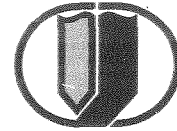




ULUSLARARASI
OSMANLI VE CUMHURİYET
DÖNEMİ
TÜRK-BULGAR İLİŞKİLERİ
SEMPOZYUMU
11-13 MAYIS 2005

BİLDİRİLER KİTABI



OSMANGAZİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi
Tarih Bölümü
ESKİŞEHİR



Odunpazarı Belediyesi Yayınları: 7
Tarih Dizisi: 2

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(0 212) 518 30 06-07

Baskı
Bayrak Matbaacılık
Küçük Ayasofya Cad. Yabancı Sok. 2/1
Sultanahmet/İstanbul
(212) 638 42 02

ISBN
975-6881-04-6

Mayıs 2005

Uluslararası
Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi

Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri

Sempozyumu
11-13 Mayıs 2005
Eskişehir - Türkiye

The Heart of Bulgaria Population and settlement history of the districts of Provadia, Novi Pazar and Shoumen from the Late-Middle Ages till the end of the Ottoman Period*

Machiel Kiel

*Netherlands Historical-Archaeological Institute, Istanbul
(Hollanda Tarih ve Arkeoloji Enstitüsü, Istanbul)*

The tableland of north-eastern Bulgaria and foothills and low mountain ridges to the north of the Balkan Chain once constituted the historical heart of old Bulgaria. Here lay the capital of the pagan, Turkic Proto-Bulgarian Khanate, the giant city of Pliska, which within its 17-km long earthen rampart could contain the entire Ulus in time of danger. Within it was the stone city, and in the middle of it the Khan's palace, constituting a kind of Forbidden City in the East-Asian tradition. Nearby, cut high up in the perpendicular cliffs and visible from afar are the famous Madara Horseman and in long inscriptions the deeds of Khans of the First Bulgarian Empire are cut, as a kind of Royal Chronicle. Here too, was the capital of the Christian Bulgarian Empire, Preslav, ("Most Glorious City") whose ruins have impressed generations of travellers. The impression they made on the early Ottoman conquerors of these lands is kept in the name they gave to the place: Eski İstambuluk.

In spite of all work done in the past century or more many aspects of the history of Bulgaria's long Ottoman centuries have been very insufficiently studied. This pertains in particular to the history of settlement (Siedlungsgeschichte) and to historical demography. As this is the very basis on which history stands these themes need for decades more to be studied. No population, no history!

Bulgarian historiography of the last 100 years has not been blessed with an abundance of sources. The medieval Bulgarian kingdom did apparently not produce any historiography comparable with Byzantine,

Western or Seljuk, Beylik and Early Ottoman historiography. The only chronicle known is the so-called "Anonymous Bulgarian Chronicle" ending at the beginning of the 15th century. It is, however, not more than an old-Bulgarian translation of the Byzantine chronicle of Johannes Chortasmenos; a fact ignored in Bulgaria until now. While local sources lack historians had to base themselves on Byzantine and Western sources, helped by the result of a very active archaeology. Other "sources" much used was what the oldest inhabitant of the village or town remembered. Besides that folklore tales have been used as "source" for the older history of many a settlement. Very notorious, at least in the eyes of a historian trained in the Western tradition, is the stubborn use of bad quality falsifications from the 19th century.

The wealth of Ottoman sources was long inaccessible for Bulgarian researchers. What they had since 1933 in the collections of the Sofia National Library were some valuable fragments of 15th century *tahrirs*. They are by far not enough to get a complete picture of the whole country. What they also have in the Sofia Library is a large collection of *icmal Cizye tahrirs*. These were used to reconstruct the demographic development of the 17th century. The conclusions of most of the studies based on this particular group of sources are that a massive Islamization of the local Christian population had taken place. This kind of conclusions were supported by some "local sources" said to belong to the 17th century and reporting massive government ordered Islamization campaigns, carried out with brutal violence. That these "sources" were badly made fakes from the mid-19th century was hardly taken into account and have been used and defended as containing genuine historical information until the most recent years. However, when one wants to conclude that the steep decline of the Christian population of the 17th century is the result of Islamization, than the researcher has the duty to show that the number of Muslims rose steeply. In fact they did not. They also declined, or remained static.

On top of this came in the 1970s and '80s the government-guided policy in writing history with the task to show that a Turkish colonisation of Bulgaria had never taken place. It is interesting to see that the historians of the period before 1945 had fewer problems with this colonisation. They mention it openly but had no quantitative data to show its extent. This extent could have been seen openly in that real mirror of history, the historical toponymy of the country. Yet in many countries in the 20th century people have not been content with their history, as it really had been. They therefore adapted the reality to the theories of their (nationalistic) times. In Bulgaria this meant that over 40 % of the place names, Turkish and a few were Greek, almost all situated in the eastern half of the country were changed for fanciful Bulgarian names. By 1970 2.448 of the 5.659 names of villages and towns were changed, making over 43 % of the total. 1)

In the following we shall try to show the outlines of the long-term development of settlement history and demographic development of Bulgaria. As the amount of archival work to be done for the entire country is far too much for one person to do we shall here only present three districts that once constituted the heart of old Bulgaria. They are the town and district of Provadija, Pravadi in Turkish, Novi Pazar (Yeni Pazar) and Shoumen (Şumnu). For both first mentioned districts the Ottoman sources are preserved from the year 1516 upward. For Shoumen we have two highly valuable sources, from 1479 and 1485, both published and together covering almost the entire old Sandjak of Niğbolu/Nikopol.

After the downfall of the First Bulgarian Empire, around the year 970, and the destruction of its capitals by the armies of the re-invigorated Byzantine Empire under the emperors of the Macedonian Dynasty the area under study was dominated by the towns of Provadia and Shoumen. Both were small but very strong hilltop towns, illustrating the changed military conditions in the land. Pliska and Preslav lay in the wide-open plains, once dominated by the Proto-Bulgarian military might. After the devastating invasions of the Pechenegs, late 10th - and most of the 11th century, life in the plains almost ceased and what was left of urban life fled to almost impregnable mountaintop sites. Both Provadija and Shoumen are the most vivid illustration of the settlement history of the land. Provadija is perhaps the most spectacular, closely followed by Tirnovo, the capital of the weak kings of the Second Bulgarian "Empire" (1185 - 1393), or by Çerven on the Russenski Lom. Near the villages surrounding Shoumen and Provadija a large number of rock-cut grotto churches from the 13th and 14th century are still preserved. Often they contain graffiti, remains of fresco paintings and inscriptions in Old Bulgarian, giving valuable historical information. They prove at least that the villages with Slavic names and Christian inhabitants as mentioned in the oldest preserved *tahrirs* of the area, go back to the time of the Second Bulgarian empire. 2)

The medieval Bulgarian State under its last ruler, Ivan Şişman, was truncated through the breaking-away of the Principality of Vidin in the west and the Principality of Dobrudja in the east. Şişman was for decades vassal of the Ottomans and his sister was married to Sultan Murad I. At several occasions Şişman had shown that he was unreliable. In the winter of 1388, to cover the flank for Murad's planned campaign against the Serbians (Kosovo, 1389) Grand Vizier Candarlı Ali Pasha occupied most of the towns and fortresses of Şişman's state. Provadija, Madara and Shoumen were among the first to be taken. Exemplary for the political situation of the

time is that in almost all cases the local inhabitants came to the Ottoman camp to bring the keys of their strongholds. The story is related with some detail by Mevlana Nevri, using a contemporary account which is now lost. The country was definitely annexed in 1393 under Yıldırım Bayezid.

We have no detailed knowledge of the first eighty years of the Ottoman rule. The only known event is the Crusade of Varna in the autumn of 1444, which wrought heavy destruction in our area, leading to the desertion of a number of important settlements. Among them are capital of the Principality of Dobrudja, Kalliakra, the town of Shoumen and many smaller castles (Madara, M_{gliz}, Petri³, Galata near Varna, etc. The medieval hilltop town of Shoumen is excavated in its entirety. Archaeology has shown that Shoumen existed till the mid-15th century and was then destroyed by fire and violence, never to be rebuilt again. Here Western and Eastern written sources agree. The town was taken and set to fire. The last Ottoman defenders, retreating to a mighty tower at the edge of the cliff, preferred to jump down in the abyss than being smothered in the smoke and fire. The only difference between the account of Hans Mägast and the "Gazavat-i Sultan Murad Han" is that the one maintains that the black souls of the Ottoman soldiers went straight to hell, whereas the other has them going straight to paradise. During the extensive excavations of the site coins have been found from the 13th century Byzantine Despotates of Epirus and of Trebizond, of the republic of Venice, Emperor Andronicus II, many from the Khans of the Golden Horde (Dâani Beg, 1356, Tohtamis Khan 1379-1397), from King Sigismund of Hungary (1395-1437), from the Serbian Tsar Du²an (1331-1355) as well as from the Valachian rulers Mirchea the Old and Vlad the Dragon. Also silver coins of Yıldırım Bayezid (1389-1402), Emir Süleyman (1402-1411) and Murad II (1421-1451). Than everything ends abruptly. 3) Shoumen was rebuilt deep in the plain below the castle's ruins and remained a small open town till the second half of the 18th century. In 1479, thus 35 years after its destruction, Shoumen counted 11 households of Muslims and 74 of Christians. Although small it was, together with *derbenci* village of Çalı Kavak in the sparsely inhabited south, the largest settlement of the Kaza.

The destruction wrought in 1444 by the enormous Crusaders army in the rural districts of north-eastern Bulgaria must have been immense, but sources lack, written accounts as well as archaeological records. Yet we can still obtain an impression when looking at our maps based on the oldest Ottoman *tahrirs*.

We first get the district of Shoumen in the picture in 1479. This is in the oldest preserved Ottoman tahrir of the Sandjak of Nikopol/Niğbolu. It shows us that most of the old administrative divisions were taken over by the Ottomans. The heart of old Bulgaria was divided into the Kazas of Pravadi (Provadija) and şumnu (Shoumen), both old bishoprics and encompassing a vast territory. To the north both Kazas were bordered by the likewise very large Kaza of ¼erven (Çernovi), which in the 16th century was split into the Kazas of Rusçuk (Russe) and Hezargrad (Razgrad) whilst the old bishop's centre of ¼erven sank into oblivion.

We have no knowledge about the population and settlement pattern of late-medieval Bulgaria. In the elder Bulgarian historiography it was assumed that the Ottomans had taken the fortified towns of medieval Bulgaria by force, had destroyed them and had killed or deported the original population and replaced them by Turks. After the 1479 *tahrir* became known and was published in its entirety, in Sofia in 1966, this picture began to change. It could be seen that there still were many Bulgarian Christians living in them, often far more numerous than the Turkish newcomers. There was thus a considerable amount of continuation. The publication of the 1479 register led to a total revision of the old view.

Where research and interpretation of the same singularly important source led to disagreement is the rural population.

