

IMAGES OF AN OTTOMAN TOWN IN RUMELI- ETHNODEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF ESKIHISAR ZAĞRA, XVTH-XVIITH CENTURIES

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Abstract

The present article is based on the information preserved in ottoman tax registers (taputahirir defters) – both detailed and synoptic, XVth–XVIIth centuries, documents preserved at the Oriental department at the National Library in Sofia, travelers' accounts, ottoman chronicles and published memoires. It reveals the etnodemographic changes and the processes of colonization of Muslim population in one of the towns in Ottoman Rumelia–Eskihisar Zağra. It traces back the process of the organization of the urban space and the building of Muslim houses of worship in the town. The last part of the study reveals the economic profile of the settlement.

Keywords: Etnodemographic, Ottoman, colonization, Rumelia, urban architecture

The XVIth century is widely defined as the zenith of the Ottoman Empire indicating the establishment and functioning of the imperial institutions related to the timar system, the imposition of a tax system which affected almost all of the imperial taxpayers, development of the urban settlements–the cities; generally defined as an age of population growth both within the Ottoman Empire and in Europe and development of the urban centers–cities along the vast territory of the Ottoman Empire, considered to be the show-window of the implementation of the imperial model of success. Towns were the places where the dynamics of economic development, changes of the demographic situation and urban structure were easy to be seen. The general trend of development of the imperial cities outlines the imperial framework but an approach revealing the historical development of different cities outlines the micro level where researchers reveal not only the common features matching the imperial trend but also outline the specifics of the urban space in the Ottoman empire.¹

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¹ Николай Тодоров, *Балканският град XV-XIX век [The Balkan City, XVth–XIXth c.]*, София: Наука и изкуство, 1972, pp. 3-35; Цветана Георгиева, „Градовете и градското пространство [Towns and Urban Space]”, *История на България [History of Bulgaria]*, София: Анубис, 1999, V. 2, pp. 127-156; Светлана Иванова, „Градски живот (XV - първата половина на XVIII век) [Urban Life (XVth–first half of the XVIIIth c.)]”, *Българското общество XV началото на XVIII век [Bulgarian Society, XVth–first half of the XVIIIth c.]*, София: Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски”, 1999, pp. 119-135; Светлана Иванова, „Градовете в българските земи през XV век [Towns in Bulgarian Lands during XVth c.]”, *Българският петнадесети век [Bulgarian Fifteenth Century]*, София: Издателство на народната библиотека „Св. Св. Кирил и Методий”, 1993, pp. 53-65; Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973, pp. 35-87; Halil İnalçık, „Village, State and Empire”, *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, London: Variorum Reprints,

The thesis preserved in the old Bulgarian historiography refer to destructiveness of the Ottoman conquest which lead to flee of population, and the local people had to leave the valleys and settle in newly found villages up in the mountain regions.² Few are the articles and researches on the history of the town of Stara Zagora–the Ottoman Eskihisar Zağra. The old research theses tell the story that the local Christian population was driven out of the town and soon after its conquest by the Ottomans population from Asia Minor was deported.³ This approach in revealing the demographic history of the settlement is based on limited sources which were insufficient to reveal the demographic situation of the town of Eskihisar Zağra.

It is of great importance for researcher to have liable historical sources to trace the demographic development of a certain settlement on the territory of the Ottoman empire. The present article aims to reveal the ethnodemographic structure of the population of the town of Stara Zagora, XVIth–XVIIth centuries, based on information preserved in the tax registers (taputahrir defters)–both detailed and synoptic, of XVth, XVIth and XVIIth centuries, being one of the most popular and eligible sources in the field of Ottoman ethnodemographic studies.⁴ We will use the information from travelers' accounts, ottoman chronicles and memoires in order to present the image of this town during the Ottoman rule.

The Ottoman and foreign accounts and the tax registrations of XVth–XVIIth centuries reveal the dynamics of the demographic changes in these parts of Ottoman Upper Thrace–migrations of Muslim population and the settlement of newly found Muslim villages.⁵ The changes of the ethnodemographic char-

1985, pp. 135-155; Machiel Kiel, "Urban development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: The Place of Architecture in the Process", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 4, P. 2, 1989, pp. 80-160.

² Константин Иречек, *История на българите [History of the Bulgarians]*, София: Наука и изкуство, 1999, p. 572.

³ Димитър Илков, *Принос към историята на Стара Загора [Contributions to the History of Stara Zagora]*, Пловдив: Търговска печатница, 1908, p. 36; Христо Буюклиев, Величка Койчева, *История на Стара Загора [History of Stara Zagora]*, София: Наука и изкуство, 1966, p. 43.

⁴ Evangelia Balta, *L'Eubée a la fin du XVe siècle. Économie et Population. Les registres de l'année 1474*. Athens: Society of Euboean Studies, 1989, pp. 15-174; Leyla Erder, Suraiya Faroqhi, "Population Rise and Fall in Anatolia 1550 – 1620", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 1979, V. 15, 3-51; Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "XVI Asırda Çirmen Sancağı'nın Sosyal ve Demografik Tarihi", *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, Cilt IV, 1956, , pp. 1795-1801; Heath Lowry, "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri as a Source of Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations", Idem, *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1992, pp. 3-18; Maria Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern. Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria*, Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2006, pp. 12-65, etc.

⁵ Милена Петкова-Енчева, „Поселищна мрежа и гъстота на населението в Източния дял на Тракийската низина през първата половина на XVI век, казите Стара Загора, Чирпан, Нова Загора и Хасково [Settlement Network and Population Density in the Eastern Parts of the Thracian Valley during the First Half of the XVIth century (the kazas of Stara Zagora, Chirpan, Nova Zagora and Haskovo)]”, *Етнически и културни пространства на Балканите, Т.1 Миналото – исторически ракурси. Сборник в чест на проф. Цветана Георгиева [Ethnic and Cultural Spaces in the Balkans. Contributions in Honour of Prof. DSc Tsvetana Georgieva, Part 1 Historical Outlines]*, София: Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“, 2008, pp. 244-288; Idem, "Yukarı Doğu Trakya'daki Yerleşim Ağ: XV. Yüzlün İkinci Yarısında Hasköy Kazasına Dair Vaka Çalışması", *Dünden bugüne batı trakya uluslararası sempozyumu 23-24 ekim 2014 İstanbul. Bildirler*. İstanbul: Türk Ocakları İstanbul Şubesi, 2016, pp. 27-33.

acteristic of the region lead to the appearance of new buildings, elements of the new urban architecture of the cities—the Ottoman mosques (cami), schools (madrasa), public baths (hamam), etc.⁶ In this article we will try to outline the dynamics in the ethnodemographic structure of the population as well as the appearance of the first monuments of Islamic architecture and further development of the Ottoman buildings in one of the early conquered cities by the Ottomans on the Balkans—the town of Stara Zagora. The research is based on ottoman material—tax registers and poll tax registers (cizye defters), as well as hüccets preserved at the Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (Directorate of State Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey) in Istanbul and the Oriental Department at the National Library “St. St. Cyril and Methodius” in Sofia.

