy¹⁶
- 5) karye-yi Göndüzler¹⁷
- 6) 'an karye-yi Maynaslar¹⁸

Page 6-a:

- 1) karye-yi Saru Kadı
- 2) 'an karye-yi Olaşlar / Ulaşlar
- 3) 'an karye-yi Göceri
- 4) 'an karye-yi Narbaşa
- 5) karye-yi Yenice Köy¹⁹

⁹ Today's village of Konyovo, Nova Zagora

¹⁰ Today's village of Pıdarevo, Nova Zagora

¹¹ Today's village of Nikolaevo, Nova Zagora

¹² Today's village of Sıdievo, Nova Zagora

¹³ Today's village of Kortene, Nova Zagora

¹⁴ Today's village of Ezero, Nova Zagora

¹⁵ Today's village of Nauçene, Nova Zagora

¹⁶ Today's village of Staro selo, Nova Zagora

¹⁷ Today's village of Dennitsa, Yambol

¹⁸ Today's village of Sıbrano, Nova Zagora

¹⁹ Today's village of Stoil-Voyvoda, Nova Zagora

Page 6-b:

- 1) karye-yi Kılıç
- 2) karye-yi Yünd Oğlan
- 3) karye-yi Kateriçler
- 4) karye-yi Emirahor
- 5) karye-yi Derdiç Gebran

Page 7-a:

- 1) karye-yi Hırtiç Gebran

Page 7-b:

- 1) karye-yi Seklü Kıra
- 2) karye-yi Ak Doğanlu²⁰
- 3) karye-yi Na'lbandlar²¹
- 4) karye-yi Ramazanlu

Page 8-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Sufi (veya Suni)
- 2) mahalle-yi Timurtaş

Page 8-b:

- 1) ???
- 2) mahalle-yi Cami
- 3) mahalle-yi Çölmekçi

Page 9-a:

- 1) karye-yi Sarhanlu
- 2) karye-yi Zekeryalu
- 3) karye-yi Has Köy

Page 9-b:

- 1) karye-yi Komarlu
- 2) karye-yi Yusuf İlyas

Page 10-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Beğ oğlu Sinan

²⁰ Today's village of Sokol, Nova Zagora

²¹ Today's village of Kovaçite, Nova Zagora

- 2) karye-yi Gündüz
- 3) karye-yi Gönünlü (veya Gönenlü)

Page 10-b:

- 1) karye-yi Boz Ağacılı²²
- 2) karye-yi Kebsedli²³

Page 11-a:

- 1) karye-yi Pekân Ahmed
- 2) karye-yi Dede²⁴
- 3) karye-yi Çeltikçiler²⁵

Page 11-b:

- 1) [karye-yi] 'Arablu
- 2) cem'at-i Baikânler (veya Baydınlı)
- 3) 'an cem'at-i Kara 'Ali

Page 14-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Cami
- 2) mahalle-yi İsmâ'il

Page 14-b:

- 1) karye-yi Kazıklı
- 2) karye-yi Seğid Beğ m'a İlyas
- 3) [damaged text]

Page 15-a:

- 1) karye-yi Caltedli (veya Çaltılı)
- 2) karye-yi Bulduklu m'a Evzar Toklu
- 3) karye-yi D/Tumancılı
- 4) karye-yi Eğerli

Page 15-b:

- 1) karye-yi Barı Beği
- 2) karye-yi Kara Bazarlı²⁶

²² Today's village of Bryastovo, Nova Zagora

²³ Today's village of Karanovo, Nova Zagora

²⁴ Today's village of Dyadovo, Nova Zagora

²⁵ Today's village of Orizari, Nova Zagora

Page 16-a:

- 1) karye-yi Kara Halil
- 2) karye-yi Ak Başlu
- 3) karye-yi [damaged text]

Page 16-b:

- 1) karye-yi Hüsamlu
- 2) 'an karye-yi Gökçalı
- 3) 'an karye-yi Tatar Ilıca²⁷
- 4) karye-yi 'Ali Beğ²⁸
- 5) karye-yi [damaged text]

Page 17-a:

- 1) karye-yi 'Armudlu²⁹
- 2) karye-yi Kocacılı³⁰
- 3) karye-yi Has Aba³¹ [damaged text]

Page 17-b:

- 1) karye-yi Akrapu ki
- 2) karye-yi Karışlı (veya Kuraşlı)

Page 18-a:

- 1) karye-yi ???
- 2) 'an karye-yi Konukçiler
- 3) karye-yi Karaca Süle m'a İsmedlü

Page 18-b:

- 1) karye-yi Bazarlı
- 2) karye-yi Kara Hisarlı³²
- 3) karye-yi ... Yenice Oğulları

²⁶ The village of Kara-Pazarlı, which population was deported during 1882-1883, ex-district of Haskovo.