It is an old tradition in Bulgarian thinking about their history to present the Ottoman conquest as an all-destroying event, responsible for the destruction and disappearance of the medieval Christian Bulgarian culture, and ultimately responsible for the relative backwardness of the country today. This is the so-called "catastrophe theory." An aspect of this theory was the notoriously sharp and in fact wholly superfluous controversy about "mezraas and demographic collapse" which raged in the 1970s. The 1479 register mentions many sites called "mezraa." They numbered up to one third of all places in the large sandjak of Nikopol as mentioned in the defter. They were interpreted as have been deserted and destroyed Old Bulgarian villages. Destroyed by the Ottoman conquest. They could also simply have been plots of arable land worked by the inhabitants of nearby places, as other Bulgarian historians contended. The root of the word is the Arabic "zarr" "a" to sow, whence mezraa, "place which is sown." The Turkish word for agriculture, *ziraat*, stems from the same Arabic root. Sometimes these mezraas have a Bulgarian name, pointing to a disappeared settlement. Sometimes they have good Turkish names. Another aspect brought forward by those historians who tried to refute the use of mezraas as proof that the catastrophe theory was historically correct. This was the fact that, as population grew, the number of mezraas also grew. This time without war destruction, but as a result of a lasting peace brought about by the Ottomans. More land was needed to feed the rapidly growing population and more land was taken under the plough. When those who worked the new land happened to be Turks than the mezraa got a Turkish name. When it was finally decided that the catastrophe theory as proposed by Christo Gandev was historically correct

the mezraa was used as an instrument to measure the extent of destruction caused by the Ottoman conquest. The losses were calculated on the basis of a set of assumptions and the results were horrendous, indeed. Gandev's work appeared in translation in many foreign language and was given a wide circulation, doubtless it was such a useful tool in favour of the politics of the day.⁴⁾ What all participants in this highly influential controversy simply forgot, is that a vast literature exists in Western languages, about the theme of the "deserted villages" (*Wüstungen*) That many decades of scientific research had been devoted to the phenomenon, which is indeed all-European, from Iceland, Norway, Portugal, Spain and other places where Turks never had set a foot.⁵⁾

In their self-chosen isolation from Western Europe in communist times, the opponents in the dispute had remained fully unaware of the singularly important findings of Western research on what really had happened in the late Middle Ages. Especially of what happened during the deep crisis of the 14th and early 15th century. In the German speaking lands 40.000 (!) *Wüstungen* have been localised. In Switzerland 40 of the 200 towns the country had, disappeared, or sank to total insignificance.⁶⁾ Around 1250 the district of Pistoia in Tuscany had 30.000 inhabitants. In 1340 this had sunk to 24.000, and in the year 1400 to less than 14.000.⁷⁾ We should remember that, due to preservation of a multitude of very complete records from the High Middle Ages onward, the population history of Tuscany (Northern Italy, belongs to the best known in Europe.⁷⁾ It could be added also that shortly after the year 1300 populations all over Europe started to decline. This process was much hastened, but not caused, by the Black Death, endemic since 1348. The decline led to mass-desertion of settlements. Especially in mountainous upland districts with limited means of existence. The average loss of settlements in Central and Eastern Germany, for example, was well over 40 %. In the unfertile Northern Thüringen the loss of settlements went up as high as 83 % of all settlements. With 30-35 % lost settlements in 15th century Bulgaria north of the Balkan Mountains (as the 1479 register suggests) the country cuts a good European average. Districts like the plateau of Tozluk/Ala Kilise (the Bebovo - Omurtag regions of today), or the northern half of the old Kazas of Şumnu and Pravadi/Provadija seem to have resembled more the situation in Thüringen. It should be added that for archaeologists, to distinguish between a potsherd from 1350 or 1390 is almost impossible. With this thoughts in mind we can now embark on a general overview of the development of three adjacent historical territories.

The Kaza of Pravadi, 1516 - 1873.

Working back in time and starting from the Late-Ottoman period, 1873, we see that the Kaza of Pravadi included 82 villages and the small town itself. 62 of the 82 villages had Turkish names and another two had Slavic names but Muslim inhabitants (Ayazma and Gan'ovo). In 25 of the 62 villages with Turkish names many Christians lived. Besides that there was one village with a good Turkish name (Dereköy, just north of Pravadi town) but exclusively inhabited by Christians.

Next to them and largely concentrated in the middle part of the Kaza, around the town, were 8 villages with Old Bulgarian names. Only three of them (Çerkovna, Nenova and Ravna) had only Christian inhabitants. Muslims exclusively inhabited one village with a very good Christian-Bulgarian name, Manastir. The other places were fifty-fifty Muslim-Christian. All this information was transposed to a map of the Kaza, with the two communities and the two kinds of placenames shown in different colours. Green is the colour of Islam and gives no problems to remember. Red is blood of Christ, with which, according to the central tenet of the Christian religion our sins are washed away.

In 1873 as a whole the Kaza of Pravadi contained 4.890 households. 3.826 were Muslims, making up 78 % of the total, of which 9 % was urban and 91% rural. As the source (Salname-i Vilayet-i Tuna of 1290 / 1873, p. 286-293) also gives the total number of male inhabitants we can reconstruct the total population as ranging around 19.000 Muslims and 8.300 Christians, or a population which for 70 % was Muslim. The difference between the percentages when counted over the household numbers, or over the nüfus numbers reflects the much larger family size of the Bulgarians, 5 individuals per households among the Muslims, 7,7 for the Bulgarian household. Many 19th century travellers also comment upon the difference in family size among the two communities.

The examples of toponyms and their meaning as given above will be enough as a warning not to rely exclusively on place names to find out about historical populations. Yet, where the place name is Slavic and the population Christian the chance is very big that the place survives from the Bulgarian Middle Ages onward. The picture the Kaza of Pravadi gives suggests that it is the product of a long process of changes. In order to find out more we have to look in the oldest preserved Ottoman register. As opposed to the long lists of villages that were monastic property in medieval, pre-Ottoman, Serbia, Bulgaria has nothing. As said for the sandjak of Silistra, to which Pravadi belonged the oldest register is from 1516. This register itself is not preserved but its content was used to make the 1530 Mühasebe Defter of Rumeli, T.D. 370, which was recently published. On several occasions it copies sultanic order, writing "Our Sultan Selim Khan." Selim ruled between 1512 and 1520 and a number of

tahrirs of Ottoman provinces in the eastern half of the Balkans have been preserved, made in the year 1516/17. We would therefore do well to use the data of T.D. 370 as actually being from 1516. For the adjacent sandjak of Nikopol about half the mufassal tahrir of 1516 is preserved, giving the same data as T.D. 370 does for the same villages. Only the names of those who had the usufruct of these settlements have been brought up to the level of 1530.

In 1516 the Kaza of Pravadi was much larger than in the 19th century. In the east some villages later belonging to the Kaza of Varna, were in Pravadi. In the west the entire Kaza of Yeni Pazar/Novi Pazar belonged to Pravadi. Novi Pazar, as its name says, is a new settlement and in the 16th century did not exist.

In 1516 the entire great old Kaza of Pravadi, very probably following the borders of the ancient Byzantino-Bulgarian bishopric of Provaton, contained one small town and 123 villages. Fourteen villages had only Christian inhabitants. One of them had a Turkish name (Dereköy), the 13 others had Bulgarian names. The 1516 data do show that at least three villages that in 1873 were partly or wholly inhabited by Muslims, and had a Turkish or Turkish looking place name were in fact from origin good Old Bulgarian settlements. The largest was $\frac{1}{4}$ arvenitsa, which since the 17th century became known as Kadıköy. The 1516 register, and that of 1597, use both names. Later the old name fell in disuse. The same pertains to Dobrina, which later became known as Dizdarköy but kept a sizeable amount of Christians. Interesting is also the name of the old village of Petriç, a medieval Bulgarian castle, destroyed by the Crusaders of "Varna" 1444. The Ottoman called it Ak Viran, or White Ruin." The castle was built of the fine-grained whitish limestone so abundant on the north Bulgarian plateau land. The simple fact that the Muslim-Turkish population called Petriç "White Ruin" means that they settled in the area after 1444.

The settlement pattern of the Kaza of Pravadi within its borders of the 19th century (as shown on our maps) shows that the old Bulgarian villages constituted a belt running from north-west to south-east, occupying the plateau and the foothills of the Balkan Chain. To the south of the old villages was a band of Muslim-Turkish villages, largely called after their founders (Asıl Bey, Oruç Gazi, Sultanlar, Suluca Ali. etc.). Most of the Muslim villages were very small. The Christian villages, on the other hand, were much bigger.

In the northern half of the Kaza we see a very different pattern. Here are a few dozen small villages with Turkish names and a Muslim population and no Christian soul at all. The area is in fact the south-eastern extremity of the Deli Orman, touching the area, which historically was called Dobrudja, although these popular landscape names have no clear defined borders. The Muslim population of almost all villages in the northern half of the Kaza has the remark that they were of *sürgün* origin, deportees, most likely from Anatolia. Only a few Muslim villages in the south of the Kaza had the same remark. Most of the settlers of the other places seem to have come on their own account and did not enjoy any privilege.

T.D. 370 contains on p. 436 one very important descriptive note about the population of the Kaza of Pravadi: Ziamet of the Deportees (*sürgünan*), also known as "They Came." The mentioned group (*ta'ife*) came before this time as deportees from Anatolia to the Dobrudja." Then their tax duties are mentioned: 12 akçe *resm-i çift* (instead of the normal 22) was taken from those who had a full çift, 6 Akçe from those who had less than a full farm. They were fully exonerated from the extra-ordinary duties and contributions (*avârız* and *tekâlif*). In all there were 1025 households of married deportees and 560 unmarried young men. Their status of *sürgün* or their descendents was also described in the previous register (which is not preserved) and they had in their hands order (*hükm*) from the Sultans of the past (*Selâtin-i Maziye*) and from "our Padişah Sultan Süleyman" As the plural is used to describe the previous Sultans we have at least to do with Selim I (1512-1520) and Bayezid II (1481-1512) and probably also with Mehmed the Conqueror (1451-1481). We could also think of Murad II, about whom a note in the Codex Hanivaldanus (contained in Leunclavius) remarks that in the mid 15th century groups of Turks were sent to "Silistra and Shoumen." This is exactly the land called Dobrudja and Deli Orman. There, according to the same note, they received land to settle and served as the vanguard (*Akıncıs* the Ottoman army. 8) If this is correct then we can explain the settlement of the *sürgüns* and Yürüks as a measure to re-populate a country which has suffered extensive devastation by the Crusader's army of 1444. It can at the same time be explained as a measure to re-settle a land that had suffered from the severe depopulation due to the crisis of the 14th century, in analogy with the thousands of lost villages in West- and Central Europe. As the oldest Ottoman records for Pravadi are too far away from 1444 we cannot be certain and only guess. That the many villages with Turkish names and Muslim inhabitants mark the site old Bulgarian villages destroyed and exterminated during the Ottoman conquest, is upheld by historians like Christo Gandev and Bistra Cvetkova is little likely. Little likely precisely because the early Ottomans were very insensitive for place names not of their own. Whenever they found an existing name, surviving in local Christian memory, they used it. Extreme examples of this attitude are places like "Bulgarene" in the Shoumen area, wholly inhabited by Muslim-Turkish newcomers, or the several villages called "Çerkovna" or Çarkvişte (Church Place).

It is important to see that in the early part of the Ottoman period places with Slavic names had exclusively Christian inhabitants. During the first 150 years after the Crusade of Varna no Muslims settled there, or were settled on government order. Likewise places with Turkish names and Muslim inhabitants remained till the end of the 16th century wholly Muslim. During the Pax Ottomanica both communities remained among themselves. The mixed situation shown in the 19th century is evidently the product of later developments.

