

Alexei Kalionski

YÜRÜKS

IN THE OTTOMAN
BALKANS





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Cover illustration:
Camel caravan in the town of Kardzhali,
Eastern Rhodopes, Bulgaria. Postcard from the 1930s.



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INTRODUCTION

This book is devoted to some periodically discussed but still insufficiently researched problems of the Ottoman past of the Balkans. Among them are the place of pastoralist communities in the imperial system and “society of societies,” their migrations, their role in the economy and in the processes of demographic, religious, and cultural change. The main subject of study are the Yürüks, an initially nomadic and tribal Turkish-speaking Muslim community, whose past is traced in a Braudelian *longue durée* perspective.

For centuries on end, the Yürüks were a significant group even though they were less numerous than the surrounding “sedentary” communities in the Ottoman Balkans (Rumelia). It was formed on the basis of various nomadic and tribal groups from Asia Minor that migrated into Southeastern Europe during and after the Ottoman conquest. Among them were part of the ancestors of the present-day Turks who live in the region. As nomadic and sedentary groups, and as auxiliaries, the Yürüks have a variable in time but tangible presence in the history of the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire. Their name means “walking,” “wandering” people and they lived up to it, having traversed a long historical path. Once a mainstay of the early Ottoman regime, they eventually became a marginalized and relatively isolated community; earlier, a locally influential factor in the life of the Balkan peoples, today they are a small group living out their time in some twenty villages in the Republic of North Macedonia.

The Anatolian Yürüks have long been an object of scholarly interest, a classic problem of Ottoman Studies. There are numerous investigations on their cultural traditions, economy, and folklore. They include ethnographic descriptions and anthropological studies on seasonal migrations, kinship, and so on. The results and ideas of some of them have been included in university courses in anthropology.¹ A number of studies on the Anatolian nomads outline the most important aspects of their life in the empire. There are also historical and

¹ Hardesty, D. L. *Ecological Anthropology* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), 159.

ethnological reconstructions based on written and narrative sources (Dmitriy Eremeev, Halil İnalçık). They are an example of synthesis of Ottoman and other sources, and ethnographic research.

This is not the case when it comes to the Balkan Yürüks. They have been studied mostly in a historical and demographic aspect, furthermore, in the context of other, regarded as key problems of Ottoman rule on the peninsula. Among those problems are the Ottoman colonization of the Balkans, the establishment and operation of imperial military and administrative structures, and the spread of Islam. Directly or indirectly, the Yürüks also appear in various accounts of origin, quests for and denials of historical continuities. At the same time, the Balkan Yürüks tend to be interpreted as an element of the grand “Ottoman machine,” thus being denied a history and cultural identity of their own. This predominant view reflects some long-lasting interpretations of the Ottoman period in the Balkans, but it also comes from the lack of knowledge or neglect of a distinct tradition, as if it were non-existent – particularly after the 15th–17th centuries. Especially stark are the contradictions in historiography on the so-called “Revival Process,” the attempt at forced assimilation of Turks in Bulgaria in the 1980s. It was then that the Yürüks were assigned a leading role in the “ethno-assimilation processes,” a role comparable to that of the Janissaries. Despite some significant contributions and the possible different interpretations of the known and new sources, the political conjuncture of the “Revival Process” contributed to a “discursive hardening” (in the words of James Clifford²) in Bulgarian and Turkish historiographies. Thus, the Yürüks were rediscovered in the quest for a correlation between the colonization processes and the spread of Islam among the local population, in the context of the propaganda war over the identity of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. Hence, one of the motives of this study is to attempt a more complex and nuanced historical reconstruction.

The Yürüks present an interesting historical case of “subjected” and “regulated” nomads. They are also perhaps the best-document-

2 Clifford, J. *The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge–Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 264.

ed of all nomadic groups that ever settled in Southeastern Europe – even in comparison with communities with their own tribal confederations or states and an autonomous political role, such as the Pechenegs, Oğuz, Kumans, or Tatars. There is a vast amount of published and unpublished Ottoman sources, including sources directly related to Yürük as a group with a special status and obligations in Rumelia, and above all to their military organization – the Yürük corps and its successor from the late 17th to the mid-19th centuries, the Evlâd-i Fâtihân (“Descendants of the Conquerors”). The main Ottoman sources directly related to the Yürük auxiliary corps were summarized in an extensive compendium and analyzed, mostly with regard to the period from the mid-15th to the late 17th centuries, by the eminent Turkish historian Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin. However, his data were not sufficiently cross-checked with other registers, or with a number of other Ottoman sources published later. This was partially rectified by Mehmed İnbaşı, mostly with regard to demographic data for the period in question. The study of Yürüks in Rumelia on the basis of Ottoman detailed and summary tax registers, mobilization orders, court records and other evidence, as well as West European and other sources, the very “pursuit” of this elusive object of research, has continued for more than half a century now. The results are to be found in Turkish as well as in former Yugoslav, present-day Macedonian, and Bulgarian historiography, especially in the works of Metodi Sokoloski, Aleksandar Matkovski, Aleksandar Stojanovski, Strashimir Dimitrov, and Elena Grozdanova. A number of general and specific problems still remain insufficiently addressed or not studied at all, though. With regard to Balkan Yürüks, these problems include, in addition to those mentioned above, the following: the whole period after the mid- or late 17th century; the interaction between Yürük social structures and the imposed imperial institutions and regulations; sedentary and non-sedentary local groups (or “Yürüklüks”, right until the beginning of the 20th century); the visible results of the long-lasting processes of marginalization amidst the larger cultures and societies around them.

This study is based on a representative set of evidence covering the period from the mid-1400s to the 1920s: Ottoman, Balkan, West European, Russian, and other sources, as well as on various observations,

surveys and studies that have come to be regarded as seminal. It draws mostly on published sources, and only partially, on unpublished ones. My main ambition was to systematize, compare, and reinterpret all those sources in a more consistent way, and to cover a wider time period and range of genres (including folklore and oral tradition).

This book is divided into separate studies united within a common chronological and thematic framework, but relatively autonomous in terms of the chosen methods of analysis and degree of generalization. Different themes, trends, and cases are examined not just at the imperial and the regional but also at the local level. This presupposes the use of different models and methods of historical demography and anthropology, as well as the perspective of environmental history. On the theoretical plane, they may be supplemented by the views regarding pre-modern identity as a variable phenomenon within definite regional and social boundaries. In this particular case, the boundaries in question are those of the Ottoman Empire and the surrounding “sedentary” communities as well as of the later nation-states. As a whole, this book proposes and argues that one of the major determining factors for the emergence and differentiation of the Yürük community in the Balkans was the Ottoman military, administrative and social system itself. I do not dwell directly on different theories, terminology and concepts of ethnicity and identity; what I follow primarily is Fredrik Barth’s paradigm of symbolic boundaries (and, by extent, their dynamic reformulation and maintenance).³ Following this line of reasoning, I believe that the Yürüks are a representative case of a “constructed” and subsequently consolidated identity, initially in the Ottoman imperial context and later in various national ones.

Here the fate of the Yürüks, their way of life, migrations, and relations with the state and the surrounding communities are traced in the context of Balkan pastoralism through the necessary parallels and comparisons with the Anatolian nomads, the Vlachs of the 15th–17th centuries, the Aromanians and Karakachans/Sarakatsani

³ Barth, F. “Introduction,” in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, ed. Fr. Barth (Bergen and Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, and London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969), 9–38.

of the 19th–20th centuries, and the once-large-scale transhumance in Southeastern Europe. In other words, this is an attempt to present a portrait of a community from different perspectives, in different places, historical periods and situations, by using mutually complementary approaches: historical (reconstructive) and anthropological. In Ottoman and Balkan Studies these approaches have been applied with regard to demographic processes, family, kinship and tribal structures, Balkan pastoralism (by Dragoslav Antonijević, Maria Todorova, and Karl Kaser, to name but a few), and the Anatolian nomadic world (by Rudi Paul Lindner, among others). In addition, significant possibilities and ideas are to be found in a number of now classic studies of various historical and contemporary pastoralist groups and societies, including in the Balkans and Asia Minor. They are an important point of reference, but with the relevant reservations regarding the mostly qualitative methods, some of the approaches of deterministic “anthropogeography,” or the trendy in the 1960s–80s “cultural ecology.”

Every study of this kind inevitably takes certain risks – because it seeks to represent “others,” and because of the “blanks” in the extant sources. The common anthropological problem of speaking on behalf of another culture becomes even more complex when the culture in question belongs to the past and, as it is in our case, is relatively anonymous against the background of the dynamic changes in the surrounding world. Despite their abundance, Ottoman administrative documents were not meant to present the ways of life and traditions of different communities. No pre-modern state system, including the Ottoman in the periods when it functioned most efficiently, could fully cover the nomadic population; or it did so in certain ways reflecting understandings, stereotypes, and practices that are different from the present-day ones. Official statistics – for example, on the Vlachs (Aromanians) and Karakachans from the late 19th to the mid-20th centuries – show that this was a problem for nation-states, too. The centuries-long contradictory relations have given rise to different, but fragmentary, accounts which, moreover, present mostly one side’s point of view – that of the “sedentary,” educated town-dweller, the “professional” Ottoman, or the government official of later times. Also, quite stereotypical and most often

superficial are the views of western and other travellers, casual observers, or scholars from the era of colonialism and nationalism in Europe and the Balkans. Perhaps that is why I have tried to draw a fuller historical profile of the Yürüks in Southeastern Europe – one of the many groups in the region in the Ottoman period which, however, offers us opportunities for insight into the little-known past of the local pastoralist communities and their interactions with the changing “outside world.”⁴

4 Following Anatoly Khazanov’s formulation.

CHAPTER ONE:

YÜRÜKS, OTTOMANS, AND NATION-STATES

The Yürüks played a significant role in the migrations from Anatolia to the Balkans, the spread of Islam, the formation of the local Turkish community, and the Yürük military organization itself.¹ To date, however, there is no consensus on this component of the Ottoman colonization of the Balkans.² Strictly following the Ottoman bureaucratic terminology, some scholars view the Yürüks more as an amorphous, ethnically heterogeneous mass that fell under the eponymous group with special status.³ The term *Yürük/Yörük*, meaning militarized Turks (Türkmen), whether nomadic or settled, is dominant in Ottoman Studies – for example, in the general histories of the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans.⁴ Other studies do not distinguish the Yürüks from the rest of the Turkic nomadic communities on Ottoman territory, and above all from the Anatolian Türkmen.

1 Gökbilgin, M. T. *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân* (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1957); Gökbilgin, M. T. "Rumeli'nin İskânında ve Türkleşmesinde Yürükler," in *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından* (III Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 1943) IX Seri, N 36 (1948): 648-660; İnalçık, H. "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role," in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, 1993), vol. 9, 97–136; Димитров, С. "За юрюшката организация и ролята и в етноасмилаторските процеси," *Векове* 1–2 (1982): 33–43; Соколоски, М. "За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија од XV до XVIII век," *Историја*, IX, 1 (1973): 85–99.

2 Грозданова, Е. "Кръгла маса за етногенезиса на јуруците и тяхното заселване на Балканите," *Исторически преглед* 2 (1984): 147–151; Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев. *Джелепкешианите в българските и съседните им земи през XVI–XVIII век (по документи от наши и чужди архиви)* (София: Народна библиотека "Св. св. Кирил и Методий", 1998), 111–112.

3 Димитров, С. "За юрюшката организация и ролята и в етноасмилаторските процеси," 36, 42; Желязкова, А. *Разпространение на исляма в западно-балканските земи под османска власт (XV–XVIII в.)* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1990), 71–72.

4 von Hammer, J. *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs* (Pesty: Hartleben, 1834, second ed.), vol. I, 134, 206; Uzunçarşılı, İ. *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1961), vol. 1, 570–578; İnalçık, H. *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London: Weidenfeld & Nikolson, 1973), 11, 194; Sugar, P. *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804* (Seattle: University of Washington Press) 1977, 40–50, 86, 100; Мантран, Р., ed. *История на Османската империя*. Transl. Г. Меламед (София: "Рива", 1999), 226, 723.

They are regarded as predecessors of a number of today's distinct groups that were incorporated into the modern Turkish nation in quite late times. According to those interpretations, the Yürüks were only a social group and they never developed an own cultural or ethnic identity that would have distinguished them from the rest of the Anatolian Türkmén.⁵ The first thesis attaches exceptional importance to Balkan or other Muslim converts who partially filled the ranks of the Yürük corps.⁶ The second is founded on the static, general view of different historical or contemporary Turkic groups and peoples merely as "Turks."⁷ The main weakness of both views comes from lack of knowledge or neglect of a number of ethnological and anthropological texts produced in the period from the beginning of research interest in the Yürüks (mid- or late 19th century) to the present day.⁸ In that time the Yürüks in the Balkans gradually adopted a settled way of life, but they remained a distinctive com-

5 İnbāşı, M. *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544–1675)* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları), 2000, 9; Новичев, А. "Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники в современной Турции," *Советская этнография* 3 (1951): 108–129; Еремеев, Д. "Изучение этнографии в современной Турции," *Советская этнография* 2 (1960): 155, 157; Еремеев, Д. "Происхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции и основные этапы их истории," in *Этнические процессы и состав населения в станах Передней Азии*, ed. М. С. Иванов (*Труды Института этнографии АН СССР имени Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая*, новая серия, vol. 83, Москва–Ленинград: Издательство восточной литературы, 1963), 24–47.

6 Димитров, С. "Ролята на юрушката организация", in *История на Добруджа*, ed. С. Димитров et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1988), vol. III, 33–34; Соколоски, "За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија од XV до XVIII век," 86–87.

7 See, e.g., Eröz, M. *Yörükler* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfi, 1991); Евгеньев, Д. "Вопросы этногенеза турок в турецкой исторической литературе," in *Этнические процессы и состав населения в станах Передней Азии*, 71–86.

8 For comprehensive bibliographies, see Еремеев, Д. *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники* (Москва: "Наука", 1969); Bates, D. *Nomads and Farmers. A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey* (Anthropological Papers 52, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1973); A. Andrews & R. Benninghaus, eds., *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludvig Reichert Verlag, 1989), 76; Roux, J-P. *Les tradititons de nomades de la Turquie méridionale* (Paris: Laibrarie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1970).

munity.⁹ Here I may cite several ethnographic accounts from the late 19th to the late 20th century:

The name Yürük comes from the Turkish verb yürümek and means nomad in general; they themselves call themselves by that name and, moreover, with some pride (ben Yürüküm), I am Yürük.¹⁰

They [the Turks] are divided into two – real Turks, who inhabit the town and villages on the right bank of the [river] Vardar, and Yürüks, who inhabit the villages on the left bank of the Vardar. The Yürüks differ quite significantly from the Turks in their customs as well as in their costume and occupation. They are very devoted to stockbreeding. There must be a difference in their language, too.¹¹

They call themselves “Yürük” (bis Yürük is – we are Yürüks), that is, nomads who wander (yürümek) with their herds. The Bulgarians call them Koniars, meaning that they came from Konya (Ikonion).¹²

...the only name they knew for themselves was Yürüks.¹³

9 Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 18; İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 107, 111–113; Додовска, J. “Етнички карактеристики на валандовските Јуруци,” *Етнологишки преглед* 17 (1982): 82; Palikruševa, G. “Један đurđevdanski običaj kod Juruka u okolini Radoviša,” in *Рад IX-ог Конгреса Савеза Фолклориста Југославије у Мостару и Требињу 1962*, ed. J. Вуковић (Сарајево: Савез удружења фолклориста Југославије, 1963), 363.

10 Иречек, К. *Пътувания по България* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1974), 463–464.

11 Кънчов, В. “Сегашното и недавното минало на град Велес,” in *Избрани произведения*, ed. Хр. Христов (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1970), vol. 2, 195.

12 Иванов, Й. *Българите в Македония. Издирвания и документи за тяхното потекло, език и народност* (phototype edition of 1917, София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1986), 53.

13 Traeger, P. “Die Jürüken und Konjaren in Makedonien,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1 (1905): 205.

They are [...] a tightly knit community and regard themselves as a separate group from the Turks of lowland villages, a group with its own peculiarities and characteristics both in terms of material and of spiritual culture. They jealously guard their tradition and proudly point out that they are Yürüks... Both among the male and among the female population, there is a consciousness that they are Yürüks (Yürük), and not Turks (Türk), but that they differ from the Turks who live in the lowland villages and [who used to live] earlier also in Radoviš “only” in some respects (customs, costume, dialect). The Yürüks call them Ahriyans and Turks (Ariyan, Türk). Otherwise both the surrounding Macedonian and Turkish populations call them Yürüks. Old and young alike say that they are called Yürüks because their ancestors came to these parts *yürürken* [“walking,” “wandering”].¹⁴

The Vardar Yürüks, unlike many other ethnic groups, have a clear consciousness of their ethnic belonging. They call themselves Yürüks and say that they acquired this name because they used to walk in the vanguard, being auxiliary troops... The Yürüks call their Turkish neighbors “Çitak.” They are contemptuous of them because “those are not true Turks.” For their part, the “Çitaks” think that unlike the Yürüks, they are local and Turks. The Yürüks differ from them – they live in villages located at higher altitudes, have a coarser language, practice blood vengeance, and are not good Muslims.¹⁵

They themselves call themselves Yürüks ... When they are asked today about their national belonging, they promptly reply, “Turks.”¹⁶

14 Јашар-Настева, О. “Прилог кон проучувањето на Јуруците од Радовишко,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населување на Балканот. Матерјали од Тркалезната маса, одржана во Скопје на 17. и 18. 11. 1983 година*, ed. Крум Томовски et al., (Скопје: Македонска Академија на Науките и Уметностите, 1986), 134, 136.

15 Паликрушева, Г. “Етнографските особености на македонските Јуруци,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 70–72; see also Трифуноски, Ј. *Струмички крај. Народни живот и обичаји* (Скопје: Универзитетска печатница, 1979), 14, 45, 59, 71.

16 Güngör, K. *Cenubî Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki* (Ankara: İdeal Basımevi, 1941), 38.

Here the name “Çitak” denotes “local” inhabitants who, according to the Yürüks in the Republic of North Macedonia, were “Turkified by Baltali Paşa” and speak “Çitak dili” with many Slavic words. It is claimed that they live primarily in lowland settlements and are mostly land cultivators. “Çitaks”/Çitak (also referred to as “yerli” – “local”) is a widespread pejorative term for “Turks,” but sometimes it is also used for Slavic-speaking Muslims. Similar to contemporary ethnological studies are a number of older observations regarding the “Yürük”/“Çitak” opposition highlighting cultural differences in the context of an ideal endogamy pattern (marriage within the group, excluding “others”).¹⁷

In many other instances the Balkan as well as the Asian Minor Yürüks distinguished themselves not only from the Türkmen but also from the Turks and other Turkish-speaking communities. The ethnological data indicate that in the Balkans in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Yürüks had an own ethos related to the memory or reality of their nomadic way of life – *Yürüklük*, *Yürükçülük*. Until the exoduses to Turkey in the period between 1913 and 1923 (the Balkan Wars and the Treaty of Lausanne), this was an important symbolic concept in the identity of the local Yürüks. At that time some semi-nomadic groups¹⁸ are still mentioned, but the majority of the Yürüks were sedentary land cultivators and stockbreeders. Pastoralism, however, remained a specific legacy of their previous way of life and often played a primary role in their economy.

Whether we will accept that the present-day Anatolian Yürüks – along with the Türkmen, Tahtacı, Zeybek, Abdal, and other Turkish-speaking communities – are separate ethnic groups, distinguished by cultural and social differences within the context of the modern Turkish nation, depends on criteria and approach.¹⁹ With regard to this

17 Кънчов, В. “Великденска разходка из Поленинско,” *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина IX* (1893): 683; Хаџи Васиљевић, Ј. *Муслимани наше крви у Јужној Србији* (Београд: “Свети Сава”, 1924), 1924, 18, 34, 75; Филиповић, М. “Етничке прилике у Јужној Србији,” in *Споменица двадесетпетгодишњице ослобођења Јужној Србије (1912–1937)* (Скопље, 1937), 491–493.

18 For the typology and terminology of pastoralism adopted in this book, see Chapter Five, V.

19 For the different theoretical approaches and criteria in this regard, and the

diversity in contemporary Turkey, one of the possible definitions that have been proposed for ethnicity as a working term runs as follows:

By ethnicity we understand the concepts, sentiments, and actions, which characterize ethnic groups. They define these in contradistinction to other, comparable groups within a state. Ethnic groups are generally endogamous groups, whose criteria for cultural self-definition are common traditions selected from the past.²⁰

Here we shall not examine the theoretical field of ethnicity and nation or the continuing debates on premodern collective identity, which sometimes fall into terminological casuistry.²¹ In Turkey the continuous, albeit uncompleted, processes of assimilation and sedentarization,²² presuppose that the present-day Yürüks should be viewed rather as a distinct subgroup of the Turks.²³ Considering their gradual

contemporary Bulgarian national context, see Krasteva, A., ed., *Communities and Identities in Bulgaria* (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1998).

20 Andrews, P. "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 17; see also Barth, Fr. "Introduction", in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, ed. Fr. Barth (Bergen and Oslo: Universities Forlaget, and London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969), 9–38.

21 See Smith, A. D. *The Antiquity of Nations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004).

22 See Bates, D. *Nomads and Farmers*, 5–7, 20–31, 191–222; Magnarella, P. "Son zamanlarında Susurluk İlçesi'nde Yörük Yaşamının Sosyal, Kültürel ve Ekonomik Yönleri," in *I. Akdeniz Yöresi Türk Toplulukları Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısı (Yörükler) Sempozyumu Bildirileri (25–26 Nisan, Antalya, 1994)* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1996), 177; The numbers of Yürüks in Turkey, sedentary or nomadic, is not recorded in official statistics. According to some summary estimates, in the 1960s or 1970s they numbered between 300,000 and 500,000 in all, see Еремеев, Д. "Юрюки," in *Советская Историческая Энциклопедия*, ed. Е. М. Жуков et al. (Москва: "Советская Энциклопедия", 1976), vol. 16, 830; Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 3, 22. In the late 1950s, approximately 50,000 of them continued their nomadic way of life, see *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 59. In 1981, after the constant emigration to Turkey (from 1912 to the present), the Yürüks in Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia numbered 3,379 in all, see Недков, В. "Јуручките населби и население во Источна Македонија, " in *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населување на Балканот*, 75–88.

23 Andrews, P. A. "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 17–41. For various encyclopedic definitions, see Еремеев, Д. "Турки," in *Народы*

assimilation in a linguistically and religiously similar environment, as well as the limited character of ethnological research, the Anatolian Yürüks are defined by some scholars as:

[...] a particularly difficult marginal case, since they satisfy only partially the criteria for ethnic definition: they are tribally organised, but recognise no apical ancestor; they have been treated as distinct for centuries, but speak Turkish and are mostly Sunnis; they have been handled administratively as a class, but have no unifying organisation other than occupation; finally, they can settle and lose their nomadic ethos, but still be regarded as Yörük by those around them. It appears that the consciousness of tribal descent, even without an overall common ancestry, is strong enough to define not only each group, but even the whole, in distinction to the majority, and that the memory alone of a nomadic occupation and the economic antagonism of the past is enough to sustain this for a century or even more, now sharpened by the resentment at the greater access to power of the older villages.²⁴

This situation of the Anatolian Yürüks as well as other communities in the contemporary Turkish national context – as satisfying “only partially the criteria for ethnic definition” – corresponds to the name “Turks-Yürüks” found in various studies from the former Yugoslavia. For centuries, however, the ancestors of the present-day Yürüks were distinguished and distinguished themselves from the others through a set of symbols, at different levels, and in different contexts. This is also how they were perceived by the surrounding Bulgarian population. Bulgarian oral tradition distinguishes the Yürüks from other Muslim

мира. *Историко-этнографический справочник*, ed. Ю. Бромлей et al. (Москва: “Советская Энциклопедия”, 1988), 457–458; Еремеев, “Юрюки,” in *Советская Историческая Энциклопедия*; Bates, D. “Yörük,” in *Muslim Peoples. A World Ethnographic Survey*, ed. R.V. Weeks (London: Aldwych Press, 1984), rev. second edition, vol. 1, 876–879; *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 17, 20–25, 28–29, 58–65; Rusić, B. “Juruci,” in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, ed. M. Krleža (Zagreb: Jugoslovenski leksikografski zavod, 1962), vol. 5, 163.

24 Andrews, P. A. “Introduction,” in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 25.

groups, such as “Turks,” “Tatars,” “Acems,” “Abdals,” or “Çitaks.”²⁵ The symbolic (folkloric) delineation of the traditional cultural boundary between “nomads” and “settled” communities in the Balkans is often expressed through pejorative terms. The most common among them for the Yürüks is *Koniars*. This term had a narrower meaning than the widespread nicknames for Turkish-speaking Balkan Muslims, which outline a wider cultural and religious context (such as “Çitaks,” “Gacals,” or “Turks”). “Konyar,” “Konyari,” “Konare,” “Kuynare,” “κοναρίδες” (in the Rhodopes, the Aegean region, Macedonia and Thessaly) were local synonyms for “Yürüks.” The name “Koniars” (and its synonyms) was used by the local Christian Bulgarians, Muslim Bulgarians (Pomaks), Turks, Greeks, and others for all Yürüks, regardless of whether they were nomads or not. In the 19th and 20th centuries, when this name was recorded in various studies and observations about these areas, it refers to an already settled but largely pastoral Yürük population, to local groups at various phases of acculturation and assimilation, as well as to Yürüks who had disappeared from the respective area or village land. This name usually was not regarded as equivalent to the self-designation “Yürüks” since it was associated with a hierarchical emphasis on cultural differences (“raising horses,” “horse-breeders,” “horse-drovers” – the Bulgarian word for horse is *kon* sing., *kone* pl. – figuratively meaning “wanderers,” “nomads”). When they had to explain the name “Koniars,” the Yürüks referred to a legend that emphasized their glorious past and links to the capital of the Asian Minor Seljuks, Konya/Ikonion, as a central mythical topos. The most plausible etymologies, however, come from Ottoman bureaucratic terminology – from “konar-göçer” (“camping and nomadic”), “konar” (“settled,” “former nomads”) or “koyun eri” (sheep-breeders).²⁶ Here are some characteristic examples from Republic of North Macedonia in the 20th century:

25 Теллалова, С. “Етноними с деетнонимни значения в българските говори (Мизия, Тракия и Македония),” in *Лингвистични студии за Македония* (Македонска научна библиотека, 36), ed. И. Кочев (София: Македонски Научен Институт, 1996), 564.

26 İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 103; Gokbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 12; Димитров, “За юрпошката организация и ролята и в етноасимилаторските процеси,” 34–35.

According to Ibrahim Dede, an informant from the village of Kalauzlija [Štip district, 1957], the Yürüks were originally from Russia, from where they came to Konya and Bursa. With Bayezid Yıldırım and his army, they passed through Gelibolu/Gallipoli and reached Ljubljana. Then they returned and settled in Ovče Pole and later moved to the mountains. This happened 680 years ago: “When there was a war in Konya, the party of the Yürüks was defeated and they began to migrate” [village of Kučište]; “The Yürüks came here after a religious war ... among those who participated in the rebellion of the Yürüks against the sultan, there were “Koniars” who also immigrated here. The inhabitants of the village of Memišli are Koniars, and unlike the Yürüks who wear red turbans, they wear brown turbans...” [village of Dedeli]; “The villages of Prnarli [Prnali-ja], Supurge and Kodžali [Kodžalija], among others, are “Urus-Yürüklari” because their inhabitants came from Russia ... the villages of Bašiboz, Džumaboz, Bajramboz and Dorlomboz are “true Yürüks who did not come from Konya” ... the villages of Memišli, Ormanli, Durloobasi, Bulutlu and Kočali “came from Konya and they are Koniars” [village of Dorlomboz].²⁷

In a similar way, the oral tradition of the Anatolian Yürüks occasionally shares with the Türkmen and the Turks the legend of the migration from the region of Khorasan in Persia in older times (but without being able to demonstrate it genealogically). Legends are relatively accurate about the time and starting points of the migrations from the west to the east in the last two centuries, occasionally reflected in the self-designation “Aydınlı” found to the east of Adana.²⁸

The very term *Yürüklük* or *Yürükçülük*, as used in Ottoman sources – sultanic orders, court records (*sicil*), Yürük *kanuns* (laws), tax registers, etc. – denotes above all (but not only) belonging to a particular

27 Јашар-Настева, “Прилог кон проучувањето на Јуруците од Радовишко,” 134–137; Паликрушева, “Етнографските особености на македонските Јуруци, 70–72.

28 See *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 22, 58, 60. A good compendium of the Anatolian Türkmen and Yürük oral tradition is the collection of Yalman (Yalkın) Riza, A. *Cenupta Türkmen Oymakları* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1977); see also Bates, *Nomads and Farmers*, 21–38, and Riza, A. “Cenupta Bozdoğanlılar.” *Ulku* III, 17 (1934): 356–358.

social group, status, service, tax and other regulations and obligations. On the other hand, as a self-name it implies belonging to the Yürük community and its traditions. For the nomads, this is a way of life; for the settled Yürüks, it is an important distinction from the others that comes from the past. In the context of the traditional distinctions between nomads and settled communities, it is appropriate to compare *Yürükçülük* to the entire set of stereotypes, prejudices, real and symbolic traits, folkloric images, and social experience which the surrounding peoples associate with the term *tsiganiya* (“Gypsiness,” “Gypsydom” – from Bulgarian *tsiganin* sing., *tsigani* pl., “Gypsy”). The folkloric image of Gypsies, Yürüks, Vlachs (Aromanians), and Karakachans/Sarakatsani in the Balkans is an expression of cultural oppositions found in various sayings and exonyms (names used by other communities).²⁹

Regardless of the way this community is interpreted ethnologically or historically – that is, viewed in ethnogenetic, geographical, and social terms – it is different from other Turkic groups in the Balkans as well as in Asia Minor. This difference was sustained through effective cultural markers related to a clearly demonstrated self-consciousness even after the majority of the Yürüks adopted a settled way of life. Community and local group endogamy, kinship, social structures, are (or were until recently) of definitive importance in this regard, as well as a number of customs related to the practice and symbols of seasonal migrations, the calendar cycle, birth, initiation, marriage, death, and so on.³⁰ In the Balkans, ethnological

29 See, e.g., Геров, Н. *Речник на Българския език* (Phototype edition of 1904, София: “Български писател”, 1978), vol. 5, 604: “Yürük, Yürüks, n. m. [noun, masculine], T. [Turkish]: 1) Turkish nomadic tribe in the Rhodopes; Koniars. 2) Karakachan, Vlach”; Marushiakova, E., and V. Popov. *Gypsies (Roma) in Bulgaria* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 171–178.

30 Benth, Th. “The Yourouks of Asia Minor,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* XX, 3 (1890–1891): 269–276; Еремеев, Юрюки. *Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 88 ff.; Roux, *Les traditions de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 137–354; Artun, E. “Çukurova Yörüklerinin Gelenek ve Görenekleri,” in *I. Akdeniz Yöresi Türk Toplulukları Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısı (Yörükler)*, 25–61; Seyirci, M. “Batı Akdeniz’de Yörükler,” *ibid.*, 191–208; Паликрушева, “Етнографските особености на македонските Јуруци,” 69–71; Nahya, Z. “Makedonya Türk Yörüklerinin Evlenme Gelenekleri Üzerine,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 113–

data (collected mainly in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in the 1950s–70s) show that in the 19th and 20th centuries the Yürüks were mostly endogamous within the community as a whole, observing relatively strictly the prohibition on marriage to non-Yürüks.³¹ Due to the preservation of tribal structures, the kinship system of nomadic and, to some extent, of settled Yürüks in Anatolia at least until the 1950s–70s, was characterized by a preference for marriage to agnatic female second cousins. According to the studies conducted by American anthropologist Daniel Bates among some of the last nomadic Yürüks, 59% of marriages were within the “maximal lineages,” 31% outside the latter but within one’s tribe, 7% with partners from another Yürük tribe, and just 3% with non-Yürüks. Unlike that of the Anatolian Türkmén, Yürük group identity is not founded on common genealogy. The emphasis is primarily on the specific cultural traits of the nomads as well as of the settled parts of the community. Tribes (*aşiret*) are subdivided into “maximal lineages” (*kabile*; in the context of sedentarization, *mahalle*), lineages (*sülâle*), and families (*aile*). Unlike in the Ottoman sources about the Balkans and Anatolia, in the late cases studied by Daniel Bates *oba* is rarely used as a synonym for *kabile* or *sülâle*, and is more commonly used to refer to unknown or foreign nomadic groups (including Yürük groups, but from other tribes). The lineage leaders (*ağa*) play a key role in resolving a number of important issues and head the migrating groups. The latter are based on consanguinity and economic cooperation. Although they did not have distinctly differentiated elite, until the 1930s–70s some tribes preserved the institution of the chieftain (*reis*, *bey*). On the other hand, among various Anatolian Türkmén groups the tribe is the basic endogamous unit, but consists of exogamous lineages. It maintains its identity through a now fading but still alive genealogical memory which goes far back in time and is often related to the legendary Oğuz ancestors. The Türkmén tribes are interpreted as being more unified and less segmented than the Yürük ones.

123; Güngör, *Cenubî Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki*, 67 ff.; Eckert, G. “Die Jürüken in Zentral-Makedonien,” *Buletinul Institutului Român din Sofia* 1 (1942): 561–566.

31 Паликрушева, “Етнографските особености на македонските Јуруци,” 71; Додовска, “Етнички карактеристики на валандовските Јуруци,” 85–86.

Tribal belonging is more important than religious difference as is the case, for example, with the Çepniler, whose western Anatolian components are Alevite while the northern ones (around Trabzon) are Sunni.³²

Here one may add the specific features of Yürük folklore, “value system,”³³ and language. The Anatolian Yürüks, nowadays a comparatively large settled community, speak different local Turkish dialects but, according to some scholars, have a certain common stock of specific words and terms. The last remnants of the Balkan Yürüks, nowadays a small group in the Republic of North Macedonia, have a separate dialect.³⁴ Regardless of the formal classification, what is more important in this case is the symbolic meaning of language. In connection with endogamy, researchers of the physical anthropology of some Yürük groups have distinguished them from the surrounding population even on the basis of this quite uncertain characteristic, too.³⁵ It is certain that the traditional skills, diet, and other preferences

32 Bates, *Nomads and Farmers*, 26–27, 35–39, 57, 59–86; *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 59–60, 64; Güngör, *Cenubî Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki*, 39; Eberhard, W. “Nomads and Farmers in Southeastern Turkey. Problems of Settlement,” *Oriens* VI, 1 (1953): 39, 41, 54.

33 Garnett, L. M. J. *The Women of Turkey and their Folk-Lore* (London: D. Nutt, 1890), vol. 2, 207–213; Roux, *Les tradititons de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 153–176; Gökçen, İ. “XIX. Yüzyılda Makedonya Yürük Folklorü,” *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* 17–52 (1950–1953).

34 On Yürük dialects and specific terminology, see Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 29–61, 68–88; Demir, N. “Yürük Ağzının Bazı Örnekler,” in *I. Akdeniz Yöresi Türk Topulukları Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısı (Yörükler)*, 129–131; Хазай, Г. “Принос към въпроса за класификацията на балканските турски говори,” in *Езиковедско - етнографски изследвания в памет на акад. Ст. Романски*, ed. Е. Георгиев et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1960), 505–510; Маневић, Т. “Прилог проучавању говора Јурука у Македонију,” *Јужнословенски филолог. Привремени спис за словенску филологију* XX, 1 (1953–1954): 333–340; Јашар-Настева, “Прилог кон проучувањето на Јуруците од Радовишко,” 135–145.

35 Güngör, *Cenubî Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki*, 9–30; Паликрушева, “Етнографските особености на македонските Јуруци,” 71; Еремеев, “Произхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 40–41; Рогинский, Я. & М. Левин, *Основы антропологии* (Москва: Издательство Московского Государственного Университета, 1955), 394.

connected to the way of life are much more important. The material world of the Yürüks is also marked by a number of specific features that are inseparable from their culture – movable and permanent homes, carpets, textiles, various techniques and products.³⁶ They are reflected in the special terminology recorded in almost all more comprehensive folkloristic or ethnographic studies.

Naturally, many of the constituent elements of this tradition are as “unique” as they are common to the Anatolian nomadic world, and particularly to Yürüks, Türkmén, and Kurds. Some of them are often interpreted as ancient Turkic, pre-Seljuk or pre-Ottoman relicts, while others undoubtedly come from the Islamic civilization.³⁷ Still others are attributed to the influence of the “autochthonous” settled and nomadic populations upon the immigrant Oğuz/Türkmén in Anatolia and the Balkans – above all of the Kurds, but also of the surrounding Christian peoples.³⁸

Notwithstanding the highly conservative character of the Yürük tradition, it changed over time and followed the main periods in the development of the community – the mostly nomadic and the mostly sedentary periods.³⁹ If we use Julian Steward’s terminology, we can

36 See Гордлевский, В. “Юрюки. Из быта кочевников,” in *Избранные сочинения* (Москва: “Наука”, 1962), vol. 3, 108–113; Еремеев, Д. “Изменение типов жилищ и поселений юрюков при оседании.” *Краткие сообщения Института этнографии АН СССР* 38 (1963): 94–99; de Planhol, X. *De la plaine pamphilienne et lacs pisidiens. Nomadisme et vie paysanne* (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958), 237, 254 ff; Eröz, *Yörükler*, 67–236; Roux, *Les traditions de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 37–82.

37 Vambery, H. *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen* (Leipzig: Elibron, 1885), 605; Roux, *Les traditions de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 83–135; Гордлевский, В. “К личной ономастике у османцев,” in *Избранные сочинения* (Москва: “Наука”, 1968), vol. 4, 131–132.

38 Еремеев, “Происхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 4–23; Kalafat, Y. “Orta Toroslar ve Makedonya Yörükleri Halk İnançları Karıştırılması,” in *I. Akdeniz Yöresi Türk Toplulukları Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısı (Yörükler)*, 158–159; Palikruševa, “Jedan đurđevdanski običaj kod Juruka u okolini Radoviša,” 363–369; Крстева, А. “Носијата на Јуруците во Македонија,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 105–111.

39 For the last phase (from the 1930s–50s onwards) of the migrations and settlement of the Turkish-speaking Anatolian nomads in general and of the Yürüks in particular, see Еремеев, Д. “Оседание юрюков в Турции,” *Советская этнография* 6 (1962): 71–84; de Planhol, X. *De la plaine pamphilienne et lacs pisidiens*, 132–

say that despite all influences and changes endured over the centuries, the Yürüks kept their “cultural core” related to the practice and/or idea of nomadic life.⁴⁰ Following Fredrik Barth, we can point out that despite the changes within the group, there was (from a historical moment or period that is difficult to establish) a permanently functioning cultural boundary vis-à-vis “the others” which, in the case of the Yürüks in the 19th and 20th centuries, was best expressed through endogamy and the pastoralist seasonal migrations. This of course is not to say that even the first mentions of the name in the Ottoman, or earlier, sources were referring to something that completely coincides with the present-day community. As many others, the Yürüks were formed amidst a kaleidoscope of Turkic and other groups in Anatolia and in the Balkans. The different ethnogenetic theories are usually justified by referring to separate elements of the cultural tradition and (more rarely) to the main known historical facts. The different interpretations move between the dominant Turkic traits and the comparisons to the “autochthonous” nomadic communities in Asia Minor and the Balkans – Kurds, Vlachs, and Karakachans. Among the possible ethnic predecessors, the main ones are undoubtedly the Anatolian Oğuz/Türkmen of the Seljuk and Ottoman eras.⁴¹

137, 207–222, 234 ff; Magnarella, P. “Son zamanlarında Susurluk İlçesi’nde Yörük Yaşamının Sosyal, Kültürel ve Ekonomik Yönleri,” 177–184; Roux, J.-P. “La sédentarisation des nomades Yürük du vilayet d’Antalya (Turquie Méridionale),” *L’Ethnographie*, nouvelle série, 55 (1961): 64–78; Roux, J.-P. “Quelques notes sur les nomades pasteurs de la province d’Antalya,” *ibid.*, 57 (1963): 55–70; Bates, *Nomads and Farmers*, 191–201; Eberhard, “Nomads and Farmers in Southeastern Turkey. Problems of Settlement,” 32–48.

40 Steward, J. *Theory of Culture Change* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), 30–42.

41 For the processes of “Turkification,” “nomadization,” and Islamization of Byzantine Anatolia, see Vryonis, Sp. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Pocess of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Centuries* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 1971); see also Cahen, C. *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1968). For the provisionally “Oğuz” theory and a review of other theories, see İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 97–103. For the hypothetical “autochthonous” Asian Minor as well as ancient Turkic ancestors of the Yürüks, see Еремеев, Д. *Этногенез турок. Происхождение и основные этапы этнической истории* (Москва: “Наука”, 1971), 15, 44, 52, 92–97, 225;

By analogy with the “autochthonous” Balkan nomads, the wider meaning of *Yürük* in 16th- and 17th-century Ottoman sources does not exclude but presupposes the existence of a distinct community that was to some extent similar to the one found in 19th- and 20th-century ethnographic and anthropological studies. The historical continuity over a period of several centuries would be as that between the “Vlachs” from the era of the Balkan Middle Ages and Ottoman times, and only one part of their present-day descendants, the Aromanians and the Karakachans. The most authoritative scholar of Balkan *Yürüks*, Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin, holds a very similar view, although he uses the term “Turkic ethnic group” both in the narrower sense and in the wider sense as it is in modern Turkish and other languages, where there is a coincidence between “Turkic” and “Turkish” (Turk, Türk, Turkish, Türkisch, and so on).⁴² Two other scholars, who draw on both historiographic and ethnographic sources – Halil İnalçık and Dmitriy Eremeev – indicate the possible consensus to some extent about the time, but above all about the circumstances that led to the differentiation of the *Yürüks*. On the whole, the beginning of these processes coincided with the genesis and expansion of the Ottoman state, although Eremeev attempts to trace them back to the Seljuk period and to connect them to a hypothetical tribal subdivision of the Oğuz/Türkmen.⁴³ Whether the difference of the *Yürüks* from the other Anatolian and Balkan Turkic communities is described primarily in social terms (as proposed by İnalçık) or in terms of the specificity of the separate ethnic group (according to Eremeev), it is an encyclopedic fact. Following one of the possible interpretations (or levels) of the contemporary *Yürük* identity,

Еремеев, Д. “Проникновение тюркских племен в Малую Азию,” in *Труды VII Международного конгресса антропологических и этнографических наук*, ed. С. П. Толстов et al. (Москва: “Наука”, 1970), 120–134; Еремеев, Д. “Происхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 38–39. For the assimilation processes within the *Yürük* military organization in the Balkans, which affected local and immigrant Islamized individuals or groups, and some Tatar groups, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 16–18, 52, 86–90, 93; Димитров, “За юрюшката организация и ролята и в етноасимилаторските процеси,” 34–35.

42 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, x–xii, 1–18.

43 Еремеев, “Происхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 30–31.

Halil İnalçık draws on researchers of the 19th and 20th centuries, according to whom “the Yürüks never formed a cohesive ethnic and linguistic group.” We can hardly agree with this categorical proposition, let alone with the choice of part of the authors cited by İnalçık, such as M. Tsakiroglous, G. Lejean, or E. Hoppe. Tsakiroglous provides one of the first comparatively early but very general ethnographic accounts of the Anatolian nomadic world in the 1890s (using the general term “Yürüks” in only one of its main senses, that of “nomads”). What is perhaps most valuable in his account is the list of tribal and group names, which was subsequently used often by many scholars. Lejean’s notes on “Yürüks”/“Turkomans”/“Koniars” in the Balkans are a very brief summary of what was known at the time from ethnographic, cartographic, and other studies, while Hoppe belongs to a whole circle of authors who, in referring to the Balkan Yürüks, repeat mostly Konstantin Jireček (1891) and Vasil Dechov (1928).⁴⁴

Despite their different views and approaches, Halil İnalçık and Dmitriy Ereemeev are close to the current concept of “constructed” identity. But unlike in the case of many other communities, it is to some extent possible to reconstruct the processes of formation of the Yürüks. The most serious attempt in this respect has been made by Dmitriy Ereemeev, who offers the most comprehensive account of the available historical evidence and ethnographic material until the 1960s.

It has long since been established that the Asian Minor Yürüks formed more compact communities primarily in the mountains and coastal plains of Western and Southern Anatolia, outside the Anato-

44 İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 103; Tsakiroglous, M. “Die Jürüken,” *Das Ausland* 18 (1891): 341–344, 366–372; Lejean, G. *Ethnographie de la Turquie d’Europe (Ethnographie der Europäishen Türkei)* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1861), 34–35; Hoppe, E. “Die Jürüken.” *Archiv für Ethnographie* (Leiden) Bd. 32, Hft. III–V (1934): 185–187; Hasluck, F. *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), vol. 1, 12 ff; Иречек, *Пътувания по България*, 463–465 (second Bulgarian edition); Дечов, В. *Миналото на Чепеларе. Принос за историята на Родоп* (Пловдив: “Христо Г. Данов”, 1978, second ed.), книга 1, 35–38, 43–44, 68–71. For various propositions that have not been verified in field studies (or in representative sources), see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 1–5; İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 102–103; Ereemeev, “Произхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 24–31.

lian central plateau, steppe and semi-desert zones, as well as outside the high mountain ranges of Western Armenia/Kurdistan.⁴⁵ Despite the periodic migration and settlement in the steppe and semi-desert zones, the Anatolian Yürüks of the mid-19th – mid-20th centuries⁴⁶ remained connected mostly to the mountain *yaylas* (summer pastures), to the coastal plains of the Aegean and the Mediterranean, and sporadically to the Black Sea region.⁴⁷ This was their main historical area, although the Ottoman sources often do not enable us to strictly distinguish them from the Türkmén and other nomads. That is why Yürüks are described within the context of the so-called “mountain nomadism” as a traditional phenomenon in the Eastern Mediterranean region.⁴⁸

After the periodic, more or less forced, expulsions or deportations of various Türkmén and Kurdish tribes, the Yürüks gradually made their way into territories far to the south and southeast. Many of those groups kept alive the memory of their origin in Western and South-western Asia Minor. The conservative character of the nomadic way of life and the relative isolation of nomadic and settled Yürük groups were combined with centuries-long contacts with often non-Turkish, agrarian and pastoralist communities both in the Balkans and in Anatolia. The geographical conditions,⁴⁹ the pattern of cultural (“cultur-

45 Güngör, *Cenubî Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki*, 33–35; Wenzel, E. *Forschungen in Inneranatolien*, vol. 2: *Die Steppe als Lebensraum*, Kiel, 1937, 64–65, 71, 75, 85–86, 98, 100.

46 *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 57–69, 110–125; Еремеев, “Происхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 24–28, 40–70; Джалил, Дж. *Курды Османской Империи в первой половине XIX века* (Москва: “Наука”, 1973).

47 de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphilienne et lacs pisidiens*, 24–59, 196–199.

48 Bates, *Nomads and Farmers*, 6–7; Johnson, D. *The Nature of Nomadism. A Comparative Study of Pastoral Migrations in Southeastern Asia and Northern Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Papers), 1969, 20–38. See also Chapter Five, V, in this book.

49 Roux, J.-P. *La Turquie. Géographie. Economie. Histoire. Civilisation et culture* (Paris: Payot, 1953), 17–18; Wenzel, *Forschungen in Inneranatolien*, 7–36, 66 ff.; Hüterroth, W.-D. *Bergnomaden und Yaylabauern im mittleren kurdischen Taurus*. Marburger geographische Schriften, Vol. 11, 1959, 9–15, 17–30, 37 ff.; de Planhol, X. *De la plaine pamphilienne et lacs pisidiens*, 24–54, 186–328, 367–372; de Planhol, X. “Vie pastorale caucasienne et vie pastorale anatolienne,” *Revue de géographie alpine* XLIV, 2 (1956): 371–379; Еремеев, Юрюки. *Турецкие кочев-*

al-ecological”) adaptation,⁵⁰ and the practices, social structures and ethos associated with it, the cultural environment and consequent influences constitute the first set of definitive factors.

The next set consists mostly of social and political factors and circumstances that can be established historically. The Ottomans had their own concept of how to govern nomads. It presupposed rational use of the economic and human potential of non-sedentary populations. In the early period, in the course of Ottoman expansion, the tribal forces inherited from the Seljuk era were the main, and later auxiliary, military units.⁵¹ The various groups with special status and obligations – such as *yaya/piyade* (infantry units), *akıncıs*, *müsellems* (irregular light cavalry), and *Yürüks* – were gradually formed on the basis of the Turkic clan and tribal communities and the sedentary population.⁵² A number of traditional occupations and trades continued to be practiced after the partial or final sedentarization of the nomads: sheep-, goat-, camel-, and horse-breeding, dairy production, production of woolen textiles, clothes, tents, carpets, bows and arrows, and so on. They are reflected in Anatolia and the Balkans in terms such as *okçular* (arrow-makers), *yaycılar* (bow-makers), *esb keşan/at çek-en* (horse-drovers), *buğurcu*, *deveci* (camel-drovers), *yağcılar* (butter producers/suppliers), and *yüncü* (wool-makers).⁵³ The skills related to the way of life allowed the recruitment of self-equipping and self-supporting auxiliary and labor forces, which was done on a quota basis.

ники и полукочевники, 24–41, 50–66.

50 Bates, D. *Nomads and Farmers*, 3, 7–21, 143–222; Bates, D. “Differential Access to Pasture in a Nomadic Society: The Yörük of Southeastern Turkey,” in *Perspectives on Nomadism*, eds. W. Irons and N. Dyson-Hudson (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 48–59.

51 Imber, C. H. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 252–286; Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, 134–142.

52 See Chapter Three.

53 İnalçık, H. “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 113–123; İnalçık, H. *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London: Weidenfeld & Nikolson, 1973), 142–147; Orhonlu, C. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Aşiretlerin İskânı* (İstanbul: Eren, 1987), 18; Тверитинова, А. *Аграрный строй Османской империи XV–XVII вв. Документы и материалы* (Москва: Издательство восточной литературы, 1963), 51, 106.

These forces were used in transportation, metallurgy, provisioning, and in combat. They were not essential for the Ottoman military machine at least from the mid-15th century onwards, but they were used regularly – from *yaya* and *piyade* to the *Hamidiye*.⁵⁴

In Asia Minor, the periodic declines and revivals in local nomadic tribal life followed a specific dynamic in the period between the Ottoman conquest and the late 1700s–1860s. This dynamic was determined by a series of environmental, economic, demographic, social, and political factors, and it can be seen most clearly at the moments or in the cases of mutual collisions. Relations always depended on the state of the centralized system and its possibilities to exercise pressure and control, on the one hand, and on the state of the tribes and tribal confederacies on the other.

The Ottoman legal regulations regarding nomadic subjects partially recognized the latter's own traditions. The active participation of nomads in economic life – especially in supply, trade, and transportation⁵⁵ – and the more often peaceful, mutually advantageous coexistence with the surrounding peasants and townspeople formed an equilibrium that was almost constantly attainable for the Ottomans. Unlike certain periods in the history of neighboring Persia, in the Ottoman Anatolian domains the nomadic factor never grew into an integral political force.⁵⁶ The Anatolian nomadic world, however, had a significant demographic and economic potential combined

54 That is, from the tribal units to the Kurdish irregular cavalry of the late 19th century, see Van Bruinessen, M. *Agha, Shaikh and State. The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London: Zed Books, 1992), 185–186. For the military, tax, and other obligations of the Anatolian nomads in the 15th and 16th centuries, see Lindner, R. P. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 51–103; Гордлевский, В. “Эксплуатация недр земли в Турции (По документам, изданным А. Рефиком и Ф. Спаха),” in *Избранные сочинения* (Москва: “Наука”, 1962), vol. 3, 235–261.

55 İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age*, 130, 146.

56 de Planhol, X. “L'évolution du nomadisme en Anatolie et en Iran. Etude compare,” in *Viehwirtschaft und Hirtenkultur. Ethnographische Studien*, ed. L. Földes (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1969), 69–93; de Planhol, X. “Géographie, politique et nomadisme en Anatolie,” *Revue internationale des sciences sociales* XI, 4 (1959): 547–553; Lapidus, I. *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 276–302, 571 ff.

with tribal institutions, a militant spirit, social autonomy, mobility, and occasionally also inaccessibility in insufficiently integrated or peripheral regions. The nomads were a vital element of Ottoman society, which was made up of different communities.⁵⁷

A comparatively well-studied case is, for example, that of the Boz Ulus tribal confederacy, made up mostly of Türkmen but also of Kurdish components. In the 1540s these nomads summered in the mountains around Mardin, Muş, Bitlis, Erzurum and Kars (Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia), and wintered in the region between Haleb and Mosul (Northern Iraq and Syria). In this period, they numbered approximately 40,000 persons with more than 2,000,000 sheep, and traded actively with Persia and the Caucasus. Their pro-Persian orientation and border location made them the target of active operations on the part of the Ottoman authorities. The 1570s–80s saw increasingly frequent attacks by local Ottoman forces and appointments of officials or loyal chieftains (*kethüda*, *boy beyleri*) as heads of some of the tribes or tribal subdivisions. The registrations and taxation of the seasonally migrating groups (*cemaat*) went hand in hand with bureaucratic arbitrary rule, and so on. This led to the gradual disintegration of the confederacy, and to migrations to the west. Towards the early 1600s parts of the Boz Ulus were around Konya, and in the 1670s they migrated to the west of Afyon Karahisar, reaching Bursa, Aydın, Karesi, Saruhan, and even the islands of Rhodes and Kos. In the 1600s, however, Ottoman control over part of those tribes was symbolic and many of them once again had their own chieftains.⁵⁸

57 Еремеев, “Происхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 24–70; Новичев, А. “Турецкие кочевники в XV–XVIII вв.,” in *XXV Международный конгресс востоковедов. Доклады делегации СССР* (Москва: “Наука”, 1960), vol. 2, 1–11; Джалил, *Курды Османской Империи в первой половине XIX века*, 14–168; Gökçen, İ. *16. ve 17. Asır Sicillerine göre: Saruhan’da Yörük ve Türkmenler* (İstanbul: Maarifet Basımevi, 1946); Türkay, C. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar (Başvekâlet Arşivi Belgelerine göre)* (İstanbul: Garanti Matbaası, 1979); Halaçoğlu, Y. *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun İşkân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988).

58 Demirtaş, F. “Bozulus Hakkında.” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* VII, 1 (1949): 29–60; Planhol, “L’évolution du nomadisme en Anatolie et en Iran,” 83–85; Planhol, “Géographie, politique et nomadisme en Anatolie,” 549; Еремеев, “Происхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 58–61.

At the dawn of the Ottoman state the tribal forces contributed significantly to the growth of its military might and its first conquests. However, some of them also fought on the side of the rival Turkish *beyliks* (principalities) until the final conquest of Karaman, and later were often a “fifth column” of the Ottomans’ eternal foe, Persia.⁵⁹ Expanding to the east, the Ottomans conquered various nomadic tribes or polities with tribal components – emirates, tribal confederacies, and the like. As a result, the Anatolian tribes often took an active part in the resistance against the imposition, enforcement, or restoration of the new military, administrative and social order in the 15th and 16th centuries. Typically, they participated in the revolts and rebellions that were common in the periods of dynastic strife, separatism, social crises, and wars with Persia. The living traces of pre-Muslim beliefs in their own tradition made them receptive to the social criticism preached by radical rebel leaders, various heterodox and/or mystic Islamic sects, orders and movements, as well as to Shiite propaganda.⁶⁰ To this one must add the constant raids and spontaneous movements into agricultural areas, which the local authorities were often powerless to prevent.⁶¹ Nomadic unrest accelerated particularly during the periods of crises and transformations of the Ottoman system from the late 17th to the late 18th – early 19th century. Also frequent in those times were cases of arbitrary rule and social discrimination by the nomads’ own tribal elite, various officials, *ayans* (provincial notables), semi-autonomous regional governors, and so on.⁶²

The several-century-long history of Ottoman imperial rule over this type of subjects was characterized from the very beginning by contradictory interests and covert or open conflicts. Accordingly, the

59 Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 4–38, 80–82, 106–112.

60 Гасратян, М., С. Орешкова, and Ю. Петросян. *Очерки истории Турции* (Москва: “Наука”, 1983), 30–31, 53–61; İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age*, 32, 186–195; Demirtaş, “Bozulus hakkında,” 37–38.

61 Gökçen, *16. ve 17. Asır Sicillerine göre: Saruhan’da Yörük ve Türkmenler*, doc. 4 (1551), 31 (1576), 52 (1602), 68 (1609). Many such cases from the period between 1558 and 1785 are to be found in the corpus published by Ahmed Refik, *Anadolu’da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930).

62 Gökçen, *16. ve 17. Asır Sicillerine göre: Saruhan’da Yörük ve Türkmenler*, 85–93; Новичев, “Турецкие кочевники в XV–XVIII вв.,” 9–11.

Ottomans sought to pursue definite policies towards the tribes and tribal confederacies. The Ottoman authorities were compelled to take into account their desire to preserve their tribal institutions, as well as their social and, occasionally, political autonomy. State regulations included different measures driven by economic or strategic considerations. Depending on the concrete circumstances, regions or communities, these measures varied from imposition of taxes, fees and fines⁶³ to appointment of state officials to govern the tribes.⁶⁴ Forced deportations (*sürgün*)⁶⁵ were combined with forced resettlement (*iskân*) to other regions – from Eastern to Western Anatolia or vice versa, to the Balkans, Cyprus, Syria, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere.⁶⁶ The persecution of armed groups sometimes escalated into small wars.⁶⁷

This policy became particularly harsh from the end of the 17th century onwards, as the authorities sought to control and regulate the growing nomadic chaos in some places. Already towards the late 16th – early 17th century, there was a mass influx of nomadic tribal elements from the eastern provinces – of Türkmén, Kurds, and Arabs whose migrations have been termed by Xavier de Planhol as “the second nomadic invasion of Western Anatolia.”⁶⁸ The Ottomans ultimately succeeded in forcing the majority of the Anatolian Türkmén to settle in the late 1600s and in the 1700s–1860s. The latter settled primarily in the eastern and central parts of Asia Minor, in Syria and Mesopotamia. Forced measures were also taken periodically against Yürüks, Kurds, and Arabs, especially in the period between the mid-1800s and the 1920s–30s.⁶⁹

63 Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 51–74.

64 Demirtaş, “Bozulus hakkında,” 38; Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, 19.

65 Barkan, Ö. L. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XI, 1–4 (1949–1950): 540, 546–561.

66 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, 111 ff.; Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, 103–119; Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti*, 4–27.

67 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 52, 58, 92, 93, 102, 133, 166, 171, 172, 179, 187, 188, 191, 194, 201, 220, 222, 226, 232, 236.

68 Planhol, “L'évolution du nomadisme en Anatolie et en Iran,” 84.

69 Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Aşiretlerin İskânı*, 30–98; 106–119;

In the period between the 15th and the early 17th centuries, the processes of sedentarization accompanied the gradual construction and normal functioning of the centralized military and administrative system, legislation, and social regime. These processes involved gradual fragmentation of tribal structures, economic integration and taxation of nomadic groups in different kinds of granted revenues and landholdings (*timars*, *vakıfs*, *hases*, and *mukataas*), and their inclusion within the ordinary taxpayers (*reaya*), although often as groups with special status and obligations. However, both with regard to the “classical” and to later periods, it is difficult to defend the thesis that the Ottomans always and everywhere had one and the same goal: total elimination of nomads through discriminatory and forced measures. The survival of significant nomadic communities in Anatolia until the 19th or mid-20th century also casts doubt on the proposition that nomads constantly had to choose between settlement or revolt.⁷⁰ As in earlier times, the numbers of nomads in Asia Minor in this period – Yürüks, Türkmen, Kurds, some groups of Arabs, and others – are difficult to estimate. The numbers found in the general statistics, which record Yürüks and Türkmen, tend to give an indirect idea about their nomadic component. This is due above all to the mobility and isolation of the nomads and to the inclusion of those who had settled into the total number of “Türk”/“Osmanlı.” According to some statistical data, in the 1870s there were 300,000 Türkmen and Yürüks in the area between Western Anatolia, Damascus and Haleb, out of whom 221,000 nomads – obviously an underestimation of the number of settled Türkmen and Yürüks and probably also of the number of nomads. According to the data reported at a meeting of the Turkish parliament in 1934 devoted to the issues of immigrants, settlement and sedentarization, there were still approximately one million nomads and semi-nomads in Turkey at that time.⁷¹

Halaçoğlu, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti*, 7–141; Еремеев, “Произхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 62–70; Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 12; Karpat, K. *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 11.

70 See Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 66, and the critique by Halil İnalcık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 112–113.

71 Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 22.

Migration, seasonal or trans-border, evasion of strict control, and reproduction of the economic and demographic potential on the move, constitute the essence of nomadism. For its part, the specific Ottoman “philosophy of governing nomadic subjects”⁷² presupposed a system of various goals, means, and relations. It combined coercion with tax exemptions and attraction to a whole spectrum of mutually advantageous activities, direct and indirect interference in tribal affairs, and regulation of the spontaneous processes of arrival and departure. Often the nomads were less forced than encouraged to settle because of the need to revivify wasteland, under the so-called *şenledirme* policy of the state. Often, the settlement of nomads was more the result of environmental, economic, or other circumstances than of deliberate measures taken by the local or central government. The opposite development was also possible – resumption of nomadic life, change of areas of seasonal migration, and relocation to distant places (the so-called renomadization).⁷³ Owing to the character of the object of influence and the changes in the Ottoman system itself over the centuries, one should not overestimate the means and capacities of Ottoman policy towards nomadic subjects. Occasionally it is represented well-nigh as a comprehensive and very effective form of “social engineering.”⁷⁴

Either way, a significant part of the Anatolian nomads from different linguistic and tribal groups were constantly subject to the Ottoman mil-

72 According to the formulation of İsenbike Arıcanlı, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yürük ve Aşiret Ayırımı,” in *First International Congress of Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071–1920). Abstracts of the Papers* (Ankara: Çaba Matbaası, 1977), 12.

73 Мейер, М. “Особенности демографических процессов в Османской империи XV–XVI вв. и их социально-экономические последствия,” in *Демографические процессы на Балканах в средние века*, ed. М. М. Фрейденберг (Калинин: Калининский Государственный Университет, 1984), 20; Мейер, М. *Османская империя в XVIII веке. Черты структурного кризиса* (Москва: “Наука”, 1991), 90; Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Aşiretlerin İşkânı*, 5–7; Петкова-Енчева, М. “Поселищна мрежа и гъстота на населението в Източния дял на Тракийската низина през втората половина на XVI век (казите Стара Загора, Чирпан, Нова Загора и Хасково),” in *Етнически и културни пространства на Балканите*, ed. Св. Иванова (София: Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”, 2009), vol. 1, 244–299.

74 See, e.g., Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 51–74.

itary, administrative and taxation system in the 15th–17th centuries.⁷⁵ In this period the ancestors of the Yürüks in Asia Minor and in the Balkans migrated and settled primarily within the framework of the “classical” land and tax regime. They were usually concentrated in areas that were relatively constantly but not always effectively controlled by the central and local administration. Their situation differed from that of a number of Türkmen, Kurdish, and other communities of the Eastern Anatolian and neighboring *yurtluks*, *ocakluks*, and *hükümet*s.⁷⁶ Also important was the circumstance that unlike the Yürüks, a number of Türkmen tribal communities were under the direct patronage of the sultan, outside the timar system.⁷⁷ For a long time, relatively large nomadic tribal confederacies – *ulus*, *il*, *aşiret* – were preserved or restructured in some areas east of the Kızılırmak river and Ankara.⁷⁸ In these areas they were situated in a different geographical, cultural, social, and foreign policy context in the 15th–16th as well as in the 17th–19th centuries. Part of the Türkmen communities, and particularly the Kurdish communities, preserved their distinct tribal elites for centuries. An important component of the social structure was also the institution of the elected and endorsed by the Ottomans, or hereditary, chieftain at the tribal as well as at the supra-tribal (confederative, administrative/territorial) levels.⁷⁹ The migrations of Türkmen, Kurds, and Arabs from the east to the west were usually linked to a change in social status and re-categorization.⁸⁰

75 Тверитинова, А. *Аграрный строй Османской империи*, 19–52, 72–73, 101–106, 127; Тверитинова, А. *Книга законов султана Селима I* (Москва: “Наука”, 1969), 39–40, 52–62; Demirtaş, F. “Bozulus Hakkında,” 31–59; Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 51–103; Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Aşiretlerin İşkânı*, 12–26.

76 Hereditary fiefs granted to a tribal leadership. They had some administrative, judicial, and tax immunity in return for military service, see Тверитинова, А. *Аграрный строй Османской империи*, 101–106; Akgündüz, А. *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri* (İstanbul: Fey Vakfı, 1990–1992), vol. 4, 469; vol. 5, 440 ff.

77 Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Aşiretlerin İşkânı*, 16.

78 Planhol, “L’*évolution du nomadisme en Anatolie et en Iran*,” 82–84.

79 Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Aşiretlerin İşkânı*, 14–21, 53; Van Bruinessen, *Agha, Shaikh and State*, 133–204; Джалил, Дж. *Курды Османской Империи в первой половине XIX века*, 14–154.

80 Planhol, “L’*évolution du nomadisme en Anatolie et en Iran*,” 84–88.

By definition, the heterogeneous social group *Yürük* encompassed a population that was to some extent socially autonomous but politically and religiously “loyal.” In this case Ottoman control did not necessarily presuppose systematic measures aimed at sedentarization and transformation into peasant *reaya*. Of course, the relations with the authorities, the surrounding sedentary population, or the other pastoralists were quite contradictory and, depending on the moment, period or region, could vary from peaceful coexistence to open insubordination and revolt.

The specific social, tax, and military-administrative context of the *Yürüks* distinguished them for several centuries from their “outside world.” The *Türkmen* also became part of the latter – including the numerous Western Anatolian groups which, for various reasons and as migrants in different periods and places, preserved their identity.

All these historical circumstances gradually formed the *Yürüks* as a distinct community. The most visible and perhaps therefore most definitive factor for their formation was relations with the Ottomans. They left deep traces in the traditions of both the Anatolian and the Balkan *Yürüks*. From a long-term historical perspective, an important consequence of these relations is the predominance of Sunni orthodox Islam (but in combination with traditional beliefs, mythology, and demonology).⁸¹ Despite the influence of Bektashism, other religious orders, or Shiism in Asia Minor and the Balkans, the number of non-Sunni *Yürüks* is small in comparison to the large number of Alevites among the Anatolian *Türkmen*. The total number of Alevites in Turkey – Turks, but also *Türkmen*, Kurds, groups such as the Abdal, Tahtacı, Nusayri, and others – in the 1970s–80s is estimated very roughly at 4.5–10–18 million,⁸² and, naturally, this phenomenon is difficult to trace in the Ottoman sources, too. In the Balkans there were groups of Bektashi *Yürüks* in some places in Macedonia and elsewhere. The best-known group lived in the area of the Mayadağ hills south of Gevgelija until 1912–1923, and later migrated to Eastern Thrace.⁸³

81 Roux, *Les tradititons de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 83–299.

82 See *Ethnic groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 56–72, 116–118, 151–152; Gökalp, A. “*Alévisme nomade: des communautés de statut à l’identité communautaire*,” *ibid.*, 524–537.

83 Кънчов, В. *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, second ed. (Избрани произведения, vol. 2, София: “Наука и изкуство“ 1970), 356; Кънчов, В.

Another important historical legacy are the comparatively loose tribal structures and the Ottoman-influenced Yürük tribal and kinship terminology, which is to some extent different from the Oğuz/Türkmen one. According to Dmitriy Eremeev, the Anatolian Türkmen preserved many more of the old Oğuz tribal and clan names, which can be traced back to the 15th–17th centuries. This proposition is quite problematic, considering the constant splits and unions, name changes based on different characteristics, borrowings, and divergent migrations of the tribal communities in Anatolia in that period. Furthermore, in the Ottoman sources as well as in a number of ethnographic studies from later times it is difficult to identify the boundaries between one Türkmen group or another. Many of the tribal, clan, group, personal, and other names are common. Analyzing a substantial set of historical and ethnographic data, Eremeev distinguishes, to some extent, the Yürük from the Türkmen tribal terminology and names in the 19th and 20th centuries. He argues for the conclusion that under Ottoman influence, the Anatolian Yürüks adopted to a much greater extent Arabic terms for tribe and tribal elements, such as *aşiret*, *kabile*, *mahalle*, and others, which coexisted with the Turkic-Mongol *ulus*, *oymak*, *il*, *boy*.⁸⁴

The Anatolian Yürüks remained within the social framework of their tribes, even though this framework underwent substantial changes as a result of relations with the Ottoman state. The tribe was (and still is) a significant reference point for their identity.⁸⁵ In the Balkans, the auxiliary Yürük corps created by the empire eventually eliminated all tribal structures but contributed significantly to the differentiation of the nomadic population and its sedentary descendants. Galaba Pa-

“Великденска разходка из Поленинско,” *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина IX* (1893): 706, 713; Gökçen, İ. “XIX. Yüzyılda Makedonya Yürük Folklorü”; Гаджанов, Д. “Мюсюлманското население в новоосвободените земи,” in *Научна експедиция в Македония и Поморавието 1916*, compiled by П. Петров (София: Военноиздателски комплекс “Св. Георги Победоносец” and Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”, 1993), 233–239.

84 Еремеев, “Произхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 34, 36, 41, 45, 47–48; Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 11–22, 82–87.

85 İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 107–113; Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Aşiretlerin İşkânı*, 18; *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 59–60.

likruševa's studies among the Yürüks in Macedonia show the symbolic meaning of the military organization approximately a century and a half after it was abolished. In addition to the emphasis placed on the military, prestigious character of the *Yürükçülük* (which in fact often had little to do with reality in the 16th–19th centuries), the memory of the past was ritualized in wedding customs: for instance, the custom of carrying old battle standards (“sancak bayrak”) at weddings, of hoisting such a battle standard atop the tomb (*türbe*) of Başiboz, and so on. However, the symbolic “military order and terminology” of weddings, noted by the Macedonian researcher, could hardly be regarded as a relic of an erstwhile tribal structure.⁸⁶

Halil İnalçık proves convincingly that Yürük/Yörük is a comparatively late Ottoman chancery term. It most probably comes from the Turkic *yöri-*, *yörü-*, *yürü-* [-mek], meaning “to walk, to wander”; in the language of the ancient Türks, the words *yürük* / *yüğürük* / *yügrük* mean “one who is fast,” “one who runs.”⁸⁷ The attempts to link Yürüks to a particular Oğuz or even older group are speculative, though. Dmitriy Eremeev supposes that there was a subgroup called Yürük of the well-known Kayı tribe, while Kemal Güngör attempts to derive Yürük from the name of the Yüregir tribe – that is, both seek a link to a particular Oğuz/Türkmen tribal group. Some scholars go even further back in time, suggesting that the word may have originated from the name of the people called Iyrkae (Ιύρκαί) by Herodotus (IV:22).⁸⁸ Others associate the etymology of Yürük with *yürek*, “heart.”⁸⁹ In fact, some of the earliest mentions of the word in Ottoman sources are

86 Паликрушева, “Етнографските особености на македонските Јуруци,” 73.

87 İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 101, 103; Vambery, *Das Türkenvolk*, 603; Roux, *Les tradititons de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 9; Von Gabain, A. *Eski Türkçenin Grameri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 313.

88 Еремеев, “Произхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции,” 31; Güngör, *Cenubî Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki*, 38.

89 See, e.g., Bajraktarević, F. “Jürüken,” in *Encyclopädie der Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1934), vol. 4, 1273; Трухелка, Ћ. “О Македонским Јуруцима,” in *Зборник за историју Јужне Србије и суседних области* (Скопље: Скопско Научно Друштво, 1936), vol. 1, 328–329; Truhelka, Ћ. “Ueber die Balkan-Yürüken,” *Revue Internationale des Etudes Balkaniques* II, 4 (1936): 90.

found in a social and political context – for example, in the chronicle of Yazıcıoğlu (ca. 1430) and in the lawbook of Mehmed II (1487/8).⁹⁰ In addition to a term of possible Seljuk origin, the Ottoman Yürük could have been borrowed from the Egyptian Mamluks. According to Peter M. Holt, *Yürük* (Arabic *Yarūq*) was used in the mid-12th century to refer to the irregular Türkmen cavalry in the Mamluk army, which was separate from the Kurdish and Arab troops.⁹¹ This is the earliest known mention of “Yürüks.”

The sources of the 15th–17th centuries indicate that this word had different meanings in the language of the Ottoman chancery. It is most commonly used as a synonym for “nomads” in general, along with the earlier and wider-meaning Türk, Türkmen, Oğuz, and a whole series of terms such as *konar-göçer* (literally, “camping and nomadic”), *lâ-mekân* (“non-settled”), *koyun eri* (“shepherds”), *göçebe* (“nomads”), *haymane* (“wandering”), *çadır ahalisi* (“tent-dwellers”), and so on. These terms are in opposition to the imperial (elitist) *Osmanlı* and to terms such as *yerli*, *oturak* or *mütemekkin* (“settled”), *köy halkı* (“villagers”), *şehirlü* (“townspeople”), and so on. Here the “professional Ottomans” followed the traditional for the East, cultural and social differentiation of this type of population, economy, societies.⁹² *Yürük*, meaning “one

90 İnalçık, H. “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 101–103; Lawbook of Yürüks from the time of Mehmed II, see Barkan, Ö. *L. XVI. ve XVI-inci Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğun'da Zirai Ekonominin Hukukî ve Mâlî Esasları*, vol. I: *Kanunlar*. İstanbul, 1945, 391; Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи, ed. Г. Гълъбов (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1961), vol. I, 25. See also Çetintürk, S. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yürük Sınıfı ve Hukukî Statüleri,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* II (1943–1944): 108–110; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 29–35.

91 Holt, P. M. *The Age of the Crusades. The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (7th. edition, London and New York: Longman. 1996), 43.

92 See, e.g., Ибн Халдун. *Встъпление* (the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldun edited and introduced by Ъ. Пеев). Translated by Ъ. Пеев, П. Братоева, and М. Нуридин, (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1984), 45–47, 51–52, 96–97, 102; Першиц, А. “Патриархально - феодальные отношения у кочевников Северной Аравии (XIX – первая четверть XX века),” in *Переднеазиатский этнографический сборник*, ed. О. Л. Вильчевский and А. Першиц (Москва: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1958, vol. 1, 118; Жуков, К. “Об этническом самосознании турков в XIII–XV вв.,” in *Османская Империя. Государственная власть и социально-*

who is mobile,” “fast,” can be found as a name of one of the Janissary units, a personal name, and term for a good horse,⁹³ while the derivative *Yürüklük* (“nomadism”) may refer to different communities. The term *Yürük bayrağı* (meaning “battle standard signaling attack”) was also preserved as a relic of the erstwhile nomadic retinue of the Ottoman military commanders – *paşas* and *sancakbeys*.⁹⁴

The dominant meanings of *Yürük* in Ottoman documents are the social and political ones. They are directly related to legal regulations and refer to nomads or settled people (who, however, are of nomadic origin) who were subject to the “classical” Ottoman military, administrative and land regime to a greater extent than other groups. In this sense, in the 15th and 16th centuries *Yürük*, pl. *Yürükler*, usually meant “our nomads,” who followed the Ottomans on their path from the small *beylik* to the large empire. According to Halil İnalçık, the term originally referred only to the nomads who were allies or subjects on Ottoman territory (initially in Western Anatolia and the Balkans) when to the south and east the main foes (Karaman, Dülkadır/Dulgadır, Karakoyunlu, Akkoyunlu, and others) largely built up their resistance upon Türkmen tribal forces.⁹⁵ In referring to the origin of the Ottoman dynasty, the early chroniclers preferred using the name “Oğuz,” not “Türkmen” or “Türk.” When referred to in a political context, all nomads in the west came to be called *Yürük*, while those in the east were called *Türkmen*.⁹⁶ In a social context, in the sense of own or state-imposed militarized or other structures, in the 15th and 16th centuries *Yürük* denoted commu-

политическая структура, ed. С. Ф. Орешкова (Москва: “Наука”, 1990), 132–148.

93 Pakalın, M. Z. *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1993), vol. 3, 640, 643; Петров, Ал. “Българският примитивен кон. Характеристика на развъжданите в България примитивни коне,” *Годишник на Софийския Университет – Агрономо-лесовъден факултет* XIX, 1 (1940–1941): 63; Тановић, С. *Српски народни обичаји у Бевђелиској кази*. Српски Етнографски Зборник XL (Живот и обичаји народни 16), Земун: Српска Академија Наука, 1927, 37.

94 Evliya Çelebi. *Seyahat Name. Tam Metin*, ed. Mümin Çevik at al. (İstanbul: Akide-Üçdal, 1986), vol. 3–4, 54; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. 3, 643.

95 İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 101–102.

96 Ibid., 102.

nities that were different from the “grand militant nomadism” (in the words of Xavier de Planhol⁹⁷) of the Oğuz/Türkmen, the Kurds, and the Arabs in the areas east of the central plateau. The empire gradually incorporated, regulated and, respectively, named according to different characteristics, the Anatolian and their neighboring tribal communities and polities. Thus, in addition to the old Oğuz tribal names – such as Çepni, Salur, Eymür, or Afşar – or politonyms (dynastic names) like Akkoyunlu or Karakoyunlu, there appeared new formations with names given by the Ottomans: Eski İl, Yeni İl, Haleb Türkmenleri, Şam Türkmenleri, Ulu Yürük, Eski Yürük, Dülkadirli, Boz Ulus, Kara Ulus, At Çeken/Esb Keşan, and so on. These communities were differentiated administratively and territorially, and the Ottoman chancery included in them compact or dispersed parts of tribes, subdivisions, seasonally migrating or settled groups. In some cases, they kept their tribal or supra-tribal organization. For example, segments (*oymak*, *cemaat*) of the Afşar Türkmen were components of the Haleb Türkmenleri (in Syria), Boz Ulus (Diyarbakır Türkmenleri), Dülkadirli and Yeni İl.

Rudi Paul Lindner is right in claiming that the main purpose of the Ottoman administration was to isolate or place under control the tribal elite and chieftains and, if possible, to directly tax the autonomously migrating clan groups (*oba*, *oymak*, *cemaat*). On the other hand, drawing upon documentary evidence mostly of the 16th century from Central and Southern Anatolia, he seems to overestimate the administration’s successes in this respect, and represents the imperial policy as being too stringent and perfidious. In fact, in the 15th and 16th centuries as well as later, the Ottomans did not just exercise coercion and pressure; they also operated quite flexibly amidst a veritable mosaic of tribes, social structures, statuses, traditions, and so on. Depending on the place and community, the authorities strove to maintain and demand collective responsibility at different levels.⁹⁸

As a result of this, as well as of the divergent migrations and of the occasionally mixed character of the tribal confederacies, *Yürük* was used both for Türkmen and (albeit more rarely) for Kurdish groups. A char-

97 Planhol, “L’*évolution du nomadisme en Anatolie et en Iran*,” 75–76.

98 Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, 51–74; İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 107–109; Demirtaş, “Bozulus Hakkında,” 30–37;

acteristic example is the Akçakoyunlu tribal community (*aşiret*), found in different periods of the 16th–18th centuries in parts of Anatolia and Northern Syria. It is sometimes referred to as “Konar-Göçer Türkmân Yörükânı Tayfesinden” (literally, “of the community of camping and nomadic Türkmen-Yürüks”). In addition to “cemaat-i Yörükân” and “Yörük Taifesinden,” one can find also “Türkmân Ekradı Taifesinden” (“of the community of Türkmen-Kurds”), “Türkmân Ekradı Yörükânı Taifesinden” (“of the community of Türkmen-Kurd-Yürüks”), and so on.⁹⁹

This terminology reflects the heterogeneous composition of the Anatolian tribal world as well as the Ottoman view of the “own” *mixo-barbaroi*. This view is also typical of the educated Byzantines, the “settled” townspeople in the pre-Ottoman Balkans for whom the mobile pastoralists – Albanians and Vlachs – remained “barbarians” despite the widespread sedentarization, acculturation, and mutual assimilation. In the 14th and 15th centuries one can find here combinations such as “Bulgaralbanitovlachos,” “Serbalbanitobulgarovlachos,” and others.¹⁰⁰

This stereotypical view is amazingly persistent. For example, the eminent Bulgarian Revival activist, Yordan Hadzhikonstantinov-Dzhinot, chose the following definitions in order to point out the ignorance, illiteracy and backwardness of the population in Macedonia:

“Bulgarotsintsars” and “Pomaks” (about the inhabitants of Prilep); “a Bulgarian town, Yurukopomak Bulgarians, uneducated, superstitious, inconstant, treacherous, deceitful, God-fearing” (about the town of Štip); “Yurukopomak Bulgarians ... traitors” (about the inhabitants of Tikveš region); “Yurukopomak Bulgarians deluged with Greek literature” (in Strumica). According to him, in the region: “there are also other tongues and they are pitiable. There are Greeks, Bulgarogreeks, Kutzotsintsars, Arbanokutzotsintsars, Toskogreeks, Gegogreeks, Bulgarogreeks, and Tsintsarogreeks, who are extremely ignorant, very uneducated and inconstant...”

99 Türkay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*, 46–47, 55, 113.

100 Ангелов, Д. *Образуване на българската народност* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1971), 369, note 35; Radojčić, D. ““Bulgaralbanitoblahos” et “Serbalbanitobulgaroblahos” du sud-est européen du XVe et XVIe siècles (Nicodim de Tismana et Gregoire Camblak),” *Romanoslavica* 13 (1966): 77-79.

At the same time, he well knew the Yürüks and their main locations and areas, which he enumerates in his correspondence with the newspaper *Tsarigradski Vestnik* of 1852–1853.¹⁰¹ Whether they are idealized or despised, the religiously, physically, or culturally “others” are “unclean” (of mixed origin or in the context of incest). This is a universal opposition in traditional cultures, but it is also found in literate cultures. Such prejudice is also present in the “elitist” colonial or post-colonial attitudes.¹⁰²

The Ottomans placed the Anatolian Yürüks in a common tribal context that was important for Anatolia. The term *aşiret* (with synonyms such as *cemaat*, *ulus*, and *oymak*) usually denotes tribal communities; in some instances, it may refer to a tribal confederation and its diaspora of heterogeneous elements (groups), including *Yürük*, *cemaat-i Yürükân*, *Yürük taifesi*. Often, however, after the 15th and 16th centuries and particularly when used in a social and political context, Yürük/Yürüklер continued to denote groups different from *Türkmen*, *Terekeme*, *Etrak* (Turks), *Kürd*, *Ekrad* (Kurds), *Arab*, *Berber*, and others. These names refer above all to the periodically rebellious, often heterodox, tribes and tribal confederacies which created problems for the Ottomans throughout the period of their rule. In this context, the term *Kızılbaş* (initially, followers of the Safavid religious order), for example, denotes the allegedly pro-Persian nomadic or settled Alevite Türkmen who were strongly influenced by Shiism and who were concentrated especially in the areas from Sivas in the west to the Safavid domains in the east. *Kızılbaş* is also used to some extent in opposition to *Yürük* as a cliché for “loyal” nomads.¹⁰³ One can also find designations such as “Konar-Göçer ve Şeytan Perest Yezidi Ekrad Ulus Taifesinden” (“camping and nomadic devil-worshipper Yezidis/fire-worshippers of the community of Kurdish tribes”). Still, Ottoman

101 Иванов, Й. *Българите в Македония*, 264; Поленаковиќ, X. “Јордан Хаџиконстантинов-Цинот за Јуруците,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 147–152.