In the Ottoman Balkans the changes of the ethno-religious structure of the population in the cities more often is related to migration and settlement of Muslim population—representatives of military and administrative units as well as religious figures.⁷ In the Ottoman provinces—in cities and villages, registered as

⁶ Страшимир Димитров, „Нови данни за демографските отношения в Добруджа през първата половина на XVI в. [New Data on the Demographic Relations during the First Half of the XVIth c.]”, *Dobrudzha*, 14-16, 1997-99, pp. 278-303; Светлана Иванова, „Градовете в българските земи през XV век [Towns in Bulgarian Lands during XVth c.]”, *Българският петнадесети век [Bulgarian Fifteenth Century]*, София: Издателство на народната библиотека „Св. Св. Кирил и Методий“, 1993, pp. 52-61; Светлана Иванова, „Град Варна от Късното средновековие до националната епоха – регионалната срещу националната история [The City of Varna from the Late Medieval Times till the National Epoch—Regional Versus National History]”, *Istorichesko badeshte*, 1003, 1-2, pp. 195-229; Stefka Parveva, “Markets and Fairs: The Village of Sliven in the Sixteenth Century”, *Village, Town and People in the Ottoman Balkans XVIth-Mid-XIXth Century*, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2009, pp. 111-130; Румен Ковачев, “Населението на Габрово от средата на XV до края на XVII в. Демографски аспекти и именна система [The Population of Gabrovo – mid. XVth till the end of XVIIth century]”, *Istoricheski pregled*, 1991, 2, pp. 52-63; Idem, “Никополският санджак в началото на XVI век според регистър от Истанбулския османски архив [The Sancak of Nikbolu in the beginning of the XVIth Century according to Data Preserved in Register from the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul]”, *Istoricheski pregled*, 2006, pp. 3-4; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520 – 1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

⁷ Николай Тодоров, *Балканският град...*, [The Balkan City], София: Наука и изкуство, 1972, pp. 25-28; Бистра Цветкова, “За етническия и демографски облик на Видин през XVI век [On the Ethnic and Demographic Features of Vidin during XVIth c.]”, *Izvestiya na etnografskiya institute s muzei*, 1964, 7, pp. 11-24; Вера Мутафчиева, “Видин и Видинско през XV-XVI век. Предговор [Vidin and the Region of Vidin during XVth-XVIth c. Preface.]”, *Видин и Видинския санджак през XV-XVI век vek*, [Vidin and the Sancak of Vidin during XVth-XVIth c.], София: Наука и изкуство, 1975, pp. 5-12; Румен Ковачев, *Опис на Никополския санджак от 80-те години на XV век [Register of the Sancak of Nikbolu from the 1480s]*, София: Издателство на народната библиотека „Св. Св. Кирил и Методий“, 1997, pp. 7-11; Idem, “Новопостъпили османотурски описи като извор за социално-икономическото, историко-демографското, военно-административното и поселищно развитие на Никополски санджак през XVI век [New Acquisitions of Ottoman Registers as Source of Social-economic, Historical-denographic, Military-administrative and Settlement Network Development of the Sancak of Nikboli during XVIth c.]”, *Българският петнадесети век [The Bulgarian Fifteenth Century]*, София: Издателство на народната библиотека „Св. Св. Кирил и Методий“, 1996, pp. 215-220; Евгений Радусев, “Османската гранична периферия (серхад) в Никополския вилает през първата половина на XVI век [The Ottoman Serhad during the First Half of XVIth Century]”, *Българският петнадесети век [The Bulgarian Fifteenth Century]*, София: Издателство на народната библиотека „Св. Св. Кирил и Методий“, 1996, pp. 187-91;

taxpayers are *yörüks*, tatars, craftsmen, representatives of the Ottoman *ulama*, etc, which are an integral part of the newly formed Muslim communities. The first articles on the history of Eskihisar Zağra (modern Stara Zagora) which are not based on Ottoman sources but more likely to represent memoirs, refer to the thesis that soon after the Ottomans captured the city, the local Christians were expelled from its territories and a Muslim population was deported from Asia Minor and settled in Eskihisar Zağra.⁸

The earliest Ottoman source providing information on the ethnodemographic structure of the registered taxpayers in Eskihisar Zagra is detailed tax register of 1518.⁹ The taxpayers dwell in 18 neighborhoods and not a single Christian taxpayer is registered. Thus leads to the hypothesis of a newly found Balkan city result of the migration of Muslim population from Asia Minor.¹⁰ Other researchers suggest that the town of Stara Zagora belongs to that group of Bulgarian urban settlements that existed during the Second Bulgarian Kingdom and later, soon after the conquest by the Ottomans, were repopulated by Muslim colonists.¹¹ It is quite possible to assume that a number of Christian inhabitants might have remained in the town but because of certain specifics in their category were not included in the registration under study. Furthermore, 25.6 % of the registered taxpayers belong to the group of the converts to Islam therefor it is quite possible a certain portion of the newly converted to Islam to be generated from the population of the town along with newcomers from the nearby villages. To explain the lack of Christian population we should trace back the history of the medieval town of Stara Zagora, before it was conquered by the Ottomans.

The Ottomans didn't destroy the city walls when they captured it.¹² The archaeological excavation works witness dwellings of XIIth and XIIIth centuries situated in the center of the modern town. It is quite possible that these dwellings belonged to a medieval neighborhood of the town. The archaeological

Мария Калицин, Красимира Мутаfoва, "Предговор [Preface]", *Подбрани османски документи за Търново и Търновска каза [Selected Document on Tarnovo and the Kaza of Tarnovo]*, Велико Търново: Университетско издателство „Св. Св. Климент и Методий“, 2003, pp. 34–37, etc.

⁸ This thesis is expressed in the memoirs of S. Stoykov and D. Ilchev. Ilchev also suggests the expel of Christian population was indicated in the *kadi* records (*sicil*). Стойко Стойков, *Храмът "Св. Николай" в Стара Загора 1834–1934 г. [The Church of St. Nikolai in Stara Zagora, 1834–1934]*, Пловдив: Търговска печатница, 1935, p. 11; Димитър Илков, *Принос към историята на Стара Загора [Contribution to the History of Stara Zagora]*, Пловдив: Търговска печатница, 1908, pp. 15–19. Their hypothesis were later reprinted in the history of the town of Stara Zagora published in 1970s. Христо Буюклиев, Величка Койчева, *История на Стара Загора [History of Stara Zagora]*, София: Наука и изкуство, 1966, p. 43.

⁹ BOA TT 77, ff. 459–470.

¹⁰ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak. Vakıflar ve temlikler", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Vol. 2, Ankara, 1934, pp. 283–296.

¹¹ Machiel Kiel, "Urban Development in Bulgaria during the Turkish Period: The Place of Architecture in the Process", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 4, P. 2, 1989, pp. 84–87.