Even a brief look in the mufassal tahrir of the Sandjak of Silistra of 1597 (Ankara, T.K.G.M. No 86) suffice to see that during the long internal peace of the 16th century the population of the Pravadi district had grown tremendously. The number of villages had gone up from 123 to 182, the Muslim households from 1.285 in 1516 to 4.584 in 1597 and that of the Christians from 786 to no less than 3.574. The expansion had mostly taken place in the villages. The town had only grown modestly. A result is that rate of the urban population sank from 15 % in 1516 to 4 % in 1597. The spectacular growth of the Christian part of the population had made that the percentage of Muslims sunk from 62 % in 1516 to 56 % in 1597. As a whole the population had grown from about 10.400 individuals to 43.000. We have here evidently the effect of recuperation after all the wars and destruction of the past. Pre-industrial populations under favourable circumstances are known to have to potential to double their number in 30 - 35 years. **9)** In the 81 years between 1516 and 1597 the Muslims almost doubled twice, the Christians had even grown faster. We can also to think of a continuous immigration of colonists from Anatolia and from the settlement of Bulgarians from mountainous areas further west. But all this is only theory. A look at the later tahrirs and late 19th and early 20th century Bulgarian censuses shows that never again this late 16th century level was reached. The land was evidently over populated.

In the 17th century the history of population and settlement of the town and the villages of Pravadi took a radical twist in the other direction. In the first half of the 17th century a new Kaza was formed of the western part of the old Kaza of Pravadi. Forty or so villages were to form the new Kaza. Dozens of ill-sited small new villages of the 16th century were given up as result of the general decline of the population. In 1642 the much smaller Kaza of Pravadi had only 84 villages left, with a population far below the 1597 level. We now see 2.132 Muslim households and only 1.061 Christian households. Because of the sharper decline of the Christians the percentage of Muslims had gone up from 56 % in 1597 to 67 % in 1642. Here a more rapid Islamization also played a role. In 1597 the Muslim population of the town and the 11 old Bulgarian villages was for 24 % of recent convert origin, in 1642 no less than 40 % . The decline of the Christians may partly be a result of emigration to other towns. In the 17th century the towns of Shoumen and Varna had grown remarkably. In spite of its small size the town of Pravadi made quite an impression on the travellers of the 17th century. David of Oswiechiem mentions a lively trade and grand buildings for the merchants. Bishop Bakçic in 1640 mentions a community of merchants of the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik, who had a wooden church and a community of 69 people. The Bulgarian Orthodox ("schismatics") had a church and numbered 50 houses with a total of 300 souls (the 1642 Ottoman register has also 50 households of Christians). The number of "Turkish" houses as given by the Bishop is impossibly high and only reflects to impression they made on them. Bakçic gives "2000 houses with 10.000 souls," the defter of two years later has only 280 households! The bishop further remarks that the town possessed six mosques, all built of white stone and covered with lead. His remark that the Ragusan merchant community tried to rebuilt its church in stone but this was prevented by the Turks in 1636, who in the same year also ruined the Bulgarian church, does not point to harmonious living together of the various communities. **10)** It has to be added, however, that Pravadi since the first half of the 17th century also had an Armenian community, who had a small but well built and richly adorned church of their own. It went down during the Russian invasion of 1828. Its foundations were excavated in the 1960, showing i.a. colourful tiles from Kütahya. **10)** The village of Dobrina/Dizdarköy five km east of Pravadi may be mentioned as another indicator of what happened in the 17th century. In 1642 is registered as having 13 Muslim and 192 Christian households. In 1677 the Polish traveller Jan Gninsky called it a little town, a centre of developed crafts and adorned with beautiful fountains. **11)** In the spring of 1689 the inhabitants of Dobrina and the nearby Arnautköy rose in revolt against the local Ottoman authorities. This coincided with the great military successes of the Habsburg armies, who had taken Belgrade, Ni² and Skopje and occupied the Bulgarian provincial capitals of Vidin on the Danube and Kyustendil near Sofia. The revolt was subdued. How we don't know. **12)** Dobrina/Dizdarköy, however, never regained its former importance. In 1751 it had only 82 households and in 1873 even less.

The mufassal Avariz register of 1751 shows further deep decline of population. The number of villages remained almost stable (57) but the population had lost further in number, the Muslims a third, the Christians half. This was not due to Islamization, which only stood at 5 % of the entire Muslim community (40 % in 162). Christians must have moved out and converting to Islam became less attractive. Among the reasons why in the troubled 17th century the Christians of the Kaza of Pravadi declined so sharply may be the fact that they were hardly able to defend themselves. Whereas in 1642 the Christian population of the Kaza of Shoumen constitut-

ed for 27 % of para-military men (voynuks, derbenci, etc. all armed), the Pravadi Christians contained only 2 % of para-military men.

After the mid-18th century the Pravadi population must again have grown considerable. This grown was partly annulled by the disastrous Russian-Turkish war of 1877/78, which to the destruction of the town of Pravadi and the disappearance of many villages. In 1833 the later famous Fieldmarschall Helmuth von Moltke still saw everywhere in the Pravadi area the overgrown ruins of destroyed Turkish villages. In 1845, according to the Temettüat registers of the Kaza of Pravadi, which are made with the utmost care and precision, there were now 70 villages in the Pravadi district. In spite of the destructive invasion of '27/'28 the population had gone up vigorously. The Pravadi Christians had doubled their numbers; the Muslims had even grown two and a half times the number of 1751, which stands out as the absolute deepest point. Through this increase the Muslims now constituted 75 % of the kaza's population.

The Salname of the Tuna Vilayet of 1873 gives the last picture of the Kaza of Pravadi. Although the population lists in the Salnames sometimes tend to be inaccurate, or flattered a bit, a close comparison with the numbers in the Temettüat registers shows that most information looks trustworthy. Only in a few occasions, at the big cities, the Salname shows more Muslims than the Temettüat makes us to expect. The Salnames were public and contained an element of propaganda. The Temettüat were exclusively for government use. The picture the Salname gives is one of continuous growth for the Muslim community, and a much slower growth for the Christians. This tendency was strengthened by the settlement of Muslim refugees from Russia after the Crimean War. We see three villages, Aziziye, Devnja-i Muhacir and Rahmaniye as new settlement. Together they constituted five percent of the Muslim population. The district, including the town, now had 3.828 Muslim households and 1064 households of non-Muslims. The latter included a small Jewish community in the town it self. With 533 households Pravadi was now bigger than ever before, but its rural population was still far below the peak of 1597. The Muslims now constituted 78 of the total population, higher than ever before. This was soon to be undone by the new Russian War of 1877/78, when untold Muslims died, fled, or emigrated to Anatolia after peace was concluded. Three historical mosques in the town (Çarşı Camii, Mesih Pasha Camii, and Sarı Hüseyin Pasha Camii) still remind us of the continued presence of Islam in Pravadi.

Yeni Pazar (Novi Pazar) and its Nahiye

The small and surveyable Nahiye of Yeni Pazar shows the same ups and downs as the Kaza of Pravadi. The southern half of the Nahiye is table land, intersected by deep canyons. This is the area where we find the old Bulgarian villages, seven in number. Among them is Madara with its magnificent Proto Bulgarian relief of the Madara horseman and the "Royal Chronicle" of the pagan Bulgarian Khans. High above the relief, on top of the plateau, are the ruins of a mighty castle from the time of the First Bulgarian Empire. It is mentioned in 1444 among the castles taken and destroyed by the Crusaders. The "Gazavat-i Sultan Murad Han" adds that the local population had fled to Pravadi. Madara seems from the outset to have received a group of Turkish colonists. In 1516 half the population was Muslim, of Yürük origin. The six other Christian-Bulgarian villages were purely Christian. Markovo and Külevça, with over 50 households each, were the largest. In Madara, in the castle and in the village below it, ruins of medieval churches are still to be seen today. Around Kalogeritsa (Monks' Place) are several grotto churches to be seen, reminders of the Christian past of this district.

In 1516, disregarding the small Muslim village of Kerimuddin in the south the territory of the Nahiye had 17 villages with Turkish names and Muslim inhabitants. With an average of nine households per village they were very small. The Bulgarian villages were more than four times bigger. Most of the Turkish villages had the remark behind their names that they were of sürgün origin. One of the northernmost villages had the curious Old Bulgarian name of Hirsovo Pınarı, with the Turkish for "source" attached to it. In the registers of the 17th century onward only Hirsovo is used. The village was and remained wholly Muslim Turkish throughout the Ottoman period. The fact that most of the villages in the northern half of the territory were of sürgün origin suggests a government action to settle this open, flat and empty land. In it lay the vast ruins of the first capital of the pagan and early Christian Bulgarian Empire, Pliska. A group of Yürüks settled within the huge rampart and called their village Ahi Baba, pointing to a village founded who was member of the Ahi brotherhood. In later time the name Ahi Baba was corrupted into Ak Baba, and in the 19th century to Aboba, conform the local pronunciation of the work "Baba." The village of Söğütlü, just outside the rampart of Pliska, had the remark that it was in the area of "Eski İstambuluk" the name the settlers gave to the impressive ruins, which they evidently did not understand. Pliska was deserted around the year 1000 and evidently there was nobody left of the pre-Ottoman population to hand down the old name. This in marked contrast to old Bulgaria's second capital, Preslav, which survived as a village and in the first defters, is registered with than name. Only at a later stage it was also called Eski

Istanbuluk and Preslav was dropped in official usage, although remembered locally and passed on to later traveller (Bongarsius, 1585, Bakçic 1640, etc.).

In 1516 the Yeni Pazar area was still entirely rural. The town of "New Market" did not yet exist. The area was still very much under populated. It had 179 households of Muslims and 266 of Christians. This might be a total population of 2.300 souls in a district of 800 square kilometres, or less than three individuals per square km. The Muslim population amounted to 40 % of the whole.

The register of 1598 a rather different picture. A small town, predominantly Christian, had come into being and the total population had tripled. Instead of seven there were now eight Christian villages. Kilnovo in the far south of the territory had come into being and is explicitly mentioned as a new place. Yeni Pazar had the same remark. Both settlements must have come into being after the great new survey under Selim II, 1568/70. Especially the villages of Külevca and Markovo had grown and expanded but also show the beginning of a slow process of Islamization. The village of Mogila was already for 15 % Muslim, almost all local converts. The Muslim Turkish villages had jumped up from 17% to 24%. Whereas the Christians had grown almost two and a half times in the 81 years between the two preserved registers the Muslims had grown almost five times. Even for the Pax Ottomanica this is too much for natural growth and may partially be explained as the result of more immigration from Anatolia. We saw the same in the districts of Razgrad and of Osman Pazar, which we studied previously. Especially the cruel Kalender Şah revolt (1527) and its harsh repression must have induced many to settle in the peaceful Rumeli. Be this as it may in 1597 the Muslim had grown from 179 households to 861 and the Christians from 266 to 605. Altogether there were now 1466 households, or maybe 7.300 inhabitants, giving nine to 10 individuals per square km.

The Avariz Defter of 1642 shows a curious twist in the population- and settlement history of the Yeni Pazar district. Instead of declining, as Pravadi did, it continued to grow. The Muslims rose from 861 to 1.210 households, but the Christians sunk from 605 to 396 households. Here conversion played an important role. In 1642, in the Old Bulgarian villages, the new converts made up 25 % of the all Muslims. The expansion is also made visible by the number of villages in the district, which rose from 24% in 1597 to 36% in 1642. The new settlement of Yeni Pazar, in 1597 still rather small, now had developed into a real town and with 211 households by far the largest place in the district. It had become the centre of a separate Nahiye of the Kaza of Pravadi and had two Friday Mosques. The Christians, who had still dominated the place in 1597 had either left or had converted to Islam, or had done both. In 1642 Yeni Pazar was purely Muslim.

