

YÖRÜKLER II

Editörler

İlhan Şahin

Aymira Taşbaş - Erhan Taşbaş

Ankara 2022



BURSA
OSMANGAZI BELEDİYESİ YAYINLARI
Ulubatlı Hasan Bulvarı No: 6 Santral Garaj / Bursa
Tel: 0.224.444 16 01 Faks: 0.0224.270 70 63
www.osmangazi-bld.gov.tr

YÖRÜKLER II

Editörler

İlhan Şahin
Aymira Taşbaş - Erhan Taşbaş

Proje Koordinatörleri

Cem Kürşad Hasanoğlu
Gülşah Cebelli Öncel

İç Tasarım

İlhan Şahin

Kapak Tasarım

Mehmet Temelli

Baskı: Aralık 2022

ISBN: 978-975-2406-50-6

Kapak: 2022 Bursa Türk Dünyası Kültür Başkenti Logosu

Baskı ve Cilt:

SALMAT BASIM YAYINCILIK
Zübeyde Hanım Mah. Sebzebahçeleri Cad.
(B.San.1. Cadde) Arpacıoğlu İşhanı No: 95/1
İskitler Altındağ/ANKARA Tel: 0312 341 10 20
Sertifika No: 47771

The Role of the Yörüks in the Process of Acquisition and Processing of Ore in Rumelia in the 15th-17th c.

*Stefan Dimitrov**

Summary

Sources from the XV-XVII centuries - Ottoman laws, fermans, tax registers and other types of documents, record the existence of a number of categories of population with special obligations that cover the entire production cycle - from ore mining to transportation of finished products.

In this report we aim to study the role of the Yörüks in the process of mining and processing of ore in Rumelia in the XV - XVII centuries. To achieve this goal we will use unpublished Ottoman documents stored in the funds Tapu Tahrir Defterleri, Kamil Kepeci Defterleri (Mevkufat Kalemi) and Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri of the Ottoman archives with the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Istanbul (Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi).

After analyzing the studied documents, we found that at the end of the XV century in order to restore the mines and furnaces in Thrace and overcome the shortage of productive population, the Ottoman government engaged in the process of processing ore persons belonging to the corps of the Yörüks. According to the specific circumstances, their connection with mining is expressed in three main directions: the implementation of security functions in the mines; participation in the transportation of the ore or the wood and coal necessary for its processing and direct work in the mines. In the following centuries, the Yörüks continued to take an active part in the mining process or in the field serving the mining process in the villages in the province of Rumelia. The presence of Yörüks belonging to the sancak of the Kocacık Yörüks has been established.

Keywords: Ore mining, Yörüks, Rumeli, 15th-17th c., Ottoman tax registers.

After the conquest of the Balkans and their inclusion in the Ottoman military-administrative system, the profitable mines were registered with the hasses of the sultan or other persons belonging to the corporate group of askeri. The mining settlements, their population and the available mines, kilns and ore processing facilities are duly described in registers, and a specific tax status is provided for the population engaged in this activity¹.

* Chief Assist. Prof. Dr., Institute for Historical Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria.

¹ Georgi Georgiev, *Starata zhelezodobivna industriya v Balgaria*. Sofia, 1978, 23; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting. 1520-1650*. Cambridge, 1984, 171-190; Elena Grozdanova, *Stefan Andreev, Zadalzheniya i statut na rudarite v balgarskite*

The issue of the development of mining in the Balkans in the 15th – 17th century and the categories of population involved in the process of mining and metalworking is partially touched upon in the works of some researchers. To a large extent, the lack of studies on these issues is not due to the lack of interest in the issue, but to the lack of sources of various types and origins containing information on the history of mining settlements. Of course, this does not belittle the work of a number of local historians and specialists in chemistry, geology and mineralogy, and even on the contrary – the results of their research, combined with information extracted from sources, contribute to the clarification of a number of problems related to the development of mining in Rumeli².

Sources from the XV-XVII centuries - Ottoman laws, fermans, tax registers and other types of documents, record the existence of a number of categories of population with special obligations that cover the entire production cycle - from ore mining to transportation of finished products.

In this report we aim to study the role of the yörüks in the process of mining and processing of ore in Rumeli in the XV - XVIIth centuries. To achieve this goal we will use unpublished Ottoman documents stored in the funds Tapu Tahrir Defterleri, Kamil Kepeci Defterleri (Mevkufat Kalemi) and Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri of the Ottoman archives with the

zemi prez XV–XIX v. – Istoricheski pregled, 1991, № 8, 3–20; Stefan Andreev, Elena Grozdanova, Iz istoriyata na rudarstvoto i metalurgiyata v balgarskite zemi prez XV-XIX vek. Sofia, 1993, 18; Halil İnalçık, The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300–1600. – In: An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire. Vol. 1: 1300–1600. Cambridge, 1994, 77–100; Tsvetana Georgieva, Nikolay Genchev, Istorija na Balgaria. T. 2. Sofia, 1999, 185; Şevket Pamuk, A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire. Cambridge, 2000, 1-40.