¹² Димитър Илков, *Принос към историята на Стара Загора [Contribution to the History of Stara Zagora]*, Пловдив: Търговска печатница, 1908, p. 48; Елена Грозданова, „Бунт на населението в Стара Загора през 1751 г. [Revolt of the Population of Stara Zagora in 1751]“, *Voennostricheski sbornik*, 48, 1979, V. 4, pp. 53–66.

researchers reveal the full destruction of the town and the surroundings by the crusaders in the Third Crusade (1189-1190) and the population migrated to the north.¹³ In his memoirs S. Stoykov tells of “*Latin cemetery*” and “*Latin church*” which, after the conquest of the town by the Ottomans was destroyed and at the same place they have built a mosque.¹⁴ During the Second Bulgarian Kingdom the town served as a fortress controlling the horizontal line in the south to Sredna gora Mountain and a guard point at the south end of Zmееvski Pass.¹⁵

The Ottoman historiography—Mevlânâ Mehmed Neşri in his universal history (Cihan-Nümâ) and Sadeddin Effendi’s “*Crown of Histories*” (Tâc üt-Te-vârîh) point the conquest of the city to the legendary Lala Shahin, soon after the conquest of Edirne.¹⁶ The town and the surroundings are described as “*the most beautiful town among the others..., and a great number of Christians was captured by Lala Shahin*”.¹⁷ Though the information is rather general than precise, we could assume that some Christian population might have stayed in the fortress at the time the Ottomans conquered the town.

We could also suggest that the insecure political situation in the region during the late Middle Ages period is what made, if not all, then the majority of the Christian population depart from the city. A small number of them might have stayed in the fortress and were seized by the Ottomans. During the period under study—XVth–XVIIth centuries, the town is kaza of one of the biggest administrative units (sancak) in Rumelia—Paşa sancak.

¹³ Борис Борисов, “Демографските промени през XI–XII век в днешните български земи [Demographic Changes during XI–XII Centuries in Present Bulgarian Lands]”, *Сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на акад. В. Гюзелев* [Contribution to 70th Anniversary of Academician V. Guzelev] *Sbornik v shest na 70-godishninata na akad. V. Guzelev*, София: Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“, 2006, p. 405.

¹⁴ Стойко Стойков, *Храмът “Св. Николай” в Стара Загора 1834–1934 г.* [The Church of St. Nikolai in Stara Zagora, 1834–1934], Пловдив: Търговска печатница, 1935, pp. 7–11.

¹⁵ Димитър Янков, “Стара Загора от VI–XII век [Stara Zagora, VIth – XIIth c.]”, *Средновековният български град. БИД Научни конференции*. [The Medieval Bulgarian City. Reports from Scientific Conferences], София: Наука и изкуство, 1998, p. 336.

¹⁶ Detailed review of the suggested dates on the conquest of Edirne see: Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire, the Classical Age, 1300–1600*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973, pp. 23–54; Nicoara Beldiceanu, “La conquête d’Adrianople par les Turcs: la pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes”, *Travaux et Mémoires. Centre d’histoire et de civilisation byzantines*, V. 1, Paris: Editions E. de Boccard 1965, pp. 439–461; Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1481*, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1990, p. 30; Nicolas Vatin, “L’ascension des ottomans (1362–1512)”, *Histoire de L’Empire Ottoman* (Ed. R. Mantran), Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1989, pp. 44–46; Васил Златарски, *България през XIV и XV век. Лекционен курс* [Bulgaria during XIVth–XVth Century. Lectures], София: Издателство Изток–Запад, 2005, p. 164; Христо Матанов, Румяна Михнева, *От Галиполи до Лепанто: Балканите, Европа и османското нашествие 1354–1571* [From Galipoli to Lepanto: The Balkans, Europe and the Ottoman Invasion 1254–1571], София: Наука и изкуство, 1988, pp. 34–70.

¹⁷ We use the Bulgarian translation of the chronicles. *Корона на историите на ходжа Садедин* [Crown of Histories by Hoca Sadeddin], Translated by Maria Kalitsin, Велико Търново: Абагар, 2000, pp. 169–172; *Мехмед Нешири. Огледало на света. История на Османския двор.* [Mehmed Neshri. Costomata], Translated by Maria Kalitsin, София: Издателство на Отечества фронт, 1984, pp. 74–75; Хюсеин, *Бед’а’у’ул-векка’и.* (Удивительные события) [Miraculous Events], Памятники литературы народов Востока. Большая серия. Москва: Издательство восточной литературы, 1961, Ч. 1, p. 63a.

As we have already mentioned the earliest tax registration of the population of the town of Eskihisar Zağra is that of 1518. The taxpayers compile the number of 524 households and 245 unmarried all Muslims. Even if the town was depopulated at the end of 14th century, at the beginning of the XVIth century the process has been overcome and the number of the registered taxpayers shows that the town matches the size of the majority of the Balkan cities.¹⁸ The Muslims dwell in 18 neighborhoods (mahalle)–Imaret, Ibrahim Subaşi, Veled-i Ivaz, Cami, Çerçi Murad, Hacı Hasan nam-i diğer Derzi Üsuf, Hacı Malokoç, Cuneyd, Mihaliçlu, Hayran Dede, Kalburci, Hacı Durhan nam-i diğer Culyahhan, Hacı Mahmud, Hamid Fakih, Dabagyan, Havuciler, Hasan Fakih and Hociler.¹⁹

The names of the neighborhoods and the registered taxpayers show that the Muslim community was formed as a result of colonization and migration of Muslims rather than Islamization processes. What played an important role on the formation and stability of the Muslim community was the establishment of waqfs. In Eskihisar Zağra as well as in other early conquered settlements situated south of the Balkan Mountain range (Stara Planina)–Filibe, Aydos, etc, were established one of the earliest waqfs in the former Bulgarian lands.²⁰ It was the waqf institution that provided the necessary substantial conditions for preaching and spread of Islam–building mosques, schools, small shops (dükkâns) in the urban market zone (çarşı), religio-charitable complexes (imaret, külliye), etc.

Sign of the early colonization of Muslim population in the town is the establishment and functioning of a primary Muslim school (mualimhane) in Eskihisar Zağra which was part of the waqf of Mevlana Nureddin in 1489–1490 г.²¹ It is

¹⁸ For this conclusion I have used the scheme suggested by Nikolay Todorov. See: Николай Тодоров, *Балканският град... [The Balkan City...]*, София: Наука и изкуство, 1972, pp. 56-59.

¹⁹ ВОА, ТТ 77, ff. 459-469.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 32; Страшимир Димитров, "Етнически и религиозни процеси сред българската народност през XV-XVII век [Ethnic and Religious Processes in the Bulgarian Nationality, XVth–XVIIth century]", *Balgarska etnografiya*, 1980, 1, pp. 32-34; Антонина Желязкова, "Формиране на мюсюлманските общности и комплесите на балканските историографии [Formation of Muslim Communities and Disadvantages of Balkan Historiography]", *Съдбата на мюсюлманските общности на Балканите [Faith of Muslim Communities on the Balkans]*, V. 1, София: IMIR 1997, pp. 11-13; Михаила Стайнова, "Ислам и исламская религиозная пропаганда в Болгарии [Islam and Islamic Religious Propaganda in Bulgaria]", *Османская империя. Система государственного управления, социальные и этнорелигиозные проблемы [The Ottoman Empire. The System of Government, Social and Ethno-religious Issues]*. Москва: Наука 1986, pp. 86-97; Светлана Иванова, Росица Градева, "Въведение. Изследване на историята и съвременното състояние на мюсюлманската култура по българските земи – народен и висок пласт [Preface. Researching the Past and the Present of Muslim Culture in Bulgaria: the "popular" and "high" layers]", *Мюсюлманска култура по българските земи [Muslim Culture in Bulgarian Lands]*, V. 2, София: IMIR 1998, p. 21; Evangelia Balta, *Les vakifs des Serrès et de sa region (XVe etXVIe s.). Un premier inventaire*. Athènes: Centre de Recherches Néo-Helléniques F.N.R.S., 1995, pp. 47-48; Vasilis Demetriades, "Vakifs along the Via Egnatia", *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380 – 1699). Halcyon Days in Crete II, A Symposium Held in Rethymnon 9–11 January 1994*, Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1996, pp. 85-95.