102 Clifford, J. *The Predicament of Culture. Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge–Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), 1–17; Goody, J. *The Oriental, the Ancient and the Primitive. Systems of Marriage and the Family in the Pre-industrial Societies of Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), XI – XIX; Todorova, M. *Imagining the Balkans* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

103 İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 100–101.

registrations of nomadic and semi-nomadic groups often recorded the origin as well as the starting- or end-points of their migrations which were often associated with potential religious and political disloyalty; for example: “Zilânlı, İran Ekradı Taifesinden” (“Zilânlı, of the community of Iranian Kurds,” in the areas of Rakka, Sivas, Kars, Mardin, Diyarbekir).¹⁰⁴

The Ottoman *Yürük* is often a combination of meanings, a traditional cliché used for centuries on end in different kinds of documents. This is the standard term for “nomad” in resolving legal cases. For example:

Some Yürüks have set up camp near the fields of Zeyd, and their livestock causes damages and losses to Zeyd’s fields every year...¹⁰⁵

The polysemic meaning of *Yürük* in the 15th–19th centuries also applies fully to the members of the eponymous auxiliary corps in the Balkans. They could be Yürüks culturally similar to their Anatolian brethren, as well as “Yürüks” – Nogay and Crimean Tatars, Gypsies/Roma, Muslim converts of various origins, who were periodically recruited into the corps. In the 15th and 16th centuries *Yürük* referred directly to the local Turkish nomadic and semi-nomadic communities, and later, to their descendants, while *Türkmen* and *Etrak* were rarely used in Ottoman legislation. Although according to Halil İnalçık “Yürük” completely replaced “Türkmen” in the Balkans, the latter is found in Ottoman chronicles of the 15th and 16th centuries and in place-names, while *Etrak* (“Turks”) appears as a synonym in, for example, a law (*kanun*) from the time of Mehmed II determining the sheep tax (*koyun adeti*) and other levies imposed on Yürüks and Gypsies.¹⁰⁶

104 Türkay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*, 151–169.

105 *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, edited by Г. Гълъбов and Б. Цветкова (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1971), vol. II, 80; Магковски, А. *Кануни и фермани за Македонија* (Скопје: “Мисла”, 1990), 134, 138, 162–166, 170–177.

106 Titled “Rumili Etrakinün Koyun Adeti Hükümü ve Çingene Kanunu,” see Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. 1, 397; İnalçık, “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” 100; Мичев, Н. & П. Коледаров. *Речник на селищата и селищните имена в България (1878–1987)* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1989), 273.

Throughout the period of its existence – from the mid/late 1400s to 1691 (as Yürük *sancaks*,¹⁰⁷ corps) and later under the name *Evlâd-i Fâtiḥân* (“Descendants of the Conquerors”) until 1846, the Yürük military organization – and, respectively, the status of Yürüks – in Rumelia was based primarily on a distinct community. In a Balkan context, *Yürük* can be associated to a large extent with the specific tradition of a significant part of the members of the military organization as well as with the formally non-included in it “free” nomadic groups (*serbest haymane*). This can be traced in a number of concrete cases in which Yürüks were registered as ordinary Muslim reaya as a result of settlement or re-categorization aimed at relieving themselves of military and/or labor obligations, as other special-status groups, trades, occupations. In addition to being a nickname with distinct pejorative connotations among the sedentary Muslims or Christians, “Yürük” also denotes origin and in a number of cases refers to townspeople or villagers who had abandoned their previous way of life.¹⁰⁸ The name can also simply be a nickname that may or may not be linked to shepherding. For example, in the detailed tax register for the *kaza* (judicial-administrative district of a judge – *kadı*) of Sofia from the late 16th century we find names of Christians, such as Nedelko Yürük (in the village of Kumaritsa), Vito Yürük (village of Zhelyava), Todor Yürük (Vladaya), and others. This is how some present-day Bulgarian family names originated.¹⁰⁹

The predominant official meanings of *Yürük* by no means indicate that the Ottomans did not take into account or did not know the differences – initially political and social, and later cultural or ethnic – between the Yürüks and many other Turkish-speaking communities. As in Anatolia, in the Balkans this term implies at least some knowl-

107 See Chapter Three, I.

108 For example, Hamza Yürük among the Muslim inhabitants of the city of Plovdiv in the detailed register of this sancak of 1489 – BOA, TD 26, s. 12; Yürük Mustafa Sofu Hüseyin Bursavi among the inhabitants of Eğriboz (present-day Chalkis on the island of Euboea) in a register of 1528/29, see Balta, E. *Rural and Urban Populatuon in the Sancak of Euripos in the Early XVIth Cenury* (Athens: Hetaireia Euvoikon Spoudon, 1992), 126.

109 Genç, N. *XVI Yüzl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri'nde Sofya Kazası* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1988), 344, 368, 490.

edge of the Yürüks' mobility, loyalty or insubordination, kinship and solidarity, own social structures, personal and collective qualities associated with tradition. For example, in his travel notes (of the mid-1670s) Evliya Çelebi mentions some specific (exotic) cultural traits of the Yürük community – mores, customs, costume, dialect, products, foods, superstitions, and so on. Some of them correspond to what we know from later ethnographic accounts. Notwithstanding the inevitable reservations about his writings, in his comparatively frequent references to Yürüks in the Balkans the Ottoman traveller represents them as a distinct community. In Anatolia he usually distinguishes them from “Türk” and “Türkmen,” and in the Balkans from “Tatar” and “Çıtak.” The latter name once again refers to Turks or Tatars of “mixed” origin as a result of assimilation of local Christians. In this, case, too, “Çıtak” is used as a synonym for Yürüks. As an educated Ottoman, Evliya Çelebi often presents various “foreign” groups and languages (dialects, idioms) through generalizations, fusions, and comparisons. This constitutes the context both of the distinction of the Yürüks from the “Çıtaks,” the settled Turkish-speaking population in Dobrudzha and Macedonia, and expressions such as “inhabited entirely by Çıtaks-Yürüks” (referring to Yambol) or “there is an *asker* (military unit, troops) of 12,000 Yürük *eşkincis* (soldiers)¹¹⁰ and a Çıtak asker” (referring to the *sancak* [military and administrative subdivision of a province] of Salonica).¹¹¹

Of course, the Ottomans did not have our terminology for signifying “others.” In their texts group names appear in the context of mutual presupposition of the social, the confessional, and the cultural, of the known (stereotypical) and therefore often not-noted specificity of a given community.¹¹² The Yürüks as “nomads,”

110 See Chapter Three, I.

111 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahat Name*, vol. 3–4, 238–322; vol. 5–6, 207, 208, 390, 484–502; vol. 8, 24, 39, 70, 77, 90, 106, 471–490; Евлия Челеби. *Пътенис*, ed. and translated by С. Димитров (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1972), 25, 26, 37, 49, 81, 108, 125, 176, 198, 227–228, 276; Гаджанов, Д. “Пътуване на Евлия Челеби из българските земи през средата на XVII век.” *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество* LXX, 9–10 (1909): 666, 670–675, 688, 692, 696, 704–705.

112 For the Ottoman notion and formalizations of ethnicity, see Иванова, Св.

“shepherds” are not an exception to the tradition according to which “Tatar” also means messenger, courier, “Arnavut” (“Albanian”) means guard, bodyguard, and so on. A number of other names – for example, “Çerkes” and “Çingâne”/“Kıptı” – imply a set of specific cultural traits and expectations. In addition to Circassians (Adige, and others) and Roma in the narrower sense, they signify, respectively, “Muslims from the Northern Caucasus,”¹¹³ usually without specifying which ethnic or linguistic group they belong to, “Gypsies,” “itinerants,” “nomads,” “marginal people.”¹¹⁴ In the same way, Tahtacı is the name of a now distinct Alevite Anatolian community whose occupation in lumbering and charcoal production gradually turned into an ethnonym.¹¹⁵ Nowadays, too, this “ethno-professional” context inherited from Ottoman times is important for the traditional “us”/“them” distinction in Turkey.¹¹⁶

If we follow Dmitriy Eremeev’s hypothesis, in the Ottoman domains in Western Anatolia in the 14th and 15th centuries there was already a distinct Yürük ethnic group which spread across the Balkans through migration (colonization) in the course of the Ottoman conquest. This is neither directly provable nor particularly important. As all others, the Yürüks, too, were a heterogeneous community. But they attained, most likely over a long period of time, a certain level of consolidation within the boundaries of the historically formed “own” Balkan-Anatolian area. This occurred in relatively similar

“Малките етноконфесионални групи в българските градове през XVI–XVII в.,” in *Българският шестнадесети век. Сборник с доклади за българската обща и културна история през XVI в.*, ed. Б. Христова (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”), 1996. 49–82.

113 Özbek, B. “Tscherkessen in der Türkei,” in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 581–590; Özbek, B. “Cirkassians and Related Groups,” *ibid.*, 167–171; Karpat, K. *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 27, 66–69.

114 Лиежоа, Ж.-П. *Роми, цигани, чергари*, Съвет на Европа, София, 1996, 31–41; Svanberg, I. “Marginal Groups and Itinerants,” in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 603–604; “Gypsies,” *ibid.*, 138–142.

115 Roux, *Les traditons de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 12–16; “Tahtacı,” in *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*, 68–71.

116 Andrews, “Introduction,” *ibid.*, 25.

geographical, economic, social, and cultural conditions, and migration contacts on both sides of the Straits. The path of development of the Yürüks, outlined by Eremeev, seems entirely logical despite the questionable chronology and too categorical definition of processes which are in principle unidentifiable from the available sources. Any attempt at historical reconstruction already from pre-Ottoman times would be an abstraction based on one of the following schemes: from ethnicity to social group/status, or vice versa.¹¹⁷

Although they may have deep historical roots, the beginning of these processes is visible in the period of foundation of the Ottoman Empire and the first Anatolian migrations into the Balkans, while their final ethnic (social, cultural) result became apparent only in the 19th and 20th centuries.

117 The view that the Yürüks gradually formed “a sui generis ethnic entity” is also shared by other Russian scholars, see Гасратян, М., С. Орешкова, Ю. Петросян, *Очерки истории Турции*, 36–37.

CHAPTER TWO:
YÜRÜK COLONIZATION

I. YÜRÜK SETTLEMENT IN THE BALKANS

1. Nomadic and Other Migrations

The Ottoman conquest is illuminated by Byzantine, Slavic, western, and other texts, but a more detailed idea about the colonization accompanying the establishment of the new regime in the Balkans can be obtained above all from the Ottoman sources.¹

From their arrival on the peninsula in the mid-14th century until the mid- or late 15th century, the Ottomans gradually built the foundations of their empire.² The first Ottoman *defters* (registers) in the Balkan lands were compiled in the context of the still-uncompleted conquest of a number of areas on the two sides of the Straits, of continuing raids and major military campaigns.³ During the reign of Sultan Mehmed II Fatih (the Conqueror, 1451–1481), the nomadic elements from the *uc*⁴ began to be registered as reaya (tax-paying subjects) in *timar* (land revenues in return for military service), *vakıf* (pious foundation), other kinds of granted revenues and landholdings, irregular cavalry, *sipahi* (regular cavalry, timar-prebend holders), and the like. The Ottoman administrative and military system in the Balkans were developed under conditions of a shortage of Muslim population. This shortage could not be filled by colonization or by the processes of Islamization in the urban centers and (still sporadically) in the rural

1 For a general review of the Turkic colonization, see Barkan, Ö. L. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XI (1949–1950); XIII (1951–1952); XV (1953–1954); İnbaşı, M. *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544–1675)* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000), 10–19; Димитров, С. “За юрюшката организация и ролята и в етноасимилаторските процеси,” *Векове* 1–2 (1982): 34–37.

2 Imber, C. H. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1481* (İstanbul: İsis Press, 1990); Матанов, Хр., & Р. Михнева. *От Галиполи до Лепанто. Балканите, Европа и османското нашествие, 1354–1571 г.* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1988), 11–52, 92–96, 144–247.

3 İnalçık, H. *Hicrî 835 Tarihi Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi), 1954, VIII–XXXV.

4 Literally “point”, “end” – a military frontier zone.

areas. Thus, the Christian vassal troops and some of the already existing local structures were gradually transformed into Christian sipahis, *voynuks* (non-Muslim auxiliaries), Vlachs (*Eflâk*), and the like. In some places the Ottomans settled non-Muslim colonists, too.

The accounts of Ottoman chroniclers on the migrations across the Straits are rather fragmentary. Furthermore, they are repeated over and over again in compilatory form. In the chronicles that mention the first migrations of the 14th to the mid-15th century, the name “Yürük” is rarely to be found. Among the few exceptions are those of Yazıciioğlu, ca. 1430, and Oruç bin Adil, before 1466/67.⁵ The term “nomadic households” (“göçer evler”), used by Aşıkpaşazade in his chronicle of the migration from the Western Asian Minor province of Saruhan to the Aegean region, in the area of Serres, is typical. This migration was connected to the military campaigns of Lala Şahin and Timurtaş Paşa to the area of Bitola and the Albanian lands, and it has been dated to ca. 1385, at the time of Sultan Murad I. It is mentioned by almost all early Ottoman chroniclers. An unruly “nomadic people/tribe” (“göçer il/el”) was deported from Saruhan to the area of Plovdiv before 1392 by Ertuğrul, the son of Bayezid I.⁶ According to an anonymous Ottoman chronicle, its descendants called themselves “Saruhanbeyliler,” a name evidently connected to that of the village of Saranbey (the present-day town of Septemvri). The name “Türk” is also found in this context.⁷

According to the same chronicle, Timur’s invasion in 1400–1402 caused an exodus to Western Anatolia and the Balkans:

5 Gökbilgin, M. T. *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân* (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1957), 3, 7.

6 Giese, F. *Die altosmanische Chronik des Aşıkpaşazade* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1929), 46; Димитров, “За юрюшката организация,” 34, 35. Oruç bin Adil is the only one who calls the first group “konar-göçer Yürükler,” see Uzunçarşılı, İ. *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1961), vol. 1, 24, 96. According to Hadidi, they were “göçer evli Araplar” or “nomadic Arab households (families),” see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 3, 6, 7; Barkan, “Sürgünler” (1951–1952): 67–68; Мехмед Нешри. *Огледало на света. История на османския двор*. Edited and translated by М. Калицин (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1984), 132.

7 Ibid., 195; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 7, 16.

Fleeing from wherever he attacked, the people crossed the sea and poured into Rumelia ... In Rumelia we have met many people who say “our roots are actually Arab, or Türkmen, or Kurdish, or Anatolian,” and some even say “our roots are Chaghatay.” They had fled and come to Rumelia. And indeed, they are the people who now populate most of Rumelia.⁸

Tatars – various Kipchak or Turkic-Mongol groups from the Black Sea steppes and the Crimea as well as from Anatolia – were also settled in Rumelia. During the reign of Bayezid I Yıldırım (the Thunderbolt, 1389–1402), the horde of the Tatar chieftain Aktay/Aktau, one of the known emirs of khan Tokhtamysh, was transferred from Dobrudzha to the areas of Plovdiv and Adrianople. Once again, the main reason for the migrations of Tatars from Desht-i Kipchak to the lands south of the Danube, ruled by Sultan Bayezid, were Timur’s campaigns against Tokhtamysh and the two defeats of the Tatar khan at the rivers Kondurcha (1391) and Terek (1395).⁹ It is thought that they were the same “godless Tatars” who, according to the Anonymous Bulgarian Chronicle, pillaged Varna in 1399 and who are mentioned by Laonikos Chalkokondyles as having come “from Dacia” at the time of Bayezid I. Their descendants may be connected to one of the four Tatar groups of the 16th century which were gradually assimilated into the Yürük corps – the Aktav Tatars in the areas of Plovdiv, Stara Zagora and Adrianople.¹⁰

8 Cited in Димитров, “За юрюшката организация,” 35; According to Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri, one of the earliest known deportations was initiated by Süleyman, the son of Sultan Orhan, who settled Arab nomads (“göçer Arab evleri”) from the vilayet of Karesi in the area of Gallipoli ca. 1356–1357, see Giese, *Die altosmanische Chronik des Aşıkpaşazade*, 46; Мехмед Нешри, *Огледало на света*, 69. Other mentions of the same event have given rise to disputes on the identity of this group of immigrants, see Barkan, “Sürgünler” (1951–1952): 59–62.

9 Тизенгаузен, В. *Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Императорской Академии Наук, 1884), vol. I, 465; vol. II (Москва–Ленинград: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1941, 118–121, 168, 176–179.

10 Гюзелев, В. *Средновековна България в светлината на нови извори* (София: “Народна просвета”, 1981), 207, 221; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 17, 54, 58, 87; Barkan, “Sürgünler” (1953–1954): 211–212. On

Another known migration is of Tatars who had remained in Anatolia from the time of Timur and who were deported to Rumelia after Samsun was seized by Mehmed I Çelebi in 1418. According to Neşri (who repeats Aşıkpaşazade's account), they had chieftains and lived in the environs of İskilip (in Northern Anatolia, near Çorum and southwest of Samsun). Headed by Minnet Bey, they were deported to the area of Plovdiv, around the fortress of Konush, where Minnet Bey's son Mehmed Minnetoğlu later built a caravanserai and imaret (kitchen for the poor).¹¹

The general historical and demographic context of the migrations from the Anatolian Ottoman domains into Europe in the 14th–16th centuries has long since been established despite the many questions that have caused controversy among historians. The factors which determined the development of these processes have been analyzed in historiography both at the all-Balkan and regional levels.¹² Among

the Tatar colonization in Dobrudzha and Thrace in the 15th–17th centuries, see also Димитров, С. “Административно и етнодемографско развитие,” in *История на Добруджа*, ed. С. Димитров et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1988), vol. 3, chapter 1, 37–39, Петкова-Енчева, М. “Поселищна мрежа и гъстота на населението в Източния дял на Тракийската низина през втората половина на XVI век (казите Стара Загора, Чирпан, Нова Загора и Хасково),” in *Етнически и културни пространства на Балканите*, ed. Св. Иванова (София: Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”, 2009), vol. 1, 244–260.

11 Мехмед Нешри, *Огледало на света*, 208. Giese, *Die altosmanische Chronik des Aşıkpaşazade*, 80–81.

12 See Todorov, N. & A. Velkov. *Situation démographique de la Péninsule balkanique (fin du XVe s. – début du XVIe s.)* (Sofia: Académie Bulgare des sciences, 1988); Тодоров, Н. “За демографското състояние на Балканския полуостров през XV–XVI в.,” in *Годишник на Софийския Университет–Философско-исторически факултет* LIII, 2 (1959): 191–232; Тодорова, М., and Н. Тодоров, “Проблеми и задачи на историческата демография на Османската империя,” in *Балканистика* 2, ed. Н. Тодоров et al. (София: Българска Академия на Науките, Институт по Балканистика, 1987), 22–35; Иванова, Св. “Етнодемографски изследвания за периода XV–XVII в. в съвременната българска историография,” in *България през XV–XVIII в. Историографски изследвания*, ed. Кр. Шарова et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1987), vol. 1, 155–169; İnalçık, H. “Ottoman Methods of Conquest,” in *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organisation and Economy* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), I; Димитров, С. “Демографски отношения и проникване на исляма в Западните Родопи и по долината на Места през XV–XVII в.,” in *Родопски сборник*, vol. 1, ed. Хр. Христов et al. (София:

the questions that remain debatable are the scale of the devastations, demographic losses and migrations, and the dimensions of the Ottoman colonization in the context of Islamization of parts of the local population. Due to the political conjuncture in Bulgarian historiography in the 1980s, the very existence of some pre-Ottoman local Turkic-speaking groups (supposed descendants of the Proto-Bulgarians, Pechenegs, Uzes and Kumans) became an argument for predominantly “non-Anatolian” origin of the Turks in Bulgaria. A review of various biased theses and counter-theses in the context of the strong politicization of this range of issues, especially in Bulgarian and Turkish historiography, is beyond the scope of this study.¹³ Suffice it to mention two classic discussions: the indirect debate between Petar Mutafchiev and Paul Wittek on the possible migration of Anatolian Oğuz/Türkmén into Dobruzha before the Ottomans, in the 1260s (in the context of the important but unsolvable question about the origin of the Gagauz), and Strashimir Dimitrov’s scathing critique of Hristo Gandev’s theory about “the demographic collapse of the Bulgarian people” in the 15th century.¹⁴

The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans lasted almost a century and a half, from the first-seized territory in Gallipoli (1352–1354) to the

Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1965), 63–114; Желязкова, А. *Разпространение на исляма в западнобалканските земи под османска власт (XV–XVIII в.)* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1990); Матанов, Хр. *Възникване и облик на Кюстендилски санджак през XV–XVI в.* (София: ИФ-94, 2000).

13 See, e.g., Петров, П., ed. *Последите на насието. Документи и материали за налагане на исляма* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1987), vol. 1, 9–15; Янков, Г. et al. *Проблеми на развитието на българската народност и нация* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1988); Христов, Хр., ed. *Страници от българската история. Очерк за ислямизираните българи и национално-възродителния процес* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1989).

14 See Мутафчиев, П. “Мнимото преселение на селджушки турци в Добруджа през XIII в.” (published in 1941), in *Изток и запад в европейското средновековие. (Избрано)*, compiled by В. Мутафчиева (София: ИК “Христо Ботев”, 1993), 199–337, and Wittek, P. “Yazidjioghlu ‘Ali on the Christian Turks of Dobruja,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 2 (1953): 639–668; Гандев, Хр. *Българската народност през XV век* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1972), and Димитров, С. “Мезрите и демографският колапс на българската народност през XV век,” *Векове* 6 (1973): 50–65.

subjugation of Montenegro in 1499 and of some fortresses in Bosnia in the early 1500s. The stages of overcoming local resistance and of the emergence and development of the early empire are difficult to synchronize with the migrations of Anatolian and other nomadic groups. Tribal forces followed the Ottomans from the very beginning of the conquest. They had an important place in the *uc* system and took part in the raids along the frontiers of the constantly expanding Ottoman sphere as well as in the crucial battles that have become chronological milestones of the invasion. For example, during the first campaign of the crusader army of Janos Hunyadi and Wladyslaw III Jagiello, after the defeat of the Ottomans at Niš (November 3, 1443), the serious Christian threat made Murad II declare a mobilization of all available forces. An anonymous Ottoman author ascribes the following promises to the sultan:

Let it also be known that whoever comes to my assistance in this campaign, whoever supports us in the name of the Islamic faith and joins our campaign, shall be accepted by me, whatever their wish may be. Those who wish timars, those who wish zeamets, those who wish to become Janissaries, those who wish to become sipahis, those who want to go wandering [to be nomads], will all have their wishes fulfilled by me!¹⁵

In their capacity as settlers, the nomads were one of the mainstays of the new regime. Their migration into the Balkans is usually attributed to different factors. Among them are the complete or partial depopulation of some regions and places as a result of the wars and epidemics on the eve of the invasion; the disasters caused by the Ottoman conquest; action taken by sultans, viziers, *sancakbeys* (governors and military commanders of a subdivision of province, *sancak*), and other senior officials to transfer loyal or rebellious tribes, hordes and groups across the Straits and the Danube. Migrations were also initiated by the nomads' own chieftains, who were looking for booty and pastures. In the era of the conquest *ucbeys* (military frontier commanders), and later, *sancakbeys*, had "their own" nomads who took

15 *Писание за верските битки на султан Мурад син на Мехмед хан*, edited and translated by М. Калицин (София: ГАЛ-ИКО, 1992), 38–39.

part in raids. In the late 14th and early 15th centuries the nomadic units were partially commanded by sancakbeys, other timar-holders, and *akıncı beys* (commanders of the *akıncı* raiders, irregular light cavalry units), but they also had their own chieftains.¹⁶ Some of their descendants would go on to become famous sancakbeys, holders of mülk estates and vakıfs, or other dignitaries.¹⁷

In the 15th and 16th centuries, some groups were probably named after erstwhile senior military commanders: Yürükân-i Evrenos, Paşa Yiğit Yürükleri, and others.¹⁸ For example, Ömer Lütfi Barkan thinks that the Yürük groups named after Paşa Yiğit in the Balkans may have been descendants of the followers of the well-known *akıncı* bey of tribal origin from the time of Murad I and Bayezid I, or subordinates of his descendants from later times.¹⁹ It is also possible that this was just a coincidence of names of different individuals. Personal names like Paşa, Baba Paşa, Oğul Paşa, Paşa Alp, Baba Yiğit or Paşa Yiğit were common among the Yürüks. There was a tribal community of the same name, Paşa Yiğit, in the regions of Biga and Saruhan. The records show that towards the end of the 15th century, in the sancak of Nikopol there was a *mezraa* (cultivated site or pastureland, usually without permanent population) called Paşa Yiğit which was inhabited by an eponymous Yürük group (Paşa Yiğit Obası, another name for the village of Proslav whose location has not been identified). Whereas the group called Yürükân-i Sarıgöl nam-i diğeri Paşa, recorded in the sancak of Trikala (Thessaly) in the early 16th century, may not have been associated with Paşa Yiğit, the first sancakbey of Skopje, this was most likely the case with the Yürükân-i Evrenos mentioned in the same register.²⁰ In the 1480s there were still timars made up entirely

16 Barkan, “Sürgünler” (1951–1952): 72 ff.

17 Gökbilgin, M. T. *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar–Mülkler–Mukataalar* (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), 6–35.

18 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler; Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 27, 90, 103; *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. II, ed. Н. Тодоров et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1966), 181, 297; Ковачев, Р. *Опис на Никополския санджак от 80-те години на XV век* (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, 1997), 153, 171.

19 Barkan, “Sürgünler” (1951–1952): 78.

20 Ibid., 72–78.

of mezraas with non-sedentary Yürüks, which may have belonged to sipahis originating from this community.²¹ For example, such timars, made up entirely of Yürük groups registered in mezraas and villages, were held by some of the members of the garrison at the fortress of Yergöğü/Giurgiu, an Ottoman forepost on the northern bank of the Danube. Neşri calls this settlement Yürük Ova (Yürük Plain).²² Some religious leaders may also have attracted nomadic followers upon migrating to Rumelia.²³

A series of political events predetermined the constant concentration of such groups on Ottoman territory: the military campaigns and recruitment of troops, conflicts with other Muslim rivals, and above all Timur's onslaught at the very beginning of the 15th century. Further population shifts took place upon the gradual conquest of Anatolia and the constant clashes with Persia and the Kızılbaş in the first decades of the 16th century. The deportations conducted by the Ottomans eased the tensions in Asia Minor that were periodically fuelled by the rebellious local nomads.²⁴

The raids of Anatolian Turks in the Balkans had begun already with the involvement of part of the Western Anatolian principalities in local conflicts in the 1330s and 1340s.²⁵ The comparatively larger-scale and longer incursions of nomadic groups followed the Ottoman expansion into the Balkans after the Battle of Chernomen in 1371. The attempts to control and direct them as part of the strategy for conquering these lands were resumed under Sultan Murad I.²⁶ This strategy gradually took

21 Ковачев, *Опис на Никополския санджак от 80-те години на XV век*, 64, 162.

22 *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. II, 329–321. According to the translator, Rusi Stoykov, this register dates from the mid-15th century, but according to Strashimir Dimitrov it dates from 1479–1480, see Димитров, С. “За датировката на някои османски регистри от XV в.,” *Известия на Българското историческо дружество* 26 (1968): 241–243; Мехмед Нешири, *Огледало на света*, 94, 98.

23 Barkan, “Sürgünler” (1949–1950): 534–537.

24 Граматикова, Н. *Неортодоксалният ислям в българските земи. Минало и съвременност* (София: ИК “Гутенберг”, 2011), 153–205.

25 Матанов, Хр., & Р. Михнева, *От Галиполи до Лепанто*, 26–32.

26 Стојановски, А. 1989. “Маричката битка и нејзините последици,” in *Македонија во турското средновековие (од крајот на XIV–почетококот на*

shape with the increase of Ottoman power, appetites and needs as the state bureaucratic system and military machine grew and became ever more complex. In the 16th century, mass deportations continued through the so-called *sürgün* (forced deportation) system applied to politically and religiously disloyal groups and tribes (above all, Alevi/Kızılbaş).²⁷ In 1502, at the time of Bayezid II, Kızılbaş Türkmen were deported from the provinces of Teke and Hamid-ili (in Southwestern Anatolia) to the region of Koron and Modon, Southern Peloponnese.²⁸ After the rebellion of Şahkulu, Turkish tribal groups were deported to Macedonia, Epirus and Morea in 1509–1511.²⁹ Similar groups were deported to Rumelia under Selim I Yavuz (the Grim, 1512–1520) and his successor Süleyman I Kanuni (the Magnificent, 1520–1566). Their status differed from that of the Yürüks, Tatars, müsellems, and the rest of the Muslim reaya. Judging from the *kanunnames* (lawbooks) for the sancak of Silistra, these *sürgün taifesi* (deported groups) could have come not only from Anatolia; they could also be “from Rumelia, or infidels converted to the truth faith” (“kâfirden imane gele”).³⁰ The analysis of the 1569 register and the lawbooks of the Silistra sancak, the 1573 register of *celepkeşans* (sheep-suppliers), and of other documents, as well as of toponymic and anthroponymic data, has allowed Strashimir Dimitrov

XVIII век) Скопје: “Култура”, 1989, 11–17; Матанов, Хр., & Р. Михнева, *От Галиполи до Лепанто*, 43–45.

27 On the organization of *sürgün*, a form of punishment (*ceza*) by deportation to the Balkans, Rhodes, Cyprus and elsewhere, see: İnalçık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest,” 122–129; Barkan, “Sürgünler” (1949–1950): 549–561; (1953–1954): 213–214.

28 Ibid., 228.

29 Dimitriadis, V. “The Yürüks in Central and Western Macedonia,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населување на Балканот. Материјали од Тркалезната маса, одржана во Скопје на 17. и 18. 11. 1983 година*, edited by Крум Томовски et al. (Скопје: Македонска Академија на Науките и Уметностите, 1986), 11.

30 See the lawbook for the sancak of Silistra of 1518, in Akgündüz, A. *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri* (İstanbul: Fey Vakfı, 1991), vol. 3, 466; Lawbook for the sancak of Silistra from the time of Süleyman I (undated), in Barkan, Ö. L. *XV. ve XVI-inci Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Mâlî Esasları*, vol. I: *Kanunlar* (İstanbul, 1945), Doc. LXXX, 273, 275, 279; *Турски извори за историјата на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, ed. Г. Гълъбов (София: Издателство на Българската Академија на Науките, 1961), 263, 264.

to link these deportations to the repressions against the Kızıldaş and their rebellions in the first quarter of the 16th century.³¹ For their part, Christian deportees (“sürgün olan kâfirleri”) are mentioned in a lawbook for the sancak of Akkerman/Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi of 1484.³²

2. Yürük Sancaks

The Ottoman colonization included different ethnic, religious, and social components (military, dignitaries, bureaucrats, clerics, dervishes, peasants, nomads, and others).³³ It is against this historical background that the Yürüks appeared as one of the main participants. Their relatively massive presence on Balkan territory can be established above all on the basis of the gradual emergence and development of the six main units (non-territorial sancaks) of the Yürük corps³⁴ rather than from the available direct evidence about migrations at that time. The *Vize*, *Kocacık*, *Naldöken*, *Tanrıdağ*, *Selânik/Salonica*, and *Ofçabolu/Ovçe Pole* Yürüks were formed as groups from the second half of the 15th century onwards, after accumulating, in a manner that is not sufficiently visible in the extant sources, a potential that was more or less sufficient for their functioning. Unlike the one in Anatolia, the Yürük military organization in the Balkans gradually acquired a unified form during the 15th century. In the 16th century it

31 Димитров, “Административно и етнодемографско развитие,” in *История на Добруджа*, vol. 3, chapter 1, 34–36. According to Rusi Stoykov, the names of some of the sheep-suppliers in the 1573 register, as well as the designation “Acem” (“Persian”), “indicate the Azerbaijani or Persian origins of this population,” see: Стойков, Р. “Селища и демографски облик на Североизточна България и Южна Добруджа през втората половина на XVI в,” *Известия на Варненското археологическо дружество XV* (1964): 100. But they may also be interpreted as an indication of the strong Persian and Shiite influence among the Anatolian Türkmens.

32 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. 1, 371.

33 Стойков, “Селища и демографски облик на Североизточна България и Южна Добруджа,” 98–101; Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев. *Джелепкешаните в българските и съседните им земи през XVI–XVIII век (по документи от наши и чужди архиви)* (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, 1998), 112–115.

34 See Chapter Three, I.

partially took over the functions of the akıncıs, müsellems, yaya, and other auxiliaries inherited from the era of the conquest.³⁵

Parallel with the establishment of the practice of systematic registrations as one of the main levers of the centralized system, the Yürüks fell within the scope of mass documentary material. The relatively most representative evidence about them can be drawn from the documents regarding the Yürük auxiliary corps and its subdivisions, the Yürük sancaks: Yürük *kanunnames* (lawbooks, statute books), registers, sultanic orders, court records, and so on. Information about them is also found in different kinds of tax registers: detailed (*mufassal*) and summary (*icmal*) *defters*, lists of sheep-suppliers, and other registers, the earliest among which date from the mid-15th to the first decades or the end of the 16th century. As for the development of the processes of their arrival, expansion, wandering and settlement before that, it tends to be a matter of retrospective conjecture.

The first approximate estimations of the total number of the Muslim population and, in particular, of the Yürüks in the Balkans can be made for the time being on the basis of the detailed and summary *defters* of 1519/20–1535, and the registers of the Yürük corps of the 1540s.³⁶ It is most likely, though, that their predecessors had migrated into the Balkans back in the late 14th or early 15th century. It is reasonable to presume that they initially established themselves in the first conquered regions that were geographically closest to Asia Minor, although some groups may have also advanced, at their own initiative, into the mountains and plains on what was still foreign, Christian territory.

In fact, besides the established stages of the conquest, there were also a series of “small invasions” by Anatolian and other nomads

35 Gökbiçgin, M. T. “Rumeli’nin İskânında ve Türkleşmesinde Yürükler,” in *Türk Tarih Korumu Yayınlarından* (III Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 1943) IX Seri, N 36 (1948): 655–658; Gökbiçgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 19–29; Çetintürk, S. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yürük Sınıfı ve Hukukî Statüleri,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* II (1943–1944): 110; Димитров, “За юрюшката организация,” 36–37.

36 Bakan, “Sürgünler” (1953–1954): 232–237; Gökbiçgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 54–96; Тодоров, “За демографското състояние на Балканския полуостров през XV–XVI в.,” 214–221.

who followed the Ottomans into the Balkans. Initially, the Yürüks established themselves in Eastern Thrace, the Aegean region and the Upper Thracian Plain, gradually moving into the Rhodopes, crossing the Balkan range, and occasionally advancing into Macedonia, Thessaly and West Central Bulgaria. In a law on the *ağnam* (sheep tax) for Yürüks and the *harac* (capitation tax levied on non-Muslims) for Gypsies in Rumelia from the time of Mehmed II, the main regions populated by Yürüks were still defined primarily with reference to the river Meriç/Maritsa. Although it is clear from the available evidence that by the mid- or second half of the 15th century the Yürüks had already established themselves in a number of places on the peninsula, the sheep tax was collected within an area approximately delimited through "...the eastern, northern, ... western and southern side of Meriç."³⁷

The tax registers of the mid- or late 15th century reveal the gradual concentration of settled, semi-nomadic or nomadic groups in different places and regions. But they show that it was still difficult to register the rather mobile Yürüks. Their complete absence or partial registration until the end of the 15th century in some areas which would later have a compact Yürük population, such as present-day Republic of North Macedonia and the Aegean region, does not necessarily indicate some sort of sequence of their migrations. The available data even from the 16th century, which can be compared with those from the registers of the Yürük corps, are still relatively representative primarily for sedentary or semi-nomadic groups. Most of the data pertain to mobilizations, land allocations, settlements or winter pastures (*kışlak*) in lowland and semimountainous regions, and only partially to the known (registered and taxable) mountain summer pastures (*yaylak*). In some places it was not until the first quarter of the 16th century that the Yürüks were included in the tax registers.³⁸ The extant sources tend to reveal stages of the registration and "appearance" of groups, separate households or individuals rather than the actual state of affairs at the time.

37 Akgündüz, A. *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, 1990, vol. 1, 397.

38 Радушев, Е. "Демографски и етнорелигиозни процеси в Западните Родопи през XV–XVIII век. (Опит за преосмисляне на устойчиви историографски модели)," *Историческо бъдеще* 1 (1998): 68.

The earliest known mentions, from the 1440s–60s, reflect the formation of the Yürük statute and of the first structures of the corps as well as the nomadic (tribal) origin of different individuals or groups designated as “Yürük,” “Yürükler” or “çift Yürük.”³⁹ Those were individuals and (when numbers, names, taxes are indicated) groups made up of several or up to thirty-plus families. They corresponded to nomadic or sedentary small kin groups (*oba*). The geographical scope of these fragmentary mentions is wide: from Eastern Thrace to Thessaly.

The earliest data on Eastern Thrace and adjacent Aegean coast are from the period between 1454/5 and 1467. They refer to areas which are presumed to have suffered serious depopulation in the previous decades and which had had a significant concentration of Muslim population since comparatively early times.⁴⁰ Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin has found mostly individual households as well as separate groups of Yürüks and Tatars⁴¹ who were vakıf and timar reaya, *küreci* (miners), *yağcı* (butter producers/suppliers), *doğancı* (falconers) or others,

39 The ordinary Muslim reaya paid a tax of 22 *akçes* (small silver coins, aspers) per standard unit of land sufficient for one household (a *çiftlik* farm of about 25 acres, varying in size depending on the quality of the land that could literally be plowed by a pair – *çift* – of oxen). Yürük auxiliaries paid a tax of 12 *akçes* per çift and of six *akçes* per half a çift. *Bennak* Yürüks (holding a piece of land smaller than the established size) usually also paid six *akçes* to the respective timar-holder. See Chapter Three, I, 1.

40 Vryonis, Sp. “Decisions of the Patriarchal Synode in Constantinople as a Source for Ottoman Religious Policy in the Balkans prior to 1402,” in: *Byzantium: It's Internal History and Relations with the Muslim World. Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), XVI, 289–296; Kiel, M. “The Vakfname of Rakkas Sinanbeg in Karnobat (Karin-abad) and the Ottoman Colonization of Bulgarian Thrace (14th–15th c.),” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları (The Journal of Ottoman Studies)* 1 (1980): 19–22; Грозданова, Е. “Карнобат и Карнобатския край през XV–XVIII в.,” in *История и култура на Карнобатския край*, vol. III, edited by Д. Тодоров (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1993), 5–14; Грозданова, Е. “За демографското състояние на Карнобатско и Айтоско през XVII–XVIII в.,” *Исторически преглед* 6 (1976): 85; Грозданова, Е. “Промени в поселищната система и демографския облик на Елховския край през XV–XVII в.,” *Исторически преглед* 6 (1979): 111.

41 “Tataran nev” or “new Tatars” in the Yambol district in 1468, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 18.

in some villages in the areas of Keşan, İpsala, Ferecik/Feres, Dimotika/Didymoteicho, Gümülcine/Komotini, and Yambol.⁴² According to him, around the mid-15th century three of the units – those of the Vize, Kocacık, and Naldöken Yürüks – began to be formed first in Eastern and Upper Thrace.

Between 1543/4, the year of the earliest-known complete registers of the separate Yürük sancaks, and 1642, almost all small mobilization units (*ocaks*⁴³) of the *Vize Yürüks* (*Vize Yürükleri*, *Yürükân-i Vize*) were concentrated in present-day Eastern Thrace. The only exceptions are to be found in neighboring regions: one, and later two, *ocaks* in the *kaza* (judicial-administrative district of a judge – *kadı*) of Hasköy/Haskovo, and two in the area of Dimotika.⁴⁴ The name of this sancak evidently comes from the permanent headquarters of the respective Yürük sancakbey⁴⁵, under whose command were also part of the müsellems, Gypsy müsellems, and Tatars. Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin presumes that the predecessor of this group may have been the community of the Hayrabolu Yürükleri, who were known in these regions at the time of Mehmed II Fatih.⁴⁶

In the 1540s the *ocaks* (small mobilization units, see Chapter Three, 1) of the Kocacık sancak (*Kocacık Yürükleri*) were widely dispersed: 20 in Eastern Thrace, 57 in Upper Thrace (from Anchialo/Pomorie

42 Ibid., 21–25.

43 Literally “hearths.” At the time of Mehmed II (1444–1446, 1451–1481), *ocaks* comprised of 24 persons each, and during the reign of Süleyman I (1520–1566) usually of 25 persons. Towards the end of the latter’s rule the size of the *ocaks* of some groups increased to 30 persons, but until the 1690s they occasionally consisted of 25 persons. These were men fit for military campaigns, out of whom in the 16th and 17th centuries five were *eşkıncis*, soldiers, while the others were *yamaks* (“helpers,” non-combatants). See Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 30–31, 40–42; Димитров, “За юрюшката организация,” 36–37. See also Chapter Three, p. 184–189.

44 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 84–85. Petkova-Encheva, M. “The Settlement Network in Upper Eastern Trace: Case Study of the Kaza of Hasköy During the Second Half of the XV Century,” in: *Dünden Bugüne Batı Trakya Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, 23–24 Ekim 2014, ed. C. Eraslan (İstanbul: Türk Ocakları, 2016), 327–335.

45 See Chapter Three, p. 189–190, 197–201.

46 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 27, 82.

to Plovdiv), and 49 in Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha. In the 1580s another 16 ocaks were registered to the north of the Danube Delta, in the area (kaza – judicial administrative district of a judge – kadı) of Akkerman, Bender and Kili.⁴⁷ According to Gökbilgin, the name of this formation came from a tribal community deported from Anatolia, Koca Hamza Yürükleri, mentioned in 1456. Judging from the location of the ocaks, it had nothing to do with the eponymous fortress in the area of Debar in Northwestern Macedonia.⁴⁸ According to Aleksandar Stojanovski, however, such a connection cannot be ruled out. He believes it is possible that Yürüks may have taken part in the military campaigns against the Albanians and in garrison service in the 1430s–40s.⁴⁹

The *Naldöken sancak (Naldöken Yürükleri)*, according to Ahmet Refik, was named after a settlement in the area of Stara Zagora,⁵⁰ but it is more likely that it also came from the name (nickname) of a tribal community: Nal Döken (“horseshoe-makers”).⁵¹ It is found as a name of a Yürük group in the district of Yambol in the mid-15th century. In 1543 the ocaks of this group were concentrated mostly in Upper Thrace (162 out of a total of 196, from Pomorie and Elhovo to Ihtiman, the majority of them being in the areas of Stara Zagora, Plovdiv, Pazardzhik and Kazanlak – 60, 46, 19 and 15 respectively). In Eastern Thrace they were ten in all, in Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha 19, in the kaza of Tarnovo four, and in the kaza of Nikopol one. Between the 1560s and the early 1600s, new ocaks were regis-

47 Ibid., 92.

48 Ibid., 91.

49 Стојановски, А. “Тврдината и населбата Коцадик во XV и XVI век,” in *Македонија во турското средновековие*, 295–298.

50 The village of Naldöken, also known as İshaklı, in the kaza of Eskişehir-i Zağra, mentioned during the reign of Sultan Murad III (1574–1595) in the vakıf of Keyvan, a deceased sancakbey of Tırhala/Trikala, see Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar*, 440.

51 In the Provadiya district, there was a nomadic group called Nalband Doğan, see İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yürükleri*, 37. Anatolian Yürük tribal communities (*aşiret*) had similar names, such as Nallı or Nalluca, see Türkay, C. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar (Başveکہlet Arşivi Belgelerine göre)* (İstanbul: Garanti Matbaası, 1979), 127; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 29.

tered in the districts of Provadiya, Lovech, Zlatitsa, Aytos, Chirpan and Svilengrad.⁵²

Unlike a number of regions in Eastern and Upper Thrace, the Aegean region, Southern Macedonia and Thessaly, where Yürüks had evidently arrived earlier and had already established permanently-settled groups by the mid-15th century, to the north of the Balkan range the situation was different. The well-researched case of the sancak of Nikopol clearly reveals the settlement and demographic structure, and the development of the processes of colonization and Islamization in the 1470s and 1480s, about a century after the fall of the Bulgarian Kingdom of Tarnovo. At that time the sancak encompassed a wide territory, from the Danube in the north to parts of the Balkan range/ Stara Planina, Sredna Gora and Sarnena Gora mountains in the south. In the west and southwest it included territories around Oryahovo, Krivodol, Vratsa, Pravets and Zlatitsa; in the southeast, the Sliven district and Erkeç/Kozichino in the Emine mountain; in the northeast, the areas of Shumen, Gerlovo, Tuzluk, and lands to the east of the Razgrad–Tutrakan line.⁵³ Between 1479/80 and 1485, three Ottoman registers reveal the still continuing migration of Yürük groups into different places.⁵⁴ The majority of them were still nomadic or semi-no-

52 Ibid., 56–57; For the geographical distribution of the *ocaks* of the Naldöken group in the period 1543–1608, see Altunan, S. “XVI. Yüzyılda Balkanlar’da Naldöken Yürükleri: İdari Yapıları, Askeri Görevleri ve Sosyal Statüleri,” in *Balkanlar’da İslâm Medeniyeti Milletlerarası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri (Sofya, 21–23 Nisan 2000)*, ed. A. Çaksu (İstanbul: İslâm Tarih, Sanaat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 2002), 24–26, Table 5.

53 See Ковачев, Р. *Опис на Никополския санджак от 80-те години на XV век*, 38–43; Димитров, “Мезрите и демографският колапс на българската народност през XV век,” 58–64; Стойков, Р. “Нови сведения за миналото на български селища през XV и XVI в.,” *Исторически преглед* 6 (1959): 77–83.

54 Summary register of hases, zeamets and timars in the Nikopol sancak of 1479/80; Zeamets and timars of mustahfiz (garrison commanders) of the same time, published in *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. II, 161–297, 299–333. The time of their compilation has been established by Strashimir Dimitrov, see “За датировката на някои османски регистри от XV в.,” 241–243; Fragment of a summary register of the Nikopol sancak of the 1480s, published by R. Kovachev, see *Опис на Никополския санджак от 80-те години на XV век*, 103–172. A series of Ottoman sources is used by Machiel Kiel in his study on the Sevlievo district in the 15th–19th centuries, see Кил, М. “Разпространение на исляма в българското

madic (they engaged in agriculture as a supplementary form of subsistence, but moved seasonally with their flocks). This is indicated by formulations such as the following:

“It is sown by Yürüks from the outside” [the *mezraa*]; “Yürüks live there;” “it is populated by Yürüks;” “it is inhabited by Yürüks;” “it is inhabited by *perakende* Yürüks [dispersed Yürüks], Yürüks and *yağcıs*;” [about the *nahiye* – subdivision of a *kaza* or *sancak*– of Ala Klise in the area of Omurtag], with an additional note that reads “there are no other *perakendes*” [that is, wanderers]; “revenue from those living outside” [the *mezraa*, or the common land of the settlement], and so on.

We occasionally find notes written by the registrar, such as “Silifke *mezraa* [probably Slivo Pole, Ruse district] ... populated by Yürüks who pay their tithe on time” or “Paşa Yiğit *mezraa* [unidentified], inhabited by Yürüks who pay tithe.”

These notes evidently attest to the gradual binding of nomads to timars.⁵⁵ Some groups wintered their livestock or cultivated plots on village commons and in a number of *mezraas* in the Shumen district⁵⁶ and Gerlovo region to the south. In some places such small communities, most often patronymic *oba* made up of two to 18–30 family households, are registered in the areas of Ruse, Targovishte, Novi Pazar, Tarnovo and Razgrad. Most of the temporary abodes here are in hilly and semimountainous regions, but it is clear that at that time the Yürüks were already grazing their flocks on the high ridges of the Stara Planina and Sredna Gora mountains. Some of those mobile groups are to be found in the areas of Zlatitsa, Teteven and Yablanitsa, as well as of Erkeç/Kozichino.⁵⁷

село през османската епоха (XV–XVIII в.): колонизация и ислямизация,” in *Мюсюлманска култура по българските земи*, ed. P. Градева and Св. Иванова (София: Международен център по проблемите на малцинствата и културните взаимодействия, 1998), 82–105.

55 *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. II, 175–201, 223, 227, 235, 329–331; Ковачев, *Опис на Никополския санджак от 80-те години на XV век*, 105, 115–119, 137, 146, 149–150, 153–163, 171.

56 Including in the town itself, *ibid.*, 152.

57 *Ibid.*, 95, 137, 163.

The appearance of Berkovitsa Yürüks on the territory of the nearby sancak of Sofia probably occurred at a later time.⁵⁸ In general, in the 16th century there were few ocaks in the areas of Lovech, Pleven and Nikopol.⁵⁹ The majority of the settlements were in the eastern regions of the sancak of Nikopol; few of the groups, individual households of Yürüks in Muslim, mixed or non-Muslim villages are found in the north or southwest. In a comparatively short period of six to ten years, the Yürük population in the Shumen district doubled, while in Gerlovo it increased several-fold. A total of 505 Yürük households were registered in the eastern part of the sancak, out of which 95 in the nahiye of Shumen, 17 in the nahiye of Tarnovo, and 117 in Ala Klise, Omurtag district. In 1485 about 100 of the Yürük households were “newly registered.”⁶⁰ This has given Rumen Kovachev grounds to conclude that there was a second stage of colonization here, in which nomads predominated. The first stage was connected to the formation of local military structures (garrisons, *akıncıs*, Janissaries, sipahis, Vlachs, and so on) and the settlement of urban and rural Muslim population throughout the period after the fall of the Bulgarian Kingdom of Tarnovo. The second stage took place in the context of an evident increase in the Muslim population, without radically changing the demographic picture, especially in the central and western regions of this sancak.⁶¹ Those changes were due partially to the Islamization that had occurred in the past century or so, but above all to the settlement of Turkish colonists, among whom Yürüks predominated. They were still very mobile and that is why most

58 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 54.

59 The Yürüks were probably the first Muslims in the highlands around Lovech. The local Muslim Bulgarians/Pomaks called all Turks “Urutsi”, see Милетич, Л. “Ловчанските помаци,” *Български преглед* V, 2 (1899): 75–76.

60 Ковачев, *Опис на Никополския санджак от 80-те години на XV век*, 1–73, 84, 90–93.

61 In 1485, Muslims (including Yürüks) made up an approximate 10% of the population in the sancak, *ibid.*, 93. For the changes that took place in the 16th century, see Ковачев, Р. “Новопостъпили османотурски описи като извор за социално-икономическото, историко-демографското, военно-административното и поселищното развитие на Никополския санджак през XVI в.,” in *Българският шестнадесети век. Сборник с доклади за българската обща и културна история през XVI в.*, ed. Б. Христова (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, 1996), 215–239.

of the known names of groups, settlements or places (*mezraas*) cannot be localized. In the areas of Shumen, Omurtag, Gerlovo, Targovishte and Novi Pazar in the 1480s, only some of the Yürük groups can be found as permanent settlements.⁶²

By that time the Yürüks had already migrated from the southern into the northern parts of the sancak of Silistra, that is, from Eastern Thrace to the areas of Varna, Provadiya, Dobrich and Silistra, and farther north, to present-day Romanian Dobrudzha. In the 16th century the sancak of Silistra comprised all of Dobrudzha and part of North-eastern Bulgaria without the Ruse and Shumen districts, including, to the north, the Black Sea coast up to Akkerman/Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiyi, and to the south, the areas of Aytos, Karnobat, Anchialo, Burgas and almost all of Mount Strandzha.⁶³ The most representative data available for these regions pertain to Yürüks in the 16th century, and they are analyzed below in the context of Islamization of non-Muslims within their ranks.

Tanrıdağ Yürüks (*Tanrıdağ Yürükleri*) are referred to in different studies as *Tekirdağ* (*Tekfurdağ*) *Yürüks*, due to different readings. They are often associated with the town of the same name, also known in the Ottoman period as Rodoşçuk. According to Evliya Çelebi, in the 1660s Tekirdağ was the residence (*taht*) of “the beys of the Yürük cannon-wagon men” (“top arabacı”).⁶⁴ The different forms of the name of this group of Yürüks could also be due to contamination between names with different meanings, and not just to different readings.⁶⁵ The other name of this group is *Karagöz Yürükleri* (“black-eyed

62 Стойков, Р. “Селища и демографски облик на Североизточна България и Южна Добруджа,” “99; Димитров, “Мезрите”, 60–62; Цветкова, Б. “Османските Tahrir Defterleri като извор за историята на България и балканските страни,” *Известия на Държавните архиви XXX*, 3 (1975): 132–134.

63 See Pitcher, D. *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), Map XXVI.

64 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyyahatname. Tam Metin* (İstanbul: Akide-Üçdal), 1995, Vol. 8. In 1691 only nine *evlâd-i fâtiyhâns* were registered in this kaza, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 257–258.

65 *Tekfur* means “Christian ruler,” from the Armenian *tagavor*, while *tekir* means “mottled,” see Калицин, М. “Образът на “другия” в османската наративна литература от XV–XVI в.,” in *Представата за “другия” на Балканите*, edited by Н. Данова et al. (София: Академично издателство “Марин Дринов”, 1995), 42.

Yürüks”), a common nickname in this environment. In 1543 most of the ocaks of this sancak were registered in Western Thrace, along the Aegean coast and in some adjacent regions to the east of the river Vardar (144 out of a total of 329, of which 60 in the kaza of Gümülcine/Komotini, 58 in Yenice-i Karasu/Genisea, Xanthi district, eight in the Dimotika/Didymoteicho, one in the Demirhisar/Sidirokastro, four in Kelemeriye/Kalamaria, and 13 in the Drama areas). There were 19 ocaks in Eastern Thrace, 62 in Upper Thrace, 86 in Dobrudzha and Northeastern Bulgaria, four in the kaza of Nikopol, and 13 in the kaza of Tarnovo.⁶⁶ In the 1580s new ocaks were registered mainly in the Aegean and adjacent regions (a total of 30 in the kazas of Kavala, Sarışaban/Chrysoupoli, Çağlayık⁶⁷ and Ağrican⁶⁸), as well as nine in the Razgrad area, one each in the Chirpan and Stara Zagora areas, and six in the kaza of Hatun-ili (Northern Strandzha).

Because of this concentration, Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin believes that the group was named after the eponymous mountain, similarly to some tribal abodes in Anatolia. Tanrı dağ, “God’s mountain,” ought to be somewhere in the Rhodopes, above Komotini or Xanthi.⁶⁹ This is entirely logical considering the Yürüks’ traditional veneration of high places, reflected in place-names such as Musala (from *musalla*, “place for prayer”) and Kabul (“benevolent,” “kind” peak) in the Rila Mountain, or Perelik (from *peri*, “fairy,” “nymph”) in the Rhodopes. Gökbilgin’s hypothesis that the Tanrıdağ Yürüks were named after a section (or sections) of the Rhodope mountains finds confirmation in the sources. According to Evliya Çelebi, the mountain between Fere and Şapçı/Sapes was called Tanrıverdi, a name that evidently referred to some of the southeastern sections of the Rhodopes in present-day Greek Western Thrace.⁷⁰ A falconers’ register of the 1470s mentions “Voynuklu,

66 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 70–71.

67 Present-day Dipotamos, Chrysoupoli district, Northern Greece.

68 Eğrice, Eğri Dere, present-day Kallithea, in the district (nomos) of Komotini/Gümülcine, Northern Greece.

69 Ibid., 65–68. For example, there was a tribal community (aşiret) called Tanrıdağı Yürükleri in the area of Rize, Northeastern Anatolia, see Türkay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*, 157.

70 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyyihatname*, vol. 8, 36.

in the Tanrı mountain”⁷¹ as one of the places for obtaining hunting falcons in the nahiye of Dimotika. In the early 16th century, part of the lands of the vakıf at the zaviye (dervish lodge) of Yağmur Baba in Dimotika were in the nearby Tanrıdağ.⁷² According to the British traveller John Covell, in the 1670s the Greek-speaking population of Ortaköy/Ivaylovgrad called the mountains around the town Θεόβουνο, or “God’s mountain.”⁷³ Confirmation that Tanrıdağ was in the Rhodope mountains is also found in the vita (*vilayetname*) of the legendary Timur Baba, one of the most venerated non-orthodox religious figures in Rumelia who visited, during his wanderings, a tekke (dervish lodge) near the banks of the river Ardağı (Arda) at the foothills of Tanrı dağı.⁷⁴

Using data from the earliest extant register for the lowlands and part of the adjacent highlands of the Rhodopes around Gümülcine and Xanthi, dating from 1454/5, Machiel Kiel has established that three-quarters of the population was Muslim and part of it consisted of nomadic Yürüks; this was due almost entirely to the colonization processes that had taken place in the region.⁷⁵ A similar picture is also to be found in the synoptic part of the register for the kaza of Yenice-i Karasu (whose center was in present-day Genisea, Xanthi district) of 1528/29. Among the total number of Muslims here one finds 695 households and 38 unmarried Yürük auxiliaries, as well as separate nomadic *cemaats* (groups) which most probably summered on the nearby slopes of the Rhodope mountains.⁷⁶ The indicated number of Yürük eşkinci and yamak roughly corresponds to 30 ocaks of the Tanrıdağ sancak. There

71 *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. I, ed. Б. Цветкова, et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1964), 208.

72 Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar*, 456.

73 Тодорова, М., ed. *Английски пътеписи за Балканите (края на XVI–30-те год. на XIX в.)* (София: Наука и изкуство, 1987), 243.

74 This *vilayetname* containing legends from the 16th and 17th centuries dates, at the earliest, to 1619/20, and is known from a late copy from the beginning of the 19th century, see Граматикова, Н. *Неортодоксалният ислям в българските земи*, 244–254, 264, 275.

75 Киел, М. “Разпространение на исляма в българското село през османската епоха,” 61.

76 BOA, TD N 167, s. 29.

were 58 such ocaks in 1543, and 44 in 1586.⁷⁷ Here the term *cemaat* is used in a narrower sense than that of a group distinguished on religious, social or occupational grounds (mainly synonymous with *taife*). When it is used in the context of registration and taxation of nomadic groups (or of groups descended from nomads), the term refers also to kin groups ranging in scope from tribes to subdivisions and clans (*kabile* and *oba*). In the narrow sense of “nomadic group,” the term is used also for non-Muslim nomads – Vlachs without villages and land, who lived in tents, and so on; as well as for Gypsies.⁷⁸

Despite the popular legends, the Rhodope mountains were most probably not conquered as the result of a single military campaign.⁷⁹ The early settlement of Turkish colonists in neighboring regions – Eastern and part of Western Thrace, the Aegean coast – reflects the initial migration of Yürüks into this mountainous region, too. The Ottoman registers themselves – even those that form a comparatively continuous series for the 15th and 16th centuries – do not allow us to identify the Turkish-speaking pastoralists in the Central and Western Rhodopes from among the gradually increasing Muslim names denoting the processes of Islamization. In the relatively better-documented case of the Western Rhodopes and some adjacent regions in the 15th–18th centuries, the presence of nomadic groups is sug-

77 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 70. Between 1529/30 and 1574 a number of Turkish nomadic groups were registered in vakıf lands in the district of Yenice-i Karasu, and in the districts of Dimotika and Gümülcine, see Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar*, 208, 375–376, 498–499.

78 Lindner, R. P. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 9, 84–85, 92–96, Appendix I, 115–144; Ђурђев, Бр. “Територијализација катунске организације до краја XV века (катун – кнежина – племе),” in *Симпозиум о средњовековом катуну одржан 24. и 25. новембра 1961*. Посебна издања Научног друштва СР Босне и Херцеговине, књига II, ed. М. Филиповић (Сарајево: Научно друштво СР Босне и Херцеговине, 1963), 149, 161–162; Стојановски, А. “Ромите на Балканскиот полуостров (Врз основа на еден извор от 1523 г.),” in *Македонија во турското средновековие*, 128, 145–179.

79 Димитров, С. “Демографски одношения и проникване на исляма в Западните Родопи”, 65, 70, 80–85; Димитров, С. “Из ранната история на ислямизацијата в северните склонове на Родопите,” *Векове 3* (1986): 43; Димитров, С. “Проникване на мохамеданството сред българите в Западните Родопи,” *Родопи 7* (1972): 15–17.

gested by the existence of sedentary Muslims – townfolk, peasants, salt producers, rice-growers, and so on. Many of them have typical Turkic non-Koranic names, but there is no direct mention of Yürüks apart from the ocaks concentrated in the lowlands and the wintering nomadic groups. At the same time, it is possible that part of the names of the sheep-suppliers registered in Chepino and Razlog in 1576 may have belonged to Yürük pastoralists.⁸⁰ The absence of explicit mention of Yürüks among the persons with Turkic non-Koranic names in Nevrokop, Serres, Yenice-i Karasu, Zihna and the nearby villages in the second half of the 15th century, has given rise to a dispute on their origin. In all likelihood, they were indeed Türkmens or Yürüks, but it is also possible that such names were adopted by part of the “new Muslims,” too.⁸¹

The wide and very dense spread of Turkic place-names, especially in the high-mountain (subalpine) zone, is to be found here as early as the 16th century. Similarly to the pastures around the Rila monastery,⁸² the repeatedly published and analyzed *hududname* (document demarcating a boundary) of part of the vakıf at the Süleymaniye mosque in Constantinople attests to the presence of Yürüks in the vicinity of the villages near Chepino in Western Rhodopes.⁸³ Vakıf-owned pastures

80 Киел, М. “Разпространение на исляма в българското село през османската епоха,” 61–82; Ковачев, Р. “Новопостъпили османотурски описи като извор за селищната система, населението и административното деление на Родопите (втората половина на XV– началото на XVI в.),” *Rhodopica* II (1999): 149–173; Радушев, “Демографски и етнорелигиозни процеси в Западните Родопи през XV–XVIII век,” 59–70.

81 Радушев, Е. “Християни и мюсюлмани в Западните Родопи през XV–XVIII в.,” in *Религия и църква в България. Социални и културни измерения в православието и неговата специфика в българските земи*, edited by Г. Бакалов et al. (София: Издателска къща “Гутенберг”, 1999), 356; Димитров, С. “Ще имаме ли научни позиции по проблемите на ислямизацията и съдбините на българите мохамедани?” *Rhodopica* II (1999): 144–145.

82 Ихчиев, Д. *Турските документи на Рилския манастир* (София: Рилски манастир, 1910), I (Firmans).

83 Попконстантинов, Хр. “Чепино. Едно българско краище в северозападните разклонения на Родопските планини.” *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина* III (1890): 357–359; Мутафчиева, В. Към въпроса за статута на българското население в Чепинско под османска власт, in “Родопски сборник, vol. 1, 121–125; Мутафчиева, В. “Вакъфска земя в Родопите,” *Родопи* 6 (1966): 24–25.

with entirely Turkic place-names are found also above Samokov, “in the Rila mountain,” towards the end of the 16th century.⁸⁴ Unlike the Rila, Pirin and a number of other mountains in Macedonia, near Sofia and in Southeastern Serbia, we do not have detailed data about the summer pastures in the Rhodopes.⁸⁵ It is clear, though, that as in later times, the nomads had established their regular seasonal migration routes from the mountains to the Aegean, where part of them were registered in the respective ocaks. Strashimir Dimitrov assumes that the establishment of large vakıf pastures in the kaza of Ahı Çelebi (along upper Arda river) was in the context of the comparatively large concentration of Yürüks in the adjacent areas along the Aegean coast, around Xanthi and Gümülcine.⁸⁶ We know that in this region there were Yürük nomadic groups called Karşılı and Paşa Şamaklı/Paşmaklı (that probably gave its name to one of the settlements incorporated into the present-day town of Smolyan).⁸⁷ With few exceptions, the evidence about Yürük auxiliaries in the 16th century pertains to the regions to the north, east and south of the high sections of the Rhodope mountains. In the kaza of Nevrokop 284 married and unmarried men were registered as Yürüks in 1569, and the different mobilizations in the period between 1686 and 1688 included a total of 200 members of the corps. The number of persons from the kaza of Yenice-i Sultan Yeri (south and southeast of Kardzhali) who were subject to military service was the same.⁸⁸ All the information available about the period between the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century shows that most of the Yürüks living within the mountainous region remained mobile pasto-

84 Genç, N. *XVI Yüzyıl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri'nde Sofya Kazası* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1988), 737–738.

85 Цветкова, Б. “За стопанския облик и феодалните задължения на някои селища в Родопите и прилежащите райони,” in *Родопски сборник*, vol. 1, 41–64.

86 Димитров, С. “Управниците на Ахъчелеби,” in *Родопски сборник*, vol. 4, ed. Хр. Христов et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1976), 61–62.

87 Türkay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*, 102, 135.

88 Соколоски, М. “За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија од XV до XVIII век,” *Историја IX*, 1 (1973): 96; Грозданова, Е. “Нови сведения за јуруците в българските и някои съседни земи през XV–XVIII в.,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населуване на Балканот*, 19.

ralists until late times, forming villages or hamlets in a Christian and Muslim Bulgarian/Pomak environment only in some places.⁸⁹

Some light on colonization in the eastern part of the Rhodopes is shed by the register of properties of the vakıf of Sultan Murad II in Adrianople.⁹⁰ In the 1550s we find here several Yürük cemaats at an advanced stage of settlement and formation of villages. There are six registered cemaats in the Çıtak Vadisi valley (in the area of the present-day Kardzhali Dam, probably connected to the name of the present-day village of Chitashko), and in the districts of Ardino and Dzhebel. Part of their members had settled permanently or temporarily in the villages or hamlets (*mahalle*) of Hılyaç Deresi (Brezen), Maruşçeva (?), Tosyalu (present-day Gorno and Dolno Prahovo), Köselер, also known as Tekin Bunarı (probably connected to the village of Köse Hasanlar/Golobrad or the present-day Kyosevo/Köselер, Kardzhali district), and Küçük Evren/Viran (probably present-day Mishevsko). The cemaat of Eğri Dere (connected to the Turkish name of present-day Ardino) was comprised of 43 households, while the community in the Çıtak valley consisted of 103 households, with two subgroups in the Maruşçeva and Tosyalu mahalles. The cemaats of Klise Deresi (present-day Tsarkvitsa, Dzhebel district), Meyvacık Ağaç and Kürekçi (unidentified) included, in addition to yağcıs and others, 72 Yürük auxiliaries (*nefer*, soldiers), while the cemaat of Köselер included 53. Judging from the number of households as well as from the distinct subgroups made up of fathers, sons, brothers and male cousins, these were kinship associations, probably Yürük maximal lineages (*kabile* divided into *oba*)⁹¹. They included *eşkincis* and *yamaks* (soldiers and “helpers”, see Chapter Three, I, 1), butter-suppliers, and “free” nomads (not directly engaged in service). Those who possessed land were registered with Yürük *çifts* subject to a tax of 12 akçes each, while the not entirely visible group of nomads

89 See Батаклиев, И. “Чепино. Специално-географски проучвания,” *Годишник на Софийския Университет–Философско-исторически факултет* XXVI, 1 (1930): 55, 66–70; Кальонски, А. “Юруците и етническото самоопределение на турското население в Девинско (Борино и Гьоврен),” in *Етническата картина в България* (София: “Клуб 90”, 1993), 97–104.

90 Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar*, 208.

91 See Chapter One.

(“those who are not engaged in agriculture”) paid *resm-i duhan*⁹² to the governors of the vakıf. In addition to the sheep tax, we find registered dues and taxes from watermills, cereals, orchards, beehives, hay, and so on. A significant part of the Yürüks registered by name were serving, most likely in the ranks of the Tanrıdağ group.⁹³ In the 1580s the kaza of Sultan Yeri was home to one of the 17 *çeribaşlıks* (units subjected to lower-rank commanders, *çeribaşıs/seraskers*) of this Yürük sancak.⁹⁴ In the same region, another two Yürük cemaats are on record – Osmanbeşeler and Nalbandlar – while in the Ardino area there is a surviving memory of the settlement of “Yürüks, Turks and Tatars.”⁹⁵

Between 1445 and 1467/8, the earliest known registers for Macedonia and Thessaly mention only separate Yürük groups or individuals in the districts of Veles,⁹⁶ Skopje,⁹⁷ Prilep,⁹⁸ Bitola,⁹⁹ and around Yenişehir/Larissa.

92 *Resm-i duhan* or *resm-i tütüin*: a tax of six *akçes* levied on landless nomadic households.

93 BOA, TD N 311 of 1557/58, s. 62–64.

94 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 73.

95 Türkay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*, 127, 132; Филипов, Хр. & К. Страшимиров. *Белите брези край Ардино* (София: “Медицина и физкултура”, 1975), 11.

96 For example, 13 Yürük çiftliks in the village of Suyakdarı (Subakları), in which Christian and Muslim reaya of the sipahi Turhan, son of Suyaktı (Subakdı), is registered, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. II, ed. М. Соколки et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1973). This tax register has been dated by the publisher to before 1445.

97 Yürük çiftliks in a defter dated to 1452/3, on the common land of the village of Geran (Keran, east of Skopje) near other small Muslim villages in the valley of the river Pčinja, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. III, ed. М. Соколки et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1976), 172. See also Šabanović, H. K. *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića. Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. Godine* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1964), 98–100.

98 Yürük çiftliks of a group comprised of an unclear number in the unidentified *mezraa* of Hraštani, probably around Prilep, and 30 families (çiftliks) on the common land of the unidentified village of Vranovtsi. Both groups are “not in the register” (“haric-ez-defter”) dating from 1467/68, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. I, ed. М. Соколки et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1971), 52, 76.

99 Thirty Yürük çiftliks in the village of Vašarejca, in which there were 11 households of Muslim reaya (including one “Arnavud,” one freed slave, and one newly

In the detailed register for Thessaly dating from 1454/55, which has been analyzed thoroughly by Nicoară Beldiceanu and Petre Ș. Năsturel, we find the results of one of the earliest migrations from Anatolia connected to the military campaigns of the 1380s and 1390s. Although the share of the Muslim population in the rural areas is insignificant, here we find names such as Saruhanlu, Germiyanlu, Çulular (from Aydın), and Sarıçalı (from Kocaeli) for communities whose size ranged from several to several dozens of households, as well as “koyun eri” (sheep-breeders) and “Yürük.” They refer to groups at an initial stage of settlement and suggest that the immigrants must have preserved their clan/tribal structures. The composition of the military (sipahis, müsellems, akıncıs, and others) shows that the local section of the Salonica Yürük sancak had not been formed yet. The Tatars from the area of Trikala (Tırhala Tatarları), who were included into this formation in the 1540s, are not to be found in 1454/5 and 1506; they probably settled here in later times. The terms “Türk” and “Türkmen” are found as designations of the tribal origin of some timar-holders, one of whom “is from the Yürüks” (“Yürük adamdır”).¹⁰⁰ The general demographic context (if we exclude the urban centers) here was also quite different from the one in part of the southeastern and northeastern regions of the peninsula at that time. The Yürüks, be they nomadic or sedentary, fit into the background of the still rare Muslim villages or groups of villages, of separate households and emerging small quarters (*mahalle*) in Christian settlements, marking the first steps of Islamization in the parts of Macedonia and Thessaly covered by the registers.

This fully applies to the detailed defter of 1464/5 which covers, even if not very thoroughly (in terms of tax districts, vilayets), settlements along the lower reaches of the river Struma and the upper reaches of the river Mesta. To the south, it covers part of the Drama district and some villages to the northwest of the Orfanos Gulf, the districts of Serres, Zihna and Demirhisar, some villages to the

converted Muslim man – “Mezid, son of Pavle”) in 1468, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. II, 197.

100 Beldiceanu, N., and Ș. Năsturel, “La Thessalie entre 1454 / 1455 et 1506,” *Byzantion* LIII (1983): 108–112, 118–121, 129–132, 147–149.

south of Belasitsa Mountain, around lake Butkovo/Kerkini and to the south of Dojran and Kukush/Kilkis; and to the north, in the areas of Sveti Vrach/Sandanski, Nevrokop/Gotse Delchev and Razlog, and between the southwestern slopes of the Rhodope mountains and the river Mesta. Those were the vilayets of Demirhisar/Sidirokastro, Nevrokop, Siroz/Serres, Ostrova in the Demirhisar district (not to be confused with the eponymous kaza in Southwestern Macedonia whose centre was Ostrovo/Arnissa), Keşişlik, Zihna/Zichni and Drama.¹⁰¹ Although here we can clearly identify the Bulgarian and the Greek population, Vlachs, individual Albanians (“Arnavud”) and other groups, none of the registered Muslims are explicitly identified as Yürüks. The picture is also similar in other sources about the same and nearby regions from the late 15th or early 16th century.¹⁰² According to Aleksandar Stojanovski, Muslims are found in approximately one-third of the settlements, but they usually consist of one to several households.

At the same time, it is clear that here, too, the colonists found a local multicultural environment with which they established contact. Among the great variety of names – in addition to Slavic, Greek, Christian, Romance (Vlach), Slavo-Romance, Greek-Romance, Slavo-Greek, and other names – it is noteworthy that there are distinct Turkic or Turkic-Iranian names in a non-Muslim environment, such as:

Korkuta, Dimo son of Asparuko, Aleksı son of Şahmalik, Nikola Ademir, Kuman, Yorgi Kumaniç, Kosta Kuman, Belman, Todoris Kutrigari, Mano son of Karaca, Kangri, or Velhos son of Aydın.

101 Стојановски, А. “Административно-територијалната поделба на Македонија под османлиската власт до крајот на XVII в.,” in *Македонија во турското средновековие*, 41, 54; *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. IV, ed. А. Стојановски et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1978).

102 Димитров, С., Стойков, Р., & Б. Цветкова. “Откъси от регистър за ленни владения в Западните Родопи и Серско,” in *Родопски сборник*, vol. 1, 283–303; Андреев, С. “Откъс от регистър за ленни владения в Западните Родопи, Югоизточен Пирин и Демирхисарско,” in *Родопски сборник*, vol. 2, ed. Хр. Христов et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1969), 279–317.

In the district of Zihna we find names of non-Muslim reaya, such as:

Şuşman Dabijiv, Koyo son of Şuşman, Brak son of Bogurdan, Balaban, Bogdan son of Şahin, Yani son of Kumaniç, Kralug [distorted form of Karluk?], Amazba, Simo son of Çokan, Todor son of Aylyar, Busuro, or Kuşlu son of Brado.

Some of those names may have belonged to fathers who had adopted Islam, but others are undoubtedly names of the ancestors of Turkish-speaking Christians of later times, the so-called Zihna Turks or “Zihna Gagauz.”¹⁰³ This again raises the problem of whether, and where, there was a local, Turkic-speaking and Christian, population before the Ottoman conquest, despite the fact that the existence of such groups was used to ethnogenetically justify the propaganda campaign during the so-called “Revival Process” (the attempt at forced assimilation of the Turks) in Bulgaria in the 1980s.

Also noteworthy is the widespread nickname “Ahriyan,” found both among Christians and Muslims (recent converts to Islam): Karaca Ahriyan, Majino Ahriyan, Todor Ahriyan, Marko Ahriyan, Mihal Ahriyan, Andreyah Ahriyan, Hızır Ahriyan.¹⁰⁴ It is also encountered elsewhere in Macedonia, Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria, and other places. One “Ahriyan” has been found even as far away as Euboea (in a detailed defter of 1528/9).¹⁰⁵ The 1523 register of Gypsies in Rumelia mentions one “Yunus, son of Ali also known as Ahriyan Dimitri.”¹⁰⁶ These mentions are in the context of the Ottoman word *Ahriyan* or *Ahriyan* in one of its meanings – “uncivilized,” “someone who has su-

103 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. IV, 183, 223, 234, 289, 306–307, 319, 324–326, 341, 352, 355, 360, 367–368, 376–378; See Кънчов, В. *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, second ed. (Избрани произведения, vol. 2, Софија: “Наука и изкуство“ 1970), 362–363, 481–482; On Turkic names among the Balkan Christian population, see Стојанов, В. *История на изучаването на Codex Sitanicus. Неславјанска, кумано - печенежка антропонимика в българските земи през XV век* (Софија: “Огледало”, 2000), 179–314.

104 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. IV, 277, 314, 323, 330, 393.

105 Balta, E. *Rural and Urban Populatuon in the Sancak of Euripos in the Early XVIth Cenury* (Athens: Hetaireia Euvoikon Spoudon, 1992), 125.

106 Стојановски, “Ромите на Балканскиот полуостров,” 180.

perfcially accepted Islam” – used in this sense both by “old” Muslims and by Christians (Greek *αγαρένος*, Slavic *agaryanin*).¹⁰⁷

As in the Western Rhodopes, in a number of rural regions in Macedonia the significant religious changes were yet to come.¹⁰⁸ Towards the mid- or second half of the 15th century, separate Yürük groups were registered in the areas of Kukush/Kilkis¹⁰⁹ Yenice-i Vardar/ Giannitsa,¹¹⁰ Selânik/Salonica/Thessaloniki¹¹¹ and farther to the west, in the area of Lerin/Florina.¹¹² It is obvious that over a long period of time, from the first known migrations of tribal groups into the Aegean region in the 1380s to the late 1400s or early 1500s, the Yürüks gradually spread to different parts of Macedonia and Eastern Thessaly.¹¹³ The exact time of their arrival is difficult to establish.

Based on one of the most complete series of Ottoman registers, Metodi Sokoloski and Aleksandar Stojanovski conclude that mass Yürük colonization, at least in Northeastern and Central Macedonia, must have taken place in the late 15th – early 16th century.¹¹⁴ Their conclusion is also supported by Hristo Matanov, with regard to the

107 Menage, V. “On the Ottoman word Ahriyan / Ahıryan.” *Archivum Ottomanicum* I (1969): 195–212; See also Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев. *Джелепкешаните в българските и съседните им земи през XVI–XVIII век (по документи от наши и чужди архиви)* (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, 1998), 113–114.

108 Радусев, “Демографски и етнорелигиозни процеси в Западните Родопи през XV–XVIII век,” 59; Ковачев, Р. “Новопостъпили османотурски описи като извор за селищната система, населението и административното деление на Родопите,” 154, 160–167.

109 In a fragment of a register covering timars in the tax vilayets of Avret Hisarı/ Kukush/Kilkis and Salonica which, according to Strashimir Dimitrov, was compiled in 1444/1445, see *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. II, 389–391, 399, 401, 409; Димитров, “За датировката на някои османски регистри от XV в.,” 238–239.

110 See *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. II, 395.

111 *Ibid.*, 415, 455–456.

112 See *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. I, 569; vol. II, 314, 369.

113 For the districts of Salonica, Kaylar, Serfice and Chalkidikiki, see Dimitriadis, “The Yürüks in Central and Western Macedonia,” 9–12.

114 Соколки, “За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија,” 98;

territory of the sancak of Kyustendil. In the parts of Northern Macedonia and West Central Bulgaria that were within the borders of this sancak, a more tangible presence and increase in the share of the Muslim population in rural areas is found in the first three decades of the 16th century.¹¹⁵ That was largely due to the comparatively late sedentarization, and hence, appearance of part of the Yürüks in the sources, mostly on the sites of their previous winter pastures. This process continued into the second half of the 16th century in the valleys of the rivers Struma and Vardar, in the areas of Ovče Pole, Dojran, Radoviš, Kukush, and elsewhere. Here the newly established permanent settlements of Yürüks evidently remained surrounded by a significant number of nomadic cemaats. Until the end of the century, as well as long after that, they migrated seasonally from the nearby mountains to the lowlands and even across longer distances, to the Aegean.¹¹⁶

The main seasonal migration routes of the nomadic and semi-nomadic groups in the 16th century indicate the directions of their evidently not simultaneous advance into the central and western parts of Balkans. Moving along the valleys of the rivers Vardar, Southern Morava and their tributaries, they reached Osogovo and the mountains to the east of Vranje (Vardenik/Strešer); from the Ovče Pole area to Plačkovica and Osogovo; from the districts of Salonica, Serres, Demirhisar/Sidirokastro, along the valley of the river Struma, to the Pirin and Rila mountains. In the 1570s part of the pastoralist cemaats migrated seasonally along routes that merged with the big diagonal trek – from the Zlatitsa-Teteven section of the Balkan range to the Upper Thracian Plain, as well as from the Vitosha and Ihtimanska Sredna Gora mountains to the plain between Pazardzhik and Plovdiv.

Salonica Yürüks (Selânik Yürükleri) in 1543/4 were concentrated mainly in Southeastern and Southwestern Macedonia, and Thessaly. That is where 217 and 205 of their total of 500 ocaks¹¹⁷ were located,

Стојановски, А. “Неколику прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” in *Македонија во турското средновековие*, 32.

115 Chapter Four, I.

116 Стојановски, “Неколику прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 30–31, 34–35.

117 According to Mehmed İnbaşı, their number was 492, see *Rumeli Yürükleri*, 66.

respectively. Most of their ocaks were in the districts of Kukush, 47; Kalamaria (in the western part of Chalkidiki), 35; Strumica, 28; around Serfice/Servia, 33; and Lerin/Florina, 36. In Thessaly, there were 117 ocaks in the kaza of Yenişehir/Larissa, 60 around Çatalca/Farsala, and 23 around Fener/Fanari. In the regions of Mount Parnardağ/Kushnitsa/Pangion and of Demirhisar/Sidirokastro there were eight ocaks in each, along with two in Yenice-i Vardar/Giannitsa, and five around Badracık/Neopatras in Boeotia. In Upper Thrace, in the area between Elhovo and Pazardzhik, there were 29 ocaks; in Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobruzha, 43; and in the kazas of Lovech and Tarnovo, three in each.¹¹⁸

In 1566, eighty-eight of all 97 ocaks of the *Ovçe Pole sancak* (*Ofçabolu Yürükleri*) were situated in Macedonia: 49 in the districts of Skopje, Kumanovo and Štip, 25 in the district of Prilep, and 14 around Ostrovo/Arnissa. Separate ocaks were dispersed across Upper Thrace, Northern Bulgaria and Dobruzha: six in the area between Yambol and Ihtiman, two in the Veliko Tarnovo district, and one in the Silistra district. The data from an earlier defter, from 1543/4, analyzed by Mehmed İnbası, are similar.¹¹⁹ The name of this unit comes from the region to the northwest of Štip. Based on the general registrations from 1569/70, Metodi Sokoloski has found 837 married and unmarried Yürüks in the nahiye of Salonica including Siderokapsa/Sidirokavsia, as well as in a number of other nahiyes: Serfice, 1,179; Lerin, 891; Yenice-i Vardar, six; Skopje, 185; Prilep, 150; Bitola, 80; Tikveš, 90; Serres, 873; Nevrokop, 284; Demirhisar, 789; Drama, 295; Kavala, 125; Štip, 508; Strumica, 169; Doyran, 213; Bojmija (Valandovo district), 118; Petrich, 14, and 60 in the nahiye of Kumanovo.¹²⁰

These numbers and their distribution, which correspond to a completed stage in the formation of the Salonica and Ovçe Pole Yürük groups, were attained gradually as a result of the sedentarization as well as of the inclusion of nomads into ocaks, zeamets (revenue) of Yürük *sancakbays*¹²¹ and as yamaks of the *çeribaşıs*, the lower-rank

118 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 75–76.