² Ivan Trifonov, Metalurgiya na zhelyazoto v Balgaria. Sofia, 1924; Georgi Konyarov, Prinos kam istoriyata na rudarstvoto i metalurgiyata v Balgaria. Sofia, 1953; Georgi Georgiev, Zhelezodobivnata industriya v Marvashko (planinata Ali botush i sasednite y planini). – In: Rudarstvoto v Yugozapadna Balgaria i Yugoiztochna Makedonia. Sofia, 1953; Georgi Georgiev, Starata zhelezodobivna industriya; Vsevolod Nikolaev, Golemi minni predpriyatiya s balgarski rabotnitsi v Evropeyska Turtsiaprez XVI vek. – In: Rudarstvoto v Yugozapadna Balgaria i Yugoiztochna Makedonia. Sofia, 1953, 127–177; Nikolay Markov, Belezhki za targoviyata s zhelyazo po balgarskite zemi prez XIII-XIX vek. – Izvestiya na Natsionalniya Istoricheski Muzey, 11, 2000, 307–312; Nikolay Markov, Kam istoriyata na zhelezodobiva po balgarskite zemi prez osmanskiya period (XV – 70-te godini na XX v.). Rudodobivni saorazheniya i metodi.– Godishnik na Natsionalniya politehnicheski muzey, 1985, № 14, 185–198; Nikolay Markov, Rakovodstvo i organizatsiya na zhelezodobiva po balgarskite zemi prez osmanskiya period.– Izvestiya na Natsionalniya Istoricheski Muzey, 10, 1994, 97–106; Rumén Kovachev, Samokov I Samokovskata kaza prez XVI vek spored opisi ot istanbulskiya osmanski arhiv. Sofia, 2001; Hristo Semerdzhiev, Samokov I okolonstva mu. Prinos kam istoriyata im ot turskoto zavoevanie do Osvozhdenieto. Sofia, 1928.

Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, Istanbul (Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi).

Sources

The Ottoman tax registers used in the study provide information for 1485³, 1490⁴, 1519⁵, 1530⁶ and 1570⁷ respectively. Another 3 detailed registers were prepared specifically for the kürecisand oilers (yağcıs) in the province of Rumeli and contain valuable information about the location of miners in the Bulgarian and Balkan space, their migration, ethno-religious affiliation, internal structure, tax obligations and naming system.

The first of these is a detailed tax register of kürecis and producers of oil. In this register, the persons belonging to the mentioned categories of population with special obligations and their tax duties in the month of Zilhicce 980 AH [May 1573] are described by name⁸.

The next document is again a detailed tax register of kürecis and yağcıs in the province of Rumeli. In this register, the heads of households belonging to the mentioned two population categories and their tax obligations for the period from Ramazan 20, 1008 – Şaban 18, 1009 AH

³ BOA, Istanbul, TD 20. Detailed (mufassal) register of hasses, zeamets, timars, mülks and vakıfs, found on the territories of nahiyes in the kaza of Edirne – Fikle, Pravadi, Üsküdar and Kızıl Ağaç in 890 AH [18.01.1485-06.01.1486]. On the dating of the register see Yusuf Sarıay, *Tahrir Defterlerinin İdari Birimleri ve Sayfa/Varak Numarları*. – In: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü (ed.), *370 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-ili Defteri (937/1530)*, I, Ankara, 2001, 11; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası. Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar*. İstanbul, 2007, 532–533.

⁴ BOA, Istanbul, TD 26. Detailed register of timars, mülks and vakıfs, found on the territories of nahiyes Yenice-i Zagra (today's city of Nova Zagora), Eskihisar (today's city of Stara Zagora) and Filibe (today's city of Plovdiv), in 29 Zilhicce 895 r. AH [13 November 1490]. We use the dating of the register by the archivists of the Ottoman archives in Istanbul (Başkanlık Osmanlı Arşivi).

⁵ BOA, Istanbul, TD 77. Detailed register of hasses, mülks and vakıfs on the territory of the Paşa sancak in 925 AH [03.01–23.12.1519]. On the dating of the register see Y. Sarıay, *Op. cit.*, 11; M. Gökbilgin, *Op. cit.* 533-534.

⁶ BOA, Istanbul, TD 370. Summary (icmal) register, containing recapitulation of household heads, single males and widows, living in the settlements belonging to hasses, zeamets, timars, mülks and vakıfs on the territories of sancaks Vize and Paşa in 937 AH [25.08.1530-15.08.1531]. On the dating of the register see Y. Sarıay, *Op. cit.*

⁷ BOA, Istanbul, TD 494 and 498. Detailed registers, in which hasses, zeamets, timars, mülks and vakıfs in Paşa sancak in 978 AH [05.06.1570-26.05.1571] are registered. On the dating of the register see Y. Sarıay, *Op. cit.*, 11.