²⁷ Today's village of Tatavevo, Haskovo

²⁸ The village of Bolyarovo, which is now included in the city of Haskovo itself.

²⁹ The village's name was changed to Kruşitsa. Its population had been deported in 1913, after this the village was repopulated in 1920 and vanished totally in 1937. It was situated in the Kardjali area.

³⁰ Today's village of Kozlets, Haskovo

³¹ Today's village of Tsareva Polyana, Haskovo

³² Today's village of Skobelevo, Haskovo

Page 19-a:

- 1) 'an karye-yi [without a name]
- 2) 'an karye-yi Yayicli³³
- 3) 'an karye-yi Kalpaklu
- 4) 'an karye-yi İriclü³⁴
- 5) karye-yi Karaclu (veya Kırcalu)

Page 19-b:

- 1) 'an karye-yi İcekler³⁵
- 2) karye-yi Kadı
- 3) karye-yi Kara Süleyman
- 4) ['an karye-yi] [damaged text]
- 5) 'an karye-yi Evratça Aba

Page 20-a:

- 1) karye-yi Yarımca Kondik
- 2) 'an karye-yi İdeklü³⁶
- 3) 'an karye-yi Kaba Sakkal
- 4) 'an karye-yi Doğancı Durhan
- 5) 'an karye-yi Taşlar
- 6) 'an karye-yi Kara Kısarlı

Page 20-b:

- 1) karye-yi Omçiler (veya Ovçar)
- 2) 'an karye-yi Kıyaludur³⁷
- 3) 'an karye-yi Semizce³⁸
- 4) 'an karye-yi Gök Buket

Page 22-b:

- nahiye-i Eskihişar Zağra
- 1) mahallat-i o
- 2) mahalle-yi Kalburcu

³³ Today's villages of Golyam-İzvor and Malik-İzvor, Haskovo

³⁴ Today's village of Krivo Pole, Haskovo

³⁵ Today's village of Krum, Haskovo

³⁶ Today's village of Knijovnik, Haskovo

³⁷ Most probably this is the village of Rakovski, included in the newly established town of Dimitrovgrad during 1947 along with the villages of Mariyno and Chernokonyovo, Haskovo.

³⁸ Today's village of Klokotnitsa, Haskovo

- 3) mahalle-yi Hoca ki

Page 23-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Hacı Turhan
- 2) mahalle-yi Hamid Fakih

Page 23-b:

- 1) mahalle-yi Çıtır fakih
- 2) mahalle-yi Havcular

Page 24-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Mihaliçlu
- 2) 'an mahalle-yi 'Arz (veya İvaz)
- 3) mahalle-yi Hatib

Page 24-b:

- 1) mahalle-yi 'İmaret

Page 25-a:

- 2) mahalle-yi Hasan Fakih
- 3) mahalle-yi Behadır
- 4) mahalle-yi Kadı

Page 25-b:

- 1) [mahalle-yi] Debbaglar
- 2) mahalle-yi Hacı Hasan

Page 26-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Kılıç
- 2) mahalle-yi Hacı Mahmud
- 3) mahalle-yi Cüneyd

Page 26-b:

- 1) karye-yi Küçük Doğancı³⁹
- 2) karye-yi Uzunca Hasan

³⁹ The village of Sokolets, which later was included within the borders of Gorno Botevo village, Stara Zagora.

- 3) karye-yi N'albandlü⁴⁰
- 4) karye-yi Çatal Uyük⁴¹

Page 27-a:

- 1) cem'at-i Ahri'an-i karye-yi mezküre
- 2) karye-yi Senkurlu
- 3) karye-yi Kışlu
- 4) karye-yi Silmeşlü⁴²
- 5) karye-yi Büyük Doğancı⁴³

Page 27-b:

- 1) karye-yi Çatallu
- 2) cem'at-i İne Beğ 'an karye-yi Çatallu
- 3) cem'at-i Ohri 'an Çatallu mezküre

Page 28-a:

- 1) karye-yi Kızılçuklu
- 2) karye-yi Kırşehirli
- 3) karye-yi Bozdoğanlı⁴⁴
- 4) karye-yi Aydınlu⁴⁵
- 5) karye-yi Karaca Ahmedlü

Page 28-b:

- 1) karye-yi Sa'atlü⁴⁶
- 2) karye-yi Çerkova Gebran
- 3) karye-yi Üç Uyük

Page 29-b:

- 1) [karye-yi] vakf-ı Şeyh tab'i Tatar Bazarı⁴⁷
- 2) 'an karye-yi Doğancılar
- 3) karye-yi Mog(i)la Gebran⁴⁸
- 4) 'an karye-yi Ahi Timar Caferciler⁴⁹