119 Ibid., 81; İnbası, *Rumeli Yörükleri*, 45.

120 Соколовиќи, “За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија,” 96.

121 The Yürük *sancakbays* (also called *bey*, *zaim*, *mir-i liva-i yürükân*) were the commanders-in-chief of the six Yürük sancaks, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler*,

commanders. We have reasonable grounds to presume that in the mid- or late 15th century the Salonica and Ovče Pole Yürük sancaks were not yet entirely separate units in the local military forces. Their commanders in that period had small timars, and a significant part of the Yürüks were müsellems, akıncıs, or others, under the command of different military commanders (beys, sancakbeys, and the like). The above-mentioned register of 1445 notes a “timar [comprised of several villages, including three non-Muslim ones] of Hoşkadem, *subaşı* [commander, officer] of the Yürüks. He himself goes to war as a *börüme* [armored cavalryman] with one *gulâm* [servant].”¹²² It is likely that the Salonica and Ovče Pole groups were formed later than the eastern ones – the Kocacık, Vize, and Naldöken groups.¹²³ Indirect evidence of this is to be found in their names, which come from regions and not from a tribal nucleus (predecessor). The Thessalian Yürüks, incorporated into the Salonica sancak in the 1450s, did not yet form a local unit, and the earliest mention of a Yürük bey of Tırhala/Trikala dates from 1467/68.¹²⁴ For his part, in 1519 the Ovče Pole subaşı was still in the retinue of a local timar-holder who was his superior, and he clearly did not have the immunity, revenues from, and control over, the significantly larger sedentary and nomadic groups, provided by the Yürük lawbooks of later times. The timar register of 1519 mentions “zeamet Yürüks from Ovče Pole and Porunlu, in the name of Ferhad Ağa from the people of Daut Paşa Koca.” At that time the said Ferhad Ağa had a relatively small taxable group, which included 122 Yürüks from different places in the districts of Kočani, Ovče Pole, Porunlu (according to Aleksandar Stojanovski, Bereketlü, around Dolna/Baraklı Cumaya, present-day Irakleia), Ostrovo and Skopje. One of the *çeribaşıs*, Pir Ali son of Mustafa, had a timar comprised of several Muslim villages in the nahiyes of Štip and Nagoričane. The same register lists 1,500 Ovče Pole Yürüks,

Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân, 52–85. See also Chapter Three, I, 2.

122 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. II, 48–49.

123 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler*, *Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 53, 55, 61, 67–73, 74–82, 82–86.

124 İnalçık, H. *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), 148.

five eşkincis in each *cemaat* (the later *ocaks*), along with 20 *yamaks*. These *cemaats* are distributed as follows: 16 in the *nahiye* of Porunlu, four in Çamurlu (Sofia kaza, present-day Shishmanovo, Samokov district), one in Ihtiman, one in Kızılca Bazar (Tatar Pazarcık kaza), 16 in Ovçe Pole, 15 in Ostrovo (present-day Arnissa, Serres kaza) and Çayır (unidentified), and one in Nagoriç (Nagoričano, Kumano-vo district). The number of local Yürüks who were not part of this group is not clear, although some of them are mentioned in the register of 1519.¹²⁵

As a whole, the data available allow us to provisionally identify two main stages in the Yürük migrations into the Balkans. The first stage is connected to the era of the conquest and took place from the end of the 14th to the second half or end of the 15th century. The second developed in the conditions of the “classic” Ottoman regime, in a comparatively more peaceful period, in the context of an overall demographic growth of the population. In the case of the Muslims, this growth came not just from the natural increase in population and Islamization, but also from the influx of colonists which continued throughout the 16th century. This chronology, accepted for Macedonia and West Central Bulgaria, is obviously also valid for the peninsula as a whole.

3. Anatolian Tribal Elements in Rumelia

Apart from the evidence about deportations of Kızılbaş and other groups, the 16th-century Yürük lawbooks themselves provided for enrollment of new members of *ocaks* from among the Anatolian immigrants.¹²⁶ Between 1520 and 1580 the increase in the nomadic

125 Матанов, *Възникване и облик на Кюстендилски санџак през XV–XVI в.*, 138; Стојановски, “Неколику прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 30–31.

126 Law on Yürüks from the time of Süleyman I, see *Турски извори за историјата на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 307; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 261; Lawbook of Kocacık Yürüks of 1584, see *ibid.*, 263; Lawbook of Naldöken Yürüks of 1566; Lawbook of Ovçe Pole Yürüks of 1566; Lawbook of Tanrıdağ Yürüks of 1543/4; Lawbook of Yürüks and Yambol Tatars of 1566, see Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. VI, 1993, 693, 699, 705, 719.

population of Western Asia Minor was accompanied by an overall shortage of pastures and farmland.¹²⁷ In this period the growth in the nomadic population within the *eyalet* (major province) of Anatolia¹²⁸ (natural as well as mechanic growth, due to east-west and south-north migrations) was 52% (41.7% for the sedentary population). From 77,268 households (14.7%) in 1520–1530 (excluding the auxiliaries – *yaya*, *piyade* and *müsellems*, who made up 52,148 households), their number on the territory of the *eyalet* grew to 116,219 households (17.2%) in 1570–1580.¹²⁹

At that time, designations such as Anadolu (“from Anatolia”), Saruhanlu, Germiyanlu, Bursavi, Danişmendlü or Aydınlu, are commonly found in a Yürük context in Rumelia, sometimes referring to first- or second-generation immigrants in the 16th century, long after the first migrations from Anatolia. They indicate that the Balkans had attracted parts of Asian Minor tribal communities – Yürük, Türkmen, and Kurdish. Dozens of such communities can be found in the catalogue of Cevdet Türkay, compiled from a large number of sources. They are dispersed across a wide territory: from the district of Çatalca in the southeast to Alacahisar/Kruševac in the northwest, and from the district of Silistra in the northeast to Thessaly in the southwest. The names of some of them are known from the Anatolian tribal world, as shown in Table 1.¹³⁰

127 See Cook, M. *Population Pressure in Rural Anatolia, 1450–1600* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 20–44.

128 At that time the province of Anadolu comprised the lands approximately to the west of the river Kızıl Irmak, Lake Tuz, Akşehir (excluding the city itself), Lake Beyşehir, and the area of the city of Antalya (included), see Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Map XXV.

129 İnalçık, H. “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, 1993), vol. 9, 103–106; Vryonis, Sp. “Religious Change and Continuity in the Balkans and Anatolia from the 14th through the 16th Century,” in *Byzantium: Its Internal History and Relations with the Muslim World. Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1971), X, 169–172.

130 Based on Türkay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*, 45–169.

TABLE 1

Name	Designation	Location (district) – region
Badili (Badillü)	“Türkmen-Kurdish nomads”	Edirne/Adrianople, Malgara, Keşan and İpsala – Eastern Thrace
Bamran ¹³¹	“Nomads from the Kurdish tribal community”	Gümülcine/Komotini and Yenice-i Karasu/Genisea – Western Thrace
Barak (Baraklu) ¹³²	“Türkmen”	Dimotika/Didymoteicho – Western Thrace
Bayat ¹³³	“Türkmen-Kurds”	Kazanlak – Upper Thrace
Bilbas	“Kurdish nomads”	Lovech – North Bulgaria
Boz Ulus (Tabanlı Türkmani) ¹³⁴	“Türkmen”	In Rumelia (no district indicated)
Caberli	“Türkmen-nomads”	In Paşa sancak (no district indicated)
Çapan	“Türkmen-nomads”	Hayrabolu and Malgara – Eastern Thrace
Çepni ¹³⁵	---	Dimotika/Didymoteicho – Western Thrace
Çevganlı	---	In the sancak of Vize (no district indicated) – Eastern Thrace
Dodik	“Yürüks”	Adrianople – Eastern Thrace
Fettah (Fettahlı) ¹³⁶	“Yürüks”	Novi Pazar – Northeast Bulgaria
Göynük	---	Shumen – Northeast Bulgaria
Gündaşlı (Gündüşlü)	“Türkmen-nomads”	Keşan, Malgara and Fere – Eastern Thrace
Hatmanlı ¹³⁷	“Kurds”	Adrianople, Malgara and İpsala – Eastern Thrace
İlban	---	Tarnovo – North Bulgaria
İmanlar	---	Demirhisar/Sidirokastro – Northeast Macedonia

131 “Göçer Ekrad Ulus Taifesinden”, *ibid.*, 23.

132 *Ibid.*, 54. This is a common Turkish nomadic nickname (“hairy”), therefore we cannot be sure that it necessarily refers to part of an otherwise known Anatolian Türkmen tribe.

133 *Ibid.*, 55. An old Oğuz tribal name.

134 *Ibid.*, 64. One of the best-known confederacies of Anatolian tribes and groups.

135 *Ibid.*, 72. Türkmen; they kept the name of one of the 24 Oğuz tribes. They have remained among the best-known Anatolian Türkmen groups to this day.

136 *Ibid.*, 80. A name of one of the Anatolian Yürük tribes in the 19th and 20th centuries, too.

İncilli (İncillü) ¹³⁸	“Türkmen-nomads”	Kaza of Cısr-i Ergene – Eastern Thrace
Karabağı	“Türkmen-Yürüks”	Varna – Northeast Bulgaria
Karacalar ¹³⁹	“Türkmen-Yürüks”	Silivri, Aytos, and Strumica – Eastern Thrace, Upper Thrace, and Macedonia
Kebir (Kebirlü)	---	Gümülcine/Komotini – Western Thrace
Kerimli	“Yürük-nomads”	Adrianople – Eastern Thrace
Korkud (Korkudlu)	“Yürüks”	In the sancak of Silistra (no district indicated) – Northeast Bulgaria or Dobrudza
Kotak	---	Razgrad and Larisa – Northeast Bulgaria and Thessaly
Kürkçü (Kürkçüllü)	“Yürüks”	Adrianople – Eastern Thrace
Melikli (Meliklü)	“Yürüks”	Gümülcine/ Komotini – Western Thrace
Nalbandlar ¹⁴⁰	---	Tarnovo and Sultan Yeri – North Bulgaria and Eastern Rhodopes
Oğulbeğli	“Türkmen”	Adrianople – Eastern Thrace
Okçular (Okçu, Okçuoğulları) ¹⁴¹	“Türkmen-Kurds”	Razgrad, Tarnovo, and Serfice/Servia – Northeast Bulgaria and South Macedonia
Pehlivanlü ¹⁴²	“Türkmen”	Malgara, Keşan, Fere, İpsala, and Evreşe – Eastern Thrace
Rudik	“Yürüks”	In the sancak of Adrianople (no district indicated) – Eastern Thrace
Yeginli (Yeginlü)		Larissa – Thessaly

As sufficient evidence is absent because of the problems of the bureaucratic system and the changes in the ways of registration in the 17th–19th centuries, we cannot trace the later migrations of nomadic elements from Anatolia into the Balkans. A series of factors,

137 Ibid., 88.

138 Ibid., 94. Boynu İnceli was one of the Anatolian Yürük tribes in the 1800s/1930s–50s.

139 Ibid., 98. This is also a common nickname (from karaca – roe deer), therefore it does not necessarily refer to the eponymous Anatolian Türkmen tribe.

140 Ibid., 127. It is also possible that this a pure coincidence with the eponymous Anatolian tribe by way of an “occupational” nickname (“blacksmiths”).

141 Ibid., 130. This is also an “occupational” nickname – “arrow-makers.”

142 Ibid., 134. This name is related to the traditional wrestling and not necessarily to the known Türkmen tribe.

for the most part economic and social ones, led to the gradual expansion of large-scale transhumant sheep-breeding in many parts of the peninsula in this period.¹⁴³ The Anatolian tribes had long since stopped being colonists encouraged or forced by the Ottoman to settle in Rumelia, while the local mobile pastoralists were on the rise. Along with the other changes, this period also saw the beginning of large-scale migration of Vlachs (Aromanians) and Karakachans/Sarakatsani from the western to the eastern Balkans. Competition from the local Yürüks probably also restricted nomadic migrations from Anatolia. The frequent migrations from place to place within Asia Minor itself, however, do not rule out the possibility that there was migration across the Straits after the times of relatively massive colonization, too. For instance, between the beginning and the first three decades of the 18th century, parts of the Boz Ulus migrated into Rumelia, in the kaza of Hatun-ili (in the district of Karabunar/Grudovo) in an area where there were abandoned villages. Approximately at the same time, members of the İzzeddin community (İzzeddinlü, also part of the Boz Ulus) were resettled from Karaman to the nahiye of Kızıl Ağaç/Elhovo, in the village of Halife and the Sofular area (unidentified). According to an order of 1780, the nomads (“cemaat ahalisi”) around the village of Sofular had not settled in the last 40 years and therefore had to be sedentarized. Other Anatolian tribal elements had left their assigned places (villages) and were wandering in the areas of Gallipoli, Aenos, İpsala and Malgara. They had to be brought back and ordered to settle by the *naib* (the deputy of the judge) of Keşan.¹⁴⁴

At that time many Anatolian Yürüks and other communities were migrating eastwards. Although the nomadic migrations continued to follow a “billiard ball” pattern,¹⁴⁵ the general demographic context and periodic sedentarization campaigns, particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, predetermined the mainly eastern and interior Anatolian direction of those migrations.

143 See Chapter Four, II, and Chapter Five, V.

144 Halaçoğlu, Y. *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun İskân Siyaseti ve Aşiretlerin Yerleştirilmesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 90–92.

145 As put by Ömer L. Barkan, “Sürgünler” (1951–1952): 66.

II. SPATIAL DIMENSIONS

1. Geographical Scope

Grouped geographically, the data for the 1540s–60s clearly show the regions with more compact or less significant concentrations of Yürük auxiliaries as well as of the Yürüks as a whole.

TABLE 2¹⁴⁶

Eastern Thrace			
<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>	<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>
Lüleburgaz and Çatalca	3	Babaeski	9
İncügöz/İnceiz	11	Kırklise/Kirklareli	23
Silivri	2	Edirne	10
Çorlu	12	Malgara	7
Vize	21	Keşan	4
Pınarhisarı/Bunarhisar	1	İpsala	10
Hayrabolu	23	Hatun İli ¹⁴⁷	1
Total: 137			
Upper Thrace			
<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>	<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>
Çirmen ¹⁴⁸	9	Yeni Zağra/Nova Zagora	5
Kızılağaç/Elhovo	56	Eski Zağra/Stara Zagora	66
Ruskasrı/Rusokastro	12	Kazanlık	17
Ahiyolu/Pomorie	7	Hasköy/Haskovo	5
Aydos/Aytos	3	Filibe/Plovdiv	57

146 Based on Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 56–92.

147 Between Karabunar/Grudovo and the northern hills of Mount Strandzha, see *ibid.*, map of the Yürük and Tatar ocaks in Rumelia in 1543–1565/6.

148 An extinct settlement, the center of a sancak and kaza. It was located in the environs of the present-day town of Ormenion in Greece, to the south of Svilengrad in Bulgaria.

Karinabad/Karnobat	14	Tatarpazarı/Pazardzhik	26
Yanbolu/Yambol	29	İhtiman	6
Karacadağ ¹⁴⁹	8		
Total: 320			
Western Thrace			
<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>	<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>
Dimetoka/Didymoteicho	10	Gümülcine/Komotini	60
Ferecik/Feres	6	Yenice-i Karasu/Genisea	58
Total: 134			
Southeastern Macedonia			
<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>	<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>
Drama	13	Ustrumca/Strumica	28
Pirnaradağ ¹⁵⁰	8	Avrethisarı/Kukush/Kilkis	47
Demirhisar/Sidirokastro	9	Kelemeriye/Kalamaria	39
Total: 144			
Western/Southwestern Macedonia			
<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>	<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>
Pirlipe/Prilep	13	Yenice Vardar/Giannitsa	2
Manastır/Bitola	7	Serfice/Servia	33
Lerin/Florina/	36		
Total: 91			
Northern/Central Macedonia			
<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>	<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>
Üsküb and Nogerîç Skopje, Gorno and Dolno Nagoriçane	18	İştib/Štip	31
Total: ¹⁵¹ 49			
Thessaly			
<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>	<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>

149 Named after the mountain now called Sarnena Gora. The territory of this nahiyeye (subdivision of a kaza or sancak) stretched from the left bank of the river Maritsa to the lower reaches of the river Stryama (including the district of Chirpan), and bordered on the eastern foothills of the Sarnena Gora mountain.

150 At the foothills and on the slopes of Mount Pirnaradağ/Pangaion.

151 According to the 1566 defter of Ovçe Pole Yürüks.

Yenişehir/Larissa	117	Çatalca/Farsala	60
Fener/Fanari	23	Badracık/Neopatras ¹⁵²	5
Total: 205			
Northern Bulgaria			
<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>	<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>
Tırnova/Veliko Tarnovo	20	Niğebolu/Nikopol	5
Lofça/Lovech	3		
Total: 28			
Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha			
<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>	<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>
Şumnu/Shumen	28	Silistre/Silistra	49
Pravadi/Provadiya	10	Ruşçuk/Ruse ¹⁵³	16
Varna	55	Tekfurgölü/Techirghiol	12
		Hırsova/Hârşova	27
Total: 197			
Southern Bessarabia/Moldova			
<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>	<i>Kaza</i>	<i>Ocaks</i>
Kili/Kilia	1	Bender	4
Akkerman/Bilhorod Dnistrovskiyi	11		
Total: ¹⁵⁴ 16			

The distribution of the Yürüks in the Balkans was quite uneven. This was due to migrations both outside and within the region. For example, the advance of Ovçe Pole and Salonica Yürüks from the western and central parts of the Balkans into Upper Thrace, Northern, Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha in the 1540s–60s was obviously the result of internal migrations.

Whereas in many places this kind of migrants eventually disappeared, in some they formed the basis of the local Turkish communi-

152 In the sancak of Tırhala/Trikala.

153 “Çernovi, also known as Rusçuk” – obviously in the area of the town of Ruse and the neighbouring village of Chervena voda.

154 Kocacık Yürüks recorded in the 1584 register of this group.

ties or of the distinct Balkan Yürük community.¹⁵⁵ Hence, throughout the Ottoman period until the first two decades of the 20th century (1912–1923), there were a number of enclaves with a compact, mostly sedentary, Yürük population – the so-called “Yürüklüks.” The only one that has survived to the present day is the Yürüklük (Јуруклук) in the Republic of North Macedonia: between Mount Plačkovica, Štip, Radoviš, Valandovo and Dojran. It consists of groups of villages, once part of the so-called “Turkish belt” – most of them being on the left bank of the river Vardar, from Ovče Pole to Demir Kapija, south of Mount Ogražden (Strumica district), east and west of Mount Belasitsa (Dojran district) and farther on to the Orfanos Gulf. In the 1560s and 1570s a significant part of the future Yürük villages in those regions were still in the process of formation. Here we know of dozens of nomadic and semi-nomadic cemaats which gradually developed into permanent settlements. Some of them exist as Yürük villages to this very day.¹⁵⁶ They were a result of the specific model of settlement on relatively large areas of people who were vastly outnumbered by the local sedentary population. In the process of sedentarization, the Yürüks usually formed separate groups of small villages and hamlets (*mahalle*). In the 16th century such settlements originated from the previous nomadic cemaats and had kinship ties with an “own” periphery of still nomadic groups.

Everything said so far does not fit into the narrow framework of the long-since formulated concept regarding the fully controlled, planned and strategic (in military and communicational terms) resettlement of Turkic-speaking nomads across the Balkan lands.¹⁵⁷ Of course, the Ot-

155 See Chapter Five.

156 See *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга II (Опширен пописен дефтер за Кустендилскиот санџак од 1570 г.), ed. М. Соколки et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1980); *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга III (Опширен пописен дефтер за Кустендилскиот санџак од 1570 г.), ed. А. Стојановски et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1982); Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 33–34; Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 307, 314–315; Радовановиќ, В. “Јуруклук,” in *Народна Енциклопедија Србо-Хрватско-Словеначка*, edited by Ст. Станојевиќ (Загреб: Библиографски завод, 1923), vol. II, 196. See also the collection *Етногенеза на Јуруците*.

157 A concept formulated by Ömer Lütfi Barkan but also frequently found in other

tomans strove to channel the spontaneous movements and gradually transformed the former nomads and allies into subjects belonging to groups with special statute, ordinary reaya, and so on. The changes imposed by the Ottomans were related to the creation of administrative, economic, and military structures, and the establishment of communications. It is unlikely, though, that in the 15th and 16th centuries the central and local authorities in Rumelia wholly determined exactly where each group was to be settled and whether it should be sedentarized or not. Both within and outside the main statute framework, that of the Yürük corps, control at different levels of collective and personal responsibility was far from the targeted anti-tribal policy conducted in certain periods or at some moments in the history of Anatolia. This control was neither entirely effective nor aimed necessarily at the sedentarization of the nomadic groups. Given the significant degree of self-government of kin groups, ensured by their status as auxiliary soldiers with “own” commanders, specific duties, tax exemptions, and so on, the Yürüks had considerable freedom to settle or move as they chose. Their mobility even after the establishment of permanent villages was rooted in the nomadic ethos, in the frequently preserved kinship ties between sedentary and non-sedentary Yürük communities.¹⁵⁸

The military organization, the authorities and the timar-holders tended to encourage, rather than to direct, the processes of sedentarization for which there could be different economic, social or environmental reasons. In the times of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, as well as later, in those of military and labor mobilizations, Yürüks served outside of the sites of their permanent settlements or seasonal camps. Their more compact or sporadic spread in the Balkans was due, at least from the end of the 15th century onwards, more to economic, demographic and/or environmental factors than to coercion from the authorities. This thesis has been argued most consistently by Aleksandar Stojanovski. It is particularly valid for the cases, found everywhere, of the “appearance” of Yürüks in quite late times, after the actual conquest and settlement. The opinion of the eminent Bulgarian geographer Dimitar Yaranov about the “Yürüklüks” in Macedonia and

studies, see “Sürgünler” (1949–1950), 540, 544; (1951–1952), 57–59.

158 See Table 3 in this chapter, and Chapter Three, II.

the Aegean region is similar, although it is in the spirit of deterministic “anthropogeography.”¹⁵⁹ However, we could hardly agree with his view that the Yürüks inhabited mostly arid and infertile areas. He assumes, not very accurately, that the areas they inhabited in Anatolia were such. This is partially true for the situation which he found during his field studies in Macedonia. It is different from the picture revealed by the Ottoman registers as well as by a series of ethnographic data about other places. Many winter pastures, as well as relatively lower summer pastures, were located on arable land which, however, remained unplowed for centuries due to tradition. Pastures on village commons were protected by Ottoman legislation and customs, which ensured the functioning of the stockbreeding sector of the economy.

Until the very end of the empire, Ottoman laws included provisions such as the following:

An old pasture [*mera*] shall not be plowed. Should it be forcibly plowed, [claiming that] it was a pasture in former times, it shall be reinstated as pastureland; [it shall be said that] it has been a pasture since old times [“*kadimden*”] and it shall be reinstated as pastureland.¹⁶⁰

From the very beginning, these lands attracted not just nomadic but also sedentary Turks – which was only natural, considering the age-old agricultural tradition inherited from Seljuk times.¹⁶¹ In the 15th and 16th

159 Стојановски, “Неколику прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак, “32–33; Яранов, Д. *Македонија како природно и стопанско цяло* (София: “Художник”, 1945), 223–225.

160 Barkan, Ö. L. *Kanunlar*, Doc. LXXXI, 282 (Lawbook of the sancak of Silistra of 1569, Article 25); *Турски извори за историјата на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 90–91; 139; Димитров, С. “Мезритите и демографскиот колапс на българската народност през XV век,” 63–65; Димитров, С. “Административно и етнодемографско развитие,” in *История на Добруджа*, vol. 3, Chapter 1, 45; Арнаудов, Хр. *Пълно събрание на Държавните Закони, Устави, Наставления и Високи заповеди на Османската империя* (Цариград: Phare du Bosphore, 1872), vol. II, 7, 12–16, 38.

161 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 21–25; Радусhev, “Демографски и етнорелигиозни процеси в Западните Родопи през XV–XVIII век,” 60–62, 65. Supplementary agriculture was practiced by Türkmen nomads in

centuries nomadic Yürüks widely engaged in supplementary agriculture, as attested by the recorded cases of land tenure and simultaneous payment of *resm-i duhan* (tax for landless nomads) by the heads of seasonally migrating families. In the 16th century, a number of groups had sedentary as well as nomadic members. This is an important circumstance in analyzing the ways the Yürüks adapted to the Balkan conditions. In the process of sedentarization and formation of permanent settlements and groups of villages, the semi-nomadic economic model (where the whole or part of the population periodically leaves the settlement to take the herds to their summer or winter grazing grounds) or a significant share of stockbreeding (transhumant pastoralism practiced by specialized groups of men, associations of shepherds) were preserved in a number of the areas of former nomadic migrations.¹⁶² Parallel with that, different agricultural and other activities were also practiced.

The search for pastures as well as for farmland was the main reason why the Yürük settlements on the Balkan peninsula were established in different altitudinal and settlement zones. In the 16th century settlements and nomadic cemaats are found in a number of places suitable for wintering in the coastal and inland valleys and basins, which also offered conditions for supplementary agriculture. A significant part of the settlements were at the foothills of the mountains where they were later found by travellers and ethnographers: in Eastern and Upper Thrace, the fields at the foothills of the Balkan range, the valleys of the rivers Struma, Vardar, Strumeshnica and Lower Mesta, the eastern part of the Thessalian plain, the Sarıgöl (between present-day Arnissa and Ptolemaida) and Koçani basins, and elsewhere.¹⁶³

the Seljuk era, see Vryonis, Sp. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Pocess of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Centyries* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 1971), 268.

162 Петкова-Енчева, М. “Съдебни протоколи от XVI век за процедурата по определяне границите на селското землище и екологичната среда в селища от Старозагорската каза,” in *Из живота на европейските провинции на Османската империя през XV–XIX век. Сборник изследвания в памет на проф. д.и.н. Елена Грозданова*, eds. Ст. Първева and О. Тодорова (София: ИК “Гутенберг”, 2016), 223–240.

163 Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar*, 207–209, 255, 260, 309–311, 339–340, 368–372, 497–499; Celepkeşan (sheep-suppliers’) defter of 1576, in *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, ed. Б.Цветкова, et al. (Со-

Many of the nomadic groups and the majority of the settlements were registered in hilly lands and places in the low-mountain zone (at an altitude of 300–400 to 700–1000 m), located closer to or farther away from the summer and winter pastures. This corresponds to the agricultural-pastoral cycle of the group as a whole. Depending on the climatic and other conditions, this was the zone of transit pastures (used on the way to summer and winter grazing grounds) or main pastures. It was most suitable for the supplementary agriculture of nomads and semi-nomads, and for agricultural production in the villages of sedentary Yürüks. Despite the dynamic of settlement life over the centuries, it is precisely here that we find the relatively compact regions and places inhabited by the Yürüks. Such is the predominant landscape of the “Yürüklüks” in Macedonia, often complemented by barren karst and arid flatlands and plains (in the Ovče Pole and Tikveš areas). The settlements here were established in the zone of the lower winter pastures as well as in the hills: the southern slopes of Plačkovica, Mayadağ near Gevgelija, Northwestern Chalkidiki (Kalamaria), Karadağ/Mount Kruša (east of the Serres plain), the highlands above the Beşik and Lagadino lakes (present-day Langasa/Koronea and Volvi), the Demirhisar district, the slopes between the river Mesta, the Gulf of Kavala and the Drama basin (Çaldağ/Lekanis, Bozdağ/Falakro and Pınar dağ/Pangion), above the Moglen basin, and elsewhere. Given the existence of comparatively fertile land, this is the typical zone offering the best combination of agriculture and livestock raising in pre-industrial Europe and the Balkans.¹⁶⁴

This is also true for the Yürüks who inhabited the interior of Mount Strandzha at least from the 16th century to 1912. Some of the names of their settlements can be identified in Yürük registers of 1543 and

фия: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1972), 47, 48, 52, 54, 72, 79; Батаклиев, И. *Пазарджик и Пазарджишко. Историко-географски преглед* (София: Профиздат, 1969), 421 ff.; Яранов, *Македония като природно и стопанско цяло*, 28, 29, 95, 114, 122; Lawless, R. “The Economy and Landscape of Thessaly During Ottoman Rule,” in *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*, ed. Fr. W. Carter (London: Academic Press, 1977), 504–508; Sivignon, M. “The Demographic and Economic Evolution of Thessaly (1881–1940),” *ibid.*, 386–388.

164 Braudel, F. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, transl. S. Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), vol. 1, 58–60.

1584, and they are also encountered later – for example, in a sheep tax register dating from 1732.¹⁶⁵ Separate settlements, groups of settlements or huts, as well as nomadic camps, emerged (some of them surviving until late times) on the slopes of the Mala, Golema and Sofijska mountains (Büyük and Küçük Yayla, part of the Stara Planina/Balkan range), the high plains between Samokov and Ihtiman, in the districts of Sofia, Elin Pelin, Batak and Dospat.¹⁶⁶ In areas with poor soils, unpopulated or sparsely populated for various reasons, stock-breeding predominated right until the beginning of the 20th century (in Macedonia and elsewhere).¹⁶⁷

165 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 109, 111, 120, 135, Map of the villages of Kocacık Yürüks; Първева, С. “За вакъфите в Североизточна Тракия през първата половина на XVIII в.,” *Исторически преглед* 5 (1992): 50; Аянов, Г. п. *Малко Търново и неговата покрайнина. Антропо-географски и исторически проучвания*. (Бургас: Странджански край, 1939), 318–319; Аянов, Г. п. *Странджа. Етнографски, географски и исторически проучвания* (София: Тракийски научен институт, 1938), 175; Аянов, Г. п. “Привилегировани области в Североизточна Странджа,” *Архив за поселищни проучвания*, I, 2 (1938), 26–37; Горов, Г. “Селища и население на Странджа,” in *Комплексна научна Странджанска експедиция през 1955 г. Доклади и материали*, ed. Л. Тонев and П. Стайнов (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1957), 50.

166 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, Map of the villages of Kocacık Yürüks; Батаклиев, *Пазарджик и Пазарджишко*, 98–139, 192, 213, 332, 538–639; *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, 50–83, 94–117, 204–06; Genç, *XVI Yüzl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri'nde Sofya Kazası*, 136, 328, 401–451, 471–506, 583, 652–662, 693–714; Динев, Л. “Покрайнината Доспат. Принос към антропогеографията на Западните Родопи,” *Известия на Българското географско дружество VIII* (1939): 251–252.

167 Traeger, P. “Die Jürüken und Konjaren in Makedonien,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1 (1905): 196–206; Кънчов, В. *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 344, 356; Кънчов, В. “Пътуване по долините на Струма, Места и Брегалница,” in *Избрани произведения*, ed. Хр. Христов (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1970), vol. 1., 29–373, 35, 67, 78, 106, 113, 368; Яранов, *Македония като природно и стопанско цяло*, 2–95, 224–225; Цвијић, Ј. *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље* (Београд: Државна штампарија), vol. 1, 1922, 253–254; Недков, В. “Јуручките населби и население во Источна Македонија,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 75–88; Даскаловски, В. “Просторно-географски и други карактеристики на планинските села во зоните на номадското сточарство,” in *Природни и социо-географски карактеристики на номадските и полуномадските движења во Македонија*, ed. М. Апостолски (Скопје: Македонска Академија на Науките и Уметностите, 1984), 158–177.

The “environmental niche” of Yürük nomadic pastoralism in terms of vertical zones, natural characteristics, and ways of economic and cultural adaptation, was identical to that of the Vlachs (Aromanian “Kara-guni,” “Gramosteani,” “Farsherioti,” and others) and Karakachans/Sarakatsani. It consisted mostly of two main zones: summer pastures in the middle-mountain, high-mountain (above 1000–1600–2000 m) and sub-alpine belts,¹⁶⁸ and winter pastures in the lowlands.¹⁶⁹ The latter were at the very foothills of mountains, in basins, or were reached by way of longer-range seasonal migrations to the inland and coastal plains. In both zones the Turkish speaking nomads and semi-nomads inhabited seasonally (for several months) summer and winter camps consisting of huts and tents. They utilized the mountain pastures and partially non-arable, marshy Aegean shores. In the Balkans such winter camps occupied comparatively large areas, which, in combination with the mountains, ensured an “own” space for the nomads and other pastoralists for centuries. A large part of the Aegean region from the mouth of the river Maritsa to the Gulf of Salonica consisted, until late times, of vast natural pastures alternating with marshes and lakes. The general humidity, high level of subterranean waters and salinity of soils hindered agriculture. An additional adverse factor were malaria and sheep

168 Мишев, К., ed, *Природният и икономически потенциал на планините в България: Природа и ресурси* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1989), vol. 1, 27; Цвијић, Ј. *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље*, vol. 1, 28–52, 178, 279–281; Трифуноски, Ј. “Сточарска кретања у СР Македонији,” in *Одредбе позитивног законодавства и обичајног права о сезонским кретањима сточара у Југоисточној Европи кроз векове*, edited by В. Чубриловић. Посебна Издања Балканолошког института, књига 4 (Београд: Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, 1976), 177–184. Гашевски, М. “Основни природно-географски карактеристики на планините во зоните на номадското сточарство во СР Македонија,” in *Природни и социо-географски карактеристики на номадските и полуномадските движења во Македонија*, 25–76; Маринов, В. *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1964), 7–8, 16–46; *Армъните в България. Историко-етнографско изследване*, ed. Ив. Георгиева, (София: ИК “Васил”, 1998), 327–341; Антонијевић, Др. “Саракачани.” *Valcanica* 6 (1975): 201–233; Антонијевић, Др. *Обреди и обичаји балканских сточара*. Посебна Издања Балканолошког института, књига 16 (Београд: Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, 1982), 32–53.

169 See Table 3, “Location” and “Summer pastures” in this chapter.

parasites – to which, however, the sheep breeds raised in the open air by nomads and transhumant shepherds were relatively more resistant. The conditions were similar in some of the inland and high plains: the Batak marshland in the Rhodopes, the Straldzha marshland and the pools of the river Tundzha in Thrace, the Kumaritsa marshland near Sofia, the banks of the Dojran, Butkovo, Yenice-i Vardar, Ostrovo and other now existing or drained lakes and marshes in Macedonia, as well as in Thessaly. Greece's present-day Aegean breadbasket was until 1920s a zone of transhumant sheep-breeding for the Vlachs, Yürüks, Karakachans, Albanians, Rhodopians, and Western Macedonian Miyaks. Its end was predetermined by the wars and the establishment of national boundaries, but it was conclusively ended by the systematic draining conducted from the 1920s and 1930s onwards.¹⁷⁰ Large areas of today's most fertile plains, however, were left uncultivated in the 15th–17th centuries because of demographic and other reasons.¹⁷¹

The Yürüks, including the nomadic groups, often had farms in relatively lower areas of cleared woodland, within the boundaries of permanent or other settlements. This is reflected in legal provisions:

170 Яранов, Д. *Македония като природно и стопанско цяло*, 29, 31, 209, 263; Яранов, Д. “Беломорска Тракия и Приморска Македония. Географски очерк (II. Обща част),” *Годишник на Софийския Университет – Историко-Филологически Факултет XXXIV*, 5 (1938): 1–139; Beuermann, A. *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeographie des östlichen Mittelmeergebietes* (Braunshweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1967), 194–202; Kaser, K. *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats* (Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), 386–389; Шишков, Ст. “Овцевъдството в Тракийската област,” *Тракийски сборник IV* (1933): 41–82; Дечов, В. “Среднородопското овчарство,” in *Избрани съчинения* (Пловдив: “Христо Г. Данов”, 1968), 239–260; Тодоровски, Г. “Сточарството во Малореканскиот предел во втората половина на XIX в. до крајот на Првата светска војна,” in *Одредбе позитивног законодавства*, 235–245.

171 On the “deserted” plains in the 15th–18th centuries, see Георгиева, *Пространство и пространства на българите през XV–XVII век*, 112–123. A large part of Thrace between Adrianople and Rodosto was very sparsely populated in the 19th century, too. This is where the first-class pastures of transhumant shepherds from Koprivshitsa, and other pastoralists were located, see Маджаров, М. “На Божи гроб преди 60 години,” in *Книга за българските хаджии*, ed. С. Гюрова & Н. Данова, 35–94. София: “Български писател”, 1985, 41, 49–50.

Yürüks who, with their own axes, like the Janissaries, clear again [reclaim for agriculture] lands within the possession of the timar-holder, shall give [pay] 12 akçes per whole çift, six akçes per half a çift, not more. But if they hold reaya lands, they shall be taxed *çift resmi* [for full çift] and *öşür* [tithe] as reaya...”¹⁷²

We know for certain that in some places the immigration of nomads led to changes not just in the demographic picture but also in the landscape itself. Both land cultivation and the large herds had an impact on the environment. Like those of the Vlachs and the Karakachans, the Yürük herds formed and maintained areas with specific grass species (*kartil* or *kartol*) in the high-mountain as well as lower zones.¹⁷³ When necessary, the pastures were expanded by burning areas of shrubland and woodland. In the zone of winter pastures, the semi-nomadic groups grew rice in return for tax concessions and as a form of internal division of labor.¹⁷⁴ Thus, in the flatlands around Gümülcine, Xanthi and Sarışaban/Chrysoupoli, in the Drama, Serres plains and elsewhere, settlements of semi-nomadic shepherds were eventually established. Part of those shepherds continued to visit the summer pastures in the Rhodope mountains right until the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). In addition to military service and shepherding, other activities consistent with this way of life could also lead to permanent or temporary settlement, formation of villages, as well as migration to other places: salt production, charcoal production, trans-

172 See here, note 39. Land code of 1609, see *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 154; Трухелка, Ѓ. “О Маћедонским Јуруцима,” in *Зборник за историју Јужне Србије и суседних области* (Скопље: Скопско Научно Друштво, 1936), vol. I., 336–337, 348; Матковски, *Кануни и фермани за Македонија*, 170–171.

173 Мишев, К., ed, *Природниот и икономически потенцијал на планините в Бугарија*, vol. 1, 283–284.

174 Цветкова, Б., & Н. Попов. “Нови документални данни за соларството по јужното българско Черноморие от XV в.,” *Известия на музеите от Југоисточна Бугарија V* (1982): 89–131; Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев. *Соларството по българското Черноморие* (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методиј”, 1982), 95; Радушев, “Демографски и етнорелигиозни процеси в Западните Родопи през XV–XVIII век,” 61, 62.

portation of timber, ore or various raw materials by horse caravans in return for pay or as an obligation.

From an economic perspective, colonization was also driven occasionally by the possibilities for trade and, in some instances, for economic cooperation with the sedentary population, Muslim or Christian. Pastoralism was alternated with farming of fallow lands under the two-field system predominant at the time. The Turkish-speaking pastoralists used the pastures and uncultivated lands to feed their herds during the seasonal migrations. For its part, grazing on fallow fields ensured the fertilization of farmlands. Like the medieval Vlachs, Aromanians and Karakachans, here the Yürüks bartered their produce – wool, fabrics, dairy products as well as animals – for agricultural goods.

These places, however, were also places of constant conflicts with the sedentary population, most often caused by livestock straying into farmlands. They are reflected in the rule, adopted in Ottoman law, according to which nomads were not allowed to stay for more than three days on the common lands of villages where they did not have permanent pastures:

Yürüks may not stay for more than three days in the places where they need to stop over on their way to and from their *yaylaks* [summer pastures] ... If they cause damages, they shall pay for them after the damages are established according to Shari'a procedure [by the judge – *kadi*].

The customary rules, accepted by Ottoman law, regarding the seasonal migrations, were similar to those about pastoralist Vlachs and Albanians in tsar Stefan Dušan's Serbian empire. In the environs of some Dalmatian towns Vlachs were also fined if they kept their herds there for more than two days (for example, according to the Statute of Senj from the second half of the 15th century).¹⁷⁵

At times, the shortage of or search for better pastures or other advantages was sought to be resolved not through land reclamation or migration elsewhere but through aggression. Like the medieval Vlachs

175 Зигель, Ф. *Законник Стефана Душана* (Санкт-Петербург: Военная типография, 1872), § 30, 76, 82, pp. 47–49; *Турски извори за историјата на правото в бугарските земаи*, vol. I, 154; Матковски, *Кануни и фермани за Македонија*,

before them, the Yürüks periodically advanced into the domains of the monasteries of the Mount Athos in Chalkidiki peninsula, often by force. The well-documented conflicts with the monks and the local Christian reaya were usually due to trespassing on pastures and farmland, as well as to raids by Yürük bandits in the period 1529–1643.¹⁷⁶ Another example is the Yürük *cemaat* near Berkovitsa/Berkofça in Western Stara Planina (also known as Kameniče Yürükleri). This group was evidently in conflict with the surrounding Christian and Muslim population. A collective complaint of 20 settlements in 1577 to the judges of Berkofça, Şhirköy/Pirot and İvraca/Vratsa notes damages caused to state-owned rice fields (probably in the district of Pirot) and seizure of sheep and other livestock.¹⁷⁷ As colonizers and members of “their” military organization, Turkish pastoralists also belonged to the politically dominant Muslim community, which occasionally allowed them to displace or drive away the local population. Such cases are encountered in Macedonia even in the second half of the 16th century, long after the times of the Ottoman conquest, evidently conflicting with the interests of the local timar-holders.¹⁷⁸

The Yürüks managed also to fit into relatively more-populated hilly areas with flourishing agriculture and big Christian villages, as was the case along the valley of the upper Struma river and in some places to the east of the river Vardar. But they only sporadically advanced

171; Трухелка, “О Македонским Јуруцима,” 335, 351, 353; Антонијевић, Др. “Основна обележја номадских сточарских кретања у светлу обичајног права и позитивног законодавства,” in *Одредбе позитивног законодавства*, 61–65; Gavazzi, M. “Stočari - Vlasi po Severozapadnoj Hrvatskoj prema odredbama vlasti o njihovim kretanjima i obavezama,” *ibid.*, 51–53.

176 Бошков, В. “Јуруците и светогорските манастири. Турски документи – коментар и регести,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 57–67. On the relations of medieval nomadic Vlachs with the Athos monasteries, see Gyoni, M. «Les Valaques du Mont Athos au début du XIIe siècle,» *Etudes Slaves et Roumaines* I, 1 (1948): 30–42; Николов, Г. “Жени на Света Гора през Средновековието,” in *Светогорска обител Зограф*, ed. П. Ангелов et al. (София: Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”, 1996), Vol.2, 32–33.

177 Рефик, А. *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930), 32.

178 Стојановски, “Неколику прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 34–37.

into, or never reached, a number of regions with well-developed local pastoralism, such as present-day Northwestern Bulgaria and Eastern Serbia, Kosovo, Northwestern Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia, Epirus and Western Thessaly. Whereas in some places they possessed large summer pastures “of their own,”¹⁷⁹ in others they lived side by side with other pastoralists. This applies above all to the winter grazing grounds but also to many high-mountain pastures. The registers of sheep-suppliers, the register of summer pastures (*yaylaks*) in the san-cak of Kyustendil,¹⁸⁰ and some other sources,¹⁸¹ clearly show that the Yürüks were by no means the only pastoralists even in the unpopulated high-mountain zone.

Yet even so, after centuries of a Yürük presence, in the Rhodopes, Vitosha,¹⁸² the Balkan range, Rila, Pirin, Belasitsa, Plačkovica, Osogovo,¹⁸³ Baba,¹⁸⁴ Kaymakçalan,¹⁸⁵ there is a distinct toponymic layer which is still quite dense on geographical and tourist maps after decades of name changes. It is usually the richest, including in micro-place-names, in the areas inhabited by Yürüks until late times

179 Through a specific form of landholding or tenancy (through title deed, *tari*). Such groups are shown in Table 3; See *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*. Vol. V, книга V (Опширен пописен дефтер за Кустендилскиот санџак од 1570 г.), ed. А. Стојановски et al. (Скопје: Архив на Македонија, 1995), 149, 157.

180 *Ibid.*, 141–161.

181 Димитров, С. “Важен документ за историјата на Средните Родопи,” *Вековe* 2–3 (1974): 105–107. Here we find a case of a large landholding, the whole “mountain” (large summer pasture) of Momchovitsa, of Christian Bulgarians in 1684.

182 Evliya Çelebi, *Sevuahtname*, 1986, vol. 3–4, 313–315; Гаджанов, Д. “Пътуване на Евлия Челеби из българските земи през средата на XVII век,” *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество LXX*, 9–10 (1909): 704–705.

183 Кондев, Т. “Осоговија,” *Годишен зборник на Природно-математичкиот факултет XIV*, 2 (1963): 72, 88, 95.

184 Матковски, А. *Турски извори за ајдутството и арамиството во Македонија* (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1961), vol. II, 30.

185 Complaint of the Yürüks from Kaymakçalan Mountain in Macedonia about unlawful use of their fulling-mills by others, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, Серија I (1607–1699), vol. I, ed. М. Соколоски et al. (Скопје: Државна архива на СР Македонија, 1963), 35–36.

(18th – early 20th centuries). Place-names, too, can serve as a reference regarding the geographical scope and relatively longer-lasting consequences of the Yürük colonization.¹⁸⁶

Two large zones of relatively sparse or sporadic Yürük presence outline the boundaries in the spatial and demographic model of this type of colonization. That the settlements were established mostly with a view to practicing pastoralism in the mountains is evident from the fact that to the north of the Balkan range they are to be found mainly in hilly and secluded areas close to the summer pastures: in the districts of Berkovitsa, Lovech, Tarnovo, Shumen, Varna, Provadiya, Omurtag. Probably for climatic but also for other reasons, compact “Yürüklüks” were not formed in the Danube plain and Dobrudzha despite the existence there of permanent villages of members of the corps (Yürüks, Tatars, various other Muslim groups, Islamized captives and local people). In the open Danube plain there were almost no permanent settlements of Yürüks. Here the sharp fluctuations in temperature, with hot summers and harsh winters, limited seasonal migrations. In Dobrudzha the number of villages with Kocacık Yürüks who were registered in 1543 decreases progressively to the north.¹⁸⁷ On the other hand, as shown in Strashimir Dimitrov’s analysis of

186 See, e.g., Иречек, К. *Пътувания по България* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1974), 463–465; Миков, В. *Произход и значение на имената на нашите градове, села, реки, планини и места* (София: “Хр. Г. Данов”, 1943); Делирадев, П. *Принос към историческата география на Тракия*, Vol. 1–2 (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1953); Балкански, Т. “Историческа топонимия на Пещерско,” in *Родопски сборник*, Vol. 5, ed. Хр. Христов et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1983), 105–136; Райчевски, Ст. “Проникване на тюркската топонимия в Средните Родопи,” *Родопи* 9 (1976): 35–36; Дечов, В. *Миналото на Чепеларе. Принос за историята на Родопи*, Книга 1 (Пловдив: “Христо Г. Данов”, 1978), 21–63; Карапетков, П. *Славейно. Минало* (Пловдив: Славейновска благотворителна дружба “Благодетел”, 1948), 7–32; Канев, К. *Миналото на село Момчиловци, Смолянско. Принос към историята на Средните Родопи* (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1975), 15–36; Симеонов, Б. “Юндола. Произход и значение на името,” *Родопи* 10 (1978): 34; Захариев, Й. “Кюстендилско краище,” *Сборник за народни умотворения XXXII* (1918): 68, 273, 291, 297, 302, 386, 393, 480; Захариев, Й. “Пиянец. Земя и население,” *Сборник за народни умотворения XLV* (1949): 7, 84, 230, 333.

187 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, Map of the villages of Kocacık Yürüks.

the processes of Islamization in the Kocacik formation, the highest percentage of converts, that is, mostly sedentary agriculturalists and shepherds, is found in the villages in the open steppe.¹⁸⁸

The Balkan mountain range remained a boundary, albeit not an absolute one, for the seasonal migrations of this type of sheep-breeders who wintered their flocks, for the most part, in the Mediterranean and sub-Mediterranean climate zone.¹⁸⁹ If we exclude Dobrudzha and Southern Bessarabia, the territory of their seasonal migrations coincides almost completely with that of the later but quite similar migrations of the nomadic Vlachs and Karakachans/Sarakatsani from the early- or mid-19th century onwards. They migrated mostly to the south of the line drawn by Arnold Beuermann: the ridge of the Balkan range – Skopska Crna Gora, the branches of the Šar mountains to the north of Prizren – the mountains of Herzegovina and Montenegro – the mouth of the river Neretva. This was the climatic and geographical boundary of the “purely” nomadic seasonal migrations to winter grazing grounds in the Aegean and Adriatic regions. Before the disappearance of the local nomads, this zone was farther to the north, encompassing the whole of Dalmatia, Bosnia and the Morava region (Pomoravlje). Farthest to the north, the Karakachans reached the mountains around Western and Southern Morava – Vardenik, Jastrebac, Kopaonik, Željina, Goč – in the 1870s, gradually severing their ties with the Aegean winter pastures and beginning to migrate over shorter distances in the early 20th century.¹⁹⁰ The presence of Yürük

188 See section on “Demographic Dimensions” in this chapter.

189 Тишков, Х. *Климатът на планинските райони в България* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1976), 196–197.

190 Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 23; Маринов, *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България*, maps (Migration routes of the Karakachans in the Balkan peninsula; Winter camps of the Karakachans in Bulgaria); Жунин, Л. “Саракачани – “Ашани” на Гочу,” *Гласник Етнографског института* 8 (1958): 87–108; Николић, Р. *Вранска Пчиња у сливу Лужне Мораве*, Српски Етнографски Зборник V (Београд: Српска Краљевска Академија, 1903), 111, 118, 142–143; Николић, Р. *Крајиште и Власина*, Српски Етнографски Зборник XVIII (Београд: Српска Краљевска Академија, 1912), 52–53, 179–181; Цвијић, Ј. *Антропогеографски проблеми Балканског полуострва*, Српски Етнографски Зборник IV (Београд: Српска Краљевска Академија, 1902), СХХХII–СХХХIII.

nomadic groups in the mountains of Southeast Serbia (Vardenik), around Kruševac and in the district of Berkovitsa marks the northern boundary of their seasonal migrations.¹⁹¹

The natural factors, the already existing settlement patterns and mixed agro-pastoral economic models, and the comparatively small number of the Yürüks against the general ethno-demographic background, largely determined their more compact or sparse settlement. The potential of the Turkic nomadic and rural colonization petered out to the west, southwest and northwest.¹⁹²

A number of specific, initially political and military, and later, cultural and demographic factors also played a crucial role. Although the perimeter of *akıncı* raids stretched from Albania to Dubrovnik as early as the 1370s or 1380s, the colonization of the Western Balkans was accomplished later, in the course of the gradual subjugation of vassals and opponents by the end of the 15th century. The settlement of Muslims in the cities and occasionally in their rural environs in part of Western Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania, Bosnia and elsewhere, was accompanied by a sporadic influx of nomadic Turkic groups.¹⁹³ The main obstacle to their larger-scale settlement came not just from the overall shortage of Anatolian colonists but also from the local mountain communities: Vlachs, Albanians, Montenegrins, Herzegovinians, and others.

2. Yürüks and Vlachs

In the 14th and 15th centuries Vlach and Albanian pastoralists inhabited a wide territory: from Istria, Dalmatia, medieval Bosnia, Raška and Zeta to Albania, Epirus, Thessaly and the Peloponnese.¹⁹⁴ In the east, their *katuns* were in the mountains of Kosovo,

191 See Table 3 in this chapter.

192 Димитров, С. “Първите османски гарнизони в Унгария и проблемите на османската колонизация,” *Исторически преглед* 4–5 (1993): 3–20.

193 Желязкова, *Разпространение на исляма в западнобалканските земи под османска власт*, 68–140.

194 Лиречек, К. “Власи и Мавровласи у Дубровачким споменицима,” in *Зборник Константина Лиречека*, ed. М. Динић, Посебна Издања Балканолошког института. Нова серија, књига 3 (Београд: Српска Академија Наука и Умет-

the Morava region and Macedonia.¹⁹⁵ According to the donation charters granted by Serb rulers to different monasteries, as well as according to Dubrovnik, Venetian and other sources, the *katuns* were communes which consisted of 10 to 105 families. They could be small kin groups (in the mountains of Macedonia: Kožuh, Dautica/Jakupica, Kozjak, Osogovo, Skopska Crna Gora, Šar) as well as larger aggregations in the flatlands of Kosovo-Metohija (around Prizren, at the foothills of the mountains around Dečani, and elsewhere). Some of them were seasonal associations of pastoralists who summered and wintered their livestock on monastic lands, while others were sedentary groups, which were economically and socially dependent on the clergy.¹⁹⁶ They were headed by elected or heredi-

ности, 1959), 194–204; Dragomir, S. *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balkanice in Evul Mediu* (București: Editura Academiei, 1959), 19–48, 69–70, 87–95, 136–138; Трифуноски, Ј. “Географске карактеристике средњовековних катуна,” in *Симпозиум о средњовековном катуну одржан 24. и 25. новембра 1961*. Посебна издања Научног друштва СР Босне и Херцеговине, књига II, ed. М. Филиповић (Сарајево: Научно друштво СР Босне и Херцеговине, 1963), 19–39; Филиповић, М. “Структура и организација средњовековног катуна,” *ibid.*, 45–120; Ковачевић, Д. “Средњовековни катуни по дубровачким изворима,” *ibid.*, с. 121–142; Klajić, N. “Položaj Vlaha u XIV i XV stoljeću u hrvatskim zemljama (prema štampanoj građi i novim podacima iz Zadarskog notarskog arhiva),” *Radovi Akademije Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine* LXXIII, 22, Sarajevo (1983): 107–111; Gušić, Br. “Wer sind die Morlaken im adriatischen Raum?” *Balkanica* 4 (1973): 453–464; Селищев, А. *Славянское население в Албании* (София: Наука и изкуство, 1981), 74–75; Ducellier, A. „Les Albanais du XIe à XIIIe siècle: nomades ou sédentaires?” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979): 28–35; Soulis, G. “The Thessalian Vlachia,” *Зборник Радова Византолошког института* VIII, 1 (1963): 271–273; Winnifrieth, T. *The Vlachs. The History of a Balkan People* (New York: St. Martin Press, 1987), 120–122.

195 Иречек, К. *История на българите* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1978), 254–256; Жиречек, К. *Историја Срба*, translated and completed by Ј. Радонић (Београд, 1978), vol.1, 86–88, 216, 271; vol. 2, 55–66, 96–97; Литаврин, В. “Влахи византийских источников X–XIII вв.,” in *Юговосточная Европа в средние века*, ed. Я. С. Гросул et al. (Кишинёв: “Штиинца”, 1972), 119–120; Ангелов, Д. *Аграрните отношения в Северна и Средна Македонија през XIV в.* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1958), 101–107, 169, 208, 212.

196 *Ibid.*, 21–31; Филиповић, “Структура и организација средњовековног катуна,” 47–50, 81–91 Ангелов, *Аграрните отношения*, 102; Ангелов, Д. “За зависимото население в Македонија през XIV в.,” *Исторически преглед* 1

tary elders, or by leaders who were recognized by the ruler and had different titles, such as *knez* (prince/primate, here – chief), *primik-jur* (Byzantine primikerios/primicerius), *lagator*, or *čelnik* (chief). In Dalmatia, Bosnia, Zeta and Croatia, the leaders of the katuns and other, for the most part socially autonomous, groups, were called *knez*, *katunar*, *čelnik*, *turmar* (caravan leader), *capitan* (captain), *capitaneus turmae* (leader of a caravan or armed detachment). The summer and winter pastures of the Vlachs were spread over a wide area in the Aegean region and the adjacent mountains (the Rhodopes¹⁹⁷), reaching the mouth of the river Maritsa in Eastern Thrace.¹⁹⁸ Towards the end of the 13th century, nomadic Vlachs sometimes migrated with their flocks from the region between Vize and Constantinople into Western Anatolia.¹⁹⁹

This Balkan pastoralist world was divided into different local, kinship and linguistic groups (in the context of progressive Slavification in a number of regions²⁰⁰) which are not entirely clear from the extant sources. In it we find nomadic communities as well as various other forms of pastoralism. In the 14th and 15th centuries not just many Vlach groups but also part of the Albanians lived in tents.²⁰¹ Nomads “who have no villages” are mentioned in the 1436 statute of Cetinje Vlachs, while people “living in tents and huts” (“tentoribus et domunculis”) are mentioned in a 1362 complaint of

(1957): 56–61; Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balkanice*, 116–133.

197 Asdracha, C. *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles. Etude de géographie historique* (Athens: Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher, 1976), 53, 70, 180–182; Острогорски, Г. *Серска област после Душанове смрти*. Посебна Издања Византолошког института, књига 9 (Београд: “Научно дело”, 1965), 43, 51.

198 Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, 70, 120, 189.

199 Vukanović, T. P. “Les valaques, habitants autoctones des pays balkaniques,” *L’Ethnographie* (nouvelle série), 56 (1962): 15–16.

200 Наумов, Е. “Балканские вlahи и формирование древнесербской народности (К анализу вlahских имен из сербских грамот XIII в.),” in *Этническая история восточных романцев. Древность и средние века*, ed. В. Д. Королюк et al. (Москва: “Наука”, 1977), 18–59.

201 Ducellier, „Les Albanais du XIe à XIIIe siècle: nomades ou sédentaires?” 26–28, 32–35; Gyoni, M. “La transhumance des vlahes balkaniques à Moyen Age,” *Byzantinoslavica* 12 (1957): 29–42.

the citizens of Trogir to the Croatian ban about nearby aggressive Morlacs (“Mavrovласи,” “Black Vlachs”).²⁰² Like the Yürüks, the Vlachs made a living primarily from stockbreeding, combined with trade in their own products and goods (wool, woollen fabrics and clothes, cheese, hides, sheep, horses) and participation in caravan trade and transportation.²⁰³

In Serbia, the Vlachs were enlisted in irregular cavalry units serving the ruler, as well as monasteries where they were also employed as armed guards.²⁰⁴ This was a very old tradition, as evidenced by a number of Byzantine and Latin accounts about Epirote, Thessalian, and other Vlach groups.²⁰⁵ In Dalmatia and Bosnia, Vlachs often took part in raids, subversive attacks, and military service in the contingents of feudal lords, the ruler, or other authorities, including on the side of the Ottomans from the 14th century onwards.²⁰⁶ On the social plane, the Ottomans found largely autonomous and militarized communities with their own knezes, primikjurs and lagators, as well as different socially dependent groups of sedentary and non-sedentary

202 Gavazzi, M. “Stočari - Vlasi po Severozapadnoj Hrvatskoj,” 51–53.

203 Ђурђевић, Бр. “Територијализација катунске организације до краја XV века (катун – кнежина – племе),” in *Симпозиум о средњовековом катуну*, 150–151; Ковачевић-Кojiћ, D. “Учесће Влада у трговинској размијени током XIV и XV вијека,” *Radovi Akademije Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine* LXXIII, 22, Sarajevo (1983): 79–84; Dinić-Knežević, D. “Учесће Влада у преради вуне и превозу сукна у XIV и XV в.,” *ibid.*, 85–92; Фрејденберг, М. “Город и влахи в Далмацији (XIV– XV вв.),” in *Карпато-Дунајские земљи в средние века*, ed. Я. С. Гросул (Кишинев: “Штиинца”, 1975), 199– 208; Филиповић, М. “Структура и организација средњовековног катуна,” 77–80.

204 *Ibid.*, 75, 76–77, 81; Ангелов, “За зависимото население”, 59–60; Ангелов, *Аграрните отношения*, 107.

205 For the period between the 6th and the 12th centuries, see Winnifrith, *The Vlachs*, 85–87; Литаврин, Г. & Е. Наумов. “Межетнические связи и межгосударственные отношения на Балканах в VI–XII вв.,” in *Раннефеодальные государства на Балканах (VI–XII в.)*, ed. Г. Г. Литаврин (Москва: “Наука”, 1985), 299; Gyoni, M. “Le nom de ВЛАХОИ dans l’Alexiade d’Anne Comnene,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44 (1951): 249–251.

206 Ковачевић, “Средновјековни катуни по дубровачким изворима,” 134, 137–138; Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balkanice*, 76–78, 81–84; Божић, И. *Дубровник и Турска у XIV и XV веку* (Београд: Српска Академија Наука, 1952), 14–26, 117, 184–192, 256–270, 289–305.

Vlachs: monastic, feudal, and others. As a ready force, quite a few of them were integrated by the Ottomans into the groups with special status and obligations.

Similarly to the Yürük corps, the *Eflâk filorici* (Vlachs paying the *filori* tax) were the main militarized structure, but there is also indirect and direct evidence of the certain or probable presence of Romance-speaking people – settled agriculturalists, pastoralists, as ordinary reaya. Part of the frontier and inland auxiliary soldiers – *martoloses*²⁰⁷ as well as part of the *voynuks*²⁰⁸ – were probably Romance speakers, too. In the voynuk registers of the 16th and 17th centuries, we find names such as:

Yarul, Gradul, Turto, Balinko, Radul, Dragul, Dançul, Nâgol, Frugo, Frujin, Murco, Şturban, Mirdan, Miryan, Gunyo, Vlayo, Vlasin, Vlayko, Dadul, Mrzan, Mirzân, Perkulin, Batulin, Kukuda, Vekul, Ursul; and place-names such as: Eflâk, Katuniçe, Maşoviçe [from moaşă, “grandmother”], Primikürova, Gurmazova, Pasarel, Gurgulât, Çerçel, Murgaş, Pregul, İrul, Çorul, Petırlaş, Çıgırlıoviçe/Tsigırlıovtsi, Pelişat, etc.²⁰⁹

Although this has been a matter of historiographic debates, such names do not necessarily refer to Romance-speaking people. Some of those names are found even nowadays among the Bulgarians, Serbs, and others. Still, they implicitly attest to the presence of a Romance-speaking or Slavicized Vlach population – for example, among the voynuks. Such names were also very common in

207 Anhegger, R. “Martolos,” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, ed. M. Houtsma (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1957), vol. VII, 341–344; Vasić, M. *Martolosi u Jugoslovenskim zemljama pod turskom vladavinom* (Sarajevo: Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine), 1967.

208 Стојановски, А. *Раја со специјални задолженија во Македонија (Војници, соколари, оризари и солари)* (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1990), 13–14; Бурићев, Бр. “О војнуцима са освртом на развој турског феудализма и на питање босанског агалука,” *Гласник Земаљског музеја у Сарајеву* 2 (1947): 104–106.

209 *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. V, ed. Б. Цветкова, et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1974), 39, 51–69, 72–84, 104, 146, 151, 191, 199, 208–213, 230–243, 249.

the auxiliary *Eflâk* (Vlach) groups with special status in Ottoman times. There are such components in the group of the *derbendci/derbendçi* (mountain pass-guards), too. Guarding passes (derbend), especially in the mountains in the Western Balkans, was a typical obligation of part of the local Vlachs, as well as of other pastoralists – for instance, the Miyaks from Tresonče, Lazaropole, Mavrovo and Galičnik in Northwestern Macedonia. In the 15th–17th centuries, the well-known from the 19th and 20th centuries mountainous Aromanian villages of Pisoderi in the district of Lerin/Florina, Klisura (Vlaho-Klisura) in the district of Kostur/Kastoria, Xerolivadon in the district of Ber/Veroia, and Blatsa in the district of Kayılar/Ptolemaida, were *derbendci*.²¹⁰ In the 1560s the “dispersed reaya” (*perakende*) in the region of Pindus, Agrafa and Aspropotamos, where there is a compact Aromanian population to this day, had almost no agriculture and resided seasonally in different *yaylaks*. Here taxes could be collected only as a fixed lump sum (*maktu*). That is why some settlements, such as Metsovo, Lapsista and Karpenisi, were granted *derbendci* status.²¹¹ Non-Muslim “wandering” groups (*haymane*) were suitable for populating and guarding mountain passes and roads elsewhere, too. For example, according to one legend, the town of Tryavna in Bulgaria was founded by “nomadic shepherds” known as “Kachavuni.” Considering that this was one of the names used by the surrounding Bulgarian population for the Vlachs and Karakachans in the Balkan range in the 19th century, it is not impossible that the Ottomans may have settled such groups upon founding Tryavna in the 16th century.²¹²

In the 15th and 16th centuries the *floricis* in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Southwestern Serbia, Montenegro, and the sancaks of Braničevo,

210 Стојановски, А. *Дервенциството во Македонија* (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1974), 37–38, 111, 117, 173–174, 211–241, 257–287.

211 Alexander, J. C. *Toward a History of Post-Byzantine Greece: The Ottoman Kanunnames for the Greek Lands, circa 1500–circa 1600* (Athens: J.C. Alexander, 1985), 133–136, 298–303.

212 Славейков, П. Р. “Село Трявна,” in *Избрани съчинения*, vol. 4, ed. С. Баева (София: “Български писател”, 1979), 174, 201; Киел, М. “Грамота за основаването на град Трявна. Османски извори за ранната история на града (1565–1702),” *Векове*, 3 (1984): 72–75.

Vidin and Smederevo were exempt from *harac* capitation tax, tithes, and extraordinary taxes. Instead, they paid an annual tax of one gold coin – *filori* (florin, 49–83 akçes) – per household. Each *katun* (a group of 20 to 50 households) also had to provide a certain number of tents, sheep, ropes, and halters. In the event of military campaigns, the *filoricis* were expected to provide one soldier for every three to ten households (in the event of raids – one soldier for each household).²¹³ In this case, too, the Ottomans had adopted customary-law and legal provisions regarding auxiliary contingents (which, however, are not sufficiently clear in the extant medieval Balkan sources). This is evident from the terms used in Vlach *kanuns* for military commanders, servants, groups, and so on, as well as from the references to a “Vlach custom,” “Serbian law,” “despot law,” and the like. However, we cannot agree with Vera Mutafchieva’s opinion that *filori*-tax status was a form of payment in gold currency. This status, as well as “fixed lump sum” payment, was, on the one hand, a real tax privilege; on the other, it was a means of relatively more effective collection of money or products from a mobile population. For example, taxes were collected as a fixed lump sum (in the form of a *filori* tax of 76 akçes) from some nomadic groups of the Boz Ulus

213 Akgündüz, A. *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. I, 494–528; vol. II, 72, 380–494; vol. III, 443–461; vol. IV, 398–399; vol. V, 333–371; vol. VI, 406–438, 551–562; Đurđev, Br. et al. *Kanuni i kanun-name za Bosanski, Hercegovacki, Zvornički, Kliški, Crnogorski i Skadarski sandjak*. Monumenta Turcica Historiam Slavorum Meridionalum Illustrantia., vol. I, Serija I: Zakonski spomenici, Sarajevo, 1957, 12–89, 117–118, 137–172; Stojaković, M. *Braničevski Teftar. Poimenični popis pokrajine Braničevo iz 1467 godine* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1987), 46–88, 158, 254; İnalçık, H. *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, vol. 1, 146, 154–157; Beldiceanu, N. “Les Valaques de Bosnie a la fin du XVe siècle et leurs institutions,” in *Le monde ottoman des Balkans (1402–1566). Institutions, société, économie* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1976), IV; Beldiceanu, N. “Quatre actes de Mehmed II concernant les Valaques des Balkans slaves,” *ibid.*, III; Beldiceanu, N. “La région de Timok–Morava dans les documents de Mehmed II et de Selim I,” *ibid.*, II. Бојанић-Лукаћ, Д. “Неготинска Крајна у време турске владавине,” *Гласник Етнографског музеја* 31–32 (1968–1969): 65–109; Војанић, Д. *Turski zakoni i zakonski popisi za Smederevsku, Kruševačku i Vidinsku oblast* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1974), 2, 12–58, 80–96; Боянич-Лукач, Д. *Видин и Видинският санджак през XV и XVI в. Документи от архивите на Цариград и Анкара* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1975).

confederacy in Anatolia in 1540.²¹⁴ A filori tax was also levied on some Gypsy groups in the Balkans.²¹⁵

Other Vlachs remained ordinary reaya, whose significant presence and specific way of life is recorded in the lawbooks of some sancaks. Part of the ancestors of the present-day Aromanians and Karakachans in Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and farther south in continental Greece to the Peloponnese, were mostly pastoralist reaya, as well as “privileged reaya” (derbendci, martoloses), or Christian sipahis. In Thessaly their previous privileges were reaffirmed immediately after the conquest. In the 1530s the Vlachs in Epirus were grouped in martolos units and in 1635 twelve thousand Epirote *amartoloi* (martoloses) took part in the war with Persia.²¹⁶

Outside of the main regions where we find the groups with special status, the Ottoman references to Vlachs (Eflâk) tend to have a cultural meaning. It corresponds to the onomastic data which, together with the Albanian ones, show a continuity in a number of regions of pres-

214 Мутафчиева, В. “Видин и Видинско през XV - XVI в.,” *ibid.*, introduction to the Bulgarian edition, 15–52; Иналджък, Х. “От Стефан Душан до Османската империя. Християни-спахии в Румелия през XIV в. и произходът им,” in *Епохата на султан Мехмед II Завоевателя*, translated by Е. Радусhev and М. Калицин, ed. Хр. Матанов (София: Amicitia, 2000), 185–247; İnalçık, H. *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300–1600* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973), 13, 72; Ђурђеџ, Бр. “О утицају турске владавине на развитак наших народа,” *Годишњак Историјског Друштва СР Босне и Херцеговине* II (1950): 37, 38, 41–51, 79; Мутафчиев, П. “Войнишки земи и војници във Византия през XIII–XIV в.,” in *Избрани произведения.*, ed. Д. Ангелов (София: Наука и изкуство, 1973), vol. 1, 609–610; Vryonis, Sp. “The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms,” in *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina. Studies on Byzantium, Seljuks and Ottomans* (Reprinted, Malibu: Udena Publications, 1981), vol. 2, XIII, pp. 273, 293, 303. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. V, 459, 462.

215 Стојановски, “Ромите на Балканскиот полуостров,” 144; Law on Gypsies in the vilayet of Rumelia, 1530, in *Турски извори за историјата на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 309–310; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, LXXI, 249–250.

216 Beldiceanu, N. “Les roumains à la bataille d’Ankara. Quelques données sur leur organisation militaire dans la péninsule balkanique,” in: *Le monde ottoman des Balkans*, I., p. 446, 447, 448; Beldiceanu, N., Ş. Nasturel, “La Thessalie entre 1454 / 1455 et 1506,” 108, 118–119, 130, 131; Vasić, M. *Martolosi u Jugoslovenskim zemljama pod turskom vladavinom*, 169–193; Palikruševa, G. “Status Vlaha u Makedoniju u XV i XVI veku,” *Radovi Akademije Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine* LXXIII, 22, Sarajevo (1983): 131–134.

ent-day continental Greece and Euboea. Here we often find Romance, Greco-Romance and Slavo-Romance personal and group names and nicknames, such as:

Vlaho, Vlasi, Vlasi, Vlasi, Vlahena, Vlayko, Valak, Valaki, Valahi, Valohi, İvlasiot/Vlasiot, İvlaho, İvlahopoulo, İflah/Vlah, İvlahya, İvlahor/Vlahor, İvlahati/Vlahati, Vlaianos, Vakalar, Vakalri, Magula, Maçakur/Matsakur, Burnazi.

As in many other places, we also find Albanian-Vlach combinations. They are combined with group and personal names of Albanian origin, such as:

Leka, Gön, Gin, Frasari/Fraşeri, Karneşi, Maneşi; Slavic names like İstaykopoulo, İstoyko/Stoyko, Dobro, Radko, Radaniç; “Frankish” names such as Francesco or Franco (including among non-Muslim Gypsies).²¹⁷

In the 16th century the seasonal migrations of Albanian and Vlach pastoralists from the Pindus, Olympus and other mountains were obviously conducted in ways well-known from later times. The regional lawbooks for Tırhala/Trikala, İnebahtı/Lepanto, Çatalca/Farsala, İstefe/Thebes, Livadeia, and Ağriboz/Euboea, contain separate legal provisions not just for Greeks/Christians (*Rum*), Jews (*Yahudi*) or Muslims, but also for Vlach, Albanian, or other non-Muslim *haymane* who brought their sheep to spend winter in those regions. They were overseen by *haymaneci* who were responsible for collecting taxes from households which had no fixed abode. Judging from some fees and taxes, there were also Albanians and Vlachs who belonged to a sedentary or semi-nomadic population which grew certain crops²¹⁸.

217 Balta, E. *Rural and Urban Populatuon in the Sancak of Euripos in the Early XVIth Cenury*, 78–82, 92–152; Balta, E. *L'Eubée à la fin du XVè siècle. Économie et Population. Les registres de l'année 1474* (Athens: Hetaireia Euvoikon Spoudon, 1989), 229–277, 283–298, 300–304.

218 Alexander, *Toward a History of Post-Byzantine Greece*, 92, 103, 122, 145–153; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. II, 511–518; vol. V, p.

Besides different legal and customary-law provisions, the Ottomans inherited also the polysemantic meaning of the word “Vlach” (Eflâk). Only one of its meanings is “nomads” and “shepherds” – Romance-speaking, Greek-speaking,²¹⁹ Albanian-speaking, Slavic-speaking (and judging from later times, speaking two languages or more with varying degrees of fluency). This very ancient Indo-European name²²⁰ refers to a poly-ethnic environment with nomadic and sedentary components. To what extent, and in which particular cases, the medieval and Ottoman social terminologies denoted something similar to the later Aromanians and Karakachans remains highly debatable. The processes of mutual assimilation in the 15th–18th centuries took place in the conditions of multiple migrations and, as a whole, led to gradual Slavicization in Dalmatia, Bosnia, Montenegro and Serbia.²²¹ As a cultural combination, Romance speech, Greek speech and nomadism survived primarily in the Southern Balkans. It is entirely possible that not just a number of Romance-speaking but also some Romance-Slavic or Slavic-speaking groups with “Vlach” status may have long had a distinct identity based on their different social status and pastoralist way of life. Almost everywhere where “Vlachs” are mentioned in the Ottoman sources, there are Romance personal or group names that occur with relatively high frequency as compared to others, but there are also Romance-Slavic, Greco-Christian, Albanian, Slavic, and other names. Evidence of a transhumant and nomadic way of life is also to be found everywhere – there is indirect evidence (terminological, tax, and other), as well as direct evidence such as the absence of permanent settlements, the use of tents, or notes stating, for

390, 391, 392, 415; Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 120–194.

219 Linguistic studies have shown that the Karakachan Greek dialect was formed at some point before the 13th or 14th century, see Kavadias, G. *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens. Les sarakatsans de Grèce* (Paris: Gautier-Villars, 1965), 9.

220 Иванов, В. & В. Топоров, “К вопросу о происхождении этнонима “валахи”,” in *Этническая история восточных романцев*, 61–84; Skok, P. *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1973), vol. 3, 606–609.

221 Цвијић, *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље*, vol. 1, 1922, 72–73, 158–173, 183–242; Петровић, Ж. “Стари Влах. Етничка прошлост, име и положај предела,” *Гласник Етнографског музеја* 24 (1961): 25–46.

example, “they camp in two places.”²²² However, it is very difficult, and often impossible, to make distinctions even when the word *Eflâk* is obviously used in its ethnic or cultural meaning.

Among the many such cases, that of the “Slav nomads” (florici, reaya, and others)²²³ in Northwestern Bulgaria and in nearby Serbia in the 15th and 16th centuries remains debatable in a cultural and group context. One can find in the registers a number of still existing Romance-speaking settlements on both sides of the river Timok. The problem, though, is further complicated by the later (in the 17th – early 20th centuries) migrations of Romanians (Ungureni and Tsarani) to the south of the Danube.²²⁴

Another typical local pre-national community of possibly “Vlach” origin was, for instance, that of the Slavic-speaking Muslims, called by the surrounding population Podveležci (“from the foothills of the Velež mountain”), and “Balije” (a derogatory name for Muslims in Bosnia). Until the early or mid-20th century they had a semi-nomadic way of life, summering with their flocks and families in hut settlements on the mountains between Mostar and Sarajevo – Visočica, Prenj, Bjelašnica – and wintering in Western Herzegovina, at the foot-

222 Аличић, А. *Турски катастарски пописи неких подручја западне Србије XV и XVI века* (Чачак: Историјски архив Краљево, Међуопштински архив Чачак, Историјски архив Т. Ужице, 1984), vol.1, 100.

223 Defined as such by Tsvetana Georgieva, see *Пространство и пространства на българите през XV–XVII век*, 130–134.

224 Радушев, Е. “Османската гранична периферия (серхад) в Никополския вилает през първата половина на XVI в.,” in *Българският шестнадесети век. Сборник с доклади за българската обща и културна история през XVI в.*, ed Б. Христова, (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, 1996), 205–207; Драшкић, М. “Порекло становништва и етнички процеси у селима Негогинске општине,” *Гласник Етнографског музеја* (Београд) 31–32 (1968–1969): 11–63; Цвијић, Ј. *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље*, vol. 1, 230–231; Романски, Ст. “Разпространението на власите между Тимок и Морава и на цинцарите в Македонија,” in *Научна експедиција в Македонија и Поморавието 1916*, compiled by П. Петров (София: Военноиздателски комплекс “Св. Георги Победоносец” and Универзитетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”, 1993), 203–230; Младенов, М. “Влашкото население в България (Разпространение, произход и топонимия),” *Българска етнология XXI*, Извънреден брой (1995): 7–14; Заяков, Н. “Исторически причини за формирање на влашкото население във Видинско,” *ibid.*, 28–50.

hills of the Velež mountains and in the valley of the river Neretva. Until the mid-19th century they did not have permanent settlements; later, they migrated with their flocks and families almost throughout the year. Moving between the established settlements (at an altitude of some 800 to 1000 m) and the Bosnian mountains, the Podveležci stayed in their homes for just several days a year. Unlike other semi-nomads, they did not engage in agriculture. The economic model of the former “Vlach” community of the *Vasojevići* in Eastern Montenegro was similar, but it was combined with some supplementary agriculture.²²⁵

With due consideration for all debates in national historiographies on the identity of medieval and Ottoman Vlachs, what is important for our main subject is their pastoralism, social autonomy, and militarization in many regions. It was not just the clan-and tribally-united and militant Albanians, but also the Vlachs who made the presence of Yürüks in a number of mountainous areas unthinkable. Part of the Vlachs were Ottoman allies from early on, and later some of their chieftains (*knez*) were granted significant power.²²⁶ Already at the end of the 14th century Vlachs took part, along with Turkish raiders, in the attacks against Bosnia.²²⁷ Vlach (Eflâk) detachments from Thessaly were part of the troops of Evrenos bey in the battle at Ankara of 1402. Such contingents took part in the 1453 siege of Constantinople and in the 1467 military campaign against Karaman.²²⁸ According to Nicoară Beldiceanu, they were terminologically (politically) opposed to the Vlachs north of the Danube, who are denoted as “W-L-K” in the Ottoman chronicles of the 15th and 16th centuries. Others resisted the invaders and fled en masse to the

225 Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 66–72; Ршумовић, Р. “Географски услови и њихова улога у еволуцију сточарских кретања у Југославију,” in *Одредбе позитивног законодавства*, 163–164.

226 Đurđev, Br. “Nešto o vlaškim starejšinama pod turskom upravom,” *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja* (Sarajevo) III (1940): 49–67; Ђурђевић, Бр. “О кнезовима под турском управом,” *Исторјски часопис* I, 1–2 (1948): 132–166; İnalçık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, vol. 1, 154–156.

227 Божић, *Дубровник и Турска*, 18–19.

228 Beldiceanu, N. “Les roumains a la bataille d’Ankara,” 441–447. See also Decsi, A. “Eflâk,” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, ed. M. Houtsma (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası), vol. IV, 178–189.

Christian territories ruled by Dubrovnik, Venice, and the Habsburgs. For example, in 1444 the Peloponnesian despot Constantine encouraged the local Vlachs to fight against the Ottomans. In the context of the Vlach problem as a whole, we cannot concur with Ernst Werner's generalization that a whole Balkan people (Volk) welcomed the Ottomans almost as liberators from the local feudal oppression.²²⁹

Either way, the Vlachs remained an inseparable part of the military frontier (*serhad*) which was gradually stabilized in the 16th century. Militant mountain-dwellers – “Vlachs,” “Morlacs,” “Uskoks,” and others – operated on both its sides, Christian and Muslim.²³⁰ The military frontier was gradually moved from the former Bulgarian Vidin Kingdom and Belgrade – Braničevo towards Bosnia, the Adriatic, and Hungary. This was followed by regulations and abolition of the special status of the Vlachs between Vidin, the river Timok and Morava, in Bosnia, and elsewhere in the 1560s–90s. Still, the cultural specificity of this kind of reaya was taken into account in the collection of the newly introduced *harac* tax. For example, in the *ciziyе* register of 1490/91 the Kosovo Vlachs who had evidently remained from medieval times around Prizren, Priština, Peč, Banska and Prodol, are recorded as reaya. They are grouped in separate tax *vilayets* (districts), most probably apart from the *filorici* status of other groups which serviced the mines in Srebrenica, Novo Brdo and Trepča.²³¹ The situation is similar in the case of the Bosnian Vlachs (former *filorici*) in the vilayets of Kilis/Kliš, Ayvadin, Kubaş/Sgolacko, Nove/Herzegovni, Mostar, Prepolje and Nevesinje

229 Werner, E., and M. Markov, *Geshichte der Türken von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1978), 63–65; Werner, E. “Yürüken und Wlachen,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl Marx Universität* (Leipzig) XV, 3, 1966: 476.

230 Vasić, *Martolosi u Jugoslovenskim zemljama pod turskom vladavinom*, 35–93, 142–199; Матанов, Хр., & Р. Михнева, *От Галиполи до Лепанто*, 295–299, 334–336; Bracewell, C. W. *The Uskoks of Senj. Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteen-Century Adriatic* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992).

231 Тодоров, Н. “За демографското състояние на Балканския полуостров през XV–XVI в.,” 206–207; *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. VII, ed. С. Димитров et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1986), 72, 74–76. See also Rizaj, S. “Uloga Vlaha primicura u rudarstvu Kosova i Srbije u XV i XVI veku,” *Radovi Akademije Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine* LXXIII, 22, Sarajevo (1983): 135–138.

in 1597/8.²³² In Bosnia, Herzegovina and Southwestern Serbia, the increase in the Muslim population was partially due to the gradual settlement, land allocation, and Islamization of the Vlachs.²³³ In many places in the Western Balkans they were the predominant colonizing group of the new Ottoman regime.²³⁴

The Yürüks could not have been permanent colonists in the zone of the Ottoman military frontier after the latter advanced beyond their main areas. The Yürük corps did not have the status and functions of frontier troops. Various other Muslim and Christian detachments formed the Ottoman offensive and defensive structures in Northwestern Bulgaria,²³⁵ between Vidin and Morava, in Bosnia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Bačka and Banat. At different times, militarized Vlachs also played an important role in cross-border raids in those areas. The abolition of their special status from the 1560s onwards and the transformation of a large part of the Vlachs into peasant reaya did not, in itself, create conditions for the settlement of Anatolian tribal elements into former frontier territories.