⁸ BOA, Istanbul, Kamil Kepeci Defterleri (Mevkufat Kalemî), KK.d. 2552. In this study we use the dating of the register by the archivists of the Ottoman archives in Istanbul.

[04.04.1600–22.02.1601] are described by name⁹. The other register is also a detailed tax register of the kürecis and yağcıs in the province of Rumeli, compiled on Cemaziü'l Ahr 25, 1019 AH [September 14, 1610]¹⁰. The last register was compiled in Safer 12, 1047 AH [July 6, 1637] and contains detailed information about the kürecis and yağcıs who inhabited the Bulgarian lands in that year¹¹.

Analyzing the sources, one notices changes occurring in the way miners were registered in the period 15th – 17th centuries. In the earliest Ottoman tax registers from the end of the 15th century (1485 and 1490) and those from the beginning of the 16th century (1519 and 1530) this category of population was recorded in a separate rubric, entitled in most cases “Kürecis belonging to the hass of the Sultan”, placed after the end of the census of the population in the corresponding military-administrative unit. Consequently, in several subsections, the kürecis, heads of households, and unmarried men in the respective settlement are described using the formulas “in the village of...”, “from the village of...” or just “the village of...”. In 1570, this practice of recording the miners in a common rubric was abandoned. They are described among the rest of the urban or rural population, only above or below the name of the relevant taxpayer being a küreci is noted.

At the beginning of the 70s of the 16th century, a new change was observed in Ottoman administrative practice. It is expressed in the preparation of independent registers, in which all the kürecis in the province of Rumeli are described by name. After the general rubric, indicating the beginning of the inventory in the relevant kaza, several sub-rubrics follow, where the settlements with an available mining population, respectively heads of households and unmarried men, are successively described. These are 4 detailed registers that contain extremely valuable information about the location of miners in Bulgarian lands and the Balkans.

We assume that these different ways of recording the persons engaged in the treatment of ore in the furnaces reflect to some extent the development of this industry during the time period under study. It is possible that the transition of the registration of miners from a separate heading to an inventory among all residents of the settlements is due to the decline of this type of activity, which in turn leads to a decrease in tax revenues from ore extraction and the removal of these mining settlements from the composition of the sultan’s hass and their registration with other types of land holdings (timars, zeamets, mülks and vakıfs). Abandoning the previous

⁹ BOA, Istanbul, Maliyeden Müdevver Defter (MAD.d.) 1412.

¹⁰ BOA, Istanbul, MAD.d. 1397.

¹¹ BOA, Istanbul, MAD.d.1537.

practice of recording this mining population as a distinct group in the Ottoman tax registers and producing registers intended only for the miners, is evidence of the desire of the Ottoman rulers to stabilize this economic branch and impose full control over the activity of mines, furnaces and the production of various types of metal products.

The kürecis live in settlements located in a large part of the Balkan space, organized in the following sancaks: Paşa, Çirmen, Nikopol, Silistra, Vize, Gelibolu, which cover most of the lands of Eastern Thrace from the Southwestern shores of the Black Sea and the Strandzha mountain to the Sea of Marmara; and the Silistra sancak, which covers a large part of today's Eastern and Northeastern Bulgaria

Yörüks and Kürecis

Written sources from the 15th-19th centuries record the existence of a number of categories of the population with special obligations engaged in ore mining and metal processing, which covered the entire production process and the service sector. The division of labor into different stages is evidenced by the differentiation of special categories of the population, such as miners (*madencis*), furnace workers (*kürecis*), charcoal suppliers (*kömürcüs*), who were engaged in the supply of timber and charcoal for the mines and furnaces, etc. Briefly, the whole ore mining and processing can be described as follows. Initially, the duties of digging and strengthening mining galleries were assigned to *lağmcis*¹².

After the galleries were dug, *kiracis* and *arabacis* (carters) transported the mined ore or finished metal products, in the form of a corvee or for a pay. Then *madencis* (miners) and *kürecis* (furnace workers) were engaged in ore processing; the finished metal products went to blacksmiths, ironworkers, ammunition makers (*cebecis*), goldsmiths, etc. It should be noted that people belonging to various military and military support formations, such as *martoloses*, *yörüks*, *vlachs*, etc., were forced to work in the mines as general workers or to guard them in case of need, without this being their main duty. Different kinds of non-resident seasonal workers and persons belonging to the category of the *reaya* without established residence, the so-called *haymanes* also took part in the process of ore mining and ore processing¹³.

¹² *Lağmcis* were a category of population with military auxiliary functions, whose activity was to make trenches, undermine fortress walls, do blasting and more. Sometimes they were used in the mining process according to the specific needs.

¹³ Stefan Andreev, Elena Grozdanova, *Iz istoriyata na rudarstvoto I metalurgiyata*, 59; Elena Grozdanova, Stefan Andreev, *Zadalzheniya I statut na rudarite*, 5-6; Elena Grozdanova, *Problemat za t. nar. Privilegirovana raya v istoricheskata knizhnina*. – In: *Balgaria prez XV-XVIII v. Istoriografski izsledvaniya "Balgaria XV-XIX vek"*, t. I, Sofia, 1987, 139.

