

Changing Immigrant Profile and Settlement Patterns in the Nigbolu Sandjak

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Abstract

After the Ottomans' conquest of the last Bulgarian castle, Nikopol, migration movement of Muslim Anatolians to the new administrative district of the Ottoman frontier, Nigbolu Sandjak, started in the late 14th century. In 15th and 16th centuries, policies of the Ottoman central authority played a determinant role on the profile of Muslim immigrants and settlement network of the region. In the 15th century, Muslim immigrants were populous nomadic tribes and they were settled in depopulated old villages to create more timar lands to finance the provincial army but as a result of the westward expansion policies of the Ottomans, characteristics of the new settlements and profile of the Muslim immigrants significantly changed in the 16th century. New Muslim settlements in the uninhabited lands of the Nigbolu Sandjak consisted of small villages producing weapons and necessities of the army on campaign. Settlers of these new settlements were Anatolian nomadic tribes divided into clans and families in the 16th century. These Muslim settlement regions formed the core of the Turkish presence in the region up today.

Keywords

Nikopol, Cherven, Razgrad, Shumen, Danube, Nomadic Migration, Repopulation, Islamization

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Introduction

Following the Mongolian invasion, the fear of Turkish raids swept the rural population of Danubian frontier and the local population took refuge in the fortified cities which prepared the appropriate conditions in the Nigbolu region for migration and settlement of the Muslim Anatolians during the following centuries (see Kasaba 2009: 1-14; Vryonis 1975: 50-60, Lowry 2008, Minkov 2004). Ottoman conquest of Bulgaria started in the reign of Murad I and an alliance made between Bulgaria and Ottomans against Byzantine stopped the Ottoman raids on Bulgaria for some time but this alliance did not last very long. The Bulgarian Kingdom turned into one of the Ottoman vassals in 1375-76 and when Bulgarian Tsar Shishman made alliance with the rebellious Serbian Prince Lazar, Ottoman raids threatened the Bulgarian lands once again. In 1393, Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I conquered Tirnovo, Dobrudja and Silistre; however the Nikopol castle remained as an important fortification of the vassal Bulgarian State until the fortress was seized in 1395 (see İnalçık 1960: 1302-1304, İnalçık used a new archival document in this article and he compares the with the Slavic sources examined by Bogdan 1891). Nigbolu was the fortress famous with the battle between the Ottomans and the Crusaders on 25 September 1396 (Atiya 2003). Victory of the Ottomans in the battle brought the vassalage of Wallachia that was a strategic ally of the western Christian world against the Ottomans. A relatively long peace period following the battle gave the Ottomans enough time to establish Ottoman military, fiscal and administrative system in Bulgaria. Nigbolu was transformed into one of the *sandjaks* (administrative districts) on the border (*udj*) periphery and kept its strategic importance during the centuries following the conquest.

In the early Ottoman era, society of *udj* region was consisting of immigrants, pastoral nomads, unemployed soldiers, and landless peasants seeking a new life in the border periphery and the population pressure in the western Anatolia was the main force behind the westward migration and permanent Muslim settlements in the newly conquered lands. Contrary to the population pressure in Anatolia, Crusaders, Mongolian invasion and Ottoman raids in destructed the rural settlement system of Danubian border periphery. When the Ottomans conquered Nigbolu in 1395, rural settlements of the region had already been abandoned and peasants had already taken refuge in fortified cities (Radushev 1995: 143). There are many information notes in the 15th century Ottoman surveys indicating these relocations and refuge of Christian settlers in safer regions (Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library "St. St. Cyril

and Methoius”, Or. Abt., Signature OAK., 45/ 29 (1479). As a state policy, the relocations of native non-Muslims continued during the post-conquest era. Following the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II issued orders for deportation of households from all over of the Empire (İnalçık 1973: 225). There were a number of non-Muslim households from the Nigbolu Sandjak deported to Istanbul such as deportation of all settlers of a big urban center, Nefs-i Çibri or deportation of a number of households from Kalugerevo (Sofia, Oriental Department of Bulgarian National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methoius”, Or. Abt., Signature OAK., 45/ 29 (1479). For this reason, revival of the rural settlement system in the Nigbolu region was an urgent problem for the central government during the post conquest era to create timar revenue for the military organization and provincial army in the region.

This study examines the profile of Anatolian settlers, revival of old settlements and emergence of new Muslim settlement regions in central and northeastern regions of the Nigbolu Sandjak in the 15th and 16th centuries. This study draws the earliest picture of Anatolian migration and Islamization in Danubian border and investigates the cores of the Turkish population, cultural identity and Islam in Bulgaria. 15th and 16th century Ottoman tax and military surveys are the main sources of the demographic and settlement history of the Nigbolu Sandjak (see İnalçık 1954a, on the usage of tahrir defters as historical sources see, İnalçık 1954b: 103-129, Barkan 1957: 9-36, 1970: 163-171, 1977: 279-301, 1988, Emecen 1996). These surveys are *icmal defters* (summary of detailed surveys) of Nigbolu region registered in 1479 and 1483 and a *mufassal defter* (detailed surveys) registered in 1556. *Icmal defters* register status of lands, names of timariots, tax revenues, and number of armed retainers (*cebelüs*) the timar holders had to train. *Mufassal defters* register financial, social, economic and military information of the *sandjaks* (administrative districts) in detail. *Sandjak kanunnamesi* (provincial law code) at the first pages of the *defter* explains laws and regulations specifically designed for the *sandjak* and also *wakfs* (pious endowments), *mulks* (freehold) and their tax revenues are listed at the last part of the *mufassal* survey.