Although the Yürüks were obviously attracted by the mountains of Bosnia, the Morava region, Western Macedonia, Kosovo, Southern Albania, Western Thessaly, and Epirus, they did not displace the local pastoralists. The Yürüks came to those areas in search of pastures, or were sent there to perform compulsory labor services in mines, repairs,²³⁶ occasionally to serve in fortress garrisons, and so

232 *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. VII, 154–155.

233 Желязкова, *Разпространение на исляма в западнобалканските земи под османска власт* 138, 193–194; Zheljaskova, A. “The Penetration and Adaptation of Islam in Bosnia from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* V, 2 (1994): 193–194; Vasić, *Martolosi u Jugoslovenskim zemljama pod turskom vladavinom*, 169; Filipović, N. “Islamizacija Vlaha u Bosni i Hercegovini u XV i XVI vijeku,” *Radovi Akademije Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine* LXXIII, 22, Sarajevo (1983): 139–148.

234 Желязкова, *Разпространение на исляма в западнобалканските земи под османска власт*, 128–129, 132; Аличић, *Турски катастарски пописи неких подручја западне Србије XV и XVI века*, vol.1, 184; Бурђев, “Територијализација катунске организације до краја XV века,” 149, 152, 164;

235 Радусhev, “Османската гранична периферия (серхад),” 187–213.

236 For example, to repair ships in the harbors around Delvina in Southern Albania, see Желязкова, *Разпространение на исляма в западнобалканските*

on. Like the auxiliary Vlachs, in addition to casting cannonballs, they also produced and transported charcoal, ore and ready produce.²³⁷ That is why legal provisions regarding Yürüks are found not just in the lawbooks for the sancaks where there were comparatively large Yürük communities – such as the sancaks of Gallipoli, Vize, Silistra, Nikopol and Sofia, or in the lawbooks for Larissa and Farsala in Eastern Thessaly – but also in those for Bosnia and Korça in Albania.²³⁸ Thus, Yürüks were present periodically, but not permanently, in the life of part of the Western Balkan Ottoman provinces.

For their part, the ancestors of the present-day Aromanians and Karakachans kept their pre-Ottoman areas in different parts of Macedonia, Southern Albania, Epirus, Thessaly, Acarnania-Aetolia. In all likelihood, the Yürüks drove away the local nomads from a number of summer and winter pasturelands in Eastern Thrace, the Aegean region, the Rhodopes, Northern and Central Macedonia. The Turkish-speaking pastoralists, however, shared mountain pastures with Vlachs and Albanians in the districts of Korça, Bitola, Prilep and Eastern Thessaly. They probably did so also in some areas of Northwestern and Southwestern Macedonia, such as those of Debar,²³⁹ Kičevo,²⁴⁰ Lerin,

земи под османска власт, 90.

237 In the mines of Bah, Rudnik, Kamengrad/Banja Luka, Dukagin, and elsewhere, see Зиројевић, О. “Јуруци у рудницима,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 49–56.

238 Barkan, *Kanunlar*; LXV, LXIV, LXXX, LXXXI, LXXXII, pp. 232–289; *Турски извори за историјата на правото в бългaрските земи*, vol. I, 41; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. III (1991), 372, 466–469; vol. 6 (1993, İkinci kısım), 480–481, 617, 651, 659–667 (Vize); Alexander, *Toward a History of Post-Byzantine Greece*, 71, 112–115, 121, 124; Трухелка, Ќ. “О Македонским Јуруцима,” 332, 343–346.

239 Гаджанов, Д. “Мјусюлманското население в новоосвободените земи,” in *Научна експедиција в Македонија и Поморавието*, 260–262. On Vlachs and Albanians in the area of Debar, see Стојановски, А. “Дебарската област во шеесетите години на XV век (врз основа на еден современ турски извор),” in *Македонија во турското средновековие*, 414–417.

240 Yürüks from the area of Kičevo are mentioned in a mobilization order of 1578, see Матковски, А. “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија.” *Гласник на Институтот за Национална Историја* XXIX, 3 (1985): 241–242. On Vlachs and Albanians in the region, see Стојановски, А. “Поглед на економско-општествените прилики во Кичевската нахија во втората половина на XV век,” in *Ма-*

Kastoria, Salonica and Moglen.²⁴¹

Groups like Eflâhlar and Eflâh katune (“Vlachs,” “Vlach katun”), as well as settlement names like Ulah and Blace, are mentioned in the first defter for Albanian lands in 1431. A comparatively early register of Premeti/Përmet and Korça from the first half of the 15th century lists “Vlach gönders” (voynuks, soldiers).²⁴² Contrary to the local legends, the Ottoman sources show that Vlachs were present in modern Vardar Macedonia long before the migrations from the regions of Moscopole/Voskopojë and Grammos in the mid- and late 18th century. A defter of 1613 mentions the known later Aromanian settlements of Tirmoçe/Trnovo, Prepoli (most probably Nižopole) Maloreša/Malovište and Makarevo/Magarevo. Only Kruševo and Gopeš are absent, but another two settlements are mentioned – Eflâkçe-i Bizürg and İblakçe-i Küçük. In 1641 there are mentions of Trnovo, Kruševo, Magarevo, Malovište and Nižopole.²⁴³ The data on Vlachs in nearby region of Moriovo are uncertain, though.²⁴⁴

The Ottoman traveller Hacı Kalfa mentions also the ancestors of the Aromanians from Southwestern Macedonia. According to him, the mountains around Kesriye/Kastoria were inhabited “by a tribe descended from Serbs and Vlachs.”²⁴⁵ The same source mentions

кедонија во турското средновековие, 358–359.

241 Gyoni, M. “La transhumance des vlaques balkaniques à Moyen Age,” 37–38; Weigand, G. *Wlacho-Meglen. Eine ethnographisch-philologische Untersuchung*, Leipzig, 1892. On Yürüks in the area of Moglen, see Tuma von Waldkampff, A. *Griechenland, Makedonien und Süd-Albanien, oder: Die südliche Balkan-halbinsel. Militär-geographisch, statistisch und kriegshistorisch Dargestellt*. (Leipzig: Zuckschwerdt, 1897), 219–221; Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 342–344.

242 İnalçık, *Hicrî 835 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, 2, 30, 35, 41, 44, 44–45, 80; Beldiceanu, “Les Valaques de Bosnie a la fin du XVe siècle,” 127.

243 *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. VII, 179–181; McGowan, Br. *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe. Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 129–131; Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 539–541.

244 Стојановски, А. “Мориово во XV–XVI век,” in *Македонија во турското средновековие*, 394.

245 Мустафа бен Абдулах Хаджи Калфа, *Румелия и Босна. Географско описание*, translated by С. Аргиров. Архив за поселищни проучвания I, 2–4 (София: Печатница “Култура”, 1938), 65.

“Greeks,” “Serbs” and “Vlachs” around Lake Langaza/Koroneia, while Evliya Çelebi claims that Greeks, Bulgarians and Vlachs hunted birds with muskets around the same lake in the winter. This means that in the mid-17th century Vlachs wintered near the compact Yürük areas in the region of Salonica.²⁴⁶

Vlachs and other non-Muslim pastoralists remained a powerful rival of the Anatolian pastoralist settlers both as special-status groups and as ordinary reaya. The fragmentary evidence available about Yürüks in Bosnia, Albania, Kosovo,²⁴⁷ Western Macedonia, and elsewhere, outlines the zone of dynamic intertwinement of the pasturelands of “immigrant” and “local” pastoralists. This zone was gradually expanded in favor of the former in the 14th–16th centuries, and of the latter in the 17th–early 20th centuries. Regrettably, we do not know what happened in the mountains upon the arrival or departure of the Yürüks. Many pastures repeatedly changed hands over the centuries. For example, in the 1570s the Turtel *yaylak* in Plačkovića, which has a Vlach name (from Aromanian/Romanian *turtă*, “flat cake”), was used in the summer mainly by Yürüks from the cemaats of Baltalu, Hacı Oğulları, Terzi Hasan, and the cemaat of the subaşı Cafer (only two names of non-Muslims are recorded among the shepherds). A Yürük village called Torutel emerged later on this site, and, according to Vasil Kanchov, towards the end of the 19th century it had 25 Christian inhabitants.²⁴⁸

Sources from the 15th and 16th centuries show that the Yürüks did not immediately – or, perhaps, not completely – displace the Vlachs in some areas. The above-mentioned register of 1464/5 does not explicitly mention Yürüks in areas with a significant Yürük population in later times (those of Demirhisar, Nevrokop, Serres and Drama) and, furthermore, it contains a considerable amount of direct and indirect evidence about Vlachs. In the 1350s–60s the Vlachs were the

246 Ibid., 54; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyyahat Name*, vol. 8, 52.

247 Yürüks in the district of Priština are mentioned in Salonica court records (*sicil*) from the beginning of the 18th century, see Грозданова, Ел. “Нови сведения за юруците в българските и някои съседни земи през XV–XVIII в.,” 21.

248 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 147, 158; Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 530; Завоев, П. *Град Шип* (София: Министерство на Народното Просвещение, 1943), 10.

third largest element in those areas, after the Slavs and the Greeks.²⁴⁹ It seems that they still remained a significant local community after the first century of Ottoman rule. In the 1460s we find a frequent occurrence of the name “Vlach” (as a personal as well as a group name) in those areas, together with common Vlach personal names, such as:

Eflâk, Flak/Eflâk, Vlaho, Vlayo, Vlayko, Vlayko Çoban, Vlayço, Vlas, Vlasiç, Vlahinid, Vlaha (very frequent), Drakul, Uzgur, Zgur, Maçukat, Maçuk, Ştirban, Belil, Perilo, Yerula, Babula/Batula, Kulagul, Pribil, Gogolat, Dragul, Budil/Pudil, Pekul, Sinkur/Singur, Armula, Kaspurul, Murca, Vakalar, Hristul, Donçil, Kasula, Maçuri, Murina, Kaprul, Marul, Marulas, Çerbat, Magula, Velkol/Velkul, Mirşiça, Tırpan, Vakula, Kukurra, Baç, Çervul, Micor/Micur, and many others.²⁵⁰

A 1491 register of timars in the districts of Xanthi and Drama mentions one Yorgi, son of Vlaho, and one Yorgi Vlah in the village of Lübene (probably the later Muslim Bulgarian village of Lyubcha in the region of Nevrokop/Gotse Delchev).²⁵¹ The situation changed in the next decades because of the assimilation of the local Vlachs as well as probably because of their gradual departure from those areas. Still, it is also possible (contrary to the opinion of Strashimir Dimitrov) that separate Vlach groups may have remained or arrived in the Rhodope mountains in the 16th and 17th centuries.²⁵²

In the context of pastoralist migrations, the question remains open as to the hypothetical compact pre-Ottoman groupings and even “ancestral homelands” of the medieval Vlachs. Most of the existing theories link the available evidence from pre-Ottoman times to the toponymic traces in the Dinaric region, Western Bulgaria and Eastern Serbia, Epirus and

249 Острогорски, Гр. *Серска област после Душанове смрти*, 43; Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 496.

250 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. IV (Опширен пописен дефтер од XV век), ed. А. Стојановски et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1978), 59, 60, 93, 98, 158–184, 197–234, 265–288, 302–393.

251 *Турски извори за българската историја*, vol. III, 471.

252 Димитров, С. “Примикюри в Родопите през XVI в.,” *Rhodopica* I (1998): 123–131; See also Митев, П. “Влашкото население в Пещерско през периода на Османското владичество,” in *Армъните в България*, 101–104.

Thessaly, Northern Macedonia.²⁵³ Both on the macro- and micro-toponymic levels, a number of Vlach place-names occur relatively most frequently above all in mountainous and semimountainous areas. Using this indicator, Gustav Weigand has drawn the triangle Niš–Sofia–Skopje, where Romance place-names are the most frequent in the Sofia region. As a possible “ancestral homeland,” this toponymic zone includes the Western and part of the Central Balkan range to the Zlatitsa-Teteven section and, in the east, the Ihtiman and central section of the Sredna Gora mountains. In the south, it includes the high plains of West Central Bulgaria, and in the west and northwest, the Kyustendil-Bosilegrad (Kraishte) region, Vlasina, and the upper reaches of the river Nišava.

As in many other places, the names in the thus-outlined Vlach toponymic area may come from groups from the 15th–17th centuries, and not necessarily from much older times. For example, individuals designated as “Vlach” and/or having names such as Vlayko, Hrançul, Milul, Bratul, Nyagol, Radul or Yarul, are found in the villages of Radichkov Samokov (probably the extinct settlement of Srabski Samokov on the western slopes of Mount Vitosha, to the east of the village of Studena), Popovyani (in the Palakaria valley, Samokov area), and Belitsa (in the 16th century a voynuks settlement near Bozhurishte, now

253 See Weigand, G. *Romänen und Aromunen in Bulgarien* (Leipzig: Barth Verlag, 1907), 40–50 (and appended map); Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice*, 13–15, and appended map (“Așezarile Vlahilor”); Миков, *Произход и значение на имената на нашите градове, села, реки, планини и места*. 76–78; Иречек, К. *Княжество България* (Пловдив: “Хр. Г. Данов”, 1899), 144–145; Иречек, К. *Пътувания по България*, 403, 550, 553, 564; Захариев, *Пилянец*, 52, 84; Николић, *Крајиште и Власина*, 146 ff.; Дуриданов, И. “Нови данни от топонимията за изчезналото румънско население в Софийско,” in *Езиковедско - етнографски изследвания в памет на акад. Ст. Романски*, ed. Е. Георгиев et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1960), 469–478. Мичев, М. & И. Дуриданов, “За произхода и значенето на някои местни географски имена по средното поречие на река Искър в района на Предбалкана,” *Известия на Българското географско дружество* IV, 14 (1964): 61–77; Младенов, “Влашкото население в България,” 17–26; Winnifrith, *The Vlachs. The History of a Balkan People*, 26–56; Caranica, N. “Les Aroumains: Recherches sur l’identité d’une ethnie” (Thèse pour le Doctorat Nouveau Régime, Université de Besançon, Département des Science Humaines, 1990), 7–20, 67–192; Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden*, 9–22; Атанасова, К. “Армъните. Историографски преглед,” in *Армъните в България*, 7–23.

part of Sofia). Some of those “Vlachs” may have been miners, along with individuals designated as “Serb” or “Sasa” (“Saxon”). According to the oral tradition in the village of Popovyani, part of its inhabitants were descended from “Tsintsars” (one of Balkan pejorative names for Vlachs) who had come from the Bitola district (Magarevo, Gopeš). This was associated with the Aromanian migrations in the 18th and 19th centuries, including to Samokov and its environs. Before them, “until the mid-16th century,” there was a “Karakachan” village. Similarly to a number of settlements in Western Bulgaria, in Plate/Blato, also known as Primikyurova (possibly the Plata neighborhood in the village of Breze, near Sofia, or an extinct settlement on the river Blato in the Primikyur area, not far from Voluyak, now part of Sofia), we find *voynuks* and *celepkeshans* with names such as Perkulin Petri, Dragošin Vlayo, Dano Mikul or Bojko Radul, etc.²⁵⁴

The Vlach place-names in this region may come from medieval Romance-speaking groups as well as from sedentary or nomadic Vlachs who came here during the Ottoman period. For example, the kadı court records of Sofia from the first half of the 16th century mention manumitted slaves of Vlach (Eflâk) origin, who were most probably bought or captured north of the Danube. In addition to them, though, we find names of Vlach caravan leaders transporting woollen fabrics from Salonica to Sofia, as well as of pastoralists herding sheep and goats through the area to supply the capital of Constantinople with meat.²⁵⁵

As different “Vlach” migration waves overlapped not just in the area of Vidin and along the valley of the river Timok, the search for continuity with an older Romance population is usually quite problematic. It has long since been established that there was a direct con-

254 Register of hases and timars in the Sofia and Samokov districts (according to Strashimir Dimitrov, compiled ca. 1462/3, see “За датировката на някои османски регистри,” 240); *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. II, 73, 77–79, 87; *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. V (Documents on voynuks); Genç, *XVI Yüzl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri'nde Sofya Kazası*, 11, 311–313. Цинцарски, К. *Кратко описание на миналото и сегашното на село Поповяне – Самоковско*, АЕИМ, N 98, 1955, с. 4, 24, 27–29, 58. *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, 106.

255 Gäläbov, G., G. & H. Duda, *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia* (München: Oldenbourg, 1960), 57, 65.

nection between the Ottoman conquest, the Turkish nomadic colonization, and the large population shifts in the western and northern parts of the Balkan peninsula, linked to local and long-range migrations of mountain pastoralists. Those migrations had begun already in the 12th and 13th centuries, but they gained additional momentum in the course of the Ottoman conquest. It is also possible that the migration processes which occurred in the Carpathian region (in the broad sense) from the 14th century onwards, may also have had a southern pastoralist component. The migration of pastoralist communities into Transylvania, Galicia, Slovakia and Moravia was, to some extent, concurrent with the emergence and development of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldova. All “migration” and “autochthonous” theories about the formation of the modern Romanians in the Carpathian and Lower Danube lands point to the 14th-century migrations of pastoral groups which were subsequently differentiated within the framework of the so-called “Vlach statute” or “Vlach law” – *Jus Vlachorum*. It covered local and immigrant Romance, Slavic or mixed populations on Galician-Volhynian, Hungarian, Transylvanian, and Moravian-Bohemian territories. There we find, once again, socially autonomous pastoralist communities.²⁵⁶ The flights of large groups of Christians (Bulgarians) to the north of the Danube, the seasonal migrations of Carpathian mountain pastoralists in the vicinity or

256 Jorga, N. *Histoire des roumains et de la romanité orientale* (Bucarest: Académie Roumaine, 1937), vol. III, 122 ff., 156 ff.; Kadlec, K. *Valaši a valašské právo v zemích slovanských a uherských* (Praha: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa, 1916); Грацианская, Н. & В. Королюк, “Проблемы этногенеза моравских валахов в современной чехословацкой историографии,” in *Вопросы этногенеза и этнической истории славян и восточных романцев. Методология и историография (Сборник статей)*, ed. В. Королюк et al. (Москва: “Наука”, 1976), 250–257; Инкин, В. “К вопросу о происхождении и эволюции волошского института князя (кнеза) в Галицкой деревне XV–XVIII вв.,” in *Славяно-волошские связи*, ed. Н. А. Мохов, (Кишинёв: “Штиинца”, 1978), 114–148; Думнич, В. “Волохи Закарпатия по данным грамот XIV в.,” *ibid.*, 149–152, 157; Королюк, В. “Термин “Волошская земля” в раннесредневековых письменных источниках,” in *Этническая история восточных романцев*, 7; Krandžalov, D. “Zur Frage des Ursprunges des Hirtenwesens und seines Wortschatzes in den Karpaten,” in *Viehwirtschaft und Hirtenkultur. Ethnographische Studien*, ed. L. Földes (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1969), 220–243.

south of the Danube, as well as the migrations of “Vlach Gypsies”²⁵⁷ outline a migration zone where part of the Southern Vlachs may also have looked for new lands.

Either way, the most significant spatial displacement of a local population by the Yürüks must have involved the late medieval Vlachs whose economic and demographic model was similar to theirs. The colonization of Yürüks occurred within the same chronological framework as the significant concentration of “Vlachs” in the Northwestern Balkans, of which there is ample documentary evidence.²⁵⁸ Here there are a number of regions where one can trace waves of pastoralist communities which arrived in the 14th–16th centuries.²⁵⁹ Together with the local Romance-speaking population and later immigrants, they took part in the formation of clan and local groups which were subsequently assimilated into the local Slavs. In Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro, “Vlach” dialects that were different from the local Italian (urban and insular) ones and closer to Romanian and Aromanian, gradually disappeared. The last to survive was the dialect of the so-called Čiçi in Istria. A number of names, words, terms, written sources and legends attest that such dialects were still alive in Dalmatia and Montenegro among “Vlachs,” “Morlachs,” “Uskoks,” and other mountain communities until the mid- or late 16th century and, possibly, in the 17th and 18th centuries, too. For example, in the 16th and 17th centuries there were still Romance-speaking “Vlach” communities, such as the Ugnjani, Čeklići, and others, in Montenegro. Some Serb or Croatian (Orthodox and Catholic) groups, such as “Vlachs,” “Ličani,” and “Bunjevci,” are still considered to be de-

257 See Стојановски, “Ромите на Балканскиот полуостров,” 179; Roma – emigrants from Hungary, Wallachia and Moldova – are mentioned in a lawbook of the Gypsies of 1537, see Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. VI, 521.

258 Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balkanice*, 86–98; Gušić, “Wer sind die Morlaken im adriatischen Raum?”, 460.

259 Ђурђевић, “Територијализација катунске организације до краја XV века,” 144–162; Gavazzi, “Stočari - Vlasi po Severozapadnoj Hrvatskoj,” 52–53; Мартынова, М. *Хорваты. Этническая история XVIII–XIX вв.* (Москва: Наука, 1988), 40–87; Gušić, “Wer sind die Morlaken im adriatischen Raum?”, 460–463.

scended from the Vlachs.²⁶⁰ In the course of the Ottoman conquest, Western Balkans attracted more and more pastoralists and agriculturalists, and, at the same time, some areas came to be divided among newly formed autonomous or semi-autonomous territorial tribes with Slav, Albanian, and Romance components (Montenegro and Northern Albania). Eventually, and for various reasons, the nomadic way of life disappeared among the Vlach and Albanian groups in Dalmatia, the Dinarides, Northern and Central Albania. For centuries on end, the Albanians from the area between Montenegro and the Peloponnese were characterized by a complex, albeit primitive in the mountains, agro-pastoral economy. It was combined with different variants of sedentary or transhumant stock-breeding – from the thousands-strong flocks of the specialized associations of shepherds in the Aegean and Adriatic winter pasturelands to several cows, sheep or goats grazed on the hills above the native village. In Albania, the only nomadic communities in the 19th and 20th centuries were the Aromanian “Farsheriotes,” and the Karakachans who appeared later.²⁶¹ In the large West Balkan zone of the short migration routes from summer to winter pastures, other forms of transhumance were predominant.²⁶² Some

260 Scărlătoiu, E. “The Balkan Vlachs in the Light of Linguistic Studies. Highlights and Contributions,” *Revue des Études Sud - Est Européennes* 17 (1979): 19–20; Winniffrith, *The Vlachs. The History of a Balkan People*, 28–30, Map 9; Dragomir, *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balkanice*, 37, 95–101, 129–130; Лиречек, К. *Историја Срба*, vol. 1, 86–88; Ердельановић, Ј. *Стара Црна Гора. Етничка прошлост и формирање Црногорских племена* (Београд: Слово Љубве, 1978), 227, 337, 502; Мартынова, М. *Хорваты. Этническая история XVIII–XIX вв.* (Москва: Наука, 1988), 38–60; Kaser, 101–110, 140–159; Gušić, “Wer sind die Morlaken im adriatischen Raum?“, 457–459.

261 Ђурђевић, “Територијализација катунске организације до краја XV века,” 153–165; Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden*, 34–48, 55–67, 83–94, 108–117, 164–176, 179–203.

262 Вайганд, Г. *Аромъне. Етнографическо - филологическо - историческо издирвање на тѣй наречения народ македоно-ромъне или цинцаре*. Transl. С. Данов (Варна: П. Хр. Генков, 1899), 44–68, 82–108, 173, 181, 243–290; Petera, J. “Wedrowki pasterzi Aromunow w Albanii,” *Etnografia Polska* 6 (1962): 192–201; Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 17–28; Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden*, 302, 313–318; Ршумовић, Р. “Географски услови и њихова улога у еволуцију сточарских кретања у Југославију,” 165; Крстић, Ђ. “Обичајноправни аспекти сезонског кретања сточара у области Куча у Црној Гори,” in

of them are presumed to have evolved from a previous nomadic way of life which survived until late times in some areas.²⁶³ After the 18th century there were just three major groups of “mountain nomads” in the Balkans: Aromanians, Karakachans, and Yürüks.

III. DEMOGRAPHIC DIMENSIONS

1. Yürüks, Tatars, and Gypsies/Roma

The presence of Tatars, Roma, and “new Muslims” within the Yürük corps makes the demographic, social, and cultural profile of this formation much more complex. From the second half of the 16th century onwards, part of the Tatar auxiliaries gradually began to be included into the Yürük ocaks. According to M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, until then four separate Tatar formations were under the command of Yürük sancakbeys: *Tataran-i Aktav*²⁶⁴, *Tataran-i Tırhala*, *Tataran-i Yanbolu* and *Tataran-i Bozapa*.²⁶⁵ Their form of organization was similar to that of the Yürüks: they were yamaks and eşkincis grouped in ocaks headed by çeribaşıs; yamaks of Yürük subaşıs, and so on. They are listed in a

Одредбе позитивног законодавства, 127–130; Павковић, Н. “Обичајно-правни уговори и односи у сточарству (југословенски народи и арбанаси),” *ibid.*, 133–138; Яранов, *Македонија како природно и стопанско цяло*, 263–266; Арш, Гр. *Албанија и Епир в конце XVIII–начале XX в. Западнобалканские пашалыки Османской империи* (Москва: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1963), 22, 33, 128–1129.

263 Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 66–74.

264 Most probably named after the Tatar emir Aktau, See Chapter Two, p. 59.

265 Read alternatively as *Boz ata* or *Bozaye*. The first reading is proposed by Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin, see *Rumeli’de Yürükler; Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 88–89. It is more likely, though, that the name of this group comes from the Kipchak Boz apa (Ottoman Boz oba), similarly to the names of other groups mentioned in medieval Russian chronicles – such as the Каеѣиѣи (Qay-apa/Qay-opa, part of the Černii Klobuci – “Black Hats,” “Black Cows” – who were federates of Kievan Rus’) or Аеѣа (Ay-apa/Ay-opa, one of the Kuman clans) – and of other known steppe groups or clans, see Golden, P. B. *Nomads and their Neighbours in the Russian Steppe. Turks, Khazars and Qipchaqs* (Ashgate Variorum, 2003), VIII, p. 101, 105; XI, p. 70; XII, p. 21, 25.

separate section of the known defters of the corps from 1540s–60s.²⁶⁶

The first group was subordinate to the Naldöken *zaim* (zeamet-holder, Yürük sancakbey) and consisted of 21 ocaks in the districts of Çirmen, Yambol and Stara Zagora. The second was made up of 12 ocaks in Thessaly, subordinate to the Salonica *zaim*.²⁶⁷ The Yanbolu/Yambol Tatars were under the command of the Kocacık subaşı in the areas of Plovdiv (seven ocaks), Yambol (nine), Rusokastro (eight), Provadiya (six), Varna (two) and Tekirgöl (two). The Bozapa group consisted of 21 ocaks in the areas of Çorlu, Vize, Kırkklise and Hayrebolu, subordinate to the Vize *zaim* who was also the Vize-based *zabit* (commander) of the müsellems and Gypsy müsellems (as a separate formation).²⁶⁸ Several 16th -century lawbooks, however, indicate that in different periods part of the separate and evidently much larger Tatar groups were subordinate to different Yürük commanders. For example, the *Kanun-i Yürükân-i Develüzade* [?] *ve Yürükân-i Yanbolu ve Tataran-i Yanbolu ve Tataran-i Bozaye ve Aktav* (Law on Develüzade Yürüks, Yambol Yürüks, Yambol Tatars, Bozaye Tatars and Aktav Tatars) pertains to the Naldöken formation and is addressed to the *zaim* Mustafa,²⁶⁹ who held this post in 1566.²⁷⁰ Another lawbook of 1566, titled *Kanunname-i Yörüğân ve Tataran-i Yanbolu ma'a Tataran-i Aktav* (Lawbook of Yambol Yürüks and Tatars, Together with Aktav Tatars), precedes a register of a group of 36 ocaks in the districts of Plovdiv, Yambol, Rusokastro,

266 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 54, 56, 82–83, 86–90.

267 In Thessaly we find group names like Bektatari and Kazaklar (in the kaza of Yenişehir-i Fener/Larissa), see Türkay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*, 56.

268 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 83; İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yürükleri (1544–1675)*, 96–109.

269 See *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 306–307; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 260–261. This law is from the time of Süleyman I and it is not dated in those two publications. The Bulgarian edition has chosen one of Barkan's alternative readings, "Akdağ," but Barkan has also proposed "Akdav". Ahmet Akgündüz thinks that this law pertains to the Vize Yürüks, see Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, 1993, vol. VI (2), 715.

270 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 60.

Provadiya, Varna, Tekirgöl and Stara Zagora.²⁷¹ Its title is telling of the situation in the second half and end of the 16th century, when designations such as *Yanbolu Tatarlı Yürükleri*, *Yürükân-i Tataran-i Yanbolu* (“Yambol Tatar Yürüks”) and *Yürükân-i Aktav* (“Aktav Yürüks” – in the 1642 register of the Vize formation) were typical; according to Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin, they reflect the gradual assimilation of the Tatars in a Yürük environment.²⁷² The list of Yambol Tatars, included in the 1543 defter of Kocacık Yürüks, contains group-/place-names such as Yüçlü Tatar (yamaks of a Tatar *serasker* – military commander), Uzunca Tatar (Plovdiv district), Karaağaç Tatar, Meraş Tatar, Ağaç Tatar, Ak Tatar (Yambol district), Çolak Tatar (districts of Yambol and Rusokastro), Çevik Tatar (Rusokastro district), Çağatay, Burak Tatar (Provadiya district), and Abdullah Tatar (Varna district).²⁷³ We know nothing about the group identity of those Tatars, but it is clear that part of them formed villages, mixing with the sedentary Yürüks. It is unlikely, though, that this process was entirely one-way – particularly in Dobrudzha, whose substantial sedentary and steppe nomadic Tatar population had retained its ties to the lands northeast of the Danube delta, to the Nogays and the Crimean Tatars.²⁷⁴ Other Tatars had evidently adopted the pastoralist way of life precisely in its Yürük variant. Such were probably the members of the cemaat of Ahmed Fakih, registered as wintering in the far south, in the district of Dojran, in 1569/70.²⁷⁵

It is evident from the 1543 defter of the Kocacık Yürüks that “Tatar” as a personal name, place-name or nickname was by no means rare among the registered eşkincis and yamaks, especially in Dobrudzha,

271 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, 1993, vol. VI (2), 718–720.

272 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 87–788. In Cevdet Türkay’s catalogue, the group Ceketatarı (Ceke) appears in the kaza of Edirne/Adrianople; in Anatolia, this group is registered as “Türkmen-Yürük,” see *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*, 67.

273 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 90, 230–243.

274 See Williams, Br. G. *The Crimean Tatars. The Diaspora Experience and the Forging of a Nation* (Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2001).

275 See Table 3 in this chapter. “Tatars” in the district of Dojran are also mentioned in other sources, see Türkay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*, 158.

Northeastern Bulgaria, and Yambol area.²⁷⁶ The onomastic data from the same defter suggest that there were quite a few individuals of Tatar origin in the ocaks of this Yürük sancak. Of course, it is not always possible to distinguish one group from another on the basis of such data. Still, here we find a number of names which were unusual or rare for Yürüks, and which stand out against the background of what we know about other places and areas (for example, about the Yürük communities in Upper Thrace, the Sredna Gora mountains, Western Bulgaria, Eastern and Central Macedonia). Typically for the Yürük context in general, the Kocacık defter of 1543 contains a significant number of Turkic non-Koranic (unlike the Turko-Arabic or Irano-Arabic) names, such as:

Korkud, Tabtık, Saltuk, Tokmak, Durmuş, Tanrıverdi, Karaca, Karagöz, Timur, Sarı, Benziyörmüş, Audoğdu, Aydın, Köpek²⁷⁷, Subakdı, Akbaş, Çoban, Göçeri, and Yürük (among many others)

Similarly to the Koranic names, many of them coincide with the names of the Yambol Tatars in the same defter. In the Kocacık formation, however, we find quite a few personal and group/place-names which are definitely, or very likely, of Tatar origin, and many individuals designated by the registrar as “Tatar”:

Tokça, Koçak, Turluman, Deniz, Kaydan, Moral, Tatar (in the district of Silistra); Kazak, Nogay, İvaz (in the district of Karnobat); Kamulay, Burak, Budak, Tohtamış, Tatar (in the district of Varna); Baylık, Salık, Kubilay, Kucak, Tatar or Tatarhan (in the district of Harsovo/Hırşova)

276 In the districts of Yambol, Kırklareli, Varna and Silistra, and in the region of Harsovo, Babadağ and İsakça, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 181, 187, 196, 214–229.

277 Köpek (Turkic “dog”), Köpekli and Nogay (Mongol *nohay*, “dog”), are found among the Yürüks, but quite more often among the Tatars, reflecting the old steppe tradition, see Clauson, G. “Turks and Wolves,” *Studia Orientalia* XXVIII, 2, Helsinki (1964): 3–22; Гордлевский, В. “Что такое “босый волк”?” in *Избранные сочинения* (Москва: Академия наук СССР, 1961), vol. II, 494–504; Кочекаев, Б.-А. Б. *Ногайско - русские отношения в XV–XVIII вв.* (Алма Ата: “Наука”, 1988), 21.

It is also noteworthy that the name Timur and its derivatives (Timurhan, Bektimurhan, and so on) appears most frequently in the districts of Tekirgöl, Harsovo and Varna. The anthroponymic picture of the Yambol Tatars also stands out against the general Yürük background.²⁷⁸

Unlike the names of Turkic origin among Christians, those of the Muslim population in the Balkans in the 15th and 16th centuries have not been the subject of a comprehensive special study. Personal names of certain or probable Tatar (Kuman/Kipchak) origin, particularly in Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha, need a professional linguistic analysis. For example, the sheep-suppliers' defter of 1573, which covers the kazas of Razgrad, Shumen, Provadiya and Varna, contains names such as Koçak (in the Razgrad, Shumen and Varna districts), Çoka Nogo (possibly a non-Muslim from Gerlovo), Çoko Seko (a Christian from the no longer existing village of Dobrovo, Razgrad district), Deniz Tatar (in the village of Divane Mahmud, present-day Alusiyan, Shumen district), Yusuf Tatar (in the Yürük settlement of Salman/Salmanovo, Shumen district), Cihan Tatar (in the village of Esedlu, present-day Momchilovo, Varna district), etc.²⁷⁹

Quite a few "Tatar," names among the Kocacık Yürüks coincide with those in the 34 ocaks of the Yambol Tatars, added at the end of the 1543 defter. This is entirely explicable, considering that most of the settlements or groups of the Kocacık formation were in the steppe or hilly regions of Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha, Northeastern and Eastern Thrace – that is, in places where there were Tatars who had been colonized at different times. The very fact that Tatars were enlisted in the ocaks of this Yürük sancak has made some scholars assume that the name "Yambol Yürüks" is not a late (second half of the 16th or 17th century) synonym of the Kocacık group but a separate, seventh, formation.²⁸⁰ The designation "der

278 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 230–242.

279 See Стойков, "Селища и демографски облик на Североизточна България", 102, 104, 105, 106; Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев, *Джелепкешаните в българските и съседните им земи*, 112–113.

280 Following Ayni Ali's treatise of the early 17th century, according to which there were seven Yürük *zeamets* in Rumelia: Vize, *Yanbolu*, Tanrıdağ, Ofçabolu, Selânik, Kocacık and Naldöken. According to Evliya Çelebi, there were eight "Yürük *beys*," including, in addition to the Yürük bey of Yambol, another two

Yürükler” (“of the Yürüks”– as a group, settlement or status as well as, possibly, as a nickname), found in the list of the Yambol Tatars, is telling of the opposite process – of the entry of Yürüks into the local Tatar community, or at least of contacts between the two communities. This is also indirectly attested by group-/settlement names such as Danişmendlü or Germiyanlu, and personal names of Tatars such as Anadolu, Saruhan or Karaman. It is possible that some of them were descendants of Tatar immigrants from Asia Minor.²⁸¹ However, the Bogdan Yusuf group, mentioned in the district of Provadiya, may be presumed to have come from the steppes to the north of the Danube (Moldova).²⁸²

At approximately the same time, as well as later, the lands to the north and northeast of the Danube delta are known to have been inhabited by different, for the most part Nogay groups, some of which were steppe nomads (“Göçer-Evli Nogay Tatarı Taifesinden”): Cemboluk, Yedi İmki Oğlu/Yediçkioğlu (parts of two Nogay hordes – Cemboyluk and Yedişkul, neighbors of the Yedisian and Bucak hordes), Köpekli, Köylü, Orakoğlu, Salbun Tatarı, Yaranlıoğlu, Urmehmedoğlu, and others in the Bucak region, around Akkerman, Bender, and elsewhere.²⁸³

Another community that was in permanent contact with Yürüks, was that of part of the Gypsies (mostly Muslim Roma, but also some Christian Roma). As in the case of the Tatars, the joint mobilizations with Gypsy müsellems, the conscription of yamaks, and coexistence

– of İhtiman and Pleven. According to Evliya Çelebi, however, there were seven *zemets*: Vize, Yanbolu, Kocacık, Tanrıdağı, Ofçabolu, Selânik and Naldöken; but Ömer Avni (1642) and Ali Çauş of Sofia (mid-17th century) do not mention “Yambol Yürüks.” See Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 87–88; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. IV, 456–479, 542; vol. VI, 311, 689; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, Vol. 1–2 (1986), 129, 138, 142; vol. 3–4, 305; *Турски извори за историјата на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 106, 210, 236.

281 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 235–242.

282 Ibid., 241.

283 Türkay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Oymak, Aşiret ve Cemaatlar*, 56, 68, 110, 111, 131, 163, 165; Кочекаев, *Ногайско - русские отношения в XV–XVIII вв.*, 12–13; McNeill, W. *Europe’s Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 119, 176.

in the villages of the sedentary Yürüks, led to the gradual assimilation of some individuals or groups. Others kept their identity but were part of the Yürük corps. For example, in the 1543 defter of the Kocacık formation we find designations such as “der Çingeneler” (“of the Gypsies,” used as a group-/settlement name) or “Mahmud veled-i Abdullah der Çingâneoğlu” (“Mahmud son of Abdullah of Gypsy stock”).²⁸⁴ In another notable example, in 1584 “one Gypsy called Kurd” (“Çingene taifesinden Kurd nam kimesne”) falsely presented himself as a Yürük officer – subaşı and enrolled Ovçe Pole Yürüks as eşkincis and yamaks. He even had defters at his disposal and issued the requisite documents (*tezkere* and *temessük*) in return for a fee.²⁸⁵ This curious episode reveals not just the contacts between the two communities but also the problems related to the registration and government of the Yürüks.

Unlike the Yürüks, Gypsies traditionally did not engage in sheep-breeding.²⁸⁶ But they were good horse experts, artisans, musicians, healers, and so on.²⁸⁷ In some instances, Roma wandering groups are described as living side by side with Yürük pastoralists – for example, on vakıf estates.²⁸⁸ These cases may have involved the well-known in Asia Minor and Persia mutually advantageous coexistence as well as exchange of specific products and activities between those two non-sedentary communities.²⁸⁹ Some Gypsy groups in Anatolia presented themselves as Yürüks because names such as Carcar or Çingâne had a pejorative meaning among the surrounding population and were often synonymous with “vagrants,” “horse thieves,” and the like.²⁹⁰

284 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 191, 207.

285 Шопова, Д. *Македонија во XVI и XVII век. Документи од Цариградските архиви (1557–1645)* (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1955, Дос. 45, pp. 61–62; Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” 244.

286 Although there were Gypsy sheep-suppliers, see Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев, *Джелепкешаните в българските и съседните им земи през XVI–XVIII век*, 111.

287 Стојановски, “Ромите на Балканскиот полуостров,” 138–141.

288 Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar*, 369, 373.

289 Barth, Fr. *Nomads of South Persia. The Bassery Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy* (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1961), 91–93;

290 Гордлевский, В. “Джарджары в Конье,” in *Избранные сочинения* (Москва:

Some nomadic Gypsies followed Yürüks at certain points of the latter's seasonal pastoral migrations and settled in the vicinity of their summer and winter pastures and settlements. Part of the Roma population in the Balkans interacted with the Yürüks, just as it did in later times with the Karakachans, and it is possible that some Gypsy groups may have migrated to the Balkans together with the Turkic nomads from Anatolia. It is no coincidence that in Northeastern Bulgaria in the 1930s, the members of the Muslim Roma group of the Dzhambazi (from Ottoman *cambaz*, here – horse dealer) were called “Yürük” or “yürükçi.” For the most part, this group was made up of horse breeders and dealers, some smiths, as well as traditional “veterinarians,” who cared for other people's saddle horses and race horses (“yürük”).²⁹¹

2. Yürüks and “New Muslims”

The Yürük corps was, to some extent, a corporate organization. The senior commanders – the *subaşı*s – as well as part of the appointed *çeribaşı*s (*seraskers*), were not necessarily of Yürük origin. Often non-Yürük individuals or groups serving as *yamaks* (“helpers”) paid the customary dues to the *eşkincis* (serving soldiers), *çeribaşı*s and *subaşı*s, thereby covering part of the expenses of the former and contributing to the revenues of the latter. This usually did not entail a change in their way of life. The rank and file members of the corps could be peasants, townsmen,²⁹² artisans or others, but they definitely had to be Muslim. In the first decades of the 16th century the *çeribaşı*s had small timars, while the comparatively large revenues (from the 1540s onwards) from the *zeamets* of Yürük *sancakbeys* came not only from landholdings but also, for the most part, from various taxes. They were collected from their own *yamaks* (*resm-i yamakan*) and from some nomadic groups (*resm-i haymanegân*), as well as from

Академия наук СССР, 1962), vol. III, 426–431.

291 Кючуков, Хр. “Занаятите на турските цигани в Североизточна България,” in *Аспекти на етнокултурната ситуация в България. Преработено и допълнено издание* (София: Асоциация АКЕС, 1994), 161.

292 For example, among the citizens of Plovdiv in the detailed register of 1516–1519 we find one “Ali, veled-i Abdullah, Yürük,” see BOA, TD 77, s. 545.

miscellaneous fees, fines, and dues (*bad-u hava*). This kind of granted revenue had to include a sufficient number of people and groups, sedentary and nomadic. The frequent evasion of service and the mobility of the Yürüks, as well as the constant casualties in battle and upon performance of labor service, diseases, and other factors, led to a chronic shortage of people subject to mobilization and taxation. To make up for this shortage, nomads, Anatolian immigrants, different Tatar groups were conscripted in the ocaks, together with the Yürüks who were known to have been re-categorized as peasant reaya, to have become townsmen, müsellemler, akıncı, *çeltikçi* (rice-growers), *tuzcu* (salt producers), *yağcı* (butter-makers/suppliers) *celepkeşan* (sheep-suppliers), *küreci* (miners) sipahis, Janissaries, and so on.

It is also evident that a significant number of people of different ethnic and social backgrounds were enlisted in the ocaks. The prescriptions for registering new members of the corps are categorical in this respect:

And I [the Sultan] have commanded that when this holy order arrives ... you shall go to the site and perform a new registration to fill the shortage and vacancies [of personnel] of the Yürük groups subordinate to your subaşılık, [by recruiting men] once again from among the children of the said Yürük groups, *from among their manumitted slaves, from among converted to the true faith sons of God's servants*, from among the Anatolians who have come and settled among the Yürüks, and, at that, from among all those of them who are registered and whose status is not contested...²⁹³ [emphasis added].

The significance of this problem, addressed already by Konstantin Jireček,²⁹⁴ has made it a central one in the studies devoted to the Bal-

293 Addressed to Mustafa, *subaşı* of the Naldöken Yürüks, see *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 307; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 261. Similar formulations are contained also in other Yürük lawbooks of the 16th century: Lawbook of Kocacık Yürüks of 1584, see *ibid.*, 263; Lawbook of Naldöken Yürüks of 1566; Lawbook of Ovçe Pole Yürüks of 1566; Lawbook of Tanrıdağ Yürüks of 1543/4; Lawbook of Yürüks and Yambol Tatars of 1566; Lawbook of Vize Yürüks and Canbaz of 1543, see Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. VI, 693, 699, 705, 711, 719.

294 Иречек, *Пътувания по България*, 465.

kan Yürüks.²⁹⁵ “New Muslims” (*veled-i Abdullah*, “Sons of Abdullah”—“sons of God’s servant” and manumitted slaves) are found among the yamaks of zaims and *çeribaşıs*, but also among the *eşkıncis* themselves and their yamaks. Such persons are to be found both among the sedentary Yürüks and in some nomadic cemaats, among the registered sheep-suppliers from different Yürük groups and settlements.²⁹⁶ For example, in August 1550 the *kadı* of Sofia tried two Yürük shepherds who were accused of attacking and wounding a Janissary. Not just the victim and another two Janissaries who testified as witnesses, but also the Yürüks themselves were “sons of Abdullah.”²⁹⁷

In support of his theory that the majority of the Turks in Bulgaria are descendants of pre-Ottoman Turkic groups (as part of the medieval Bulgarian community), Strashimir Dimitrov has found that in 1543 approximately one-fifth of the personnel of the Kocacık formation were “new Muslims.”²⁹⁸ This calculation was directly used by the state propaganda during the assimilation campaign in the 1980s (the so-called “Revival Process”). The data presented in a table in his study pertain to the kazas of Elhovo, Rusokastro, Yambol, Plovdiv, Pomorie, Aytos, Karnobat, Varna, Provadiya, Shumen, Dobrudzha and Silistra. The yamaks of the zaim (Yürük sancakbey) and the four seraskers (*çeribaşıs*) recruited from different places, and the kazas of Harsovo and Tekirgöl

295 Соколки, М. “За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија,” 86, 87, 99; Димитров С. “За јурушката организација и рољата и в етноасимилаторските процеси,” 39–43; Димитров, С. “Рољата на јурушката организација,” in *История на Добруджа*, vol. 3, ed. С. Димитров et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1988), 33–34; Грозданова, Е. “Към въпроса за юруците в българските и някои от съседните им земи през XV–XVIII в.,” *Векове*, 2 (1984), 27–28; Грозданова, Е. “Нови сведения за юруците в българските и някои от съседните им земи през XV - XVII в.,” 25–26; Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев, *Джелепкешаните в българските и съседните им земи през XVI–XVIII век*, 96–109. See also Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 52, 62, 90, 94.

296 Петров, *По следите на насилието. Документи и материали за налагане на исляма*, vol. II, 195, 196, 204, 206–236.

297 Gălăbov, G., G. & H. Duda, *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia*, Doc. 233, p. 60.

298 Димитров, “За јурушката организација и рољата и в етноасимилаторските процеси,” 40.

are included in the studied group, but the ocaks from the kazas of Adrianople/Edirne, Babaeski and Kırklareli are excluded. Given the vast scope of this empirical material, mechanical errors are inevitable. The table contains 109 ocaks (with five eşkincis and 20 yamaks in each), 56 yamaks of the Kocacık sancakbey and 200 yamaks of the lower-rank commanders (çeribaşı), or a total of 2,981 persons. Of them 617 (20.7%) are “sons of Abdullah” and/or manumitted slaves. If we add to them three omitted ocaks from the kaza of Rusokastro (which were eleven, not eight as shown in the table) and 20 ocaks from the kazas of Babaeski, Edirne and Kırklareli, the numbers serving as the basis for calculations will change to 132 ocaks or 3,356 persons/names (3,300 eşkincis and yamaks, plus 256 yamaks of the çeribaşıs and the zaim). In that case, 651 persons or 19.3% of the personnel of the whole group will turn out to be “new Muslims.”

However, this minor correction, as well as the unclear status (origin) of some individuals,²⁹⁹ by no means change the general picture presented by Strashimir Dimitrov. More than half of all the “new Muslims” (328 out of 617) were manumitted slaves, former captives of different origins – Russians, Hungarians, Poles, and others – who were brought after military campaigns or bought on the market by the zaim, çeribaşıs, or eşkincis. The main conclusion is that the Yürüks were a community subjected to mass Islamization and ethnic assimilation, comparable to that of the Janissaries. This was done within the framework of:

...a conglomeration of people of different ethnic origins who were united by their belonging to one military organization, by their common obligations to it and to each other, who had to use the Turkish language as the language of the military formation and of the majority of the people belonging to it. Under such circumstances, it became possible to Turkify, in terms of language and lifestyle, both local people who were Islamized and included into the corps, and the brought captives who became manumitted slaves.³⁰⁰

299 For example, Hamza, son-in-law of Abdullah; Abdullah, son of Hızır; Abdullah, son of Musa, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 192, 208, 225.

300 Димитров, “За юрюшката организация и ролята и в етноасимилаторски-

Strashimir Dimitrov has also found some other correlations. The percentage of “new Muslims” is relatively high among the yamaks of the zaim and the seraskers (19.6% and 21.5% respectively), as well as locally in Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha. Their percentage here is, respectively: in the kaza of Varna, 28.5%; Provadiya, 25.3%; Shumen, 11.5%, Dobrudzha, 18%; Silistra, 20.8%; Harsovo, 36.2%; and Tekirgöl, 22%.³⁰¹ To the south of the Balkan range, the percentage of “new Muslims” is the following: in the kaza of Elhovo, 17%; Rusokastro, 13.8% (after the above-mentioned correction); Yambol, 13.7%; Plovdiv, 8%; Pomorie, 10%; Aytos, 20%; and Karnobat, 14.5%. In the kazas of Babaeski, Edirne and Kırklareli, it is 28%, 14.4% and 9.7%, respectively. Among the Yambol Tatars we find a total of 96 “new Muslims” out of 850 eşkincis and yamaks, or 11.3%.

It is evident that the Yürük military organization comprised different ethnic and social elements. This was entirely consistent with its functions, ways of recruitment and self-support. Hence, we are faced with two questions: To what extent was the auxiliary corps based on cultural tradition, and how do the data on militarized Yürüks correlate to the nomadic and semi-nomadic communities that carried this tradition in its most complete form? According to the “ethnogenetic” logic of the “Revival Process,” even the Yürüks who came from Anatolia (and in relatively insignificant numbers) mixed, to a great extent, with local Christians. The corps was simply an Ottoman military machine, a Muslim “conglomeration” and a powerful tool of assimilation. The conclusion is that all the other possible ancestors of the present-day Bulgarian Turks (“Turkic speakers”) should have predominantly local, pre-Ottoman origin. This approach explicitly or implicitly gives priority to the processes of Islamization over the processes of colonization, and seeks their purely quantitative dimensions.

On the other hand, the available data about mobilizations and service show, *in toto*, that it was precisely the nomadic and the nomadic-related tradition (identity) of the sedentary Yürüks which gave the auxiliary organization its specific form. The Yürüks were soldiers as well as something like labor servicemen. They had to serve for

те процеси,” 41.

301 Димитров, “Ролята на юрушката организация,” 33–34.

six months in garrisons and, in some instances, in the navy; they had to work in the mines, performing services such as repairs, and so on. The eşkincis were constantly recruited as cavalry or infantry troops armed with arrows, lances, swords or firearms. The subaşı were responsible for the recruitment and command of a fixed quota of combat-fit cavalry and infantry, periodically selecting, with the help of çeribaşıs, more experienced soldiers or soldiers who had proven themselves in battle (*yiğitler*). Part of the eşkincis were *cebelü* (armored cavalymen) and did not leave their ocak even if they became sipahis. In addition to casting cannonballs, digging trenches and making charcoal for the furnaces, the Yürüks – who were excellent sheep- and horse-breeders – provided transportation and tended the flocks which supplied the army with food in peacetime or during military campaigns (the so-called *koyun hizmeti*). They often performed the role of an artillery and all-army baggage train (with their own oxen, horses and wagons). From the point of view of the Ottoman administration, both military and other skills were passed on from father to son. That is why the sons of eşkincis and yamaks inherited, at least in theory, their fathers' status, duties and tax concessions provided for by law. The enlistment of outsiders (in terms of status as well as tradition) in the ocaks and in the contingent of the commanding officers was standard practice, but it was combined with multiple prohibitions on the enlistment of yamaks as eşkincis and vice versa, on the re-categorization of Yürüks as peasant reaya or among other groups with special status and obligations, and in some instances, on the granting of such status to non-Yürüks.

It is another matter that despite the codification of some customs specific to the Yürüks and their status-based (“nomadic,” “military,”) presentation in the lawbooks of the 15th and 16th centuries, the Ottoman administration treated them in general as one of the groups of “privileged reaya.” Yet even so, the Yürük settlements and regions (“Yürüklüks”) in the Balkans are sufficiently differentiated in the sources dating from the 16th and 17th centuries. We have every reason to assume that similarly to the sedentary and semi-nomadic communities of later times, in this period, too, the Yürüks constituted a traditional and, to some extent, isolated community, and not only a bureaucratically invented social status.

In this specific context, the processes of religious conversion were a quite dynamic and contradictory phenomenon. They were determined by the availability or shortage of people, by the number of own captives and the slave market, by the time and place, by the contacts between the Yürüks and the surrounding non-Muslims. In the case studied by Strashimir Dimitrov, in Metodi Sokoloski's study on the Yürüks in Macedonia, as well as in Southwestern Bulgaria, the overwhelming majority of "new Muslims" were ordinary peasants who were entitled to the tax concessions granted to the members of the Yürük ocaks.³⁰² What is more, almost all of them were *yamaks* ("helpers"), who were not subject to mobilization and who paid their dues to the zaim, *çeribaşıs*/seraskers and *eşkincis*, or they were peasant reaya in the villages of the sedentary and semi-nomadic Yürüks. Out of the 651 "new Muslims" in the Kocacık formation, just 48 were *eşkincis* (soldiers).

For comparison, according to Sema Altunan, in 1565 in the Naldöken Yürük sancak there were a total of 46 manumitted slaves and Muslim converts among the *yamaks* of the zaim (out of a total of 1,093), 40 among the *yamaks* of the seraskers/*çeribaşıs* (out of a total of 290), 35 among the *eşkincis* (out of a total of 1,080), and 531 among the *yamaks* of the *eşkincis* (out of a total of 4,320). Out of the six seraskers in the group, one had adopted Islam, while one *yamak* of the zaim, five *yamaks* of the seraskers, two *eşkincis*, and 26 *yamaks* of the *eşkincis* were "newly-arrived in Rumelia."³⁰³

In a separate study based on data from a tax register of 1528, Metodi Sokoloski has found that out of a total of 1,014 Muslims (of whom 104 unmarried) recorded in 33 villages in the districts of Skopje, Prilep and Bitola, 429 were members of the Yürük organization (*eşkincis* and *yamaks*), *akıncıs* or, in some instances, *cannoneers* (*topçu*). Among the total number of Muslims, more than half of whom were peasant reaya, Sokoloski has identified 156 "new Muslims" (or 15.4 %).³⁰⁴ It is evident that the gradual assimilation of those people occurred in the context of progressive sedentarization and "agrarization" (adoption of agricultural practices that were traditional among

302 See Chapter Four, I.

303 Altunan, "XVI. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Naldöken Yürükleri," 28, 31.

304 Sokoloski, M. "За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија," 95.

the local Balkan population) of a large part of the Yürüks in the 15th and 16th century.

These processes developed in different directions, at different times, and they had different results at the local level. They depended on the economic conditions, the sedentary and nomadic (foreign or kindred) surrounding population, on the preservation or loss of kinship structures and Yürük cultural identity. Whereas in a number of regions in Macedonia the sedentary and semi-nomadic Yürüks largely preserved the kinship and symbolic barriers delimiting their community, in Dobruzha and Northeastern Bulgaria the situation was quite different. Here, similarly to part of the Tatars, the majority of the Yürüks were sedentary agriculturalists and stockbreeders, and evidently very few of them were transhumant pastoralists. For example, although some individuals are recorded as “Yürük” in the 1573 register of sheep-suppliers covering the kazas of Razgrad, Shumen, Provadiya and Varna, there is no mention of any nomadic or semi-nomadic *cemaats*.³⁰⁵ This fact is conspicuous against the background of other, for the most part, mountainous or semimountainous areas. Unlike a number of places in Macedonia, Southwestern Bulgaria, the Rhodope mountains and other regions, where the Yürüks were the predominant – and often, the only – colonists in the countryside, in the easternmost parts of the Balkan peninsula, and especially outside of the highlands, the situation was different. In Dobruzha and Northeastern Bulgaria the Yürüks were by no means a compact or predominant community among the Muslim population. Here the natural and climatic conditions predetermined other models of pastoralism. In addition to different forms of sedentary

305 Musa Yürük from the village of Ada at Karamur (Ostrovche, Razgrad district); two *celepkeşans* from the village of Yürükler near Gürgenlu (Gabritsa, Shumen district); four from the village of Yürükler (Stanovets, Shumen district); one from the village of Yürük Kasım (unidentified, in the kaza of Shumen); Şehir Salih, a Yürük, along with another four (including Yusuf Tatar) in the village of Salman (Shumen district); one Mustafa, Yürük, from the village of Yeğitmur (unidentified, in the kaza of Provadiya); one from the village of Yürüklüce (unidentified, in the kaza of Provadiya); three from the village of Nebi Yürükler (unidentified, in the kaza of Varna); Yürük Hüseyin Hasan from the village of Nastraddinlu (Bozhurovo, Dobrich district), see Стойков, “Селища и демографски облик на Северозточна България,” 103–110. See also Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев, *Джелепкешаните в българските и съседните им земи през XVI–XVIII век*, 99–109.

(within the boundaries of the village *mera* – common land, pastureland) stock-breeding, Dobrudzha was characterized by transhumance, similar to that practiced by the famous shepherds from the town of Kotel in the 19th century, and steppe nomadism, which was prevalent among the Nogay Tatars. Among the names of the sheep-suppliers in Dobrudzha in the 16th century, we encounter some Vlachs (Eflâk) who may have been similar to the Carpathian Mocán shepherds who came here periodically in the 18th and 19th centuries. Already from the early Ottoman era onwards, they moved with their flocks at long distances – for example, between the Carpathians and Lesser Wallachia, according to a 1437–1446 charter granted by Vlad Dracul to the Oltenian nobles.³⁰⁶ A *ciziye defter* (capitation tax register) of 1663 mentions “wandering Vlach reaya” in the kaza of Ruse, whose *harac (ciziye)* was collected as a lump sum (*maktu*).³⁰⁷ On the other hand, Southern Bessarabia and Dobrudzha were part of the steppes that were long-roamed by Nogay Tatars. Here there is evidence about the migration of whole groups, together with their livestock, dwellings, and even mills loaded on wagons.³⁰⁸

In the 1530s and 1540s, the sancak of Silistra was among the administrative units with the highest concentration of Muslim population, although the latter’s actual percentage is subject to debate.³⁰⁹ It was formed as the result of different waves of colonization both from Anatolia and from the steppes to the north of the Danube, as well as

306 Panaitescu, P., and D. Mioc, eds, *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, vol. 1 (1247–1500). (București: Editura Academiei, 1966), 141.

307 *По следите на насилието. Документи и материали за налагане на исляма*, vol. II, 352; Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев, *Джелепкешаните в българските и съседните им земи през XVI–XVIII век*, 99–109; 32, 110; Миятев, П. “Документи за използване на добруджански пасбища от трансилвански овчари (мокани).” *Известия на Института по история XIV–XV* (1964): 443–454; Влэдициу, И. “О горно-скотоводческом хозяйстве румынских мокан (По материалам Цара-Бырсей),” *Советская этнография* (6) (1962): 86.

308 Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев, *Джелепкешаните в българските и съседните им земи през XVI–XVIII век*, 22–23; Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев, *Българите през XVI век (По документи от наши и чужди архиви)* (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1986), 178–179; Харузин, Н. “История развития жилища у кочевых и полукочевых тюркских и монгольских народностей России,” *Этнографическое обозрение XXIX–XXX*, 2–3 (1896): 66.

309 According to Barkan’s generalized data, it made up 72% in 1519/20–1530,

of the processes of Islamization. In addition to the Tatars who are to be found as “Yürüks” in the Kocacık ocaks, many other Tatar groups and clans evidently continued crossing over into the lands south of the Danube in the 15th and 16th century, and settled among various Muslim groups and individuals of Anatolian origin. As a peasant population, part of the latter were still first- or, at the most, second-generation immigrants in the 1560s and 1570s, too.³¹⁰

The general picture may be complemented by various local Turkic-speaking groups. Although it was articulated for propaganda purposes during the so-called “Revival Process,” Strashimir Dimitrov’s thesis regarding remnants of a Christian Turkic-speaking population in Dobrudzha at the time of the Ottoman conquest has by no means lost its scientific value. Those were the ancestors not just of the Gagauz in Dobrudzha and Thrace but, as we have seen, also of the “Christian Turks” in Macedonia.³¹¹ In the context of the available onomastic data, it is quite likely that such Turkic-speaking communities may have survived in the early Ottoman era elsewhere, too.³¹² It is another matter whether those remnants were of the Bulgars, Pechenegs, Oğuz/Uz, Christianized Anatolian Türkmens or Kumans/Kipchaks, and to what extent they were integrated among the medieval Bulgarians. Such data are available, for instance, about the vilayet of Braničevo in the 1460s. Here we find, among the non-Muslim voy-

together with the sancaks of Çirmen (89%), Vize (56%), Gallipoli (56%) and Bosnia (46%), see Barkan, “Sürgünler” (1953–1954), 237. See also Тодоров, Н. “За демографското състояние на Балканския полуостров през XV–XVI в.,” 215; Димитров, С. “Административно и етнодемографско развитие,” in *История на Добруджа*, 17–18.

310 Стойков, “Селища и демографски облик на Североизточна България,” 99; Димитров, “Административно и етнодемографско развитие,” in *История на Добруджа*, 31–32, 34–39.

311 Димитров, С. “За юрюшката организация и ролята и в етноасимилаторските процеси,” 42–43; Димитров, С. “Административно и етнодемографско развитие,” in *История на Добруджа*, 32; Димитров, С. “Българската народност през XV–XVII в.,” in *Етнография на България*, ed. В. Хаджиниколов et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1980), vol. 1, 207–208.

312 See Стоянов, В. *История на изучаването на Codex Cumanicus. Неславянска, кумано - печенежка антропонимика в българските земи през XV век*, 297–304.

nuks, sipahis, reaya, and others (apart from the differentiated Vlach groups), Turkic (Kuman?) names such as:

Bogadir son of Curka, Stepan son of Çagatay, Dirman, Milovan son of Altoman, Alavand, Çagatay, Brayoş son of Oşişka, Durman son of Brayko, Bratko son of Batoy, Kraguy (in many instances), Todor Kuzga, Doğan/Dogan (in several instances), and the like.

It is very possible that in some of those instances we may be looking at still extant remnants of the medieval warriors and nobles of Kuman origin just several years after the Ottomans had conquered this region.³¹³ In Dobrudzha and Northeastern Bulgaria, there probably were some non-Muslim communities which had remained Turkic-speaking (or bilingual) and this may have been one of the reasons for gradual Islamization. Here a Muslim amalgamation was indeed formed, and it gradually acculturated the local Yürüks, too. In a long-term perspective, the Yürüks in Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha did not survive as a separate community and were therefore not mentioned in the 18th–20th centuries. It is also possible that the large number of converts in the Dobrudzha ocaqs may have been due to the need for recruiting sufficient personnel for them owing to the strategic importance of this region as a springboard against Wallachia, Moldova, Poland and Muscovite Russia. This was done by recruiting people of all sorts of origins, for the most part as yamaks. In this context, it is possible that the Ottoman authorities may have encouraged a relatively more active spread of Islam among the local population.³¹⁴

The significant number of manumitted slaves in the Kocacık formation in the 16th century was undoubtedly linked both to the military campaigns and to the land route of the caravans of captives brought by the Crimean Tatars for the slave markets of Constantinople.³¹⁵

313 Stojaković, M. *Braničevski Teftar. Poimenični popis pokrajine Braničevo iz 1467 godine*, 42, 49, 58, 78, 80, 146, 186, 215, 231, 237, 252, 254, 257, 271, 273, 274.

314 Димитров, “Административно и етнодемографско развитие,” in *История на Добруджа*, 18–21.

315 Димитров, “За юрюшката организация и ролята и в етноасимилаторските процеси,” 42–43; McNeill, *Europe’s Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800*, 21–22, 27–31,

At that time, “hunting” for people for the needs of the traditionally widespread domestic slavery, and above all for sale, was a typical occupation of the nomadic Nogays.³¹⁶ As a whole, in the open steppe areas in Dobruđza the percentage of Islamized “Yürüks” was the highest – 29%, as high as approximately 36.2% in the kaza of Harsovo/Hırşova.³¹⁷ Captives were part of the spoils of war and (if sold), of the supplementary income of zaims, seraskers and eşkincis. If they were kept and manumitted (and converted to Islam), they usually became yamaks. Such people tended to be a workforce rather than full-fledged members of the ocaks or of the Yürük clans. Very few of them became eşkincis, usually serving instead of their former masters.

The communities (*cemaat*) made up mostly or entirely of nomads and semi-nomads, were to some extent another environment where the processes of Islamization appear to have had somewhat different dimensions. As shown in Table 3 below, among those mountain pastoralists there were few “new Muslims.” Although this table covers an aggregate group that is numerically smaller than the Kocacık Yürük sancak, the data in it are relatively representative, especially considering that they pertain to a large territory. They are taken from another type of registers (*tahrir* and *celepkеşan defters*) of the 1570s–90s. Hence, some omissions are unavoidable. Out of a total of 186 groups (*cemaats*), 38 are indicated only by name, without any information about their size or composition, or with the note that they are “haric-ez-defter” (“not in the register”) showing that they had previously gone unrecorded. Another 32 groups are recorded with the number of nomadic households, but without the personal names of their heads (322 persons). We know 1,151 personal names from 116 *cemaats* (heads of family households, unmarried, imams). We also know that 293 of those individuals were eşkinci and yamak who either had Yürük çifts or were nomads (*haymane*) like the majority of the members of the respective *cemaats*. The total number of individuals paying for Yürük

76, 145.

316 Кочекаев, *Ногайско - русские отношения в XV–XVIII вв.*, 34–36.

317 Димитров, С. “Административно и этнодемографско развитие,” in *История на Добруджа*, 34.

and reaya *çifts*, or less than half a *çift* as *bennaks*³¹⁸ is 424, but in some instances both the militarized and other Yürüks simultaneously held a land plot and paid *resm-i duhan* as nomads. Regarding some of the cemaats from the 1570 defter for the sancak of Kyustendil – for example, in the districts of Dojran, Valandovo and Radoviš – it is evident that some of their members possessed plots of land, but others, whose number is unknown, were nomads (paying *resm-i duhan*). We cannot identify the actual size and composition of the cemaats known only from the registered sheep-suppliers or from the mountain summer pastures; hence, we cannot identify the subgroups, the share of the auxiliaries and, most probably, of other Islamized individuals, too. It is unlikely that the registrations fully covered even the known (for the most part, wintering) nomadic and semi-nomadic communities. The information available shows that 44 of the individuals known by name were “sons of Abdullah” and/or manumitted slaves. The majority of them were sedentary reaya (16 persons) and Yürük auxiliaries (nine *yamaks* and one *eşkinçi*). The sheep-suppliers are nine in all. Regarding 12 individuals (out of whom one is a *yamak*) recorded as Yürük *haymane*, we assume that they were “new Muslims” who had adopted the pastoralist lifestyle of their former masters.

The logical conclusion is that the nomadic Yürüks who had preserved their kinship structures – and possibly, in some instances their tribal structures as well – found it relatively harder to accept “new Muslims” into their community, and that here, too, this phenomenon tended to be connected to the gradual sedentarization and “agrarization” of part of those groups or of their subgroups. Given the very fragmentary character of the information available about nomadic Yürüks in general, the actual percentage of the converts among them may have been larger, but it could hardly have been comparable to the known data about the *ocak* members who lived in villages. The “new Muslims” were, for the most part, former slaves of non-sedentary *eşkinçis*, brought after military expeditions. They could become the latter’s slaves or, in some instances, they they could serve instead of them.

318 See above, p. 69, note 39.

TABLE 3

**YÜRÜK GROUPS IN WEST CENTRAL, NORTHWESTERN
BULGARIA, MACEDONIA, AND UPPER THRACE IN THE
1570S–90S³¹⁹**

CEMAAT SUBGROUPS	LOCATION	SUMMER PASTURES	REGIS- TERED PERSONS	“NEW MUS- LIMS”
Abduli	k. ³²⁰ Filibe, near v. Köseler ³²¹	prob. Sarnena Gora	2*	---
Ahbiye Kara Ali	k. Ustrumca	Plačkovica	---	---
Ahmed Fakih ³²²	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	3, 2 M.	---
Ak Görmüş, Hacı Hüseyin and Gali	n. İştib	unid.	17 H.#	---

319 Sources for TABLE 3: Mufassal defter (detailed register) for the sancak of Kyustendil of 1570, in *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книги I, II, III, and V; Mufassal defter for the kaza of Sofia from the late 16th century, in Genç, N. *XVI Yüzl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri'nde Sofya Kazası*; Mufassal defter of celepkeşans of 1576, in *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III; Fragment of a defter of celepkeşans in the kaza of Strumica from the late 16th century; Fragment of a defter with copies of *tezkeres* (certificates) on timars granted in the sancaks of Kyustendil and Paşa from the late 16th century, *ibid.*; Gök-bilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar–Mülkler–Mukatalar*.

320 Abbreviations and signs: **b.** – *bennak*; **C.** – *cemaat*; **Cmp.** – camp, sheepfold, or summer settlement; **ç.** – *çift*; **E.** – east, eastern; **Eş.** – *eşkinici, eşkincis*; **H.** – *haymane*, nomad; **Im.** – imam; **k.** – *kaza*; **M.** – member of the Yürük military organizatio (*eşkinici or yamak*); **m.s.** – manumitted slave; **n.** – *nahiye*; **N.** – north, northern; **prob.** – probably; **r.** – reaya; **unid.** – unidentified (settlement, location, group); **v.** – village/settlement; **W.** – west, western; **Y.** – *yamak*. **Yür.**– Yürük, Yürüks; The sign (*) denotes only the *celepkeşans* or summering pastoralists listed by name, whose number is not a direct indication of the total number of the group; the sign (#) denotes groups with an indicated number of households (persons) which, however, are not listed by name.

321 Present-day Golobradovo, Chirpan district.

322 “Cemaat of Ahmed Fakih, Tatar, from the Yürüks on the common land of the mentioned village of Popova” (southeast of Lake Dojran).

<u>Ala Sofiler</u> Ala Sofiler	k. Sofya k. Tatarpazarı	Golema Planina; Vitosha	27* +17*	1+1 m.s. +2
Ali Fakih	n. Boymiye ³²³	unid.	22	---
Arzali ³²⁴	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	17 H.	---
<u>Arizli</u> Kara İläs ³²⁵ Turgut Fakih	n. Tikveş	unid.	40 H. (incl. Eş. and Y.)	2 r., 2 H.
Ayakçı	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	5 H.	---
Aydın	n. Dupnice	unid.	3	---
Bahşayış (Hacı Bahşayış)	k. Filibe ³²⁶	Sredna Gora	---	---
Bakraçlı	k. Samokov	prob. Rila ³²⁷	2*	---
Bakraçlı	k. Tatarpazarı	unid.	5*	---
Balaban Oğulları and Yusuf Oğulları	n. Tikveş	unid.	25 H.#	---
Balkanlı	n. İştib	unid.	3#	---
Baltalu ³²⁸	k. Ustrumca	Plačkovica (1 Cmp.)	---	---
Baraklar	n. Karacadağ	prob. Sarnena Gora	1*	---

323 Around the present-day town of Valandovo in the Republic of North Macedonia.

324 This cemaat later formed the present-day Yürük village of Arazli in the Republic of North Macedonia, see Недков, В. “Јуручките населби и население во Источна Македонија,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 85.

325 Probably connected to the later Yürük village of Karaslari, Štip district, see Радовановић, В. *Тиквеш и Рајец. Антропологеографска испитавања*. Српски Етнографски Зборник XXIX (Земун: Српска Академија Наука, 1924), 210–211.

326 Between Hisarya and Karlovo. In 1572 it was registered as a cemaat of the Naldöken Yürüks at the *vakıf* of Şahabedin Paşa, see Gökbilgin, XV–XVI *Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar–Mülkler–Mukatalar*, 260.

327 Part of the cemaats from the kaza of Samokov may have also had summer pastures on Mount Vitosha.

328 This group later formed the eponymous village in the district of Strumica. At the end of the 19th century this was a small village whose population included Christians, see Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 34; Кънчов, Македонија. *Етнографија и статистика*, 531.

Bazarlı Oğulları ³²⁹	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	9 H.	---
Bekir Oğulları ³³⁰	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Bektaş Oğulları	n. Ustrumca	unid.	4 H.	---
Beliler	n. İştib	unid.	8, 1 H. with ç. (M.)	---
Berkoviçe	k. Berkofça	prob. W. Bakan range	18*	---
Beyliler ³³¹	k. Samokov	prob. Rila	22*	1
Boğanlı	n. İştib	unid.	3 H.#	---
Bulamaçlı ³³² Bulamaççı	n. Doyran Gölü k. Ustrumca	unid.	2, 4 H. 1*	---
Cafer Fakih	k. Tatarpazarı	Sredna Gora; prob. Vitosh ³³³	27*	1 m.s.

329 The later Yürük village of Bazarlı/Pazarlı, Dojran district, in the Republic of North Macedonia, see Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 34; Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 463.

330 The later Yürük village of Bekerli/Bekerlija, see Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 34; Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 532.

331 Most probably Mahmud Bey, in the large *mezraa* of Çamçığaz (also known as Hacı Alagöz) on the common land of the present-day village of Borika, in the district of Ihtiman, west of the Iskar Dam. Fifteen Yürük groups and villages near five Christian villages were registered here at the end of the 16th century. All of them were part of the vakıf at the zaviye of Mahmud Bey, son of Mihal from Samokov, see Genç, *XVI Yüzyıl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri 'nde Sofya Kazası*, 652–655.

332 Connected to the name of the village of Bulamaçlı in the kaza of Dojran. In the late 19th century this was a Christian Bulgarian settlement with some Gypsies, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 463.

333 According to the 1576 *celepkeşan defter*, members of this group had previously been registered in the kaza of Sofia. Four cemaats from the area of Panagyurishte – Caferli, Doğanlı, Okçulu and Uruşlı – later formed the mahalles (hamlets) known collectively as Yürükler/Yurutsite. They are mentioned in a register for sheep tithe dating from 1848. After the mahalles were burned down in 1877, their inhabitants formed the village of Yürüklü, present-day Borimechkovo. In the 1870s–90s they were a sedentary population engaged in agriculture and stockbreeding, but they had preserved their Yürük identity. In the 1850s they still remembered that their summer pastures had been on Mount Vitosh. For this representative case of one of the last Yürük groups in Bulgaria, see Кендерева, С. “Османски регистър за десетъка от овцете в Пазарджишко

Caferli and Mişlu	n. İştib	unid.	20 M., 1 Im. 2 H. with ç.	---
C. at İlâslu ³³⁴	n. Karacadağ	prob. Sarnena Gora	6*	---
C. at Kul Pınarı	k. Filibe ³³⁵	Sredna Gora	4 b.*	---
C. at the tekke of Yürük İsa	k. Filibe	unid.	7 b.*	---
C. at Çomlek ³³⁶	n. Koyun Tepesi	prob. Sredna Gora	1*	---
C. of the subaşı Cafer	k. Ustrumca	Plačkovica (1Cmp.)	---	---
"Cemaats Oburlar"	around Doyran	unid.	---	---
Çalıklu	k. Ustrumca	Plačkovica (1Cmp.)	---	---
Çaluk Mustafa Oğulları	n. Boymiyе	unid.	6 H.	---
Çanaklar ³³⁷	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Çavuş Fakih ³³⁸	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	3 H., 9 M. H.	2
Çililer	k. Samokov	prob. Rila	11*	---
Davud Oğulları	n. Ustrumca	unid.	2, 1 M. (H.)	---

през средата на XIX в.," Родопи 1 (1977): 17; Захариев, С. *Географико-Историко-Статистическо описание на Татар-Пазарджишката кааза* (Виена: Печатница на Л. Соммер и С-ие, 1870), 38; Стоянов, З. *Записки по българските възстания* (София: "Казанлъшка долина", 1940), 421–423; Михов, Н. *Населението на Турция и България през XVIII и XIX век*. Библиографски изследвания със статистични и етнографски данни (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1929), vol. III, 94 (Report of W. Bering on the April 1876 Uprising in Bulgaria); Иречек, Пътувания по България, 402; Карапетров, П. Материяли за описание града Панагюрище и околните му села (Средец: Либерален клуб, 1893), 108–109, 131, 133; Батаклиев, Пазарджик и Пазарджишко, 98–110, 139, 582–588, 613.

334 Unspecified.

335 Between Hisarya and Karlovo. At the vakif of Şahabeddin Paşa, nahiye of Göpsa/Stryama, see Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar–Mülkler–Mukatalar*, 260.

336 Present-day Starosel, Plovdiv district.

337 Most probably connected to the present-day Yürük village of Čanaklija, Strumica district, in the Republic of North Macedonia.

338 The present-day Yürük village of Čaušli, Dojran district, in the Republic of

Delirciler	n. İştib	unid.	6 M., 1 H., 2ç.	1 m.s.
Demi Ali	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Dervişlu ³³⁹	k. Samokov	prob. Rila	6*	1
Diarli	n. İştib	unid.	20 H.#	---
Divane Salih	n. Ustrumca	unid.	5 H., 1 M. H., 1 M. with ç.	---
Doncu	n. Dupnice	prob. Rila	4	---
Doymuşlar	n. İştib	unid.	3M	---
Dramalı	n. Karacadağ	Sarnena Gora	3*	---
Durak Oğulları	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	10 H.	1 H.
Ecelj ³⁴⁰	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	6 H.	---
Emirli	n. Tikveş	unid.	16 H.#	---
Emirşah Murat	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	---	---
Enler	k. Ilıca	Osogovo(1Cmp.)	2#	---
Erekler ³⁴¹	n. İştib	unid.	4 M.	---
Eyerceji ³⁴²	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	13 H.	---
Eyne Bey	n. Tikveş	unid.	4, 2 Y., 10 H., 1 H. with ç., 1 r., 1 Im.	---
Eyne Hocalı	n. Boymıye	unid.	16 H.	1 H.
Eyneceli ³⁴³	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	12 H.	---

North Macedonia.

339 In the mezraa of Çamurlu. It was on the common land of the eponymous village (present-day Shishmanovo, Samokov district), known from the battle in which Prince Musa was finally defeated in 1413. At the time of Süleyman I it was a sultanic mülk in which there were several Yürük groups: Derelü, Nasuh Fakih, Gazilü, Ahmedlü and Burhan Fakih, see Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Liyası Vakıflar–Mülkler–Mukatalar*, 501.

340 Later on it formed a village, see Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 34.

341 Possibly connected to the village of Arakli, Radoviš district, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 534.

342 Probably connected to the later village of Erdželi, Dojran district, *ibid.*, 463.

343 Later on it formed a village, see see Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 34.

Eyub Veli	n. Karacadağ	Sarnena Gora	5*	---
Fenali	n. Ustrumca	unid.	5 H.#	---
Gökçe Oğulları ³⁴⁴	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	3 H.#	---
Gölmenli ³⁴⁵	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	7 H.	---
Hacı Ali	k. Samokov	prob. Rila	2*	---
Hacı Ali Hacı Ali	n. Ustrumca	unid.	6 H. +13 M. H.	1 Y. H.
Hacı Beyli	n. İştib	unid.	32#	---
Hacı Halil ³⁴⁶	n. Koyun Tepesi	prob. Sredna Gora	1*	---
Hacı Halil	n. İştib	unid.	9 M., 2 H.	---
Hacı Hamzalı ³⁴⁷	n. İştib	unid.	21 M.	1 Y.
Hacı Hamzali	k. Ilica	Osogovo (1 Cmp.)	13#	---
Hacı Hasan	n. Dupnice	Rila	13	---
Hacı Hasan	k. Filibe ³⁴⁸	Sredna Gora	---	---
Hacı Obası Dikenler mahalle	n. İştib	unid.	10, 2 M. +5 M., 28 r.	9 r.
Hacı Oğulları ³⁴⁹	n. Ustrumca	Plačkovica (1 Cmp.)	5 H.#	---
Hacı Saylı	n. İştib	unid.	6H.#	---
Hacı Seydi ³⁵⁰	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Hacı Yolcular	n. İştib	unid.	---	---

344 Connected to the present-day Yürük village of Gopçeli/Gökçeli, Dojran district, in the Republic of North Macedonia. In the late 19th century there was also a village called Gökçeli İzir, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 462, 464.

345 The Yürük village of Gölmenli, Valandovo district, in the Republic of North Macedonia, see Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 36; Недков, “Јуручките населби и население во Источна Македонија,” 85.

346 Near the village of Altunci, present-day Zlatitrap, Plovdiv district.

347 In the late 19th century there was a village called Adzamzaltsi in the kaza of Štip, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 531.

348 Between Hisarya and Karlovo.

349 Most probably the later village of Adzhi Oğillar, Dojran district, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 463.

350 Connected to the eponymous village in the district of Tikveš, see Радовановић,

<u>Haçı Yusuf</u> ³⁵¹ Haçı Yusuf	n. İştib n. Boymiye	unid.	10 M. +9 H.	1 H.
Haçlı	k. Filibe ³⁵²	Sredna Gora	---	---
Hadır Fakih	n. Karacadağ	prob. Sarnena Gora	4*	---
Hasan	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
<u>Hasan Fakih</u> ³⁵³ Ahmedlu	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	23 H. (M.) +5H.	---
Hasan Obası	n. Dupnice	Mt. Konyavska Planina	---	---
Hasan Oğulları	n. Boymiye	unid.	4 H.	---
Hasan Oğulları	n. Ustrumca	unid.	7 H.# ³⁵⁴	---
Hasuh	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Hızırlı	n. Ustrumca	unid.	5, 2 M.	---
Hızır Oğulları	n. Boymiye	unid.	2 H.	---
Hızır Oğulları	n. Boymiye	unid.	4 H.	---
Hoca Oğulları	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	---	---
Hudaverdi ³⁵⁵	n. Ustrumca	unid.	7 H.	---
İdrislu	n. Ustrumca	prob. Belasitsa	---	---
İlâs Oğulları	n. Boymiye	unid.	4 H.	1 H.
<u>İncelu</u> Tursanlu	k. Tatarpazarı	prob. Vitosha ³⁵⁶	5*	---

Тиквеш и Рајец, 197, 484.

351 Connected to the later village of Haçı Yusufli in the kaza of Štip, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 531.

352 At the vakıf of Şahabedin Paşa. Most probably the present-day village of Yunatsite, Pazardzhik district, see Кендерова, С. “Османски регистър за десетъка от овцете в Пазарджишко през средата на XIX в.,” 17.

353 Probably the later village of Asanlı/Hasanlı, Dojran district. In the late 19th century it had a population of 100 Muslims and 65 Christians, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 463.