⁴⁰ Today's village of Kovaçevo, Stara Zagora

⁴¹ Today's village of Elhovo, Stara Zagora

⁴² Today's village of Sredets, Stara Zagora

⁴³ Today's village of Pşeniçevo, Stara Zagora

⁴⁴ Today's village of Bozduganovo, Stara Zagora

⁴⁵ Today the village is a quarter of Stara Zagora

⁴⁶ Today's village of Zdravets, Stara Zagora

⁴⁷ The villages Şeyh-aslı and Urdjular came into one and formed the village of Lozen, Pazarcik

⁴⁸ Today's village of Mogila, Stara Zagora

⁴⁹ Today's village of Bıdeşte, Stara Zagora

- 5) 'an karye-yi Göçmenlü
- 6) 'an karye-yi Delü Yeti
- 7) 'an karye-yi Tovice Azizlü
- 8) karye-yi Bostanlar
- 9) 'an karye-yi Kiremitçi (veya Girişçi)

Page 30-a:

- 1) karye-yi ... Yamakçı
- 2) karye-yi Karaca⁵⁰
- 3) karye-yi Kara 'Ali⁵¹
- 4) karye-yi Evşarlu
- 5) karye-yi Kardaşım oğlu

Page 30-b:

- 1) karye-yi Türkmişlü⁵²
- 2) karye-yi Özdemirlü
- 3) 'an karye-yi İkizler⁵³
- 4) karye-yi Konteçler (veya Konutçiler, yada Kozuncular)
- 5) karye-yi Dükeler
- 6) karye-yi Çıkırlar⁵⁴

Page 31-a:

- 1) karye-yi Karaca Ören⁵⁵
- 2) karye-yi Salarlu
- 3) karye-yi Akça İbrahimplü⁵⁶
- 4) karye-yi Küçük Tıbkanlu (veya Petkonlu)
- 5) karye-yi Ak Pınar
- 6) karye-yi Çaltukçiler⁵⁷

Page 31-b:

- 1) karye-yi [Süley]man
- 2) 'an karye-yi Aydınlu
- 3) 'an karye-yi Saruca Re'is
- 4) karye-yi 'Arabacı Gebran⁵⁸

⁵⁰ Today's village of Sırnevo, Stara Zagora

⁵¹ Today's village of Troyanovo, Stara Zagora

⁵² Today's village of Rupkite, Stara Zagora

⁵³ Today's village of Volovarovo, Stara Zagora

⁵⁴ Today's village of Gradina, Stara Zagora

⁵⁵ Today's village of Sırnevets, Stara Zagora

⁵⁶ Today's village of Dolno Beleva, Haskovo

⁵⁷ Today's village of Orizovo, Stara Zagora

⁵⁸ Today's village of Kolarovo, Stara Zagora

- 5) karye-yi Danişmendlü
- 6) karye-yi Balabanlu⁵⁹
- 7) 'an karye-yi Alacalu⁶⁰
- 8) 'an karye-yi Yüzler
- 9) 'an karye-yi İlyasca
- 10) 'an karye-yi Köse Kulu⁶¹

Page 32-a:

- 1) karye-yi Dukalaray
- 2) karye-yi Seğidlü

Page 32-b:

- 1) karye-yi İkisi (veya Aleksi)
- 2) karye-yi Kriçime⁶², mahalle-yi Kara Doğan

Page 33-a:

- 1) karye-yi Berak⁶³
- 2) karye-yi Hriste Gebran vakıf⁶⁴

Page 33-b:

- 1) karye-yi Kıymetlü
- 2) karye-yi Meriçlü⁶⁵
- 3) karye-yi Kadı⁶⁶
- 4) karye-yi Kara Köpeklü

Page 34-a:

- 1) karye-yi İskenderlü⁶⁷
- 2) kariye-yi ... Gebran
- 3) karye-yi Muradlü⁶⁸
- 4) karye-yi Kara Sinanlu
- 5) karye-yi Müslim Hasan⁶⁹

⁵⁹ Today's village of Edrevo, Stara Zagora

⁶⁰ Today's village of Pıstren, Stara Zagora

⁶¹ It changed its name to Golobradovo and together with the village of Skobelevo, formed another village – Granit, Stara Zagora

⁶² Today's village of Kriçim, Plovdiv

⁶³ Today's village of Pryaporets, Stara Zagora

⁶⁴ Most probably today's village of Hrişteni, Stara Zagora

⁶⁵ Today's village of Meriçleri, Stara Zagora

⁶⁶ Today's village of Malko Kadievo, Stara Zagora

⁶⁷ Today's village of Petrovo, Stara Zagora

⁶⁸ Today's quarter of Stara Zagora – Kolü Gançovo

Page 34-b:

- 1) karye-yi Küreçi⁷⁰
- 2) karye-yi Beğlü
- 3) karye-yi Çorunlu⁷¹
- 4) karye-yi Rahovça Gebran⁷²

Page 35-a:

- 1) karye-yi Avcı⁷³
- 2) karye-yi Şeyh Eran⁷⁴
- 3) ‘an karye-yi Şapçiler
- 4) karye-yi İlâ oğlu
- 5) karye-yi Orhanlu
- 6) karye-yi Sık Yünus

Page 35-b:

- 1) karye-yi [Demirci] oğlu
- 2) karye-yi Ömerce
- 3) nefsi-i Bazar Yenice-i Tatar
- 4) mahalle-yi Cami’

Page 36-a:

- 5) mahalle-yi Hacı Emin
- 6) mahalle-yi ‘Ali Beğ
- 7) mahalle-yi Pilçe (veya Yalca, yada Yenice)
- 8) karye-yi Gömlü oğlu
- 9) karye-yi Aruzlar

Page 36-b:

- 1) karye-yi [Kü]çük Hasanlu⁷⁵
- 2) karye-yi Göceri⁷⁶
- 3) karye-yi İshak Beğlü

⁶⁹ It could possibly be the village of Hristiyanovo, Stara Zagora

⁷⁰ Today’s village of Preslaven, Stara Zagora

⁷¹ Most probably today’s village of Çuren, Plovdiv

⁷² Most probably today’s village of Oryahovitsa, Stara Zagora

⁷³ Today’s village of Lovets, Stara Zagora

⁷⁴ Most probably today’s village of Kirilovo, Stara Zagora

⁷⁵ Today’s village of Golyamo Asenovo, Haskovo.

⁷⁶ Today’s village of Brod, Haskovo

Page 37-a:

- 1) karye-yi Dünder Beğlü
- 2) 'an karye-yi Yüva Hasanlu
- 3) karye-yi Ulaşlar
- 4) karye-yi Hasan Fakih
- 5) karye-yi Karacalu
- 6) karye-yi Boldo Borun
- 7) karye-yi Küçükler⁷⁷
- 8) karye-yi Musaca

Page 37-b:

- 1) karye-yi Vısıl (veya Veysil)
- 2) karye-yi Ak Başlu⁷⁸
- 3) karye-yi Hamidlü
- 4) karye-yi Sülmişler⁷⁹ Karaca Dağ'da alurlar imiş yağcılardır
- 5) karye-yi Yahya Re'is

Пд 17/27

Page 1-b:

- 1) [damaged text] Filibe
- 2) [mahalle-yi] Cami'
- 3) mahalle-yi Şükrân

Page 2-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Çalık Hacı
- 2) mahalle-yi Hacı Ömer

Page 2-b:

- 1) mahalle-yi Karaca beğ
- 2) mahalle-yi Yakub fakih
- 3) mahalle-yi Hacı Ahmed

⁷⁷ Today's village of Byalo Pole, Stara Zagora

⁷⁸ Today's village of Gorno Beleva, Stara Zagora

⁷⁹ Today's village of Plodovitovo, Stara Zagora

Page 3-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Kasım oğlu

Page 3-b:

- 1) [mahalle-yi İd]ris Hoca
- 2) mahalle-yi Haraccı Hamza

Page 4-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Hacıyan
- 2) mahalle-yi Tataran
- 3) mahalle-yi Rüstem

Page 4-b:

- 1) mahalle-yi Hacı Sinan
- 2) mahalle-yi Hacı Yusuf
- 3) mahalle-yi Aslıhan

Page 5-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Bahşayış aga
- 2) mahalle-yi Musalla
- 3) mahalle-yi Hacı Sinan
- 4) mahalle-yi Durbeği

Page 5-b:

- 1) mahalle-yi Hacı Mes'ud
- 2) mahalle-yi Keçeci
- 3) mahalle-yi Hacı Daud

Page 6-a:

- 1) mahalle-yi Bunarı
- 2) mahalle-yi Muhsin Hoca
- 3) mahalle-yi İsmâ'il Beğ
- 4) mahalle-yi Bazar-ı Gebrân

Page 6-b:

- 1) mahalle-yi İsklopçan Gebrân

2) Gebrânü'l-m'aruf be-dahil-i kal'a

p. 7-a:

- 1) karye-yi Bolad
- 2) Çiftlik-i evlâd-i Kasım⁸⁰

p. 7-b:

- 1) 'an karye-yi Dıbnıçe⁸¹
- 2) karye-yi Kozlu Derece Gebran⁸²
- 3) karye-yi Aktav Tataran
- 4) karye-yi Burunsuz Dobri⁸³

p. 8-a:

- 1) karye-i Radin ova Gebran⁸⁴
- 2) kariye-yi Eruzler (veya Aruzlar)
- 3) 'an karye-yi Kirekçiliksiz⁸⁵
- 4) 'an karye-yi Hacı Nasuh Tovice
- 5) 'an karye-yi Daud⁸⁶
- 6) 'an karye-yi İsmâ'iller⁸⁷
- 7) 'an karye-yi Tekâr (veya Teskâr)

p. 8-b:

- 1) karye-yi Nasuh fakih
- 2) 'an karye-yi Ostor (o)va Ahryanat⁸⁸
- 3) karye-yi Kara Gâvur
- 4) karye-yi Kozaranlu⁸⁹
- 5) 'an karye-yi Alâ oğlu

p. 9-a:

- 1) 'an karye-yi Büyük Domlu
- 2) karye-yi Kırcaklı

⁸⁰ Today's village of Mominsko, Plovdiv

⁸¹ Today's village of Dıbene, Plovdiv

⁸² Today's village of Oreşets, Plovdiv

⁸³ Today's village of Bratya Daskalovi, Stara Zagora

⁸⁴ Today's village of Radinovo, Plovdiv

⁸⁵ Today's village of Otets-Kirilovo, Plovdiv

⁸⁶ Today's village of Tsarimir, Plovdiv

⁸⁷ The population of the village Uzun-İsmâ'il was deported during 1887. It was situated near today's city of Rakovski, Plovdiv.

⁸⁸ Today's quarter of Bogutevo village – Ostritsa, Smolyan.

⁸⁹ Today's village of Kozarsko, Pazarcik

- 3) 'an karye-yi Demir abası
- 4) karye-yi Karnefol⁹⁰
- 5) karye-yi Çizalirince
- 6) 'an karye-yi Ostorom og(i)la⁹¹
- 7) 'an karye-yi Obri
- 8) 'an karye-yi Köpeklü⁹²
- 9) 'an karye-yi Kır Hamza

p. 9-b:

- 1) [cem'at-i] beratli Çengenelerdir
- 2) cem'at-i Dobri Çengenelerdir
- 3) 'an karye-yi Cîbisce
- 4) karye-yi Hacı Tilmiş (veya Yetmiş)

p. 10-a:

- 1) karye-yi Küçük Hacı (veya Cami')
- 2) 'an karye-yi Demir oğlu
- 3) karye-yi Çaşnigirlü Çaltukçilerdir⁹³
- 4) karye-yi İnbarlü
- 5) 'an karye-yi Aziz beğlü

p. 10-b:

- 1) karye-yi Hadır Fakih
- 2) 'an karye-yi Küçük İlyas
- 3) 'an karye-yi Vesbetlü
- 4) karye-yi Ömer Abası⁹⁴
- 5) 'an karye-yi Karaca 'Ali
- 6) karye-yi Küçük Tum(a)lu
- 7) karye-yi İzeddinlü
- 8) karye-yi Bayram Kocalu

p. 11-a:

- 1) karye-yi Hazırca
- 2) karye-yi Durhan Beğlü

⁹⁰ Today's village of Voysil, Plovdiv

⁹¹ The ex-village of Ostromila; today it's within Plovdiv.

⁹² Today's village of Skobelevo, Plovdiv

⁹³ Today's village of Sadovo, Plovdiv

⁹⁴ Ex-village of Soyka, now within the borders of the city of Velingrad.

p. 11-b:

- 1) karye-yi Hatunca Yünd Oğlanları
- 2) karye-yi Kostuş (veya Koşuş)
- 3) karye-yi Kadı Çaltukçilerdir

p. 12-a:

- 1) 'an karye-yi İbriler
- 2) karye-yi Hatunca ahali Gebran
- 3) karye-yi Çotlu Göri
- 4) karye-yi Bug
- 5) 'an karye-yi Kırt
- 6) karye-yi Hacı Hasan

p. 12-b:

- 1) karye-yi 'Ali Fakih⁹⁵
- 2) 'an karye-yi Karaca Köy⁹⁶
- 3) 'an karye-yi Gölemen⁹⁷

p. 13-a:

- 1) 'an karye-yi İbriklü (veya İdeklü)
- 2) karye-yi Kassablu⁹⁸
- 3) karye-yi Re'is Hazır⁹⁹
- 4) 'an karye-yi Deniz köy¹⁰⁰
- 5) karye-yi Beğ'e Ahriyanat-i o
- 6) karye-yi Çanakçılar¹⁰¹

p. 13-b:

- 1) karye-yi Hacı İlyaslu
- 2) 'an karye-yi Mihaillu¹⁰²
- 3) karye-yi Draz Azizlu
- 4) 'an karye-yi İrecler
- 5) 'an karye-yi Köse Nasuh
- 6) karye-yi İne Beğ Çeltukçiler¹⁰³

⁹⁵ Today's village Parçeviç, lately included within the borders of Rakovski city.