Undoubtedly the most directly and permanently connected with ore mining and ore processing were madencis, kürecis and kömürcüs (coal miners). It is noteworthy that in view of the terminology used in the sources of the 15th-19th centuries, very often no distinction is made between madencis and kürecis. Most often all these persons are recorded with the general term madenci, i.e. miners. However, in certain cases, when the monetary remuneration of craftsmen and workers with different business profiles was fixed, such a distinction was mandatory. In the studied Ottoman tax registers, the miners are recorded with the term kürecis, i.e. persons engaged in the processing of ore in furnaces, in return for which they were exempt from extraordinary taxes and state duties (*avarız-ı divaniye ve tekalif-i örfiye*)¹⁴.

Apart from the involvement of the yörüks during the war, in peacetime the economic activity of the yörüks households living in the settlements in the province of Rumeli was expressed in various spheres. Some of them were engaged in agriculture; another part was engaged in animal husbandry, and a third part in the smelting of ore in the furnaces.

Combining military and production duties with work in the mines is observed not only with the yörüks, but also with other categories of the population such as martoloses, voynuks, müsellems and yağcıs. According to the specific circumstances, their connection with the mining is expressed in three main directions: the performance of security functions in the mines; participation in the transportation of the ore or the wood and coal necessary for its processing and direct work in the mines. The process of ore mining and processing also included incoming seasonal workers or persons belonging to the category of reaya without established residence, the so-called haymanes, which is a sign of migration of population from or to various mining settlements¹⁵.

The presence of registered immigrant taxpayers in the registers is one of the most important signs of the demographic situation and the intensity of migration processes. The presented summary statistical information about them gives synthesized information about the frequency of different types of resettlement, recorded in the Ottoman tax registers through additional entries such as: new, newly recorded, explanatory ethnonyms and nicknames after the personal names of miners, which could indicate the ethnic but also the religious affiliation of the persons concerned, and in some cases the direction of resettlement¹⁶.

¹⁴ Stefan Andreev, Elena Grozdanova, *Iz istoriyata na rudarstvoto I metalurgiyata*, 59-69; E. Grozdanova, S. Andreev, *Zadalzheniya I statut na rudarite*, 14; Nikolay Markov, *Metalurgiya na zhelyazoto prez osmanskiya period (XV-70-te godini na XIX v.)*. – *Godishnik na Natsionalniya politehnicheski muzey*, 1983, t. 13, 135-158.

¹⁵ Stefan Andreev, Elena Grozdanova, *Iz istoriyata na rudarstvoto I metalurgiyata*, 63-65.

¹⁶ Krasimira Mutafova, *Prishaltsite: dinamika na migratsiite, sotsialen status I*

At the end of the 15th century, in order to restore the activity of the mines in Rumeli and to overcome the shortage of productive population, the Ottoman government engaged in the process of ore processing persons belonging to the yörüks and müsellems corps¹⁷. In 1519 and 1530, for all, respectively 22 and 23 mining settlements, belonging to the hass of the sultan in the kaza of Kızıl ağaç¹⁸, it was recorded that they were inhabited by müsellems and yörüks, who were engaged in the processing of ore in the furnaces¹⁹. In the texts for the villages, details of their specific taxation can be found. For example for the village of Yenibeyli²⁰ is noted that "Müsellems live in it. [Its inhabitants] give their tithes to the müsellems, and the Sancakbeyi of müsellems takes "bad-ı hava" and "resm-i arusane". Kızılca müsellems [are]."²¹. We will only note that after the reforms of Sultan Süleyman I (1520–1566), this corps was headed by a separate sancak bey, who together with the çeribaşı, collected "bad-ı hava" from the müsellems as their revenue. In Rumeli three separate müsellems sancaks were formed, headed respectively by sancak bays, as Kızılca being one of them²². In the rest of the mining settlements in 1519 and 1530, the text mentioned above is repeated in meaning, and among the miners and müsellems the presence of yörüks is also observed, and in the villages of Sunkur²³ and Bey Melik²⁴, müsellemer çeri başı are recorded, who are subordinate to the sancakbey²⁵.

The yörüks are recorded in settlements together with the kürecis - the persons engaged in the smelting of ore in the kilns. Some additional entries in 1519 show that in the settlements belonging to different types of land holdings, yörüks and kürecis lived together and probably shared the labour for both the processing of ore in the kilns and the crop areas. For example, for the residents of the village of Sunkur²⁶, a non-existing settlement in present-day southeastern Bulgaria, it was explicitly stated that kü-

adaptatsiya (na primera na osmanski registrovi danni ot XVI-XVII v. otosno Nikopolski sandzhak). – Epohi, 23, 2015, № 1, 198–199.

¹⁷ Stefan Dimitrov, Demografska karakteristika na rudarskoto naselenie v grad Elhovo I regiona (XV–XVI v.). – Istoricheski pregled, 2018, № 4, 32–62.