354 Calculated on the basis of a resm-i duhan rate of five akçes per nomadic household.

355 The present-day village of Hudaverlija, Radoviš district, in the Republic of North Macedonia.

356 Similar to Ala Sofiler and Cafer Fakih, according to the registrar’s note.

İshak Obası	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
İskender Oğulları and Gökçeli	n. Boymiye	unid.	2 H.#	---
İzedinli	k. Samokov	prob. Rila	5*	---
Kabil Oğlu	n. Ustrumca	unid.	4 H.	---
Kara İläşlu ³⁵⁷	k. Ustrumca	unid.	1*	---
<u>Karaca Ali</u> ³⁵⁸ Karaca Ali	n. İştib	unid.	15M. +10 r., 1 İm., 3 Yür., 7 M., 2 H.	1 H.
Karacalar ³⁵⁹	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	7#	---
Karagözlü	k. Samokov	prob. Rila	3*	---
Karagözlü	k. Ustrumca	unid.	1*	---
Kara Hoca ³⁶⁰	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Kara Hoca Oğul- ları ³⁶¹	n. Tikveş	unid.	4, 1 İm.	---
Kara Kadılar ³⁶²	k. Filibe	Sredna Gora	---	---
<u>Kara Memi</u> and Halil	n. Tikveş	unid.	8 H.#	---
Kara Nasuh	k. Ustrumca	Plačkovica	---	---
Kara Osmanlar	n. Karacadağ	prob. Sarnena Gora	2*	---
Kara Yakub	k. Ustrumca	unid.	2*	---

357 Most probably connected to the later village of Kara Alasli, Dojran district, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 462.

358 Connected to the name of the Yürük village of Karadžalar, Radoviš district, see Недков, “Јуручките населби и население во Источна Македонија,” 85; Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 532.

359 The later village of Karadžali, Dojran district.

360 Most probably this was the group that formed the later village of Kara Ocali, Štip district, *ibid.*, 531.

361 Connected to the village of Kara Hocali, Tikveš district, see Радовановић, *Тиквеш и Рајец*, 484, 488.

362 Between Hisarya and Karlovo. Naldöken Yürüks at the vakıf of Şahabeddin Paşa, see Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar–Mülkler–Mukatalar*, 260.

Kara Yardımlı	k. Ustrumca	unid.	2 H.#	---
<u>Karalar</u> ³⁶³ Karalar Dorful ³⁶⁴ Dorful Obası Çaşarlar Evrenos Oğulları	n. İştib n. Ustrumca	unid.	1, 2 H. 17 M., 1 H. b. +9 M. +13 M., 1 H., 1 Im.	1 m.s. 1 r., b.
Karamanlı	n. İştib	unid.	25 H.#	---
<u>Kartal</u> ³⁶⁵ Karalar ³⁶⁶	k. Tatarpazarı	unid.	8*	---
Kızıl Doğanciler ³⁶⁷	n. Boymiye	unid.	19 H.	---
Kızılcelu	k. Tatarpazarı	unid.	2*	1
Kırılcalı	k. Samokov	prob. Rila	3*	---
Köseler ³⁶⁸	n. İştib	unid.	11 M.	1 Y.
Köselu	k. Ustrumca	Plačkovica (1 Cmp.)	---	---

363 Probably connected to the present-day Yürük village of Karalobasi, Štip district, in the Republic of North Macedonia.

364 Connected to the eponymous village in the Ovče Pole area, see Трифуноски, J. “О Турцима у Овчеполској котлини,” *Етнологишки преглед* 3 (1961): 131.

365 The Karatepe area above the village of Karamusal/Vinogradets, Pazardzhik district. The Yürük villages of Sungurlu and İneler were also located here, see Кендерова, С. “Османски регистър за деветъга от овците в Пазарджишко през средата на XIX в.,” 17; Батаклиев, *Пазарджик и Пазарджишко*, 613.

366 Connected to the Yürük (later inhabited also by Christian Bulgarians) village of Karaağalar/Karağlare/Dolno Levski, Pazardzhik district. It used to be near another Yürük village, Cumsalı/Sbor, see Кендерова, С. “Османски регистър за деветъга от овците в Пазарджишко през средата на XIX в.,” 16; Батаклиев, *Пазарджик и Пазарджишко*, 472, 550.

367 Connected to the present-day Yürük village of Kazandol, Dojran district, in the Republic of North Macedonia, see Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 34.

368 The later Yürük village of Köseli, Radoviš district, in the Republic of North Macedonia. In Vassil Kanchov’s statistics it appears as the village of Köseleri, whose population was made up of 210 Muslims and 20 Christians, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 532.

Kulagozlu ³⁶⁹ Kulagozlu Kara Musalı	n. Ustrumca k. Ustrumca	unid. Plačkovica	8 H.# ---	--- ---
Mahmudlar	n. Karacadağ, near v. Balcılar ³⁷⁰	Sarnena Gora	1*	---
Mahmudlu	k. Ilica	Osogovo (1 Cmp.)	5	---
Makbulu	unid. ³⁷¹	unid.	1*	---
Mehmed Oğulları	n. Ustrumca	unid.	8	---
Menla ³⁷²	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Mirca	k. Ustrumca	unid.	1*	---
Mist-i Kebir	n. Karacadağ	prob. Sarnena Gora	1*	---
Mukabili ³⁷³	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	7 H.	---
Murcalı	n. Boymiyе	unid.	2 H.	---
Musacılı	k. Samokov	prob. Rila	5*	1
Mustafa Obası	n. Ilica	Osogovo (1 Cmp.)	1#	---
Mustafa Oğulları	n. Boymiyе	unid.	3 H.	---
Nasuh Obası	n. Ustrumca	unid.	9 H.#	---
Oruç ³⁷⁴	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Ömer Obası	n. Dupnice	prob. Konyavs- ka mountain	---	---

369 Connected to the present-day Yürük village of Kalauzlija, Štip district, in the Republic of North Macedonia.

370 Connected to the present-day Yürük village of Kalauzlija, Štip district, in the Republic of North Macedonia. 370 The present-day village of Medovo, between the Chirpan hills and Sarnena Gora. In the last quarter of the 17th century Yürüks had winter pastures in the environs of the village. See Андреев, Ст. & Е. Грозданова. “Българските и съседните им земи според “Книгата на жалбите” от 1675 г.,” *Известия на Народната библиотека* “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, XXII, 28 (1994): 210.

371 Mentioned in connection with the Yürük cemaat at İlâslu, kaza of Filibe.

372 Most probably the later Yürük settlement of Molla, Štip district, see Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 34.

373 Later on it formed a village, *ibid.*, 36

374 Later on it formed a village, *ibid.*, 34.

Piri Hoca	n. Boymiye	unid.	6 H.	1 H.
Recep ³⁷⁵	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Receplu	n. Karacadağ	prob. Sarnena Gora	3*	---
Reis Obası	n. Karacadağ, prob. near v. Glav- atar ³⁷⁶	Sarnena Gora	3*	1
<u>Saltuklu</u> Ali Hoca Saltuklar Hacı Piri Yusuf Saltuklu	n. İştib n. Ustrumca	Plačkovica (2 Cmp.) Rila (1 Cmp.)	46 H.# 4+5#	---
Sarı Gölü ³⁷⁷	k. Selânik	Kamenica ³⁷⁸ (1 Cmp.)	---	---
<u>Serçi</u> İdriz Hoca Serçi Süleyman Fakih Hacı Oğulları "Selânik Yür."	n. Petriç, Boymiye, Dupnice, Ustrumca k. Vranja	Plačkovica Rila Belasitsa Vardenik (1 Cmp.)	76 (H., M.) 3 H. 17#	---
Seydi Fakih ³⁷⁹	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Sınır Kesen	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	6 H.	---
Suheyli	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	10 H.	---
<u>Sungur</u> Kara Oğulları Sungurlu	n. Doyran Gölü k. Ustrumca	unid. unid.	4 H.# ³⁸⁰ 1*	---
Suratlar	unid.	Osogovo (3 Cmp.)	17+18+14	---

375 Connected to the later village of Recepli/Hacı Recepli, kaza of Štip, see Кънчов, Македонија. Етнографија и статистика, 531.

376 In the valley of the river Stryama.

377 Connected to the present-day Yürük village of Sarigol, Radoviš district, in the Republic of North Macedonia.

378 Between the Plačkovica and Maleševo mountains.

379 Later on it formed a village. In Vassil Kanchov's statistics this is the village of Seydeli, Štip district, see *ibid.*, 531.

380 Calculated from the amount of paid *resm-i duhan*, which in this defter is often five instead of six akçes per nomadic household.

Süleyman	n. Boymiyе	unid.	5 H.	---
Süleyman Oğulları	n. Ustrumca	unid.	1 H., 2 M. H.	---
Şeyh Oğulları ³⁸¹	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Tarakçili	n. Boymiyе	unid.	3	---
<u>Tatarli</u> ³⁸² Tatar Oğulları	n. Boymiyе	unid.	3 H. +3H.	---
Terzi Hasan	k. Ustrumca	Plačkovica(1 Cmp.)	---	---
Timarli	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Timurli	n. İştib	unid.	7M.	---
<u>Toguşlar</u> Toguşlar Bekirli	n. İştib	unid.	21 M., +1, 1 Im. +17M., 1 Im.	1 Y. 1 Y.
Tokatlı	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Topranlu	k. Samokov	prob. Rila	6*	---
Turasiler	n. İştib	unid.	3 M.	---
Turgut Ali and Hacı Turhanli	n. İştib	unid.	12#	---
Turgutlu ³⁸³	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	8 H.	---
Turhanli	n. İştib	unid.	26 M., 2 r.	2 Y., 1 Eş., 1 r.
Tursanli	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	13 H.	---
Turşahi	n. Ustrumca	unid.	---	---
Umur ³⁸⁴	n. İştib	unid.	---	---
Umurcali	n. Karacadağ	prob. Sarnena Gora	5*	---
Urumlur	k. Samokov	prob. Rila	1*	---

381 The present-day Yürük village of Šeoba (Şeyh Oba), between Negotino and Štip, in the Republic of North Macedonia.

382 Connected to the present-day Yürük village of Tatarli, Dojran district, in the Republic of North Macedonia.

383 Later on it formed a village of the same name, see Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 34.

384 Later on it formed a village of the same name, see Стојановски, “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” 34.

Urumlu	k. Tatarpazarı	unid.	8*	---
Usluca Kasım ³⁸⁵ and Döker Veli	n. İştib	unid.	13	---
Uveys ³⁸⁶	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	---	---
Uzuncalu	k. Ustrumca	Plačkovica (1 Cmp.)	---	---
Yağmurlu	k. Kratovo	Osogovo (1 Cmp.)	2#	---
<u>Yunçal</u> Dokuz Deresi	n. Karacadağ	Sarnena Gora	4*	---
Yunus Derviş ³⁸⁷	n. Doyran Gölü	unid.	9 H.	---
Yurgancılı ³⁸⁸	n. Tikveş	unid.	14 H.#	---
Yür. at Demirkapı ³⁸⁹	n. Tikveş	unid.	---	---
Yür. C. at v. Kladince ³⁹⁰	k. Sofya	Vitoshka	3 H.	---
Yusuf	n. Ustrumca	unid.	10 H.	1 H.

Among nomadic and sedentary Yürüks alike, war and Ottoman interests were not necessarily the only reasons for the integration of “new Muslims.” Some local non-Muslims could have adopted Islam as hired servants (shepherds) of the Yürüks or as their partners – shepherds and *celepkeşans*. The Vlachs and Karakachans sometimes hired people from the surrounding sedentary population to do certain jobs such as pasturing, making cheese, or keeping watch on their huts when they left them in winter.³⁹¹ Some records from the

385 Later on it formed a village, *ibid.*, 34.

386 Possibly connected to the name of the village of Veyseli, kaza of Doyran, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 462.

387 Possibly connected to the village of Dervişli, Dojran district, see Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 463.

388 Possibly connected to the present-day Yürük village of Organdžali, Dojran district, in the Republic of North Macedonia.

389 Probably the later Yürük villages of Čelevec, Košarka and Iberli, see Радовановић, *Тиквеш и Рајец*, 497–498.

390 Present-day Kladnitsa, Sofia district.

391 Топузов, И. “Материали за историјата на кашкавала в Българија,” *Известия*

16th–19th centuries clearly show that the Yürüks were no exception. For example, in 1570s some members of the evidently quite large nomadic cemaats of Ala Sofiler and Cafer Fakih were registered in two kazas, those of Tatar Pazarcık and Sofya/Sofia, because their winter pastures were in Upper Thrace, and their summer pastures in the Vitosha and Sredna Gora mountains. They tried to evade paying taxes on part of their flocks, sending them away with their servants. They then claimed that the shepherds had died or run away, and that their sheep were lost.³⁹² Among the recorded celepkeşans from the cemaat of Aydın, in the kaza of Dupnice/Dupnitsa, we find a Christian – one Penço Tseno from the village of Lisiya, Blagoevgrad district.³⁹³ A *hüccet* (judicial record) of the *kadı* of Salonica dating from 1562 reports that the *çobans* (shepherds) Rahman, Ahmed, Abdi and Yovan (!) from the cemaat of Kelef (Kelefli) were handed over to the *voivoda* (here – local governer) Yunus.³⁹⁴ A case of Christians and Muslims (who were almost certainly Yürüks) raising sheep together is recorded in the register of *yaylaks* (mountain summer pastures) in the sancak of Kyustendil from 1570: “Sheepfold of Timur, son of Bali, Sefer, son of Hasan, Bogdan, reaya, and Stoyan Bogdan, in the yaylak of Turtel, within the nahiye of İştîp” (in the Plačkovica mountain).³⁹⁵ In 1675 we find a complaint from one Stoyan, a non-Muslim from the village of Çiracı (Borovo, Stara Zagora district), about four Yürük brothers. The complainant claims that they had hired him as a shepherd but had not paid him for his work, and that Muslims from the same village had taken 100 sheep from his flock.³⁹⁶ Towards the end of the 17th century, the sheep tax

на Института за животновъдство IX (1958): 385; Пимпирева, Ж. *Каракачаните в България* (София: Международен център по проблемите на малцинствата и културните взаимодействия, 1998), 34; Weuertmann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 156.

392 Celepkeşan defter of 1576, in *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, 81–82.

393 Ibid., 185.

394 Бошков, “Јуруците и светогорските манастири,” 64.

395 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 147.

396 Андреев, Ст. & Е. Грозданова. “Българските и съседните им земи според

collected from Yürüks from the Evlâd-i Fâtihân military formation was extended to some groups of non-Muslims.³⁹⁷, while Bulgarians hired as shepherds by a Muslim from the Demirhisar area (most probably a Yürük) are mentioned in the Rila mountains in 1859.³⁹⁸

The syncretic character of pre-Islamic Turkic or other beliefs, common superstitions and customs, which were part of the Yürük tradition, was probably another factor for the adoption of Islam. Some of the “new Muslims” remained settled in or near the Yürük summer and winter pastures, as well as in the mixed villages. Others, particularly those who were younger, were forced or chose to adopt not only Islam but also the nomadic way of life. Their descendants fully embraced the Yürük identity and way of life, and they were incorporated into the respective families and cemaats (clans). It is unlikely, though, that this was a mass phenomenon in the nomadic environment. Even if we were to presume that domestic slavery was widespread, the assimilation it entailed did not lead to the loss of the Yürüks’ cultural identity and could have hardly changed their tradition substantially.

In other cases, not just in Dobrudzha, assimilation into the settled population led to the loss of Yürük identity. Upon final sedentarization and “agrarization,” the endogamous barriers became more porous and mutual assimilation spread to “new Muslims” in mixed villages. The Yürüks adopted the local agricultural practices, terminology, vocabulary, elements of dress, some customs, and so on. In some regions and places, this could have led to the loss of their Yürük identity, while in a number of regions or local cases, sedentarization in itself did not lead to this result in the long term.

With all due reservations about his social prejudices, cultural stereotypes and genre clichés, it is worth quoting Evliya Çelebi, who says the following about “Çıtak Yürüks” in the area of Çarşamba-Pazarı (the Sarigöl valley and the town of Cuma Pazarı/Amigdalina in Southwestern Macedonia):

“Книгата на жалбите” от 1675 г.,” 204.

397 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 172, 258, 270–271.

398 See Chapter Four, I.

This is the province of the Yürüks. This tribe has a separate, specific language. Notes on the language of the tribe of Çıtak Yürüks, which seized the land of the Greek tribe: The forefathers of this tribe, which is not averse to drunkenness, were brought by Süleyman, son of Orhan Gazi, from among the Türkmen tribe from Anatolia. When they settled in this province, they struck up a friendship and mixed with the Bulgarian and Greek infidels, and now they speak a separate language with a peculiar accent.³⁹⁹

We must accept that the Yürük corps and the Yürük community itself were part of the complex and long-term factors which contributed to the spread of Islam in the Balkans. However, “ethnic purity” cannot be a starting point in the study of any community, not even in the study of the predominantly endogamous nomads, and the search for strictly quantitative data may sometimes be misleading in the context of cultural identities.

3. Numbers

It is difficult to make even a rough estimate of the total number of Yürüks on the Balkan peninsula. The relatively most reliable basis for calculating their number is found in the separate registers for the Yürük corps in the 16th century. The main problem here is the absence of *defters* for certain years and periods, especially for the Salonica and Ovče Pole formations. If the information from *tahrir defters* (tax registers) for a particular area is taken as a basis, as Metodi Sokoloski has done for Macedonia, the final figures are quite approximate, too. Sokoloski groups 6,866 persons recorded as Yürüks in Macedonia (in 19 districts) in 1569/70. Included in this number, however, are not just the members of the military organization but also quite a few “free” nomads and other individuals recorded as “Yürük.” In 1543 the known *ocaks* in Southeastern, Western and Southwestern Macedonia numbered 235, or 5,875 persons, excluding part of the

399 Cited from Евлия Челеби, *Пътенис*, ed. and translated by С. Димитров (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1972), 227–228; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyyahat Name*, vol. 8, 106.

Ovče Pole ocaks, of which 88 (or another 2,200 persons) were within the boundaries of this geographical region in 1566. Considering the number of ocaks and calculated in this way, Yürük auxiliaries in Macedonia alone in the 1540s–60s should have numbered 8,075, excluding the müsellems, akıncıs, Yürük reaya, part of the nomads, and others.⁴⁰⁰ If we compare, for example, the above-mentioned statistical data on the Salonica and Ovče Pole formations, on the one side, from their own registers (for 1543 and 1566 respectively), and, on the other, from the general registrations (from 1560/70), we will immediately find significant discrepancies in the numbers for quite a few places. In the general registrations, a significant part of the sedentary Yürüks cannot be distinguished from the ordinary Muslim reaya, auxiliaries (müsellem, akıncı, canbaz), rice-growers, and so on. Apart from the separate defters for the Yürük sancaks, the eşkincıs and yamaks from the respective groups were not always recorded.⁴⁰¹ In the Yürük defters themselves, sometimes there is no information about the yamaks of the Yürük sancakbeys and çeribaşıs/seraskers, and so on.

The nomads – individual households or groups – are often indicated with very approximate numbers above all in their wintering areas (*kışlak*). In this case as well as in other surveys – for example, in *celepkeşan* and *yaylak* registrations – many groups are mentioned only with their group names or the names of some of their members; their size is not indicated, nor can it be established from data on taxes and other dues. A significant part of the nomadic Yürüks (*serbest haymane*) were formally outside the military organization throughout the 16th century; some groups had members enrolled as eşkinci and yamak and were known as a reserve for the ocaks. Another part of the nomads, who were not subject to mobilization, occasionally paid *resm-i haymanegân* to the Yürük sancakbeys, but even their number

400 Соколоски, “За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија,” 95–96, and appended table.

401 This also holds for the *celepkeşan* defters. In the defter of 1576 there is only a single case in which an individual is explicitly recorded as belonging to the corps: a Yürük from the village of Sarıgölü (Blatnitsa, Pazardzhik district), from the *cemaat* (in this case– Yürük sancak) of Ovče Pole, see *Турски извори за българската историја*, vol. III, 68.

is difficult to estimate. Similarly to the one levied on yamaks, the rate of this tax varied in the range of 18/22/25/40/50 akçes, and the records usually show the total amount as part of the revenues (zeamet) of the respective Yürük sancakbey but not the number of adults from which it was collected.⁴⁰² As a whole, establishing a correlation between the different kinds of registrations, the different momentary or local pictures, is extremely difficult even for the 16th century, the period best covered by the extant sources.

Different accounts of mobilizations, as well as treatises by Ottoman and other authors, coincide with or differ from the numbers recorded in the Yürük defters. For instance, a sultanic order of December 16, 1565 sets the number of Tanrıdağ and Kocacık ocaks at 323 and 135 respectively, along with 126 ocaks of “Yambol Tatar Yürüks,” 105 of Vize Yürüks (misread by Aleksandar Matkovski as Vidin Yürüks), 193 ocaks of Naldöken Yürüks⁴⁰³ (according to Matkovski, Debar Yürüks, plus 21 ocaks of Tatars and 39 of *canbaz* auxiliaries), and another 353 ocaks of canbaz and 155 of Gypsies from the area of Kırkkliše.⁴⁰⁴

Some additional Ottoman data give us an idea of the total numbers of the Yürük auxiliary corps. Comparing it with other copies from the 17th century, Ahmed Akgündüz arrives at the conclusion that the *kanunname* (lawbook) of Sofyalı Ali Çauş from the mid-17th century is a copy of a lawbook from the time of Süleyman I (1520–1566). According to it, the total number of Yürük ocaks in Rumelia was 1,464. At the beginning of the 17th century, Ayni Ali notes that the Salonica Yürüks numbered 400 ocaks. The same figure is found in Evliya Çelebi who, according to Ahmed Akgündüz, had

402 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 53–59, 72, 76, 80, 87, 93.

403 A total of 216 ocaks according to a defter for the Naldöken group from the same year, 1565, see Altunan, “XVI. Yüzyılda Balkanlar’da Naldöken Yürükleri,” 25.

404 Matkovski, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” 236–237. The same order – to the subaşı of “Yambol Tatar Yürüks,” that is, to Kocacık Yürüks – is cited by Ahmed Refik, thus correcting errors/misreadings. According to this order, the ocaks of Vize Yürüks numbered 105, and of Naldöken Yürüks 193, see Refik, *Anadolu’da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 7, p. 4.

probably taken it from the aforementioned Ottoman author.⁴⁰⁵ In a sultanic order of 1580 the number of Tanrıdağ ocaks is set at 419.⁴⁰⁶ At the beginning of the 17th century, Ayni Ali points out the following numbers of Yürük ocaks in Rumelia: 88 Ovçe Pole, 323 Tanrıdağ, 400 Salonica, 168 Kocacık, and 314 Naldöken.⁴⁰⁷ This adds up to a total of 1,293 ocaks, excluding the Vize Yürüks whom Ayni Ali most probably merged with the Vize müsellems (170 ocaks). Ömer Avni (in 1642) notes 1,290 ocaks, pointing out that there may have been some confusion with the ocaks of the müsellems, which numbered 1,019 (Kızılca, Çirmen, Gypsy, and Vize ocaks). The müsellems and Yürük ocaks numbered 2,390 in all.⁴⁰⁸

In his typical manner, Evliya Çelebi, writing about the 1650s and 1660s, notes in one place that the “Yürük askeri” (that is, the *eşkinici*) from Rumelia numbered 9,000 persons, and in another, 6,000 Yürük *cebelü eşkinici* (cavalrymen) and an artillery baggage train made up entirely of Salonica Yürüks; in addition to them, there were another “12,000 Yürük *eşkinici* and Çıtak askeri (soldiers).” According to Paul Ricaut (1668), the militarized Yürüks in Rumelia were 1,294 “families” (that is, ocaks, because Ricaut draws on Ottoman authors of the 17th century).⁴⁰⁹ According to the *risâle* (critical treatise) of Koçi Bey, an advisor to sultan Murad IV (1623–1640), in Rumelia in earlier times there were 40,000 Yürük auxiliaries. The Yürüks and müsellems – *eşkinici* who went to war numbered 5000–6000 in all.⁴¹⁰

405 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. IV, 456; *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 210; Evliya Çelebi, *Sevyahat Name*, vol. 8, 77.

406 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 86, p. 45.

407 In *defters* of 1601 and 1608, the number of Naldöken ocaks is 241 and 114 respectively, see Altunan, “XVI. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Naldöken Yürükleri,” 25.

408 *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 107, 236 (In the Bulgarian translation those numbers are given as 1,219, 1,019 and 2,309 respectively); Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. IV, 419.

409 Рико, П. *Сегашното състояние на Османската империя и на гръцката църква*. Transl. М. Киселинчева (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1988), 158; Evliya Çelebi, *Sevyahat Name*, vol. 3–4, p. 305; vol. 8, p. 77.

410 Смирнов, В. Д. *Кучибей Гёмурджинский и другие османские писатели XVII века о причинах упадка Турции* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография В.

Hence, the statistical data found in the Yürük defters remain the most reliable basis for an estimate of the demographic potential of the Yürük corps, but not of the nomads outside of ocaks. The first total figure calculated by Ömer Lütfi Barkan is based on *tahrir defters* (periodic cadastral surveys) of the 1520s and 1530s. According to Barkan, a total of 37,435 Yürük households (*hane*) were registered in the Balkans at that time, out of which 23,000 were members of the military organization.⁴¹¹ This is equal to about 17.7% of the total number of Muslims or to approximately 3.6% of the total population of the Balkans (excluding 12,105 households of müsellems, part of whom were of Yürük origin).⁴¹² Speros Vryonis Jr. assumes that those figures directly indicate the number of colonized Turkic-speaking nomads, but this is a proposition we cannot accept, considering the processes of sedentarization and concurrent Islamization at least from the mid-15th century onwards, as well as the continuing migrations from Asia Minor and the Tatar steppes in the 16th century.⁴¹³

The most systematic calculations have been made recently by Mehmet İnbaşı. He starts from Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin's tables, but introduces some corrections based on hitherto unused Yürük defters dating from the period between 1543/4 and 1675. At that, he meticulously takes into account various overlaps and discrepancies in the sources regarding the recording or non-recording of the yamaks of Yürük sancakbeys and çeribaşıs, the variations in the number of Yürüks in each ocaq, the gaps in the sources, and so on.⁴¹⁴ Below we reproduce just one of the tables from Mehmet İnbaşı's study, which shows the established number of Yürük ocaks:⁴¹⁵

Демакова, 1873), 92–93.

411 Bakan, "Sürgünler" (1953–1954): 236.

412 Ibid. The total number of registered households (*hane*) is 1,031,799, out of which 194,958 Muslim, 832,707 Christian, and 4,134 Jewish.

413 Vryonis, Sp. "Religious Changes and Patterns in the Balkans, 14th–16th Centuries," in *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina*, X, 164–165, 172.

414 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 56–57, 64, 70–78, 81, 84–86, 92–95; İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544–1675)*, 45–95.

415 İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544–1675)*, 94.

TABLE 4

OCAKS OF THE YÜRÜK SANCAKS

Year	Naldöken	Tanrıdağı	Vize	Ofçabolı	Kocacık	Selânik	Total
1544	196	328	105	94	132	402	1,257
1557	---	---	107	---	---	---	107
1566	216	---	---	97	---	---	313
1574	231	---	---	---	---	---	231
1584/5	243	423	---	---	182	---	848
1591	---	426	---	---	---	---	426
1597	243	---	---	---	---	---	243
1602	233	---	---	---	---	---	233
1609	110	---	53	---	---	---	163
1637	---	---	---	---	65	---	65
1641/2	---	141	30	---	18	---	189
1649	69	---	---	---	---	---	69
1669	---	96	---	---	---	---	96
1675	69	144	32	18	18	162	443

On more or less the same basis, different calculations have been made about the number of Yürüks in the Balkans in the 16th century. Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin assumes that the number of Naldöken and Tanrıdağ Yürüks alone added up to 50,000 and 100,000 respectively, along with some groups of nomads who were not included in ocaks (*serbest haymane*).⁴¹⁶ In the same way, Dmitriy Eremeev

416 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 55, 71. According to Sema Altunan's calculations, the number of heads of households (*hane*) and of unmarried men (*mücerred*) from the Naldöken group varied as follows: 21,060 + 1,053 in the year 1543 (total 22,113); 27,160 + 1,358 (28,518) in 1565; 38,100 +

estimates that there were 250,000 Yürüks in the Balkans, out of which 230,000 were members of the military organization, together with their families, and between 20,000 and 70,000 were nomads not included in ocaks.⁴¹⁷ Starting from 1,353 ocaks (by adding to the 1,262 ocaks of the five groups whose size in 1543 was known to him, and another 97 from the Ovče Pole group in 1566), Strashimir Dimitrov has calculated that the total number of Yürüks in the 16th century was between 101,000 and 134,000 persons, corresponding to 33,825 adult males.⁴¹⁸ He assumes that there was one woman and at least one or two children for each adult male, while taking into account the circumstance that not all adult eşkincis and yamaks were married. According to Mehmet İnbaşı's quite precise calculations, it turns out that a total 30,405 Yürüks (sancakbey with yamaks, çeribaşıs with yamaks [including those outside of the ocaks], eşkincis and yamaks in the ocaks) were registered in 1543. There is only one other year, 1675, for which there are records for all groups. A total of 4,055 *nefer* (soldiers) were registered in 1675. Meanwhile, judging not just from the extant evidence about the Naldöken, Tanrıdağ and Kocacık groups but also from other sources, the number of ocaks and of eşkinci and zaim yamaks had grown in the decades until the end of the 16th century. For example, in orders dating from the years 1560, 1576 and 1584, the number of Salonica ocaks is given as 552, 592 and 596 respectively.⁴¹⁹

If we try to extrapolate the total number of the population from the number of adult males, the main difficulty will come from the unclear ratio of married to unmarried males. This ratio cannot be established from the Yürük defters and is often not entirely clear if we use data

1,905 (40,005) in 1585; 33,740 + 1,686 (35,426) in 1596; 34,560 + 1,728 (36,288) in 1601; and 13,190 + 659 (13,849) in 1608. See Altunan, "XVI. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Naldöken Yürükleri," 28.

417 Еремеев, Д. "Произхождение юрюков и туркмен Турции и основные этапы их истории," in *Этнические процессы и состав населения в станах Передней Азии*, ed. М. С. Иванов (Москва–Ленинград: Издательство восточной литературы, 1963), 27.

418 Димитров, "За юрюшката организация и ролята и в етноасимилаторските процеси," 39.

419 İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544–1675)*, 66.

from *tahrir defters* (periodic cadastral surveys). In Metodi Sokoloski's sample of the Yürüks in Macedonia in the 1560s, it is 4 to 1 (5,400 family households and 1,466 unmarried adult males).⁴²⁰ In the 1637 defter of the Kocacık Yürüks there are 266 married and 41 unmarried eşkincis, and 1,217 married and 589 unmarried yamaks (approximately 2.4 to 1).⁴²¹ In a number of other instances, though, this ratio is smaller for the unmarried males and depends on the efficiency of the registrars.

The multiplier of 3 or 4, accepted by Strashimir Dimitrov, seems to us quite low in Yürük context. Mehmet İnbaşı accepts the standard multiplier of 5 per family, calculating that the total number of the Yürük population was 177,025 in 1543/4. Although those figures are tentative, they still give us some idea of the number of Yürüks in the Balkans. Ethnographic data show that the Yürüks were monogamous,⁴²² but the average family size was larger than those presumed above. In the context of a preserved nomadic or semi-nomadic economic model, production of various goods for subsistence or for the market, supplementary agriculture, all required a sufficient labor force – male and female as well as child labor.⁴²³ Economic cooperation within the kin group (the *oba* or *kabile*) could provide only a partial solution to this problem, especially if part of the males were subject to military or other service. On the other hand, many of the goods produced were specific enough to allow mass employment of slaves or hired servants (carpet-making, weaving, tents, bows and arrows, and so on). This was also true to some extent for the sedentary

420 Соколки, “За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија,” 96.

421 İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544–1675)*, 75.

422 Although in Anatolia there have been cases of polygamy, see Garnett, L. M. J. *The Women of Turkey and their Folk -Lore* (London: D. Nutt, 1891), vol. 2, 210; Bates, D. *Nomads and Farmers. A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey*. Anthropological Papers 52, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1973, 70; Юрюки. *Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники* (Москва: “Наука”, 1969), 88.

423 This has been established also for other, mostly pastoral and highland, nomadic and sedentary communities in the Balkans, such as Vlachs, Karakachans, Albanians, and Montenegrins, see Todorova, M. *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern. Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria* (The American University Press, 1993), 105–158; Kaser, K. *Hirten, Kämpher, Stammeshelden*, 101–110, 173–268; Kaser, K. *Familie und Verwandtschaft auf dem Balkan. Analyse einer untergehenden Kultur* (Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), 54–65.

Yürüks in villages, where the usually preserved significant sector of stockbreeding (transhumance) was combined with agriculture, viticulture, carpet-making, and other occupations. Based on ethnological data from later times, we may presume that upon sedentarization, the size of the family household remained the same. Quite a few of the sedentary Yürüks in the Ottoman registers of the 16th century and in the Evlâd-i Fâtihân defters of the late 17th century are recorded as being grouped in *oba* and *cemaat*, that is to say, they had preserved their kinship structures. Similarly to the nomads, the sedentary Yürüks lived in nuclear or extended families (fathers and sons with their wives and children; brothers, male cousins).

Hence, the multiplier of 7, established through ethnographic studies, seems to be more appropriate. This was the average size of a Karakachan/Sarakatsani family, extrapolated from the known statistical data, despite the noted but insufficiently studied comparatively high infant mortality. Admittedly, those statistical data are from later times, from the 1920s–60s, but they pertain to a similar economic model and (if we exclude Sterea Hellas, Epirus, part of Thessaly and the Peloponnese) to the same summer and winter pasturelands that were abandoned by the Yürüks.⁴²⁴ Daniel Bates' studies in Anatolia in the 1960s and 1970s had the same result: the average size of the family household among sedentary Yürüks was 7 to 7.4, and among nomads 8 to 8.3.⁴²⁵ In general, the standard model among nomads is the nuclear but comparatively large family household, and the share of extended families is usually larger among semi-nomadic and sedentary communities engaged primarily in stockbreeding.⁴²⁶

If we take into account the data on unmarried adult males from the extant registers as well as mortality during service, in the Balkans in the second half of the 16th century there must have been at least 200,000

424 Höeg, C. *Les saracatsans. Une tribu nomade grecque. Etude linguistique précédée d'une notice ethnographique* (Paris–Copenhagen: Champion, 1925), vol. 1, 64; Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 154; Маринов, *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България*, 16–20; XATZHMIKALH, A. *ΣΑΡΑΚΑΤΣΑΝΟΙ* (ΑΘΗΝΑ, 1957), T. I., A', 5–85.

425 Bates, *Nomads and Farmers*, 103.

426 Khazanov, A. *Nomads and the Outside World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 126–130.

Yürüks – members of the military organization and their families (sedentary, semi-nomads, and nomads). But is the evidence about the increase until the end of the 16th century and subsequent decrease in the number of *ocaks* during the second half of the 17th century sufficiently representative of the dynamic of the total number of this population? The number of nomads not included in *ocaks* as well as the total Yürük population in the Balkans cannot be estimated from the available sources. Considering the evident tendency towards general growth in the Yürük population throughout the 16th century, it is unlikely that the nomadic part of this population was an exception in terms of both mechanic and natural increase. Generally, Turkish-speaking pastoralists had a sufficiently ensured and often privileged access to their requisite pasturelands. In some, already noted, cases such access was secured by the armed, united by kin, and traditionally militant Yürük groups even by force. For all pastoral communities this was the main condition for demographic growth, especially considering that the majority of the members of the known *cemaats* did not do military service.

We can get an idea about the possible number of nomadic Yürüks from a comparison with the Vlachs and Karakachans in the period from the late 1800s to the 1960s. In this period their migrations extended to an ever larger geographical area than that of the Yürüks, including Southern Albania, Epirus, the whole of Thessaly, and continental Greece to the Northern Peloponnese. We again encounter the usual difficulties even in the estimates of the best-informed scholars. An invariable problem here is the ratio of nomads to sedentaries, and the traditional name “Vlachs” referring also to the Karakachans. At that time the overwhelming majority of the Karakachans were nomads without permanent villages, while a large part of the Aromanians were semi-nomads (with a fixed permanent, most often summer, settlement) or sedentaries. In this case, too, pastoralists eluded official statistics and their number is estimated on the basis of ethnographic studies, while the sedentary Aromanians (especially the urban “Tsintsars”) are often hidden behind the respective national name: “Greeks,” “Bulgarians,” and so on.

According to Gustav Weigand, at the very end of the 19th century the total number of Aromanians was 150,000, out of which some 50,000 were “wanderers” (this total number does not include between

50,000 and 80,000 Vlachs who were settled and assimilated or in the process of assimilation). At the beginning of the 20th century within the then-boundaries of Bulgaria alone there were approximately 7,000 Aromanians, out of which 3,000 nomads or semi-nomads and an unknown number of Karakachans, probably several thousand. According to Dimitar Yaranov, until the Balkans Wars (1912–1913) some 70,000 Vlachs in the geographical region of Macedonia were seasonally migrating sheep-breeders (nomads, semi-nomads, and transhumant pastoralists).⁴²⁷

The comparatively most precise statistical data pertain to the Aromanians and Karakachans/Sarakatsani in modern Greece in the 1950s and 1960s. Their number was quite high, especially if we consider that it does not include the already sedentarized Vlachs and Karakachans in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and the unclear number of nomads in Albania. At that time Greece had some 70,000 to 80,000 nomadic or semi-nomadic Aromanians, and around 110,000 nomadic Sarakatsani/Karakachans (10,000 to 12,000 families with some 1,800,000 sheep and goats).⁴²⁸

Within the established area of Yürük seasonal migrations – from the Balkan range and Southern Morava to the Aegean, and from Eastern Thrace to Western, Southwestern Macedonia and Eastern Thessaly – it is reasonable to assume that the number of Turkish-speaking nomads without permanent villages in the 16th and 17th centuries exceeded several tens of thousands. This number is minimal even in comparison with that of the Karakachans in present-day Greek Aegean Macedonia and Western Thrace. Between the beginning of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, and particularly after

427 Кальонски, А. “Каракачански етюд,” *Демократически преглед* 37 (1998): 247–250; Вайганд, *Аромъне*, 281–287; Weigand, *Romänen und Aromunen in Bulgarien*, 50–59; Романски, Ст. “Власите и цинцарите в България.” *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество* LXIX (1908): 142–143; Пимпирева, *Каракачаните в България*, 11–12. Яранов, *Македония като природно и стопанско цяло*, 263. ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ, ΣΑΡΑΚΑΤΣΑΝΟΙ, Τ. Ι., Α', 85–86; Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 140, 154.

428 ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ, ΣΑΡΑΚΑΤΣΑΝΟΙ, Τ. Ι., Α', 85–86; Kavadias, *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens. Les sarakatsans de Grèce*, 20–21; Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 140, 154.

1923, they occupied many of the abandoned Yürük summer pastures in the highlands and winter pastures in the lowlands. According to the above-quoted statistics of Angeliki Hadzimihali, in the 1950s this area alone was home to 4,523 of all 10,604 listed Karakachan families, or more than 30,000 people.⁴²⁹

But it is by no means their numbers alone that made the Yürüks a tangible and diverse factor in the life of those lands. Either way, against the general Balkan demographic background, the Yürüks were certainly not a small community and, as a whole, they were much more significant for the surrounding population than for the empire. Although the evidence left by the Ottomans is mostly about the Yürük auxiliary corps, it is obvious that these colonized Anatolian pastoralists had their own place in the economy, cultural interactions, and everyday life in the Balkans for centuries on end.

429 XATZHMIXΑΛΗ, ΣΑΡΑΚΑΤΣΑΝΟΙ, T. I., A', 53–81.

CHAPTER THREE:

YÜRÜKS, MILITARY ORGANIZATION, AND THE OTTOMANS

I. OTTOMAN REGULATIONS AND THE YÜRÜKS

1. *Laws and Practices*

The status and obligations of Yürüks in Rumelia have been analyzed many times.¹ Their integration into the Ottoman military and economic system, the control and service requirements imposed upon them, have prompted some scholars to define their status as one of the many groups of “privileged” *reaya*, the tax-paying subjects of the sultan.² On the other hand, without being part of the non-tax paying military class, in some instances they were defined as *askeri*. Military, labor or other services were performed also by the *voynuks*, *martoloses* (non-Muslim auxiliaries), Vlachs, *müsellems* (“exemptees”), *akıncıs* (“raiders”), Tatars, *yaya* and *piyade* (“footmen”), *doğancı* (falconers), *yaveci*³, *derbendci* (pass-guards), *köprücü* (bridge keepers), *ulaks* (couriers), *çeltükçi* (rice producers), *tuzçu* (salt producers), *celepkeşans* (sheep-suppliers), *yoğurtçu* (yogurt producers), and others. Yürüks were often listed together with them in sultanic orders and *kanuns* (laws).⁴

1 Gökbilgin, M. T. *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân* (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1957); Соколовиќи, М. “За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија од XV до XVIII век.” *Историја. Списание на Сојузот на историските оруѓа на СР Македонија* IX, 1 (1973): 85–99. Димитров, С. “За јурушката организација и рољата и в етноасимилаторските процеси,” *Векови 1–2* (1982): 33–43. Ђнаѓа, М. *Rumeli Yürükleri (1544–1675)* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000); Altunan, S. “XVI. Yüzyılda Balkanlar’da Naldöken Yürükleri: İdari Yapıları, Askeri Görevleri ve Sosyal Statüleri,” in *Balkanlar’da İslâm Medeniyeti Milletlerarası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri (Sofya, 21–23 Nisan 2000)*, ed. A. Çaksu, İslâm Medeniyeti Tarihi Kaynak ve İncelemleri Dizisi Seri No: 8 (İstanbul: İslâm Tarih, Sanaat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 2002), 11–37.

2 Çetintürk, S. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yürük Sınıfı ve Hukukî Statüleri,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* II (1943–1944): 111–116.

3 Official charged with the apprehension of runaway slaves.

4 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*. Серија I (1607–1699), vol. I, Ed. M. Соколовиќи et al. Скопје: Државна архива на СР Македонија, 1963, 224 (Сору from 1623 *kanunname*), 142–143; Стојановски, А. *Раја со специјални задолженија во Македонија (Војнуци, соколари, оризари и солари)*. (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1990); Стојановски, А

The treatment of the Yürüks as different from the ordinary peasant reaya had practical implications in the era of Mehmed II the Conqueror (1451–1481), when their military structures were being established. Later, in the 16th century the Yürüks were treated as “privileged reaya” (“muaf ve müselleme”) but with a significant degree of social autonomy and personal freedom. They were subject to administrative, tax and judicial control by the Yürük auxiliary corps as well as by the central and local authorities.

In Ottoman legislation of the 16th century, the term “Yürük” is somewhat ambiguous. The Yürüks continued to be defined most generally as militarized nomads, but a series of legal provisions dealt specifically with the acquisition and tenure of agricultural land, and the attendant obligations towards timar-holders and the treasury. The persistent clichés of Yürüks in general as “nomads,” as people “not tied to the land” (“lâ-mekân, ahali-i ahbiye, tayin-i toprak olmaz”), and so on, were anachronistic in a number of concrete cases. Although pastoralism was widespread, the majority of the Yürüks in the Balkans were bound to their permanent settlements and agricultural land plots. In fact, the ambiguous character of their status and of their official definition in-between nomadism and agriculture, their freedom of movement and ties to the land, their military and other obligations reflected, comparatively accurately, the actual situation. Part of the members of the Yürük military organization were non-Yürük (Tatars, Gypsies, Muslim converts), while some Yürüks were formally outside of the corps despite the periodic prohibitions against leaving the *ocaks* (small mobilization units), the “Yürük cins” (category, kind) and the “Yürüklük” (Yürük status).

Дервенциството во Македонија (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1974); Грозданова, Е. “Проблемът за т. нар. привилегирована рая в историческата книжнина,” in *България през XV–XVIII в. Историкографски изследвания*, vol. 1, ed. Кр. Шарова et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1987), 135–152; Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев. “Категории население със специални задължения и статут - правна норма от XVI в. и реална практика,” in *Българският шестнадесети век. Сборник с доклади за българската обща и културна история през XVI в.*, ed. Б. Христова (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, 1996), 29–48.

In the law code of Mehmed II (1477/78), Yürük *eşkincis* (soldiers) are *cebelü* – cavalrymen equipped with armor, bows and arrows, lances, swords and shields. There had to be one field tent (*tenktür*) for every ten men. In addition to saddle horses, they also had pack horses. At that time *eşkincis* still had only military obligations. For every campaign, one of them was mobilized, three were in reserve (*çatal*), and the remaining 20 in the *ocak* were *yamaks* (“helpers”). All were exempt from extraordinary taxes; the participants in campaigns were also exempt from the *salariye* (agricultural surtax, tax collector’s share for fodder) for the year in which they were mobilized.⁵ Initially, the Yürüks were exempt from taxes on summer or winter pastures (*resm-i yaylak*, *resm-i kışlak*) but paid *ağnam* (*koyun resmi*) (sheep tax) for their flocks. Until the mid-15th century this tax was one akçe (asper) per three sheep; it was increased later, towards the end of Mehmed II’s reign, to one akçe per two sheep. When sent on a campaign (*sefer*), *eşkincis* (serving soldiers – *nefer*) were exempt from sheep tax for the year in which they were mobilized – this rule was confirmed in the law code of Bayezid II (1481–1512) and remained in force under Selim I, Süleyman I the Magnificent, and after them, until the end of the 17th century. Reserve *eşkincis* as well as *nefers* in peacetime paid one akçe per three sheep. But there were also Yürük *eşkincis* who were required “since old times” to pay sheep tax when they went on campaigns, too. Initially, the tax was collected in the autumn, and later, in April–May. That is when the flocks were biggest, and the newborn lambs were counted together with the sheep. The Yürüks also began to be charged taxes for grazing: *resm-i otlak*, *resm-i kışlak* and *resm-i yaylak*. The taxable unit was a “flock” (*sürü*) of 300 sheep; depending on the quality (state) of the livestock, the tax was 20 akçes (the price of a good sheep), 15 akçes (the price of a two-year-old weaned lamb) or 10 akçes (the price of a one-year-old lamb). The Yürüks also had to pay a sheepfold tax (*ağıl resmi* of two, three or five akçes). Those who had fewer than 20 sheep or none were designated as “kara Yürük” (“black Yürük,” poor). In the

5 Akgündüz, A. *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri* (İstanbul: Fey Vakfı, 1990), vol. I, 354–355; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 29–35; *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, ed. Г. Гълъбов (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1961), 25.

quite common cases of death of the livestock or impoverishment due to other causes, the Yürüks had to pay *resm-i kara* of 12 akçes.⁶

As a whole, the members of the Yürük auxiliary corps in Rumelia paid less taxes than some Anatolian tribal groups. Quite a few of the latter were charged, in addition to those noted above, various “traditional,” “old” or regional taxes and dues in kind and in cash. There were also various tax concessions depending on the status of concrete communities or part of them: *yaya*, *piyade*, *müsellem*, *ellici*,⁷ Kurdish and Türkmen *cebelü*, nomads at sultanic estates (hases, vakıfs, mukataas), and others.

In the first decades of the 16th century the significance of the Yürüks as a combat force, as well as of the other troops connected to the old tribal structures, decreased. Although the eşkincis continued to serve as combatants, including as musket (tüfenk) shooters,⁸ their main functions changed. Significant part of the former cavalry and infantry performed mostly labor and transportation services.⁹ Owing to the changes in the Ottoman military system in later times, in the 17th–19th centuries the Yürüks again served mostly as soldiers.

In the 1540s the Yürük corps had a fully completed structure and functions. Its six *sancaks* covered, for the most part, settled and semi-settled populations living in villages, hamlets, as well as in some towns. The Yürüks were organized as a self-supporting and self-equipped units

6 Тверитинова, А. *Книга законов султана Селима I* (Москва: “Наука”, 1969), 52–54; Akgündüz, A. *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. I, 397; vol. II, 55–72; vol. 3, 101–397; vol. VI, 693–719; Hadžibegić, H. “Porez na sitnu stoku i korisćenje ispaša,” *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju VIII–IX* (1958–1959), Orijentalni Institut Sarajevo (1960): 64–102; Lindner, R. P. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 51–74; İnalçık, H. “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, Vol. 9, 1993, 112–113.

7 Auxiliaries, literally “those who pay 50 akçes.”

8 Sultanic order of 1574 addressed to the şubası of Tanrıdağ Yürüks, regarding maritime service: Salonica, Tanrıdağ, Malgara and Ovçe Pole eşkincis are summoned to Istanbul equipped with instruments and muskets, see Refik, *Anadolu’da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*. (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930), Doc. 39, pp. 20–21.

9 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 52.

under the command of their own *subaşı*s and *çeribaşı*s. Military and labor service was performed for a term of six months, with strict regulations regarding the obligations of *eşkinsis* and *yamaks*, armament and equipment.¹⁰ They served “according to custom and law” (“*adet ve kanun*”), were deployed in separate units and wore the insignia of the corps.¹¹ They made their own bows, arrows, shields, tents, wagons and equipment, and raised the horses used in combat or as baggage train, as well as the oxen for artillery transportation.¹² Their traditional sheep-breeding was important for provisioning and *Yürüks* were required to raise flocks designated for the army or for food supplies for the capital city (the so-called *koyun hizmeti*).¹³

The *Yürüks* fought in combat not just on land but also, in some instances, at sea (as bowmen and musket shooters on ships).¹⁴ They were required to perform garrison service and local security services.¹⁵ In the 16th century, however, *Yürüks* were often used as a labor force

10 Ibid., 35–53.

11 Sultanlic order addressed to the *bey* of *Kyustendil* and the *kadı* of *Štip*: The local *Yürük* *Abdulkerim* is to be stripped of his green sign and documents because of illegal acts and offences against the reaya, see *Матковски, А. “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Гласник на Институтот за Национална Историја XXIX, 3 (1985): 239.*

12 Ibid., Doc. 1 and 2 (of 1565); *Refik, Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 6 and 7; Order addressed to the *subaşı* of *Salonica* regarding supply of 100 pairs of oxen and mobilization of *Yürüks* as cannon-wagon men [*top arabacı*]. The *subaşı* of the *Ovče Pole Yürüks* must provide 50 pairs of oxen, see *Kovacević, E. Muhimme defteri. Dokumenti o našim krajevima. Monumenta Turcica. Vol. III (1). Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 1985, Doc. 166 (1566), 95.*

13 The same obligation was imposed on part of the *müsellems*, see *Refik, Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 39 and 40 (of 1574 and 1579); *Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 11 and 13 (of 1574 and 1578).*

14 Order of 1578 regarding participation of *Yürüks* from *Kičevo* in a maritime campaign off the *Black Sea* coast, see *Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 14; Refusal of Salonica Yürüks to perform maritime service – su hidmeti, su yolu hidmeti; Vize Yürüks, canbaz and Tatars are to go to serve on ships – gemi hizmeti; Tanrıdağ and Kocacık Yürüks are to be sent to perform maritime service – gemi seferi in the Black Sea, see Refik, Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200), Doc. 15 (1565); Doc. 9 (1566); Doc. 68 and 69 (1579).*

15 *Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 7 and 11; Refik, Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200), Doc. 16.*

tasked with building and repairing fortresses, ships and other military facilities, bridges, water mains (performing transportation tasks as well as simple labor), servicing furnaces (casting cannonballs and transporting ore, timber, coal).¹⁶ The same work around mine furnaces was done by Vlachs.¹⁷ The Yürüks usually served far away from their settlements and areas – wherever there was a need for combat or labor forces for the purposes of the Ottoman war machine. In addition to the Balkans, in Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean region – in Morea in 1571–1572, in Cyprus in 1571, fighting against Austrians, Venetians, and others – Yürüks took part in the Ottoman campaigns in the northeast and the east. Eşkincis took part in the Astrakhan expedition of 1569, in the wars with Persia, and other campaigns. Mobilized Yürüks from Rumelia repaired and guarded fortresses in Anatolia (Kars, İsmail Geçidi, and others).¹⁸

16 Naldöken Yürüks sent to repair the fortress of Uzi/Ochakov, *ibid.*, Doc. 3 (1560); Vize Yürüks, canbaz, Gypsies, and müsellems sent to repair the Sultan Selim mosque at Edirne, *ibid.*, Doc. 96 (1584); Yürük *taifes* (groups) and Gypsies as workers (*rencher*) cut down more than the designated timber for construction of ships and make coal, *ibid.*, Doc. 26 (1571); Kocacık Yürüks sent to cast cannonballs in Rudnik, Bosnia, *ibid.*, Doc. 27 (1572); Tanrıdağ Yürüks absconded from work in the mines of Kamengrad/Banja Luka, *ibid.*, Doc. 46 (1575); see also *ibid.*, Doc. 22, 30, 47, 49, 54, 95; The *kadı* of Sofia is notified that Salonica and Tanrıdağ Yürüks did not come to Rudnik, see Gäläbov, G. & H. Duda. *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia* (München: Oldenbourg, 1960), Doc. 244 (of 1550), p. 63. See also Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 3, 8, 11, 12; Шопова, Д. *Македонија во XVI и XVII век. Документи од Цариградските архиви (1557–1645)*. (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1955), Doc. 33; Дорев, П. *Документи из турските државни архиви, част I (1564–1872)* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1940), Doc. 19; Матковски, А. “Јуруците од Македонија во некои турски документи,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населување на Балканот. Матерјали от Тркалезната маса, одржана во Скопје на 17. и 18. 11. 1983 година*, ed. Крум Томовски et al. (Скопје: Македонска Академија на Науките и Уметностите, 1986), 40–41; Грозданова, Е. “Нови сведения за јуруците в българските и някои от съседните им земи през XV–XVII в.,” *ibid.*, 22–23.

17 Зиројевић, О. “Јуруци у рудницима,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 49–56.

18 Yürük eşkincis from the kaza of Sofia [from Ormanli/Lesnovo, Elin Pelin district, and another unspecified village] took part in the war with Persia (1603–1612), see Gäläbov, G. & H. Duda. *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia*, Doc. 572, 573 (of 1611), p. 150; Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*,

As a rule, the eşkincis' expenses were paid for by their yamaks in the respective ocağ. The yamaks paid an exemption tax (*bedel-i askeri*) of 50 akçes for married and 25 akçes for unmarried men once a year even when there was more than one mobilization in a year. If necessary, the eşkincis who remained in the reserve (*çatal*) were also required to contribute to this tax; in some instances, a total of 600 akçes per year were collected from each ocağ in peacetime (or less, as the ocağs were often understaffed towards the late 16th and early 17th centuries). The yamaks of Yürük commanders – subaşı and çeribaşı – were subject to the same regulations, although sometimes the set rates (*resm-i yamakan*) varied. In return, ocağ members were exempted from extraordinary taxes (*avarız-ı divaniyye*), and some reaya duties.¹⁹

As already noted, as early as the mid-15th century onwards part of the Yürüks became reaya in the timar and vakıf lands, townsmen, artisans, and so on. After the Yürük military organization was formed, re-categorization and evasion of military and other obligations became a constant problem in recruiting men for the ocağs. Quite often Yürüks were listed among sheep-suppliers, butter producers, rice producers, falconers, akıncıs, müsellems, as well as among others, less related to their status, such as Janissaries and sipahis. Sometimes this could be combined with service in the Yürük ocağs, but it was often used as an argument for leaving the corps. Despite the constant prohibitions on the registration of members of the corps as ordinary reaya and vice versa²⁰, on their re-registration in other groups with special status and obligations, Yürük sancakbeys, local judges (*kadı*) and

Doc. 23, 24, 99, 112; Матковски, “Јуруците од Македонија во некои турски документи,” 40–43; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiḥân*, Doc. I–III, p. 168–169.

19 Ibid., 42–94.

20 Ibid., 40, 50–51; Ovçe Pole Yürüks refused to go to Kars in 1579, see Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, p. 40; Also on record are cases in which Yürüks refused to serve on the grounds that they were imams or muezzins, *ibid.*, p. 57; see also *ibid.*, Doc. 34, 67, 70, 84, 113. The regulations in all Yürük *kanunnames* are similar, see Lawbook of Naldöken Yürüks of 1566; Lawbook of Ovçe Pole Yürüks of 1566; Lawbook of Naldöken Yürüks of 1543/4; Law on Develüza-de Yürüks, Yambol Yürüks and Tatars, and Bozapa and Aktav Tatars; Lawbook of Yambol Yürüks and Tatars, and Aktav Tatars of 1566, in Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. VI, 693–719.

other responsible factors found it difficult to control such violations. The standard formulations usually went as follows:

If among the Tanrıdağ Yürüks, whose turn it is [nöbetlü] to go to Banja Luka, or [if among] their çeribaşıs there are some who have registered as kapı kulu [palace servants and guards, Janissaries], sipahis, celeps [sheep dealers], yağcıs [butter producers], kürecis [miners], müsellems ... they shall not [be permitted to] abandon their Yürük status [Yürüklük].²¹

Here the interests of the sipahis and vakıf governors, and of Yürük commanders – subaşı and çeribaşı – were sometimes in conflict. The ones were interested in maintaining the necessary quota of combat-fit and able-bodied men, and the others in recruiting their own nomadic or settled reaya. The motives of the Yürük themselves, however, could be very different since military service entailed risks as well as gains. Evading military service or combining it with other occupations was a matter of choice, coercion, or different life-circumstances. The best variant for the central government and corps commanders was a sedentary or semi-sedentary population with traditional skills passed on from father to son. Although the ocaks were partially replenished not just from the nomadic groups (*cemaats*) but also from non-Yürüks, by law the Yürük status was hereditary. The sons of eşkincis and yamaks inherited the respective status, obligations and rights of their fathers.²²

Unlike re-categorization, the Ottoman authorities encouraged sedentarization, or at least the existence of permanent settlements.²³ If they were on state (*miri*) lands, Yürüks paid the landholders approximately half of the tax for the standard unit of land sufficient for one household (*çiftlik*, *çift*), as well as tithes (*öşür*) and additional taxes

21 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 112.

22 Complaint of Yürüks that several sons of eşkincis were registered as yamaks, *ibid.*, Doc. 85 (of 1580); If they are not Yürüks or descendants of Yürüks, reaya from the Skopje district are to be prohibited from registering as eşkincis and yamaks, see Марковски, “Јуруците од Македонија во некои турски документи,” Doc. 20 (of 1585). See also Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. VI, 693–715.

23 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 50.

(*salariye*). For a whole Yürük çift the tax – *resm-i çift* or *resm-i buyunduruk* – was 12 akçes, six akçes were paid for half a çift, and this tax was six akçes for *bennaks* (who had less than half a çift). This pertained only to properly Yürük landholdings that were originally part of the respective timars or that were included in them after nomadic groups had reclaimed forest or other land and made it cultivable. If Yürüks occupied deserted reaya land (or, as was sometimes the case, drove away the reaya from their places²⁴), they assumed all obligations stemming from the status of this agricultural land. The sipahis were entitled to demand that the Yürüks settling within the boundaries of their timars certify by the means of the respective documents that they were “true” (“sahih”) members of the corps, and to receive the in-kind tithes in the places specified by them. Those were barns which the Yürüks had to build together with the reaya if they used land for agriculture within the boundaries of the timar for more than three years. In this case, regardless of the actual situation, they were treated as sedentary (*mütemekkin*), and not as nomadic (*göçküncü*).

It was legally possible to leave the Yürük corps and change one’s status. If eşkincis or yamaks settled for good and managed to get registered as peasant reaya, they had to pay full *resm-i çift*, *resm-i kulluk* (22 akçes), tithes, *salariye* and sheep tax (if it was payable to the sipahi, and not to the sancakbey or another dignitary, vakıf governors or other officials), and to perform the respective labor services. The interim period in which Yürüks were obligated to pay reaya taxes while performing their duties to the corps was ten years. After this period expired they could leave the organization, but usually only by an express order of the sultan. If, however, Yürüks decided to leave the boundaries of the timar (to revert to nomadism or to settle permanently elsewhere), the sipahi was not entitled to charge them a tax paid by those who have left their farm for other occupations– *çift bozan resmi*. At least formally, they were free to settle or leave regardless of whether they were nomads or not.²⁵

24 Стојановски, А. “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 35–36.

25 The standard formulation was “traveling (moving, wandering) where they wish to” (“herkande dilerlerse gezerler”), see *Турски извори за историјата на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 53; Тверитинова, *Книга законов султана Селима I*, 52, 54; Barkan, Ö. L. *XV. ve XVI-inci Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparator-*

The process of sedentarization intensified in the first decades of the 16th century. Gradually encompassing the majority of Balkan Yürüks, it became the most important prerequisite for exercise of control, service, and taxation. There is ample evidence that taxes and dues were collected on various agricultural products and activities: cereals, fruit and vegetables, vineyards, beehives, water-mills, fulling-mills, rice-husking works, and so on. The raising of oxen and buffaloes for plowing and the use of wagons for transportation, including during mobilizations,²⁶ are also an indirect indication of a predominantly sedentary way of life. The Yürüks were sometimes required to provide not just cattle, sheep and goats, but also agricultural food products.²⁷ On the other hand, pastoralist sheep-breeding remained a very important and often predominant source of livelihood. In permanent Yürük villages throughout Macedonia²⁸ and in West Bulgaria – for example, in the districts of Sofia and Dupnitsa²⁹ – there were *haymane* households and individuals who paid *resm-i duhan* tax similarly to the landless members of seasonally migrating cemaats.³⁰ In the tax registers we find also members

luğu'nda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Mâlî Esasları, Cilt I: *Kanunlar* (İstanbul, 1945), Doc. LXXVI, LXXVII, LXIV, LV, LXVIII, LXXII, LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXI; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, vol. VI, 692–719 (Yürük lawbooks of the 16th century); vol. III, 101, 466–468; vol. IV, p. 313–465.

26 Цветкова, Б., & Н. Попов, “Нови документални данни за соларството по южното българско Черноморие от XV в.,” *Известия на музеите от Югоизточна България* V (1982): 89–131; “Към въпроса за юруците в българските и някои от съседните им земи през XV–XVIII в.” *Векове* 2 (1984): 27–28.

27 Order to the *kadı* of Kırklise from 1567. Yürüks, müsellems and Gypsies failed to deliver the designated amounts of flour and other provisions due to be collected in Edirne/Adrianople, see Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 17.

28 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга II, ed. М. Соколоски et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1980), 128–281.

29 Genç, N. *XVI Yüzyıl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri'nde Sofya Kazası* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1988), 403, 446–450, 494–496; see also Chapter Four, I..

30 *Турски извори за историјата на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 255, 263; Barkan, *Kanunlar* 232–279; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, vol. III, 393, 466; vol. VI, 659–720; Alexander, J. C. *Toward a History of Post-Byzantine Greece: The Ottoman Kanunnames for the Greek Lands, circa 1500–circa 1600* (Athens: J.C. Alexander, 1985), 112, 121.

of predominantly nomadic groups (*cemaat*, *taife*) who held land, most often Yürük *çifts* of eşkincis and yamaks. Although in a Yürük or Tatar context *haymane* groups, households, and individuals were usually pastoralists, in some cases Yürüks may have been simply persons without a permanent abode, similar to the “wandering reaya.”

A case in point is the Yürük village of Derzilü near Vize. In 1559 its inhabitants, registered as having become sedentary 50 years ago, paid agricultural taxes to the local vakıf – the *imaret* (kitchen for the poor) at the Muradiye mosque in Adrianople. Among them, however, there were people who “were not engaged in agriculture” (“ziraat it-medüb”) and paid *resm-i duhan*. This formulation is typical for a number of Yürük nomadic groups as a whole or for parts of them, as well as for nomadic Gypsies.³¹ The designation *çoban* (shepherd) is also often found as a nickname or indication of the main occupation of people from Yürük cemaats.³² Very common are settlement/group names such as Çoban, Çukur Kışla, Sula Yaylası, Yünd Alanı, Taş Ağıl, Külübe, Çadırılı or Çayırılı, as well as personal names such as Göçeri, Göçbeği, Yayla, Yolalgeldi, Yürük, and many others.³³ As sheep-breeding was their main source of livelihood, the percentage of Yürüks among Muslim sheep-suppliers was significant. There were also quite a few *yağcıs* (butter producers) a category typical for Yürüks in the vast pasturelands held by some pious foundations (vakıfs), sultanic hases, and so on.³⁴

31 Gökbilgin, M. T. *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar–Mülkler–Mukataalar* (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), 207–208, 357, 369.

32 Genç, *XVI Yüzyıl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri'nde Sofya Kazası*, 449; Celepkeşan defter of 1576, in *Турски извори за българската история*. Vol. III, ed. Б. Цветкова, et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1972), 47, 58, 83, 101.

33 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 101–229 (*Defter of Kocacık Yürüks of 1543; Personal and settlement names*).

34 Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев. *Джелепкешаните в българските и съседните им земи през XVI–XVIII век (по документи от наши и чужди архиви)*. (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, 1998), 75–115; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 65–66, 112, 209, 311; Cvetkova, B. „Le service des celep et le ravitaillement en bétail dans l’Empire Ottoman (XVe – XVIIIe s.),” *Etude Historique* 3 (1966): 155–158; Cvetkova, B. „Les celep et leur rôle dans la vie économique des Balkans à l’époque Ottomane (XVe – XVIIIe s.),” in *Studies in the Economic History of of the Middle East from the*

Regulated by law, the seasonal movements of Yürük flocks across and within the boundaries of timars, pastures, forests and village lands indicate that quite a few Yürüks practiced different variants of pastoralism. As a seasonal cycle, they could be combined with certain agricultural and artisan activities. Among the settled Yürüks we find woollen cloth makers (*abacı*; for example, in the city of Plovdiv), holster-makers, soap-makers, camel drivers (“the soap-maker Memi Yürükmen ... the camel driver Kara Hasan, tanner” in the town of Karlovo), tinsmiths, halva-makers, tailors, saddlers, wagoners, coppersmiths, and so on.³⁵ Among the nomads in Anatolia there were tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and other craftsmen.³⁶ Wool-working remained a typical occupation in the 19th and early 20th centuries.³⁷ For the eşkincis, on the other hand, war was not just a burden but also a source of supplementary income from booty and slaves.

Nomadic groups can usually be identified not only through the specific taxes levied upon them but also through the indication of the destinations of their seasonal migrations (summer and winter pasturelands – *yaylak* and *kışlak*). Another indication are notes such as “those who have no land (*çift*),” “who are not engaged in agriculture,” “nomads” (“göçer-konar tayifesinden,” “göçer-konar evler”), and the like.³⁸ Whereas tenure of a Yürük or reaya çift is generally an indication of a sedentary lifestyle, in some cases it may involve a combination of

Rise of Islam to the Present Day, ed. M. Cook (London–New York–Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970), 181–182.

35 *Турски извори за българската история*. Vol. III, 43, 52, 59, 196; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 220.

36 Güngör, K. *Cenubî Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki*. (Ankara: İdeal Basımevi, 1941), 46.

37 For example, a market-duty from “Yürük *aba* and *şayak*” (woollen fabrics) is recorded in the revenues from the non-Muslim village of Piperovo, in the nahiye of Strumica (1570); see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга III, ed. A. Стојановски et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1982), 69; According to a protocol of the the *kadı* of Bitola from 1619, Yürüks on Kaymakçalan mountain in Macedonia worked the wool from their sheep into different fabrics, and had their own fulling-mills, see Матковски, “Јуруците од Македонија во некои турски документи,” Doc.23, p. 246.

38 Gökbilgin, *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar–Mülkler–Mukataalar*, 339–340.

agriculture and pastoral seasonal migrations. “Free” nomads were also tracked down, mobilized, taxed, and controlled at different levels. In addition to the *resm-i duhan*, the main equivalent of the land tax, they paid the respective taxes for their flocks and for grazing, dues and fees for tenure of their “own” pasturelands or for renting them from their holders, for offences and violations, for passing through particular places (mountain passes, bridges), markets, and so on. Tax officials, on the one side, and provincial judicial and military/police authorities, on the other, exercised part of the control over those groups. The passage or raising of flocks in winter, summer or other pasturelands was regulated by law. The *kadı* court settled disputes and determined fines for violations of the established period of three days for which nomads were allowed to stay on village lands, for frequent straying into farmland and damage to the crops, theft of sheep and other livestock.³⁹ Formally, the nomads were not anybody’s *reaya*, but in practice, nomadic groups in Rumelia were placed in the general context of the “Yürüklük” (the Yürük status). Some of them performed the duties of *eşkıncis* and *yamaks*, while others were a potential reserve for staffing the *ocaks*.⁴⁰ The traditionally established seasonal migration routes merged with the major highways and passed through timars and towns, market-places, postal stations (*menzil*) and mountain passes (*derbend*).

Although the highlands and the coastal winter pastures afforded nomads some possibilities to evade taxation, mobilization or judicial persecution, most of their pastures were registered. Different winter, summer and other pastures seasonally visited by Yürüks are known from the vakıf registers, general registrations in the 15th and 16th centuries, court records, and other documents.⁴¹ They were held or

39 *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 31–157; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. I, 463, vol. II, 315.

40 Order for the enlistment in *ocaks* of *haric-ez defter haymane* (wandering persons or households “outside of the register”) after outbreak of the plague among the Yürük community (*taife*), see Refik, *Anadolu’da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 25 (of 1571); Enlistment of soldiers (*nefer*) in *ocaks* of Tanrıdağ Yürüks, from among the haymanes in them or from among the *haric-ez defter haymanes*, *ibid.*, Doc. 74, Doc. 94 (of 1583). See also Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 52–94.

41 E. g. *Yaylak* in the Hrsovo mountain (unidentified, kaza of Strumica), also

rented (with the respective title deed – *tapu*) collectively or individually, and could be inhabited seasonally by one and the same groups for decades. For example, Yürük cemaats in Kalamaria, Northeastern Chalkidiki – Duberlu, Dervişli, Kener Ali, and Elhac Umanlu, among others – collectively held pastures, meadows and fields in the period between 1578 and 1633.⁴²

The best mountain pastures were usually held by local sipahis, various dignitaries, vakıfs, hases, and so on. Interesting evidence is found in the register of *yaylaks* included in the detailed defter of the sancak of Kyustendil of 1570. This register records a total of 657 “flocks” or 197,100 sheep. The last figure is too approximate even for the registered pastures and sheepfolds of non-Muslims, Muslims, Yürüks and others, who must certainly have concealed part of their livestock in their summer grazing grounds. Such cases are recorded, for instance, in the 1576 defter of celepkeşans. The 1570 registration evidently covered known, “old” summer pastures on a wide territory: Osogovo, Rila, Plačkovica, Černook, Kozjak, Čemernik, Vardenik/Strešer and a number of other mountain sites in the districts of Radoviš, Kratovo, Kočani, Vranje, Surdulica, Vlasina, Slivnitsa, and elsewhere. The *yaylaks* had fixed boundaries and were held by members of nearby village communities as well as by Yürük groups and various individuals – the sancakbey of Kyustendil himself, Janissaries, sipahis, judges, wealthy Muslim men and women, and others. Quite a few of the registered Yürük groups rented them. The winter pastures of some of the cemaats were at the foothills of those mountains, while others were in the districts of Salonica, Strumica, Štip, Dupnitsa.⁴³

known as Şehsuvar Yaylası, held by Yürüks; *mezraa* – summer pasture of Yürüks, and so on, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга III, 69–70, 174. Yürük Hüseyin, who summers his flocks on Mount Vitosha, had found a lost horse; Yürük Bali Saltuk from the city of Sofia holds the Murgaş *yaylak* (evidently in the Murgash section of the Western Balkan range), and so on, see Gäläbov, G. & H. Duda. *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia*, Doc. 231 (of 1550), p. 60, and Doc. 277 (of 1550), p. 71.

42 Фотић, А. *Света гора и Хиландар у Османском царству (XV–XVI век)*. (Београд: Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, Балканолошки институт, 2000), 340–342.

43 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, ed. А. Стојановски et al. (Скопје: Архив на Македонија, 1995), 141–161. See

2. Commanders and Clerics

Within the military organization, the Yürüks were governed by their “own” elite. The six large mobilization units (Yürük *sancaks*) were classified as “free” (“serbest”)⁴⁴ *zeamets* (granted revenues) of their commanders, the Yürük *sancakbeys* (*subaşı, zaim, mir-i livai Yörükân*). They had significant immunity and powers.⁴⁵ With the help of the lower-rank commanders, *çeribaşıs* (*seraskers*), they conducted mobilizations, provided the requisite quota of men, personally commanded the respective detachments, and exercised direct control over the members of the corps. These officers were entitled to collect dues on runaway slaves or animals (*yava ve kaçkun*), on traditional blood vengeance, on murders and crimes, various offences (*cürm ve cinayet*), and others in the group of *bad-u hava* (miscellaneous fees, fines and dues not directly connected to agriculture). In this context, they also collected the bride tax, *resm-i arusane* or *gerdek hakkı* (for marriage of girls from the families included in the oaks). In this particular case this tax was not collected by the timar-holders. Regardless of whether it pertained to maidens (*bakire, bakire kız*) or widows (*seyyibe*), the bride tax among Anatolian as well as Rumelian Yürüks was directly tied to the kinship groups (fathers), not to the land. Since according to tradition, the bride’s father received a fee – *kalım* – from the groom’s family, he paid the bride tax to the Yürük *subaşı*; in some cases, the local sipahi was entitled to charge six akçes as *toprak hakkı* (“right on the land”). Like the military/police authorities of the sancaks, the senior Yürük commanders persecuted criminals or offenders from this community. Although sentences were passed by the kadı court, they were enforced by the *subaşı*. The other sancakbeys formally were not entitled to directly punish Yürüks, but they intervened in the event of grave crimes, such as banditry or murder. In the same way, the bride

also Chapter Two, Table 3.

44 *Османска социално - икономическа история (Изследвания)* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1993), 25.

45 See Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 57–78, 81–86, 93; *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 106, 210, 217, 236, 307; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 261, 264; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. I, 146, 351–352; vol. IV, 465–542; vol. VI, p. 694–720.

tax from the Anatolian Yürük tribes was not tied to the land but to kinship and nomadic group.⁴⁶

Of course, justice was often meted out on site, without recourse to the Yürük sancakbey. A telling example is known from the time of Murad IV, when tobacco smoking was banned and coffee houses were shut down. In 1634 the sultan's envoy Hüseyin arrived with the respective firman to control the enforcement of the ban in Salonica district. He caught and hanged two Yürük offenders accused of smoking. This happened in the vicinity of one of the subsidiaries (metochia) of the Hilendar monastery in Kalamaria. The monks were terrified by the revenge-seeking kinsmen of the hanged Yürüks, who accused them of informing the authorities. Ultimately, they received protection from the Sublime Porte after a firman to that effect was sent to the judge of Salonica.⁴⁷

In the first decades of the 16th century Yürük sancakbeys were granted a comparatively high status within the military/administrative hierarchy of Rumelia and powers over the Balkan Yürüks as a whole. In terms of total revenues, their zeamets increased from the 1540s to the beginning of the 17th century, reaching up to several tens of thousands of akçes or more. As the other, classical (territorial) sancakbeys, Yürük officers were "professional Ottomans." There is no evidence that any of them were of Yürük origin. For example, Hersekli Veli, the subaşı of Ovçe Pole Yürüks in the 1570s, probably came from Herzegovina.⁴⁸ Despite their comparatively high status, the Ottoman administration treated Yürük commanders as "nomadic" leaders and did not use, for example in general registrations, the opulent titles found in sultanic or-

46 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 45; *Турски извори за историјата на правото в българските зѐми*, vol. I, 43–306; vol. II, 44; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 260, 263; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. III, 469; vol. IV, 315; vol. VI, 6, 596–720; Barkan, Ö. L. *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi*. Toplu Eserler I (İstanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980), 754.

47 Бошков, В. "Јуруците и светогорските манастири. Турски документи–коментар и регести," in *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населување на Балканот*, 60, 66; 1986; Фотић, А. *Света гора и Хиландар у Османском царству (XV–XVI век)*, 345.

48 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга II (Опширен пописен дефтер за Кустендилскиот санџак од 1570 г.). ed. M. Соколки et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1980), 153, 157.

ders, such as “mir-i liva i Yürükân” or “sancakbey,” preferring instead “bey” or “subaşı,” or noting only the personal name and patronymic. Maybe that is why according to Evliya Çelebi, “Yürük beys were not referred to as *ağa*” (“*ağa adı virmezler*”).⁴⁹ Some records from the 16th as well as from the 17th–19th centuries show that at least part of the lower-rank commanders, the *çeribaşıs* were of Yürük origin.⁵⁰

The Yürük sancaks – as the Gypsy, müselleme, Vlach, and voynuk groups – had a status that was different from the “classic” ones. They comprised population, not territory.⁵¹ The zeamets of the Yürük subaşı were formed for the most part from dues, fines, *resm-i yamakan* and *resm-i haymanegân* from their own yamaks and from nomads. The settlements and groups with yamaks of the Yürük officers were scattered over a wide territory. For example, in 1543 the Naldöken subaşı Behram had a zeamet of 29,550 akçes, of which 19,200 akçes came from dues, fees and fines charged from members of the ocaks in the districts of Plovdiv, Pazardzhik, Kazanlak, Stara Zagora, Elhovo, Çirmen, Adrianople and Dobrudzha. He received 5,550 akçes from his own 113 yamaks, 2,000 akçes from Aktav Tatars, and 2,800 akçes from *resm-i haymane*. In 1566 Mehmed bey had 1,092 zaim yamaks, from whom he received 29,460 akçes (including 2,800 akçes from *resm-i haymanegân*), and 15,000 akçes from dues, fines and *bad-u hava* (a total of 44,460 akçes). In 1588–1602 Mustafa Bey had 1,410 yamaks, from whom he received 31,175 akçes, 16,425 akçes from dues and fines from the ocaks in the same districts as well as from the districts of Sofia, Ihtiman and Haskovo, and 5,000 akçes from *resm-i haymanegân* (a total of 52,600 akçes). In 1609 İbrahim Bey had a zeamet of 102,000 akçes, out of which 31,175 akçes came from 430 zaim yamaks (old and new), 16,325 akçes came from ocaks, and 50,000 akçes came from others (yamaks and Yürük *haymanes*).⁵²

49 *Ağa* (“lord”, “master”) – title given to the commander of the Janissary corps and other dignitaries. See Evliya Çelebi, *Seyyahat Name. Tam Metin*, ed. Mümin Çevik at al. (İstanbul: Akide – Üçdal, 1986), vol. 1–2, 142; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 77.

50 Ibid., 62.

51 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. VI, 309–311, 689, 694.

52 In the last case the total sum ought to be 97,500 akçes, but it is recorded as

The subaşı themselves travelled around the Yürük settlements and regions with their own retinue of çeribaşı and yamaks. Citing a sultanic firman of 1576, the 1609 land code forbade Yürük beys or çeribaşı to cause trouble to the reaya and sipahis by stopping over with companions (“accompanied by quite a few of their men”) in villages where there were only one or two Yürüks. In such cases they were known to have demanded from the whole village free provision of food, fodder for the horses, and so on.⁵³ The headquarters of çeribaşı were in the respective districts (*nahiyes* and *kazas*), although they could be moved to different locations. The çeribaşı had timars formed on the same principle – from revenues from their own yamaks.⁵⁴ Çeribaşı also received additional income from booty, especially from slaves, from tenure of land, facilities,⁵⁵ and other sources. Like other high-ranking or wealthy Ottomans, Yürük subaşı sometimes established vakıfs on part of their properties. In 1570 we find a record of “a vakıf of Hüseyin, son of İskender, zaim of the Ofçabolı [Ovče Pole] Yürüks, for the mosque of the late Hüseyin Paşa in İştıp [Štip]. Fixed capital of 25,000 [akçes], annual revenue of 3,750 [akçes].”⁵⁶

Yürük sancakbeys were the main overseers of nomadic Yürüks – both of the registered and of the non-registered groups (“haric-ez

102,500 akçes, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 60. For other calculations and ratios, see İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544–1675)*, 24–87; Altunan, “XVI. Yüzyılda Balkanlar'da Naldöken Yürükleri,” 13–21.

53 *Турски извори за историјата на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, 155; see also Трухелка, Т. “О Маћедонским Јуруцима,” in *Зборник за историју Јужне Србије и суседних области* (Скопље: Скопско Научно Друштво, 1936), vol. I., 333–345 (Kanunname-i cedid of 1637/8).

54 Former subaşı of the Salonica Yürüks, Süleyman, announces that because of the death of the çeribaşı Zülfikâr, who had a revenue of 3,500 akçes, the position of çeribaşı of Yürük eşkincis in the Prilep, Bitola, Lerin/Florina, Sefice/Servia and other districts is vacant. He is requesting the appointment of Ahmed, former çeribaşı of the Trikala nahiye, see Матковски, “Јуруците од Македонија во некои турски документи,” Doc. 4 (of 1570), p. 237. See Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 61–95; İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544–1675)*, 25–88.

55 For example, from water-mills, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга III, 355, 393.

56 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 76.

defter haymane”). From among the nomads, they registered their own yamaks and received a certain part of the total revenue of their zeamets (from the *resm-i haymanegân* and *bad-u hava* paid instead of *bedel*).⁵⁷ The oversight of nomadic Yürüks, provided for by the law, sometimes had the character of patronage relations. The subaşı held or rented yaylaks and had their “own” nomadic communities.⁵⁸ The latter may have been required to unofficially provide revenues or services. Such was the case with the Serçi community, subordinate to the zaim of Salonica;⁵⁹ as well as, most probably, with the “cemaat of the subaşı Cafer,” whose summer grazing grounds were on the Osogovo mountain.⁶⁰

There is evidence that there were also other official and unofficial networks. For example, in the 16th century the Yürüks from the district of Sofia summered their flocks not just on near by Mount Vitosha and the Balkan range but also on Osogovo. There is registered a “sheepfold of Sağırlı (?) and Abdülcib, son of Hacı Bali collectively, in the Osogovo yaylak within the kaza of İlica [Kyustendil]. [They are] From the poor [the followers] of the late Bali Efendi.”⁶¹ Bali Efendi in question is the famous Halveti şeyh who, according to Evliya Çelebi, came from “the Yürük tribes.”⁶² According to the records, towards the end of the 16th century the eponymous settlement (present-day Knyazhevo, part of Sofia) where his *zaviye* (cell of a recluse, lodge) was located was home to muezzins, imams, dervishes and relatives of the shaikh, poor people (“taife-i fukara”), and others. Quite a few persons are recorded

57 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. VI, 694–720.

58 For example, “Sheepfold of Hüseyin, zaim of the Ofçabolı Yürüks, in the Osogova yaylak within the kaza of Kratovo...”; “Sheepfold of Ali, son of Savaş (?), in the Osogova yaylak within the kaza of Kratovo, rented by Hüseyin, zaim of the Ofçabolı Yürüks ...”, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 152.

59 See Chapter Four, I, 1.

60 “Yaylak Turtel within the kaza of Ustrumca/Strumica, rented by the cemaat of the subaşı Cafer. The cemaats of Baltalu, Hacı Oğulları and Terzi Hasan. The boundaries are indicated in the court record which they have in their possession,” *ibid.*, 158.

61 *Ibid.*, 147.