Secondary sources about migrations, deportations, and Muslim settlements in the Ottoman Bulgaria provide a general look to the Anatolian migration movement to the region. The oldest published Ottoman archival document on *yörük* migrations is dated to 1385. According to the document, in the reign of the Sultan Murad I, *yörüks* from Saruhan were deported to Serez (Ahmed Refik 1927: 296). Ashik

Pashazade states that just after the conquest, Tatars and Turkomans were settled in the same region as well and the 17th century Ottoman traveller Evliya Chelebi in his travel account *Seyahatname* mentions how Sultan Bayezid I deported Anatolian nomads and called Tatar tribes from Crimea to populate the uninhabited plains of Dobrudja region (*Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* II 1896: 136-146). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, important studies on ethnicity of Bulgaria were published. Jirecek is one of these scholars underlining the nomadic character of the first Anatolian immigrants and their settlement process in Bulgaria (see Jirecek 1891, for the early discussions and bibliography on the origin of the Turks in the Balkans see Gökbilgin 1957: 13-19). Cvijic is the other scholar examines the *yörük* origin of the Muslim settlers. (Civijic 1908) Archival studies of Turkish scholars such as Barkan, Gökbilgin, and İnalçık examine many examples of nomadic Anatolian tribes as the first immigrants in the newly conquered lands registered in the early Ottoman land surveys (see Barkan 1988, 1950: 524-570, İnalçık 1986: 39-65).

Population changes, migrations and relocations in the Nigbolu Sandjak during in the period, 1300-1600, mainly depended on natural conditions, wars between Ottomans and the anti-Ottoman alliances, and waves of mass migrations from Asia Minor. Ottoman cadastral surveys register relocations, deportations and re-population information in the Nigbolu region. In order to examine the demographic structure and changing trends in different time periods, "population multiplier" is the most commonly used method to analyze the rough demographic data. In this method, a constant multiplier for a typical household is determined, which is an assumption made on the average family size for a period of time in a specific geographical area. (Laslett and Wall 1972: 138-139 and Frêche 1971: 499-518). According to the study of Coale and Demeny, household multiplier is confined to relatively narrow range varying between 3 and 4 (Demeny and Shorter 1968: 14-16; Coale and Demeny 1966). Barkan is one of the researchers who analyze Ottoman *tahrir defters* using the population multiplier method to determine the pattern of population increase in Anatolia and he estimated the average number of persons per household as five (Barkan 1953: 12). Cook also made a study on three administrative districts in Anatolia and he calculated the household multiplier as 4.5 (Cook 1972: 60). McGrovan estimated the household multiplier for Middle Danube region as 3 (McGrovan 1969: 157-158) and other studies made on Ottoman judicial court records calculate the multiplier as 3 as well (Göyünç 1997: 553, Öz 1999: 63, Gökçe 2000: 89).

When a *hane* multiplier is determined for Ottoman Nigbolu in 15th century, the gap between native Christians and immigrant Anatolian population should be the first determinant taking into consideration. Although Anatolian nomads, *yörüks*, were the most populous Muslim group in the *sandjak* and family size of these nomad household (*yörük hanesi*) was the largest even among the other Muslim households, majority of the population in the sandjak was native Christians taking refuge in fortified towns and cities or temporarily living in safer settlements. When the unstable political conditions, continuous wars, and displacements in the pre-conquest period are taken into consideration, the household multiplier of the native Christians in the last quarter of the 15th century should be between 3 and 4. Majority of the Muslim newcomers in the Nigbolu sandjak were the nomadic Turkoman tribes of Western Anatolia where average household size is estimated as 5 (Egawa vd. 2007:136). When the temperate-continental dry climate of the lower Danube is considered, the household multiplier of a typical Muslim household in Nigbolu Sandjak should be lower than in western Anatolia. For this reason while examining the demographic data in the 15th century Nigbolu surveys, the household multiplier is going to be 4.5, which is an average value of family size for both Muslims and native Christians in the sandjak.

The 16th century archival material includes a significant onomastic, ethnic, cultural and socio-economic data and analysis of these data is going to be summarized in tables and graphs (for the onomastic studies made on Ottoman surveys see, Kurt 1993, Kurt 1995, İlhan 1990, Yediyıldız 1984). Contrary to the 15th century data focusing on re-population and demographic recovery, the 16th century registers include names of Muslim peasants, nomadic tribes and religious groups. This onomastic database provides researchers a valuable source to determine profile and origin of the Muslim immigrant groups, religious and political forces behind the migration waves and settlement policies of the central authority in the 16th century. Graphs and tables are the main tools of analysis to examine the onomastic data, changing immigrant profile and settlement patterns.

Nigbolu Sandjak in the 15th Century

The Ottomans designed Nigbolu on the south bank and Turnu Nikopolis on the north (Wallachian) bank of the Danube like the *Anadolu* and *Rumeli Hisarı* in Bosphorus to control the waterway (Radushev 1995: 148 and Atiya 1938: 143-145). Although the Wallachian Principality became one of the vassal states of the Ottomans after the famous Nigbolu battle in 1396, Wallachia always participated anti-Ottoman alliances of the

European monarchs. For this reason forming a powerful *udj* (border) or-organization on the Danubian border was the urgent military problem to be solved during the post conquest era. An *udj* system was organized on the south bank of Danube with principal garrisons in Vidin and Nigbolu. Organization of the Ottoman provincial army strictly depended on migration of Muslim Anatolians, re-population of abandoned old settlements and population of uninhabited lands to expand *timar* lands and create more revenue for the provincial army (for more information of Ottoman timar system see Beldiceanu 1985, İnalçık 1994: 114-118, Şahin 1979). The expansion of *timar* system would increase the number of timariots who were responsible for training a number of armed retainers (*cebelu*) and providing them necessary military equipment.