¹⁸ Kaza with center today's city of Elhovo, Bulgaria.

¹⁹ BOA, Istanbul, TD 77, ff. 331–336; BOA, Istanbul, TD 370, ff. 64–65.

²⁰ Today's city of Kirilovo, municipality of Elhovo, Bulgaria.

²¹ BOA, Istanbul, TD 77, f. 331.

²² Krastyo Yordanov, Myuselemite v Rumelia - myuselemski odzhatsi I sluzhebni chiflitsi v Iztochna Trakiya prez parvata polovina na XVI vek. - Godishnik na Vishiya islyamski institut, 7, Sofia, 2021, 188–189.

²³ BOA, Istanbul, TD 77, ff. 335–336.

²⁴ BOA, Istanbul, TD 77, ff. 335–336. Today's village of Karavelovo, Bulgaria.

²⁵ BOA, Istanbul, TD 77, ff. 335–336; BOA, Istanbul, TD 370, f. 64.

²⁶ A non-existing village in kaza of Kızıl Ağaç.

recis sow its crop area. Among the entries for taxes paid by miners wheat, barley and beehives are present²⁷. For another settlement - Karaca Davud²⁸, it is noted that the kürecis sow its crop area and for this reason its population is registered with the kürecis. From the tax revenues of the village it is clear that its inhabitants, in addition to growing wheat and barley, were also engaged in the cultivation of vegetable gardens²⁹. For the village of Inciklü³⁰, in a special column entitled "cemaat of yörüks yamaks and kürecis", the presence of another küreci, recorded among the representatives of the yörüks corps, stands out. Tax revenues again show that residents were actively involved in the cultivation of various types of crops, such as barley, wheat, vegetables, lentils and fruit trees. Among the in-kind and monetary receivables from the local population, three mills were noted. One comprises three millstones, the other one two, and the third one three, but for the last one it was noted that it has been destroyed³¹. The presence of mills in a settlement in combination with the presence of miners gives reason to assume that they were directly or indirectly related to mining or ore processing in the area, even when the register itself lacks other evidence in this regard³².

Another proof of the yörüks' possession of arable land and their taxation with the same taxes along with the miners can be found in the "Law of Sancak of the Vize" (1539). It states that yörüks, butchers and kürecis who own a çift of arable land, pay the plowman 12 akçes resm-i çift each³³. It should be noted that the cultivation of cereals, mainly wheat and barley, by the yörüks is a typical agricultural production for them both in their settlements in Thrace and in Anatolia (the Vilayet of Karaman). For them, this is an established business model, evidence of the accumulated agricultural experience over the centuries, which they successfully transferred to Rumeli³⁴.

Confirmation of the participation of yörüks in the mining process can be found in the "Law on yörüks" from the time of Sultan Süleyman I

²⁷ BOA, Istanbul, TD 77, f. 311.

²⁸ A disappeared village in kaza of Kızıl Ağaç.

²⁹ BOA, Istanbul, TD 77, f. 311.

³⁰ Today's village of Stroyno, Bulgaria.

³¹ BOA, Istanbul, TD 77, f. 70.

³² Stefan Andreev, Elena Grozdanova, *Iz istoriyata na rudarstvoto I metalurgiyata*, 32-33.

³³ *Turski izvori za istoriyata na pravoto v balgarskite zemi (hereafter TIIPBZ)*. T. 1. Sofia, 1961, 255.

³⁴ Milena Petkova, *Mezhdur Anatolia i Rumelia. Yurutsite I stopanskoto rayonirane na chasti ot Tsentralnite Balkani, sredata na XV sredata na XVI vek*. Sofia, 2021, 97-108; Milena Petkova, *Tsentralnite Balkani I osmansite. Demografsko razvitie I agrarna ikonomika v Iztochnya dyal na Trakiyskata nizina prez XVI vek*. Sofia, 2020, 170-181.

(1520-1566). It is stated there that "if any of the sons of the said category is recorded as yağcı or küreci, or for reaya, or for tuzcus, or for rice growers [...], he does not fall out of the category to which he belongs. So if according to the local register someone is registered (in a given category), and elsewhere he also performs his work as yörük or yamak. Whatever his service in the other place where he is enrolled, he also performs it."³⁵

The above information about the presence of yörüks and müsellems in the studied settlements with küreci and the "Law on yörüks" once again confirm the fact that representatives of these two corps performed both their military duties and obligations related to mining and ore processing. Some scholars suggest that the services of the yörüks were rarely used, and only in the early period of the Ottoman rule, mainly in mining centers outside the Bulgarian lands.³⁶ The above information shows that in the first half of the 16th century yörüks, müsellems and yağcıs actively participated in the mining process or its service sector in settlements located in the Bulgarian lands.