The detailed Avariz register of 1751 shows the same pattern as the Kaza of Pravadi. The most striking is that the number of villages had declined visibly. From 36 villages of 1642 seven have the remark that they were "empty and in ruins" (hali ve harab). The number of Muslim households had gone down one third if compared with 1642. The Christians were the great losers. They lost half of their former number. Here conversion to Islam must have been the main reason. As much as 80 Muslim households were of convert origin. In the important settlement of Külevça the Muslims constituted 17% of the total population, in 1751 42%. In 1751 in Külevça one third of the Muslims was of recent convert origin (16 of the 51 households). At the same time this village was about the only old Christian village that had actually grown noticeable.

Another development had taken place in the Nahiye of Yeni Pazar. In 1751 three of the original Muslim Turkish villages had received Christian inhabitants. Kerimuddin had entirely become Christian. Çoban had next to its 13 Muslim households seven households of Christians. Yunusköy had next to it 23 Muslim households now five households of Christians. Both communities must have got well along with each other. Otherwise the Muslims would have remained among themselves and not allowed the others to settle among them. The same happened in the little town of Yeni Pazar, which in 1751 was for one tenth Christian. This trend would go on in the 19th century. In 1873 the town was almost a third Christian. Today a considerable part of the town's population still is Muslim and Turkish speaking. The last historical mosque was torn down in the 1979s. In this same repressive period the Ottoman inscription of the town's Clock Tower was removed as to do away with the last visible traces of its Ottoman past.

During the Russian-Turkish War of 1827/28 the area of Yeni Pazar, where the Battle of Külevçe took place, suffered heavily. A register of the poll tax of 1830 shows, however, that at least the old Christian population had remained in place and kept their numbers. The numbers as contained in the Temettuat defters of 1845 show that both parts of the Yeni Pazar population had suffered from the war, but were on the road to recover. Between 1751 and 1845 they grew at a much lesser speed than in other district. The great district of Shoumen, for example. In the years between 1845 and 1873 the Christians more than doubled their numbers, the Muslims had grown too, but less fast, a result of their smaller family size. The numbers of 1830, 1845 and 1873 also show that a tendency of a slow re-Christianisation begins to manifest it self. In 1845 and 1873 the village of Çoban was predominantly Christian. By 1873 Voyvodeköy and Yunusköy had a sizeable Christian minority and the Old Bulgarian village of Mogila, in 1751 wholly Muslim, had in 1873 a growing number of Christians. Throughout the centuries

the village of Kosovo had remained exclusively Christian. Madara, however, remained entirely Muslim. The details given about should at least allow us to conclude that of a planned and pre-meditated "assimilation policy" of the Ottoman authorities no trace can be found, however dear this theme was and still is to many Bulgarians historians and laymen. Partial Islamization yes, but as an independent process, was stretching out over centuries. The question of the date when the Turkish colonisation of vast stretches of the Pravadi and Yeni Pazar area took place cannot be answered with help of the data at our disposal. Here we have look and the adjacent Shoumen district, much larger and with a population three times higher than Pravadi. There (Shoumen) we have much older Ottoman records, which bring us to half a century deeper in time, only 35 years after the Crusade of Varna and its grave consequences for population- and settlement history of northern Bulgaria.

It should be added that the village of Madara, so important for the earliest Bulgarian history, was the place of origin of the Ottoman statesman Şerif Halil Pasha, Deputy Grand Vizier and founder of the largest and most beautiful mosque-complex in Bulgaria, the Tombul Cami of Shoumen, with its college, rich library and school of calligraphy of which numerous works have been preserved, either in books or in inscriptions (the former studied in detail by Tim Stanley). Excavations in the ruins of medieval Madara contain the long history of this area in a nutshell. The oldest coins found are from was minted in 200 B.C. in the Greek colonial town of Odessa (now Varna). Roman coins are well represented, as well as early Byzantine ones till Emperor Maurikios (582-602. Then there is a break of three centuries, reflecting the great turbulence of the Slave invasions and settlement, the time when the culture and the cities of Antiquity disappeared completely. The coins pick up again in the 10th century, with examples of the powerful emperor John Tsimiskis (969-978), the Comneni emperors of the 12th century as well as the Tsars of the Second Bulgarian Empire: Michael Şişman (1323/30), Ivan Alexander (1331/71), Ivan Şişman (1371/93) and a series of Ottoman coins, ending with those of Bayezid II (1481-1512). Thus the coins end where the Ottoman records begin and both complete each other as illustration of the history of this area.¹⁴⁾

The Kaza of Şumnu/Shoumen.

A few words should be said about this great Kaza because it allows us to establish the date in which the Turkish colonisation of northern Bulgaria began.

The district was part of the great Sandjak of Nikopol, which largely follows the borders of the kingdom of Ivan Şişman. The Ottoman records for Nikopol are preserved from 1479 onward. The 1479 register is a large fragment of an *İcmal* defter, giving the village name and total amount of the tax, but not the names of the heads of households and the agricultural production. It is dated by internal evidence. It is preserved in the Sofia National Library and published 1966. ¹⁵⁾ It is closely followed by another large fragment, discovered and published by Rumen Kovačev, and largely contains the settlements not included in 1479 fragment. The second fragment is to be dated by internal evidence in 1485, or a year before or after it. ¹⁶⁾

The next source is MAD 11 from 1516, a partly preserved mufassal defter. The essential information of this census was used for the Muhasebe Defter T.D. 370 of 1530, which is complete, covering all settlements of Nikopol.

We have used the information from the 1479 and 1485 registers as basis for our map of those two years, treating them as one. The Kaza of Şumnu within the administrative borders of the 19th century covers an area of about 25 km from east to west and 85 km from north to south, giving a total surface of about 2.125 square km. The town of Shoumen is in the middle of this area. The 1479/85 documentation shows it surrounded by 10 sizeable villages with Christian inhabitants and Bulgarian names. Further south was the village of Preslav-Eski İstanbulluk and 10 km further to the southwest was the village of Ivanovo, which name was corrupted in Ottoman to Huyvan. The south of the Kaza was almost entirely empty and void of settlement except the large village of Çalık Kavak, guarding the pass over the Balkan Mountains to the plain of Thrace. Çalık Kavak spite of its good Turkish name, was entirely Christian. A note explains that its inhabitants guarded the important pass road against tax facilities and right to bear arms. They had an imperial order issued during the previous registration (of 1479), giving them this status. We may therefore assume that the village was founded on initiative of the local Ottoman authorities according to a well-known procedure.¹⁷⁾ The same story pertains to the large village of Smjadovo, which in 1516 appears as newly founded, with the task to support Çalık Kavak, 12 km to the south-west of it.

The belt of Christian villages around the town of Şumnu is in fact a continuation of the belt of Christian villages from Pravadi, via Yeni Pazar and then via Şumnu westward into the territory of the old capital of Tirnovo. At four districts have south of them a thinly populated mountainous and hill land, settled with a mixture of Muslim-Turkish and Christian-Bulgarian villages.

The most striking aspect of the situation of 1479/85 is the empty northern half of the Kaza. The only thing we find in this huge territory are five very small (less than 10 households) Muslim villages with Turkish names.

The territories north of Şumnu are popularly called the Deli Orman, or more officially; Divâne Orman, both meaning the Mad (or Wild) Forest. In the past this was indeed heavily covered with wood and is a particularly dry area, where life becomes possible only if on drive deep wells into the soil.¹⁸ Besides the five Turkish hamlets there were five other very places and one sizeable village (Cenk Ali, with 47 households of Yürüks) which can be identified more or less as having been situated somewhere in the Kaza of Şumnu within the border of the 19th century. As a whole the land was almost empty.

In total the kaza Şumnu in 1479/85 had 78 settlement. Thirty of them had Bulgarian place names, 48 had Turkish names. The latter were very small, 9 households as an average. The villages with Bulgarian names and Christian inhabitants had an average of 31 households. They are evidently the old settlements, surviving from pre-Ottoman times. The 48 Turkish villages or hamlets had a total of 491 Muslim households, almost all with the addition "Yürük" behind their name. Twenty of the 48 Turkish settlements are not called "village" (karye) but "mezra" a, pointing to semi-permanent settlement with Yürük nomad population in the process to settle down definitely. Seven of the Muslim settlements had Bulgarian place names and point to a re-settlement of deserted medieval Bulgarian villages, whose name was not forgotten by the local population and without reservation used by the newcomers. Zlatar is one of them. It was a mezraa that had become Vakf property of Mevlana Abbas Fakih and was settled with 10 Turkish peasant families. By 1873 it had developed into a prosperous villages of 210 household, still for two thirds Muslim. It is to be noted that the Turkish settlements described in 1479 as mezraa paid very low taxes, 50 - 55 Akçe per household. The old Bulgarian-Christian villages paid 120 - 130 Akçe as an average, further strengthening the idea that they really represent half-sedentary newcomer.

Bulgarian Christianity remained dominant in the Şumnu area. There were 1.010 Christian households, which gives a total population of around the 7.000 souls, of whom only 32 % was Muslim.

The settlement pattern and population as shown by the registers of 1479/85 make it at once clear that this marks the beginning of the Turkish colonisation of Northern Bulgaria. This becomes very clear if we go to look at the situation in 1516.

By 1516 the number of villages of the district under consideration had risen from 77 to 178! Instead of less than 500 Muslim households there were now almost 1.700, or more than three times more than in 1485. In the same time the Christians had nearly doubled their number, from 1.010 to 1.882. 47 percent of the population was now Muslim, largely of Yürük origin.

The *mufassal* register of 1580 does not show great changes. Rather a continuing of the trend set between 1485 and 1516. The number of villages had gone up from 178 to 198, not spectacular. Between 1516 and 1580 the numbers of both religious communities had grown vigorously, the Muslims from 1.697 to 4.342 households, or two and a half times more, the Christians much less fast, from 1.882 to 2.994 households. Here again conversion to Islam played a role, but a minor one. The reason for the rapid increase was the large family size of the Muslims, which we can calculate by computing the number of sons per households. Especially in the 1550 register, which we could only use partly, the number of sons in the Muslim families was very high.

It can be see, too, that the settlement of so many Yürüks had created unrest in the land. The government reacted by giving most Christian village the status of derbend, whereby the inhabitants could arm themselves and defend their property against the mounting numbers of robbers. These derbend villages were sometimes created by the government, as noted before. The great change in the settlement patters in the south of the Kaza was the foundation of the new and large village of Dragojevo, somewhere at the end of the 16th century. The Yürüks were not the only source of changes. The 1516 register has at the villages of Cerence and Novoselo the remark that they had their special status since the attack of the Vlachs. This can only refer to the murderous raid of Vlad the Impaler in 1462, thus well before the Yürüks came to settle. Another factor was the status of Voynuk groups of villagers had. The Voynuks (" the Warriors") were the Christian auxiliaries of the Ottoman army, a survival of the armies of the Bulgarian Tsars who went over into Ottoman service. Especially the large and ever important village of Çenek, also known as Cengâr, or: warlike, fighters, had many of them. As said before, in the mid-17th century more than a quarter of the Christian population of the Kaza of Şumnu had a paramilitary status. In this manner the measures of the Ottoman authorities largely contributed to the survival of Christianity in these lands. This stands straight opposite to the long-cherished theory of an Ottoman "assimilation policy," as noticed before in a different context. The Kaza of Şumnu was to see similar ups and downs as the two other districts discussed here but the exact calculation and comparison has still to be made. This remains a task for the future.