Table A. Population of Towns in Nigbolu in the Late 15th Century

	HM	UM	HC	UC	BC		Others
Tırnovi nefs	104	NA	372	NA	64	Merd-ı Kal'a	28
Nigbolu nefs	248	NA	201	NA	27		
Çernovi nefs	NA	NA	107	NA	4	Yörük, Yağcı, Küreci	30
Kurşuna nefs	9	NA	16	NA	NA		NA
Gerilovo nefs	NA	NA	36	NA	NA		NA
İvraca nefs	23	NA	296	NA	NA		NA
Lofça nefs	51	23	156	NA	33		NA
Rahova nefs	11	NA	87	NA	14		NA
Şumnu nefs	11	NA	74	NA	5		NA
Yergögi nefs	4	NA	239	NA	1		NA

HM: Muslim Household, **MM:** Muslim Unmarried, **HC:** Christian Household, **UC:** Unmarried Christian, **BC:** Bive (widow) Christian

Table A shows the Muslim and Christian population of the urban centers registered in the late 15th century *icmal defters*. The process of rural recovery had not been completed yet and majority of the town population were still native Christians in the last quarter of the 15th century. Many of *kazas* and *nahiyes* were unified or divided to organize an efficient administrative system (Kovachev 2005: 65-67) but a balanced distribution of population had not been achieved in the late 15th century.

Table B. Yörük Households in Depopulated Villages in the 15th Century

	Yörük	Christian		Yörük	Christian
İzlatova mz.	12	NA	Vardun mz.	NA	NA
Kalıncı mz.	11	NA	Brezişte mz.	NA	NA
Kaluger mz.	6	NA	Çareva Kisaliça mz.	NA	4
Klisecik mz.	10	NA	Plakova mz.	NA	NA
Kraçan mz.	13	NA	İsmardinice mz.	NA	NA
Novosel mz.	17	NA	Virbinova mz.	NA	2
Vetrepere mz.	5	NA	Paskalofca mz.	NA	NA
Patrik Senadin mz.	2	NA	Kaloten mz.	3	NA
Rakitova mz.	6	NA	Kırnalova Vlad mz.	9	NA
Sindel mz.	12	NA	Milina mz.	NA	NA
Tatar Yurdu mz.	3	NA	İsvidne mz.	NA	NA

Byzantine chronicler Phaimeres states his observations that native-Christians had taken refuge in fortresses went back to their old-settlements after the Ottoman conquest, which are evidences supporting the observations of other European chroniclers who mention native inhabitants taking refuge in Nicea and Constantinople during the war periods (Gökbilgin 1957: 13, 145, İnalçık, 2003: 59-85). Native Christians of Nigbolu took refuge in towns during the pre-conquest era and Christian household number in fortified towns increased as old rural settlements were abandoned and depopulated. There were many empty old settlements registered as *mezraa* (seasonal settlement) in the 15th century defters. Table B shows examples for the *mezraas* where the Anatolian newcomers settled in. Some of these *mezraas* were registered as arable land (*ekinlik*) of a village, seasonal settlements (*yaylak*) of *yörüks* or abandoned (*metruk*) settlements in the 15th century Nigbolu registers. To determine if a settlement is a village or *mezraa*, some distinguishing criteria of a typical village settlement should be checked. First of all, there should be permanent settlers of a village but a *mezraa* was a piece of land that was seasonally cultivated and inhabited. Also, there should be a cemetery, a permanent water supply (*çeşme*), and a church or masjid (İnalçık 1994: 162). According to İnalçık's definition, *mezraa* means arable land, a field that designates a periodic settlement or a deserted village and its fields (İnalçık 1994: 162). *Mezraa* was an independent unit having its own name different than the neighbouring village and there was a fixed tax levied on

these lands. Some *mezraas* in the Nigbolu sandjak and nomad households registered in these *mezraas* were listed in Table C. These Anatolian inhabitants were Muslim nomad households registered as “*Yörük Hanesi*” in the 15th century registers. *Mezraa* type settlements were very important lands for Ottoman timariots because these lands were granted to timar holders, officers, and members of *sufi* orders to be populated. Once it was populated, these lands became a source of tax revenue. In the earliest *icmal* registers of Nigbolu, a number of abandoned old settlements were registered as timar lands given to timariots to be populated such as *mezraa*-i İsmardiniçe given to Kâtib Lütfi, *mezraa*-i Çareva Kladençe given to Şemseddin (?) and *mezraa*-i Novasil given to Karacaoğlu Mahmud. Anatolian nomads were the main human resources to re-populate the abandoned settlements and uninhabited regions to expand the timar lands. Nomadic tribes in Anatolia, *Turkomans*, were registered as “*yörük*” in the Balkans and *yörük* became a general term used for Muslim nomad groups to distinguish them from Tatars and Christian nomads in the Ottoman Balkans. (Güngör 1940, *Derleme Sözlüğü* XI 1979: 511 and İnalıcık 1986: 101-102). The Muslim population in the sandjak were registered based on *hane* (household) and nomads in these *mezraas* were registered as “*yörük hanesi*” (nomad household), which indicates that even before registering the military nomads in separate *yörük defters*, the Ottoman central authority had already distinguished the Muslim nomads in the frontier region from the settled Muslim peasants (Barkan 1957: 32-33).