62 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyyahatname*, vol. 3–4, 323.

as “Yürük,” eşkincis and yamaks (14 *nefers* “from the old defter”). In addition to water-mills, meadows, shops and mescids (small mosques), the vakif included a caravanserai run by one Memi Yürük.⁶³ Evidently, Bali Efendi must have been quite popular among the Yürüks as some Yürük groups from the Sredna Gora region remained his followers until the end of the 19th century.⁶⁴

In the 16th century imams and muezzins, of Yürük or other origins, lived in villages as well as among the nomads. Some of them were eşkincis and yamaks themselves. In some instances, Muslim clerics became the heads of nomadic groups. A case in point is the cemaat of Eyne Bey registered on the common land of the village of Kaloyani in 1570. It was headed by the imam Emir Eyne Bey and his son İsa, who were members of the military organization.⁶⁵ Among the eşkincis in one of the Kocacık ocaks we find a certain “Kara, manumitted slave of Seydi Hoca from [the village/group of] Seydi Hoca,” in the nahiye of Varna. In all likelihood, the *hoca* (Muslim teacher) in question was also an eşkinci. Quite a few nicknames, personal and group names contain words like “fakih,” “derviş,” “şeyh” or “hoca,” explicitly or implicitly attesting to the parallel presence of the Sunni clergy and various heterodox orders and teachings among the Yürüks.⁶⁶ Many personal or group names

63 Genç, *XVI Yüzl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri'nde Sofya Kazası*, 126, 662–663. On the shaikh himself and “his” village, see Калицин, М. & Кр. Мутафова, “Исторически реалии за хелветийския шейх Бали Ефенди Софийски в новонамерено житие от XIX в.,” in *Мюсюлманска култура по българските земи*, ed. Р. Градева and Св. Иванова (София: Международен център по проблемите на малцинствата и културните взаимодействия, 1998), 212–242.

64 Карапетров, П. *Материяли за описание града Панагюрище и околните му села* (Средец: Либерален клуб, 1893), 108–109.

65 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга III, 455. The village in question is most likely Kalanjevo, later one of the Yürük villages in the district of Tikveš. In the late 19th–early 20th century there were 100 Christians and 202 Muslims here, as well as Yürük houses and pastures, see Кънчов, В. *Македония. Етнографія и статистика*, second ed. (Избрани произведения, vol. 2, София: «Наука и изкуство» 1970), 455.

66 Граматикова, Н. *Неортодоксалният ислям в българските земи. Минало и съвременност* (София: ИК “Гутенберг”, 2011), 149–153.

contain the word “hacı,” testifying regular pilgrimage to Mecca.⁶⁷ Also to be found among the Yürüks are different religious/mystic names such as Şahkulu, Kalender, Abdal, Işık, Derviş, Dede, Cemşid, Haydar, Mehdi, Enbiya or Resul.⁶⁸ As a whole, however, Balkan as well as Anatolian Yürüks officially remained Sunni.

3. Yürüks and Müsellems

The Yürüks became a separate corps later than the müsellems, akıncıs, yaya, piyade, and canbaz auxiliaries.⁶⁹ Unlike the Yürüks, the others were defined in the 15th and 16th centuries as “settled” (*yerli*). Their status was directly bound, at least formally, to the land and to the respective çiftliks and timars. Some of the general rules regarding obligations, labor service, taxes and concessions were valid for them too, but they were also subject to some specific rules. The general regulations regarding their obligations expressly provided for grain tributes (or their monetary equivalent). The land under cultivation (vineyards, fields, gardens, orchards) and facilities (mills, and so on) were indicated as a constituent part of the collectively held çiftliks. Sancakbeys were entitled to track down and return piyade and müsellems who had left their çiftliks. The punishments for offences were specified more strictly in terms of place and way of execution. Unlike the most general prescriptions whereby the Yürük subaşı was to punish his subordinates, specific penalties were provided for different offences – such as corporal punishment (mutilation), death by hanging instead of a fine, and public humiliation (shaving off the beards of those who had shown up late for service). In their capacity as timar-holders, their chiefs – *beys*, *yayabaşıs*, and others – were lower-ranking than

67 *A hatt-ı hümayun* (imperial decree) on the reorganization of the Evlâd-i Fâtihân permits Yürük soldiers to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca in peacetime, see *Турски документи за македонската историја*, ed. П. Џамбазовски (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1957), vol. IV, 25.

68 Altunan, “XVI. Yüzyılda Balkanlar’da Naldöken Yürükleri,” 32.

69 İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544–1675)*, 110–114; See also Imber, C. H. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 259–267.

the Yürük subaşı, and some were directly subordinate to the latter.⁷⁰ Among the müsellems, too, there were non-sedentary pastoralists as well as quite a few Yürüks – in terms of origin, status, way of life. Because of the significant number of Roma (including nomads) in the müsellems groups of Çirmen, Kızılca and Vize, they were called “Çingâne müsellemleri.” The zaim of the Vize Yürüks was also the *zabit* (military commander) of the local müsellems and sancakbey of the Gypsies.⁷¹ Despite the differences in the status of the different formations and in the rights of their members, they had overlapping functions and similar obligations, and were often mobilized together.

4. Yürüks as Subjects

Until the very end of the 16th century, newly-arrived as well as comparatively early nomadic groups in the Balkans constantly sought to evade registration and taxation. Nomads who had been registered earlier were often left “out of the defter,” that is, out of the Yürük register or periodic cadastral surveys (*tahrir*). A number of groups are known only by name or by the general location of their pastures. The members of the auxiliary corps themselves, who were subject to the relatively higher degree of control, were a very unruly, militant, and often undisciplined. Desertion from the battlefield or from labor service, and evasion of mobilization and taxation, was just as common case as the constant recruitment of eşkincis, financial resources or livestock from

70 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. I, 146, 157 (Law code of Mehmed II); vol. II, 62–64 (Law code of Bayezid II [1481–1512]); vol. III, 105–110 (Law code of Selim I [1512–1520]), 390–393 (Lawbook of Gelibolu/Gallipoli Müsellems and Piyade of 1518); vol. IV, 318–321 (Law of Süleyman I of the 1520s), 387–392 (Law from the time of Süleyman I), 464, 465, 479, 481 (Law on Rumelia); vol. VI, c. 6, 343–344 (Lawbook of Rumelian Yürüks and Müsellems), 511–521 (Lawbooks for the Gypsy sancak dating from the same time), 527–534 (Lawbook for Müsellems from the Çirmen sancak of 1531), 595–603 (Lawbooks for the Kırklise sancak from the time of Süleyman I); *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, I, c. 23–47, 274, 311–313; vol. II, 38, 41; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Doc. LXV (Gallipoli); LXVII (Gallipoli müsellems and piyade), LXVIII (The Gypsy sancak), LXXV (Müsellems eşkincis), pp. 235, 241–244, 259.

71 Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol. VI, 511.

the ocaks. The Ottoman authorities had constant difficulties not just in collecting the due numbers of sheep, taxes, and other tributes, but also in registering eşkincis and yamaks. The settlements, summer and winter pastures, personnel of ocaks, order of service, were usually well known, but finding the Yürüks themselves was often a problem. They could hide by striking a deal with kinsmen, with the timar-holders or with the governors of vakıfs, by temporarily going to the mountains with their flocks or moving to another region.⁷² In some of the already noted cases, Yürüks tried to bribe their way out of mobilizations. The most frequent punishment for failure to show up for service or for desertion was life enslavement as galley rowers. The death penalty was also imposed in some cases.⁷³

Local Ottoman authorities and Yürük sancakbeys simply could not exercise full control. Hunting down, capturing, and punishing offenders was sometimes a very dangerous part of their duties. Even during the second half of the 16th century, when the Yürük corps was in its relatively most disciplined form, it was possible for an impostor to pretend to be Yürük subaşı,⁷⁴ and for ordinary members of the military organization to threaten the lives of their senior commanders. For example, in 1579 the eşkinci Derviş, son of Hacı Yakub, collected *bedel akçesi* from the yamaks in his ocaк but refused to go on a military expedition on the pretext that he was a falconer. Together with his kinsmen and several sipahis, he threatened to attack Veli, the subaşı of the Ovçe Pole formation.⁷⁵ On the other hand, Yürüks sometimes complained about harassment from their sancakbeys and çeribaşıs.⁷⁶

72 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 36; Матковски, “Јуруците од Македонија во некои турски документи,” Doc. 5.

73 Ibid., Doc. 5, 17; Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 13, 15, 23, 31, 39, 46, 73.

74 See Chapter Two, p. 140–141.

75 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 75; Матковски, “Јуруците од Македонија во некои турски документи,” Doc. 16, pp. 242–243 (The same order, but with serious discrepancies because of different readings and omissions).

76 Announcement by the Ofçabolу subaşı Veli that a local Yürük serasker (çeribaşı) was arbitrarily taking five or six gold coins from some Yürüks. Order to the Rumelian governor (*beylerbey*) that someone else must be appointed in his place, *ibid.*, Док. 6 (of 1573), p. 238.

The constant disputes over pastures, thefts, violence against the surrounding Christian and Muslim population and between the Yürüks themselves, banditry, were part of the life of nomadic as well as of sedentary Yürüks. Here are several typical examples. Disputes over pastures were so common that they have become the subject of the folk songs.⁷⁷ They are also often mentioned in the Ottoman sources, along with the conflicts with the surrounding population.⁷⁸ A situation very typical of the 1670s is revealed by a complaint of the inhabitants of the village of Bodam in the kaza of Makri (present-day Potamos, west of Dedeğaç/Alexandroupolis, on the Aegean coast). They collectively held a piece of forest land and were its sole tenants, but the local governor (*voyvoda*) allowed Yürüks to stay in the forest without the knowledge of the villagers. The Yürüks spent the winter in the forest, clearing some land and planting vines and fruit trees. After the locals complained, the Sublime Porte sent a sultanic order prohibiting the Yürüks from entering the forest.⁷⁹

The extant Ottoman documents of the Athos monasteries of Koutloumousiou, Chilandarion and St. Pavlos attest to frequent conflicts with the Yürüks from the nearby area of Kalamaria where there was a compact Yürük community. Sultanic firmans and *kadı* acts from the period between 1529 and 1643 mention constant conflicts over pastures, land boundaries, seizure of land, straying of Yürük flocks into monastic estates, attacks and killings of monks, mutual accusations and reporting to the authorities, and so on. The local cemaats (Yürük *taifes*) – Kelefli, Duberlu, Çulahlu, Çengeneli, Satı Nasuh, Dervişli, and others – often had hostile relations with the monks and the peasants, and some of their members formed bandit (*eşkiya*, *harami*) gangs. Such conflicts in the region were recorded earlier and also continued later on, in the 17th century. Of course, attacks on the metochia (subsidiaries) and monks on Chalkidiki were conducted not only by Yürüks but also by Christian bandits, including by sea. As

77 See Chapter Four, II.

78 Heirs of six Yürüks from the kaza of Tatar Pazarcık contest a large pasture in the region, see Андреев, Ст. & Е. Грозданова, “Българските и съседните им земи според “Книгата на жалбите” от 1675 г.,” *Известия на Народната библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”*, XXII, 28 (1994): 204.

79 *Ibid.*, 204.

we have already noted, shepherds who were offenders or bandits with non-Muslim names are also mentioned as members of the local Yürük groups. For their part, the monks also responded in kind. Sometimes they, too, were suspected of killing people, went around armed, and so on.⁸⁰ The Yürüks themselves were target of bandit and other attacks, too. For example, in 1609 non-Muslim *haramis* attacked and looted a Yürük village near a metochion of the Monastery of St. Pavlos. The Yürüks accused the monks and took revenge by killing two and torturing nine monks, two of whom also died. Later, the monks managed to secure a sultanic firman on punitive measures.⁸¹ In 1584 three dervish bandits seized property, products, women and girls, attacked and burned Yürük villages. After a letter from the Yürük bey Mustafa, a sultanic order for punitive measures was sent to the kadıs of Salonica, Strumica, Demirhisar and Serres.⁸²

As bandits and rebels usually operated in the same areas where the summer pastures of pastoralists were located,⁸³ attacks and robberies in the mountains were an inseparable, almost prosaic, part of the life of shepherds. In 1660 Yürüks were grazing the sheep of one Hacı Mustafa Ağa from Bitola on the Baba mountain, in return for buying the wool. They were attacked and wounded by Christian bandits from villages near their yaylak. In their complaint, the shepherds reported that the bandits had stolen from them 3,800 akçes, as well as some other modest possessions: two swords, one musket, one mace, one muslin cover, one shepherd's cloak of black *aba* (rough woollen cloth), one mattress of white *aba*, and three saddlebags.⁸⁴

80 Бошков, "Јуруците и светогорските манастири," 57–67; Фотић, *Света гора и Хиландар у Османском царству (XV–XVI век)*, 167, 168, 180, 345.

81 Ibid., 167.

82 Матковски, "Јуруците од Македонија во некои турски документи," Doc. 18, p. 243.

83 *Hayduts* (bandits) are operating in the yaylaks on Osogovo, Dupnice (in the Rila mountains) and Sonya (?), see Tulum, M. *Muhimme Defteri* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1993), Vol. 1, Doc. 268 (of 1646).

84 Матковски, А. *Турски извори за ајдутството и арамиството во Македонија* (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1961), vol. II, Doc. 35 (of 1660), p. 35.

II. SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF THE BALKAN YÜRÜKS

The Yürüks had a tough way of life, and they were used to privations, handling weapons, and travelling. Tradition, kinship, collective solidarity and mutual help were an important factor for the organization and operation of the Yürük corps. The Ottomans relied on them right until the mid-19th century. Different communities, seasonal pastoral associations, large families and cemaats made up of several subgroups can often be identified in the extant sources. This raises the question of whether, and until when, there were Yürük tribes in the Balkans similar to those in Anatolia.

Many of the tribal names known in Asia Minor are found in the Balkans not just as toponymic traces of earlier migrations, but also as names of groups that still existed in the 16th century.⁸⁵ For example, part of the Akçakoyunlu *aşiret* (tribal community) evidently settled in Eastern Thrace in relatively early times. In the 1450s there were 17 households of nomads that previously gone unrecorded (“haric-ez-defter”), which were paying sheep tax (*ağnam*). They wintered their flocks in the vast pasturelands along the lower reaches of the river Maritsa, in the area of Ferecik and Keşan.⁸⁶ About a century later, in 1573, a sultanic order addressed to the sancakbey and judge of Vize was still describing them as a separate community in different vakif and timar places, evidently outside of the ocaks of the Yürük corps.⁸⁷

Although as a rule, the Ottomans rarely mentioned tribal chieftains outside of the *yurtluk* and *ocaklık* estates established in Eastern Anatolia, a number of communities or parts of them, which most probably had their own leaders, immigrated into Rumelia in the 16th century, too. The Ottoman policy of integrating such communities in Asia Minor presupposed direct administration and taxation of the kinship structures – *kabile* (tribal sections) and *oba* (patrilineal groups). Their

85 See Chapter Two, Table 1.

86 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâti’hân*, 25.

87 Refik, *Anadolu’da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 37, pp. 19–20. This document refers to people committing “riots,” “abominations” and “shameful crimes.” The punitive measures included parading the captives through the villages as a lesson to the others.

own chieftains were ignored, enlisted for service, and persecuted in case of insubordination or formation of bandit gangs and rebel detachments, of pro-Persian or pro-Shiite sympathy and acts.⁸⁸

In the Balkans, the Yürük military organization became the most important institution for integrating local Turkish pastoralists. State regulation, the processes of sedentarization, and the social changes among the colonized nomadic elements significantly limited the possibilities for preserving or reproducing the traditional tribal institutions. In some periods and places in Anatolia, traditional tribal institutions continued to exist in parallel with the military-administrative system imposed by the Ottomans. The Asian Minor Yürük tribes, parts of which were constantly included into various groups with special status and obligations, did not have their “own” dominant institution similar to the Rumelian Yürük corps.

It is known that throughout the Ottoman period part of the Western Balkans were the domain of local tribal communities. In the 14th and 15th centuries, some of the Albanians and Montenegrins gradually formed territorial tribal structures not just in a kinship and genealogical sense, but also in a local political sense. There were also other kin-based territorial confederacies of mountain villages, such as those of the Chimariotes and the Souliotes (in Epirus). They were founded upon different forms of pastoralism, where agriculture often played an insignificant role. The general tendency in social structuring in some regions to the west of the main areas inhabited by the Yürüks was towards emergence and territorial differentiation of clans and tribes, not towards their disintegration and disappearance. On the other hand, the social organization of the nomadic Aromanians and Karakachans, was not based on tribe and tribal institutions.⁸⁹

The tribal structures of the Anatolian Yürüks survived right until the 20th century, but it is assumed to have changed radically in the Ottoman context, becoming non-genealogical, loose and much more segmented than that of some of the Türkmén and the Kurds. Their

88 See Lindner, R. P. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 9, 51–56, 84–85, 92–96, and Appendix I.

89 See Kaser, K. *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats* (Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), 179–225.

brethren in the Balkans experienced an even stronger transformation over the centuries. Although a significant part of the local Yürüks had a nomadic or semi-nomadic economy, tribal structures disappeared in the long term. Unlike the Western Balkans, in the east the comprehensive processes of sedentarization did not lead to the survival of the old tribes or to the emergence of new ones. Nor was it possible for the tribal elements in the Eastern Balkans to regroup into supra-tribal conglomerates (confederacies) headed by their own chieftains. Here settled as well as nomadic Yürüks were constantly under pressure from the subaşı, çeribaşı, ocaks, and the Ottoman administration. In these historical conditions, tribal structures in Rumelia gradually declined and disappeared altogether.

Still, there is sufficient evidence from the era of the Ottoman conquest and at least until the 16th century that separate kinship groups continued to exist in that period. They were intertwined with the ocaks, villages, and nomadic communities. This type of structure was common to the nomadic *cemaats* and to the sedentary Yürüks in villages.

The Yürüks sancaks comprised small mobilization units, ocaks, often scattered over a wide territory. The eşkincis themselves and their yamaks from one and the same ocak often lived quite far away from each other. This was also true for the yamaks of the subaşı and çeribaşı. For example, the 1543 register of the Kocacık formation clearly shows that the eşkincis, çeribaşı and the zaim himself had to personally know their yamaks or the villages, towns and places from where they had to collect their revenues and to mobilize men and resources. Yürüks were obligated to show up at specified places upon mobilization regardless of where they were living or wandering at the time. Eşkincis from Yambol district had yamaks not just from the near by districts of Karnobat, Aytos, Anchialo and Haskovo but also from the districts of Shumen, Balchik and Çorlu; those from Elhovo and Karnobat districts had yamaks from Gümülcine and Maronia districts; eşkincis from Shumen district had yamaks from Plovdiv district; those from Provadiya district had yamaks from Haskovo district and Mangalia; eşkincis from Varna or Silistra districts had yamaks from Adrianople and Ferecik, and so on. In quite a few of those cases, the yamaks were townsmen or peasants newly converted

to Islam.⁹⁰ The eşkincis had to visit them in order to collect the money covering their expenses for six months in service, as provided for by the law. At the same time, whole ocaks were formed not just on the basis of neighbourhood, in close settlements and regions, but also on the basis of groups of fellow-villagers and kinsmen.⁹¹ They comprised fathers and sons, brothers, sons-in-law, and other relatives. Often the fathers were eşkincis, their sons yamaks, two or more brothers were eşkincis and yamaks, and so on.⁹² Evidently, the yamaks did not just pay the expenses of the eşkincis in military service but also looked after their flocks, crops and families – at least in those cases where they were relatives.

Among the settled Yürüks, the group names and settlement names often coincided; in some instances, though, they could be common to several adjacent villages. It is not always possible to identify kinship ties within a wider network of permanent settlements. On the other hand, there are some cases in which the members of one lineage predominated in a particular settlement. Names of *obas* – groups centered around fathers, brothers, and male cousins – were typical for the Yürük community in the 15th–17th centuries, both for the villages of sedentary Yürüks and for the groups of nomadic Yürüks. Upon their sedentarization, those kinship ties were often preserved; for the most part, Yürük villages were small communities of closer or more distant relatives (ranging from several to some thirty-odd families).⁹³

Until late times there were also groups of permanent settlements or hamlets (*mahalle*) united into one *cemaat* – a clan descended from a really or ideally (fictionally) endogamous “large” nomadic kinship group, divided into families. For example, in the first register of the Evlâd-i Fâtihân (the successor of the Yürük corps), compiled in 1691 and covering the “Rumelian Yürük vilayet,” *cemaats* were registered in a number of areas along with villages (*köy*), smaller towns (*kasaba*),

90 For example, in the 1543 register of Kocacık Yürüks, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 186–229.

91 Ibid., 190–224.

92 Ibid., 216, 228.

93 For example, “village Yürük *cemaat* at [the village of] Çomlek” (Starosel, present-day Staro Novo Selo, Hisarya municipality), see *Турски извори за българската история*. Vol. III, 52.

and cities (*şehir*). Whereas the term *cemaat* can have a very wide meaning, here it is evidently used to denote local groups, large or small. Most of the *cemaats* in question comprise several mahalles or obas. Some are more like territorially adjacent associations of close or more distant relatives, while others are still nomadic or semi-nomadic groups. This defter lists only the number, but not the names, of the newly registered *piyade* – that is, *yamaks* – and the sheep tax (*ağnam*) paid by them. That is why it is impossible to establish the actual size of the local groups, or the kinship ties within them. Nor is it possible to determine the degree of sedentarization. For example, the *cemaats* of Cafer Fakih and Ala Soflu from the kaza of Tatar Pazarcık, which we know migrated seasonally between the Sredna Gora mountains, the Upper Thracian Plain and Mount Vitosha until late times,⁹⁴ are described as “mahalle” in this defter. A comparison of the group- and settlement-names in 1691 registration and the known data for the 16th century may well show that after the disintegration or abolishment of the previous *Yürük ocaks*, the Ottomans relied everywhere upon the same people, their descendants, families, and local groups.

In 1691, most of the *cemaats* were concentrated in the districts of Tikveš, Radoviš, Doyran, Kukush/Kilkis, Lagadino/Langadas, Sarigöl (in the region of present-day Arnissa, Ptolemaida and Kozani) and Kalamaria. Some are also encountered in other regions. *Obas* are mentioned in many places and, for instance, in the kaza of Sultan Yeri (Krumovgrad and Momchilgrad districts in the Eastern Rhodopes) we find several small *cemaats*, designated as *mahalle*.⁹⁵ For part of the regions – such as Tikveš (around Demir Kapı), Chalkidiki, and the mountains to the west of Serres (Karadağ/Krusha/Mavrovouni, Bogdanska/Vertiskos, Beşikdağ/Volvis) – we have evidence that seasonal migrations and well-developed pastoralism continued until the late 19th – early 20th century.⁹⁶ In some places permanent settlements were still being formed towards the end of the 17th century. Quite a few of them may be identified as nomadic

94 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 260; see Chapter Two, Table 3.

95 *Ibid.*, 257–272.

96 See Chapter Five.

or not completely settled groups in the second half of the 16th century and as Yürük villages in the 19th or 20th century. It is possible that the cemaats as well as other groups registered in 1691 may have still been partially endogamous at the level of maximal lineage.⁹⁷ The communal-territorial structures formed by them did not exclude the possibility that real kinship ties and as well as ideal wider kinship remained the main unifying principle until late times. Naturally, other nearby Yürük groups or families made their way into those structures, settled, and associated themselves with them. In quite a few instances, mixed villages were also formed with non-Muslims, Tatars or various other Muslim groups.

It is impossible to trace the transformation from group endogamy at different levels to the later pattern identified by ethnographic research. In Vardar Macedonia in the 19th and 20th centuries, this pattern was one of group exogamy (of clans, mahalles, villages, although there were also some endogamous local groups), combined with the traditional (predominant, as well as somewhat ideal, not real) norm regarding endogamy within the Yürük community as a whole. This issue, however, was not properly researched in the period before the emigration of the Yürüks along with the overwhelming majority of the Muslim population from Greece to Turkey in the 1920s. Nor are the ethnographic studies on Yürüks in the Republic of Macedonia in the 1950s–80s sufficiently detailed.⁹⁸ In the region of Tikveš in the 1920s, the lineages of sedentary Yürüks consisted of one to 26 family households, where there was a significant number of villages made up of three to ten families. The other Muslims among them were very few.⁹⁹

97 At least according to Daniel Bates, with whom I had the opportunity to discuss the issue.

98 See Nahya, Z. “Makedonya Türk Yürüklerinin Evlenme Gelenekleri Üzerine,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населување на Балканот*, 113–118; Паликрушева, Г. “Етнографските особености на Македонските Јуруци,” *ibid.*, 71; Додовска, Ј. “Етнички карактеристики на валандовските Јуруци,” *Етнолошки преглед* 17 (1982): 85–86.

99 Радвановић, В. *Тиквеш и Рајец. Антропогеографска испитавања*. Српски Етнографски Зборник XXIX (Земун: Српска Академија Наука, 1924), 257–259, 276.

The *cemaats (taifes)* that had not yet become sedentary in the second half of the 16th century were relatively small groups which were often named after their leaders. They were associations of close relatives (fathers, sons, brothers, male cousins) that may have included seasonally or permanently associated families of more distant relatives or cooperated non-relatives. The nomads had their own hired shepherds who were impoverished Yürüks or, in some instances, Christians; at least as far as the eşkincis are concerned, we know that they had manumitted slaves, some of whom followed them during their migrations. In the process of sedentarization and land allocation in the 16th century, in some places in Macedonia,¹⁰⁰ West Bulgaria¹⁰¹ and the Rhodopes,¹⁰² there were communities divided into still non-sedentary groups and newly-formed permanent settlements. As Table 3 in Chapter Two shows, in some cases we can identify *cemaats* that were subgroups of larger *cemaats* even though they were dispersed across different winter and summer pastures. Judging from the available ethnographic evidence and Rudi Paul Lindner's analysis regarding Anatolia in the 16th century, those groups corresponded in size and composition to the small-to-medium-sized tribal groups called *kabile* (or in the context of sedentarization, *mahalle*, made up of several dozen to a hundred-odd families). In the Balkans in the 16th century as well as later, we do not know any larger and relatively autonomous tribes that could have comprised the said communities as subgroups. Such a structuring or restructuring presupposes the existence of the institution of the tribal chieftain (hereditary or elected from among several eminent clans), of which we have no direct or indirect evidence. At the same time, part of those larger *cemaats* were under the protection and control of the Yürük subaşı. It was they who were their "chieftains."

Because of the specific character of the Ottoman registrations and attitude towards tribal institutions, we cannot be entirely sure that in the

100 For example, "the *cemaat* of Hacı Obası and the Dikenler mahalle" in the nahiye of İştib (Štip) in 1570, see Chapter Two, Table 3.

101 See Chapter Five.

102 As in the *cemaats* in the Eastern Rhodopes, in the districts of Kardzhali, Ardino and Dzhebel in the 1550s, see Chapter Two, p. 74-81.

16th century, as well as later, part of the nomadic Yürüks did not have their own tribal structures and chieftains from among the tribal elders. When it does not refer to subaşı, the term “bey,” which is frequently found in the extant sources, may be an honorable addition to an elderly person’s name,¹⁰³ but it may also signify a leader of an *oba*, *kabile*, or *sülâle*. Those Yürük beys were usually leaders (*kâhya*) of the seasonally migrating groups, or village notables. They are most often listed first in the registers and they have the same name as the group.

It seems that the leaders of the migrating cemaats in the 16th century were similar to the Karakachan and Vlach headmen.¹⁰⁴ The common pastures were possessed or rented in their name; it was they who resolved economic or other disputes and who acted as the group’s representative before the authorities. The flocks or fields were privately owned by the individual families, yet even so, kinship ties were the key factor in cooperation for group migrations and other economic activities. Despite their different system of kinship, religion and tradition, the non-sedentary part of the Balkan Yürüks gradually became closer to the comparatively well-researched social model of the Karakachans and the Vlachs.¹⁰⁵ Kinship and economic cooperation were combined within the framework of the migrating groups which were a sort of mobile “communes” headed by hereditary or elected leaders.¹⁰⁶

103 For example, “Eyne Bey, manumitted slave of Abaz Bey,” from the village of Kurtino, nahiye of Yenice Zağra, see Грозданова, “Нови сведения за юруците в българските и някои от съседните им земи през XV–XVII в.,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населуване на Балканот*, 25.

104 Маринов, В. *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1964), 16–25; Веуерманн, А. *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeographie des östlichen Mittelmeergebietes* (Braunshweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1967), 154–182.

105 On the kinship structures and social organization of the Aromanians and Karakachans, see Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden*; Campbell, J. K. *Honour, Family and Patronage. A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1974).

106 Пимпирева, Ж. “Номадската община на власите-армъни и каракачаните в България,” in *Армъните в България. Историко-етнографско изследване*, ed. Ив. Георгиева (София: ИК “Васил”, 1998), 313–326.

In addition to their economic ties, close kinsmen – fathers, brothers, male cousins, as well as their wives and children – were also bonded by blood vengeance. This practice survived until late times among Yürüks in Anatolia and Macedonia.¹⁰⁷ The main requirement for cooperation during the seasonal migrations, even if there was a permanent settlement and supplementary agriculture, was possession of the necessary minimal or optimal number of sheep, goats and horses. The traditional economic strategy was aimed precisely at maintaining this number, not at acquiring more land and livestock.¹⁰⁸ Despite this, social inequality was part of the life of the Balkan pastoralists. It was maintained not just by the greater wealth and authority of the leaders (because of their personal qualities but also because of their belonging to prominent families, because of their partners in trade, or other activities). Relations of social inequality were also periodically reproduced because of the way of life itself. Among the Vlachs and Karakachans, as well as among transhumant Bulgarian and other sheep-breeders, there were frequent cases of death of their main asset – their flocks – caused by natural disasters. Bandit raids, unrest, or theft of livestock could have a similar effect. Among the Yürüks, a family could become impoverished due to death during performance of military or labor service, and so on. There were different ways out of this predicament: working for better-off relatives or wealthier members of the group, fellow-villagers, notables; settling down in a permanent village and cultivating land; gradually restoring the flock by hiring livestock; and sometimes, resorting to armed robbery or theft. Additional funds could be secured from social exploitation as well as from booty and slaves.

The elders, *kâhyas* or other members of the group could become rich and own more sheep than their followers, they could invest in land and hire shepherds. Although this could lead to the adoption of a sedentary lifestyle, it did not necessarily do so. There are sufficient examples of very wealthy Aromanian and Karakachan headmen liv-

107 *Nomads and Farmers. A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey*. Anthropological Papers 52, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1973, 33; Паликрушева, “Етнографските особености на Македонските Јуруци,” 72–73.

108 See Chapter Five, IV, V.

ing as nomads with their flocks and families. The former often possessed or rented large summer pastures, had houses in permanent settlements, stayed in tents during their migrations, and lived in huts in the winter pastures. The majority of the latter led an entirely nomadic way of life until the 1950s or 1960s. In the late 19th or early 20th century, wealthy Muslims of Yürük origin lived in the Aegean villages and towns and owned *çiftlik*s (since the 17th century, large, often commercial estates) on the sites of the winter pastures of Rhodopian shepherds' associations which tended their own as well as "Muslim ağas'" sheep.¹⁰⁹ Sometimes Yürük nomadic groups themselves grazed sheep of wealthy town-dwelling notables.

As already mentioned, Yürüks often became sipahis, Janissaries, Muslim clerics, etc. There were evidently rich townsmen as well as other authoritative persons among them. Orders on the mobilization of Yürüks from the 1680s and of *evlâd-i fâtiyhâns* (members of the corps after 1691) from the 18th century, mention, together with *zabits* (the successors of the Yürük subaşı), *beys*, *çeribaşıs* and other military commanders,¹¹⁰ *ayans* (notables), elders, and others. During the 1683–1699 war with the Holy League, the Ottomans relied not just on the institutions of the Yürük corps but also on various responsible factors from the Yürük community. For example, those subject to military service from among the *eşkincis*, *yamaks*, *yağcıs* and *vakıf* Yürüks ("efkâfi Yürükleri") in the sancaks of Paşa, Kyustendil, Skopje, Trikala and Salonica had to be registered in 1690. A sultanic order to this effect was sent to the judges, *ayans*, Yürük *çeribaşıs* and elders (*ihtiyar*).¹¹¹ In 1718–1719 authorized clerks and scribes went on site to rectify irregularities in the registration of *evlâd-i fâtiyhâns* in Rumelia. It was necessary to determine which ones of them were exempt from military service and had become *reaya*, as there were

109 See Chapter Four, II.

110 Order addressed to the Yürük bey and *mutasarrıf* (governor) of Tırhala/Trikala. This order provides for the appointment of a separate commander, *başbuğ*, of a detachment of 200–300 Yürüks that was to be sent from Rumelia to Eğriboz/Chalkis on the island of Euboea, see Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)*, Doc. 143 (of 1689), p.93.

111 Ibid., Doc. 145 (of 1690); Order on sending Yürüks from the region of Sofia to war against the Austrians, *ibid.*, Doc. 135 (of 1689), pp. 79–80.

instances of pressure from the *zabits*. The Ottoman chancery ordered that this was to be done with the help of the *kadıs*, *vilayet ayans* and local elders (*söz sahibi*, *ihtiyarlar*). They had to find out which of the Yürüks wished and which did not wish to remain in the “fâtiyhân-lık” (fâtiyhân status), as well as their origin (the names of the fathers and forefathers).¹¹² Later, in 1764, a detachment of 2,000 infantrymen (“nefer piyade asker”), evlâd-i fâtiyhâns from the sancak of Salonica, was about to go to war in Georgia. They had *bölükbaşıs* (commanders of the local units), but needed to be appointed a *binbaşıs* (“chief of a thousand,” major). To this end, *çeribaşıs*, competent people and elders (*erbab-i vukuf*, *ihtiyar*) held consultations and elected the *çeribaşı* of Salonica, Hacı Musa Zade, who was experienced in warfare.¹¹³

Some of those people were appointed from the outside, others were local Ottoman notables, while still others rose to prominence from among the Yürüks upon the reorganization of the corps as well as after the relevant economic and social changes in the empire. The Yürük notables acted as intermediaries between the community, the military structures and the authorities, as did the representatives of other territorial, professional, religious or ethnic groups.¹¹⁴ The overwhelming majority of the Yürüks remained pastoralists and peasants whose existence continued to depend on livestock, land cultivation, and military service in the next centuries, too.

112 Ibid., Doc. 202 (of 1718–1719), pp. 158–161.

113 Ibid., Doc. 243 (of 1764), pp. 218–219.

114 Грозданова, Е. “Форми на представителство на различни териториални, професионални, религиозни и етнически общности под османска власт,” in *Представата за “другия” на Балканите*, ed. Н. Данова et al. (София: Академично издателство “Марин Дринов”, 1995), 81–90.

CHAPTER FOUR:

TWO CASE STUDIES: SOUTHWESTERN BULGARIA AND THE RHODOPE MOUNTAINS

I. YÜRÜKS IN THE UPPER STRUMA REGION IN THE 16TH–19TH CENTURIES

The choice of Southwestern Bulgaria as a case study was not random. It was determined by the sources available as well as by the cross-roads location of this region. The region lies between the high plains of West Central Bulgaria to the north, the middle reaches of the Struma River to the south, the Kyustendil plain and the Osogovo Mountain to the west, and the Rila-Rhodope mountains to the east and south-east. Owing to the combination of a mostly mountainous and semi-mountainous terrain, and a southern influence coming along the river valleys and basins, the areas of Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad are in the wide transition zone between the Mediterranean and the temperate continental climate regions. In historical and cultural terms, these areas link Western Bulgaria to Eastern and Southeastern Macedonia, and in communication (and migration) terms, Sofia to Salonica along the road that follows the Struma river; the Ovče Pole area, Štip and Radoviš along the road through the Tsarevo Selo/Delčevo Pass; and Skopje and Kyustendil to Samokov along the road leading to the Upper Thracian Plain. This is also one of the main regions of the spread, seasonal migrations, and present-day sedentary life of part of the Aromanians and Karakachans/Sarakatsani.

However, the most important reason for choosing this region was the possibility of using sources that differ in type and age but which, to my mind, are nevertheless compatible. Almost all have been published and introduced into circulation a long time ago. Information about the local Yürüks is to be found in Ottoman documents, Turkish place-names, and the oral tradition recorded mostly by amateur local historians.¹ Also important was the very fact that recollections

1 Меджидиев, А. *История на град Станке Димитров (Дупница) и покрайнината му от XIV век до 1912–1963 г.* (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1969); Шарков, В. *Град Горна Джумая. Минало и днес* (София: Армейски военно-издателски фонд, 1930); Билярски, Я. *Станке Димитров (Дупница) и краят по време на Освободителната война (1877–1878)*. (Станке Димитров: Музей на град Станке Димитров, 1970; Билярски, Я. “Народната памет разказва. Легенди от Станке Димитровско.” (unpublished); Билярски, Я. “Местните имена в Станке Димитровско.” (unpublished).

about Yürüks were preserved among the locals until a comparatively late period.

Unlike many other regions, some of the local settlements are known already from Byzantine and Bulgarian medieval sources from the 11th–14th centuries, and this has helped scholars to identify a number of place names from Ottoman times. The development of the processes of the Ottoman conquest, administrative structure, colonization, Islamization, and ethno-demographic relations in the *sancak* (military-administrative subdivision of a province) of Kyustendil have been studied in detail by Hristo Matanov on the basis of medieval Balkan and Ottoman data. In this particular case there is a unique correspondence between the two sets of sources.²

Evidence about the areas of Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad is provided by various Ottoman sources from the 15th and 16th centuries. Among them of primary importance for our study are the *mufassal defter* (detailed register) for the sancak of Kyustendil dating from 1570 and the *celepkeşan* (sheep-suppliers') defter of 1576.³ Some information about the period between the early 1600s and the 1840s can be found in the Rila Monastery's collection of Ottoman documents.⁴ In general, there is only fragmentary evidence (Ottoman, Bulgarian, Russian, and West European) about the entire period from the late 1600s to Bulgaria's 1878 liberation from Ottoman rule. From all those sources, we can piece together a general but very incomplete picture of the Yürük presence in part of Southwestern Bulgaria, which will nevertheless give us a better idea about the fate of this Turkish-speaking pastoralist population.

2 Матанов, Хр. *Възникване и облик на Кюстендилски санджак през XV–XVI в.* (София: ИФ-94, 2000).

3 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V (Опширен пописен дефтер за Кустендилскиот санџак од 1570 г.), книга I, ed. М. Соколовски et al. (Скопје: Архив на СР Македонија, 1983); *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, ed. А. Стојановски et al. (Скопје: Архив на Македонија, 1995); *Турски извори за българската историја*, vol. III, ed. Б.Цветкова, et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1972).

4 Ихчиев, Д. *Турските документи на Рилският манастир* (София: Рилски манастир, 1910).

To some extent, the choice of this particular region for a case-study was also driven by personal considerations: my love for the local scenery and the people with whom I share a common past.

1. *The Sixteenth Century*

Until the end of the 18th century the *kaza* (judicial-administrative district) of Dupniçe/Dupnitsa included the former *nahiye* (subdivision of a *kaza* or *sancak*) of the same name and the whole area that would later become the *kaza* of Cuma Pazarı/Gorna Dzhumaya/Blagoevgrad. Before 1798 the *kaza* is mentioned as “Dupniçe, together with Cuma.” In the 1570s the administrative boundary of the *nahiye* of Dupniçe bordered on the villages of Krupnik and Sarbinovo/Brezhani to the south. At the foothills of Mount Pirin, it turned to the northeast, incorporating the villages of Gradevo and Osenovo (Gorno and Dolno Osenovo), ran along the mountain ridges to the Rila Monastery, and then descended northwards to the plain between the present-day villages of Klisura and Dospey Mahala/Dospey in the district of Samokov, incorporating the village of Belchin. Further on, the boundary ran along the ridges of Mount Verila and north of the villages of Topolnitsa and Karnul/Delyan, then northwestwards along the ridge of the Konyavska mountain to the common lands of the villages of Golema Fucha, Babino and Tsarvenyano, leaving the latter in the *nahiye* of Kyustendil. Then it turned to the southwest, incorporating the villages of Gorna and Dolna Koznitsa, Marvodol and Pastuh, crossed the Piyanets region to the west of the villages of Frolosh and Lisiya, and ran along the ridges of Mount Vlahina to the northern sections of the Maleshevska Mountain, reaching the Krupnik – Brezhani line once again.⁵

5 See Стойков, Р. “Селищни имена в западната половина на България през XVI в. (По турски регистър за данъци от 984 (1576-1577 г.),” in *Езиковедско - етнографски изследвания в памет на акад. Ст. Романски*, ed. Е. Георгиев et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1960), 446–448; *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, 183, note 4, and 194, note 1. On the emergence of Dupnitsa as a “new” town and the formation of its district towards the end of the 15th century, see Матанов, *Възникване и облик на Кюстендилски санджак*, 61–62.

The known data from the end of the 15th century reflect only the status of the registered non-Muslim population in the tax *vilayet* (here – district) of Dupnitsa for the purposes of *cizye*⁶ collection. They are generalized demographically on the basis of the earliest and most complete source on the number of non-Muslim households (*hane*) on the Balkan Peninsula published to date – a defter of 1490/91.⁷ A total of 3,157 hanes and 150 widows from the tax vilayet of Dupnitsa are recorded in it.⁸ Information about the first half of the 16th century is to be found in the data on the number and religious distribution of households in the separate sancaks of the province of Rumelia, published by Ömer Lütfi Barkan. According to him, a total of 63,667 households were registered in the sancak of Kyustendil in 1520–1535, out of which 6,640 were Muslim, 56,988 Christian, and 49 Jewish.⁹ The percentage ratio between non-Muslim and Muslim households in this period was 89.5% to 10.5%, making Kyustendil one of the sancaks with a relatively small Muslim population.¹⁰ The detailed analysis of the confessional and demographic picture in this sancak, based on the defters of 1490/91, 1519, 1530/31 and 1570, shows a gradual growth in the number of registered Muslims in the urban centers and the countryside as the result of the colonization processes and the spread of Islam among the local population. At the same time, there was a tendency towards growth of the population as a whole, including of the non-Muslim population.¹¹

6 *Cizye* – capitation tax collected from non-Muslim males.

7 Тодоров, Н. “За демографското състояние на Балканския полуостров през XV–XVI в.,” *Годишник на Софийския Университет–Философско-исторически факултет* LIII, 2 (1959): 191–232, 202–212.

8 *Ibid.*, 205.

9 Barkan, Ö. L. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XV (1953–1954), 237.

10 Тодоров, “За демографското състояние на Балканския полуостров през XV–XVI в.,” 215, 217.

11 Матанов, *Възникване и облик на Кюстендилски санджак*, 67–75, 85–88, 92–93, 110–136; Kiel, M. “Ottoman Kyustendil in the 15th and 16th Centuries. Ottoman Administrative Documents from the Turkish Archives versus Myths and Assumptions in the Works of Jordan Ivanov,” *Известия на историческия музей* –

In principle, the information contained in the 1570 detailed register allows calculating the ratio between the non-Muslim and the Muslim population in the nahiye of Dupnitsa. Any attempt to do so, however, encounters a number of difficulties that inevitably lend an approximate character to the general demographic picture.¹² Above all, the records of this type were not meant to determine the exact number of the population in the separate settlements or territorial administrative units. Their main purpose was to cover the taxpayers, cultivated lands and utilized sites (pastures, fishing grounds, and so on), products, facilities (such as watermills), as well as the revenues from them for *sipahis* or for the treasury. Hence, they list by name the adults – heads of households, unmarried persons, and widows – liable for the annual land tax (*ispence*, *resm-i çift*), various tithes (*öşür*), as well as fees and fines. One of the main problems in determining the number of registered taxpayers stems from the fact that one and the same person (head of a family household, unmarried heir or heiress) often held an additional piece of land (*baştina*, *çiftlik* or, for example, a watermill. But such properties could be held by several persons of an unknown number (siblings, fellow-villagers), residents of neighboring settlements – Muslims holding Christian *baştinas* or Christians with Muslim *çiftliks* – *sipahis*, Janissaries, *voynuks* (non-Muslim auxiliary soldiers), clerks, monks, clerics or others, whose place of residence is often unclear. Furthermore, there are quite often disparities between the taxable units recorded by the registrar – family households, unmarried persons, widows, *baştinas*, *çiftliks* – and the residents of the settlement listed by name.¹³

Кюстендил 5 (1993): 141–169.

12 See A. Стојановски, “Вовед,” in *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 6–10; Кил, М. “Разпространение на ислама в българското село през османската епоха (XV–XVIII в.): колонизација и ислямизација,” in *Мюсюлманска култура по българските земи*, eds. Р. Градева and Св. Иванова (София: Международен център по проблемите на малцинствата и културните взаимодействия, 1998), 56–126, note 10.

13 For example, the taxes recorded in Dupnitsa itself are from 179 “hane dükân-ci” (“households of artisans” or “townsmen”), 24 *çiftliks* and 44 unmarried Muslims, and 160 family households and 41 unmarried non-Muslims. At the same time, some 279 persons in Dupnitsa are listed by name – 149 with Muslim and 130 with non-Muslim names. As in a number of other places, here, too, additional difficul-

On the other hand, unlike in the *cizye* defters for instance, here the *hane* is not the only taxable unit. Determining the composition and size of households in the different periods and regions, as well as upon registration of different types of taxes, was largely a matter of the particular historico-demographic method and classification scheme applied in the respective period and region.¹⁴ In timar registers, the *hane* is identified with a married male, separately from the unmarried persons and widows.¹⁵ In the detailed defter used here this distinction is made in most cases, and the list of names of residents of the respective settlement coincides with the number of married and unmarried persons recorded by the registrars.

In some cases, however, the marital status of certain individuals is not clear. The main discrepancy that makes it difficult to determine the number of households in this defter comes from the fact that not all unmarried persons were strictly recorded. Often, and especially in the case of Yürüks, unmarried Muslims were not taxed, and we have every reason to presume that in some places they were not registered at all. Furthermore, the marital status of the significant number of Muslims belonging to the *bennak* category (holding less than a *çift* – the standard unit of land) is not always clear. They are explicitly recorded as heads of family households or unmarried persons in some cases, but not in others.

All this determines the method of calculation chosen here: by comparing the data recorded by the registrars and the names of all mentioned persons, and not just by household. Although the figures cal-

ties are posed by the coincidence of some names or the cases where the scribe did not record the surnames of some of the holders of *çiftliks*, watermills, and so on, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 360–365.

14 Тодоров, “За демографското състояние на Балканският полуостров през XV–XVI в.,” 202; Todorova, M. *Balkan Family Structure and the European Pattern. Demographic Developments in Ottoman Bulgaria* (The American University Press, 1993), 105–131; Грозданова, Е. “За данъчната единица хане в демографските проучвания,” *Исторически преглед* 3 (1972): 81–91.

15 Тодорова, М., and Н. Тодоров. “Проблеми и задачи на историческата демография на Османската империя,” in *Балканистика* 2, ed. Н. Тодоров et al. (София: Българска Академия на Науките, Институт по Балканистика, 1987), 21–22.

culated in this way are approximate and there are bound to be purely mechanical errors given the size of the empirical corpus, they give us a relatively representative picture. The calculations are based on the data for the nahiye of Dupnitsa and the neighboring nahiyes of Illica/Kyustendil, Radomir, Piyanets, Slavishte, and Sirishtnik, together with Gorno Kraishte.

The large number of *voynuks* who are recorded also in separate registers,¹⁶ or, for instance, the *vakıf*¹⁷ reaya exempt from capitation tax in the village of Bogoslov¹⁸ (in the district of Kyustendil), some names of Muslims with *baştinas* (including *voynuks* newly converted to Islam), and other such cases, clearly show that calculating the total number of the population is problematic. In the case of the Dupnitsa nahiye, this total number is not changed significantly by the additional data on *doğancıs* (falconers) and *voynuks*.¹⁹

The total number of non-Muslims registered in the Dupnice nahiye is 8,052, out of whom 5,067 heads of family households, 2,634 unmarried persons, 131 widows, and 220 others. The registered Muslims number 2,481 persons, out of whom 1,140 heads of family households with a full *çift*, 331 unmarried persons, and 1,010 *bennaks* or others. The percentage ratio between non-Muslims and Muslims is 76.5% to 23.5%. It shows that the share of the Muslim population in this district was significant (approximately one-fourth) – both against the background of the known statistical data for the whole sancak of Kyustendil several decades earlier and in comparison, with the

16 The largest number of *voynuks* are in the kaza of Sirishtnik, together with Gorno Kraishte (1,375 persons, including widows and *haymanes* – unregistered and fugitives), followed by those in the kazas of Radomir (384), Kyustendil (198), Dupnitsa (153) and Piyanets (107), see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 165–207, 335–341.

17 Pious foundation under Muslim holy law, dedicated to some charitable or religious purpose.

18 Twenty-four non-Muslim households, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 25–26.

19 Who are recorded in separate lists outside the detailed defter as they had to pay tax on their *baştinas*, and so on, but who are also included as a whole in the general registration as payers of *resm-i çift* or, respectively, of *cizye*, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 19, 109–115, 201–207.

neighboring administrative units in the defter of 1570. The data from this defter reveal that the overwhelming majority of the population in the neighboring districts was non-Muslim. In the district of Ilica/Kyustendil the share of the registered Muslims is approximately 15% (the four registered Jewish households do not change the ratio). In the district of Radomir the Muslims make up approximately 8%, and in Piyanets, Slavishte, and Sirishtnik, together with Gorno Kraishte, 3.4%, 0.7% and 1.8% respectively.²⁰

We must promptly note two significant qualitative differences between those five neighboring nahiyes, and the Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad areas. Firstly, no Yürüks in or around the villages in the five districts are on record in this defter. Seasonally resident Yürük groups are found in the nearby larger or smaller mountains in those regions, separately or along with other Muslims and non-Muslims: in Osogovo, Vardenik, Ćemernik, Kozjak, Plačkovica and elsewhere, as well as Rila.²¹ At the same time, the majority of the Muslim population in the district of Kyustendil and a significant part of that in the district of Radomir are registered in those two administrative centers: slightly less than two-thirds (63%) in the town of Kyustendil and approximately one-third in Radomir.²²

In the district of Dupnitsa we find a comparatively large Muslim community of peasants, nomads or semi-nomads, which shows that this region was affected by the colonization and migration processes underway in the Aegean region and in some parts of Southeastern, Eastern and Central Macedonia. A comparison between the defter of 1570 and the celepkešan register of 1576 confirms the conclusion that there was a comparatively large Muslim population in the nahije of Dupnitsa. Here we encounter a significant number of settlements and groups with Turkic-Arabic names. By this indicator, the general picture in the 1570s differs significantly from that in the adjacent districts of Kyustendil, Radomir, Samokov and Razlog.²³

20 Ibid., 31–184, 549–639, 263–331, 191–256, 649–795.

21 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 141–161.

22 Ibid., vol. V, книга I, 56–66, 553–558.

23 On the area of Razlog, see Димитров, С. “Демографски одношения

In the kaza of Dupnitsa the 1576 *celepkeşan* defter lists persons belonging to this category by name and indicates the number of sheep they supplied from 100 settlements. In addition to the town of Dupnitsa itself, where six non-Muslim sheep-suppliers²⁴ and eleven Muslim ones are on record, the register lists only non-Muslim sheep-suppliers from 57 settlements, only Muslim ones from 26, and both Muslim and non-Muslim sheep-suppliers from another 15 settlements and one Yürük group.²⁵ For comparison, in the entries on the kaza of Samokov we find two villages with only Muslim sheep-suppliers (Bane-i Müslüman, present-day Dolna Banya, Ihtiman municipality,²⁶ and Rahmanlu, a nearby Yürük settlement²⁷), and one where the majority of names are non-Muslim except for four Muslim names (Küstence-i Gaberan, present-day Kostenets²⁸). The sheep-suppliers registered in all the other 21 permanent villages are non-Muslim.²⁹ The other Muslim *celepkeşans* on record are from eleven Yürük *cemaats* (seasonally migrating pastoralist groups).³⁰ In the kaza of Radomir, there are eight Muslim and thirteen Christian *celepkeşans* in the town itself, and mentions another three settlements with only Muslim sheep-suppliers (Musabeylü, present-day Galabnik, with five; Gabrodol, present-day Gabrov Dol, Breznik municipality, with two; and Izvor, in the Radomir district, with two). Individual Muslims are found in an-

и проникване на исляма в Западните Родопи и по долината на Места през XV–XVII в.,” in *Родопски сборник*, Vol. 1, ed. Хр. Христов et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1965), 83–88; *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, 197–200.

24 If we exclude one sheep-supplier from the village of Baraklı (present-day Barakovo), *ibid.*, 183–184. According to R. Stoykov, on record in Dupnitsa are seven Bulgarian, nine Turkish and one Jewish sheep-suppliers, see Стойков, “Селищни имена в западната половина на България през XVI в.,” 446.

25 *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, 183–197.

26 Possibly one Christian Greek called Karabaş, *ibid.*, 201.

27 *Ibid.*, 200, note 3, 201, note 1, and 206.

28 *Ibid.*, 201.

29 We cannot be entirely certain about the religious identity of one of the registered sheep-suppliers – Yago Demi, in the village of Gutçalı (present-day Gutsal, Samokov area), *ibid.*, 202.

30 *Ibid.*, 200–206.

other five settlements where the majority of the names are non-Muslim. In the remaining 77 villages all the sheep-suppliers on record are non-Muslim.³¹ In the kaza of Kyustendil, 59 Muslim and seven non-Muslim sheep-suppliers are on record in the town itself.³² We find only Muslim sheep-suppliers in three settlements (Zhabokrat; Istradalo, present-day Stradalovo, Kyustendil district; and Tihtinova, unidentified), and individual names of Muslims among the non-Muslim ones in another 17 settlements. In the remaining 106 settlements, all the sheep-suppliers on record have non-Muslim names.

The list for the nahiye of Dupnitsa, which precedes the detailed picture in this section of the 1570 defter, records the revenues from 163 settlements and cultivated sites (*mezraas*³³, rice fields, and one monastery³⁴). In addition to the town of Dupnitsa, the villages, the aforementioned monastery and part of the *mezraas*, this list includes several groups (*cemaat*) of rice-growers (*çeltükçi*), recorded as “villages” or “rivers.”³⁵ The other rice-growing groups, *mezraas*, deserted villages, Yürük groups (*cemaat, taife*), monasteries and two Muslim tekke,³⁶ are found in the detailed descriptions of each settlement. This

31 Ibid., 118–129.

32 If we exclude one Muslim from Štip and one Christian from the village of Dolna Grashitsa, in the area of Kyustendil, *ibid.*, 130–131.

33 Cultivated site or pastureland, often without permanent population.

34 The monastery of Archangel (?) near the village of Padesh, in the area of Blagoevgrad, registered as having five monks, along with the *mezraa* Mtoka (Metocha) where four *voynuk* households are on record, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 424 and vol. V, книга V, 357, note 722.

35 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 335–341.

36 *Zaviye* (cell, lodge) of İbrahim Baba near the present-day village of Dragodan, and tekke of Hızır Baba near the village of Ağı Obası (most probably connected to the villages of Büyük and Küçük Ahı from the *celepkeşan* defter, that is, the present-day village of Yahnovo), see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 460, 376; *Турски извори за българската историја*, vol. III, 191. The *tekke* of Hızır (Hıdır) Baba, which appears in one of the legends about the foundation of Dupnitsa, was on the site of the church of Saint George, built after 1878 and now located almost in the center of the town. According to this legend, before the tekke there was a monastery of the same name on this site, see Иванов, Ы. *Северна Македонија. Исторически издирвания* (София: Хр. Олчев, 1906), 188–189.

also holds for a number of settlements or groups mentioned as using land on village commons or in mezraas within the nahiye. The majority of them, mostly with Slavic-Bulgarian names, were definitely located in the neighboring districts, others are local settlements or groups without a registered population, and still others cannot be identified. The primary sources available and all other documental, historiographic, reference or cartographic materials published to date do not always enable their identification.³⁷

Still, it is most likely that another six monasteries included in the revenues from Dupnitsa and Gorna Dzhumaya villages were located in the district of Dupnitsa.³⁸ We can say for certain that the following settlements with Slavic-Bulgarian names and populations whose size and composition are unknown, on record in the register of 1570 and/or the celepkeşan defter of 1576, were also located here: Bosva (present-day village of Bozovaya, Rila municipality), Sirbinçe and Sirbin Derbent (Sarbinovo, present-day Brezhani), İriliye (present-day town of Rila), Mirov Dol (Marvi Dol, present-day village of Marvodol), Kruşiye

37 Стойков, Р. “Селищни имена в западната половина на България през XVI в.,” 429–456; Стойков, Р. “Нови сведения за миналото на български селища през XV и XVI в.” *Исторически преглед* 6 (1959): 77–88; Кънчов, В. *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, second ed. (Избрани произведения, vol. 2, София: “Наука и изкуство” 1970); Мичев, Н. & П. Коледаров, *Речник на селищата и селищните имена в България (1878–1987)*. (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1989); Андреев, Ст. *Речник на селищни имена и названия на административно-териториални единици в българските земи през XV–началото на XX в.*, second ed. (София: Държавна агенция “Архиви”, 2013); *Карта части Балканского полуострова, обнимающей весь театр войны 1877–1878 гг. Масштаб три версты в дюйме* (Санкт-Петербург: Военно-историческая комиссия, 1884), VII/2, VII/3 (Russian General Staff map on a scale of 3 versts to 1 inch/1: 126,000); *Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa (Südost Teil)*. Wien. 1880, 1891–1906 (Austrian General Staff map on a scale of 1: 200,000).

38 A monastery with an unclear name, and the monastery of Varvara near the village of Banya (present-day town of Sapareva Banya); of Sveti Dimitar near the present-day village of Saparevo; of Sveti Otets (Holy Father), that is, Rila Monastery; of Sveti Nikola and the Bogoslov between the present-day villages of Golyam Varbovnik, Gorna and Dolna Koznitsa, in the area of Dupnitsa. The detailed defter lists a total of six monks from all of them. The list of Rila Monastery properties contains the names of 28 monks, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 345, 346, 408, 445, 484, 490, and vol. V, книга V, 355–357.

(probably the Krushovitsa quarter between the present-day villages of Golemo Selo and Palatovo), Maçakur (Matsakurovo, present-day Gyurgevo), Şipoç (known from the Bulgarian Middle Ages; in 1570 a mezraa called Şipoçane),³⁹ İskar and Avrameloviñçe.⁴⁰ A number of settlements remain unidentified or uncertain: for example, Dupyani, Dobriçevo or Delino, mentioned in passing in the 1570 register; or Pirinçe, Vırhova, Ralunik, Miraş or Reka mentioned in the celepkeşan defter of 1576.

There are also a number of settlements or groups with Turkic-Arabic names, whose size and composition are not clear: Yeni, Abi, Resülü, Mezd Ali, Tuhafli, Selimhanlu, Karaca Ahmadan, Semerli, Boylu Ali, Seğben Obası, Kalular, Çorlu, Kurudere, Kılçaklu, Ahır Yapar, Cehidli, and others.⁴¹ Only two of those names clearly belong to Yürük groups of an unknown size: Boylu Ali and Çorlu.⁴² Another two can be linked to present-day settlements: Resülü (present-day village of Resilovo) and Semerli (Samurlu, present-day village of Samoranovo).⁴³ The other settlements or groups with Turkic-Arabic names are not found in the neighboring districts and could have been nomadic groups or, respectively, their seasonally inhabited winter or summer quarters, just as they could have been permanent or abandoned settlements. Such is, for example, the deserted village of Doğanciler (unidentified).⁴⁴

39 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 357, 419, 451, 456, 479; *Турски извори за българската историја*, vol. III, 183–197; Стойков, “Селишни имена в западната половина на България през XVI в.,” 446–448; Меджидиев, *Историја на град Станке Димитров (Дупница)* op. cit., 36; Иванов, Й. *Български старини из Македонија* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1970), 598 (Rila Charter of Tsar Ivan Shishman of 1378); Ихчиев, *Турските документи на Рилският манастир*, 110, 113, 117, 148, 236–238, 240, 337.

40 In the statistics of the Russian General Staff, the village of Eskar in the *kaza* of Dupnitsa, and the village of Avramove in the *kaza* of Gorna Dzhumaya, with a non-Muslim population of 137 and 352 persons respectively, see *Материалы для изучения Болгарии. Напечатано по повелению Его Императорского Высочества Главнокомандующего Действующей Армией*. II–V, Букарешт, 1877, III, 196, 208.

41 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 357, 370, 379, 386, 392, 397, 457, 473, 513, 514.

42 Ibid., 473, 514.

43 Ibid., 370, 457.

44 Ibid., 473.

I have examined in detail this “background of the registration” because it aptly reveals its scope and the way local and central authorities exercised administrative and tax control in a mostly mountainous and semimountainous region. This means that we cannot be certain about the actual size and composition of the population – and especially about some groups like the voynuks and the Yürüks which, furthermore, were registered in separate defters devoted exclusively to them.

The Yürüks, along with other Muslim settlers, migrated from Anatolia to the Balkans already during the initial stage of the Ottoman conquest. It is most likely, however, that their mass migration (“appearance” in the sources, partial or complete sedentarization) into Macedonia occurred in the early or first half of the 16th century.⁴⁵ To my mind, this is a completely acceptable conclusion, especially considering that it is based on an entire series of detailed registers of the 15th and 16th centuries. In addition to that, it coincides with the approximate time of creation of part of the Yürük auxiliary units, as established by Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin. A similar time frame, for the mass appearance of the Yürüks, specifically on the territories of North and Northeastern Macedonia, is assumed by Hristo Matanov. According to him, the Yürüks made their way into the region of the strategic Samokov-Dupnitsa-Kyustendil-Skopje route at the beginning of the 16th century, as they were attracted both by the appropriate natural conditions and the existence of unoccupied land.⁴⁶ They remained in this region because of the gradual conquest of the vassal Christian principality of the House of Dragaš and the military campaigns to the north and west of this Ottoman base. There is no doubt that Yürüks were attracted by the pastures on the nearby mountains – Rila, Pirin, Osogovo, Vlahina, Konyavska – and the possibilities for wintering their livestock in the valley of the river Struma and the Aegean region. It is certain that part of the Yürüks arrived here earlier, but it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that they began to be covered by Ottoman registrations.

45 Соколоски, М. “За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија од XV до XVIII век,” *Историја. Списание на Сојузот на историските друштва на СР Македонија* IX, 1 (1973): 86–90, 98.

46 Матанов, *Възникване и облик на Кюстендилски санджак*, 55, 62, 67, 126.

In the decade recorded by the timar registers of 1519 and 1530/31, the registered Muslim taxpayers of the sancak of Kyustendil grew from 5,758 to 6,640 households (by an average of 1.3% a year, as compared to an average annual growth rate of 0.7% for the non-Muslims. This was due not just to natural but also to additional growth related to the processes of colonization and Islamization. In the register of 1519 we find just 19 entirely Muslim settlements in the whole province of Kyustendil – as compared to 1,080 entirely non-Muslim ones, 222 settlements with up to three Muslim households, 60 with three to five, and three with more than 50 Muslim households. As in the next few decades, the majority of Muslims, including a certain percentage of Muslim converts, were registered in the urban centers. In 1519 entirely Muslim villages are found in the areas of Kyustendil (two such villages), Ovče Pole (five), Radomir (two), and Tikveš (one). The largest number of entirely Muslim villages is found in the nahiye of Dupnitsa (nine). As for the Yürüks, they gradually concentrated mainly in the southern parts of the province. The total number of Yürük auxiliaries was 300 in 1519, and 500 some ten years later. Between 1519 and 1530/31, the number of registered Yürük households doubled – from approximately 1,200 to 2,460. The detailed register of 1570 reflects a completed stage of the comparatively mass colonization of the Yürük population in the basin of the river Struma, Ovče Pole and the adjacent mountains.⁴⁷ In this context, it is entirely possible that part of the Muslim population of the Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad areas had settled here comparatively recently.

It is unlikely that at the time the 1570 register was compiled, there was a significant population of nomadic Vlachs in the Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad areas despite the favorable natural conditions. In contrast to other parts of the Balkans, in this region, the best highland summer and lowland winter pastures were occupied by Yürüks at that time. This is evident from the fact that, contrary to other high-mountain areas, no non-Muslim shepherds are on record in the Rila and Pirin mountains between Dupnitsa and Melnik. Although Muslim and non-Muslim personal names are an indirect indication, the list of *yaylaks* (summer pastures) included in 1570 registration as rented or held by *tapu* (title deed), shows some differences with the areas of Kyustendil, Kratovo

47 Ibid., 112–120, 130–131, 141.

and Kriva Palanka (in the mountains of Osogovo and Crnok), Vlasina, Surdulica and Vranje (Čemernik, Vardenik), Štip (Plačkovica), and elsewhere.⁴⁸ The only other community mentioned in the nahiye of Dupnitsa in 1570 are the groups of Gypsies, registered as paying a tax for temporary residence in Cuma Pazarı/Blagoevgrad, as well as eleven non-Muslim and one Muslim households among the *vakıf* reaya in the village of Boboshevo.⁴⁹ The 1570 register does not mention the local Jewish community, although such a community was present here several decades after the exodus from Spain and Portugal and appears in a number of sources on Salonica, Štip, Kyustendil and Sofia.⁵⁰

The classification of settlements in the district of Dupnitsa by number and religion of registered residents sheds further light on the composition of the population as related to the local settlement network. Table 1 includes a total of 137 settlements with taxpayers registered by name, along with products and revenues. In some instances, the rice-growing groups in the register of 1570 are recorded separately from the respective villages even when they have the same name or are explicitly indicated as residents of a particular settlement. For the sake of convenience, the members of several of those rice-growing groups have been added in the Table to the total number of Muslims in the settlements on whose lands they resided at least in the respective active farming season.⁵¹ The same applies to the Yürük *cemaats*, although they had

48 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 141–161.

49 A total of 30 *akçes* (aspers) for a whole group of an unknown size, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 389 and vol. V, книга V, 113; there are also occasional mentions such as “Musa Tatar” or “Palandor the Greek,” several occurrences of the nickname “Anadolu” (“Anatolian”) in the town of Dupnitsa, and so on, see *ibid.*, vol. V, книга I, 343, 344, 360–363.

50 Хананел, А., & Е. Ешкенази, eds, *Еврейски извори за општествено-икономическото развитие на балканските земи през XVI век* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1958) Vol. 1, 27–29; *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 56–60 and vol. V, книга II, 121–123; *Турски извори за българската историја*, vol. III, 95; Матанов, *Възникване и облик на Кюстендилски сандџак*, 57.

51 This applies to the following rice-growing groups: Borman, added to the Muslim population of the present-day village of Porominovo; İstob, added to the Muslims in the village of Stob; the rice-growers on the river Bistritsa who are recorded

their own summer or winter settlements. In the case of two settlements, I have provisionally included separately in the Table one rice-growing group and one mezraa. These are Oroveç, with a total of 41 registered rice-growers, because of a questionable identification with the village of Orehovets, and the mezraa Mtoka (Metoha – a convent) near the monastery of Archangel, with four registered voynuk households).

The provisional number of 137 settlements that can be classified by number and composition of their residents does not change the general ratio between the non-Muslim and the Muslim population.⁵²

TABLE 1

Registered persons	Non-Muslim settlements	Predominantly non-Muslim settlements (less than 1/4 Muslims)	Mixed settlements with non-Muslim/Muslim share of 1/4 to 1/2	Predominantly Muslim settlements (less than 1/4 non-Muslims)	Muslim settlements
up to 10	1	---	1	---	14
10 – 30	8	---	---	1	23
30 – 50	10	3	1	2	7
50 – 100	10	15	2	1	6
100 – 300	7	16	4	1	---
over 300	---	2	2	---	---
Total settlements	36	36	10	5	50

as coming from Cuma Pazari (Blagoevgrad, one group) and from the present-day village of Marulevo, Blagoevgrad district (two groups), see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 358, 359.

⁵² The total number includes the *vakif* village of Boboshevo, together with

As we can see, approximately two-thirds of the settlements with a predominantly or entirely Muslim population were very small, especially against the background of the comparatively large Christian villages in what was a rich agricultural region in those times. This was related to the still ongoing process of migration and settlement of the nomadic or semi-nomadic groups. It is obvious that they constituted a significant part of the total number of Muslims.

In the detailed register of 1570, a Yürük population is found in six *cemaats* as well as in some 50 other places designated as villages, *mahalles* (hamlets, village quarters) or *mezraas*. As a whole, the data in this defter allow us to distinguish Yürüks among the ordinary reaya or other groups with special status and obligations, such as the *akıncıs* (irregular light cavalymen) or rice-growers registered in some places. Part of those settlements or groups are explicitly recorded as “Yürüks,” “sons of Yürüks,” a “Yürük village” or a “mezraa inhabited by Yürüks.” Others can be identified as Yürük on the basis of the registered auxiliaries – *eşkıncıs* and *yamaks* (most of them with “Yürük çiftlik”) – as well as of the difference in the rate of the tax *resm-i çift*, levied on Yürüks subject to military service at a rate of 12 akçes (aspers) for a whole çift, six akçes for half a çift, and six akçes for *bennaks* who had less than half a çift.

Table 2 represents a summary of the following data taken from the two defters (of 1570 and 1576): names and locations of settlements and groups where Yürüks are found; composition of their population by religion and social status; number of Yürük auxiliaries and of registered *celepkеşans*; trades (occupations); annual revenue. I have omitted the names and other data regarding the registered persons, the amounts of tithes, fees and fines related to the concrete products, legal rights and relations, offences, and so on. I have also omitted the number of sheep supplied by *celepkеşans* because it cannot be a direct indication of the scale of transhumant sheep-breeding in the region.

Ilkovtsi (317 non-Muslim households, 154 unmarried persons, 12 non-Muslim Gypsy households, and two other Muslim households), which is not listed in the detailed defter, see *ibid.*, vol. V, книга V, 119–115.

TABLE 2

Settlement/ group, 1570	Settlement/ group, 1576	Location ⁵³	Taxpayers, 1570	Yürük auxiliaries, 1570	Celepkeşans, 1576	"Sons of Abdullah"/ ex-slaves, 1570	Annual revenue in akçes, 1570
Avcı Ali* ⁵⁴	---	Unid. ⁵⁵	11 Musl. ç., 1 b., 1 unm.; t.r.p. 13 Musl.	10 Y., incl. 1 unm.	---	---	700
Aydın Obası, aka Ömer Oğul- ları, to- gether with Çobanlı mahalle	Aydın ⁵⁶ , C.	Unid., see below, Suhodol, mezraa	44 Yür. ç., 3 ç. Musl. r., 1 b. r., 3 Musl. with 1/2 ç. (6 a.); t.r.p. 56 Musl.	31 Y. (incl. 2 unm.) 3 E.	3 Musl. 1 Chr.	1 Y.	3,000

53 See map at the end of this chapter

54 The asterisk (*) denotes settlements where “Yürük” is not explicitly indicated.

55 Abbreviations: **a.** – *akçe*; **aka** – also known as (*nam-i diğeri*); **b.** – *bennak/s*; **Bl.** – present-day Blagoevgrad district; **bšt.** – *baştina*; **C.** – *cemaat*; **Chr.** – Christian, Christians; **ç.** – *çift/s*; **Dupn.** – Dupnitsa area, several municipalities of the present-day Kyustendil district; **E.** – *eşkinci/s*; **ex-sl.** – ex-slave/s; **hh.** – household/s; **incl.** – including; **Kyus.** – Kyustendil district; **mod.** – modern; **Musl.** – Muslim, Muslims; **p.** – persons; **poss.** – possibly; **prob.** – probably; **r.** – *reaya*; **reg.** – registered; **t.** – town of; **t.r.p.** – total registered persons; **unid.** – unidentified; **unm.** – unmarried; **v.** – village of; **Y.** – *yamak/s*; **Yür.** – Yürük, Yürtüks.

56 The names of the settlements and groups are given as they appear in *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, and *Турски извори за българската историја*, vol. III, but with some corrections according to Андреев, *Речник на селищни имена*. Some more corrections and different readings are still possible in a number of cases, especially when compared with other sources. For example, in Rusi Stoykov’s study one of the settlements in the 1576 defter, Baraklı (present-day Barakovo), is defined as a *cemaat* (a “Yürük zadruga”), see Стойков, “Селищни имена в западната половина на България през XVI в.,” 447. In the 1570 defter it appears as “the village of Baraklı, also known as Çavle” with two registered rice-growers, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 358.

Boylu Ali	---	mezraa Peyçin, on common land of mod. v. Bistritsa, Bl.	"mezraa inhabited by Yürüks"	---	---	---	---
Cuma Pazarı	(?) ⁵⁷	mod. Blagoevgrad	10 Yür. hh. ç., 5 Yür. b. (6 a.); t.r.p. 6 Chr. and 67 Musl. ⁵⁸	7 Y. (incl. 2 b.), 2 sons of Y., 3 E., 1 sub-aşı ⁵⁹	---	9 r., of whom 1 muezzin, 4 b., 2 unm. (incl. 1 ex-sl.)	4,200
Çereşnova	---	mod. v. Treshnovo, Kyus.	Chr. v. with reg. "öşür on wheat of Yürüks"	---	---	---	---
Çorlu	---	mezraa Gorno Draçevo, unid. ⁶⁰	"Yürüks from Çorlu"	---	---	---	---

57 In the 1570 defter, a total of five settlements are registered under the name "Bane" (Banya, Gorna Banya, Druga Banya and Druga Banya), which calls into question the "indisputable" identification of the village of Bane from the celepkeşan defter as the present-day city of Blagoevgrad, see *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, 194 and *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 343–346, 421–423, 507–510.

58 Including two groups of rice-growers numbering 15 persons in all.

59 The *subaşı* Yahıya, mentioned among the *eşkıncis* and *yamaks* in Cuma Pazarı, was probably a military commander of lower rank than that of the six senior Yürük officers. See Pakalın, M. Z. *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1993), vol. III, 260–261.

60 The name can be linked to the medieval village of Drachovo, mentioned in the Mrachka Charter of Tsar Ivan Alexander of 1347, see Иванов, *Български старини из Македонија*, 593.

Daut Obası*	---	Unid.	6 ç. (12 a.) 1 b. r., 1 Musl. r. with 1/2 ç. (11 a.); t.r.p. 8 Musl.	2 Y., 2 E. of whom 1 resi- dent in v. Terzi Yahşı	---	1 b. r.	744
Divane Hamza	---	On com- mon land of mod. v. Selishte, Bl.; Deli Hamza, mod. v. Zelen Dol, Bl. ⁶¹	5 Yür. ç. (12 a., 1 "Yürük" reg.) 5 ç. Musl. r., 1 unm., 1 b.; t.r.p. 13 Musl.	4 Y.	---	---	900
Doncu, C.	---	On com- mon land of unid. v. Kaçanik	"C. made up of Yürüks" 4 hh. with ç. (12 a.); t.r.p. 4 Musl.	---	---	---	---
Eyneler	---	On com- mon land of mod. v. Bistritsa, Bl.	3 Yür. ç. (12 a.); 1 ç. r. (22 a.), 2 b. r.; t.r.p. 7 Musl.	5 Y., incl. 2 b., 1 unm., 1 son of E.	---	---	458
Gorni Logodaş*	Lo- godaş-i Balya	mod. v. Logodazh, Bl.	t.r.p. 151 Musl., no taxes reg.; 134 Chr. hh., 19 widows, 97 unm. Chr., 8 bşt.; t.r.p. 250 Chr.	5 Y., 1 E. (incl. 1 "elder of Y.")	5 Chr.	---	19,096

61 According to Vasil Kanchov, at the end of the 19th century this settlement (Dilyamzino) had a population of 200 Bulgarians, and no Muslims, see Кънчов, *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 491.

Hacı Ali Obası, aka Terzi Başı	Derzi	On common land of mod. v. Badino, Dupn.	"Inhabited by Yürüks": 24 Yür. ç., 9 unnm. (un-taxed); 21 r.; t.r.p. 54 Musl.	20 Y., 7 E.	1 Musl. and 2 hr. ⁶²	3 r., of whom 2 b. and 1 ex-sl.	2,000
Hacı Halil, aka Islah-anlar	---	On common land of mod. v. Dragodan, Dupn.	19 Yür. ç., 4 unnm. (un-taxed); 1 r.; t.r.p. 25 Musl.	10 Y., 3 E.	---	1 Y.	2,439
Hacı Hasan, C.	---	"Yürüks from Salonica, wintering their livestock on the common land" of mod. v. Kraynitsi, Dupn.	13 hh., of which 11 with Yür. ç. (12 a.), 2 hh. and 6 unnm. with resm-i duhan (6 and 3 a.)	---	---	---	---
Halidler*	---	On common land of mod. v. Dragodan, Dupn.	18 Musl. hh. with ç. (12 a.), 7 unnm., 3 b. (11 a.); t.r.p. 28 Musl.	13 Y., 5 E.	---	---	1,239
Hamidli	---	Common boundary with mod. v. Krupnik, Bl.	"Yürük" v.: 26 Yür. ç., 1 Yür. 1/2 ç., 1 Yür. b., 2 unnm. Yür., 2 ç. r.; t.r.p. 32 Musl.	6 Y., 3 E.	---	2 r.	1,441

62 From the present-day village of Golyam Varbovnik, Dupnitsa area..

Hasan Obasi, C.	mezraa Suhodol, on common land of mod. v. Tsarvenyano, Kyus.	---	---	---	---	---	---
Hasan Obasi, village	---	Unid.	6 Yür. ç., 4 ç. r.; t.r.p. 10 Musl.	3 Y.	---	---	824
Hisarlı Obası	Hisarlık	Mod. v. Riltsi, Bl.	6 ç. (12 a.), of which 1 reg. as Yürük, and 1 unnm. (6 a.); t.r.p. 7 Musl.	4 Y., 1 son of Y., 1 E.	10 Musl.	---	824
İneli, aka Karaosman Obası	---	On common land of mod. v. Bistritsa, Bl.	"Yürük" v.: 5 ç. (12 a.); t.r.p. 5 Musl.	3 Y., 1 E.	---	---	600
Karacalar*	---	On common land of mod. v. Selishte, Bl.; Kardzhevo, mod. Balgarchevo, Bl. ⁶³	20 ç. (12 a.), 2 unnm. (6 a.); t.r.p. 22 Musl.	12 Y., 3 E.	---	---	1,500

63 In Vasil Kanchov's statistics, Kardzhevo is a Christian Bulgarian village with a population of 380, see Кънчов, *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 491.

Karaman Obası	Karaman Obası	Unid.	36 ç. (22 a.) 10 b. (11 a.) 20 unm., incl. akıncıs, 3 Yür. ç. (12 a.), 2 Yür. hh. with 1/2 ç. (6 a.); t.r.p. 82 Musl.	5 Y., 1 E.	6 Musl.	1 r.	6,000
Karamanlı	---	Unid.	"Yürük" v.: 4 ç. (12 a.) 1 unm. (6 a.); t.r.p. 5 Musl.	4 Y.	---	---	445
Kara Fakih Ahmedli*	Kara Ahmedlü	Unid.	8 ç. (12 a.) 1 unm. (6 a.); t.r.p. 9 Musl.	5 Y., 1 son of Y.	4 Musl.	---	695
Kazancılar*	---	Unid., prob. on common land of mod. v. Marulevo, Bl.	9 ç. (12 a.) 1 hh. with 1/2 ç. (11 a.); t.r.p. 10 Musl.	3 Y., 2 E.	---	---	400
Kırklar	Karkalı ⁶⁴	Unid., prob. on common land of mod. v. Marulevo, Bl.	"Yürük" v.: 18 ç. (12 a.) 1 b. (11 a.), 1 unm. (6 a.) t.r.p. 20 Musl.	6 Y., (incl. 1 b.), 2 E.	3 Musl.	3, of whom 2 Y. (incl. 1 ex-sl.)	3,000
Koca Hale (Halde)*	---	On com- mon land of mod. v. Marulevo, Bl.	17 ç. (12 a.) 3 unm. (6 a.); t.r.p. 20 Musl.	11 Y., 1 E.	---	---	1,200

64 Read by Rusi Stoykov as Karkılı, see Стойков, "Селищни имена в западната половина на България през XVI в.," 447. This settlement has been wrongly identified as the Kargalı Çiflik found on the Russian General Staff map from the time of the 1877–1878 Russo-Turkish War, for the latter is linked to the name of the most influential Dupnitsa ayan (notable) and chieftain in the late 18th and early 19th century, Süleyman Kargalı.

Kulagozlu, aka Umur Obası	Kologozlu, aka Tekfur	Unid.	Separate Yürük C. ("taife"): 22 Yür. ç. (12 a.) 3 unim. (untaxed), 2 ç. Musl. r. (22 a.), 1 b. r. (11 a.) 7 ç. Musl. r. (22 a.), 7 unim. r. (6 a.), 4 b. r. (11 a.), 2 hh. of akıncıs with 1/2 ç.; t.r.p. 55 Musl.	22 Y., (incl. 4 unim.), 4 E.	4 Musl.	4 r. (incl. 2 unim. ex-sl.)	2,280, of which 1,900 from Yür. C.
Kurd Bali	Poss. Kurd Yavuzça	Unid., around Cuma Pazarı	6 Yür. ç., 5 unim. Yür.; 2 ç. Musl. r., 1 b. r., 1 unim. r.; t.r.p. 15 Musl.	9 Y., (incl. 3 unim.)	9 Musl.	---	930
Küçük Veyssel Obası	---	On common land of mod. v. Bistritsa, Bl.	"Population is Yürük": 10 Yür. ç., 3 unim. (untaxed); 1 ç. r. (22 a.); t.r.p. 14 Musl.	7 Y.	---	---	788
Lisiye	Lisiye	Mod. v. Lisiya, Bl.	4 Yür. ç., 1 Yür. b.; 4 ç. Musl. r.; t.r.p. 9 Musl. and 61 Chr.	5 Y., 1 son of Y., 1 E.	3 Chr.	---	4,924
Mehmedli	---	On common land of mod. v. Bistritsa, Bl.	"Yürük" 6 ç. (12 a.), 1 b.; t.r.p. 7 Musl.	1 Y., 1 E.	---	---	755

Moştaņçe	---	Mod. v. Moshtanets, Bl. "Yürüks registered from v. Jelejniča" ⁶⁵	8 Yür. ç., 6 un. Yür., untaxed, "Musl. r. in the village": 14 p.; t.r.p. 29 Musl.	4 Y.	---	2, of whom 1 with Yür. ç. and 1 b. r.	964
Murselu	Mursellu	Mod. v. Mursalevo, Dupn.	"Yürük" v.: 61 Yür. ç., 10 un. Yür., 11 b., 1 Musl. with 1/2 ç., 9 Musl. r.; t.r.p. 92 Musl.	44 Y., 18 sons of Y., 14 E., 1 son of E.	9 Musl.	1 E., 3 b.	3,021
Ömer Obası, C.	---	mezraa Suhodol, near mod. v. Tsarvenyano, Kyus.	---	---	---	---	---
Ömer (Umur) Obası, village*	Omer Obası, v.	Unid., between mod. v. Mlamolovo and t. Bobov Dol	4 Musl. ç. (12 a.), 1 b.; t.r.p. 7 Musl.	2 Y.	3 Musl.	---	300
Orehoviçe	Orahoviçe	Mod. Orehovtsi Quarter, Boboshevo municipality	t.r.p. 75 Chr. and 9 Musl., of whom 2 with Yür. ç.	2 Y.	10 Chr.	---	9,000
Oruç Obası	---	Unid.	13 Yür. ç., 1 Yür. 1/2 ç., 1 Yür. b., 2 ç. Musl. r.; t.r.p. 17 Musl.	7 Y., 1 son of Y., 1 E., 1 son of E.	---	---	650

65 Present-day village of Zheleznitsa, Blagoevgrad district. According to Vasil Kanchov, at the very end of the 19th century the populations of Moshtanets and Zheleznitsa consisted of 220 and 1,100 Bulgarians respectively, see Кънчов,

Osman Fakih*	---	On common land of mod. v. Porominovo, Dupn. ⁶⁶	24 ç. (12 a.) 3 un. (6 a.) t.r.p. 27 Musl.	9 Y., 5 E., 1 son of E.	---	---	1,571
Paşa Yiğit	---	On common land of mod. v. Porominovo, Dupn.	"Yürüks": 6 ç. (12 a.); t.r.p. 6 Musl.	3 E., 2 Y.	---	---	550
Peyçin, mezraa	---	On common land of mod. v. Bistritsa, Bl.	"mezraa inhabited by Yürüks": "It is cultivated by v. Boylu Ali, Murselu, and Taş Kesen"	---	---	---	200
Rahmanlu	---	Unid., prob. on common land of mod. v. Bistritsa, Bl. ⁶⁷	7 Yür. ç. and 2 Yür. b.; t.r.p. 18 Musl.	4 Y., 1 E.	---	3 r., of whom 1 b.	835
Sarolar, aka Bigor Pınarı	Sarılar	Mod. v. Golemo Selo, Dupn. ⁶⁸	14 Yür. ç.; t.r.p. 92 Musl., incl. akıncıs	8 Y., 2 E.	11 Musl.	4 r., incl. 2 b.	9,246

Македонија. Етнографија и статистика, 491, 492.