This contribution is primarily intended to provide new information, directly taken from the archives. References to the general works on Ottoman history have therefore been omitted here. The archival materials could be collected during several long terms of research in the Turkish archives, which were made possible by the Netherlands Institute for the

Near Orient (NINO), Leiden; the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (ZWO/NWO) and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), Bonn. I would like to thank the Turkish authorities for granting me permission to work in their archives, and the staff of the BBOA for their relentless and often unbureaucratic help and support.

Editor's note: Due to technical insufficiencies it was not possible to transcribe several Bulgarian letters as they should. We had to improvise and ask for indulgence.

1) Peter Koledarov - Nikolaj Minčev, Promenite v imenata i statuta na seli²tata v Bulgarija 1878-1972, Sofia 1973, p.8/9.

2) For the grotto churches and the old Bulgarian inscriptions see: Antony Handjiyski, Rock Monasteries, Sofia 1985, p. 32/34 (Osmar) and 35/38 Troitsa). Stoyan Maslev, Unstudied Rock Churches in the Kolarov District, in: Izvestija na Arheologic eski Institut, XXVI, Sofia 1963, p. 95-102. Tsvetana Dremsizova - Svetozar Nelčinov, "The Rock Monasteries near Madara," in: Izvestija Ar. Inst. Sofia 1961, XXIV, p. 61-87. Ara Margos, "Srednovekovni skalni manastiri v Provadijsko Defile," in: Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej Varna, XVII (XXXII), 1981, p. 112-118.

3) For the excavations at Shoumen and the numismatics see: Vera Antonov, "Arheološki proučavanja na Šumen-skata krepost (12 - 14 vek)" in: Godišnik na Muzeite ot Severna Bulgarija I, Varna 1975, p. 17-32; V. Antonova, "Čuzdi moneti v paričnija pazar na srednovekoven šumen (13-15 v.) same Godišnik, p. 141-52.

4) See for example Chr. Gandev, Bulgaria 1300 Years, Sofia 1980, especially p. 62/63; idem: Bulgarskata Narodnost prez 15. vek. Demografski i etnografsko Izslevane, Sofia 1973 (also as: The Bulgarian People during the 15th Century, Sofia 1987. See also the critical revue of Stra²imir Dimitrov, "Mezrite i demografskijat kolaps na B_lgarskijat narod prez 15. vek," in: Vekove 1973, No 6, p. 50-65.

5) As works on the general outlines of the population history of Europe we cite only: J.C. Russell, Die Bevölkerung Europas 500 - 1500, in: Carlo M. Cipolla and Knut Borchard (eds.) Die Bevölkerungsgeschichte Europas, München 1971, p. 1-122, esp.25/26; and: Arthur E. Imhof, Einführung in die historische Demographie, München 1977.

For the deserted villages (Wüstung): Wilhelm Abel, Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittlealters, Stuttgart 1955; H. Pohlendt, Die Verbreitung der mittelalterlichen Wüstungen in Deutschland, 1950. The most comprehensive and authoritative overview is the collective work: Villages Déserts et Histoire "Économique, Xle - XVIIIe siècle, École Pratique des Hautes Études, VIe Section, Paris 1965, with detailed studies about deserted villages all over Western and Central Europe and Greece.

6) Compare also: Erich Meuthen, Das 15. Jahrhundert, Oldenbourg Verlag, München 1984, p. 3-26, and the vast literature mentioned there.

7) For the cities of Tuscany see first of all David Herlihy, Medieval Households, Studies in Cultural History, Cambridge Mass. 1985. For a larger background:

D. Herlihy, The Black Death and the Transformation of the West, Cambridge MA - London 1997.

8) Löwenklau Joh. Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum, VI, p. 311, apud Ernst Werner, Die Geburt einer Grossmacht, - Die Osmanen, Wien, Köln Graz 1972, p. 136.

9) For these aspects, and for the general course of Eurean populations through time see especially: K.F. Helleiner, "The Population of Europe from the Black Death to the Eve of the Vital Revolution" in: E.E. Rich (ed) The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, IV, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Cambridge 1967, p.1-95.

C.J. Russell, "Die Bevölkerung Europas, 500 - 1500," in: C.M. Cipolla and Knut Borchardt (eds) Bevölkerungsgeschichte Europas, München 1971, p. 9-58

R.J. Mols, "Population in Europe, 1500-1700," in: C.M. Cipolla (ed) The Fontana Economic History of Europe, The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Glasgow 1974, p. 15-82.

Arthur E. Imhof, Einführung in die historische Demographie, München 1977.

9a) For the various view on the motives that made people to convert to Islam see for example: Nehemia Levtzion, "Toward a comparative study of Islamization," in: Levtzion (ed.) Conversion to Islam, New York - London 1979. For a more direct link with the Balkans see the recent work of Anton Minkov, Conversion to Islam in the Balkans, Kisev-Bahas Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670- 1730, Leiden-Boston (Brill) 2004.

10) The account of Bishop Peter Bogdan Bakčic was published by Eusebius Fermezdziu, Acta Bulgariae Ecclesiastica, 1565 - 1799. at the Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium, Zagrabiae 1887. Pravadi at p. 76-77.

11) For details about the Armenian colony in Pravadi and the excavation of its church see: Ara Margos, "Arheoloģeski razkopki na armenskta tsārka Sv. Stepanos v grad Provadija," in" Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej Varna, XII (XXVII), 1973, p. 137-139. More in detail: A. Margos, "The old Armenian Colony and church of Provadija" in: Etsmiazdin III, 3, 1963, p. 58-63 (in Armenian).

12) Gninsky in Bulgarian translation of Georgi Parvev, Polski putepis za Bulgarskite zemi ot 1677," in: Izvestija Bulg. Istoriceško Druzestvo XXVIII, Sofia 1972, p. 355/56.3

13) About this uprising and the Sultanic ferman of Süleyman II (1687-1691) concerning the measures to be taken see: Ara Margos, Buntovničeski deistvija sreštu Turskata feodalna vlast v Provadijsko I Razgradsko prez vtorata polovina na XVII vek," in: Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej Varna, X/XXV, 1974, p. 326/331.

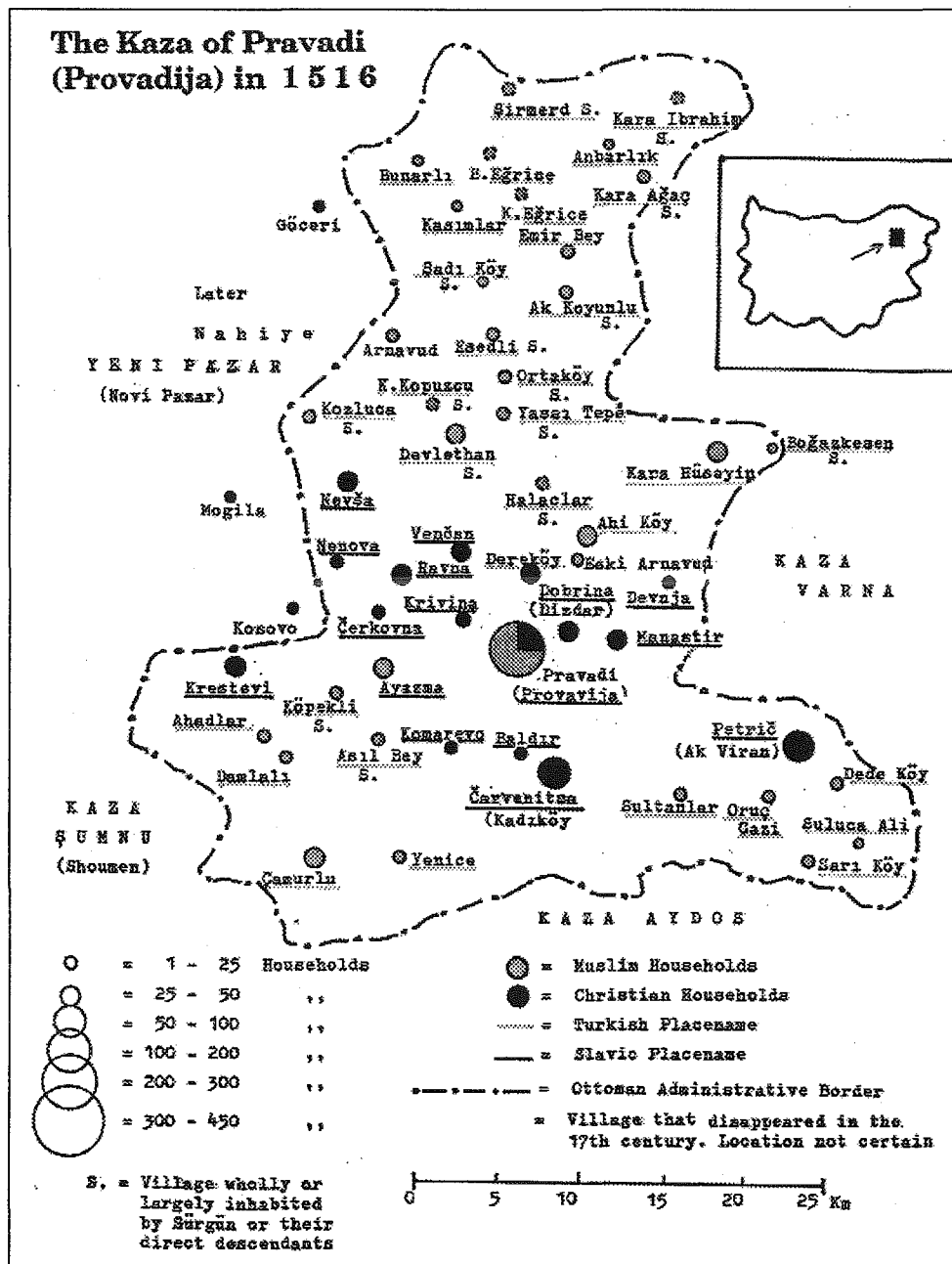
14) For more details on the pre-Ottoman history of Madara see: Ivan Velkov, "Madara," in: Veselin Beşevliev - Johannes Irmischer, Antike und Mittelalter in Bulgarien, Berlin 1960, p.265-271, with rich bibliography.

15) This highly important register of 1479 has been published in original text and Bulgarian translation by Nikolaj Todorov and Boris Nedkov as Turski Izvori za Bulgarskata Istoriya II, Sofia 1966. It was later correctly dated in 1479 by Strašimir Dimitrov.