⁹⁶ Today's village of Karacovo, Plovdiv

⁹⁷ Today's village of Gelemenovo, Pazarcik

⁹⁸ Today's village of İvaylo, Pazarcik

⁹⁹ Today's village of Glavatar, Plovdiv

¹⁰⁰ It's within the borders of today's village of Gelemenovo, Pazarcik

¹⁰¹ Today's village of Rozovo, Pazarcik

¹⁰² Today's village of Mihiltsi, Plovdiv

¹⁰³ Today's village of Stryama, Plovdiv

p. 14-a:

- 1) 'an karye-yi Şubak Hamza
- 2) 'an karye-yi Cokolar
- 3) 'an karye-yi Kılıçlu Tatar¹⁰⁴
- 4) 'an karye-yi Küçük Hamza¹⁰⁵
- 5) karye-yi Yagmurlu¹⁰⁶
- 6) karye-yi İshak fakih vakıf¹⁰⁷

p. 14-b:

- 1) 'an karye-yi Hamlar
- 2) 'an karye-yi Menteşalı¹⁰⁸
- 3) 'an karye-yi Ömerce¹⁰⁹
- 4) 'an karye-yi Behadırlu¹¹⁰
- 5) 'an karye-yi Hacı Hamzalı
- 6) 'an karye-yi Çofolu (veya Çerkolo)
- 7) karye-yi Kulaguzlu
- 8) 'an karye-yi Rahmanlı¹¹¹
- 9) karye-yi İlyaslı tabi' Cihetlü

p. 15-a:

- 1) karye-yi Bakırlu
- 2) 'an karye-yi Şanrı tataran
- 3) 'an karye-yi Kürekçi
- 4) karye-yi Sadıklı¹¹²
- 5) karye-yi Çok Aba
- 6) karye-yi İkizler

p. 15-b:

- 1) karye-yi Asıl Kırırlar¹¹³
- 2) 'an karye-yi Bayazidler
- 3) 'an karye-yi Sekbanlı

¹⁰⁴ The former village of General Nikolaevo, which is now within the city of Rakovski, Plovdiv.

¹⁰⁵ Today's village of Zelenikovo, Plovdiv

¹⁰⁶ Today's village of Mokrişte, Pazarcik

¹⁰⁷ The population of the village İsak-Fakovo was deported during 1887. It was situated near today's village of Stryama, Plovdiv.

¹⁰⁸ Today's village of Marino Pole, Plovdiv

¹⁰⁹ Today's villages of Domlyan and Gorni Domlyan, Plovdiv

¹¹⁰ Today's village of Vinitsa, Plovdiv

¹¹¹ Today's village of Rozovets, Plovdiv

¹¹² Today's village of Veren, Stara Zagora

¹¹³ Today's village of Opilçenets, Stara Zagora

- 4) ‘an karye-yi ‘Arablu¹¹⁴
- 5) ‘an karye-yi Doğancılar¹¹⁵
- 6) ‘an karye-yi Receblü
- 7) karye-yi Drezamdır
- 8) karye-yi Okçilu¹¹⁶
- 9) ‘an karye-yi Bahşilü
- 10) ‘an karye-yi Saru İbri

p. 16-a:

- 1) karye-yi Gökçelü¹¹⁷
- 2) karye-yi Yeni Beğlü
- 3) karye-yi Katırlu¹¹⁸
- 4) karye-yi Kara Re’islü¹¹⁹

p. 16-b:

- 1) karye-yi Kara Hisarlu
- 2) karye-yi Dur Atlu¹²⁰
- 3) ‘an karye-yi Cüllahlü (veya Cilâh)
- 4) ‘an karye-yi Menteşalü

p. 17-a:

- 1) ‘an karye-yi ‘Arab oğlu cem’at
- 2) karye-yi Hazır Kanlu
- 3) karye-yi Kırğeler
- 4) karye-yi Hass Şeyhlü
- 5) karye-yi Hazırcılar

p. 17-b:

- 1) karye-yi Balcılar¹²¹
- 2) ‘an karye-yi Balaban oğludırlar¹²²
- 3) karye-yi Demirciler¹²³
- 4) nefsi-i Bazar-i Tatar Yenice tab’i Filibe

¹¹⁴ Today’s village of Zlatovrh, Plovdiv

¹¹⁵ Today’s village of Çalıkovi, Plovdiv

¹¹⁶ Vanished settlement around today’s village of Borimeçkovo, Pazarcik.

¹¹⁷ The village’s population was deported. The village itself was situated near today’s Plovdiv.