Regarding the origin of some of the yörüks in 1570, a note on the village of Saruhanlu, located in the area of the city of Edirne, states that its inhabitants were yörüks, a total of 29 households belonging to the Sancak of the Kocacık³⁷. According to Gökbilgin, the name sancak Kocacık comes from a tribal community relocated from Anatolia called Yörük Koca Hamza, mentioned in 1456³⁸. But according to Strashimir Dimitrov, the name of this yörük community comes from the Kocacık/Kocacık fortress (Debar³⁹), where these yörüks were settled in the first half of the 15th century.⁴⁰

Regarding the pace of yörüks migration from Anatolia to Rumeli, we can cite the following example with village of Kavaklu⁴¹. This village, today in southeastern Bulgaria, is an illustrative example of the pace of population migration in province of Rumeli. It is probable that the migration of yörüks from Asia Minor took place with varying intensity throughout the sixteenth century. As proof of this statement we will give data about the mentioned village, which belonged in 1485 to the nahiye of Fikle, and in the period 1519-1570 to the nahiye of Kızıl Ağaç.

³⁵ TIIPBZ, 306.

³⁶ Stefan Andreev, Elena Grozdanova, *Iz istoriyata na rudarstvoto I metalurgiyata*, 64.

³⁷ BOA, Istanbul, TD 494, f. 412

³⁸ M. T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-ı Fatihan*. Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1957, 90-91.

³⁹ A fortress near today's town of Debar, Republic of North Macedonia.

⁴⁰ Strashimir Dimitrov, *Za yurushkata organizatsiya i rolyata y v etnoasimilatorskite protsesi*. – Vekove, 1-2, 1982, 37.

⁴¹ Today's city of Topolovgrad, Bulgaria.

In 1485, there were 14 Muslim households and 8 unmarried Muslims in the village⁴². There is also no information about the presence of yörük population in the village or in its surroundings. By 1519, the number of Muslim households in the village had increased by 1, and yörüks had settled within the village. They are recorded in a separate section after the census of the population in the settlement, called "cemaat of yörüks who live within the boundaries of the said village Kavaklu". Subsequently, 4 sub-sections describe 4 bölüks with yörüks, numbering 30 households⁴³. Eleven years later, this yörükcemaat made up of the same 4 bölüks continued to exist and the number of yörük households increased to 81⁴⁴. In 1570 there was already a radical change in the number of inhabitants of the village and yörük population living within the boundaries of the village Kavaklu. The village is inhabited by Muslims and Christians, the latter being recorded in two sections: one called "infidels" and the other "mahalla-i Kafir Alanı" (a total of 90 households). The Muslim population in the village is composed entirely of yörüks, divided into 8 cemaats and 10 bölüks, and their total number was 541 households, which represents 7.4% of all 7 272 registered Muslim households in the kaza of Edirne.⁴⁵

Conclusion

It should be noted that in the late 15th - early 16th century, attaching great importance to mining for the financial stability of the Ottoman Empire, the army and trade, a policy was adopted to restore old ore deposits and ore smelting furnaces. The initial problem on the Ottoman sultans' agenda was overcoming labour shortages. In the 16th and early 17th centuries, this problem was solved by engaging the yörüks and other categories of the population with both military support and production functions and the migration of skilled and unskilled labour from nearby or distant settlements in Anatolia.

During different periods of time, yörüks migrated at different rates from Anatolia to Rumeli. In the 16th century, in order to overcome the labor shortage in some mines, persons were engaged, belonging to the corps of yörüks and müsellems. They combine their duties of a military support nature with work in the mines and the ore processing furnaces. Their activity is mainly expressed in the performance of security functions, participation in the transportation of the ore or the wood and coal necessary for its processing and direct work in the mines themselves.

All registered kürecis in the period 1573–1637 were Muslims, except for five non-Muslim households, registered in 1610 in the Nikopol

⁴² BOA, Istanbul, TD 20, f. 16.

⁴³ BOA, Istanbul, TD 77, ff. 317-318.

⁴⁴ BOA, Istanbul, TD 370, f. 60.

⁴⁵ BOA, Istanbul, TD 498, ff. 173-184.

Sancak. The total number of people employed in this field by the Ottoman economy in the 70s of the 16th century was 2,463 Muslims, heads of households. Subsequently, at the beginning of the 17th century, a gradual increase in their quantitative indicators was noticed, until 1637, when there was a decrease in their total number (2048).

The largest number of kürecis, heads of households, was attested in the Paşa, Vize and Çirmen Sancaks. The presence of a large number of miners in these lands also shows their uneven location. Most of them were concentrated south of the Balkan Mountains, and the smaller ones - north of it. In 1637, some kazas with a mining population in Rumeli, such as Gelibolu, Ipsala, Drama, Fere, Çorlu, Tarnovo, Ruse, Çernovi, Çirmen and Tanrıdağa, disappeared and new ones appeared in their place, such as Yenice-i Kızıl Ağaç, Çorlu, Pınar Hisar, Vize, Kırk Kilise, Shumen, Razgrad, Silistra, Targovishte, Dobrich, Provadia, Karnobat and Aytos.