²¹ ВОА ТТ 26, f. 58; Орлин Събев, *Османските училища в българските земи XV-XVIII век [Ottoman Schools in Bulgarian Lands, XVth–XVIIIth c.]*, София: Любюмъдрие, 2001, p. 223. Part of the incomes of the vakif was also the abattoir (bağhane) and six dükkâns in the town and other possessions in Istanbul. See: Mehmet Tayyib Gokbilgin, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası: Vakıflar—Mülkler—Mukataalar*. Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2007, pp. 337-338.

stated that the establishment of school network during the XVth and first half of the XVIth centuries was one of the ways of establishment of the ottoman state institutions and power in Bulgarian lands.²² The network of ottoman schools was established and began to function almost a century after the conquest of a certain region.²³ In 1489–1490 a public bath part of the waqf of Şeyh Mehmed bin Üsuf was built near the mosque of Hamza Bey.²⁴

Usually, the Muslim neighbourhoods in towns were established near houses of worship or even around religio-charitable complexes (külliye). Often, the name of the neighbourhoods were the same as those of the worship buildings/ places.²⁵ The data from the registration of refers not only to existing mosques but also a religio-charitable complex which gave the name of the neighborhood Imaret. As we will see, the names of the town's neighborhoods didn't change in the next registrations which is an indication that their names were related to important figures for the Muslim community, religious buildings, etc.

Amongst the taxpayers are registered persons related to the functioning of the mosques and masjids—Muslim religious functionaries such as imams and muezzins.²⁶ The number of the registered imams and muezzins is 15 which reveals that at the time of the registration in 1518 there were a certain number of mosques functioning in the town. An interesting fact, though not a precedent, is that 2% of the religious functionaries were newly converted Muslims.

Data on the urban structure of the town and the ethnoreligious developments provides a synoptic registration of 1530.²⁷ The taxpayers of Eskihisar Zağra dwell in the same 18 neighborhoods from 1518 and refer to 512 households and 203 unmarried, all Muslims. This registration provides information on the dervish lodge Karaca Ahmed situated in the neighborhood Hasan Fakih with two registered dervish şeyhs most probably staying at the dervish lodge. The registrations includes the imaret of Gümlü Bey. The number of the mosques is two and two masjids, though there is no indication in which neighborhood

²² It is considered that the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans followed three directions: Via Egnatia, Via Militaris and the third one followed the Valley of Tundzha River then passed the lowest parts of the Balkan mountain range heading to Silistra and the territory of present Romania. See: Александър Антонов, "Към въпроса за организацията на мензилската система в българските земи през XVI-XVIII век [On the organization of the menzil system in Bulgarian Lands, XVIth–XVIIIth c.]", *Пручевания в чест на проф. Вера Мутафчиева [Contributions in Honor to Prof. Vera Mutaftchieva]*, София: AMICITIA 2001, pp. 35-37.

²³ Орлин Събев, *Османските...*, pp. 256-270.

²⁴ Mehmet Gökbilgin, XV–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası. Vakıflar –Mülkler–Mukataalar..., pp. 27-28.

²⁵ Светлана Иванова, "Градските териториални общности и организацията на култа на мюсюлмани и християни [Urban Communities and the Cult of Muslims and Christians]" *Турското завоевание и съдбата на балканските народи, отразени в исторически и литературни паметници [The Conquest by the Turks and the Faith of the Balkan People According to Data from Historical and Literary Sources]*, Велико Търново: Издателство Велико Търново, 1992, pp. 128-133.

²⁶ Detailed information on religious functionaries in Bulgarian lands see: Stefka Parveva, "Urban Representatives of the Ulema in Bulgarian Lands in the Seventeenth Century", *Village, Town and People in the Ottoman Balkans 16th – mid-19th Century*, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2009, pp. 139-178.

²⁷ BOA TT 370, ff. 67-76.

of the town were situated. The number of the public baths is five. Though they were not included in the registration of 1530 we could assume that the small shops (dükkâns) and the primary religious school were still functioning.

A detailed register of 1570 provides much more interesting information on the urban and ethno-religious structure of the registered taxpayers in Eskihisar Zağra.²⁸ The data refers to 697 households and 45 unmarried Muslims and 10 non-Muslims (listed as nefer). The Non-Muslims are registered in the neighborhood of Köni which appears for the first time in the tax registrations. Eight of the non-Muslims are registered as newcomers (preseleç), i.e. 21 % of the taxpayers of the Christian neighborhood Köni are newcomers most probably from the surroundings of the town. The Muslim community is represented in the same neighborhoods as in the registrations of 1518 and 1530 only the number of the registered Muslim taxpayers has increased with 100 households. The growth of the numbers of the populations during the second half of the XVIth century is a trend common in other towns and parts of the Ottoman Rumelia and Europe, though with some exceptions in Anatolia.²⁹ The rise of the population is related to the ongoing migration processes from Anatolian lands to Rumelia as well as the growth of the population in the Balkan provinces itself.

The number of the converted to Islam in 1570 is 94, i.e. 9.6 % of the Muslims in Eskihisar Zağra, registered as taxpayers of the Muslim neighborhoods. We could assume that this number didn't affect the growth of the Muslim community in the town but it is rather an evidence on the small size of the Christian community that could not ensure a high degree of integration and keep its members. 12 of the converted to Islam are freed slaves, 19 are waqf reaya. In four of the

²⁸ BOA TT 494, ff. 421-436.

²⁹ Вера Мутафчиева, "Видин и Видинско през XV-XVI век. Предговор [Vidin and the Region of Vidin during XV-XVI c. Preface.], *Видин и Видинския санджак през XV-XVI век век, [Vidin and the Sancak of Vidin during XVth – XVIth c.]*, София: Наука и изкуство, 1975, pp. 48-49; Светлана Иванова, "Град Варна от Късното средновековие до националната епоха – регионалната срещу националната история [The City of Varna from the Late Medieval Times till the National Epoch – Regional Versus National History]", *Istorichesko badeshte*, 1003, 1-2, pp. 195-229; Махиял Кийл, "За създаването и ранната история на град Трявна в България [On the Establishment and Early History of the Town of Tryavna in Bulgaria]", *Хора и селища в България през османския период. (Събрани съчинения)[People and Settlements in Bulgaria during the Ottoman Period. Variorum Reprints]*, София: AMICITIA, 2005, 251-263; Ibid., "Tatar Pazarcik. The Development of an Ottoman Town in Central-Bulgaria or the Story of how the Bulgarians conquered Upper Thrace without firing a shot", Klaus Kreiser, Christoph Neumann (eds) *Das osmanische Reich und seinen Archivalien und Chroniken, Nejat Göyünc zu Ehren*, Istanbul: F. Steiner Verlag, 1997, pp. 31-67. Eadem, "H'razgrad - Hezargrad - Razgrad, The vicissitudes of a Turkish town in Bulgaria (Historical, Demographical Economic and Art Historical Notes)", *Turcica XXI-XXIII*, 1991 (Mêlanges offerts à Irène Mèlikoff), pp. 495-563; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques des cahiers de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1 (1957) 1, pp. 9 – 36; Halil İncalçik, "The Empire's Population and Population Movements", *An Economic and Social History of The Ottoman Empire (Ed. H. İncalçik & D. Quartaert)*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 25-41; Michael Cook, *Population Pressure in Rural Anatolia 1450-1600*, London – New York: Oxford University Press 1972, pp. 13-68; Leyla Erder, Suraiya Faroqhi, "Population Rise and Fall in Anatolia 1550-1620", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. XV, 3, 1979, pp. 328-345.