66 Only two Muslim reaya households are registered in the village of Poromen or Boromen (Porominovo) itself. The revenues from the village, recorded in the 1570 defter, include *özür* (on wheat) collected from rice-growers and Yürüks, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 472. Another entry in the defter refers to the Borman group of rice-growers, with a total of 18 registered persons, *ibid.*, 358.

67 This settlement is mentioned in a hüccet (title-deed) of the judge of Dupnitsa dating from 1585, see Ихчиев, *Турските документи на Рилският манастир*, 330.

68 This settlement is not to be confused with the village of Saruyar, which is recorded in the 1570 defter as being also known as Çerven Breg (present-day village of Cherven Bryag, Dupnitsa area). In the 17th century Sarolar (Sarılar) is also mentioned under the name "Büyük Köy," that is, the present-day village of Golemo Selo,

Sendel Obası*	Sinidlu (Semedlu)	Mod. t. Simitli	20 ç. (12 a.), 5 b. (11 a.), 5 un. (6 a.); t.r.p. 33 Musl.	14 Y., incl. 3 b. and 1 un.; 3 E.	5 Musl.	1 E. ex-sl.	1,100
Serçi, C.	---	On common land of v. Hamzabeylü, aka Bistriça ⁶⁹	"Yürüks from Salonica" ⁷⁰	---	---	---	42
Suhodol, mezraa	---	On common land of v. Çerevnyani, mod. v. Tsarvenyano, Kyus.	"Cultivated by the village itself," other villages and 2 Yür. C. ⁷¹	---	---	---	444
Süleymani	---	Unid.	22 Yür. ç.; t.r.p. 41 Musl.	18 Y., 3 E.	---	4 r., incl. 1 b. akıncı	5,000

Dupnitsa area, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 368–371, 485–487, and Грозданова, Е. *Българската народност през XVII век. Демографско изследване* (София: "Наука и изкуство", 1989), 135.

69 The 1570 defter mentions three settlements called Bistriça/Bistritsa, one of which is definitely Bistriça nam-i diğer Hamzabeylü, situated in the immediate vicinity of Dupnitsa at the foothills of Mount Rila, the other is near Blagoevgrad, while the third one, which was also known as Sahrab, remains unidentified, see *Материали для изучения Болгарии*, III, 194, 198.

70 "Salonica Yürüks, who winter their livestock on the common land of the said village" – five households paying *resm-i duhan* of six akçes; one household paying for a gift of twelve akçes; two unmarried persons paying *resm-i duhan* of three akçes, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 499, 500.

71 "Cultivated by the village itself, the villages of Drenova (present-day Dren, Pernik district), Musabeylü (present-day Galabnik, Pernik district), and Belçe, also known as Aydın Obası, and the cemaats of Hasan Obası and Ömer Obası," *ibid.*, 504.

Taş Keşan (Kesen)	Taş Kesen	Most prob. on common land of mod. v. Slatino, Dupn.	"Yürük" v.: 13 Yür. ç., 3 Yür. b., 2 hh. with 1/2 Yür. ç. (6 a.), 6 unm. Yür., 1 r.; t.r.p. 28 Musl.	13 Y., incl. 2 unm.	1 Musl.	4, of whom 1 r., 2 Yür. b., 1 Y. with 1/2 Yür. ç.	1,429
Tecaş, aka Yağılı	---	On com- mon land of mod. v. Bistritsa, Bl.	"Yürük" v.: 6 Yür. ç., 6 Yür. b., 1 Yür. with 1/2 ç.; 13 Musl. r.; t.r.p. 26 Musl.	1 E., 1 Y.	---	6. b. r., incl. 3 ex-sl.	1,329
Tekne Köy	Tekiye	Mod. v. Krumovo, Dupn.	3 Yür. ç., 1 Yür. b.; t.r.p. 4 Musl.	3 Y.	2 Musl.	---	250
Terzi Yahşi Oğulları	Derzi Yahşiler	Unid.	4 Yür. ç., 3 Yür. b., 9 unm. Yür., 14 ç. Musl. r.; t.r.p. 33 Musl.	1 Y.	6 Musl. and 1 Chr. ⁷²	3 Yür. b., 1 unm. Yür.	2,300
Tilkiler	---	Unid. ⁷³	"Yürük" v.: 13 Yür. ç., 2 Yür. b., 4 unm. Yür.; 2 r.; t.r.p. 21 Musl.	5 Y., 2 E.	---	4, of whom 1 with Yür. ç., 1 Yür. B.	770
Topal Ali, aka Gökle- mezli	Gökle- mez	Mod. v. Usoyka, Dupn.	"Yürüks": ⁷⁴ 22 ç. (12 a.), 5 unm. (un- taxed); t.r.p. 28 Musl.	16 Y., 2 E.	1 Musl.	2 with Yür. ç.	1,678

72 From the present-day village of Gorno Harsovo, Blagoevgrad district.

73 The name can be linked to the Christian village of Telkievo (with a population of 180 Bulgarians) in the kaza of Gorna Dzhumaya/Blagoevgrad at the end of the 19th century, see Кънчов, *Македония. Етнографія и статистика*, 491.

74 "Inhabited by Yürüks from the village of Bodino," present-day Badino, Dupnitsa area, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 409.

Uzunciler	---	Between mod. v. Krashevo and Koche-rinovo, Dupn.	"Yürük" v.: 14 Yür. ç., 1 Yür. b., 2 unim. Yür. (untaxed); 1 r.; t.r.p. 19 Musl.	8 Y., 4 E.	---	2 with Yür. ç.	1,849
Zengin Obası	---	Unid.	"Yürüks": 12 Yür. ç., 3 ç. r.; t.r.p. 18 Musl.	3 Y., 3 E.	---	---	853

Systematized in this way, the data from the two defters allow us to analyze the Yürük population in the region separately. As we can see, the registered *eşkinici*, *yamak*, "Yürüks" and Muslims with a Yürük *çift* are clearly distinguishable as a separate group. Unlike the ordinary Muslim *reaya*, they are rarely found in mixed villages with Christians, and they are usually concentrated in compact villages, mahalles or groups "of their own." There are just six settlements where the married and unmarried persons registered as "eşkinici," "yamak," "Yürük" or Muslims with a Yürük *çift* are in the minority or an exception as compared to the Muslim and non-Muslim *reaya* population (Orehoviçe, Logodaş, Lisiye, Cuma Pazarı, Sarolar and Karaman Obası). In another seven, three of which are explicitly denoted as Yürük, approximately half of the population consists of ordinary Muslim *reaya* (Divane Hamza, Moştançe, Süleymanı, Tecaş, Terzi Yahşı Oğulları, Hacı Ali Obası and Hasan Obası). In all other settlements they are either the only group or they outnumber the Muslim *reaya*.

Yürüks are not found in just nine of the total of 50 entirely Muslim settlements, as classified in Table 1: İstob (present-day village of Stob),⁷⁵ Mansur Obası (unidentified), Abdi Oğulları (unidentified),

75 A Bulgarian medieval settlement known already from the Charter granted by Emperor Basil II to the Archbishopric of Ohrid in 1019 and mentioned in the Rila Charter of Tsar Ivan Shishman of 1378, see Иванов, op. cit., 552, 598, 599. The defter of 1570 records only Muslims (*reaya* and rice-growers) in it, while the

Sofiler (unidentified), Çikleva (present-day village of Tsiklovo), Ağı Obası (connected to the present-day village of Yahinovo), Oroveç (unidentified), Baraklı, also known as Çavle, and Bane-i diğer (unidentified).⁷⁶ Neither Yürüks are found in three of the predominantly Muslim settlements: Gorna Kozniça (present-day village of Gorna Koznitsa), Bistriça, also known as Sahrab (unidentified), and Küçük Ağı Obası (connected to the present-day village of Yahinovo).⁷⁷ Along with Muslim reaya, Yürüks are listed in just two of the predominantly non-Muslim settlements (Orehoviçe and Lisiye), in one of the mixed settlements (Logodaş), and in one of the predominantly Muslim settlements (Cuma Pazarı). They are concentrated, in some cases in compact groups, in the environs of three non-Muslim settlements (Badino, Tsreshevo and Kocherinovo), nine predominantly non-Muslim (Selishte, Krupnik, Kaçanik, Bistritsa, Bobovdol, Tsarvenyano, Mlamolovo, Dragodan and Krashevo), four mixed (Slatino, Kraynitsi, Porominovo and Marulevo), and one predominantly Muslim settlement (Hamzabeylü, also known as Bistriça). On their own or together with the reaya, they make up the population of a total of 41 purely Muslim settlements and six *cemaats*.⁷⁸

A total of 775 persons related to the category of the Yürüks are registered in the district of Dupnitsa: 502 members of the corps, and 273 others. They make up approximately one-third (31.2%) of the registered Muslims. Considering the unknown number of nomads and the impossibility of distinguishing the Yürüks from the rest of the Muslim population in some instances, we cannot estimate what their actual share was. We have every reason to presume that it was quite larger and varied depending on the season. The registration covered mainly winter or summer pasture areas on the common lands of villages near mountains, so we cannot expect it to offer full records on the

defter of 1576 lists four Muslim celepkeşans from İstüb, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 358, 425–426; *Турски извори за българската историја*, vol. III, 189.

76 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 358–359, 374–375, 400, 495–496, 509–510, 535–536.

77 *Ibid.*, 375–376, 378–379, 527–528.

78 If we exclude two groups – Boylu Ali and Çorlu – because we do not have information about their population.

“local” (spending several months a year in the nearby mountains) non-sedentary Turkish-speaking community. It is obvious, however, that this community must have been a significant factor in the life of the area.

On the other hand, the areas of Dupnitsa, Blagoevgrad, Samokov, Kyustendil and Sofia, as well as some areas in the eastern part of the present-day Republic of Macedonia, are not covered by data from the registers of the Yürük sancaks in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is not clear whether the eşkincis and yamaks registered in the nahiye of Dupnitsa belonged to the respective *ocaks* (small mobilization units) of the Salonica, Ovče Pole, Tanrıdağ or other Yürük sancaks. In 1569–1570, the largest groups of Yürüks in Macedonia, mostly liable for service, are found in the districts of Salonica, together with Siderokapsa (present-day Sidirokavsia – a total of 873 heads of households and unmarried persons), Serfice (present-day Serbia – 1,179), Lerin (present-day Florina – 831), Serres (873), Demirhisar (present-day Sidirokastro – 789) and Štip (508).⁷⁹

According to the register of 1570, in the nahiye of Dupnitsa there were a total of 464 married or unmarried eşkincis and yamaks, and 28 sons of theirs who were obviously registered as a reserve. The number of militarized Yürüks registered in the district of Dupnitsa is closest to that in the nahiye of Štip and larger than in the nahiyes of Strumica (169 heads of households), Nevrokop (present-day Gotse Delchev – a total of 284 married and unmarried persons), Petrich (14 married persons) and Drama (a total of 295 married and unmarried eşkincis and yamaks).⁸⁰ We should bear in mind, however, that the location of the *ocaks* in the Yürük registers does not coincide with the places inhabited by the Yürüks, their families and flocks, or with the areas of their seasonal migrations. Depending on the conditions, for the pastoralists those places and areas could change as the Yürüks migrated in search of better pastures and farmlands. As in a number of others areas, some of the Yürüks who wintered or summered their livestock in the areas of Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad were registered elsewhere.

79 Соколоски, “За Јуруците и јуручката организација во Македонија од XV до XVIII век,” 96.

80 Димитров, С. “За јурушката организација и ролята и в етноасимилаторските процеси,” *Векове* 1–2 (1982): 38.

The systematized data, which offer a snapshot of the situation in the 1570s, show that local Yürüks included nomadic, semi-nomadic and sedentary groups, and persons subject to or (at least formally) exempt from military service. As everywhere, in the Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad areas too, there were Yürüks by origin and way of life, and “Yürüks” filling the ranks of the ocaks. These individuals were recruited from among manumitted former prisoners of war and new converts to Islam from the local population. The latter were not many in number and were registered together with the Yürüks mostly as reaya (51 persons). This points to the conclusion that it was the processes of colonization, and not of Islamization, that played a dominant role in the formation of the local Yürük community. Even if we were to assume that all persons registered as “sons of Abdullah” were new converts to Islam, their relative share among the members of the corps in this region is insignificant (two eşkincis, three yamaks and nine “Yürüks” or holders of a Yürük çift).

Although it does not account for the relatively large number of Muslims in the nahiye of Dupnitsa, the share of new converts to Islam among the ordinary Muslim reaya and among the urban population was obviously much larger than among the Yürüks. The records show that there were 21 new converts in the town of Dupnitsa alone, eight in Cuma Pazarı/Blagoevgrad, ten in the village of Kraynitsi, 15 in the village of Resoviçe (most probably the present-day village of Resilovo, as it had a common boundary with the village of Ofçar, present-day Ovchartsi), two in Oseno (present-day Gorno and Dolno Osenovo), one in Krupnik, and so on. Some of the Muslims registered in predominantly Christian villages were “sons of Abdullah” or manumitted slaves. Of course, such mentions can be only an indirect indication of the development of the processes of Islamization in the region.⁸¹

The small share of “new Muslims” among the Yürüks registered in the nahiye of Dupnitsa in the 1560s and 1570s suggests that it is quite likely that the majority of the local Yürük population still tended to be endogamous, very probably with respect to the clan, too. The kinship,

81 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 360–363, 365–366, 393–395, 474–476.

communal-territorial and social structures of the Yürük groups in the region, however, remain hidden behind the official military-administrative and fiscal terminology. Their reconstruction is even more difficult considering that there could have been a combination of two tendencies: towards settlement, and towards continuation or even periodic resumption of seasonal migrations.

The data in Table 2 indicate that the local Yürük community was in a dynamic state that was directly related to the still incomplete settlement in summer and winter pasturelands and on farmland. Most groups are registered on the common lands of villages or in mezraas. The Yürük settlement near Moshtanets is registered on the common land of the then-abandoned village of Jelejniça (present-day Zheleznitsa, Blagoevgrad district), while the Çorlu group is found in the mezraa of Gorno Draçevo (probably an abandoned village whose name is known from 1347). Large Yürük villages with predominantly sedentary population, such as Murselu/Mürseli, tend to be an exception.

The process of sedentarization of part of the Yürüks in this area was gradual, not simultaneous, and probably reversible. Some data suggest that there was still significant mobility. Here are two telling examples: in the register of 1570 we find a “cemaat of Yürüks” in the village of Kulagozlu, also known as Umur Obası (according to the celepkeşan defter of 1576, Kologozlu, also known as Tekfur), while the village of Aydın Obası, together with the Çobanlı mahalle (also known as Ömer Oğulları), as listed in the first defter, is registered as the cemaat of Aydın in the second. There are several other settlements with two or three names. Some settlements where the ordinary Muslim reaya makes up approximately half of the population are also registered as “Yürük villages.”

Some fifteen settlements or groups have names of kin groups (“oba,” or the patronymic “oğulları” meaning “sons,” “descendants”). Most of the Yürük groups in the area are small (with the exception of those in several villages such as Kulagozlu, Murselu or Aydın Obası). Judging from their size, the groups made up of several households must have been kin groups – associations of close agnates (fathers and sons, brothers, cousins). Other groups with more members could have been clans (headed by elders) or seasonal associations of more distant relatives or

unrelated partners in shepherd cooperatives. They were usually united around one or more leading families that elected the head of the group (*kâhya*). One and the same clan may be divided into a nomadic and a sedentary part or parts, which remained interconnected. It is also possible that there was a coincidence of the names of unrelated groups or that one and the same community was registered in different parts of the register as a *cemaat* in some instances and as a village in others. In this sense, the relationship between, for example, the cemaats of Ömer Obası or Hasan Obası and the villages of the same name is not entirely clear. Even so, it seems reasonable to presume that the data point to an initial stage of separation of nomadic from already settled Yürüks. Although some pastoralist groups were registered as “villages” or in the villages of settled agriculturalists, probably some of them had other summer settlements (huts or tent camps). Judging from the tithes paid on different products and crops and from the plots of land, most of the Yürük settlements and groups practised agriculture. However, in comparison with Christian and mixed settlements or settlements of Muslim land cultivators, agricultural produce in predominantly Yürük settlements did not yield high revenues. At the same time, in a number of instances the agricultural products were more likely produced by the ordinary Muslim reaya registered in those settlements. The registered Yürük çiftlikleri are not necessarily a direct indication of a stable and permanent agriculture comparable to that of the surrounding peasant population. Such çiftlikleri were also possessed by some Yürüks who wintered their livestock in the area and who were members of the cemaats of Serçi and Hacı Hasan, which clearly consisted mostly of semi-nomads who were not registered in the military corps (*ocaks*).

Despite the absence of more evidence about the taxes on sheep-breeding, it is obvious that sheep-breeding was still the main source of livelihood for a significant part of the registered Yürüks.⁸² They were most likely semi-nomads combining seasonal migrations

82 In the detailed defter of 1570 there is no mention of the sheep tax (*resm-i aġnam*, *resm-i ganem* or *koyun resm-i*), which was registered only in certain cases in the benefit of sipahis. It was registered in some of the separate defters (*aġnam defteri*). See Hadžibegić, H. “Porez na situ stoku i korisćenje ispaša,” *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* VIII–IX (1958–1959), Orijentalni Institut Sarajevo (1960): 63–102.

to the nearby mountains with agriculture in winter settlements that were gradually evolving into villages. An indirect indication of this may be the fact that tithes on hay and straw are not registered in the settlements with a majority Yürük population, or that they are insignificant in comparison to those recorded in the other non-Muslim and Muslim settlements. In the register of 1570, there are about a dozen entries on taxes for grazing sheep on village commons in winter or summer, and in one of the *mezraas*.⁸³

Among the registered Yürük *eşkinçi* and *yamak* we find two imams, one son of a *sipahi*, one *muhassıl* (tax collector), one halva-maker (*helvacı*), one *celep* (cattle dealer), as well as rice-growers (*çeltükçi*), *akıncıs*, and others. The fact that some Yürüks belonged simultaneously to another group with a special status or had a profession, occupation or official position, does not necessarily indicate a sedentary way of life. As for the Yürüks registered as sheep-suppliers or rice-growers, in some instances it may be an indirect indication of their pastoralist way of life. Both in Anatolia and in the Balkans the Ottoman authorities strove to attract the Yürüks and other pastoralist communities to rice cultivation, often on marshland and wasteland. They could combine rice cultivation with pastoralist sheep-breeding in return for tax concessions.⁸⁴ Aleksandar Stojanovski supposes that the main benefit for members of pastoralist groups (Yürüks and Vlachs) who engaged in rice cultivation was their exemption from *ağnam* tax on a definite number of sheep, an exemption which otherwise applied

83 *Resm-i otlak, resm-i kışlak and resm-i yaylak*. According to the 1570 registration of *yaylaks*, revenues from those taxes were collected only in some places – for example, from the kazas of Vranje, Kuustendil, Kratovo and Gorno Kraište, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 380, 406, 419, 423, 435, 443, 470, 474, 475, 494, 500, 519, and vol. V, книга V, 157.

84 Стојановски, А. *Раја со специјални задолженија во Македонија (Војнуци, соколари, оризари и солари)* (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1990), 148, 151–159; İnalçık, H. “Rice cultivation and the *çeltükci-re’aya* system in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Studies in Ottoman social and economic history* (London: Variorum Reprints), 103–106; Adanir, F. “Tradition and Rural Change in Southeastern Europe During the Ottoman Rule,” in *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe: Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages until the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. D. Chirot (University of California Press, 1989), 134, 139.

to those who served as auxiliaries.⁸⁵ The nomads and semi-nomads also stood to gain from rice cultivation because the rice fields were often close to their winter pastures and their status as rice-growers guaranteed that they could use them permanently, especially if those pastures were on land classified as waste or unused land (*mevat*). It may be no coincidence that the names of two of the rice-growing groups in the 1570 register – Kurd Bali and Oruçlar – can be linked to those of the Yürük settlements of Kurd Bali and Oruç Obası.⁸⁶

As for the Ottoman administration, what was primarily important to it was ensuring a constant number of eşkincis and yamaks. The nomadic groups that formally did not belong to the Yürük military organization (*Yürüklük*) were nevertheless treated as part of the latter. In the detailed defter of 1570, we find six groups registered as Yürük cemaats in the nahiye of Dupnitsa: Doncu; “cemaat (taife) of Yürüks” in the village of Kulagozlu (also known as Umur Obası or Tekfur); Ömer Obası; Serçi; Hacı Hasan; Hasan Obası. As noted above, the village of Aydın Obası, together with the Çobanlı mahalle (also known as Ömer Oğulları and, possibly, Beliçe/Belitsa), as listed in the defter of 1570, is registered as the cemaat of Aydın in the celepkeşan defter of 1576. Another cemaat, Saltuklu, is on record as renting a summer pasture in Mount Rila, in the kaza of Dupnitsa.⁸⁷

The cemaat in the village of Kulagozlu consisted mostly of Yürük auxiliaries, and that is why they were registered as a separate group in 1570. Another two cemaats, Hasan Obası and Ömer Obası, are mentioned only by name. The only evidence we have about the cemaat of Aydın comes from the defter of 1576. It lists four celepkeşans from that group, one of them a non-Muslim from the present-day village of Lisiya, Blagoevgrad district (possibly a hired shepherd or associate). All we know about the cemaat of Doncu is that it consisted of four Yürük households registered on the common land of the village of Kačanik (unidentified).

85 Стојановски, *Раја со специјални задолженија во Македонија*, 148.

86 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 359–360, 387.

87 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 159.

There is a little more evidence about the other two cemaats, Serçi and Hacı Hasan. Viewed against a wider regional and historical background, it sheds some light on the structure and way of life of the Turkish-speaking nomadic groups. Serçi consisted of six households and two unmarried persons, and Hacı Hasan of 15 households and six unmarried persons. All of them were “Salonica Yürüks who wintered [their livestock] on the common land” of, respectively, the villages of Hamzabeylü, also known as Bistriça, and Krayniçe, (the present-day villages of Bistritsa and Kraynitsi, Dupnitsa district). They were nomadic groups, some of whose members are registered as having çiftlik in their winter pastures. Judging from the size of the two groups, they probably consisted of closer and more distant relatives united economically and in defense of their interests during seasonal migrations with their livestock and families. The list of the Hacı Hasan cemaat is headed by the eponymous (clan elder?) Hacı Hasan, son of Mustafa, and his unmarried son Mehmed. Another two fathers and their unmarried sons are also listed in this group. The first name on the list of the Serçi cemaat is that of Fadil Bayezid. Next come the married Yürüks Hacı, son of Eyne Bey Bayezid, Memi, son of Bayezid, another three names (two married and one unmarried), and Ömer, son of Hacı Eyne Bey. Ömer is registered as paying a çift of 12 akçes. It is very likely that the core of the Serçi community consisted of three generations: the two brothers Fadil and Memi, sons of Bayezid, their nephew Hacı, son of their brother Eyne Bey, and his unmarried son Ömer. Both groups may have migrated seasonally over a significant distance – from the Aegean littoral to the Rila Mountain, and back. The cemaat of Hacı Hasan, however, consisted mostly of semi-nomads and probably spent winters near the village of Kraynitsi. Only two households and seven of its unmarried members are registered as paying *resm-i duhan* (hearth tax, the equivalent of half a Yürük çift) to the local *sipahi*, which is to say that they had no land and lived off their flocks only. In the cemaat of Serçi, seven of the eight persons on record are listed as having such a status – of temporary residents without a fixed abode. The list of revenues from the village of Hamzabeylü includes “a winter-grazing tax from the Yürüks” (*resm-i kışlak*) of 30 akçes paid by this group.

Compared with some nearby areas, the number of nomadic or semi-nomadic groups registered as paying *resm-i duhan* in the nahiye of Dupnitsa is small. One of the possible explanations for this is that, in principle, registration and taxation were easier to conduct and produced more reliable data in winter pastures than in the often remote and inaccessible mountain sites. The unoccupied marshy, arid or saline pastures in Ovče Pole as well as to the south, by the Aegean Sea, were much larger in territory than the river valleys and basins on the middle and upper reaches of the river Struma.⁸⁸ The winter pastures in the area obviously constituted a mosaic of uncultivated, fallow, and village common lands. Their territory was probably further limited by the still large islands of lowland forests, some of which were preserved after 1878.⁸⁹

At the same time, the areas of Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad are situated in the transition zone between the Mediterranean and temperate continental climate regions. After 1878 and until the 1920s–30s, the nomadic and semi-nomadic Aromanian groups which had summer settlements and pastures in this area wintered their livestock mostly south of Mount Pirin, along the valley of the river Struma; the same applies to the nomadic Karakachans until the end of the 1950s. Depending on the changing state borders, their winter pastures were mainly in the areas of Serres and Valovishta/Sidirokastro (for example, around Lake Butkovo, present-day Kerkini) or of Petrich. The associations of specialized transhumant Bulgarian sheep-breeders – for example, from the village of Boboshevo – also wintered their flocks in those areas. The Aromanian shepherds who were settled in Dupnitsa sometimes drove their flocks to the Black Sea coast and

88 Цвијић, Ј. *Основе за географију и геологију Македоније и Старе Србије* (Београд: Државна штампарија, 1906), vol. 1, 207–228; Јранов, Д. *Македонија како природно и стопанско цяло* (Софија: “Художник”, 1945); 37, 75, 95, 120, 148, 224; Beuermann, A. *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeographie des östlichen Mittelmeergebietes* (Braunshweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1967), 152–154.

89 Биљарски, Станке Димитров (*Дупница*) и крајт по време на Освободителната война (1877–1878), 10–11; Кепов, И. *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево* (Софија: Печатница “Кехлибаров”, 1935), 81; Меджидиев, *Историја на град Станке Димитров (Дупница)*, 330–331.

Southeastern Thrace, and in warmer winters, to the lowlands near Lukovit and Vratsa in Northwestern Bulgaria, but this had to do with the sheep market.⁹⁰

Despite the influence of the Mediterranean climate, the conditions for winter grazing in the Upper Struma valley were not always favorable. This was also true of the climate period that lasted until the end of the 16th century.⁹¹ We have every reason to assume that in that time, too, the influence of the terrain and of other factors occasionally led to the temperature fluctuations, heavy snowfalls, and other adverse weather conditions typical of this region.⁹²

The region, however, was home to first-class summer pastures across the vast labyrinths of the Rila, Pirin, Vlahina, Osogovo and other smaller mountains, which periodically attracted an unknown number of nomads and semi-nomads. It is very likely that the lowlands in the region were used in some cases as relatively permanent, and in others as only temporary, transit winter pastures. For each particular group, this directly depended on the degree of sedentarization, prosperity, climate fluctuations, and presence or absence of additional economic and social factors. The latter included land tenure, available labor force, agriculture, trade, social status, kinship, solidarity or economic cooperation with already settled communities.

Either way, in the nahiye of Strumica in 1570 we find 22 cemaats registered as paying *resm-i duhan*, while in the districts of Lake Dojran, Bojmija (whose center was Valandovo, in the Republic of Macedonia), Tikveš, and Štip their number is, respectively, 29, 18, five, and 21, often “not on the register” (“haric-ez-defter”).⁹³ Those numbers do

90 Маринов, В. *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1964), 28, 32, 39; Меджидиев, *История на град Станке Димитров (Дупница)*, 46; Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, 81. The information about the Karakachans from Dupnitsa is from an interview conducted in 1986 with their last headman (*kehaya*), Yanko Stamov.

91 White, S. *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 126–162.

92 Меджидиев, *История на град Станке Димитров (Дупница)*, 10–12.

93 See Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ, vol. V, книга II, and vol. V, книга III.

not include 28 cemaats of Yürük *çift*-paying members of the military organization in the district of Štip, some of whom had already formed villages or *mahalles* (hamlets), such as the one in the village of Kulagozlu near Dupnitsa. Some nomadic households in them are registered as *haymane* (unregistered and fugitives, in this context nomads paying *resm-i duhan*), very few of whom are eşkincis or yamaks.⁹⁴ According to the list of *yaylaks*, registered in in 1570, some 20 Yürük groups spent summers on Osogovo, Plačkovica, in the mountains east of Surdulica and Vranje (Southeastern Serbia), in the Rila and other mountains, and winters in the areas of Štip, Radoviš, Dupnitsa, Strumica and Salonica.⁹⁵ Some of the cemaats in the areas of present-day Strumica, Dojran, Valandovo, Radoviš and Štip are also mentioned in a celepkešan defter from the late 16th century.⁹⁶ The celepkešan defter of 1576 mentions eleven Yürük cemaats in the nearby kaza of Samokov, and one in the kaza of Sofia.⁹⁷ But it does not offer any evidence about their structure or possible relation to the local Yürük mobilization units.

There is a coincidence of names of cemaats in nearby areas: Hacı Ali in the kaza of Samokov, Karamanlı near Štip, Kulagozlu near Radoviš (with a subgroup called Kara Musalu, summering on Mount Plačkovica), Hacı Ali near Strumica, Enler in the Kyustendil area (on Osogovo), Uzuncalu (on Plačkovica), and others.⁹⁸ Of course, this does not necessarily mean that the members of the eponymous groups were descended from the same ancestors or belonged to a still unified community.

94 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга II, 104, 156, 157, 202, 203, 209, 219, 223, 239–240, 250, 256, 259, 268, 269, 271, 273–274, 277, 278, 282, 284, 285.

95 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 149–159. The largest one of those communities is the *cemaat* of Suratlar, with 22 registered sheepfolds on Osogovo, see *ibid.*, 149, 153.

96 Груевски, П. & С. Хисарлъшка-Танова, “Откъс от регистър на железкешаните в каза Струмица от края на 16. век,” *Известия на Народната Библиотека “Св.св.Кирил и Методий”* XX, 26 (1992): 335–337, 340.

97 *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, 82, 94, 200, 204–206.

98 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга II, 219; vol. V, книга III, 40, 203–204, 299 and vol. V, книга V, 151, 157, 158; see also Chapter Two, Table

Aleksandar Stojanovski does not rule out such a possibility in the case of some groups – for example, that of the large cemaat of Saltuklu, divided in 1570 into several smaller ones.⁹⁹ This requires a closer look at names that are distinct from the common Turkic-Arabic ones, and especially at the many terms, nicknames and pejoratives related to the Yürük way of life. Archaic Turkic names are not rare among Yürüks.¹⁰⁰ The cemaat of Serçi is a good example of a characteristic nickname (from serçe – sparrow). In addition to the Dupnitsa nahiye, parts (subgroups) of this community are registered near Radoviš (cemaat of Serçi, also known as İdris Hoca); in the Dojran area (cemaat of Hacı Oğulları, from the cemaat of Serçi, on the common land of the village of Dolno Gorbasovo); in the Valandovo area (cemaat of Serçi, also known as Süleyman Fakih, on the common land of the village of Pira-va); and in the Petrich area (cemaat of Serçi, on the common land of the village of Topolnitsa).¹⁰¹ They are recorded as consisting, respectively, of 20 households and eight unmarried persons; 19 households; four households and two unmarried persons; and 15 households. Besides the one in the district of Dupnitsa, two of those groups (in the Radoviš and Dojran areas) are registered as paying *resm-i duhan*, the first together with insignificant tithes (*öşür*) on vines and must, and the second with a tax on pasture grass. None of their members are registered as liable for military service (*eşkincis* or *yamaks*). Neither are such persons to be found in the small cemaat in the Valandovo area, which consists of four *bennak* households and two unmarried Yürüks. The group near the village of Topolnitsa (near Petrich) is registered

99 The *cemaats* of Ali Hoca (eight households), on the common land of the village of Ruljak; Saltuklar (ten households), around the Christian village of Lipov Dol, Štip district; Hacı Piri (11 households) around the village of Počivalo, Štip district; Yusuf Saltuklu (17 households), around Radoviš – all of them being from the *cemaat* of Saltuklu. Three subgroups of Saltuklu spent summers southwest of Kočani, on Plačkovica, and in the Rila mountains, respectively. See Стояновски, А. “Неколку прашања за Јуруците во Кустендилскиот санџак,” in: *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населување на Балканот*, 34; *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга II, 165, 193; vol. V, книга III, 40 and vol. V, книга V, 158, 159.

100 See Chapter Two.

101 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга III, 39, 316–317, 351–352, 600–602.

as including one imam, two eşkincis, one son of eşkinci, one yamak, three sons of yamaks, and one *celep* (here, sheep-dealer). The rest of its members are recorded as “Yürük.” The three persons with military obligations have a full Yürük çift, and eleven are bennaks. The revenues from the village include “a pasture tax on the Yürüks who come [here] and spend summers and winters with their sheep” (obviously on and around the nearby Mount Belasitsa).¹⁰²

The majority of those Yürüks was still nomadic and used the winter pastures along the Aegean littoral where they must have had kinship, economic and social contacts. The dual names of three of those groups suggest that they were still united in one entity. That this was not merely a coincidence of names is also indicated by the fact that the cemaats paying *resm-i duhan* are recorded as “Salonica Yürüks” (in the Dupnitsa district), “Yürüks of the Salonica [Yürük] sancak-bey” (in the Radoviš district), as well as with the note:

Since old times and to this day, the married [Yürüks] pay eleven akçes each to the Salonica [Yürük] bey, and the unmarried [Yürüks] eight akçes each; to the sipahi of the aforementioned village [Dolno Gorbasovo, near Dojran] they pay *resm-i duhan* and *ösür* on grass.¹⁰³

It is certain that the Radoviš and Dojran groups were included in the revenues forming the *zeamet* of the *subaşı* of the Salonica Yürüks, while the one in the Dupnitsa nahiye either consisted of “free” nomads (*serbest haymane*), or had some other obligations. The second possibility is more likely, even if their formal status was not bound to the commander of this military formation.

It is obvious that the large community of the Serçi, from which a total of 64 households and 12 unmarried persons are registered, had special relations with the Salonica Yürük sancakbey. Those Yürüks were his taxpayers and a military reserve for filling the ranks of the ocaks. It is very likely that the Salonica bey was not just supreme commander but also patron and protector of the Serçi. Both parties

102 Ibid., 600–602.

103 Ibid., vol. V, книга I, 499, 500, and vol. V, книга III, 39, 316–317.

stood to gain from such patronage relations. As we have seen, the majority of those Yürüks did not have military obligations. In return for performing financial and other duties, they were given almost full economic and personal freedom, and probably also support in renting pastures from various timar-holders as well as in the event of disputes or conflicts with the sedentary population and the local authorities. For his part, the Yürük sancakbey could rely on receiving additional financial and material benefits,¹⁰⁴ as well as on the services of the caravans and of the most knowledgeable informers. The services of the latter were probably important when there was a need to mobilize eşkincis and yamaks scattered across various winter or summer pastures. Of course, these relations were not idyllic. After the relative decline in the number of Yürük auxiliaries from the late 16th century onwards, such relations were no longer of benefit to the nomads, who were increasingly forced to enlist as eşkincis and yamaks.

The size, names, and location of the separate groups, as well as their collective subordination to one of the Yürük military commanders, combined with their obviously preserved nomadic way of life, point to the conclusion that the cemaat of Serçi was still a clan (tribal?) community in the 1560s and 1570s. It was under the control of the Salonica bey, but it had probably kept its right to economic and social self-government conducted according to the rules of customary law by the elders and/or *kâhyas*. The Yürük sancakbey probably intervened mainly in resolving various problems of his military formation and in the event of criminal offences. By analogy with similar communities in Anatolia, we may presume that the cemaat of Serçi consisted of several clans but was deprived of the right to be ruled by its own tribal chief. This function was taken over by the zaim of Salonica Yürüks. Such a pattern was fully consistent with the Ottoman “philosophy of governing nomadic subjects.”¹⁰⁵

104 Like the *subaşı* of Ovče Pole Yürüks, Hüseyin, who rented out summer pastures on Osogovo, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга V, 152.

105 Arıcanlı, İ. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yürük ve Aşiret Ayırımı,” in *First International Congress of Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071–1920). Abstracts of the Papers* (Ankara: Çaba Matbaası, 1977), 12; Lindner, R. P. *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,

It remains unclear whether this, as well as other similar communities, were remnants from the era of the Ottoman conquest or later immigrants.

2. Seventeenth–Nineteenth Centuries

The evidence about the region from the 1570s is largely consistent with the established notions of the “classic” period in the development of the Ottoman economic and social regime. One of its dimensions is the general tendency towards population growth as a result of demographic, social and economic factors as well as of immigration. On a Balkan-wide plane, the demographic development until the beginning of the 18th century is interpreted as being partially consistent with the increasing crises in the foreign-policy, economic and social spheres. The overall demographic picture in this period is the subject of long-standing debates. Definitions like “demographic catastrophe,” “crisis,” “stagnation,” or “ethnic crisis” (attributed to the mass Islamization of the Christian population) are due not just to the insufficient primary sources available and to the different research approaches and methods, but also to the significant differences between the separate regions.¹⁰⁶

Still, the general tendency towards a decline in the non-Muslim population in the districts of Dupnitsa, Kyustendil and Blagoevgrad is evident from Ottoman sources.¹⁰⁷ According to data on the *cizye* tax, the total number of non-Muslim *hanes* (households) registered in the tax vilayet of Dupnitsa was 4,908 in 1616, and 4,562 in 1639. In 1642/3 the number of households is indicated as being 4,149 according to “the old defter,” but they had decreased by 357 and numbered 3,792 according to the new registration. In 1662/3 the number of non-Muslim households (some of them probably extended families) was 1,500, as

1983), 51–56.

106 Тодорова, М., and Н. Тодоров. “Проблеми и задачи на историческата демография на Османската империя,” in *Балканистика* 2, ed. Н. Тодоров et al. (София: Българска Академия на Науките, Институт по Балканистика, 1987), 19–20, 24–27.

107 Грозданова, *Българската народност през XVII в.*, 92–121, 132–142, 261–278.

compared with 5,067 in 1570.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, until the mid-17th century local or immigrant Christian agricultural populations evidently continued to revive and reclaim some previously abandoned lands and settlements. For example, in the village of Jelejniça (present-day Zheleznitsa, Blagoevgrad district), which was abandoned in 1570 and where only Yürüks are mentioned in its vicinity, we find 29 non-Muslim households in 1650. In 1640–1660, the mezraas of Rosomon (unidentified), Rujino (in the 17th century, most likely the unidentified village of Razheno Sguro) and Dobrenovo (in the 17th century, the unidentified village of Dobranovo) were separate villages with, respectively, 16, 18 and 29 non-Muslim households, while in 1606–1626/27 the mezraa of Dobri Dol was a village with registered voynuk *baştinas*. There were also changes in the villages of Moştançe (Moshtanets, Blagoevgrad district) and Sarolar (Sarilar, present-day Golemo Selo, Dupnitsa area), which were purely Muslim and in which Yürüks were registered in 1570. In Moştançe there were 14 non-Muslim households in 1650, and in Sarolar 24 in 1642/43 and 38 in 1649/50.¹⁰⁹

Although these data are very fragmentary and cannot give us a full picture, they suggest the general tendency in the development of the local Yürük community. Besides all historical changes that took place in the 17th century, the environmental ones were of definitive importance for the non-sedentary populations. The specific economic model of pastoralism was very sensitive and vulnerable to the changes in the natural environment.¹¹⁰ The impact of the climate fluctuations and other natural disasters on the demographic processes

108 *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. VII (Документи за поголовния данък джизие, XV–XVII в.), ed. С. Димитров et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1986), 204; *Турски извори за българската история*. Vol. VIII, ed. Е. Грозданова et al. (София: Главно Управление на Архивите при Министерския Съвет, Българска Академия на Науките, Народна Библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, 2001), 79, 132; Петров, П. *По следите на насието. Документи и материали за налагане на исляма* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1988), vol. II, 259.

109 *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга I, 354, 410, 425, 485–487, 519–520, 540; Грозданова, *Българската народност през XVII в.*, 112, 135, 136, 139, 265, 267.

110 Khazanov, A. *Nomads and the Outside World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 15–84.

in the 17th and next centuries is debatable.¹¹¹ This applies even more for the Balkan nomads until the beginning of the 19th century, that is, until their actual “discovery” by ethnographers at the time. The extreme temperature fluctuations, torrential rains and severe winters, which became more frequent during the Little Ice Age (the cold spell that lasted from the late 16th/early 17th to the late 18th/early 19th centuries), must have confined the nomadic migrations to the zone between the high mountains in the southern and southwestern part of the Balkans, and the Aegean and Adriatic coasts. It is no coincidence that in the 19th and early 20th centuries this zone was home to most of the sedentary and still semi-nomadic Yürük groups; this is also where the migration wave of nomadic Aromanians and Karakachans developed initially. The seasonal migrations and movements of nomadic populations in this period were concentrated as a whole in the Mediterranean and transitional Mediterranean climate zones, south of the geographical boundary established by Arnold Beuermann as running along the ridge of the Stara Planina/Balkan mountains and reaching Northern Albania and Southern Dalmatia.¹¹² In the Little Ice Age, it was probably difficult for semi-nomads to winter their livestock, migrate, and engage in supplementary agricultural activities to the north of that boundary.

In principle, several years of bad and unstable weather could destroy the primitive agriculture of semi-nomads in the mountainous and semimountainous areas or coastal lowlands. A series of winters with heavy snowfall and cold springs with severe rains could be disastrous for nomadic groups because they coincided with the lambing and foaling season. The way out was migration elsewhere, settlement and adoption of other ways of life, or (for those who were able to replenish their flocks or herds) resumption of seasonal migrations over longer distances. On the other hand, some scholars think that the deterioration of the climate after the end of the 16th century was one of the main reasons for the crisis in agriculture and the rise of large-

111 Тодорова, М., and Н. Тодоров, “Проблеми и задачи на историческата демография на Османската империя, 25–26; White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Ottoman Empire*, 187–225; Adanır, “Tradition and Rural Change in Southeastern Europe During the Ottoman Rule,” 139–146, 148.

112 Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 23.

scale sheep-breeding in the Mediterranean region.¹¹³ Along with the general historical factors, one of the environmental factors for such a development in Anatolia as well as in the Balkans was the increase in wastelands and uncultivated lands, especially in the mountainous and semimountainous areas. By analogy with Asia Minor, we may presume that some groups may have returned to a nomadic way of life in certain parts of the Balkan Peninsula, too.¹¹⁴ Judging from the state of the sedentary and semi-sedentary Yürüks registered in South-western Bulgaria in the 1560s and 1570s, such changes among part of them may have well been among the reasons for the decrease in the local Muslim population. In other words, here, too, part of the Yürük population did not disappear physically; it continued its seasonal migrations to the nearby mountains but began to spend winters farther to the south, beyond the region under examination.

Of course, the proposed hypothesis that the deterioration of the climate was among the main reasons for the disappearance of a large part of the Turkish-speaking population from the flatlands and semimountainous areas around Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad is just one of the possible explanations for the comparatively small number of Muslims in the extant statistical records from the 19th century. In this respect, the rare mentions of Yürüks in the available sources throughout the period from the end of the 17th to the end of the 19th centuries, is quite simp-

113 For the Little Ice Age in Europe and its effects on agriculture, see F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), vol. I, 262, 270–275; F. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, vol. 1: *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), Chapter 1; Ф. Борисенков, Ф. & В. Пасецкий. *Тысячелетняя летопись необычайных явлений природы* (Москва: “Мысль”, 1988). 62–74. For the Balkan Peninsula and Anatolia, see Adanır, “Tradition and Rural Change in Southeastern Europe During the Ottoman Rule,” 139–148, 152–154; White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Ottoman Empire*, 126–179.

114 Тодорова, М., and Н. Тодоров, “Проблеми и задачи на историческата демография на Османската империя, 25; Мейер, М. “Особености демографических процессов в Османской империи XV–XVI вв. и их социально-экономические последствия,” in *Демографические процессы на Балканах в средние века*, ed. М. М. Фрейденберг (Калинин: Калининский Государственный Университет, 1984), 20.

tomatic. A number of other factors, pointed out by scholars as universal for the overall decrease in the population in the Balkans in the 17th and 18th centuries, were probably also at play. Climate and economic crises, hunger and epidemics plagued all pre-industrial societies. The concurrence of their complex negative effects with the demographic processes and crises in the political and social spheres remains debatable both at the regional and the empire-wide levels.¹¹⁵ The Yürüks, however, were also subject to the effects of specific stress factors: military service, epidemics among humans and epizootic diseases among animals recorded in Ottoman and other sources, competition from the other pastoralist communities and, after the end of the 17th century, from large-scale specialized transhumant sheep-breeding. Their combination in some places with recurrent or even occasional natural disasters determined the state of the Yürük population in the different parts of the peninsula.

Widespread banditry, which gradually turned into anarchy, may also have been a factor for the settlement or migration to other regions, or even for the physical disappearance of part of the pastoralist population in some places. It must have particularly affected the nomads and semi-nomads who travelled with all or most of their belongings and families.¹¹⁶ Either way, the available evidence about

115 Тодорова, М., and Н. Тодоров, “Проблеми и задачи на историческата демография на Османската империя, 25–27; Грозданова, *Българската народност през XVII в.*, 532–543; McGowan, Br. *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe. Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 86–87, 131–134; Иванова, Св. “Етнодемографски изследвания за периода XV–XVII в. в съвременната българска историография,” in *България през XV–XVIII в. Историографски изследвания*, vol. 1, ed. Кр. Шарова et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1987), 155–169.

116 The 1760s–70s saw an increase in bandit raids on the Rila Monastery. They were followed by a local, comparatively strong variant of the general anarchy and *Kircali* (large bands of brigands) raids that lasted some 20 years (from the early 1790s to 1813), see Ихчиев, *Турските документи на Рилския манастир*, 69, 74–79; Ферманджиев, Н., & В. Начев, eds, *Писахме да се знае. Приписки и летописи* (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1984), 106, 110, 126; Меджидиев, *История на град Станке Димитров (Дупница)*, 179; Попов, К. “Кюстендил под турско робство и участието на кюстендилци в националноосвободителните борби,” in *Кюстендил и Кюстендилско. Сборник*, ed. Г. Кръстева (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1973), 94; Мутафчиева, В. *Кърджалийско*

the whole period from the first decades of the 17th century to 1878 points to significant changes in the Yürük population in the areas of Dupnitsa and Blagoevgrad.

As we have seen, in the 1570s the nahiye of Dupnitsa was one of the areas with a significant concentration of Yürük auxiliaries and, in all likelihood, with a sizeable population of other local or seasonally migrating Yürük groups. Yet unlike others regions with a relatively large number of members of the military organization in the 16th century, in the 1691 defter of the Evlâd-i Fâtihân published by M. T. Gökbilgin the number of these auxiliaries in the kaza of Dupnitsa is very small. Those subject to mobilization (*nefer*) here are 17 in all, from six settlements: three from Dupnitsa, two from Cuma/Blagoevgrad, three from Hamzabeylü/Bistritsa, three from Baraklı/Barakovo, four from Bayırlu (Bayır Köy, present-day village of Buchino, Blagoevgrad district), and two from Osenovo. In the nearby areas with permanently settled Yürük colonists in the 16th century, where a substantial Yürük population was preserved until the late 19th or early 20th century, we find many more evlâd-i fâtihâns. For comparison, 630 *nefers* are registered in the kaza of Dojran, 608 in the kaza of Avrethisarı (Kukush/Kilkis), 53 in the kaza of Strumica (from three villages), 50 in the kaza of Radoviš, 85 in the kaza of Štip, and 482 in the kaza of Serres.¹¹⁷

The small number of evlâd-i fâtihâns in the kaza of Dupnitsa was undoubtedly due to the absence of a sizeable local Yürük community, and indirectly, to the insufficient potential of the Muslim population as a whole despite the spread of Islam in some villages near Gorna Dzhumaya/Blagoevgrad.¹¹⁸ Once again in comparison with the regions with a more compact Yürük population in Macedonia, in the region under examination Yürüks with military obligations are mentioned only once in the extant sources – by the French traveller Félix de Beaujour. He

време (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1977), 95–96, 115, 119, 267, 342, 348, 352.

117 Gökbilgin, M. T. *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân* (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1957), 263, 265, 266, 268.

118 Osenovo (in the late 19th century with a population of 300 Christian Bulgarians and 1,550 Pomaks/Muslim Bulgarians), Tserovo (700 Muslim Bulgarians), Simitli (together with the Simitli *çiftlik*, 915 Muslim Bulgarians) and Krupnik (660 Muslim Bulgarians), see Кънчов, *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 491–492.

notes the following about Gorna Dzhumaya in the 1790s: “a small town populated by Yürük Turks who excel at military service.”¹¹⁹

Most of the available statistical data for the region from the 1820s to 1878 (to the end of the 19th century, in the case of the kaza of Gorna Dzhumaya), are about the population of the two towns. The consular reports and the writings of European travellers, diplomats and military officers were based on different sources and on personal observations and inquiries, but they often repeated each other. In the various statistical and ethnographic data collected by Nikola Mihov, the population of Dupnitsa is estimated as follows: in the 1820–1837 period, 6,000 persons (according to six European sources); in 1838–1849, between 3,000 or 4,000 and 6,000 (five sources); in 1854–1869, between 6,000 and 7,000 or 8,000 (six sources); and in 1873–1877, between 5,500 and 8,000 (five sources).¹²⁰ According to two summary estimates, from 1873 and 1876, Gorna Dzhumaya had a population of 4,000 persons.¹²¹

Those figures are provisional and they give only a general idea of the size of the two towns. They do not provide any information about the religious or ethnic composition of their population, except for the mention that Bulgarians and Turks lived in them.¹²² According to the memoirs of Nikola Lazarkov, on the eve of the 1877–1878 Russo-Turkish war Dupnitsa had a population of some 6,800 or 7,000 persons, of whom two-thirds were Turks (that is, approximately 4,500 or 4,600), one-third Bulgarians (between 2,200 and 2,300), one-twentieth Jews (340–350), 100 Gypsies, and 15–20 families of Tsintsars (Aromanians) and Greeks (part of the latter were most probably Aromanian Patriar-

119 Cited in Матковски, А. *Македонија во делата на странските патописци (1778–1826)* (Скопје: “Мисла”, 1991), 76.

120 Михов, Н. *Населението на Турција и Българија през XVIII и XIX век. Библиографски изследвания със статистични и етнографски данни* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1915), vol. I, 24, 30, 40, 134, 143, 154, 164, 171, 198, 212, 223, 286, 294, 312, 324, 357; vol. II (1924), 41, 45, 134; vol. III (1929), 10, 54, 220; vol. IV (1935), 221.

121 Ibid., vol. I, 24, 212.

122 According to Ami Boué (1854), Dupnitsa had 2,000 houses; the same number of houses was mentioned by Evliya Çelebi two centuries earlier, see *ibid.*, vol. II, 45. See also Иванов, *Северна Македонија*, 184, 189.

chists, too).¹²³ In the 18th century Gorna Dzhumaya/Blagoevgrad remained a predominantly Turkish town with a small Bulgarian quarter, Varosha.¹²⁴ At the very end of the 19th century, Vasil Kanchov noted a total population of 6,440, of whom 4,500 Turks, 1,250 Bulgarians, 60 Greeks, 250 Vlachs, 180 Jews, and 200 Gypsies.¹²⁵

Ottoman official statistics (tax registers and censuses published in official yearbooks, *salnames*) can give us an idea about the size and composition of the population of the two kazas in the 19th century. After 1831, the adult male, regardless of marital status, became the official registration unit and remained so until 1881–1882. After that the basic unit became the individual, regardless of age or sex. Ethnic, and not just religious identity, began to be recorded in censuses from 1856 onwards.¹²⁶ In the data from two Ottoman censuses published by Kemal Karpat, the number of registered male taxpayers is recorded as follows: in 1831 – 11,642 “reaya” in the kaza of Dupniçe;¹²⁷ in 1873–1874 – 2,755 Muslims and 2,596 non-Muslims from a total of 2,680 households and 37 settlements in the kaza of Cuma/Blagoevgrad, and 1,834 Muslims and 11,192 non-Muslims from a total of 4,237 *hanes* and 70 settlements in the kaza of Dupniçe.¹²⁸ Drawing on the *salname* of 1873–1874 as well as on the parish registers of the Bulgarian Ex-

123 Лазарков, Н. *Спомени из робското минало на град Дупница и селата му* (Дупница: Печатница “Мижоров”, 1924), 7.

124 Шарков, *Град Горна Джумая*, 81.

125 *Ibid.*, 491.

126 Karpat, K. *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 9–10.

127 *Ibid.*, 21.

128 In Kemal Karpat’s study the two penultimate figures are interchanged, that is, they are published as 11,192 Muslims and 1,834 non-Muslims in the *kaza* of Dupniçe – judging from other publications of the data from this *salname*, this is obviously a typographic error. The Austro-Hungarian military attaché in Constantinople, A. Ritter zur Helle von Samo, notes in the statistics on the Danubian *vilayet* of 1873–1874 a total of 1,834 Muslims and 11,237 non-Muslims from 71 settlements, while according to V. Teplov there were 1,834 Muslims and 11,192 non-Muslims, see Михов, *Населението на Турция и България през XVIII и XIX век*, vol. I, 372; Теплов, В. *Материали для статистики Болгарии, Фракии и Македонии* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография и хромофотография А. Граншеля, 1877), 18–19.

archate, Vasiliy Teplov calculates the population of the kaza of Dupnitsa at 33,576 non-Muslims and 2,751 Muslims, and of the kaza of Gorna Dzhumaya at 14,632 non-Muslims and 3,894 Muslims.¹²⁹ The Russian General Staff statistics of May 1877 puts the population of the kaza of Dupnitsa at 1,834 adult Muslim males and 11,237 non-Muslim males, which, according to its authors, amounted to 1,834 “Turks” and 22,710 “Bulgarians” living in 68 settlements. According to the same source, the kaza of Gorna Dzhumaya had a population of 2,896 Muslims and 8,038 non-Muslims, which amounted to 2,896 “Turks” and 13,465 “Bulgarians” from 28 settlements.¹³⁰ According to the Ottoman data used by the Russian researchers, there were 1,453 Muslims and 1,408 non-Muslims in the town of Dupnitsa, and 1,036 Muslims and 891 non-Muslims in Gorna Dzhumaya.¹³¹

Taking into account all these data, principles and methods of their collection and interpretation, what is important for our main line of inquiry is that in the 19th century the majority of the Turkish population of the kazas of Dupnitsa and Gorna Dzhumaya/Blagoevgrad was concentrated in the two administrative centers. At that, the group of Turkish-speaking Muslim Ottomans both in towns and villages should hardly be associated solely with the Anatolian colonists from three centuries earlier.

One of the main routes of migration in the 17th–19th centuries – from Western Macedonia, Northern Epirus, Thessaly and Albania – brought to this part of Bulgaria immigrant “Vlachs” (Aromanians and Karakachans), Orthodox Christian “Arnaouts” (Bulgarians and Albanians) and “Greeks” (including Aromanian Patriarchists). Although Dimitar Yaranov found an oral tradition about these “Arnaouts” in the area of Blagoevgrad but not in that of Dupnitsa, such a tradition has been preserved in some villages in the latter – for example, about the origin of Bulgarian families from Dyakovo and Kraynitsi.¹³² Some of the

129 Ibid, XI, 18–19; Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, 10.

130 *Материалы для изучения Болгарии*, vol. III (Букарешт, 1877), 14–15, 194–198, 208–210. Obviously, the data on the Muslim population are taken from the *salnames*, while those on the Christian population are from the parish registers.

131 Ibid., 194, 208.

132 Яранов, Д., “Преселническо движение на българи от Македония и Албания към източните български земи през XV до XIX век,” *Македонски*

local Muslims were also descendants of such immigrants. For example, Süleyman Kargalı, an infamous Dupnitsa notable (*ayan*) from the times of the *Kırcalı* disturbances (in the late 18th and early 19th centuries), was an Albanian from Shkodër.¹³³ We may safely assume that the ranks of the Turkish urban population in Dupnitsa were periodically filled by Muslim Gypsies, and that of Gorna Dzhumaya by individual Pomaks/Muslim Bulgarians from the nearby villages. In the 1860s and 1870s, the Muslim population in the kaza of Dupnitsa also included immigrant Circassians, who founded two separate settlements or were dispersed as separate families or groups in several villages in the region. Their number is estimated at approximately 130 or 140 houses.¹³⁴

According to the statistical data of the Russian General Staff, there were Muslims in 12 villages in the kaza of Dupnitsa, they were in the minority in all of them as compared to the Christian population, and their total number did not exceed 400 persons. In almost all of those villages the number of Muslim houses ranged from several to dozen, and was the largest in the villages of Sarıyar (present-day Cherven Bryag – 20 Muslim houses and 46 Muslims, as compared to 101 non-Muslim houses and 398 non-Muslims) and Kocaarin (present-day Koche-rinovo, with 21 Muslim houses and 65 Muslims, as compared to 117 non-Muslim houses and 285 non-Muslims).¹³⁵ The historical memories of the local population were similar – the Turks were very few in number, often just one or two çiftlik-holders, field-keepers or several houses in a total of approximately 40 settlements.¹³⁶ On the eve of the 1877–1878 Russo-Turkish war, the Muslim rural community in the kaza of Dupnitsa is unlikely to have numbered more than a thousand persons and there were no entirely Muslim villages except for the two isolat-

преглед VII, 2–3 (1932): 66–69; Лазарков, Спомени из робското минало на град Дупница и селата му, 7; Шарков, Град Горна Джумая, 137; Меджидиев, История на град Станке Димитров (Дупница), 41–47;

133 Ibid., 179.

134 Ibid., 40–41.

135 *Материалы для изучения Болгарии*, vol. III, 194, 198. In Cherven Bryag there were also three Circassian houses, see Билярски, *Станке Димитров (Дупница) и краят по време на Освободителната война (1877–1878)*, 13–18.

136 Ibid., 11–12; Меджидиев, *История на град Станке Димитров (Дупница)*, 40, 283–294.

ed Circassian settlements on Mount Verila, Şarban and Semçin. In the kaza of Gorna Dzhumaya, the overwhelming majority of the Muslim rural population consisted of Pomaks/Muslim Bulgarians even after the waves of refugees on both sides of the new state border, that is, after the influx of Muslim refugees to the south of it, and of Christian refugees to the north, on the territory of the newly established Principality of Bulgaria.¹³⁷ According to the Ottoman census of 1881/82–1893, the population of the kaza of Gorna Dzhumaya consisted of 6,124 Muslims (3,109 males and 3,015 females), 16,103 Bulgarians (8,105 males and 7,998 females), and 116 Greeks (109 males and seven females).¹³⁸

Vasil Kanchov proposed the following statistics on the population of the kaza of Gorna Dzhumaya at the very end of the 19th century: 4,575 Turks (of whom 4,500 in the town itself), 3,900 Muslim Bulgarians, 21,282 Christian Bulgarians, 1,130 Vlachs (that is, Aromanians and Karakachans), 351 Gypsies, 60 Greeks, and 180 Jews.¹³⁹ According to Kanchov, the total number of the Turkish rural population was just 75 persons, living in one settlement, Buchino (Bayır Köy), together with 442 Christian Bulgarians. Kanchov was uncertain about this figure for obvious reasons: the Muslims in Buchino – as well as those noted by Vasil Sharkov in the villages of Kardzhevo and Tekiya (present-day Balgarchevo, Blagoevgrad district, and Krumovo, Kocherinovo municipality) – were “Koniars,” that is, settled or still semi-nomadic Yürüks who appeared to have been wiped out by the plague at some point, only to reappear at another.¹⁴⁰ By that time, the local Yürük population had disappeared almost completely from the kaza of Gorna Dzhumaya, or had been assimilated into other groups.

137 After the 1877–1878 Russo-Turkish and the 1878–1879 Kresna-Razlog Uprising, a Bulgarian refugee colony, mostly from the region of Gorna Dzhumaya/Blagoevgrad, was established in Dupnitsa. Fearing the advancing Russian troops, almost the entire Muslim population of Dupnitsa abandoned the town in the winter of 1877. The last Turkish family left Dupnitsa in 1910 – see Меджидиев, *История на град Станке Димитров (Дупница)*, 37–38, 40; Шарков, *Град Горна Джумая*, 134–137.

138 Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, 136. Once again, no data are available about the Jews, Gypsies, and nomadic Aromanians and Karakachans; part of the sedentary Aromanians were probably included in the number of Greeks.

139 Кънчов, *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 491–492.

140 Ibid., 350, 491, note 1; Шарков, *Град Горна Джумая*, 72.

It is obvious, though, that some groups of settled or semi-nomadic Yürüks survived until the mid- or late 19th century. “Cemaat-i Yürükân” or “Yürük” are mentioned in four Ottoman sources from the 1820s and 1840s in the villages of Porominovo, Dospat (most probably around Dospey Mahala in Mount Rila, now part of the village of Govedartsi, Samokov area), and Kasinik (or Kosenik, unidentified).¹⁴¹ The documents in question are two firmans of the sultans Mahmud II and Abdülmeçid I dating from 1821 and 1842 respectively, an inventory of the properties of the Rila Monastery from 1841, and a memorandum (*lây-iha*) to the finance ministry from 1841.¹⁴² Judging from the taxes levied on them, the Yürüks mentioned in those documents were sedentary and engaged in various agricultural activities, most notable among which is the extant rice cultivation in the village of Porominovo.¹⁴³ It is possible that there were such groups of sedentary Yürüks elsewhere in the two kazas, but they would have been merely a leftover from the Ottoman colonization three centuries earlier, or later immigrants.

There is also very little evidence about the seasonal migrations of the Turkish-speaking pastoralists, who continued to graze their flocks on local mountain pastures and to migrate to the south in winter throughout the 17th–19th centuries. Most of the groups which summered their livestock in the areas of Dupnitsa, Blagoevgrad, Kyustendil and Sofia in the second half of the 17th and in the 18th century came to the mountain pastures of Rila, Pirin, Osogovo and Vitosha from the nearby Štip-Radoviš Yürüklük or from Southern Macedonia along the valley of the river Struma.¹⁴⁴

141 Possibly, Kasım çiftlik on the common land of the village of Barakovo, now part of the town of Kocherinovo.

142 Ихчиев, *Турските документи на Рилския манастир*, 111, 152, 217, 224.

143 According to Russian statistics (listing Porominovo in the *kaza* of Gorna Dzhumaya), on the eve of the 1877–1878 war the village had a population of 170 Muslims in 34 houses and 193 non-Muslims in 55 houses, see *Материалы для изучения Болгарии*, 208.

144 For the Yürüks who summered their flocks on Mount Vitosha, see Гаджанов, Д. “Пътуване на Евлия Челеби из българските земи през средата на XVII век,” *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество* LXX, 9–10 (1909): 704. Yürüks in the area of Kyustendil are mentioned in Salonica court protocols (*sicil*) at the beginning of the 18th century, see Грозданова, Е. “Нови сведения за юруците в българските и някои съседни земи през XV–XVIII в.,” in

The link with the Aegean region along this important route of transhumant sheep-breeding can be traced also in Ottoman sources from the Rila Monastery collection from the early 17th to the mid-19th centuries. Several documents (*hüccet*) of the judges of Dupnitsa and Samokov on the boundaries of monastic and nearby properties in the mountain and on conflicts and murders related to them, mention (as witnesses, plaintiffs, proxies or offenders) shepherds, *kâhyas* (group leaders), and holders of pastures. They are from nearby settlements and areas, as well as from the areas of Avrethisari/Kukush,¹⁴⁵ Štip, Dojran, Salonica, Demirhisar/Sidirokastro and Tran.¹⁴⁶ Among them there are: non-Muslims from the areas of Strumica and Kukush (*hüccet* on the case of murder of a shepherd called Todor, dating from July 1620); a non-Muslim *kâhya* along with three shepherds from the area of Dojran and one from the area of Salonica (*hüccet* on a dispute over pasture boundaries, dating from January 1748); non-Muslim shepherds hired by a Muslim *kâhya* from the Demirhisar area (*hüccet* related to the murder of the *kâhya*, suspected to have been committed by one of his former shepherds – a non-Muslim from the Kukush area, who had become a *haydut* [bandit], dating from July 1859); and others.¹⁴⁷ An act issued by the judge of Dupnitsa in September 1748 prohibits non-Muslim *kâhyas* and shepherds from the Salonica area from trespassing with their flocks on the Rila Monastery's pastures.¹⁴⁸ Muslim *kâhyas* from the areas of Dojran, Kukush and Demirhisar are mentioned in court decisions from 1750, 1764 and 1859.¹⁴⁹ Some of the Muslims mentioned in those documents as pasture- and flock-owners, shepherds or *kâhyas*, were most likely Yürüks. Among the witnesses recorded in a January 1748 court decision of the Samokov judge on the boundaries of the Rila

Етногенеза на Јуруците, 21; see also Кондев, Т. “Осоговија,” *Годишен зборник на Природно-математичкиот факултет XIV*, 2 (1963): 72–73.

145 Present-day Kilkis in Greek Macedonia.

146 Ихчиев, *Турските документи на Рилския манастир*, 336–337, 346–348, 349–351, 362–364, 404–405.

147 *Ibid.*, 336–337, 346–348, 404–405.

148 *Ibid.*, 470.

149 *Ibid.*, 350–351, 362–363, 404–405.

Monastery's *vakif*, we find one named Yürük Ali ben İbrahim from the town of Dojran.¹⁵⁰

It is obvious that in early 17th to the mid-19th centuries, the Yürüks were by no means the only pastoralists grazing their flocks on the mountain pastures in the region – or at least on those that were within the boundaries of the Rila Monastery's land properties. The sparse evidence available does not give us a sufficiently clear idea about the ways in which the summer pastures across the vast mountain spaces in the area were held and used. Despite the lack of more information, the very presence of specialized transhumant sheep-breeding for approximately two centuries at least in the Northwestern Rila Mountain suggests that the nomadic groups were isolated and confined to their own economic and social model. Of course, Rila is one of the mountains with sufficient pastures for the flocks both of nomadic and of other pastoralists. Throughout this period the Turkish-speaking nomads probably preserved part of their traditional grazing grounds in the high-mountain zone, but they were no longer involved in the defining trends in social and economic relations.

The gradual end of their seasonal migrations in the region of Dupnitsa and Gorna Dzhumaya is also indirectly evidenced by the arrival of new immigrant nomads who occupied part of the abandoned Yürük summer pastures after the second half or end of the 18th century. The first to set up summer camps in the local mountains were the nomadic Aromanians (“Vlachs,” “Kutzo-Vlachs,” “Grammosteani”), followed by the Karakachans in the mid- or late 19th century.¹⁵¹ From 1878 to their sedentarization in the 1930s–50s, they remained the only carriers of the Balkan nomadic tradition in Northwestern Rila.

150 Ibid., 347.

151 Меджидиев, *История на град Станке Димитров (Дупница)*, 42, 45–47; Кепов, *Минало и сегашно на Бобошево*, 36, 44; Шарков, *Град Горна Джумая*, 195–196; В. Трпкоски-Трпку, В. *Власите на Балканот* (Скопје: Здружение “Питу Гули”, 1986), 117; Weigand, *Rumänen und Aromunen in Bulgarien* (Leipzig: Barth Verlag, 1907), 9–16; Романски, Ст. “Власите и цинцарите в България,” *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество* LXIX (1908): 144–145; Маринов, *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България*, 19–20, 31, 39, 45–46. Some of the Vlach summer settlements established before 1878 are recorded on the Russian General Staff map from the time of the 1877–1878 Russo-Turkish War, folio VII/3.

The final end of the seasonal migrations of the last non-sedentary Yürüks in the area of Dupnitsa, however, came only after the establishment of the state border between the Principality of Bulgaria and the East Macedonian regions that remained within the Ottoman Empire. The local Bulgarian population's surviving memories of those migrations dated from the years immediately before and after the 1877–1878 Russo-Turkish war. Although they were recorded late – in the 1950s–80s – and are therefore scarce in details, those testimonies are trustworthy. They belong to a relatively late layer of the local oral tradition and are not based on legend, that is, they recount in a summarized form direct contacts and relations from the not so distant past of the respective settlement or area.¹⁵²

According to the local historian Asen Medzhidiev, the Yürüks in the Dupnitsa area had no fixed abode and migrated between Mount Rila and the plains. They were “Muslim nomads,” wandering sheep-breeders. The local population called them “Turks-Yürüks-Koniars” because they “grazed horses” (sing. *kon*, pl. *koné* in Bulgarian).¹⁵³ In the first years after the 1877-1878 Russian-Turkish war, they were still continuing to migrate into Bulgarian territory. One such group, associated with the village of Buchino (Bayır Köy) in the valley of the river Struma, regularly visited the Elenka Mountain where it grazed its livestock on the common lands of the villages of Frolosh and Boboshevo, and gradually settled down there. That is how two separate *mahalles* (hamlets) were formed: Yuruchitsa, south of Boboshevo, and Yuruchka Mahala near Frolosh. After 1878 the settlement near Boboshevo disappeared, while the Yürüks in Frolosh were assimilated into the Bulgarian population.¹⁵⁴ Although they are very faint, the surviving memories make a clear distinction between those Yürüks and the Vlachs who settled in the area of Dupnitsa, including in Boboshevo and Frolosh. Also notewor-

152 See Vansina, J. *Oral Tradition. A Study in Historical Methodology* (Chicago: Ardine Publishing Company, 1965), 155–156.

153 See Chapter One.

154 Меджидиев, *История на град Станке Димитров (Дупница)*, 47. According to another local historian, Yane Bilyarski, the previous, no longer extant, population of Yuruchitsa was still remembered in the early 1980s as “Yurtsi,” “Народната памет разказва. Легенди от Станкедимитровско” (unpublished typescript, 1981–1985).

thy is the fact that unlike other settlements, some of the Turkish place-names in this area are still being directly associated with the Yürüks.¹⁵⁵

Turkish names of places and settlements in this area give us additional evidence of the long-lasting presence of a sedentary or non-sedentary Yürük population. Most such names are found in the zone of the high-mountain pastures and on the common lands of villages where there were Yürük colonists or their descendants. This toponymic layer has not been the subject of special research, but it is registered comparatively fully on maps as well as microtoponyms in the cited notes of the local historian Yane Bilyarski.

By way of illustration, Table 3 shows a small part of the Turkish names of settlements and places in the flatland and semimountainous areas around Dupnitsa:

TABLE 3

Present-day settlement	Place-names derived from names of Yürük groups (settlements) or from the name "Yürük"
Barakovo	Barakli Yurukovitsa
Boboshevo	Karamanli Dere Yuruchitsa Yuruchishte Yuruchka Obshtina
Dzherman	Yurkov Dol
Dyakovo	Yuruchka Mogila Yuruchki Droum
Frolosh	Karamanska Mahala Yuruchka Mahala (Yurutsite) Yuruchki Rid
Kocherinovo	Yuruchkoto
Krumovo	Tekiya Yuruchka Mogila Yuruchka Chuka Yuruchki Kladenets Yuruchki Nivi
Ovchartsi	Yuruchki Grobishta
Yahinovo	Yuruchki Grobishta

155 Билярски, Я. "Народната памет разказва. Събития, станали в Дупнишкия край. Имена на местности с историческо значение" (unpublished typescript, 1986).

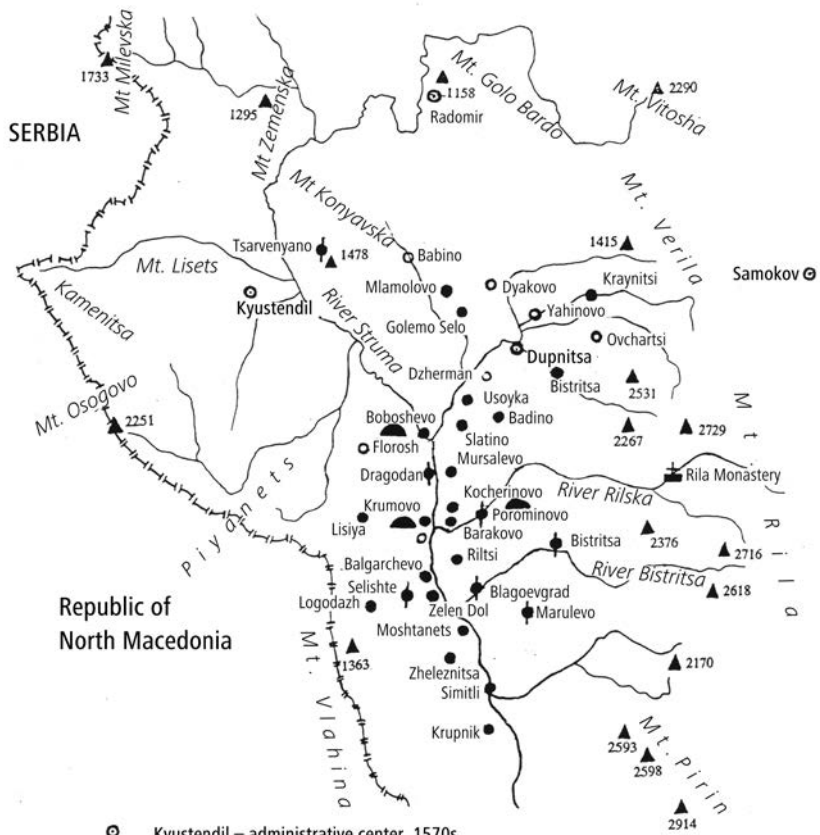
If we exclude the much denser Turkish toponymic layer in the high-mountain areas around Dupnitsa, it is noteworthy that the largest number of place-names related to the name “Yürük” is preserved in Boboshevo, Krumovo and Frolosh – that is, in settlements which, according to the oral tradition, had contacts with Yürük groups immediately before and after 1878. The place-names in Table 3 were recorded in comparatively later times, and some of them can no longer be explained by the present-day local population.¹⁵⁶

The high frequency of the name “Yürük” and its derivatives in the flatland and semimountainous areas around Dupnitsa is confirmed by a comparison with other regions with well-studied place-names and seasonal migration connections to this part of the country. For example, Yordan N. Ivanov has found an approximately similar picture in the area between the lower reaches of the rivers Struma/Strimonas and Mesta/Nestos, in present-day Greek Macedonia, in the areas of Demirhisar/Sidirokastro, Serres, Drama and Zilyahovo/Nea Zichni – that is, in the area of the winter pastures of the Yürüks, Vlachs and Karakachans. Here, however, the name “Koniars” and its derivatives is more frequent than “Yürüks.” At the same time, Ivanov has found and recorded quite a few local place-names related to the seasonal migrations of the Aromanians and Karakachans.¹⁵⁷

Despite the inevitable blank spots, in this particular case we can see a local, not very long-lasting, variant of Ottoman colonization in part of present-day Southwestern Bulgaria. Viewed in a long-term historical perspective, this process hardly changed the predominantly non-Muslim (Bulgarian) composition of the area, despite the initial concentration of a comparatively large Muslim population. To some extent this development was predetermined by the significant place of the pastoralist Yürüks among the Muslim colonists.

156 For example, in the village of Dyakovo, near Dupnitsa.

157 Иванов, Й. Н. *Местните имена между Долна Струма и Долна Места. Принос към проучването на българската топонимия в Беломорието* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1982), 14–33, 46, 49–54, 91–92, 110, 116, 127, 135, 141–143, 153, 162, 165.



- Kyustendil – administrative center, 1570s
- Yürük settlement/group near present-day settlement, 1570s
- ◆ Yürük settlements/groups near present-day settlement, 1570s
- ▲ Yürük group, 19th c.
- Place-names from Table 3
- ▲ Altitude above sea level in meters

II. THE RHODOPIAN CASE IN THE CONTEXT OF OTHERS

According to the local Christian and Muslim Bulgarians/Pomaks, the Yürüks in the Central Rhodopes gradually abandoned their nomadic way of life in the period between the early 18th and the early 19th centuries. In local tales and legends, the end of “the times of the Yürüks”¹⁵⁸ in this part of the mountains is dated with reference to the “the times of the Kırcalis,” (the period of anarchy and riots in Rumelia in the 1780s–1810s) – that is, around the earliest times remembered in Bulgarian oral tradition as a whole. The memories about Yürüks in the area of Dolna Banya and Kostenets (close to the northeastern foothills of Mount Rila and the Rhodopes) stretch back to approximately the same time, although the Yürüks were forced to leave three of their settlements in this area forever after a series of conflicts with the local Bulgarian population and with the Ottoman authorities. Some of the Yürüks around the village of Kovanlık/Pchelin were driven away, while others settled in Dolna Banya, where Atanas Tsvetkov interviewed their descendants in the 1930s.¹⁵⁹ Another important reference point is “the time of the plague,” cited in some places as having occurred immediately after “the times of the Kırcalis.”¹⁶⁰

The existence of an oral tradition about no longer extant Yürüks is usually an indication of their presence in the area and it quite often finds confirmation in Ottoman and other sources. For example, according to the registration of *yaylaks* (summer pastures) in the 1570 defter, Yürüks summered their flocks on the mountains of present-day

158 As the locals used to call it, see Дечов, В. *Миналото на Чепеларе. Принос за историята на Родопи*, книга 1 (Пловдив: “Христо Г. Данов”, 1978, first published in 1928), 57; Маринов, А., & В. Димитров. *Петдесет години Проглед. Юбилейно издание* (София, 1943), 17; Канев, К. *Миналото на село Момчиловци, Смолянско. Принос към историята на Средните Родопи* (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1975), 235, 267.

159 Цветков, А. “Село Долна Баня – Ихтиманска околия.” *Архив за поселищни проучвания* II, 1 (1939): 93–94, 99; Семерджиев, Хр. *Самоков и околностите му. Принос към миналото им от турското завоевание до Освобождението* (София: Печатница “Ден”, 1913), 125.

160 Б. Дерибеев, Няколко бележки за миналото на село Пчеларово, *Родопи* 9 (1979): 29.

Southeastern Serbia, which are at a considerable distance from the Rhodopes. The presence of Yürüks is also on record in the early 18th century – according to a defter of the Evlâd-i Fâtihân auxiliaries from 1720, there were Yürüks in the *kaza* of Vranje, as well as in the kazas of Dojran, Radoviš, Avrethisarı, Salonica, Karadağ, Sarıgöl, Bitola, Cuma Pazarı, Lerin, Prilep, and Yenice-i Vardar.¹⁶¹ Memories of them were alive among the locals in Southeast Serbia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They were compared to the Karakachans – “Ashani” (from the Turkish verb *aşmak* – to pass over), also called “Greek Gypsies,” the Vlachs (also called “Latins”), and the Gypsies, but they were Muslim shepherds. They appeared with their flocks on the Strešer, Čemernik, Vardenik and other mountains in summer, and then went away. They were called “Turski [Turkish] Ashani” and “Zhegligovtsi” by the local population. People remembered that until about 100 years ago, some local Christians had taken part in the shearing of their sheep. This group occupied pastures in the mountains and on village lands by force, and this led to bloody clashes. They wore “white clothes like the Tosks [in Southern Albania],” and were compared to the Turks from the Debar region (Northwestern Macedonia). They held wrestling contests; they had no houses or land, and went with their sheep everywhere; they were vegetarians and had some customs that were different from those of the other shepherds. According to Rista T. Nikolić, who collected the above oral testimonies in the regions of Krajište and Vlasina in the early 20th century, the “Zhegligovtsi” obviously came from the area of Žegligovo/Kumanovo, while according to his informants they came “from Turkey” and “Kosovo.” The Serbian scholar distinguishes them from the Yürüks in the same area, who were remembered more or less in the same way in the context of place-names and nicknames of local people (they had many horses – “40 each,” locals hired their horse caravans, and so on). He thinks that the “Zhegligovtsi” were Islamized Vlachs. It is not clear whether the local population itself made a distinction between “Yürüks” and “Zhegligovtsi,” as R. Nikolić found the latter

161 See Chapter Two, Table 2; Cvetkova, B. “Le service des celep et le ravitaillement en bétail dans l’Empire Ottoman (XVe – XVIIIe s.),” *Etude Historique* 3 (1966): 156.

name only in the area of Vlasina. That is how a general, stereotypical image of the “foreign” nomad, but with Yürük traits and details, was eventually constructed.¹⁶²

The Yürüks appear in more or less the same semi-legendary way in Rhodopian legends about the forced conversion to Islam of part of the local population in a one-off, targeted Ottoman campaign. As controversial as they may be, the so-called chronicle notes (a literary mystification from the time of the emerging Bulgarian nation, called National Revival) are no doubt closely connected to local legends. That is how the oral tradition made sense of the “foreign” faith and rule. In it the day-to-day relations between the two religions, the center and the periphery, the imperial power and the local population, are transposed to the sphere of Christian eschatology and folklore.¹⁶³ Judging from the Ottoman sources, the processes of the spread of Islam in the Rhodopes and, generally, in the Balkans were long-lasting and gradual, and they were determined by different factors over the centuries. Those factors included instances of local fanaticism, focus on particular individuals or communities, and targeted repressions in cases of rebellion, but cannot be the predominant cause for religious conversion in the context of the Ottoman sources. The legends and literary myths, however, are set in a definite symbolic space and homogeneous time although they refer to a concrete historical moment or period. Those about the conversion to Islam in the Rhodopes refer to the second half – end of the 17th century, but they are not based on any direct Ottoman or other evidence. Having been invented during the period of the National Revival, the “chronicles” about conversion to Islam in the Rhodopes (“explaining” the origin of Pomaks/Muslim Bulgarians) found their way into the Bulgarian historiographical tradition of nationalism, and hence, into fiction and film.¹⁶⁴ Due to the

162 Николић, Р. *Крајиште и Власина*, Српски Етнографски Зборник XVIII (Београд: Српска Краљевска Академија), 176–179.

163 Градева, Р. “Българи и турци, XV–XVIII в.,” in *Представата за “другия” на Балканите*, ed. Н. Данова et al. (София: Академично издателство “Марин Дринов”, 1995), 47–54; Лозанова, Г. “Категорията “чужд – свой” в народната култура,” *ibid.*, 268–272; Ганева-Райчева, В. “Надничайки в съседния двор (Фолклористични аспекти на опозицията “свой – чужд”)”, *ibid.*, 277–281.