¹¹⁸ Today’s village of Boyantsi, Plovdiv

¹¹⁹ Today’s village of Bolyartsı, Plovdiv

¹²⁰ Today’s village of Stoevo, Plovdiv

¹²¹ Today’s village of Medovo, Stara Zagora

¹²² Today’s village of Velikan, Stara Zagora

¹²³ Today’s village of Kovaçevo, Pazarcik

p. 18-a:

- 1) karye-yi Koca Beğlü¹²⁴
- 2) karye-yi Köse Muradlu¹²⁵
- 3) karye-yi Hacı Köy¹²⁶
- 4) karye-yi Satı Abası¹²⁷

p. 18-b:

- 1) karye-yi Pekân
- 2) ‘an karye-yi Pote cem’at-i müslümanan
- 3) karye-yi Derelü¹²⁸
- 4) karye-yi ‘Ali Kocalu¹²⁹ tab’i Saruhanbeğlü¹³⁰
- 5) ‘an karye-yi Tekir Pınarı¹³¹

p. 19-a:

- 1) ‘an karye-yi Novasle Ahrianat¹³²
- 2) karye-yi Kadı Ata Köy Dinidirler¹³³
- 3) karye-yi Nevale (veya Nole)
- 4) ‘an karye-yi Belaşva
- 5) ‘an karye-yi Kıçaklu
- 6) karye-yi ‘Arab oğlu
- 7) karye-yi Aziz beğlü

p. 19-b:

- 1) ‘an karye-yi Katırlu
- 2) ‘an karye-yi Doğancılar çeltükçilerdir
- 3) ‘an karye-yi Caferciler
- 4) ‘an karye-yi Derelü
- 5) ‘an karye-yi Kolluk Danişmend
- 6) ‘an karye-yi Umur Abası¹³⁴
- 7) karye-yi Güvençlü¹³⁵
- 8) ‘an karye-yi Koste¹³⁶ Müslümanan-i o

¹²⁴ Today’s village of Saraya, Pazarcik

¹²⁵ Today’s village of Bratanitsa, Pazarcik

¹²⁶ Today’s village of Hacievo, Pazarcik

¹²⁷ Today’s village of Hristo Milevo, Plovdiv

¹²⁸ Today’s village of Bogdan, Plovdiv

¹²⁹ Today’s village of Kapitan-Dimitriev, Plovdiv

¹³⁰ Today’s city of Septemvri

¹³¹ Today’s village of Trivoditsi, Pazarcik

¹³² It’s either today’s village of Galabovo, Plovdiv, or the village Novoselo, Plovdiv

¹³³ Today’s city of Stamboliyski, Plovdiv

¹³⁴ Today’s village of Partizanin, Plovdiv

¹³⁵ Today’s village of Gılbets, Haskovo

¹³⁶ Today’s village of Kostievo, Plovdiv

p. 20-a:

- 1) 'an karye-yi Firuzlu¹³⁷
- 2) 'an karye-yi Metohlu
- 3) 'an karye-yi Verkova Müslümanan
- 4) karye-yi Melik Hatun¹³⁸
- 5) karye-yi Kara Pınâr¹³⁹
- 6) karye-yi Ablolar

p. 20-b:

- 1) karye-yi Yassica¹⁴⁰
- 2) 'an karye-yi Kozan¹⁴¹
- 3) karye-yi Şahiler¹⁴²
- 4) karye-yi Alacalar¹⁴³
- 5) karye-yi Kara Başlu

p. 21-a:

- 1) 'an karye-yi Re'islü
- 2) 'an karye-yi Kargılar
- 3) 'an karye-yi Ahmed Abası¹⁴⁴
- 4) 'an karye-yi Timurtaşlu
- 5) 'an karye-yi Barı Beğ
- 6) 'an karye-yi Simitlü¹⁴⁵
- 7) karye-yi Kara Musalu¹⁴⁶
- 8) karye-yi Eneler¹⁴⁷

p. 21-b:

- 1) karye-yi Uzun Hasan¹⁴⁸
- 2) 'an karye-yi Sarucalar
- 3) 'an karye-yi Karalar¹⁴⁹
- 4) 'an karye-yi Saru Biderlü

¹³⁷ Today's village of Ovçepoltsi, Pazarcik

¹³⁸ Today's village of Dragor, Pazarcik

¹³⁹ Today's village of Karabunar, Pazarcik

¹⁴⁰ Today's village of Lyahovo, Pazarcik

¹⁴¹ Today's village of Kozanovo, Plovdiv

¹⁴² Today's village of Pamidovo, Pazarcik

¹⁴³ Today's village of Aleko-Konstantinovo, Pazarcik

¹⁴⁴ Today's village of Ahmatovo, Plovdiv

¹⁴⁵ Vanished settlement near today's village Velichkovo, Pazarcik

¹⁴⁶ Today's village of Vinogradets, Pazarcik

¹⁴⁷ Vanished settlement between today's villages of Vetren and Vinogradets, Pazarcik

¹⁴⁸ Today's village of Trakia, Stara Zagora

¹⁴⁹ Today's village of Černôvo, Sofya

- 5) 'an karye-yi İlyasca
- 6) karye-yi 'Ali Fakih

p. 22-a:

- 1) karye-yi Sayidlü¹⁵⁰
- 2) karye-yi Stor (veya Sinur) Gebran
- 3) karye-yi Ilıca¹⁵¹ tab'i Köstence

p. 22-b:

- 1) karye-yi Büyük Aba tab'i Köstence
- 2) karye-yi 'Ali Köy¹⁵² tab'i Köstence
- 3) 'an karye-yi Sestine Gebran¹⁵³ tab'i Köstence
- 4) karye-yi Burskop(n)ce (veya Breskoviçe) Gebran tab'i Köstence

p. 23-a:

- 1) karye-yi Halife bekâr çeltükçilerdir
- 2) karye-yi Selmişler tab'i Halife Bekâr
- 3) 'an karye-yi Yögurtçiler¹⁵⁴
- 4) 'an karye-yi Hüsamılar Yazıcı oğlu
- 5) karye-yi Manendlü¹⁵⁵
- 6) karye-yi Saliheddin¹⁵⁶

p. 23-b:

- 1) karye-yi Hazır Şeyh-i vakıf
- 2) 'an karye-yi Koçmarlar¹⁵⁷
- 3) 'an karye-yi Emir hanlu¹⁵⁸
- 4) 'an karye-yi Hacı Tatar
- 5) 'an karye-yi Besarlu
- 6) 'an karye-yi Hacı Hamza
- 7) 'an karye-yi Evrenlu
- 8) karye-yi Bekirlü¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁰ Today's village of Simeonovets, Pazarcik

¹⁵¹ Today's village of Dolna Banya, Sofya

¹⁵² Today's village of Alino, Sofya

¹⁵³ Today's village of Sestrimo, Sofya

¹⁵⁴ It was renamed to Lübenovo and later on was incorporated into Parvomay, Plovdiv

¹⁵⁵ Today's village of Menenkövo, Pazarcik

¹⁵⁶ Today's village of Ognyanovo, Pazarcik

¹⁵⁷ Today's village of Otets-Paisievo, Plovdiv

¹⁵⁸ Vanished settlement near today's village of Çernogorovo, Pazarcik

¹⁵⁹ Vanished settlement near today's city of Rakovski.

p. 24-b:

- 1) [Ah]ali Gebran
- 2) karye-yi Kapucuk Derbend¹⁶⁰
- 3) karye-yi Veter Derbend Kapucuk¹⁶¹

p. 25-a:

- 1) karye-yi Kalo pole

p. 25-b:

- 1) karye-yi Ostoria (veya Ostodia)¹⁶²
- 2) karye-yi Peruştice¹⁶³
- 3) karye-yi Kara Turut

p. 26-a:

- 1) karye-yi Pastuça¹⁶⁴
- 2) karye-yi Maçkür¹⁶⁵
- 3) ‘an karye-yi Olando (veya Evlândoz)
- 4) karye-yi Lâşni
- 5) ‘an karye-yi Sestrine
- 6) karye-yi Pavlosko¹⁶⁶
- 7) karye-yi Revanik (veya Revaynik)
- 8) karye-yi Blaskova

p. 26-b:

- 1) karye-yi Zirce Belaştitsa¹⁶⁷
- 2) ‘an karye-yi Basarinca müslümanan-i o
- 3) karye-yi [Yünd] Oğlanları

p. 27-a:

- 1) karye-yi Yünd Köy tab’i Çirpan
- 2) ‘an karye-yi Kriçime¹⁶⁸ cem’at-i Ahriyanat
- 3) karye-yi Dokonde

¹⁶⁰ Today’s village of Gorna Vasilitza, Sofya

¹⁶¹ Today’s village of Vetren, Sofya

¹⁶² Most probably today’s village of Stroevo, Plovdiv

¹⁶³ Today’s village of Peruştitsa, Plovdiv

¹⁶⁴ Today’s village of Pastuşa, Plovdiv

¹⁶⁵ Today’s village of Proslav, Plovdiv

¹⁶⁶ Today’s village of Pavelsko, Smolyan

¹⁶⁷ Today’s village of Belaştitsa, Plovdiv

¹⁶⁸ Today’s village of Kriçim, Plovdiv

- 4) karye-yi Kriçime¹⁶⁹

p. 27-b:

- 1) karye-yi Brestovçe¹⁷⁰
- 2) karye-yi Ahlan¹⁷¹
- 3) mahalle-yi Timur ‘an Kriçime

p. 28-a:

- 1) karye-yi Küçük Ostoriv
- 2) karye-yi İzlatare
- 3) karye-yi Komar¹⁷²

p. 28-b:

- 1) ‘an karye-yi İstanimaka müslümanan
- 2) karye-yi Ahriyanlar
- 3) ‘an karye-yi Blaşova
- 4) [kariye-yi] [damaged text]

¹⁶⁹ Today’s village of Kriçim, Plovdiv

¹⁷⁰ Today’s village of Brestovitsa, Plovdiv

¹⁷¹ Today’s village of Branipole, Plovdiv

¹⁷² Today’s village of Drangovo, Plovdiv