town's neighborhoods are registered 11 members of Muslim heterodox orders which might have affected some of the registered Non-Muslim taxpayers to convert to Islam. There were two dervish lodges in the town—the zaviye Karaca Ahmed in the neighborhood Hasan Fakih and zaviye Doğan Bali located in the near surroundings of the town. An interesting fact is the presence of representatives of the Janissaries in six of the town's neighborhoods. Regardless the circumstances that provoked the non-Muslim population to convert to Islam—to change their social status, waqf reaya, become members of the military elite (askeri) or influenced by the representatives of the heterodox orders, the percent of islamization 9.6 % reveals that this conversion was not result of a planned and strong-will government policy of Islamization of the population but shows the aspiration of the local population for a better place in the social hierarchy of the Ottoman society and economic prosperity. In 10 of the neighborhoods of Eskihisar Zağra were registered 34 households and one unmarried representative of the yörük organization which is described as one of the factors for the spread of Islam in the Ottoman empire.³⁰ Nevertheless, their presence is a mark of the colonization processes in the countryside and most probably traces one of the ways that led to the sedentarization of the semi-nomadic groups. The representatives of the Ottoman ulama are registered at the Muslim houses of worship: one hatib who also took the position of muezzin in the neighborhood of Cami Atik.³¹ The total of the registered imams in 1570 is 32 and those of the muezzins 24.³² The increasing numbers of the religious functionaries is related to the growth of the registered Muslim community in the town.

Amongst the taxpayers were registered four seyyids in the neighborhood of Cami Atik. This title was conferred upon the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad and in the Ottoman State they enjoyed some privileges and tax alleviations.³³

The Muslim community is 95 % of the registered taxpayers in the town and 0.6 % of them are registered as people without permanent residence (haymane)—most probably new comers from the villages from the surroundings of Eskihisar Zağra. At the end of the XVIth century the Muslim community continuous to be the biggest one in the town with well-presented social hierarchy, dwelling in 18 neighborhoods.

Data on the urban structure of the city provides the tax registration of 1570 and documents preserved at the National Library “St.St. Cyril and Methodius” in Sofia. It refers to several mosques, masjids and dervish lodges:

The mosque of Mustafa Efendi—the registration doesn't provide information where it was situated. Evidence on the same mosque, still functioning

³⁰ Страшимир Димитров, “За юрушката организация и ролята ѝ в етноасимилационните процеси [On the Yörük Organization and its Role in the Islamization Processes]”, *Vekove*, 1987, 1-2, pp. 33-43.

³¹ BOA TT 494, f. 422.

³² BOA TT 494, f. 422-430.

³³ BOA TT 494, f. 422.

during the first half of the XVIIth century, is hüccet-i zahriye of 27. 01 1648–14. 01 1649 providing information on the imam of the mosque Hüseyin Halife ³⁴ The same document mentions the name of the previous imam of the mosque Abdel Rahman.

The mosque of Hacı Mustafa–located in the neighborhood of Çerci Murad. Osman was the appointed muezzin at the time of the compilation of the tax register.³⁵

Masjid Hacı Mustafa, located in the same neighborhood of Çerci Murad and the name of the imam is Mehmed Çelebi.

The Old Mosque (Cami atik)–the Hamza Bey mosque is the earliest Ottoman architecture monument built in the town of Eskihisar Zağra and preserved till present.³⁶ In this area was formed the central zone of the Ottoman town. The published memoirs of Dimitar Ilkov reveal that near the Hamza Bey Mosque was the market zone (çarşı) and the bedasten Taşhan built during 1408–1410 to the west end of the çarşı.³⁷ The data of the registration of 1570 refers to Mustafa Iskender and Fethi–both muezzins at Hamza Bey Mosque. The documents hüccet-i zahriye from XVIIth century provide information on: Mevlana Ahmed Effendi, imam, 17. 06. 1635³⁸, Abdulah bin Ahmed, hatib, 14. 04. 1636³⁹, Mehmed bun Üsuf–hatib, 20. 10. 1656–8. 10. 1657⁴⁰, Ibrahim–imam, 22. 04. 1684 ⁴¹

Masjid Hacı Sinan–the registration doesn't provide information on its location. It mentions Ahmed halife–imam, Mustafa–imam and muezzin, Hüseyin Üsuf–imam, Mahmud Ahmed–muezzin, all serving at the masjid of Hacı Sinan.

Masjid Hacı Mehmed–no information on its location, the registration contains data on Abdel Rahman–imam, and Mustafa bin Üsuf serving at the masjid.

Masjid Hacı Hasan located in the neighborhood of Malkoç and Şaban Mahmud–imam, Mehmed Nasuh–muezzin at the masjid.

Though, there is no data on mosque or other Muslim house of worship in the neighborhood Imaret, we could assume from its name that there was one functioning for sure, for one of its taxpayers is registered as “muezzin at the masjid in the neighborhood of Imaret.

A mosque located in the neighborhood Dabagan. The registration of 1570 contains data on a masjid as well, no information on the name of the two houses of worship. Mehmed Eldin Ali–imam and Mehmed Musa–muezzin were serving at the masjid.

³⁴ Национална библиотека „Св. Кирил и Методий“ (НБКМ), (National Library “St. St. Kiril and Methodius”), Ор. О, (Oriental department), Ф. 93 А, а. е. , 10; Ф. 93, а. е. , 144.

³⁵ ВOA ТТ 494, f. 425.

³⁶ Димитър Янков, “Стара Загора от VI–XII век [Stara Zagora, 6th – 12th c.]”, *Средновековният български град. БИД Научни конференции. [The Medieval Bulgarian City. Reports from Scientific Conferences]*, София: Наука и изкуство, 1998, p. 331.

³⁷ Димитър Илков, *Принос към историята на Стара Загора [Contributions to the History of Stara Zagora]*, Пловдив: Търговска печатница, 1908, p. 50.

³⁸ НБКМ, Ор. о. , Ф. 93 а , а. е. , 27.

³⁹ НБКМ, Ор. о. , Ф. 93, а. е. 143; Ф. 93 А, а. е. 28.

⁴⁰ НБКМ, Ор. о. Ф. 93, а. е. 154.

⁴¹ НБКМ, Ор. о. Ф. 93, а. е. 156.

The detailed registration of 1570 provides information on three masjids located in the neighborhood of Hacı Mahmud.