Table C. Nomad Households in the last Quarter of the 15th Century

	NH	Revenue		NH	Revenue
Kalu Grova	18	924	Sindel mz.	12	630
Ak Bunarlar mz.	12	300	Küçük İcik mz.	11	882
Hamza Fakih mz.	11	250	Karacaoğlan	12	416
Terzi Müsa mz.	6	250	Hasan Kulu	22	1242
Kulka Obası mz.	NA	NA	Hüseyin Farkı	24	1685
Saru Ali mz.	3	150	Çukur Kışla mz.	18	920
Aladağlı	20	324	Petrik Senadin mz.	5	200
Çaruk Ali mz.	47	1087	Poliçe İlyas mz.	2	80
Çoban Yurdu	10	1199	Çerk Çakır mz.	3	120
Sindel mz.	5	593	Paşa Yiğit mz.	17	600

Mz: Mezraa **NH:** Nomad Household

Anatolian nomads migrated to the region as populous tribal groups known as “*oba*”, which is a self-formed traditional body of nomad community sharing a joint territory or estate and a headman (Irons 1975: 42). They were well organized, headed and populous enough to re-populate abandoned old Christian settlements. The 15th century Nigbolu surveys register Aydın Obası, Doyran Obası, Dursun Obası, Karlı Obası, Komari Obası, Kulkal Obası and Paşa Yiğit Obası as the *oba*-type nomad groups in the depopulated rural settlements of the region. These *obas* were the appropriate settlers of the new lands with their social organization, well functioning division of labour and self-sufficiency. For this reason, the westward migration movement gained a formal aspect and became a state policy in the 15th century to populate the uninhabited or depopulated lands (Barkan 1980: 596-607, İnalçık 1993: 106).

In the last quarter of the 15th century, the *icmal defters* indicate that majority of the Muslim settlers populated the abandoned Bulgarian settlements. On the other hand, there were new Muslim settlements registered as *yenice* (new settlement) nearby the old Christian villages such as *Yenice-i Kebir*, *Yenice-i Muslim*, *Yenice-i Sagir* (for the Slavic and Turkish names of villages see Ayverdi 1982: 46-125), which shows that Anatolian Muslims did not only re-populate the old settlements but they participated to expand the cultivated lands and increase the timar revenues in the region during the post-conquest era. Also these *yenicis* indicate that there were still empty lands in the old settlement regions for newcomers to settle and cultivate.

Table D. *Population of Nigbolu Sandjak at the End of the 15th Century*

	MH	MU	CH	CU	CB	Yörük
%	4.0	1.4	70.7	15.7	5.5	2.6

MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried **CH:** Christian Household **CU:** Christian Unmarried **CB:** Christian Bive (Widow)

Archival sources show that both Anatolian peasants and nomadic tribes came to settle in the region during the post conquest era but especially in the first century of the Ottoman rule, Anatolian nomads were the most populous immigrant group in the sandjak. Table D shows that at the end of the 15th century, Muslim nomads consisted of more than half of the total Muslim population in the sandjak, which is a consistent result with the Barkan’s studies on the different regions of the Ottoman Rumelia in the early 16th century. Barkan’s studies indicate that the Muslim *yörük*

population was almost one-fifth of the total population of the Ottomans' Balkan provinces (İnalçık 2010a: 201). Table E shows that there were not any nomad households registered in the pure Turkish villages, which indicates that these Muslim settlers were peasants or settled nomads

Table E. *Examples of Settled Muslim Villages in the 15th Century Nigbolu Sandjak*

	MH	MU		MH	MU
Çadırlu	14	7	Kozar Beleni	23	NA
Kaçkovo	12	NA	Lisiçe	18	3
Kaloyana	10	NA	Mekiş	13	7
Kelemençe	12	4	Ohodin	22	16
Kolanlar	45	12	Şahinci	14	11
Krayişte	14	NA	Tenca	18	7
İstizarova	12	2			

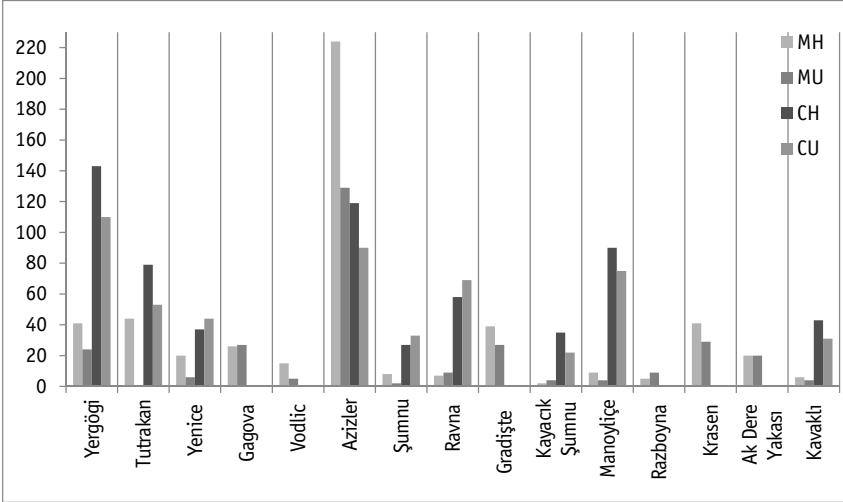
MH: Muslim Household MU: Muslim Unmarried YH: Yörük Household CH: Christian Household