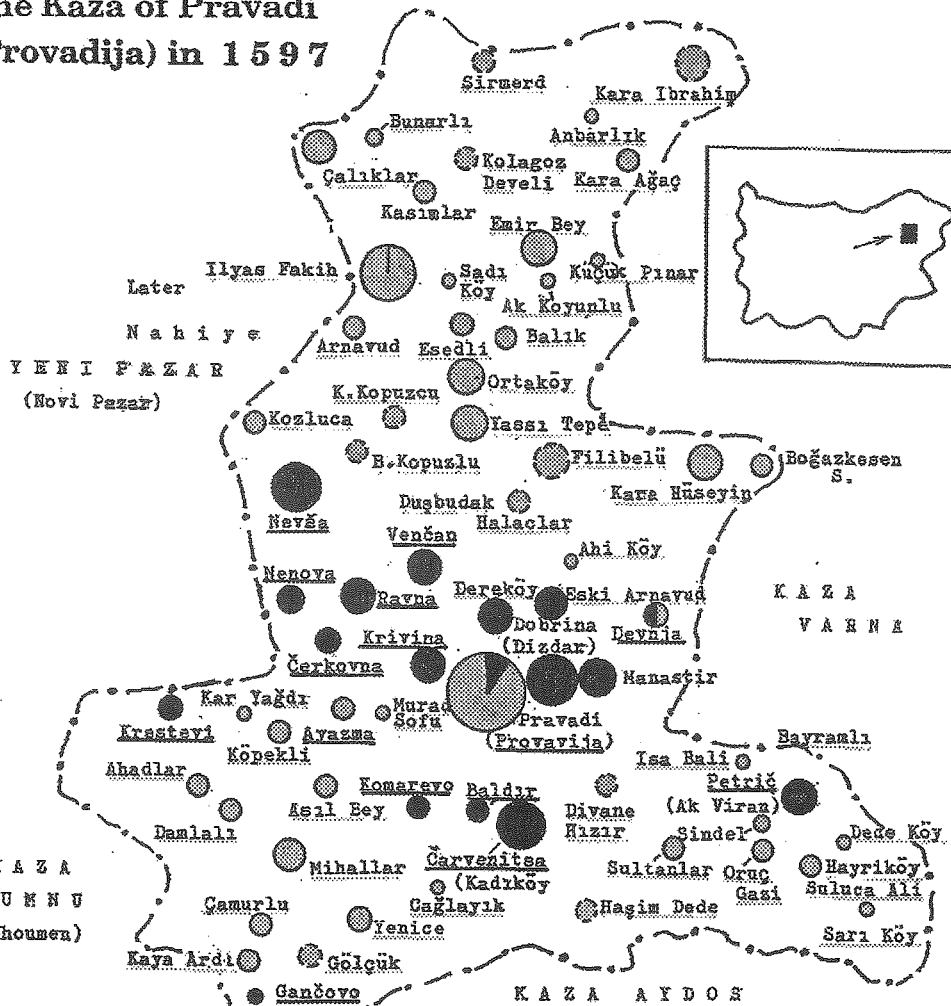
16) This likewise very important source was published by Rumen Kovačev as: Opis na Nikopolskija Sandzak ot 80.te Godini na XV Vek. Sofia 1997.

17) For extensive documentation of how a new derbenci village (later the town of Trjavna) was founded see my: "Zur Gründung und Frühgeschichte der Stadt Trjavna in Bulgarien. Unbenützte osmanische administrative Quellen aus den Archiven von Istanbul, Ankara und Sofia über Gründung und Entwicklung Trjavnas 1565-1702. Ein Beitrag zur Entmythologisierung der Geschichte Bulgariens." in: Münchner Zeitschrift für Balkankunde, 7-8, München 1991, 5.191-218. For more, and other details see: Cengiz Orhonlu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Derbend Te kilat , Istanbul 1967, or the article "Derbend" in T.D.V. Islâm Ansiklopedisi, 9, 1994, p.162-164.

18) The best introduction to these aspects is perhaps W. Stubenrauch, Kulturgeographie des Deli Orman, Berlin 1933. For a survey of the Ottoman history of the area see the article "Deliorman" in the T.D.V. Islâm Ansiklopedisi, 9, Istanbul 1993, p. 141 -144, with rich bibliography.



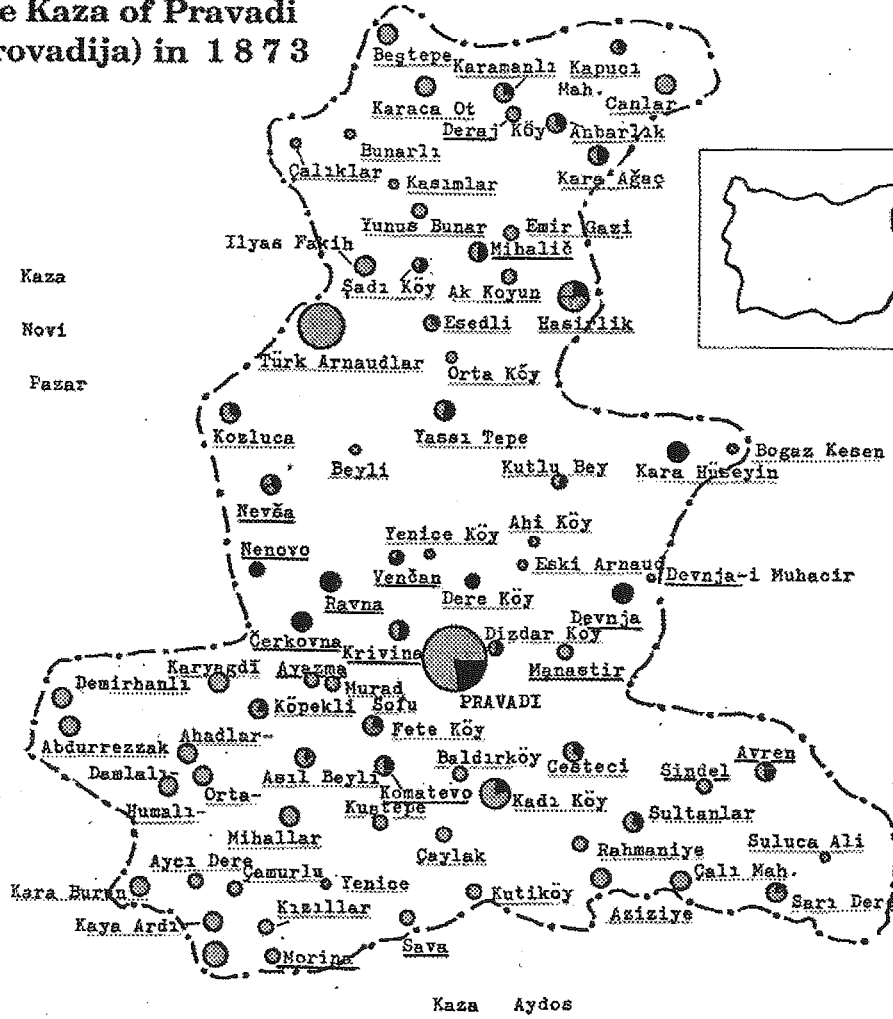
The Kaza of Pravadi (Provadija) in 1597



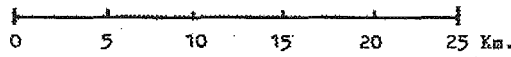
- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|-----------|--|
| ○ | = 1 - 25 Households | ● | = Muslim Households |
| ○ | = 25 - 50 " | ● | = Christian Households |
| ○ | = 50 - 100 " | — | = Turkish Placename |
| ○ | = 100 - 200 " | — | = Slavic Placename |
| ○ | = 200 - 300 " | — · — · — | = Ottoman Administrative Border |
| ○ | = 300 - 450 " | ○ | = Village that disappeared in the 17th century. Location not certain |



The Kaza of Pravadi (Provadija) in 1873



- = 1 - 25 Households
- = 25 - 50 "
- = 50 - 100 "
- = 100 - 150 "
- = 150 - 250 "
- = Slavic Placename
- = Turkish Placename
- = Ottoman Administrative Border in 1873
- = Muslim Inhabitants
- = Christian "



The Nahiye of Yeni Pazar
(Novi Pazar) in 1516

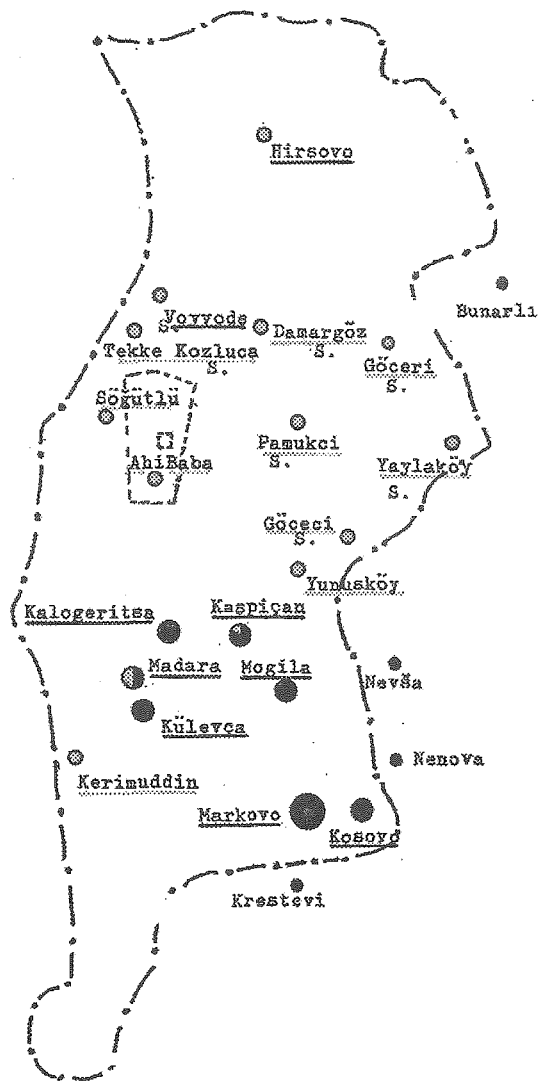
- = 1 - 25 Households
- = 25 - 50 "
- = 50 - 100 "
- = 100 - 200 "
- = 200 - 300 "

- = Slavic Placename
- = Turkish Placename
- - - - = Ottoman Administrative Border in 1873

- = Christian Households
- ⊙ = Muslim Households

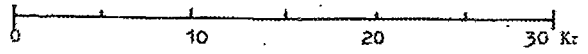
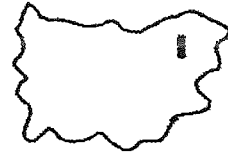
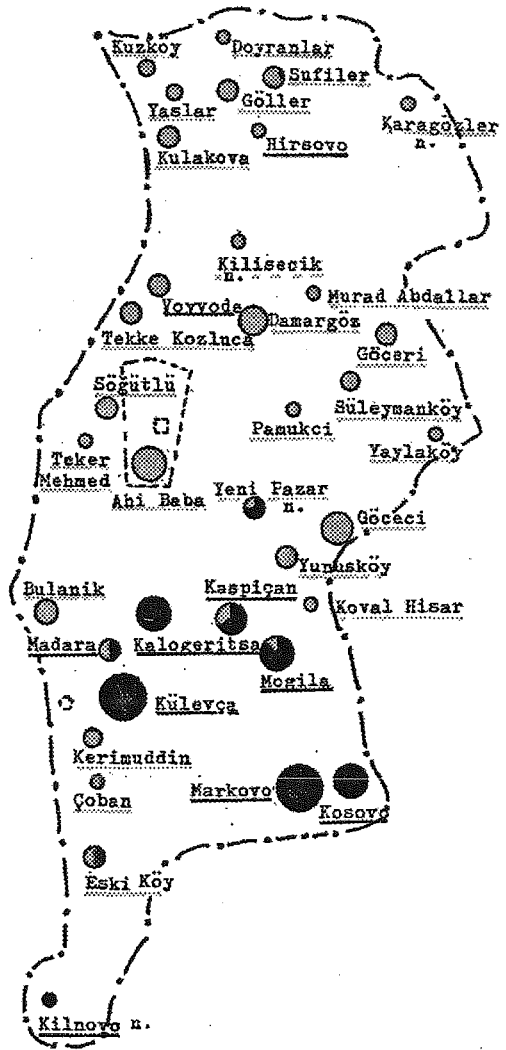
- - - - = Walls of the Proto Bulgar capital of Pliska