A mosque and masjid existed in the neighborhood Alıca masjid. Mehmed Murad–imam, Şaban Mehmed–muezzin were serving at the masjid and Mustafa Halife–imam and hatib, Mehmed Ismail–muezzin, were serving at the mosque.

The registration of 1570 mentions the name of Ahmed Hüseyin–imam at the mosque in the neighborhood of Malkoç, though there is no information on the name of the mosque.

It is obvious that the number of the Ottoman worship buildings has increased compared to that of two mosques and two masjids in the registration of 1530. The six mosques and five masjids in the registration of 1570 are evidence on the organization of the urban space and also could satisfy the daily needs for prayers of the Muslim community.

The detailed information of 1570 contains data on dervish lodges in the town of Eskihisar Zağra. Three of them were located in the neighborhood of Hasan Fakih, one of dervish lodges was named Karacı Ahmed. Most probably this is the same dervish lodge registered also in 1530. Another three dervish lodges were registered in the neighborhood Hayran dede.

A registration of extraordinary levies (*avâriz*) of 1675–1676 provides information on another dervish lodge in the neighborhood of İbn Avaz with 15 taxpayers, seven amongst them registered as *yörüks*.⁴²

The only Ottoman monument preserved in Stara Zagora nowadays is Hamza Bey Mosque, the Old Mosque. It was the biggest and oldest Ottoman worship building around which has formed the core of the ottoman market place in the town. This process began most probably at the beginning of the XVth century for the mosque was built around 1409. The Hamza Bey Mosque represents a solid block with dimensions 19.53 m–27.24 m. The prayer hall and the gallery are quite big bearing in mind the time of its reconstruction. The inner space is covered by a huge dome and the walls of the mosque are 1.55 m thicker than the usual for mosques of this size in order to withstand the weight of the dome. The archs do not rest on pilasters but rise directly from the walls. The interior is illuminated by a series of three windows in the walls, two in the low and one in the high, and 12 windows in the dome's drum. All windows were replaced since the time of the original reconstruction of the mosque, some of them have been filled with stone blocks. A special attention must be paid to the outer gallery of Hamza Bey Mosque. It does not show the usual form of three to five domed sectors, as it is the usual image for mosques from the second half of the XVth century. This mosque has two large domes on both sides of the central hall, which is relatively narrow—a sign of an older architectural tradition. Another element witnessing this old tradition is the double colonnade on the both sides of the gallery. The minaret of the mosque was at the top of the wall where the gallery began. Its

⁴² BOA MMД 2442.

entrance was situated in the inside, in the prayer hall. The minaret of Hamza Bey Mosque was destroyed in 1984.⁴³

A date of reconstruction of the mosque is written in a stone sign (tahrir) above the door of the prayer hall. The year is 1209 H (31.07.1859–20.06.1860) and it represents a later reconstruction of the mosque and not the time of its building. Evliya Çelebi also mentions about a epigraph of the mosque.⁴⁴

The epigraph says that it was built during the reign of Emir Süleyman and Evliya Çelebi mentions that Hamza Bey belonged to the askeri man of Musa Çelebi. If we stick to the information from the epigraph, then, most probably Hamza Bey was from the military man of Süleyman Çelebi. At the time of 1408 these territories were under the reign of Suleiman and quite possible the mosque was built by 1408. On the other hand, what Evliya Çelebi mentions might refer to a later period, when Hamza Bey might have become part of the Musa Çelebi military man.

The memoires of Ilkov mention that at the time of the building of the mosque the local Christian population rebelled.⁴⁵ We could assume that this might refer to the participation and the support of the Christian population given to Musa Çelebi during his actions to ascend to the throne in Edirne.⁴⁶

It is hard to identify the historical personality of Hamza Bey because of the insufficient and contradictory information about him. There are some historical personalities that lived in the beginning of the XVth century. Besides the above mentioned hypothesis about Hamza Bey and Süleyman and Musa Çelebi, another possibility is Biçeroğlu Hamza Bey who was military functionary during the reign of Mehmed I, appointed as tutor of the future sultan Murad II. There are also some other historical figures mentioned as Hamza Bey—the one who built a big mosque in Thessaloniki, and etc.⁴⁷

The researchers reveal that existed a library close to the Hamza Bey mosque which was also established by Hamza Bey. At present no one has found a manuscript that was kept in that library.⁴⁸ If not a founder, we could assume that Hamza Bey could have donated books to the library.

⁴³ Mahiel Kiel, "Some Early Ottoman Monuments in Bulgarian Thrace", *Belleten*, C. 38, Ankara: Sayı 152'den Ayri basimi, 1974, pp. 635 – 654; Ibid, "Urban development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: The Place of Architecture in the Process", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 4, P. 2, 1989, pp. 80-160; Eadem, "Urban development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period,» in: K. H. Karpat, (ed.), *The Turks of Bulgaria: The History, Culture and Political Fate of a Minority*, Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1990, pp. 79-158.

⁴⁴ Димитра Гаджанов, "Пътуването на Евлия Челеби през българските земи през средата на XVII век [The Journey of Evliya Çelebi in Bulgarian Lands in the middle of the 17th Century]", *Periodichesko spisanie*, 1909, V. 21, 70, sv. 9-10, pp. 639 – 724.

⁴⁵ Димитър Илков, *Принос към историята на Стара Загора [Contributions to the History of Stara Zagora]*, Пловдив: Търговска печатница, 1908, p. 35.

⁴⁶ Христо Матанов, Румяна Михнева, *От Галиполи до Лепанто: Балканите, Европа и османското нашествие 1354-1571 [From Galipoli to Lepanto: The Balkans, Europe and the Ottoman Invasion 1254-1571]*, София: Наука и изкуство, 1988, pp. 70-145.

⁴⁷ Ибрахим Татарлъ, "Турски култови сгради и надписи в България [Turkish Houses of Worship and Epigraphs in Bulgaria]", *Godishnik na Sofiyskiya universitet–FZF*, 1966, V. 60, pp. 576-613.

⁴⁸ Михаила Стайнова, *Османските библиотеки в българските земи XV – XIX век [Ottoman*

The story by Evliya Çelebi mentions that Hamza Bey founded a primary Muslim school, which was the most beautiful school among the 42 functioning in town. The story continues with information on many waqfs of Hamza Bey. We could assume that if there existed a library founded by Hamza Bey, most probably this was a huge collection of books or manuscripts donated to the school and the mosque.⁴⁹

Economy

The information on the agrarian economy of the town and the surrounding area from the late medieval period, though too fragmentary and insufficient, refers to well organized and agrarian fields near the town, where the crusaders found vineyards and orchard gardens.⁵⁰

The data from the detailed tax registrations of XVIth century provides sufficient information to outline the frameworks of the economic development of the Ottoman town of Eskihisar Zağra.

The data on the economic activities of the registered taxpayers during XVIth century is presented in Table 1.