CU: Christian Unmarried CB: Christian Bive

16th Century As A New Era

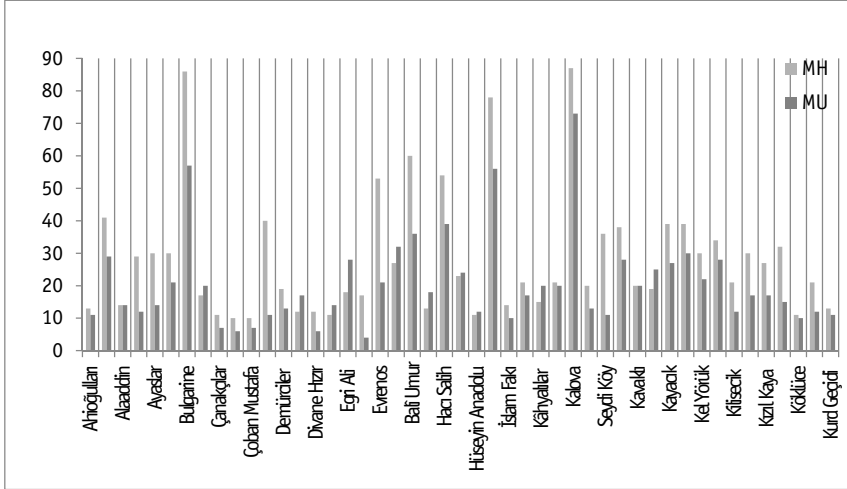
Until the 16th century, migration of Muslim Anatolians and return of native Christians to their pre-conquest settlements changed demographic structure of urban centers and rural areas of Nigbolu Sandjak. The new settlement pattern of Anatolian immigrants in the first half of the 16th century was characterized as small, homogenous villages and *zaviyas* on the empty lands of Çernovi, Hezargrad, and Şumnu. There were 383 Muslim villages in these regions and 76 of them were registered in the 1556 *mufassal* survey at first time. During the first half of the 16th century, Muslim settlements were either new or divided small villages in these new settlement regions. The changing settlement patterns of Muslim newcomers clearly follow a chronological order: 1. The old-Bulgarian settlements the Muslim Anatolians re-populated in the 15th century, 2. Settlements founded or re-populated in the period 1480s-1530, 3. Muslim settlements registered in 1556 survey at first time.

Graph 1. *Category I: Examples of Old Christian Settlements*



MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried **CH:** Christian Household **CU:** Christian Unmarried

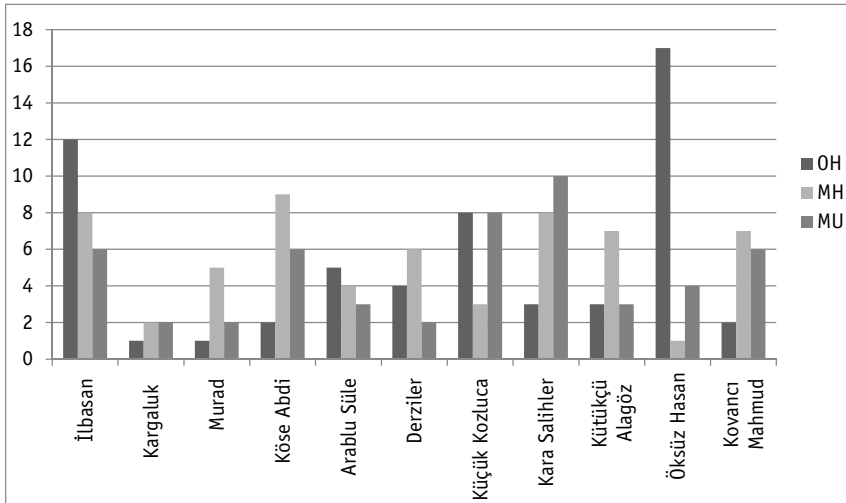
Graph 1 depicts the population density of the settlements in the first category. These were old settlements that had already re-populated by the Muslim newcomers and native Christians in the 15th century and any of these settlements were registered as Muslim-Christian mixed villages in the 1556 survey. On the other hand, the graph shows that majority of the settlers in these villages were native Christians and although Muslim newcomers participated the re-population process of these old settlements, the Anatolian immigrants did not densely populate or re-populate these villages. Pure Muslim villages in old settlements were not very populous as well because the main immigrant group in the region was nomads and these old villages of agriculturalist native Christians were most probably not appropriate settlements for the Anatolian nomads.

Graph 2. Category II: Population in Villages Registered in 1530 and 1556 Survey

MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried

Graph 2 depicts the demographic composition of settlements in the second category, which were either founded in the 1490-1530 period or registered in the 1530 register at first time. Many new villages in the uninhabited regions indicate that nomads were seeking appropriate lands for their way of life. For this reason although there were populous Muslim settlements consisting of 60 households and 40 unmarried men, the number of Muslim households and unmarried men in re-populated old villages were mostly in the range of 10 to 20. Formation of Muslim settlements, especially in the north-central and northeastern regions of the sandjak was still in process during the first half of the 16th century but sedentarization of the Muslim nomads accelerated in the period 1530-1556. Compare to the late 15th century surveys, there are more Muslim settlements registered in the 1530 *icmal* survey and many new ones were registered as *haric-ez defter* (registered at first time) in the 1556 survey. Graph 3 shows the demographic composition of Muslim settlements in the mid-16th century and contrary to the late 15th century registers, a high number of unmarried men were living not in big cities but in small Muslim villages, which could be a result of high birth rate or a demographic movement of unmarried Muslims to find arable land to cultivate. Especially in some of these villages such as Eğri Ali, Taşçı, Tirsenek and Süle, unmarried population was higher than households.