S. = Village wholly or largely inhabited by 'Sürgünan' or their direct descendants.

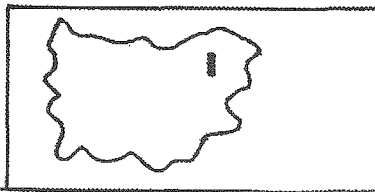
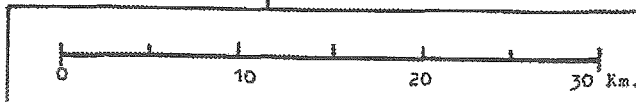
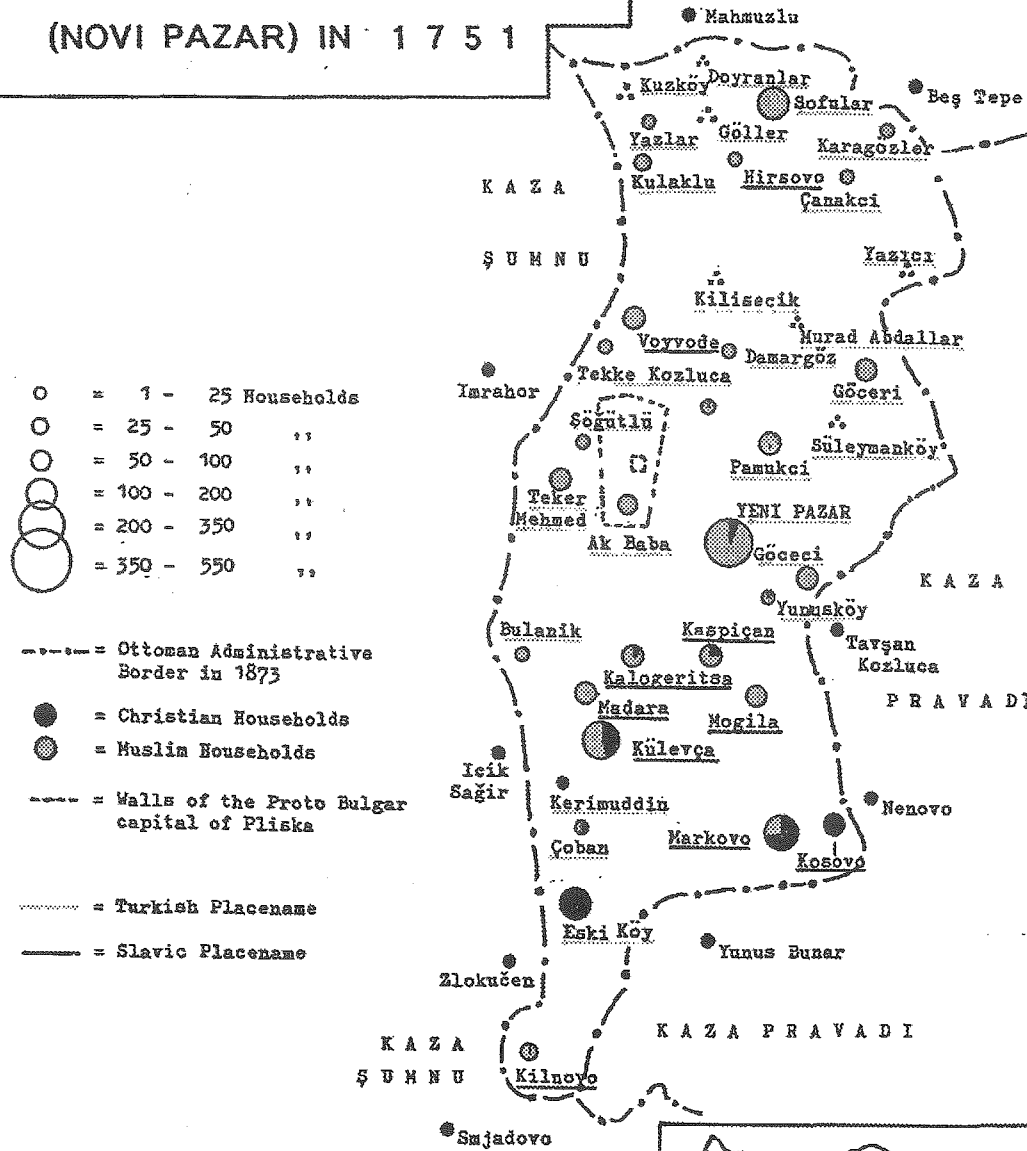


**The Nahiye of Yeni Pazar
(Novi Pazar) in 1597**

- = 1 - 25 Households
- = 25 - 50 "
- = 50 - 100 "
- = 100 - 200 "
- = 200 - 300 "
- = Slavic Placename
- = Turkish Placename
- - - - = Ottoman Administrative Border in 1873
- = Christian Households
- = Muslim Households
- - - - = Walls of the Proto Bulgar capital of Pliska
- n. = Explicitly mentioned as new villages

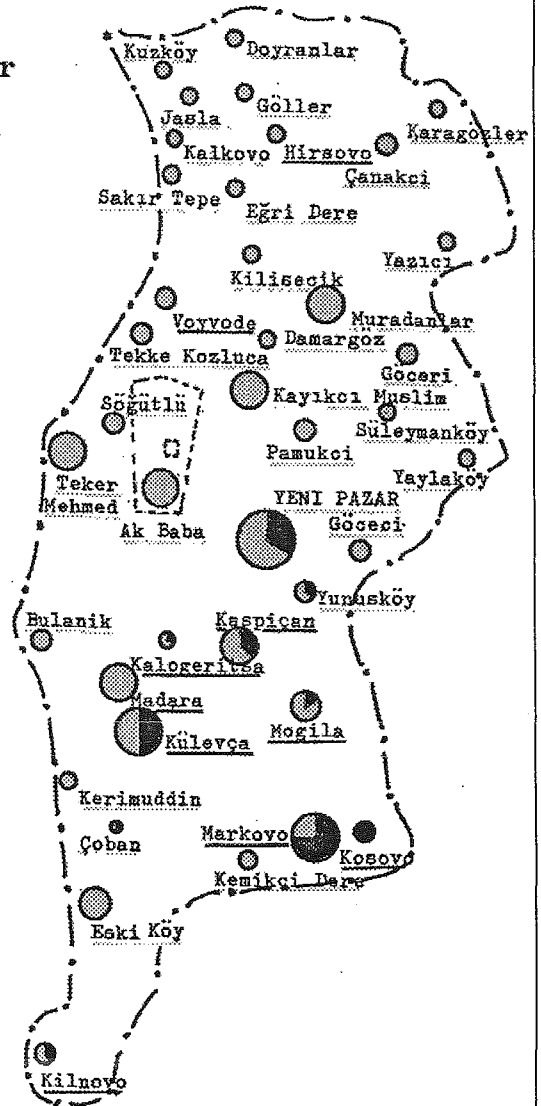


THE NAHIYE OF YENI PAZAR (NOVI PAZAR) IN 1751



The Nahiye of Yeni Pazar (Novi Pazar) in 1873

- = 1 - 25 Households
- = 25 - 50 "
- = 50 - 100 "
- = 100 - 200 "
- = 200 - 300 "
- = Slavic Placename
- - - = Turkish Placename
- - - - = Ottoman Administrative Border in 1873
- = Christian Households
- = Muslim Households
- - - - = Walls of the Proto Bulgar capital of Pliska



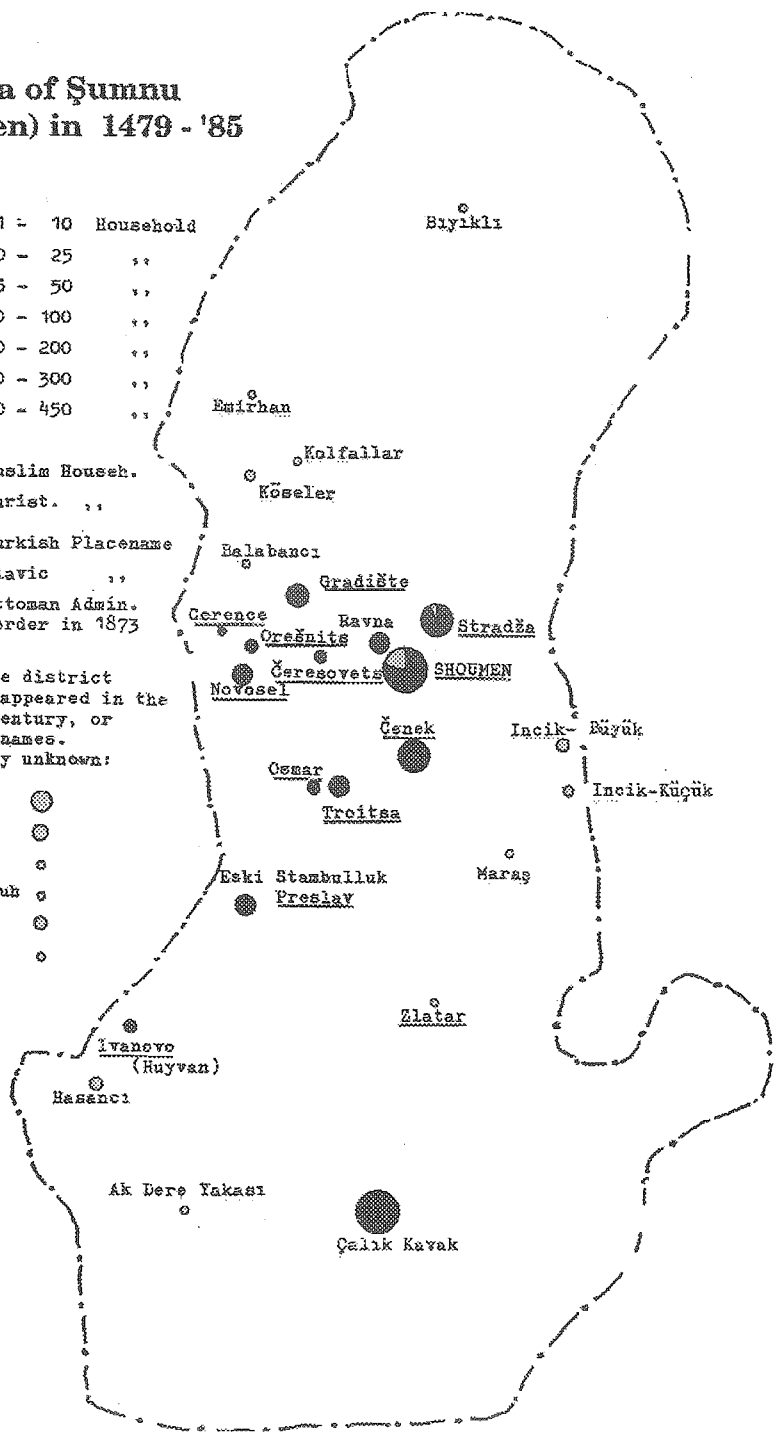
0 10 20 30

The Kaza of Şumnu (Shoumen) in 1479 - '85

- = 1 - 10 Household
- = 10 - 25 "
- = 25 - 50 "
- = 50 - 100 "
- = 100 - 200 "
- = 200 - 300 "
- = 300 - 450 "
- = Muslim Househ.
- = Christ. "
- = Turkish Placename
- = Slavic "
- - - - - = Ottoman Admin. border in 1873

Villages in the district which have disappeared in the 16th or 17th century, or changed their names.
Location wholly unknown:

- Cenk Ali
- Devlethan
- Hoca Ömer
- Karaca Nasuh
- Sindel
- Visok

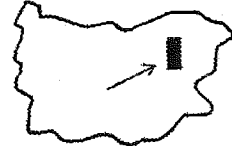


The Kaza of Şumnu (Shoumen) in 1516

- = 1 - 10 Households
- = 10 - 25 "
- = 25 - 50 "
- = 50 - 100 "
- = 100 - 200 "
- = 200 - 300 "

--- = Ottoman administrative border as it was in 1873

- = Muslim Households
- = Christian Househ.
- = Slavic Placename
- = Turkish "

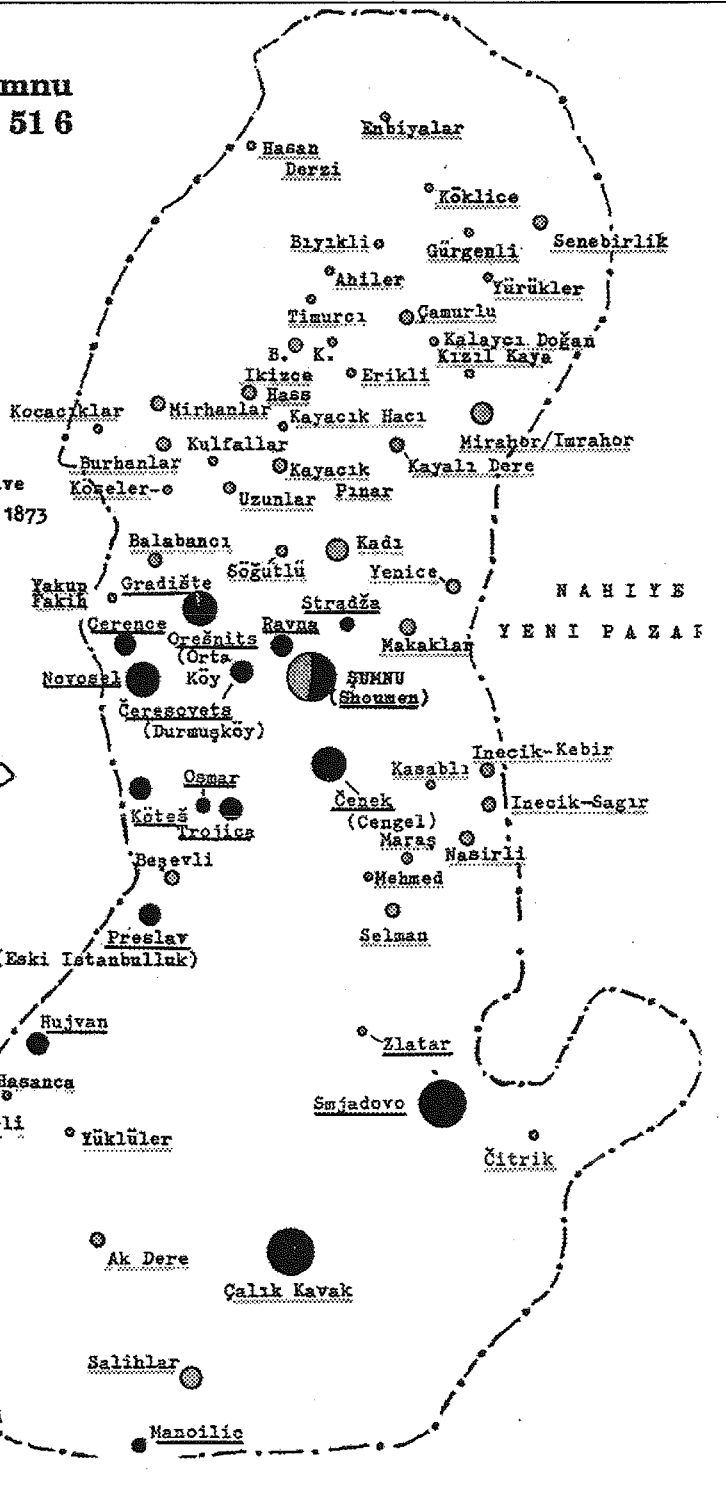


KAZA OF
GERILOVA
(Gerlovo)

Villages that
later disappeared
Location wholly
unknown:

- Beyli Hacı ●
- Ferhadlar ●
- Gedik Çakır ●
- Kara Ağaç ●
- Seydi Oğulları ●

0 5 10 15 km



Kaza of Pravadi Outlines of Development

Date	Villages	Towns	Musl. Househ.	Christ. Househ.	Perc. Urban	Percent Muslims
1516	123	1	1.285	786	15 %	62 %
1597	182	1	4.584	3.574	4 %	56 %

1630/40 47 settlements added to the new Kaza of Yeni Pazar.
Many ill-sited villages disappeared.

1642	84	1	2.131	1.061	10 %	67 %
1751	57	1	1.091	462	21 %	70 %
1845	70	1	2.848	944	8 %	75 %
1873	82	1	3.826	1.064	9 %	78 %

Research and desing by M.K. '05

The Originally Bulgarian Christian Settlements of the Kaza of Pravadi 1516 - 1873

	1516		1597		1641		1751		1844		1873	
	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.
Carvenitsa	0	61	0	168	25	70	40	20	72	17	92	22
Cerkovna	0	17	0	50	0	48	3	37	0	44	0	67
Dobrina	0	38	0	376	13	192	23	59	28	12	18	17
Komarevo	0	17	2	44	13	15	18	5	15	41	41	50
Krivina	0	25	10	45	21	38	5	44	12	30	30	25
Manastir	0	46	10	92	12	12	10	10	42	6	42	0
Nenova	0	23	3	48	13	(35)	4	52	0	11	0	28
Nevsa	0	43	6	112	25	(35)	20	30	88	10	70	30
Petric	0	75	2	98	36	40	27	0	18	60	32	26
Ravna	0	30	0	117	0	60	1	20	(0	40)	0	57
Vencan	0	28	2	32	1	22	8	4	2	(15)	7	18
Totals	0	403	35	1182	159	567	159	281	244	286	332	340
Pravadi	210	83	315⁶³	25	270	40	240	50	274	26	412	121[*]
TOTALS	210	486	350	1207	429	607	399	331	518	312	744	461
		696		1557		1036		730		830		1205
		69% Chr.		77% Chr.		58% Chr.		45% Chr.		38% Chr.		38% Chr.

In 1597 24% of the Muslims was recent convert
("son of Abdullah"), almost all in the town of Pravadi.

In 1641 40%, in 1751 only 5%.

Research and Design by M.Kiel '05

In 1597, in the town of Pravadi 20% of the Muslims was of con-vert origin, in the old Bulgarian villages 63 %. This suggests that the overwhelming part of the urban Muslims were settlers from outside (Anatolia), the rural Muslims of the old villages, however, were in the majority converted Bulgarian Christians.

-The original name of Dizdar Köy was Dobrina, Ak Viran was Petri¹-

Research and layout by M. Kiel '04

Nahiye of Yeni Pazar Outlines of Development

Date	Villages	Towns	Musl. Househ.	Christ. Househ.	Perc. Urban	Percent Muslims
1516	24	1	179	266	0 %	40 %
1597	32	1	861	605	3 %	59 %
1642	36	1	1210	396	13 %	75 %
1751	27	1	853	190	14 %	82 %
1845	35	1	1506	350	12 %	81 %
1873	36	1	2556	409	13	86 %

Research and desing by M.K. '05

The Originally Bulgarian-Christian Villages of the Nahiye of Yeni Pazar (Novi Pazar) and the town

	1516		1597		1634		1642		1751		1830	1845		1873	
	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.
Kalogeritsa	0	29	0	63	1	84	2	50	30	3	5	22	10	32	14
Kaspican	5	30	25	55	28	64	31	68	33	8	14	43	34	92	45
Kilnovo	/		0	18	3	12	5	8	20	5	17	31	13	43	25
Kosovo	(0	40)	2	71	3	90	4	46	(0	35)	22	0	46	0	73
Külefça	(0	65)	2	131	10	55	15	72	51	69	56	65	79	115	105
Madara	13	14	23	23	19	44	17	3	40	0	0	68	0	105	0
Markovo	0	60	0	121	10	161	13	102	16	40	(40)	54	40	58	160
Mogila	0	28	11	57	25	103	34	47	30	0	9	52	10	91	15
Totals	18	266	63	539	108	613	121	369	220	160	163	335	232	536	437
Perc. of Muslims	6%		10%		15%		23%		42%			59%		55%	

M.K. '05

Kaza Yeri Pazar 1516-1873, the Muslim - Turkish Villages

	1 1516		2 1597		3 1641		4 1751		5 1844		6 1873	
	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.	Musl.	Chr.
Ahi Baba	2	0	80	0	43	0	42	0	92	0	144	0
Bulanık	25	0	50	0	5	0	19	0	17	0	60	0
Çanakçı	11	0	(17)	0	27	0	10	0	27	0	77	0
Çoban	/		11	0	12	0	13	7	12	16	24	25
Damargöz	10	0	59	0	23	0	15	0	17	0	31	0
Doyranlar	/		13	0	7	0	hali/harab		30	0	40	0
Eğridere	/		/		/		/		35	0	44	0
Eski Köy	/		58 ⁿ	0	50	0	53	0	59	0	105	0
Göçeri	2	0	52	0	53	0	37	0	35	0	59	0
Güller	(10	0)	31	0	22	0	hali/harab		27	0	44	0
Hırsovo	15	0	23	0	(30	0)	25	0	21	0	42	0
Karagözler	2	0	11	0	(10	0)	10	0	22	0	38	0
Kayıkçı	/		/		17	0	23	4	72	7	24	0
Kazköy	/		8	0	11	0	hali/harab		28	0	37	0
Kerimuddin	15	0	39	0	(20	0)	0	4	14	0	29	0
Kilisecik	/		13	0	(8	0)	hali/harab		19	0	35	0
Kulakovo	(15	0)	47	0	25	0	40	0	52	0	37	0
Murad Abdaller	/		24	3	52	0	hali/harab		71	0	115	0
Pamukçü Sürğün	6	0	17	0	(25	0)	40	0	102	0	155	0
Sakartepe	/		/		/		/		/		54	0
Sofular	15	0	44	0	67	0	52	0	54	0	125	0
Söğütü	11	0	55	0	57	0	19	0	38	0	80	0
Süleymanköy	10	0	27	0	35	0	hali/harab		19	0	34	0
Teker Mehmed	8	0	22	0	22	0	34	0	20	0	112	0
Tekke Kozluca	/		/		30	0						
Voyvodeköy Sür.	8	0	(40	0)	57	0	27	0	48	17	67	18
Yaslar	5	0	25	0	52	0	25	0	(25	0)	48	0
Yazıcı	/		/		48	0	hali/harab		22	0	44	0
YENİ PAZAR	/		11 ⁿ	33	211	0	126	14	169	57	275	114
Yunusköy	7	0	38	0	13	0	23	5	24	21	41	20
TOTALS	164	0	815	33	1089	0	633	30	1171	118	2020	177
	164		848		1089		663		1289		2197	

The rapid expansion of the 16th and the 19th centuries, as well as the demographic crisis of the 18th century are well visible. The latter especially in the large number of "empty and deserted" villages. Seven of the 30 settlements of the district were deserted, or almost a quarter of all. Remarkable is also the slow "Bulgarisation" of the original Turkish colonist villages in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Sources: 1 = T.D. 370, p. 434 - 346; 2 = T.K.G.M. 561 and 86 (Vakf), Ankara; 3 = MAD 12584 and MAD 282 (Vakf); 4 = MAD 2846; 5 Temettüat; 6 = Salname Tuna 1873.

Research and design by M. Kiel, '05