With regard to the geographical area inhabited by miners and yörüks, it is characteristic that in the period 1573-1610 they inhabited settlements in Thrace, the central parts of the Danube plain, Stara Planina, Sredna Gora, the lower reaches of the rivers Maritsa (Meriç), Arda and Tundzha, and in 1637 changes were observed, expressed in the presence of a larger number of registered kürecis in the lands of today's Central, Eastern and Northeastern Bulgaria. What all mining settlements have in common is that they were located near the main roads in order to quickly transport the resulting metal to the major ports and cities in the Ottoman Empire.

References

Archives

Unpublished Sources

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi – Istanbul (BOA), TD 20, 77, 370, 494, 498;

Kamil Kepeci Defterleri (Mevkufat Kalemi), KK.d. 2552;

Maliyeden Müdevver Defter (MAD.d.) 1412; MAD.d. 1397; MAD.d. 1537.

Published Sources

370 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-ili Defteri (937/1530), vol. 1, 2001, Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü.

Bibliography

Elena Grozdanova, Problemat za t. nar. privilegiovana raya v istoricheskata knizhnina. – In: *Balgaria prez XV-XVIII v. Istoriografski izsledvania "Balgaria XV-XIX vek"*, t. I, Sofia, 1987, 135-152. [Elena Grozdanova, The Problem of the So-called Privileged Reaya in Historical Literature. – In: *Bulgaria through 15th – 18th c. Historiographical Studies "Bulgaria 15th – 19th c."*. Volume 1, Sofia, 1987, 135-152].

Elena Grozdanova, Stefan Andreev, Zadalzheniya I statut na rudarite v balgarskite zemi prez XV-XIX v. – *Istoricheski pregled*, 1991, № 8, 3–20. [Elena Grozdanova,

- Stefan Andreev, Obligations and Status of the Miners in the Bulgarian Lands in the 15th-19th centuries. - *Istoricheski pregled*, 1991, no. 8, 3-20].
- Georgi Georgiev, *Starata zhelezodobivna industria v Balgaria*. Sofia, 1978. [Georgi Georgiev, *The Old Iron Mining Industry in Bulgaria*. Sofia, 1978].
- Georgi Georgiev, *Zhelezodobivnata industria v Marvashko (planinata Ali botush i sasednite y planini)*. – V: *Rudarstvoto v Yugoiztochna Balgaria i Yugoiztochna Makedonia*. Sofia, 1953. [Georgi Georgiev, *The Iron Industry in Marvashko (The Ali Botush Mountain and its Neighboring Mountains)*. – In: *The Ore-mining in South-West Bulgaria and South-East Macedonia*. Sofia, 1953].
- Georgi Konyarov, *Prinos kam istoriyata na rudarstvoto i metalurgiyata v Balgaria*. Sofia, 1953. [Georgi Konyarov, *Contribution to the History of Mining and Metallurgy in Bulgaria*. Sofia, 1953].
- Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300–1600*. – In: *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*. Vol. I: 1300–1600. Cambridge, 1994, 77–100.
- Hristo Semerdzhiev, *Samokov i okolonstta mu. Prinos kam istoriyata im ot turskoto zavoevanie do Osvobozhdenieto*. Sofia, 1928. [Hristo Semerdzhiev, *Samokov and its surroundings. A Contribution to their History from the Turkish Conquest until the Liberation*. Sofia, 1928].
- Ivan Trifonov, *Metalurgia na zhelyazoto v Balgaria*. Sofia, 1924. [Ivan Trifonov, *Iron Metallurgy in Bulgaria*. Sofia, 1924].
- Krasimira Mutafova, *Prishaltsite: dinamika na migratsiite, sotsialen status i adaptatsia (na primera na osmanski registrovi dannii ot XVI-XVII v. otnosno Nikopolski sandzhak)*. – *Epohi*, 23, 2015, № 1, 195–211. [Krasimira Mutafova, *Prishaltsite (The New-Comers): Dynamics of Migrations, Social Status and Adaptation (According to Ottoman Register Data from the 16th – 17th Centuries Regarding the Sancak of Nikopol)*. – *Epohs*, 23, 2015, № 1, 195-211].
- Krastyo Yordanov, *Myuselemite v Rumelia – myuselemski odzhatsi i sluzhebni chiflitsi v Iztochna Trakia prez parvata polovinana XVI vek*. – *Godishnik na Vishia islyamski institut*, 7, Sofia, 2021, 176-209. [Krastyo Yordanov, *The Müsellems in Rumeli – Müselems Ocaks and Official Çiftliks in Eastern Thrace in the first half of 16th c.* – *Annually of High Islamic Institute*, 7, Sofia, 2021, 176-209].
- M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-ı Fatihan*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1957.
- M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası. Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar*. İstanbul, 2007.
- Milena Petkova, *Mezhdu Anatolia i Rumelia. Yurutsite i stopanskoto rayonirane na chastii ot Tsentralnite Balkani, sredata na XV – sredata na XVI vek*. Sofia, 2021. [Milena Petkova, *Between Anatolia and Rumeli. The Yürüks and the Economic Zoning of Parts of the Central Balkans, mid-15th - mid-16th century*. Sofia, 2021].
- Milena Petkova, *Tsentralnite Balkani i osmansite. Demografsko razvitie i agrarna ikonomika v Iztochnia dyal na Trakiyskata nizina prez XVI vek*. Sofia, 2020. [Milena Petkova, *The Central Balkans and Ottomans. Demographic Development and Agrarian Economic in the Eastern part of Thracian Valley through 16th centuries*. Sofia, 2020].
- Nikolay Markov, *Belezhki za targoviyata s zhelyazo po balgarskite zemi prez XIII–XIX vek*. – *Izvestiana Natsionalnia Istoricheski Muzei*, 11, 2000, 307–312.