Graph 3. Category III: Haric-ez DeFTER Villages in the 1556 Survey



OH: Other Household **MH:** Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried

Settlement Pattern and Population Profile of the New Villages: The Turks came to the Asia Minor as an Islamic and nomadic society. Within the centuries following the conquest, the Turkish society in Anatolia gradually settled but in the sixteenth-century, nomads were 83.4 per cent of the total Muslim population in the western Anatolia (Vryonis 1969-1970: 261). The westward movement of the nomad masses continued during the 15th and 16th century under the Ottoman rule and nomadism was institutionalized as transhumance and migratory routes, tax-exemptions, privileges and many other issues related with the Muslim nomads in the Balkans were codified in Ottoman *kanunnames* (for the examples of these codifications see, Akgündüz 1989, Çetintürk 1943: 107-116; Gökbilgin 1957: 27-28). On the other hand, agrarian activities were a supplementary part of the nomadic pastoral life and after an adaptation period, nomads were settled in the empty or uninhabited lands of the Balkan lands and consisted the backbone of the Muslim communities and Ottoman system in the Balkans (İnalçık 1994: 37-40).

There are almost four hundred new settlements were registered in 1556 *mufassal* survey of Nigbolu sandjak. Names of these villages generally refers to the founders such as a sheikh, a dervish or a nomadic clan and analysis of the settlers' names in the register shows that the founder or son of the founder was still living in these villages. Also, rapid population increases and division of the villages into two or more villages were the

other characteristics of the changing settlement patterns and demographic trends and many new villages registered in the 1556 survey can be categorized in this group of settlements. Table F shows some examples for these divided Christian and Muslim settlements. Settled life requires agricultural production to provide a sufficient amount of livestock for winter and the limited agricultural land in these new villages might not be enough to feed the growing population and newcomers. When villages were divided into one or more new villages, new pastures (*otlaks*) for herds and new agrarian lands (*mezraas*) for seasonal cultivation were determined for the each new village, which normalized the distribution of population over the uninhabited lands and expanded settlement system of the loosely populated regions.

Members of Religious Orders as the Founder of New Villages: During the westward expansion of the Ottoman Empire, newly conquered lands became state-owned (*mîrî*) lands but Ottoman Sultans granted land to political and military elite as free hold property and the grant blocked all taxes except the poll tax in order to create an incentive for settlement and agricultural activities on these lands (İnalçık 1994: 122). Especially in the early Ottoman era, one of the most common kind of land grants was made to members of religious orders who were the leaders of Muslim immigrant masses and founders of *sufî* convents (*zaviyas*) and new settlements in newly conquered lands (İnalçık 1994: 120-126). Table H shows the list of these *sufî* convents founded in the uninhabited regions of Şumnu and Hezargrad in the first half of the 16th century.

Table F. Examples of Zaviyes in the

Name of Settlement			Revenue
Zaviye-i ____ in the village Armutlu Pınarı Sumnu	Sheikh, Servants of Sheikh	4	28
Zaviye-i ____ in Çobanm Pınarı Hezargrad	Sheikh, Servants of Sheikh Timnurhan Community, Household, Unmarried men	19	606
Zaviye-i Pir Hasancık Hezargrad	Sheikh, servant of sheikh, seyyid, slave of sheikh	7	150
Zaviye-i Hasan Fakı in ____ village Hezargrad	Sheykh, Son of Servant of Sheikh	2	150
Sultan Ana nam-ı digger Sağır Baba Hezargrad	Beratlı, Sheikh, Seyyid Sevant of Sheikh	4	50

Niğbolu Sandjak

Sufi orders had a great political and religious influence on nomad masses and westward migration movement expanded the domain of their political power that could challenge to the central authority in Anatolia since the Seljukid era (Barkan 1942: 279-377). For this reason member of the *sufi* orders and their followers were the first settlers of the uninhabited lands of the Nigbolu sandjak in the 15th and 16th century. Registers of the mufassal survey show that small settlements of Anatolian nomad families, new-Muslims and freed slaves in Şumnu and Hezargrad emerged around *sufi* convents listed in Table F in the first half of the 16th century. There were many village names such as Divane Ahmed, Divane Hızır, Piri Fakih, İslam Fakı, Mustafa Halife, Seydi Ali, Sedioglu, Şeyhler, Yunus Abdal, indicate leading role of *sufi* figures and their colonization movements in the region. Barkan underlines the role of the *sufi* orders in the systematic colonization and settlement movement of the *Turkoman* tribes in the Seljukid Anatolia and mid-16th century *mufassal* survey of Nigbolu Sandjak indicates continuation of this tradition in the Ottoman Balkans (Barkan 1942: 280-281). The mufassal register of 1556 shows that *sufi* convents were like Muslim monasteries built on empty lands of the sandjak and these colonizer dervishes and their followers were mainly coming from western Anatolia, so demographic and cultural structure of the Ottoman Balkans was deeply affected from the *udj* culture and mixed *udj* society of Seljukid-Byzantine frontier in Western Anatolia.