Table-1

Taxes	TT 77, 1518	TT 494, 1570
	498 Muslim households reaya; 14 müselem yamak; 4 yağci, 1 tovica, 2 celep, 1 eşkinci, 1 yovaci и 1 eşkinci canbaz; 245 unmarried Muslims;	514 Muslim households reaya; 31 imams and hatibs (nefer); 25 muezzins; 23 eşkinci, celep, canbaz; 32 reaya vakf Medina, 3 sipahi zade; 37 unmarried Muslims; 27 Christian households; 10 unmarried Christians
Resm-i benak ⁵¹	-	936 (akçe)
Ispenç ⁵²	-	920
Cizye	-	2650 ⁵³
Thithe on wheat	-	3 mud; 430 (akçe)
Thithe on barley and other cereals	-	3 mud; 300 (akçe)
Orchards	1 764 (akçe)	1 500 (akçe)

Libraries in Bulgarian Lands, 15th – 19th c., София: Наука изкуство, 1982, p. 147.

⁴⁹ Михаила Стайнова, Османските..., p. 148.

⁵⁰ Димитър Ангелов, "По въпроса за стопанския облик на българските земи през XI-XIV век [On the Economic Characteristics of Bulgarian Lands, XIth-XIVth c.]", *Istoricheski pregled*, 1951, 4-5, pp. 432-433.

⁵¹ Basic land tax paid by Muslim reaya.

⁵² Basic land tax paid by Non-Muslim reaya.

⁵³ The income from the cizye is registered as mukataa, and represents the total of the collected taxes paid by the Non-Muslims in the kaza of Eskihisar Zağra and Kızıl Ağaç.

Vineyards (an bagat şehir)	1 410 (akçe)	300 (akçe) payed by the Christians; 1000 (akçe) payed by the Muslims
Beehives	1 100 (akçe)	200 (akçe)
Vegetable gardens (bostan)	30 (akçe)	450 (akçe)
Chickpea	5 (akçe)	45 (akçe)
Tithe on onion and other (müneviya)	16 (akçe)	200 (akçe)
watermills (esiab)	bab 23 ; 630 (akçe)	20 bab each 30 (akçe) total 600 (akçe)
mukataa ⁵⁴ of the abattoir (başhane) and rent of the dükkâns of Nureddin and Noktacı zade	6 560 (akçe)	7 000 (akçe) ⁵⁵
Mukataa of bozahane	7 000 (akçe)	5 000 (akçe) ⁵⁶
Mukataa bac-i bazar	7 500 (akçe)	6 500 (akçe) ⁵⁷
Mukataa of cereal market	8 500 (akçe)	8 000 (akçe) ⁵⁸
Niyabet, arusane	9 000 (akçe)	6 400 (akçe)
Hassa of walnut trees and orchards	300 (akçe)	104 (akçe) ⁵⁹
Hassa-i çair (medows)	300 (akçe)	
Bac-i fuçi (barrels of wine)	-	300 (akçe)

⁵⁴ Detail information on mukataa see: Linda Darling, *Revenue-raising and legitimacy. The Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660*, Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1996, pp. 123-135.

⁵⁵ Registered as mahsul in 1570 registration.

⁵⁶ Registered as mahsul in 1570 registration.

⁵⁷ Registered as mahsul in 1570 registration.

⁵⁸ In 1570 the tax is registered as resm-i kapani and the earlier registration on 1518 is registered as mukataa-i kapan.

⁵⁹ In the registration of 1570 the amount refers only to walnut tree gardens.

We shall start with the description of the city boundaries – the zone where the citizens could practice agriculture.

The Town Territory

A description of the town boundaries is included in a detailed ruster compiled during the reign of sultan Ahmed I. *“Boundaries of the mentioned (mezbur) town [Eskihisar Zağra]: start from the top side of the main watermill of Evliya Uzun Utalı and passes by the place where water is collected. [From then on] to the fortified Derbend⁶⁰ and reaches the valley and Kılıç field and Buyuk Tepe. From there [the boundary] passes near the lower part of the tarla of Sefer Beşe. From there passes by a little forest and the meadows of Ali Voyvoda and riches four pear trees and swampland. From there [passes] near the cornfield of Mustafa Çauş and reaches the road leading to Penbeci village. Then it goes to the cornfield of Ine han [...?]. From there [the boundary] passes by the road to the village Kara Köpeklü and reaches the cornfield (tarla) of Mehmed Ağa and the meadows of Ali Efendi, then goes to a forrest and reaches the boundary of Evlya Uzun [...?] Kara Dağ. From there [passes by] the valley with the apricot trees and reaches the wells of Kurd [...?] and ends.”⁶¹*

The description of the town boundaries provides information on land properties of representatives of the askeri – the cornfields of Sefer Beşe and Mustafa Çavuş. We could assume that this information is an evidence of the process of the spread of askeri çiftlik in the region of the Thracian valley, though we could not define the size of the mentioned cornfields. Nevertheless, they are indicative of the engagement of the representatives of askeri in land possession. Out of this matter is the issue whether these fields were used for household maintenance or, more likely, were an investment in land property. The citizens could practice agriculture also within the village boundaries of Ahad Viranı.⁶²

In the beginning of the XVIth century (1518) the tiths paid by the citizens didn't defer much from the tiths paid by the peasants from the surrounding area. The share of the cereals is 3404 akçe, comprising 7.1 % of the total tax income of the city.⁶³

The citizens produced not only wheat, barley and other cereals but were also engaged with vineyards. The share of the vineyards is 2.3 % in 1518 and 2.2 % in 1570. Detailed information on the vineyards of the town of Eskihisar Zağra is available in the travelers' accounts of XVIIth century. Johan Von Kinds-

⁶⁰ Probably the village of Kilisacik Derbend, modern Zmeevo, situated 2 km north of the town of Stara Zagora.

⁶¹ BOA, TT 721, f. 231.

⁶² BOA, TT 77, f. 480, TT 370, f. 71, TT 494, f. 495-6.

⁶³ The value of wheat or other cereals is not recorded in the register of 1518 and there is no mention of the taxable amount of cereals. The same situation could be observed for part of the settlements belonging to the kaza of Stara Zagora. In the town's total income, however, the amount of all other taxations is registered. We have estimated the approximate amount of the cereals as the total revenue of the town is deducted the sum of the levies that were entered in the register of 1518. BOA TT 77, f. 469.

berg states: "Eskihisar Zağra was a town with eleven mosques and a bedasten for the merchants...The land between Edirne and Eskihisar Zağra is rich of fields and meadows and small hills. The town is situated at the foot of a hill called "Derbend" with lots of vineyards in this area. Though one can see a lot of vineyards on his way from Edirne to Eskihisar Zağra, the local vineyards are excel in their best quality."⁶⁴

A bigger share compared to that of the vineyards was the share of the orchards – 3.7% in 1518 and 2.4% in the registration of 1570. The impressive areas with orchards were described also in the traveller's account of Louis-Auguste Félix de Beaujour.⁶⁵

In XIX century William McMichael noticed "vineyards, all kinds of orchard trees..."⁶⁶

The share of the vegetable gardens is 0.1 % in 1518 and 1.1% in the registration of 1570. I assume that the vegetable gardens were situated near Sazliyka river, which at the end of the XIXth century marked the eastern border of the town. The memoirs of D. Ilkov and H. Georgi Slavov reveal that the vegetable gardens of the citizens were situated near the same river.⁶⁷ Most probably a great number of the citizens were engaged with the orchards and the vegetable gardens and practiced agricultural activities.