- [Nikolay Markov, Notes on the Trade in Iron on the Bulgarian Lands in 13th – 19th centuries. - Notices of the National History Museum, 11, 2000, 307-312].
- Nikolay Markov, Kam istoriyata na zhelezodobiva po balgarskite zemi prez osmanskia period (XV – 70-te godini na XX v.). Rudodobivni saorazhenia i metodi.– Godishnik na Natsionalnia politehnicheski muzey, 1985, № 14, 185–198. [Nikolay Markov, In the History of Iron Mining in Bulgarian Lands through Ottoman Period (15th – 70s of the 20th c.). Ore-mining Facilities and Methods. – Annually of National Polytechnics Museum, 1985, № 14, 185-198].
- Nikolay Markov, Metalurgia na zhelyazoto prez osmanskia period (XV-70-te godini na XIX v.). – Godishnik na Natsionalnia politehnicheski muzey, 1983, t. 13, 135-158. [Nikolay Markov, Iron Metallurgy during the Ottoman Period (15th-70s of the 19th c.). - Annually of National Polytechnics Museum, 1983, № 13, 135-158].
- Nikolay Markov, Rakovodstvo i organizatsia na zhelezodobiva po balgarskite zemi prez osmanskia period.– Izvestia na Natsionalnia Istoricheski Muzey, 10, 1994, 97–106. [Nikolay Markov, Guide and Organization of Iron Mining in Bulgarian Lands through the Ottoman Period. - Notices of the National History Museum, 10, 1994, 97-106].
- Rumen Kovachev, Samokov I Samokovskata kaza prez XVI vek spored opisi ot istanbulska osmanski arhiv: Sofia, 2001. [Rumen Kovachev, Samokov and Kaza of Samokov in 16th c. According to Inventories from the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul. Sofia, 2001].
- Şevket Pamuk, A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire. Cambridge, 2000.
- Stefan Andreev, Elena Grozdanova, Iz istoriyata na rudarstvoto I metalurgiyata v balgarskite zemi prez XV-XIX vek. Sofia, 1993. [Stefan Andreev, Elena Grozdanova, From the History of Mining and Metallurgy in the Bulgarian Lands in the 15th-19th centuries. Sofia, 1993].
- Stefan Dimitrov, Demografska karakteristika na rudarskoto naselenie v grad Elhovo iregiona (XV–XVI v.). – Istoricheski pregled, 2018, № 4, 32-62. [Stefan Dimitrov, Demographic Characteristic of Ore-mining Population in city of Elhov and its Region (15th – 16th c.). – Historical Review, 2018, № 4, 32-62].
- Strashimir Dimitrov, Za yurushkata organizatsia I rolyata y v etnoasimilatorskite procesi. – Vekove, 1-2, 1982, 32-43. [Strashimir Dimitrov, About the Yörüks Organization and its Role in the Ethno-Assimilation Processes. - Vekove, 1982, 1-2, 32-43].
- Suraiya Faroqhi, Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting. 1520-1650. Cambridge, 1984.
- Tsvetana Georgieva, Nikolay Genchev, Istorica na Balgaria. T. 2. Sofia, 1999. [Tsvetana Georgieva, Nikolay Genchev, History of Bulgaria. Volume 2, Sofia, 1999].
- Turski izvori za istoriyata na pravoto v balgarskite zemi (hereafter TIIPBZ). T. 1. Sofia, 1961. [Turkish Sources for the History of Law in Bulgarian Lands. Volume 1, Sofia, 1961].
- Vsevolod Nikolaev, Golemi minni predpriyatia s balgarski rabotnitsi v Evropeyska Turtsia prez XVI vek. – In: Rudarstvoto v Yugoizapadna Balgaria I Yugoiztochna Makedonia. Sofia, 1953, 127–177. [Vsevolod Nikolaev, Big Mining Factories with Bulgarian Workers in European Turkey in 16th c. – In: The Ore-mining in South-West Bulgaria and South-East Macedonia. Sofia, 1953, 127-177].
- Yusuf Sarıncay, Tahrir Defterlerinin İdari Birimleri ve Sayfa/ Varak Numarları. – In:

Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü (ed.), 370 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-ili Defteri (937/1530), I, Ankara, 2001.