Table G. *Cemaat-i Sheikh Seyyid Timurhan*

Village	Others	MH	MU	Timurhan	Revenue
Kılıççılar	12	34	28	8	3020
Derbend Pınarı	1	8	8	1	517
Davudlar	36	24	14	3	2833
Cansız Ahad	18	2	1	14	683
Divane Ahmed	21	12	17	4	1600
Aydın Fakih	7	10	10	1	622
Kademli	8	21	17	3	1506
Kara Kovaçlar	15	11	10	6	1500
Hüseyinler	12	16	8	11	1315
Kulaguzlar	10	24	15	8	1409
Kara Hızırlar	NA	39	24	1	2327
Total				60	

MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried

One of these powerful *sufies* was Sheikh Timurhan participated the nomadic migration. Table G lists the villages where the members of *cemaat-i Timurhan* and his descendents were settled. Table G shows that members of the Sheikh Timurhan society played a leading role as founders of the new villages in the uninhabited regions of Nigbolu administrative district in the first half of the 16th century. According to the *mufassal* registers, members of the *cemaat* were settled in the eleven villages in the north-central region of the sandjak. Name of the *cemaat* had not been mentioned in the late 15th century surveys but their privileges were clearly codified in *kanunname* of Nigbolu in the 1530 register, which indicates that they came to the region in the first decades of the 16th century. The 35th article of the *kanunname* defines the status and tax exemptions of family members of the Sheikh Timurhan (see Barkan 1943: 236, 270, 283, 290-291, BOA TTD 382: 1-16. For the full transcription of the Nigbolu kanunnamesi see, Akgündüz 1989: 482 –510). The *cemaat* was mentioned in two articles of the Silistre *kanunnamesi* and descendents of Sheikh Timurhan was mentioned as one of the privileged groups having tax exemptions like *sipahi*, *toviçe*, *ehl-i berat*, *doğancı*, *şahinci*, *eşkinçi*, and *yamak* (Barkan 1943: 279). There was not any zaviya of the *cemaat* registered in the Nigbolu region but zaviya, wakf and *mulk* of Sheikh Timurhan were registered in wakf registers of Kütahya (Dadaş vd. 2000, Armağan 2001).

Changing Structure of Muslim Nomad Communities in the New Era:

The populous nomad *obas* had to adapt a new structure in the 16th century as smaller groups based on family or clan relationship. Family names registered as village names such as Doğanoğulları, Bacioğulları, Ahioğulları, and Elvanoğulları indicate the divided *oba*-type social structure of the nomad groups. Names of specific professions given to the settlements such as Okçu, Terzi, Demirci, Helvacı, Çıkrıkçı, Anbarcı, Kılıççı, Kalaycı, Çanakçı, Doğancı, İmrahor indicate specialization and privileged status of these nomad groups. Also headmen's name was registered as group and village name in the new settlement areas such as Ayaslu, Bekirlü, Hızırca, Hasanca, Kurd Bey, Kâsım Bey, Mihâl Bey, Kuş Hasan, which was a general tendency among the native tribal groups, *Vlachs*, in the Balkans as well (İnalçık 1954c: 155).

The new villages on the uninhabited lands were the settlement area of all newcomers from various origins such as new-Muslims and freed slaves, as it had been in the western Anatolia during the Seljukid time. The list in Table H shows examples for these villages where some of the registered

households and unmarried men were new-Muslims (*veled-i Abdullah*) and freed-slaves (*mu'tak*). These many unmarried men among the new-Muslims were most probably newcomers seeking a new life in these small Muslim communities. On the other hand, there were freed slaves registered in these villages as either unmarried man or son of his former master.

These examples indicate that as it had been on Seljukid –Byzantine frontier in Western Anatolia, a peculiar frontier culture emerged in Danubian frontier, especially in the newly inhabited regions (for the literature and discussions on Ottoman frontier culture see Inalcik 1980: 71-79). Frontier culture and frontier society was flexible and there were more cultural interaction and exchange among Muslim nomads, peasants, *sufi* dervishes, new-Muslims, Christians, slaves and freed slaves in the newly settled regions of the Nigbolu sandjak.

Table H. *New- Muslims and Freed Slaves in the Yörük Villages*

Village	Others	MH	MU	New-Muslim	Freed-Slaves	Revenue
Hüseynler Şumnu	12	16	8	6	NA	1315
Kayalı Dere Şumnu	7	39	30	2	8	6000
Pinar-i Küçük Açan Şumnu	2	11	14	2	2	724
Hacı İsa Şumnu	17	4	2	NA	4	1150
Senebirlik Şumnu	8	39	38	1	5	3603
Karlı Şumnu	24	21	13	1	5	1861
Kulkallar Şumnu	12	17	22	5	2	1562
Balabanca Şumnu	10	19	21	6	NA	1985
Kâhyalılar Şumnu	20	15	20	NA	5	2500
Yörük Salih Şumnu	10	12	10	4	4	1800
Topuzlarder Gerilova	22	27	64	6	3	4719
Ayhan Küçük Şumnu	5	30	21	6	1	2006
Kovancılar Şumnu	14	31	36	4	3	2101
??? Şumnu	41	30	28	9	7	4057

MH: Muslim Household **MU:** Muslim Unmarried

Conclusions

Archival sources show that the first century of the Ottoman rule in Nigbolu *Sandjak* was a period of recovery and revival. Examination of the 15th century surveys indicate the revival of the abandoned settlements and the rural settlement network that were the main concerns of the Ottoman central authority and during the first century of the Ottoman rule, policies of the central authority determined the immigrant profile and settlement patterns of the abandoned old rural areas of the sandjak. In the late 15th century a significant number of the Muslim immigrants in cities and towns of the sandjak were unmarried Anatolians seeking for job. On the other hand, there had already been Muslim nomadic tribes settled in depopulated old Christian villages and there were new Muslim settlements in the old settlement regions. At the beginning of the 16th century, the process of demographic recovery and revival had already been completed and the old settlements consisted of populous purely Muslim, purely Christian and mix villages.