The Market Place of Eskihisar Zağra

The earliest preserved information on the functioning of butchers and abattoir at the waqf of Nureddin is preserved in the registration of 1489 г.⁶⁸ This information matches the story by Ilkov who in his memoirs mentions that the market place of the town was constructed within the city walls from the Medieval period. These first small shops (dükkâns) established the core of the market place—the çarşı. The butchers and the abattoir were functioning in the XVIth century. Usually in the different Ottoman cities the dükkâns were part of the waqf possessions.⁶⁹

The building of the bedasten was in 1408-1410 which as in other Ottoman towns was a big stone building that served for different trade activities.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Немски и австрийски пътеници за Балканите XVII-средата на XVIII век [German and Austrian Travelers' Accounts for the Balkans], София: Наука и изкуство, 1986, p. 146.

⁶⁵ Френски пътеници за Балканите XV-XVIII век [French Travelers' Accounts for the Balkans, XVth–XVIIIth c.], София: Наука и изкуство, 1975, pp. 410-411.

⁶⁶ Английски пътеници за Балканите (края на XVI – 30те години на XIX век) [English Travelers' Accounts for the Balkans (end of XVth–1920s)], София: Наука и изкуство, 1987, pp. 555-556.

⁶⁷ Хаджи Георги Славов, "Статистическо описание на каазата Ески Заара [Statistic data on the kaza of Eski Zagra]", *Tsarigradski vestnik*, 8, 1858, p. 34.

⁶⁸ BOA TT 26, f. 67.

⁶⁹ The majority of the kasab dükkâns belonged to vakf. See: Suraiya Faroqhi, *Town and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520–1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 160.

⁷⁰ Светлана Иванова, "Градски живот (XV - първата половина на XVIII век) [Urban Life (XVth–first half of the XVIIIth c.)", *Българското общество XV началото на XVIII век [Bulgarian Society,*

Important trade buildings with huge economic importance were the state grain barns and state scales for measuring goods.⁷¹ The income of these activities compiled the share of 4.5 % in 1518 and 5.6 % in the registration of 1570.

The biggest share compiles that of the crafts related to the stock breeding. We should remind that one of the town's neighborhood was named Dabagan, and dabags were 42 of the registered taxpayers in 1518 and 50 in 1570. They were engaged in the primary treatment of the leather and provided raw material for shoemakers, tailors, etc. The next share is that of the shoemakers (pabukçi)–18 in the registration of 1518 and 14 in 1570; Paşmakçi (also shoemakers) were seven of the registered taxpayers in 1518 and nine in 1570; Kefşkirs who were also shoemakers were five in 1518 and their number increased to 20 in the registration of 1570.

Table-2

Craftsmen	1518	1570
	1	2
Dabagân ¹	42	50
Nicar ²	2	5
Saraç ³		5
Kasab ⁴	12	10
Kefşkir ⁵	5	20
Pabukçi ⁶	18	14
Paşmakçi ⁷	7	9
Sofu ⁸		2
Berber ⁹	2	4
Hiyat ¹⁰	6	11
Atarci ¹¹	2	6
Nalbant ¹²	3	7
Dabah ¹³		1

In columns one and two we have entered the number of the craftsmen.¹ Engaged with the primary treatment of the leather; ² Carpenter; ³ Engaged with the secondary treatment of the leather; ⁴ Butchers; ^{5, 6, 7} Shoemakers; ⁸ Engaged with wool treatment; ⁹ Barber; ¹⁰ Tailor; ^{11 12} Blacksmith; ¹³ Cook.

A large share of the tax revenues of town of Stara Zagora was the revenue from market fees. Market fees-baç, are mentioned in the earliest legislation of the Ottoman Sultans. The fee was to accompany any transaction carried out at the local town hall, except for the purchase and sale of real estate. The market

XVth–first half of XVIIIth c.], София: Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“, 1999, p. 119.

⁷¹ Бистра Цветкова, *Проучвания на градското стопанство през XV-XVI век [Study on the Urban Economy, XVth–XVIth c.]*, София: Наука и изкуство, 1972, pp. 34–35.

fee was implied and/ or when the goods are brought into the city if they come from outside or when they are brought to the market and in the course of the sale itself, if the goods are of local origin.⁷² In the case of Stara Zagora, the market tax concerns landed cereals—probably surpluses from the farms of the peasants from the nearby town, who were selling them at the city market.⁷³

At the beginning of the XVIth centuries the tax registrations provide information on the Muslim town of Eskihisar Zağra, where not a single Christian is registered as taxpayer. Its size matches the size of the majority of the Balkan towns. The Muslims are registered as taxpayers in 18 neighborhoods. The Muslim community is result of colonization and migration processes rather than Islamization. The hypothesis of colonization of Muslim population is evidenced by the big number of the unmarried Muslim taxpayers, as well as notes, written after certain names such as: Karaman, Saruhan, Aydın, etc. The process of Islamization at the turn of the century is most intense. According to the 1518 registration, this is 25.6 % of the payers. This could be a sign of the existence of a Christian community in the city, but Christian households have been registered according to the sources under study in the second half of the XVIth century, when the new Christian neighborhood appeared in town of Stara Zagora. Muslims are 95 % of the city's inhabitants. The total number of registered households in the city is increasing compared to the number of registrations for 1518 and 1526–27, which is in line with the urban population growth observed in the Balkans and many regions of Asia Minor. It could be the result of continuing migrations of population of Asia Minor. The Muslim houses of worship—mosques, masjids, in each of the city's neighborhoods, witness not only for the existing Muslim community in the city but also is a clear sign for the construction and presence of elements of Islamic urban architecture in Stara Zagora during the XVth–XVIIth century. The Muslim and the Christian communities are engaged in land cultivation as well as crafts. Though there is no direct data on the stock breeding we could assume that some citizens kept at least a pair of oxen to plough the fields. The majority of the craftsmen among the taxpayers are engaged with leather and fur (Dabagan neighborhood) which implies if not for stock-breeding in the town, then stock-breeding in the surroundings of Eskihisar Zağra. At the beginning of the XVIIth century, the description of the town boundaries evidence the process when representatives of the askeri showed interest in landholding.

⁷² Бистра Цветкова, *Проучвания...*, pp. 21–23.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Öz

XV-XVII Yüzyıllarda Rumeli'de Bir Osmanlı Kasabası: Eskihisar Zağra'nın Etnodemografik, Ekonomik ve Kentsel Gelişimi

Bu makale 15. ve 17. yüzyıla ait mufassal ve icmal tapu tahrir defterlerine, Sofya'da Milli Kütüphanenin Şarkiyat Bölümünde muhafaza edilen belgelere, seyahat raporlarına, Osmanlı kroniklerine ve yayınlanmış hatıratlara dayanmaktadır. Osmanlı Rumelisinin bir kasabası olan Eskihisar Zağra'da etnik-demografik değişim ve Müslüman nüfusun kolonizasyonunu ortaya koymaktadır. Kasabada şehir mekanının organizasyonu sürecini ve Müslüman ibadethanelerinin inşasını araştırmaktadır. Çalışmanın son bölümü yerleşimin ekonomik yapısını ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etno-Demografya, Osmanlı, Kolonizasyon, Rumeli, şehir mimarisi.

Sources:

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) Directorate of State Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey

TT 27; BOA TT 77; BOA TT 370; BOA TT 494; BOA TT 721; BOA ММД 2442.

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