In the first decades of the 16th century, the rivalry between Ottomans and Habsburgs on the Danube frontier re-structured the migration and settlement policies of the central authority, immigrant profile and settlement patterns. The 16th century detailed survey indicates that there was a structural change in migration and settlement policies of the central authority. Comparisons of the 15th and 16th century archival sources indicate that the 16th century was the era when the Ottomans introduced new elements of their system. Muslim migration gained a formal aspect when the nomad masses were divided small families and clans to be settled on the uninhabited regions of the sandjak, where the members of sufi orders had already founded their *zaviyas*. Spiritual power of *sufi* sheiks on nomad masses was one of the powerful policy tool on the hand of the Ottoman central authority to populate, re-populate, structure and re-structure the Nigbolu region in the 15th and 16th century and examination of the Ottoman surveys shows the central authority used this tool very effectively. In the 15th century, Ottoman central authority mostly granted small *timars* to the members of sufi orders but in the 16th century, the promotion of central authority was free-hold land property and tax exemptions for the dervishes and sheiks to organize and headed the Muslim immigrant to the new settlement regions. For this reason these lands were opened to the sufi orders and their members first to form the basic structures of new settlements and then nomad masses came to these new lands to settle under the leadership of sufi sheiks and well-organized religious orders. The new population size of these new settlement regions

was smaller so that the self-sufficient nomad groups could survive on the uninhabited lands. The new settlement pattern in these regions was small villages of nomad clans emerged around the zaviyas. This tolerant nomad communities absorbed new-Muslims and freed slaves. The Ottoman central authority organized these villages as specialized producers of some military goods and services in return of privileges and tax immunities. The new Muslim settlement regions emerged in uninhabited lands of the sandjak, which improved the settlement network in rural areas and attracted new settlers from various origins, which was the beginning of a new era that would be an integral part of the political, cultural, ethnic, social, economic and military history of the Danube Frontier.

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Niğbolu Sancağı'nda Değişen Göçmen Profili ve Yerleşimleri

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Öz

Osmanlıların Bulgaristan'ı 14.yy'ın sonunda fethetmesinden hemen sonra Niğbolu bölgesine Anadolu'dan Müslüman yerleşimciler gelmeye başlamıştır. Osmanlı merkezi idaresinin politikaları bu bölgedeki nüfus, yerleşim sistemi, Anadolu'dan gelen göçmenlerin profili ve oluşturdukları yerleşim ağının özellikleri üzerinde belirleyici bir rol oynamıştır. Böylece 15.yy'da bölgeye gelen Anadolulu kalabalık yörük obaları, fetihten önce boşalan yerleşimlerin canlandırılmasında rol oynamıştır. 16.yy'da Tuna bölgesine odaklanan fetih politikaları sonucunda Niğbolu Sancağı'nın yerleşime açılmamış bölgelerinde ordunun sefer sırasındaki silah, mühimmat ve iâşe ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak üzere üretim yapan özel statülü köylerden oluşan Müslüman yerleşim bölgeleri oluşturularak bu bölgelere aileler ya da klanlar şeklinde bölünen yörük grupların iskân edilmiştir. 16.yy'ın ilk yarısında kurulan bu özel statülü Müslüman yerleşimleri bölgede günümüze kadar devam eden Türk varlığının temeli oluşturmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Niğbolu, Çernovi, Hezargrad, Şumnu, Tuna, Göç, Yörük, Şenlendirme, Tımar, Müslümanlaşma.

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Изменение профиля мигранта в санджаке Нигболу (Никополь) и их расселение

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Аннотация

Сразу же после завоевания Османским государством территории Болгарии в конце 14-го века в Нигболу (Никополь) начали прибывать мусульманские переселенцы из Анатолии. Политика Османского центрального управления играла решающую роль в характеристике населения региона, системе расселения, определении профиля мигрантов из Анатолии и сети созданных ими населенных пунктов. Таким образом, прибывшие в 15-м веке из Анатолии многочисленные кочевые племена сыграли определенную роль в активизации этой территории, покинутой населением еще до завоевания. В результате завоевательной политики, направленной на дунайский регион в 16-м веке, в свободных от населения районах санджака Нигболу, с целью удовлетворения потребностей армии в оружии, боеприпасах и продовольствии во время походов, были созданы мусульманские сельские поселения, занимающиеся производством и имеющие особый статус; в этом регионе были расселены семьи и кланы кочевых племен, прибывших из Анатолии. Основанные в первой половине 16-го века эти мусульманские поселения, имеющие особый статус, заложили основу тюркского присутствия в регионе, продолжающегося и по сей день.

Ключевые слова

Нигболу (Никополь), Черновы, Разград, Шумен, Дунай, переселение, кочевник, обрадование, тимар, исламизация

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