164 Todorova M. “Conversion to Islam as a Trope in Bulgarian Historiography,

scarcity of sources and, above all, because they were considered to be important for Bulgarian national identity, those legends and myths have also become part of the academic “grand narrative.”¹⁶⁵

In Anton Donchev’s famous novel about the conversion to Islam in the Rhodopes, *Vreme razdelno* (*Time of Parting*), and in the eponymous film based on it, the tragic clash between the Ottoman imperial machine (represented by the Janissaries) and the local Christians is set against the background of a secondary storyline in which the Yürüks are assigned the role of the local *bon sauvage*. This myth – that the Yürüks protected Christians fleeing from forced “Turkification” – was widespread in the Rhodope Mountains.

Like many other local myths and legends, those about the Yürüks in the Rhodopes are at variance with what we know from the Ottoman sources about Islamization in the ranks of the Yürük corps, including in this region.¹⁶⁶ The Yürüks were by no means fanatical Muslims; they venerated the local Christian ritual sites and performed animal sacrifices (*kurban*) there. They were respectful to Christians, especially to shepherd *kâhyas* and associations, as well as to shepherds working for Yürük *beys* (leaders, chieftains). Their families and clans regularly came to the Rhodopes in summer with their large flocks of sheep, as well as horses, goats and cows. They lived here in huts made of boards or fir-tree bark. In late autumn, they migrated to the winter pastures in the Aegean region: to the areas of Gümülcine/Komotini, Skecha/Xanthi, Yenice (the plain of Yenice-i Karasu/Genisea), Salonica, Drama and Serres. At the time of “the Turkification,” they offered shelter to Christian refugees, let them settle on their pastures, and

Fiction, and Film,” in *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, ed. M. Todorova (London: Hurst, 2004), 129–157.

165 See Ангелов, Д. “Падане на Родопската област под османска власт,” in *Из миналото на българите мохамедани в Родопите*, ed. X. Христов and В. Хаджиниколов (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1958); 42–64; Ангелов, Д. “Борбата на българския народ срещу турските нашественици,” in *История на България*, Vol. III, ed. Д. Косев et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1982), 351–370.

166 For example, some “sons of Abdullah,” that is, Muslim converts, are found among the Yürüks from the *cemaats* in the Çitak Vadisi valley (near Kardzhali), and in the areas of Ardino and Dzhebel in a *defter* of 1557/8 – BOA, TD N 311, s. 62–64; see Chapter Two, p.81–82.

hired Christian shepherds to tend their flocks. The Bulgarians looked after the Yürüks' property, huts and sheepfolds in winter. The Yürük summer settlements were visited by artisans and merchants.

The Turkish-speaking pastoralists gradually began leaving the Rhodope mountains and settling in villages and *çiftlik*s (since 17th century, large, often commercial, estates) in the areas of the winter pastures along the Aegean coast. Meanwhile, the Christian settlements that had sprung up around Yürüks' summer pastures prospered. The shepherds and *kâhyas* who had worked for the Yürüks became leaders in the local variant of large-scale transhumant sheep-breeding connected to the market for hand-made textiles, dairy products, and livestock.¹⁶⁷ Local transhumant sheep-breeding developed as the result of economic and social emancipation from the Yürüks who had long dominated and ruled "the whole mountain." The Bulgarians from the Central Rhodopes borrowed from their former patrons the organization, vocabulary, tools, farm and residential structures, routes and "mastery" of transhumant pastoralism. What is more, they adopted the men's black-dress costume of the Yürüks, as well as some elements of their traditional women's costume. Similarly to the Yürüks, who had practically possessed or purchased part of the local large *vakıf* pastures, the Bulgarians from the Rhodopes began buying up the Yürük *yaylaks* upon their departure. Some shepherds and associations continued to graze the sheep of *ağas* (Muslim notables) from the Aegean region together with their own ones in the early 20th century, too. The Bulgarians continued to enjoy good relations with and the patronage of the *ağas*. Their *çiftlik*s and the common lands of Turkish villages of Yürük origin were the main winter grazing grounds of the large flocks owned by Bulgarians from the Central Rhodopes.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Bulgarians' "buying up of the mountains" (vast pastures) from nomadic Yürük groups and settled *ağas* was facilitated by the familiarity and trust between them and the local Christians. This mutual familiarity and trust was due to the long-lasting cooperation with hired and independent Bulgarian shep-

167 For the Rhodopian economic patterns and their transformation, see Brunnbauer, U. *Gebirgsgesellschaften auf dem Balkan. Wirtschaft und Familienstrukturen im Rhodopengebirge (19./20. Jahrhundert)* (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2004), 153–271.

herds and kâhyas, as well as with artisans (dairyman, woollen cloth producers, tailors, coopers, lime-burners, masons, fishermen, and others) who lived permanently in the mountain villages or seasonally migrated to the Aegean. The Christian Rhodopian “tyoshki kehai” (literally, “heavy kâhyas” – large-scale sheep-breeders), as the local population called them, were rich, enterprising and self-confident. In some cases, land was purchased at dirt cheap prices, by fraud, or even by coercion. Muslim officials and notables, various heirs, vakif administrators, village communes (Christian and Pomak), and others, intervened in such cases.¹⁶⁸ The yaylaks were divided into individual and collective shares and used for summer pastures and cultivation, and the forests for timber.¹⁶⁹

As in the tales about the Vlachs and Karakachans in the local oral tradition, the most important distinctive feature of the Yürüks is their nomadic way of life. Their culture, perceived as different from that of the Turks, Pomaks, Christians, peasants or town-dwellers, came to be associated with various notions and details. Although they are barely

168 Дечов, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, 35–151; Дечов, В. “Среднородопски овчари и кехаи (Обща характеристика до 6 септември 1885 г.),” in: *Избрани съчинения* (Пловдив: “Христо Г. Данов”, 1968), 356; Дечов, В. “Овцевъдството в Средните Родопи (От стопанско-икономична гледна точка)” *Родопски напредък* I, 1–4: (1903); Златарев, Ст. “Село Ковачовица, Неврокопско (Географски, етнографски и исторически бележки),” *Родопски напредък* IX, 2–3 (1911–1912): 62, 66; Шишков, Ст. “Овцевъдството в Тракийската област,” *Тракийски сборник* IV (1933): 36–74; Карапетков, П. *Славейно. Минало* (Пловдив: Славейновска благотворителна дружба “Благодетел”, 1948), 28–51, 153–161; Примовски, Ат. “Бит и култура на родопските българи. Материална култура,” *Сборник за народни умотворения и народопис* LIV (1973), 129, 156, 350–352; Хайтов, Н. *Село Манастир*, Смолянско (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1965), 14–29; Канев, *Миналото на село Момчиловци*, 38–73, 233–260, 367–393, 403–404, 500; Канев, К. “Овчарството в Горно Дерекъой,” *Родопи* 11 (1967): 26–29; Славков, И. “Животновъдството в село Сачанли, Гюмюрджинско,” *Известия на Тракийския институт* II (1970): 312–327.

169 Вакарелски, Хр. *Старинни елементи в бита и културата на родопските българи мохамедани* (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1965), 5, 10, 17–20; Вакарелски, Хр. “Поминъци на българите мюсюлмани и християни в Средните Родопи,” *Известия на Етнографския институт с музей* 12 (1969): 39–69; Маркова, Л. “Долево земевладение в Родопском крае Болгарии (XIX – первая четверть XX вв.)” *Советская этнография* 5 (1965): 69–83.

remembered today, these notions and details have constructed the idealized, general image of “the foreign” but proud, hospitable, generous, mild and naïve previous masters of the high mountains.¹⁷⁰ In the local oral tradition, the Yürüks are part of the natural seasonal cycle, not of the dynamics of political events, such as the struggle for national and ecclesiastical independence, the uprisings of Christians and Muslims in the 19th century, the wars, the campaigns of forced assimilation of Pomaks and Turks in the 20th century. The memories of them were, and still are, directly associated with the place-names, pastures and forests near present-day settlements, on the peaks and ridges of the Rhodope Mountains, and with local transhumant sheep-breeding. They are usually compared to – and nowadays, also confused with – the Karakachans, Vlachs (Aromanians) and Gypsies. On the other hand, Muslim Bulgarians in their 80s or 90s, whom I interviewed in the Babyak and Dospat areas in the 1980s, clearly distinguished the Yürüks from the “Turks”/“Chitaks” by a number of physical and “mentality” traits (way of life, huts, tents, caravans, traditional costume, dialect, “Yürük songs,” wrestling contests, character, manners, physical appearance/body language, and so on).¹⁷¹

Here we are faced with two questions: To what extent does the recorded oral tradition correspond to the facts established by ethnographers, and why is such an attitude towards the traditionally isolated, often aggressive Yürüks so widespread in the Central Rhodopes? Their local perception as noble children of Nature is too one-sided against the background of the evidence found in Ottoman sources about constant conflicts over pastures and boundaries, expulsion of village residents, constant theft of cattle, killings and raids.¹⁷² To this we may add observations of various travellers and researchers.

According to William M. Leake, at the beginning of the 19th century the shepherds who came into Thessaly with their sheep in winter

170 Панайотова, Б. “Юрушкото присъствие в Средните Родопи през погледа на местното християнско население,” in: *Представата за “другия” на Балканите*, 113–116.

171 Although the name “Turks,” as used by those informants, was a synonym of “Muslims,” while “Chitaks” was pejorative. Nowadays one can still hear in the Rhodopes that the Yürüks are “Turkish Karakachans.”

172 Дечов, “Среднородопски овчари и кехаи,” 348–350.

from the lands of Ali Pasha – “Karagúnidhes” (Aromanians) and others – as well as local people, were “exposed to the extortions of the Koniáridhes.” Later, they were afforded the protection of the mighty ruler of Ioannina.¹⁷³

In his description of Macedonia at the end of the 19th century, Gyorche Petrov notes the following:

The Štip Yürüklük is a completely unknown area. No Christian has, nor can, set foot there [although there are Christian as well as mixed villages in the area – NB] They are well-built, broad-shouldered people, most of them bearded with a boorish, wild countenance [...] The Yürüks are good-natured, hospitable and hard-working, but they will not miss an opportunity to steal. The Yürüklük is a land dangerous for travel. Although they do not have the Arnaout “besa” [vow], one can still rely on their word of honor [...] The population of the kaza [of Radoviš] is 25,000-strong, with an equal number of Turks and Bulgarians. They live in mutual understanding. The Turks are Yürüks [...] There are many Turkish Yürük villages in Ovče Pole, especially in the northeastern part, and that is why this section of the Skopje-Kočani road is very dangerous.¹⁷⁴

The authoritative researcher of Macedonia, Vasil Kanchov, frequently mentions the Yürüks (Koniars):

In the purely Koniari groups, the population is more peaceful. One can travel more safely through the Turkish villages around Drama, and their Christian neighbors suffer less from raids and violence. In the more dispersed Koniari groups, such as is now, for example, the Central Macedonian one [mostly in the mountainous and hilly areas from the mouths of the rivers Vardar and Struma in the south to the Veles area in the north], the surrounding Bulgarian population suffers more frequently from raids. But the formation of purely bandit gangs roaming

173 Leake, W. M. *Travels in Northern Greece* (London: J. Rodwell, 1835), vol. IV, 431.

174 Петров, Г. *Материали по изучаването на Македония* (София: Печатница “Вълков”, 1896), 650–651, 726.

the mountains and robbing, is an exception [...] The Bulgarian population in the area of Polenin [Dojran] is exposed to the same wrongs as in the rest of the country. The population suffers the most from the Koniars, many of whom graze their flocks in the plain and, at the same time, pick the pockets of peaceful travellers.¹⁷⁵

Conflicts with “Arnaouts” (Albanian pastoralists from the Western Balkans) who wintered their livestock in the Aegean region, with bandit gangs and local “Cheleks” (Muslims; according to Vasil Dechov, “a mix of Turkified Bulgarians and Greeks, and true Turks”), were an invariable part of the life of Rhodopian shepherds in the 19th and early 20th centuries. There were also constant disputes between them.¹⁷⁶ In this context, it must be noted that for the Balkan shepherds – Karakachans, Yürüks, Bulgarians, and others – theft of sheep was not just a means of enrichment or the traditional feast at somebody else’s expense. Like bride-stealing, sheep-stealing was an act of bravado, part of one’s self-assertion and initiation, as well as a magic (sometimes healing) act. For its part, bride-stealing (often prearranged by the young couple) was a standard form of marriage among the Anatolian Yürüks.¹⁷⁷ Either way, it seems that travellers’ fears of venturing into

175 Кънчов, *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 363; Кънчов, В. “Великденска разходка из Поленинско,” *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина* IX (1893): 689.

176 Дечов, “Среднородопски овчари и кехаи,” 348–350.

177 Дечов, В. “Среднородопското овчарство,” in: *Избрани съчинения* (Пловдив: Христо Г. Данов, 1968), 293, 315, 337; Дечов, “Среднородопски овчари и кехаи,” 356; Димитров, Г. *Княжество България в историческо, географическо и етнографическо отношение* (София: Придворна печатница Б. Шимачек, 1894), vol. 1, 148, 149; Вайганд, Г. *Аромъне. Етнографическо - филологическо - историческо издирване на тъй наречения народ македоноромъне или цинцаре*, translated by С. Данов (Варна: П. Хр. Генков, 1899), 179; Антонијевић, Др. *Обреди и обичаји балканских сточара*. Посебна Издања Балканолошког института, књига 16 (Београд: Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, 1982), 47; Campbell, J. K. *Honour, Family and Patronage. A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 29, 130, 206–212; Kavadias, G. *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens. Les sarakatsans de Grèce* (Paris: Gautier-Villars, 1965), 220–222; Bates, D. *Nomads and Farmers. A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern*

the areas inhabited by those militant mountain-dwellers were by no means due only to stereotypes.

Relations with the Yürüks, as represented in the folk songs of the Rhodopes, Macedonia, and other regions, are also far from idyllic. In addition to the mytho-poetic space of the “Yürük mountain” (“Yürük old mountain”), the forests, springs, flocks, and so on, there are various other recurrent motifs and plots in them. Some are about the pastoral way of life:

Yürük men and Yürük women, Yürük boys and Yürük girls,
gathered in the high mountain, / in a broad meadow,¹⁷⁸ in a
Yürük graveyard, / to share their pasture, their pasture which
was *yuriya*¹⁷⁹ [in the Rhodopes]; Yürüks came and stopped
over¹⁸⁰ / at Grandfather Stamo’s, at the Springs [two stone
drinking fountains in the center of Malko Tarnovo, Mount
Strandzha region].¹⁸¹

Although in some folk songs a young Yürük man (“Yuruche”) becomes the winner in the shepherds’ betting for a bride, most are about clashes between shepherds – brave Christian fellows and Yürüks.¹⁸²

Turkey, Anthropological Papers 52, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1973, 63, 68–86.

178 “*Kartolya*” in the original, a dialect form of *kartil* or *kartol* – pastures with a grass cover of specific plant species, maintained by grazing sheep and human intervention (burning).

179 “*Yuriya*” – pasture, waste (uncultivated) land, literally meaning “where [the sheep] walk”; from Turkish “*yürümek*,” “to walk,” etymologically connected to “Yürük.” Part of the Yürük toponymic layer in the Balkans, see Skok, P. *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1973), vol. 3, 786–787.

180 “*Kondisali*” in the original; from Turkish “*konmak*,” “to stay for the night at,” “to camp in,” connected to “*konar-göçer*” (“camping and nomadic”) found in Ottoman sources and related to “Koniars” in folklore and ethnographic studies, see Chapter One.

181 Канев, *Миналото на село Момчиловци*, 39; Аянов, Г. п. *Малко Търново и неговата покрайнина. Антропо-географски и исторически проучвания* (Бургас: Странджански край, 1939), 318.

182 Райчев, А., ed., *Народни песни от Средните Родопи* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1973), 290, 367, 427, 442; *Българско*

I will venture to quote a whole song and part of another song from the Central Rhodopes as they offer a good insight into some common situations in the shepherds' way of life and relations:

Karazho struck a deal / to graze nine thousand sheep, / in return for forty, / on two high peaks / at two cold springs / in the high mountain. It was a dry summer, / so the grass withered, / and the water dried up, / and the leaves shrivelled. Karazho stood up and took his fleecy flocks / to drive them / to the Yürük mountains. Then a Yürük boy appeared and told Karazho: / go back, Karazho, go back / with your fleecy flocks, / there's no place for you here. I've made nine mothers weep, / and I'll also make your mother weep.

Three flocks were following, / the first one belonged to the *beğlikçi* [sheep-dealer], / the middle one to Yürüks, / and the last one to Stuen [...] a Yürük gunshot rang out / and struck Stuen *kâhya*.¹⁸³

Some folk songs mention Yürük military service and slave women driven by Yürüks:

Yürüks walk, driving slave women [Central Rhodopes]; They enlist as soldiers, mother, / as Turkish *askers*, / Yürüks walk, mother, / driving young slave women... [a variant from Perush-titsa].¹⁸⁴

Various motifs and plots are found in love, shepherds', *haidut* (social bandit, "noble bandit"), and other folk songs from Macedonia:

народно творчество, vol. 7, ed. Д. Осинин (София: "Български писател", 1962), 285–286, 348, 576.

183 *Родопски напредък* V, 4 (1907–1908): 175–176; *Родопски напредък* VI, 5–6 (1908): 156–157.

184 Калинов, Ат. "Нещо за юруците, обитавали землището на с. Орехово," *Родопи* 4 (1977): 39–40; Калинов, Ат. *Орехово* (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1988), 24; Манолов, М.&М. Манолова. "Юруците и отношенията им с местното родопско население," *Родопски устрем*, 91, August 17, 1971.

Yürük girls and women want to make love with Christian young men while their husbands are in the mountains “shearing kidskin”; Vasa bitterly curses her mother for giving her away in marriage far from home, amongst “Yürüks-Egyptians” (the last name means also Muslim Roma/Gypsies); Nikola sells his wife to a “white Yürük boy,” who turns out to be her long-lost, “captured” little brother; Dimche is lured by a Yürük girl and captured by “white Koniars” and then rescued by his shepherd dogs; Karastoyan takes revenge on Yürük oppressors on Mount Plačkovica; a Yürük *voivoda* (chief, commander) and his band capture “a Greek girl” and three shepherds pray to God that Mount Šar crush them; and so on.¹⁸⁵

Some legends in Macedonia (from the Moglen/Moglena area)¹⁸⁶ and in some places in the Rhodopes,¹⁸⁷ indirectly or directly associate the Yürüks with the imposition of Islam. According to oral tradition from the Tikveš region, summarized by Vojislav Radovanović in the 1920s, the Christian population found itself “oppressed by the semi-savage Yürüks”; some Christians fled the area while others converted to Islam. The Yürüks are said to have lived in tents in the past. The only thing that the local Yürüks remembered about their more distant past was that they had come from Anatolia in “eski zaman” (“old times”). The Serbian scholar dates the beginning of those processes on the basis of the well-known marginal note regarding Northern Macedonia: “In that year [1512] the Turks captured Žegligovo and Ovče Pole and there was a lot of suffering.”¹⁸⁸ There were also Yürük groups in almost all areas where there were Bulgarian-speaking Muslims, as well as separate commu-

185 Тушевски, В. “Јуруците во македонската народна песна,” in: *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 159–166.

186 Милетич, Л. “Ловчанските помаци,” *Български преглед*, V, 2 (1899): 75–76.

187 Шишков, Ст. *Избрани произведения* (Пловдив: “Христо Г. Данов”, 1965), 230; Попконстантинов, Хр. *Спомени, пътеписи и писма* (Пловдив: “Христо Г. Данов”, 1970), 259–260; Дечов, В. “Как е изверено (потурчено) христијанското население в с. Долашџър,” in: *Избрани съчинения* (Пловдив: Христо Г. Данов, 1968), 397–399; Манолов, М. & М. Манолова. “Јуруците и отношенията им с местното родопско население,” *Родопски устрем*, 91, August 17, 1971.

188 Cited in Матанов, *Възникване и облик на Кюстендилски сандџак през XV–XVI в.*, 62; Радовановић, В. *Тиквеш и Рајец. Антропогеографска испитавања*. Српски Етнографски Зборник XXIX (Земун: Српска Академија Наука, 1924), 190–192.

nities of Romance- and Greek-speaking Muslims: the Rhodopes, the Aegean region (in the broad geographical sense), the areas of Tikveš, Moglen, Skopje, Debar, Kičevo, Bitola, the valley of the river Bistritsa/Aliaçmonas, the Lovech area, Eastern Thrace, and elsewhere.

Miyak shepherds from Western Macedonia harbored memories of bloody clashes over summer pastures in the Bistra and Korab mountains, but also of some mixed marriages with Yürüks who had come from the area of Dojran.¹⁸⁹ However, we do not know for certain whether there was indeed intermarriage between Yürüks and non-Muslims in Western Macedonia – or in the Central Rhodopes where, as elsewhere in Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia, the surname Yurukov does not necessarily signify intermarriage, as the ethnographer Vasil Marinov recorded in a field study conducted in 1953.¹⁹⁰ It could have come from nicknames of Christian shepherds. There was intermarriage between Yürüks and Muslim Bulgarians/Pomaks in the area of Babyak and elsewhere, even though according to most local informants and some ethnographic studies, there was mutual alienation and contempt between those two communities.¹⁹¹ Traces of the rivalry and disputes over pastures between the Romance-speaking and the Turkish-speaking pastoralists can be found in a legend according to which the Vlachs who founded Kruševo in the Bitola area had fled from the violence of the “Koniars Turks.”¹⁹²

At the beginning of the 19th century, thefts and disputes were rife among Bulgarian, Vlach, and Yürük shepherds in the Salonica

189 Смиљанић, Т. *Мијаџи, Горна Река и Мавровско Поље*. Српски Етнографски Зборник XXXV (Београд: Српска Академија Наука, 1925), 65, 87, 92–93, 96–97; Тодоровски, Г. “Сточарството во Малореканскиот предел во втората половина на XIX в. до крајот на Првата светска војна,” in *Одредбе позитивног законодавства и обичајног права о сезонским кретањима сточара у Југоисточној Европи кроз векове*, ed. В. Чубриловић. Посебна Издања Балканолошког института, књига 4 (Београд: Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, 1976), 236, 239.

190 Маринов, В. “Население и бит на Средните Родопи,” in *Комплексна научна Родопска експедиција през 1953 г. Доклади и материјали*, ed. Л. Тонев et al. (Софија: Издателство на Българската Академија на Науките, 1955), 35.

191 See, e.g., Баков, Ст. Из Доспатският ми бележник, *Родопи* 1 (1973): 35.

192 Поповић, Д. *О Цинџарима. Прилози питању постанка нашег грађанског друштва* (Београд: Штампарија Др. Грегорића, 1937), 291.

area.¹⁹³ In the 1980s, elderly Muslim Bulgarians, whom I interviewed in the areas of Babyak and Dospat (Western Rhodopes), had a controversial, realistic attitude towards the Yürüks, combined with the unavoidable prejudice against the “other” culture. This is also noted by Atanas Primovski, who recorded oral tradition in the Rhodopes in the 1950s–60s. According to his informants, the nomads were both hospitable and “cruel people who killed the peaceful and defenseless population.” Here the us/ them opposition, comparisons and differentiations supplemented the individual and collective experience of contacts with Yürüks until and immediately after the Balkan Wars (1912–1913).¹⁹⁴ There were also conflicts with Christians in Mount Strandzha and in present-day Southeastern Serbia, with Tikveš Pomaks, and other local communities.¹⁹⁵ For example, while the Yürüks from a no longer extant settlement between the villages of Narechenski Bani and Kosovo in the Central Rhodopes protected their neighbors and fought together with them against raiding bandits, some of the Yürüks from Yeni Mahalle/Nova Mahala joined the bashi-bazouk irregulars who suppressed the uprising in nearby Batak in 1876.¹⁹⁶

193 Л. Милетич, Из живота на българите в Солунско. По животописни спомени на дядо Трайко Кехайов от село Ватилък, *Македонски преглед* VIII, 1 (1932): 73–75. These recollections were recorded in 1905, when Trayko Kehayov, a former shepherds’ *kâhya*, was 105 years old. They date from the early 19th century, when he was a shepherd at the age of 14.

194 Примовски, “Бит и култура на родопските българи,” 26, 75; Примовски, Ат. “Село Бабяк, Разложко,” in *Езиковедско - етнографски изследвания в памет на акад. Ст. Романски*, ed. Е. Георгиев et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1960), 623.

195 Conflict between local Yürüks (“Yuruchya”) and Bulgarians in a dispatch to the newspaper *Pravo* of August 24, 1872. They had once been “peaceful Koniar pastoralists” but, having been “incited to be extremely hostile by the government, in more modern times they had begun to attack and pillage the nearby Bulgarian villages,” cited in Аянов, Г. п. *Малко Търново и неговата покрайнина*, 319. The Yürük settlements in this part of Mount Strandzha (one of which, Karaevren/Evrenozovo, also had a Bulgarian population until 1878) were abandoned in 1912–1913 and Bulgarian Thracian refugees were settled in them. About Tikveš, see Хаџи Васиљевић, *Ј. Муслимани наше крви у Јужној Србији*. (Београд: “Свети Сава”, 1924), 44.

196 Примовски, “Бит и култура на родопските българи,” 129; Бойчо (Ангел

The first relatively comprehensive descriptions of Yürüks and their relations with the Bulgarians in the Central Rhodopes and nearby Western Thrace along the Aegean coast – those by Vasil Dechov – are so vivid and attractive that they strongly influenced the next generations of amateur local historians¹⁹⁷ and some academic studies.¹⁹⁸ Nowadays, the texts of this prominent researcher of the Rhodopes are also influencing the fading oral tradition not just of the Bulgarians but also of the Turks descended from Yürüks in the area of Devin.¹⁹⁹ According to my informants from the village of Gökviran/Gyovren, the “Koniars” were soldiers from Konya who accompanied the legendary conqueror İbrahim Paşa and settled around “his” mosque and grave, mentioned in Vasil Dechov’s history. Probably in the past the local Yürüks had this legend, but in 1991 I was shown the text of a speech on the occasion of the reopening of this mosque, where parts of Dechov’s book were quoted verbatim.²⁰⁰

It is most likely, however, that similarly to “Koniars,” the name “Karakachans” was given to that community by the Ottomans, although it might be an older Turkic name. Some authors and the

Горанов). *Въстанието и клането в Батак* (phototype edition of 1892, София: Културно-просветно сдружение “Възраждане на град Батак” и Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”, 1991, 9, 14, 66.

197 Стоичкова, Н. “Широка Лъка“, *Родопи* 5 (1965): 8, 10; Александрова, Св. “Чокманово“, *Родопи* 2 (1978): 9–10; Илиев, К. “Соколовци“, *Родопи* 11 (1972): 11–13.

198 Мутафчиева, В. “Турският феодализъм и положението на родопското население през първите векове на чуждото иго,” in: *Из миналото на българите мохамедани в Родопите*, 62–64; Примовски, “Бит и култура на родопските българи,” 25, 132–139, 145, 162, 283–285, 496.

199 Манолова, М. “Материали от частично проучване на селата Гъврен, Грохотно и Борино,” *Архивист. Бюлетин за архивна теория, практика и краезнание*, Смолян: Окръжен държавен архив, 1974; Чалъков, М. “За миналото на село Гъврен, Девинско,” *Векове* 3 (1988): 55–58 (with all reservations as to what is “Yürük,” “Turkish,” “Pomak” or “Bulgarian”).

200 In fact, the said İbrahim Paşa, as well as another “conqueror of the mountain,” Cedit Ali, are historical figures from later times. Cedit Paşa was a vizier of Bayezid II (1481–1412), while İbrahim Paşa, a Greek by birth, was son-in-law of Sultan Süleyman I (1521–1566). Both were connected to the large *vakıf* properties in the Rhodopes. See Strashimir Dimitrov’s notes 7–12 to the second edition of Vasil Dechov’s history, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, 270, 273.

Aromanians themselves claim that “Karakachans” means “poor nomads” (“who inhabit camps of poor headmen”), while “Sarakatsani” is believed by some to come from “siratsi-begaltsi” (“fugitive orphans” in Bulgarian), that is, “poor.” This is in the context of the mutual antagonism and economic prosperity of part of the Vlachs, who generally regard the Karakachans as their inferiors. One is tempted to compare “Karakachan” to the “kara Yürük” (a nomad without a sufficient number of sheep) found in Ottoman legislative texts.²⁰¹ In this case, too, the universal opposition of black versus white reflects a social hierarchy and status that has many ancient Turkic parallels.²⁰²

The city is also present as a symbol in the legends of the Anatolian tribes. Exploring Asia Minor at the end of the 19th century, the British anthropologist Theodore Benth came across Yürüks wintering among the ruins of ancient Ephesus, who told him that this was once the city of their ancestors. They had become nomads after breaking the taboo on drinking water from the same sources from which wild animals had drunk before.²⁰³ The “nomadic city” is just one of the messages encoded in the legends of the Yürüks, Vlachs, and Karakachans.

There are a number of inaccuracies in Vasil Dechov’s history. According to him, the Yürüks were divided into *ocaks*, and the *ocaks* into clans (“simsile”). The *ocaks* were headed by “clan *beys* or hereditary *beys*,” while the clans were headed by “clan *beys* and *ağas*.” Here Dechov has confused the military with the social organization of the Yürüks, although part of the *ocaks* of the Yürük corps were

201 Кальонски, А. “Каракачански етюд,” *Демократически преглед* 37 (1998): 247; Вайганд, *Аромъне*, 264; Нёег, С. *Les saracatsans. Une tribu nomade grecque. Etude linguistique précédée d'une notice ethnographique* (Paris–Copenhagen: Champion, 1925), vol. 1, 70–71; Capidan, Т. *Die Mazedo-Rumänen* (Bukarest: Dacia Bücher, 1941), 150; Чилев, П. “Саракачани,” *Известия на Народния Етнографски Музей* I, 1 (1921): 49.

202 For example, “*karabudun*” – “common folk” in the Orkhon Türk inscriptions (8th century), or “black bone” and “white bone” status (“noble,” “rich,” and “common,” “poor”) among the Kazakhs, see Гумилев, Л. *Древние тюрки* (Санкт-Петербург: “Кристалл”, 2002), 365–386; Марков, Г. *Кочевники Азии. Структура хозяйства и общественной организации* (Москва: Издательство Московского университета, 1976), 148–155.

203 Benth, Th. “The Yourouks of Asia Minor,” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* XX, 3 (1890–1891): 275–276.

practically made up of clans or parts of clans. Among the Yürüks, however, *ocak* could also signify a nomadic pastoral group, an *oba* where kinship was combined with economic cooperation. The word *ocak* was used in the same sense by the Karakachans.²⁰⁴ There is no evidence in the sources that the small military-mobilization units or the large formations were designated by a number, therefore it is not clear where the following proposition came from:

The Yürüks from the 78th *ocak* were deployed in the Gümülcine-Yenice plain and on the high mountains of the Central Rhodopes, while the Drama, Serres and Salonica fields and Western Thrace were occupied by the Yürüks from the 79th *ocak*.²⁰⁵

This is one of the most unclear but most frequently repeated and cited passages from Vasil Dechov's history. It may signify vaguely remembered "warrior" claims of the Yürüks or numerical designations made up by them in imitation of the Janissary units (*orta*). Muslim Bulgarians in the area of Dospat told Konstantin Jireček that the "Koinars" in the region once had "up to 70,000 *ocaks*."²⁰⁶ However, we should hardly call into question all data provided by Vasil Dechov regarding personal or group names, former or present (around the year 1903) Yürük holders of summer pastures in the Rhodopes.²⁰⁷ For

204 Маринов, *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България*, 16; Пимпирева, Ж. *Каракачаните в България* (София: Международен център по проблемите на малцинствата и културните взаимодействия, 1998), 29.

205 Дечов, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, 35, 271–272 (note 10 by Strashimir Dimitrov).

206 Иречек, *Пътувания по България*, 465.

207 "Yürük mountains in the area of the Mugla and Shiroka Laka common lands: Syulemenitsa. Bare kartol. Feeds 1,500 sheep. Owned by Yürüks settled somewhere in the Salonica area; Mursalitsa. Kartol. Feeds 4,000 sheep. Owned by Yürüks; Odabashitsa. Feeds 3,000 sheep. Owned by Yürüks; Myulk Tepe (on Karlık Peak). Feeds 2,000 sheep. Owned by Yürüks; Golyamo Smailsko. Kartol. Feeds 2,000 sheep; Malko Smailsko. Feeds 1,500 sheep; Kain Bunar. Feeds 1,500 sheep," see Дечов, "Овцевъдството в Средните Родопи," 82; Дечов, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, 48–49, 69, 71–72, 102–105, 149–150.

example, the Yürük group called Çepeli, which according to Dechov gave its name to the present-day Chepelare, is found in the 1691 defter of the Evlâd-i Fâtihân with 23 registered *nefers* (soldiers). This was probably a permanent settlement in the Gümülcine area, inhabited in winter by semi-nomads who came to the Rhodopes in summer, where they lived in huts. Nowadays the village is called Mischos, in the prefecture (nomos) of Komotini. Vasil Dechov interprets “Çepeli,” “Çepeli Köy” as coming from “cebel” (mountain). But it may be associated with the Çepni, one of the 24 Oğuz tribes and now the name of one of the Türkmen communities in Turkey. Over the centuries, the old tribal names passed from one era to another and from one people to another – such as, for example, “Pecheneg” among the Oğuz and “Kipchak” among the Kazakhs.²⁰⁸

The location and names of the pastures, the winter settlements in the Aegean region, and the çiftliks of local beys of Yürük or other origins were well-known to the people of the Rhodopes.²⁰⁹ The descriptions of the amateur local historians are quite similar to the testimonies of elderly Muslim Bulgarians in the Western Rhodopes and in the Devin area, as well as to those recorded in the Dupnitsa area, Southeastern Serbia, and elsewhere. In the areas of Babyak, Devin and Nevrokop/Gotse Delchev, Yürüks kept coming to the local summer pastures and the common lands of some villages until the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). In those areas, which were incorporated into Bulgaria in comparatively later times, memories of the Yürüks were very much alive in the 1950s, and in the Babyak and Dospat areas at the end of the 1980s there were still living witnesses of Yürük seasonal migrations. The first generation of Bulgarian academic geographers and ethnographers, which followed the first local historians of the Rhodopes, also relied upon such testimonies. For their part, those testimonies tally with the findings of field studies of the Yürüks in Macedonia.

Although some of the criticisms levelled at Vasil Dechov (as well as other authors) are justified from an academic point of view, some

208 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 266; Дечов, В. “Пирин или Перин планина?” in: *Избрани съчинения* (Пловдив: Христо Г. Данов, 1968), 454.

209 They have also been described by others, see, e.g., Неделев, “Из южните склонове на Родопите. Пътни бележки,” *Родопски напредък* 9–10 (1903): 338.

of them are too harsh, biased, or even outright dismissive.²¹⁰ Dechov's conscientiousness in recording observations, personal and collective experience, recollections and legends in the form in which they were found at the turn of the 20th century, cannot be called into question.²¹¹ Although they are short, the descriptions of the seasonal migrations and economy, dress, huts, dairy farms, cemeteries, small wooden mosques (*mescid*),²¹² and customs of the Yürüks are completely reliable in his writings, as well as in the testimonies of elderly people of the Rhodopes collected by Father Konstantin Kanev, Atanas Primovski,²¹³ Nikolai Haitov, and others. They stand up to a comparison with ethnographic studies on the Yürüks in Macedonia and the nomads in Anatolia.

For example, a very accurate description of how the Yürüks burned forests to maintain "tame grasslands" (*kartul*) has been recorded by Nikolai Haitov in the Devin area. In the lower and middle section of the mountains, the burning of forests was connected to the rotation of crops (summer rye, barley) and pastures, which is a semi-nomadic variant of primitive slash-and-burn agriculture, practised also in Anatolia. The Vlachs also burned forests in the high section of the mountains, as well as shrubs in the sub-alpine zone, to clear more land for pasture, but not for agriculture. The burning of forests by Yürüks and Vlachs in the Rhodopes was noted by the German silviculturist Wilhelm Freiherr von Berg in the summer of 1874, and the burned "mountain" (large

210 Желязкова, А. "Юруците в родопевдската литература," *Родопи* 10 (1976): 32–34; Димитров, "За юрюшката организация и ролята ѝ в етноасимиляторските процеси," 34; Хайтов, Н. "Антипринос" към историята на Родопите," *Родопи* 2 (1975): 17–18 (critical review of Ат. Примовски, "Бит и култура на родопските българи").

211 In addition to interviews and field studies, Vasil Dechov drew upon the recorded recollections of Marin Karadzhev, a priest in Chepelare from 1864 to 1914, see Ваклинова, М. "Записки на Марин Караджов от Чепеларе," in *Родопски сборник*, Vol. 3, ed. Хр. Христов et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1972), 210.

212 From whence, for example, comes the name of the Mechit Peak in the Rila mountains.

213 In the recorded testimonies of part of the informants in the areas of Gotse Delchev, Babyak, Dospat, Asenovgrad, Gela and Trigrad (those that are not directly borrowed from Vasil Dechov), see Примовски, "Бит и култура на родопските българи," 66, 75, 129, 156, 283, 350–352.

summer pasture) Kara Chumak south of the Batak marshland was seen by Hristo Popkonstantinov in the summer of 1892.²¹⁴

In an unpublished manuscript about the Yürüks, Konstantin Kanev, a local Orthodox Christian priest and historian in the village of Momchilovtsi in Central Rhodopes, notes the following:

The Yürüks venerated the local [Christian] ritual sites, regarding them as old *saybii* [*sahibs* –masters, protectors] of their pastures. They called them *ibadete* [that is, sacred sites – from *übadet*, “worship,” “worshipping”]. At such an *ibadet*, Sveti Konstantin [dedicated to Saint Constantine], they offered *kurban* [animal sacrifices] in the spring on their way back from the plain, for the abundance of grass in the summer. For “süt bereket” [abundance of milk], they performed *kurban* around Sveti Duh [The Holy Spirit]. Before they left for the Aegean region in autumn, they offered kurban at the Standing Stone at Sveta Bogoroditsa [Holy Mother of God].²¹⁵

In the same way, the Yürüks from the western part of Chalkidiki offered animal sacrifices at Christian sacred sites and celebrated the feast days of Saint George and Saint Demetrios.²¹⁶ Certain details, such as some elements of the traditional Yürük men’s and women’s costume (which naturally underwent changes and external influences,

214 Хайтов, Н. *Девин* (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1964), 54; Фрайхер фон Берг, В. “От Родопите в Европейска Турция,” transl. М. Йорданова. *Родопи* 2 (1979): 22–24. See also the 1877 memorandum of W. Pressel, a German engineer in Turkish service, on “Our Interests and the Eastern Question,” in: *Немски извори за българската история*, vol. I (1875–1877), eds. В. Паскалева and К. Косев (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1973), 140; Benth, “The Yourouks of Asia Minor,” 272; Попконстантинов, “Писма от Родопите,” in: *Спомени, пътеписи и писма*, 433; See also Яранов, Д. “Беломорска Тракия и Приморска Македония. Географски очерк (II. Обща част),” *Годишник на Софийския Университет – Историко-Филологически Факултет* XXXIV, 5 (1938): 72.

215 Канев, К. “Юруците. Непубликуван материал, изготвен въз основа на предания, легенди, спомени и наблюдения на местни жители” (typescript, personal archives of Father Konstantin Kanev).

216 Eckert, G. “Die Jürüken in Zentral-Makedonien,” *Buletinul Institutului Român din Sofia* 1 (1942): 565.

and had local variants), differed from place to place. Like his informants, Vasil Dechov simply likens them to the traditional Rhodopian costume – as do other authors. According to Vasil Kanchov:

Their costume [of “Koniars” in the Dojran area] resembled that of the Bulgarian peasants, but for the *çepken* [jacket] with hanging sleeves and the *silâh* [leather sash with pockets for weapons], which distinguished them from the latter.²¹⁷

The traditional men’s costume of the Yürüks in the Balkans, like those of the Aromanians and the Karakachans, had two versions: black-dress and white-dress. Evliya Çelebi mentions Yürüks dressed “in white *aba* and *kebes*” (rough woollens) in Serres. According to him, around the mid-17th century the Yürük population in the town of Strumica

makes a living from weaving white *aba*, which they take to the bazaar of Dolyan²¹⁸ and sell. They truly make fine *aba* and cloth for pilgrims’ clothes. Many of their women wrap themselves in milk-white cloth, and wear *aba dolmans* [jackets]. They are demure, pure, and chaste.²¹⁹

The evidence from later times suggests that the Yürüks preferred the men’s black-dress costume. The traditional women’s costume was a type of closed tunic (found also among the Yürüks in Anatolia) or double-apron (combined with pants or shalwars). The Yürük traditional costume came in different variants and had elements, names and ornaments, some of which were similar to the Bulgarian (and other) ones while others were specific to the Yürüks. Most Yürük girls and women did not cover their faces. In Macedonia, women and girls wore long

217 Кънчов, “Великденска разходка из Поленинско,” 657; see also Петров, *Материали по изучаването на Македония*, 650.

218 In the *kaza* of Nevrokop.

219 Гаджанов, Д. “Пътуване на Евлия Челеби из българските земи през средата на XVII век,” *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество* LXX, 9–10 (1909): 161, 275–276; Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveler: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi*, trans. and commentary by Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (London: Eland Publishing Limited, 2010).

white cotton headscarves – *marama*, *çarşaf* – and had various forms of head-covering, wedding headscarves, fezzes combined with veils and ornaments, hairstyles, and so on. The woollen woven headcovers were white, black with red-blue ends, or red (*akça*, *kırmızı şargı*; *çerge*, *ifram*); a red woollen shawl (*topkali şal*). According to Vasil Dechov:

In the summer, Yürük women wore on their heads white headcloths which covered their whole back, while in the winter and in rain they covered their heads with red woollen shawls trimmed with long tassels.²²⁰

Because of the way of life, the dark-red woollen headcloth was a typical and very practical as well as symbolic element of the traditional Karakachan women's costume.²²¹

In presenting the traditions of different communities, the question of who borrowed from whom, when, and how, is often put in the context of the specific, selected "ethnic origin" of common phenomena and things in the Balkans, Asia Minor, and the Mediterranean region. This is true even for some types of wooden huts made of bark, boards, branches, straw, reed (circular or square in layout), which were family dwellings of nomads and semi-nomads and seasonal abodes of transhumant shepherds;²²² tents; tools; dairy products; Slavic-Romance-Turkic and older pastoral terminology (in different variants and proportions); stockbreeding practice.²²³ It is even truer for some

220 Дечов, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, 37. See Крстева, А. "Носијата на Јуруците во Македонија (Главни карактеристики)," in: *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 105–111; Јашар-Настева, О. "Прилог кон проучувањето на Јуруците от Радовишко," *ibid.*, 131–133; Додовска, Ј. "Етнички карактеристики на валандовските Јуруци," *Етнологишки преглед* 17 (1982): 82–84; Güngör, К. *Cenubi Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki* (Ankara: İdeal Basımevi, 1941), 50–51; Еремеев, Д. *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники* (Москва: "Наука", 1969), 68.

221 Пимпирева, *Каракачаните в България*, 15.

222 Wakarelski, Chr. "Die Bulgarischen wandernden Hirtenhütten," *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* V, 1–2 (1956): 13–17, 50; Цвијић, Ј. *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље* (Београд: Државна штампарија, 1922), vol. 1, 350 ff.; Фандрик, Р. "О архитектури сточарског стана," in: *Одредбе позитивног законодавства*, 335–354.

223 Иречек, *Путуванија по България*, 394–396; Томић, П. "Сточарство",

superstitions, divinations, magic acts, and characters from the demonology and mythology of Asian Minor and Balkan pastoralists.²²⁴

The Anatolian Yürüks, the Vlachs and the Karakachans had, for example, a common custom whereby the caravan (of horses, mules, donkeys, camels) carrying the household belongings, tents, elderly members of the group, children and, occasionally, cats and domestic birds, had to be led by a recently married woman or maiden. The Yürüks called her *kız katarbaşı*.²²⁵ This custom was meant to ward off evil spirits and eyes while travelling through “foreign” places. In all three groups, we find women with the sign of the cross (an astral-chthonic symbol, associated by the Karakachans with the Moon and female fertility) tattooed on their foreheads. The explanation given by Yürük women in Anatolia to Theodore Benth and Lucy Garnett was that this brought good luck and that they had seen Christian women doing it.²²⁶

Of course, there are similar as well as specific traits in each tradition, outlining the symbolic boundary vis-à-vis “the others.” Despite their common way of life, the kinship systems and the traditional gender roles in the three groups are somewhat different. The more equal status of Yürük women (as compared to that of women in other Muslim

Гласник Етнографског музеја 25 (Београд, 1962): 16–45; Вакарелски, Хр. *Етнографија на Българија* (Софија: “Наука и изкуство”, 1977), 131–158.

224 Антонијевић, *Обреди и обичаји балканских сточара*, 54–169; Kavadias, *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens*, 247–285; Eckert, “Die Jürüken in Zentral-Makedonien,” 565–566; Шишков, “Овцевъдството в Тракийската област,” 64–69; Дечов, “Среднородопското овчарство,” 335–341; Roux, J.-P. *Les traditions de nomades de la Turquie méridionale* (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1970), 137–299; Kalafat, Y. “Orta Toroslar ve Makedonya Yürükleri Halk İnançları Karıştırılması,” in *I. Akdeniz Yöresi Türk Toplulukları Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısı (Yürükler) Sempozyumu Bildirileri (25–26 Nisan, Antalya, 1994)* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1996), 153–176.

225 Yalman (Yalkın) Riza, A. *Cenupta Türkmen Oymakları* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1977), vol. 2, 181–191; Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 33–34; Антонијевић, *Обреди и обичаји балканских сточара*, 83; Kavadias, *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens*, 140; Petera, J. “Wedrowki pasterzi Aromunow w Albanii,” *Etnografia Polska* 6 (1962): 199.

226 Benth, “The Yourouks of Asia Minor,” 275; Garnett, L. M. J. *The Women of Turkey and their Folk-Lore* (London: D. Nutt, 1891), vol. II, 213; Антонијевић, *Обреди и обичаји балканских сточара*, 76. See also Георгиева, Ив. *Българска народна митология* (Софија: “Наука и изкуство”, 1993), 28.

communities), recorded in the Rhodopian oral tradition, has been noted by a number of researchers and observers. The status of Aromanian women was more or less similar, with a division of traditional roles and some “patriarchal” symbolism. The dominance of men among the Karakachans, who followed much stricter rules, is interpreted as “patriarchal” although all members of the family inherited equal shares of the common property (flocks and household possessions).²²⁷

The “locals” in the Rhodopes (if we follow the traditional view of the Yürüks as “immigrants”, although they had been present in the Balkans for several centuries – a view that is often implicit in academic studies, too) probably “borrowed” elements from the traditional Yürük men’s and women’s costume, some customs, and so on. On the other hand, the use of tents during seasonal migrations in the 18th–20th centuries was typical only of the Aromanians, Karakachans and Yürüks. All three groups used bigger or smaller tents as temporary abodes during their seasonal migrations. In the Balkans, tents were pitched most often at the established stopping points along the way to the main pastures (Yürük *konak*; Karakachan *kunakia*; Vlach *kunak*).²²⁸ The semi-nomadic Karaguni (one of the Aromanian groups) usually had permanent settlements near their summer pastures, and lived in huts or rented houses in the winter pastures. The Farsheriotti/“Arvanitovlachoi” from Albania and Epirus and the Karakachans lived in huts in their winter and summer pastures.²²⁹ In the 19th and 20th centuries, part

227 Дечов, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, 37; Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 89; Wace, A. J. B., and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans. An Account of Life and Customs among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus* (London: Methuen & Co, 1914), 49–50; Garnett, L. M. J. *The Women of Turkey and their Folk–Lore*, vol. I, 3–29; Campbell, J. K. *Honour, Family and Patronage. A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 180–189, 298–301; Пимпирева, *Каракачаните в България*, 41–51.

228 Roux, *Les traditions de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 59–60.

229 Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 19, 127–128, 175–182; Маринов, *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България*, 101–111; Kavadias, *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens*, 59–87; Petera, “Wedrowki pasterzi Aromunow w Albanii,” 196, 198, 200; Wace, A. J. B., and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 15; Weigand, *Rumänen und Aromunen in Bulgarien*, 9–20.

of the Anatolian Yürüks lived permanently in tents of the *karaçadır* type, typical also of the Kurds and the Arabs, but the semi-nomads had huts, usually in the winter pastures.²³⁰ The use of tents during seasonal migrations is noted by Evliya Çelebi in the 17th century, also in the mountain summer pastures. Sometimes, the Karakachans also pitched their tents in the sub-alpine zone.²³¹ Informants from the area of Babyak in the Western Rhodopes told me that the Yürüks, who came with their flocks for summer pasture until the Balkan Wars, used tents during their seasonal migrations and lived in summer hut-settlements in the area.²³² If the pastures and summer hut-settlements were comparatively close to the permanent villages at the foothills of the mountains, there was no need to use tents during the migration of the shepherds with their flocks and families. The Karakachans called the tent *chatur* (from *çadır*), and the Vlachs *tenda*. The Anatolian Türkmen and Yürüks also used yurts (similar to those in the Eurasian steppes), as well as tunnel-shaped or cone-shaped tents – *derim evi* (*topak ev*), *alaçık*. Tents are an important nomadic attribute, but because of the relative isolation of those small cultures, the traditional ornaments, costumes, breeds of sheep, horses and dogs are also interpreted as such.²³³

230 Güngör, *Cenubi Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki*, 31, 48–49; Eröz, M. *Yörükler* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1991), 97–116; de Planhol, X. *De la plaine pamphilienne et lacs pisidiens. Nomadisme et vie paysanne* (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958), 130–131, 186–220, 234–255, 276–283, planche XXII – XXVI, XLV, XLIX; Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 61–66; Roux, *Les traditions de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 62–67.

231 According to him, there were tents on “Büyük Ustok yaylası” (Mount Bigla between Ohrid and Resen, most probably of Vlach pastoralists), see Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* (İstanbul: Akide-Üçdal, 1985), vol. 8, 465, vol. 3–4 (1986), 297; Peters, H. B. “Karakatchani. Nomaden mitten in Europa,” *Atlantis* VIII, 5 (1936): 286–288; see also Мустафа бен Абдулах Хаджи Калфа, *Румелия и Босна. Географско описание*, transl. by С. Аргиров, Архив за поселищни проучвания I, (София: Печатница “Култура”, 1938), 50, 53; Cousinery, M. E. *Voyage dans la Macédoine* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1831), vol. 1, 184–203.

232 According to one of my best-informed respondents in the late 1980s, the ex-imam of Babyak, Yussein Chitakov (born in 1896, interviewed in 1988), who had personal contacts with nomadic Yürüks in the Western Rhodopes.

233 Хлебаров, Г. “Изучавания върху българските местни овце и възможностите за тяхното подобрене,” *Сборник на Българската Академия*

Another distinct “nomadic” trait in the oral tradition and in the relevant sources, is the well-developed textile production. Wool-working was directly connected to the way of life, and textiles were produced for domestic use as well as for sale. Home textile production was often preserved, specialized and developed upon sedentarization, but the nomads also sold textiles and clothes. This is noted everywhere as one of the distinctive features of the Yürüks, even after the establishment of manufactures and factories. The Yürüks had their market niche in pre-modern times and tried to preserve it for as long as possible. They are invariably described as producers of white and black (dark brown) *aba*, homespun cloth, *kebes* and felt cloaks (*kepenek*), carpets (*kilims*), and other textiles.²³⁴ Evliya Çelebi, who notes Yürük textiles and clothes elsewhere too, mentions that the entire population of the village of Avcı Yürdu consisted of “monotheistic Yürüks who make a living from the production of *aba*, *kebes*, and cloaks for pilgrims [...] They sow the land and thus ensure their subsistence.” “Yürük cloaks” (*ihram* cloaks for pilgrims to Mecca) and “homespun *aba*” were famous in Tatar Pazarcık/Pazardzhik. Clothes made of homespun *aba* were worn by both men and women.²³⁵ According to reports of Europe-

на *Науките* XXXIII (1940): 55–58; Хлебаров, Г. “Номадното овцевъдство на каракачаните и куцовласите в планините на Балканския полуостров,” *Природа* VII, 1 (1958): 13–18; Хлебаров, Г. “Каракачанската овца.” *Годишник на Софийския Университет – Аграрно-лесовъден факултет* XX, 1 (1941–1942): 1–34; Савов, Т. *Развитие на овцевъдството в България до 9 септември 1944 г.* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1964), 153–155; Петров, Ал. “Българският примитивен кон. Характеристика на развъжданите в България примитивни коне,” *Годишник на Софийския Университет – Агрономо-лесовъден факултет* XIX, 1 (1940–1941), 75–79.

234 For the long tradition of home textile production of the Yürüks, both for home use and for the market, see İnalçık, H. “The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role,” in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, 1993), vol. 9, 113–123; Eröz, *Yörükler*, 171–191; Bates, *Nomads and Farmers*, 154–155; Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 55–56; Traeger, P. “Die Jürüken und Konjaren in Makedonien,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1 (1905): 201.

235 Евлия Челеби, *Пътенис*, ed. and transl. С. Димитров (София: Издателство на Отечества фронт, 1972), 285; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 3–4 (1985), 302.

an consuls, in the 18th century *aba* was produced “in all Yürük villages in the environs of this city [Salonica].” The shepherds and soldiers were clad in it. The Yürüks, defined as “one of the most diligent peoples in Macedonia,” supplied the market with 70 or 80 thousand bales of *aba* a year. Part of their *aba* was exported to Marseilles, and from there to the Antilles, where it was used to make clothes for the slaves.²³⁶

Petar Karapetrov notes the following about the Yürüks in the area of Panagyurishte in the 1890s:

Both before the liberation, and now, these Turks were and are the most honest, diligent and peaceful people in the Tatar Pazardzhik area. They are vine-growers, stockbreeders, hunters, plowmen, and many of them deal in livestock and in *balo*, a kind of thick homespun made by their women. The Yürük women, like the Bulgarian ones, are diligent, they work in the fields and, as I said, they make not only *balo* but also socks and canvas and everything needed at home, while Turkish women in other places cannot even mend their own clothes. [...] In fact, the Yürüks were probably the first, the Ottoman Turks of old. Their honesty is even proverbial.²³⁷

According to Vasil Kanchov:

The Mayadağ villages [in the area of the present-day town of Gevgelija] make a kind of thick, rough homespuns, most of which are bought by the government to clothe the army and the police. [...] They make a living from stockbreeding and homespuns.²³⁸

Today, too, one of the traditional kinds of Turkish carpets is known as *Yürük*, while in the past this word was used in the town of Kalofer

236 Reports of the French consuls in Salonica – Thomas (1750), Arasy (1777), and Beaujour (1797), cited in Eckert, “Die Jürüken in Zentral-Makedonien,” 561–562.

237 Карапетров, П. *Материяли за описание града Панагюрище и околните му села* (Средец: Либерален клуб, 1893), 108.

238 Кънчов, “Великденска разходка из Поленинско,” 710, 713.

(situated to the south of the Balkan/Stara Planina range) to refer to a kind of fleecy rugs.²³⁹

Another market niche linked to different variants of mobile pastoralism was that of dairy products and animals. Evliya Çelebi mentions typical Yürük dairy and meat foods on Mount Vitosha, which he toured extensively, “going from tent to tent and savouring the regional delights.” In addition to “Yürüks and Çıtaks,” there are “Serbian and Bulgarian and Voynuk” shepherds on Vitosha, whose peak “is the summer-pasture for Salonica, Kavala, Serrez, Zihne – in short, all the cities of Rumelia. Flocks of sheep numbering in the hundreds of thousands spend seven months of the year here.”²⁴⁰

Evidence of the primacy of stockbreeding among the Yürüks, as well as of a well-developed production of textiles, including for sale, is also to be found in many travel notes on Macedonia:

Koniars had come to the fair [at Dojran] to sell live lambs in the street. [...] The Koniars are not at all fond of agriculture and are not much engaged in land cultivation. The Koniari population of this area [Kuzuli Dere/Kozlu Dere]²⁴¹ lives mostly in the mountains and is engaged in stockbreeding. They breed more sheep than goats. Both their sheep and their goats are of our common lowly breed. The Koniars sell wool, cheese, lambs, goat kids, sheep and goats at the marketplaces in the area and buy everything else they need for a living. Where there are suitable places for cultivation, they sow rye and very little wheat and barley.²⁴²

239 Nikola Nachov describes the production of homemade textiles in Kalofer before 1878: “The [Bulgarian] women weaved fine fleecy rugs and *yuruks*, flat-woven rugs [...] couch covers and cushion covers with various designs and patterns,” see Начов, Н. *Калофер в миналото*, (София: “Земиздат”, 1990, first published in 1927), vol. 1, 410.

240 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, C. 3–4, 313–316; Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, 107–108.

241 In the 1691 defter of the Evlâd-i Fâtihân this is a Yürük *cemaat* in the kaza of Dojran, consisting of 16 *mahalles* with 242 registered soldiers (*nefer*), see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 263.

242 Кънчов, “Великденска разходка из Поленинско,” 657, 684, 688.

A survey of the Rhodian, Balkan, and Asian Minor pastoral terminology is bound to discover a common “Yürük layer.” This layer is indeed very tangible in Rhodian pastoralism, as well as in the tradition of Bulgarian camel drivers from several villages and *mahalles* in present-day Western (Greek) and Eastern (Turkish) Thrace.²⁴³ If we follow “the idol of origins” (as Marc Bloch calls the obsessive search for the historical origins of things and phenomena),²⁴⁴ we will find that part of those “Yürük” or “Turkic” traits are indeed much older than the Yürüks themselves – regardless of whether they were brought by them or already existed in some places, including in the Rhodopes.

I will give as an example the custom of artificially deforming the skull of newborns, which was preserved among part of the Yürüks in Anatolia and Macedonia in the late 19th – early 20th centuries.²⁴⁵ There is archeological evidence of this practice among different cultures in the Eurasian steppe zone from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, including among the Proto-Bulgarians who, together with the Slavs and the Thracians, are assumed to be the ancestors of the present-day Bulgarians. Evidence of this old custom, practised all over the world (from Ancient Egypt to the Aztecs), was found during archeological excavations of Proto-Bulgarian burials, including in the medieval stratum of the necropolis at the former Yürük village of Karabulak/

243 Примовски, Ат. *Камиларството в Беломорска Тракия* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1958). For the camels and caravans of Anatolian Yürüks, see Eröz, *Yörükler*, 144–159; Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 30–31; Roux, *Les tradititons de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 58, 75, 142–148, 164, 216–251, 281, 280; Yürük camel drivers and caravanserai-keepers are noted in the Balkans in the 16th and 17th centuries. By the time Jovan Cvijić travelled around Macedonia in the early 20th century, camel caravans had become rare. In 1901, he saw larger camel caravans in the areas of Salonica, Dojran, Petrich and Strumica, see Цвијић, *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље*, vol. 1, 156; Цвијић, Ј. *Основе за географију и геологију Македоније и Старе Србије* (Београд: Државна штампарија, 1906), vol. 1, 225; Gustav Weigand came across very large camel caravans in Thessaly in 1890. They came from Albania and Macedonia, see Вайганд, *Аромъне*, 163.

244 Bloch, M. *The Historian's Craft* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), 29.

245 Traeger, “Die Jürüken und Konjaren in Makedonien,” 202–205; Benth, “The Yourouks of Asia Minor,” 270–271; Еремеев, Д. *Этногенез турок. Происхождение и основные этапы этнической истории* (Москва: “Наука”, 1971), 225.

Borino in the Southern Rhodopes. After those findings, some Bulgarian physical anthropologists and archeologists were strongly tempted to search for ethnogenetic “common origins” of the local Turks and Bulgarians.²⁴⁶ This was used to legitimate the policies of forced integration of Turks and Pomaks in Bulgaria, and fitted well into historiographic and propaganda interpretations in the 1980s that Bulgarian Turks were descendants most of all of pre-Ottoman Turkic steppe peoples (Proto-Bulgarians, Pechenegs, Kumans/Kipchaks), and less, if at all, of Anatolian colonists (Yürüks). Once again, Yürüks were simply not mentioned (not known or ignored by the physical anthropologists) as one of the last Balkan groups practising this ancient custom, or they were indirectly linked to the Proto-Bulgarians by some historians in the context of the ethnogenetic discourse of the 1980s.²⁴⁷

Whereas it is true that there always are continuities between different peoples and cultures, tracing them between distant eras and non-literate traditions is a risky and, in this particular case, politically biased academic exercise.²⁴⁸

Transhumant pastoralism had existed in the Balkans since time immemorial and, judging from the registered *celepkeşans*, it was probably practised by non-Muslims in the Rhodopes in the 16th century.²⁴⁹ Naturally, even though they spent “only” a few months

246 Боев, П. “Произход на населението от Девински район по антропологически данни,” *Родопски устрем* 39, 40, 42, 1985; Дамянов, Н. “Средновековните некрополи в Средните Родопи,” *Музеи и паметници на културата* 4 (1986): 23–28; see also Манолова, “Материали от частично проучване на селата Гьоврен, Грохотно и Борино,” and Чальков, “За миналото на село Гьоврен, Девинско,” 55–58.

247 Димитров, “За юрюшката организация и ролята ѝ в етноасимилаторските процеси,” 43.

248 For hypothetical “Proto-Bulgarian (or other pre-Ottoman Turkic) relicts” in the Rhodopes, including among Muslim Bulgarians/Pomaks, see Коджейкова, Й. “Като в приказките,” *Родопи* 7 (1977): 16–17; Симеонов, Б. “Произход и значение на селищното име “Чокманово””, *Родопи* 7 (1978): 19; Райчевски, Ст. “Прическата на прабългарите,” *Родопи* 11 (1978): 9–11; Kavgazova, L., R. Stoev, and Z. Mitova, “Dermatoglyphic Characteristics of a Population from the Central Rhodope (South Bulgaria),” *Anthropologische Anzeigen* LVII, 4 (1999): 349–360.

249 Detailed defter of sheep-suppliers (*celepkeşans*) from 1576 (nahiye of Konuş,

a year in the vicinity of permanent settlements in the Rhodopes, Macedonia, and elsewhere, the Turkish-speaking nomads exercised and underwent cultural influences. This was true to an even greater extent for the sedentary Yürüks. What is important for each tradition, though, is not just or not so much what is “old,” “ours”/“unique” or “foreign,” but what is “invented” as such.²⁵⁰ In some areas, Yürüks from comparatively large permanent villages with well-developed agriculture (including vine-growing, rice cultivation, cultivation of industrial crops like tobacco or aniseed) preserved their endogamy as well as a significant share of stockbreeding and related economic activities.²⁵¹ Many sedentary Yürük groups preserved their folklore, traditional costume, dialect, mores and customs, which were explicitly noted as being specific to them by observers in the 17th–19th centuries and by academic researchers in the 20th century. As all over the world, the self-awareness of one’s difference – in this particular case, of *Yürükçülük* (“Yürükness”) – was quite naturally embodied in cultural elements that were obviously borrowed from the surrounding peoples. A comparative study would find them in the traditional costume, calendar-ritual cycle, to some extent in language, and above all in agriculture.²⁵² For understandable reasons – environmental but also cultural – the economic seasonal cycle of the Balkan Yürüks was oriented as well as ritualized according to Saint

kaza of Tatar Pazarı, kaza of Razlog), see *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, 45–50, 86–88, 198.

250 See Hobsbawm, E. “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in Hobsbawm, E., and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1–14.

251 Петров, *Материали по изучаването на Македонија*, 621, 626, 650, 672.

252 Kalafat, “Orta Toroslar ve Makedonya Yörükleri Halk İnançları Karıştırılması,” 159, 163. For cross-language influences and borrowings, see Гаджанов, Д. “Мюсюлманското население в новоосвободените земи,” in *Научна експедиция в Македонија и Поморавието 1916*, compiled by П. Петров (София: Военноиздателски комплекс “Св. Георги Победоносец” and Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”, 1993), 274–276; Маневић, Т. “Прилог проучавању говора Јурука у Македонији,” *Јужнословенски филолог. Привременни спис за словенску филологију*, XX, 1–4 (1953–1954): 335–337, 340; Јашар-Настева, “Прилог кон проучувањето на Јуруците од Радовишко,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населување на Балканот*, 141–143.

George's Day/Hidrellez (May 6) and Saint Demetrios' Day/Kasım (October 26).²⁵³ This timing followed the traditional Balkan calendar, while in Western Anatolia the seasonal migration was done in three phases in three pasture and altitudinal zones: *yaylak* (from early spring to early summer, five months), *güzlek* (summer quarters, four months), and *kışlak* (winter quarters, three months).²⁵⁴

Another typical example of the syncretism of the traditional local and regional cultures in the Balkans are the burial rites of the local pastoralists in the context of noted or studied beliefs and superstitions. Like Orthodox Christianity in the case of the Karakachans, the Islamic beliefs and practices of the Yürüks were intertwined with mythology, demonology and magic. Pomak informants from the Babyak area told me that the practice of burying their dead under tall old trees and piling stones on the grave was typical of the Yürüks. I was shown such graves (outside of and within the village cemeteries), which were considered to be "the oldest" in the area and to be precisely "Yürük graves." Some of the Yürük cemeteries which I have seen in the Rhodopes as well as in Rila do not differ in orientation or appearance from the all-Muslim ones; those on pastureland were made onsite from stone slabs. But the "older" Yürük necropolises, such as those along the Balkan mountain range, definitely stand out for their austere monumental appearance and this has prompted speculations that they could be linked to the "ancient Thracian heritage."

The only Yürük necropolis systematically researched so far is in the zone of a large summer pastures above Gorno Novo Selo in the Sarnena Sredna Gora (Karaca Dağ) mountain. Here I will cite the information provided to me by the archeologist Boyan Dumanov, a member of the Bulgarian-British team that excavated this site:

253 For the Saint George's Day/Hidrellez rites of Yürüks, Karakachans, and Aromanians, see Palikruševa, G. "Jedan đurđevdanski običaj kod Juruka u okolini Radoviša," in *Rad IX-og Kongреса Савеза Фолклориста Југославије у Мостару и Требињу 1962*, ed. J. Вуковић (Сарајево: Савез удружења фолклориста Југославије, 1963), 363–369; Антонијевић, *Обреди и обичаји балканских сточара*, 90 ff.; Пимпирева, *Каракачаните в България*, 111–113.

254 Benth, "The Yourouks of Asia Minor," 271.

Oriented northwest-southeast according to the Islamic tradition, the roughly hewn tombstones (slabs of rock) are combined with a stone mound surrounded by an oval of stones – an enduring ancient tradition. At the same time, the horizontal stratigraphy shows careful use of the specific features of the landscape. The necropolis is situated in a zone that dominates the surrounding area, and a large part of the headstones are monumental, without inscriptions or ornaments. The layout of the graves shows that the terrain of the necropolis was used most rationally. The earliest graves are in a large meadow, where the sediment is thickest. All of the latest graves (from the beginning of the 19th century) are at the foot of the surrounding cliffs and although they are situated higher than the others, they do not reflect any social structuring of the necropolis; they reflect a desire to make optimal use of the territory of the necropolis as a site of memory when little space was left. As regards the setting, one must take into account the fact that the necropolis is situated near the route of an old road leading to the Sveti Nikola Pass and the plains at the foothills of the Stara Planina/Balkan Mountains. In its immediate vicinity to the south is a man-made mound that probably dates from the Ottoman period. The necropolis itself could be linked to a no longer existing settlement in the Yurtoluka locality, of which there are remains indicating that the terrain was terraced and which is not remembered by the local Turkish population. The excavations also showed, albeit sporadically, other deviations from the traditional Islamic burial customs of later times, such as reuse of older grave structures, which, however, need to be studied in comparison with other similar necropolises in the Balkans and in Asia Minor.²⁵⁵

But even when the Islamic rites are strictly observed, what is definitive is the symbolic connection of the graves to the world beyond, and hence, to the belonging of “the others” to it. Thus, “Yürük graveyard” may refer to various traces of extinct “foreign” cultures such as, for instance, the real ancient Thracian remains on Babeshka Chuka Peak in the Western Rhodopes, attributed by the local Pomaks to the Yürüks.

255 Archeological excavations conducted in the 2005–2007 seasons by a team from New Bulgarian University and Durham University.

Specific burial customs have also been noted among the Karakachans in cases when they were far from settlements and priests or while wintering in a Muslim environment in Eastern Thrace. On the whole, what is known about them is consistent with the Balkan Orthodox Christian tradition. Possible older rites were no longer preserved at the time of the first ethnographic studies of the Karakachans (early 20th century). The only evidence that there may have been such rites comes from Dimitar Ilkov, a companion and guide of Jovan Cvijić in Bulgaria in 1890s. According to Ilkov, the Karakachan shepherds in the mountains buried their dead by piling stones in the form of a pyramid. It is unlikely, though, that the Karakachans were telling him the whole truth when they said that they buried their dead without a priest in the mountains because they wanted to avoid the duty of notifying the Turkish judges and paying them 1,200 piasters for every deceased person. This was obviously a specific Karakachan burial rite that deviated from the Orthodox Christian traditions. It was associated with the Karakachans' attitude towards graves as a sacred, yet demonic, space, an attitude noted by a number of ethnologists. Similarly to the Karakachan mountain camp ("stani"), this sacred space was in opposition to, but also in close connection with, the demonic otherworldly.

Among the Anatolian Yürüks in the late 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century, there is evidence of burials near a path, under a tree, with a pile of pebbles on the grave. There were also graves with a cut-off tree, large stones and a red flag on them. It is known that the Yürüks from Aegean Macedonia tied a string around the toe of the deceased, leaving the end of the string above the ground, while those in Vardar Macedonia placed scissors or a knife next to the body of the deceased.²⁵⁶ The universal cult of the cosmic tree also shows the syncretism of Yürük Islam. That is why Vasil Dechov's history tells us that a live, pruned fir-

256 Илков, Д. "Екскурзия по Калоферската планина," *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество* LI–LIII (1896): 678–679; Пимпирева, *Каракачаните в България*, 79–94, 127–129; Benth, "The Yourouks of Asia Minor," 274–275; Garnett, L. M. J. *The Women of Turkey and their Folk-Lore*, vol. II, 212; Yalman (Yalkın) Riza, A. *Cenupta Türkmen Oymakları*, vol. II, 268–269; Roux, *Les traditions de nomades de la Turquie méridionale*, 193, 339; Eckert, "Die Jürüken in Zentral-Makedonien," 565; Kalafat, "Orta Toroslar ve Makedonya Yürükleri Halk İnançları Karıştırılması," 170; Дечов, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, 59.

tree played the role of a minaret of the *mescids* (small mosques, usually wooden cabins) in Yürük summer settlements in the Rhodopes.

Today, however, it is too late to directly observe or study this no longer existing small world. The small Yürük community extant in the Republic of Macedonia can give us only some idea of what the Yürüks of old looked like, of their own and others' real or symbolic markers of cultural difference.

At the time when Vasil Dechov, Stoyu Shishkov, Hristo Popkonstantinov, and other amateur local researchers were collecting, among other things, information about the Yürüks, they were still a living reality in some places and areas in the Rhodope Mountains. This significant circumstance was simply unknown to or ignored by later researchers, ethnographers and historians. Sedentary groups with a predominantly stockbreeding economy combined with slash-and-burn agriculture were living in isolated small villages in the areas of Batak (in the village of Yeni Mahalle/Nova Mahala) and of Devin (Gökviran/Gyovren, Grohotina/Grohotno, Karabulak/Borino and Çilikli/Stomanevo). Unlike the Muslim Bulgarians in the area, the shepherds from Borino, Grohotno and Gyovren continued to winter their flocks in the Aegean region, where they rented pastures from local *ağas* and *beys*.²⁵⁷ According to Atanas Primovski, there was also a Yürük population, which emigrated after 1913, in the villages of Badolin and Sarchan from the municipality

257 Дечов, В. “През Вакъвските села – турска Рупчоска каза (Пътни бележки и впечатления),” *Родопски напредък* VI, 1 (1906): 25; Манолова, “Материали от частично проучване на селата Гъоврен, Грохотно и Борино,” 10–11; Драганова, С. *Количествен анализ на овцевъдството в българските земи под османска власт от средата на XIX в. до Освобождението* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1993), 82, 83; Кендерова, С. “Османски регистър за десетъка от овцете в Пазарджишко през средата на XIX в.,” *Родопи* 1 (1977): 18; Попконстантинов, Хр. *Непокорните села в Родопските планини. Обективно разглеждане на тоя въпрос за времето от 1878 до 1886 г.*, vol. 1 (Велико Търново: Скоропеч. П. Х. Панайотов, 1887), 12–15; vol. 2 (София: Народна печатница Б. Прошек, 1896), 31; Батаклиев, И. “Чепино. Специално-географски проучвания,” *Годишник на Софийския Университет–Философско-исторически факултет* XXVI, 1 (1930): 70; Батаклиев, И. “Село Батак–Пещерско. Антропогеографски развой на едно родопско село,” *Известия на Българското географско дружество* VIII (1941): 117.

of Kochan in the area of Nevrokop/Gotse Delchev.²⁵⁸ Until the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), there were still “mountains” – summer pastures of nomadic Yürük groups between Mugla and Shiroka Laka and along the ridges of Dabrash in the Western Rhodopes.²⁵⁹ By that time the Yürüks in the area of Chepino (in the Western Rhodopes, around present-day Velingrad) had disappeared and were replaced by the Vlachs and Karakachans, but mobile Turkish-speaking pastoralists from the areas of Serres, Drama, Salonica (for example, from the area of Chalkidiki) and from the Aegean hinterland of the Rhodopes were continuing to summer their flocks on the pasturelands in the areas of Nevrokop, Dospat, Devin, Batak, Bratsigovo and Peshtera. At the beginning of the 20th century, the summer pastures of the village of Kurfali around the Lagadino/Lagkada Lake were in the Rhodopes. Until the Balkan Wars, the Yürüks from some winter settlements in the western part of the Chalkidiki peninsula would leave with their families and flocks and head for the area of Nevrokop every summer. The only people left in those settlements were guards (*bekçis*). Until 1913, Yürüks came to the area of the present-day town of Dospat, where they lived in huts together with their wives and children. Each household had at least 15 horses, which carried their belongings. Forty days before Saint Demetrios’ Day, they descended with their sheep via Ablanitsa (in the Nevrokop area), Zarnevo/Kato Nevrokopi and Serres to the Salonica plain, where they spent winters in permanent dwellings.²⁶⁰

258 Примовски, “Бит и култура на родопските българи,” 66. According to Vasil Kanchov, the village of Bobolin (Badolin) in the *kaza* of Nevrokop and the village of Sarchan in the *nahiye* of Çeç had a population of 65 and 350 Bulgarians respectively, see Кънчов, *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 495, 496.

259 Златарев, Ст. “Село Ковачовица, Неврокопско. Географски, етнографски и исторически бележки,” *Родопски напредък* IX, 2–3 (1911–1912): 66.

260 Динев, Л. “Покрайнината Доспат. Принос към антропогеографията на Западните Родопи,” *Известия на Българското географско дружество* VIII (1939): 251–252; Traeger, *op. cit.*, 200; Eckert, *op. cit.*, 564; Батаклиев, “Чепино. Специално-географски проучвания,” 70, 100; Батаклиев, “Село Батак–Пещерско,” 14. For the situation in the Rhodopes during the Balkan Wars, see *Войната между България и Турция 1912–1913 г.*, (София: Министерство на войната, Щаб на армията – Военно-историческа комисия, 1935), vol. IV (Действия на Западния операционен театър), Chapter II, Advance of the Rhodopian Detachment, 7–50, and Appended Maps 1, 2. There were military op-

According to Konstantin Jireček:

Now [in the summer of 1883] only a small number of Yürüks come to Dospat. In groups of 100 men each, they graze their horses and sheep as far away as the Rumelian border. At the time of my travels, they had rented pastures in the vicinity of the small Rumelian town of Bratsigovo as well as near Batak.²⁶¹

With the help of the Turkish border guards, they crossed over into Bulgarian territory, where they also summered in the area of Devin (around Karabulak/Borino). In the summer of 1905 Vasil Dechov visited the Yürüks in Karabulak, where he noted specific elements of the traditional costume; he was accompanied by a Bulgarian customs officer who had come to count Yürük sheep coming from the Ottoman territory. Dechov also visited nearby Grohotno, about which he writes the following:

Down below us in the deep gorge along the Trigradska River, we see a tiny village that looks like Karabulak in every way. This village, which consists of 70 or 80 houses, is called Grohotno. It is inhabited by Yürük Turks. What made those people choose this particular site to settle in is a mystery to me. The environs of Grohotno are so steep and stony that they are very difficult to climb not just for people and cattle but also for wild goats.²⁶²

The Yürüks from the Aegean region, who came with their herds to the territory of the autonomous Ottoman province of Eastern Rumelia (which de facto developed after 1878 as a second Bulgarian state parallel to the Principality of Bulgaria), were part of the legislative debates on the taxation (*beğlik*) of the livestock of nomadic Karakachans. I will venture to quote at length from the minutes of proceedings of an October 22, 1883 meeting of the Provincial As-

erations around the huts of Tilkili mahalle and the Yürük eğrek, a refuge for flocks (between Devin and Batak), Badolin, the Yürük huts (below the Dzhegal Peak in the Nevrokop area), etc.

261 Иречек, *Пътувания по България*, 465.

262 Дечов, “През Ваќвските села – турска Рупчоска каза,” *Родопски напредък* VI, 1 (1906): 16, 19, 24–25; VI, 2 (1906): 75.

sembly in Plovdiv, debating a draft law on the taxation of “nomadic tribes” in Eastern Rumelia, because this very curious document reveals the situation of the nomads towards the end of the 19th century, as well as some interests, contacts and attitudes at that time:

Mehmed Holüsi: Honorable gentlemen! We have no right to collect any tax from those people who come here at a certain time every year and use the water and grass of our province, because they pay their *beğlik* to the imperial treasury. If we, too, were to start collecting this tax, where would we deposit it? Of course, in the same place. Even if a citizen of Baghdad was to pass through our province with his livestock, we once again would not have the right to ask him to pay tax. If this grass and water are possessed by somebody with a document, then I agree that tax is due, but not in any other case. I agree to collecting a tax of up to 60 *para* [one fortieth of a *kuruş*, piaster] per sheep and goat, as Mr. Yurukov has proposed; but how shall we call this tax: right of passage, or simply a tax? As regards the *yaylaks* [summer pastures], these people come only in the summer days and rent the *yaylaks* for as long as they stay here. That is why I ask the Honorable Provincial Assembly that we keep not collecting any tax from them because they only pass and leave without causing us any damage.

Ivan Geshov: The previous speaker obviously has in mind the so-called Yürüks who come to the Peshtera area [in the Rhodopes]. The government does not count them among the nomadic tribes because if they come here, this means that they have villages of their own in the neighboring dominions of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan. But the law concerns those who do not have permanent abodes anywhere, and move from place to place with their livestock. [...]

Danail Yurukov (voices: “The matter is closed”): I only want to say that the honorable Director of Finance is differentiating the Karakachans from the Yürüks, although the reasoning of the draft law stipulates otherwise. He said that the Yürüks were not nomads; only the Karakachans were [nomads]. But the truth is this: there is no one to defend the Karakachans, while there are many who defend the Yürüks. [...]

Todor Kesyakov: I wanted to reply to Mr. Yurukov, who said

that the Yürüks had defenders. Contrary to that, I want to note that here, in our province, the Yürüks and the Karakachans are considered to be nomadic tribes. If, however, greater attention is paid to the Karakachans, that is because they are more in number. If there were any Bulgarians (laughter), they, too, would have been considered to be such. Mr. Yurukov, among all his eloquent efforts to pass his motion, said that I did not know what a Karakachan is and what a Yürük is; he even said that we did not know what *yaylaks* is. I will tell him again that this is something even little children know (laughter).²⁶³

To return to Vasil Dechov, we must note that he not only knew the oral tradition; he had seen Yürüks in his day. His informants were shepherds and *kâhyas*, who were constantly in contact with the Aegean *ağas* and *beys*, with Yürük settlements and pastoralist groups. The texts of this outstanding researcher of the Rhodopes have a complex, multi-layered structure. Dechov, as well as quite a few of his followers, were simultaneously researchers and carriers of the Rhodopian tradition. His accounts are laconic, but they are based on the wealth of local legends and observations regarding the present and the recent or distant past. The “chain of their transmission” had not yet lost all its links to the end of the 18th and the 19th centuries, but it had become interwoven with myths, traditional images and notions, events past and present.²⁶⁴ The “Rhodopian narrative” is a peculiar, controversial, but largely usable source of information about the Yürüks. It is a specific version about the final result, which can partially be traced also on the basis

263 “Законопроект за налога на номадните племена в Източна Румелия,” in *Дневници от петата редовна сесия на Областното Събрание, Стенографски протокол, VIII заседание, 22. 10. 1883* (Пловдив: Областна печатница, 1884), 99, 101. For the double tax imposed later by the Ottoman and Bulgarian authorities on Karakachan flocks, customs duties, sanitary control, and so on, see И. Н., “Дописка за каракачаните”; “Още няколко думи за каракачаните,” *Средец* I, 24 (1884): 6–7 and I, 27 (1884): 2–3; Атанасов, В. “Бегликът от Каракачанските овце,” *Списание на Българското икономическо дружество* I, 4 (1896): 294–296; Гърличков, Гр. “Трябва ли да се пушат каракачанските овце в България и най-вече тая година?” *Ветеринарна сбирка* VII (1898): 130–135.

264 The term “chain of transmission” was coined by Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition. A Study in Historical Methodology* (Chicago: Ardine Publishing Company, 1965), 155–156.

of documents:²⁶⁵ large-scale specialized sheep-breeding in the Central Rhodopes gradually displaced the Turkish-speaking pastoralists, but some isolated and marginal groups continued their seasonal migrations to local and other mountainous areas in the Balkans. In their studies, Vasil Dechov and other local researchers occasionally confuse names and times, tenancy relations in the context of the *vakıf*-held *yaylaks*, transfer of rights, and other details.²⁶⁶ But even if we had representative Ottoman sources about the Yürüks in the Central Rhodopes in the 17th–19th centuries, we could not have expected them to directly reflect the relations and processes in question. Still, there are some mentions of Yürük seasonal migrations. Evliya Çelebi notes in the mid-17th century:

Most of the citizens of the town [Tatar Pazarçık] are from the Yürük *taife* [tribe, community] and they go to the Despot [Dospat] *yayla* in July. [...] In July, the whole population of the town, together with all its livestock, goes to spend the summer there... [from present-day Xanthi to the Southern Rhodopes].²⁶⁷

According to M.-E. Cousinery (writing in 1831),

In Europe, Yürüks inhabit only the areas around Salonica and Serres; they are land cultivators, shepherds and carters like those in Asia. Their villages are desolate and look like disorderly camp settlements. Most send their flocks to the Rhodope mountain, which is their only *yayla*. They are sons of own-

265 Vasil Dechov cites *tapu* title deeds of 1729, 1754, 1822, and other documents, see Дечов, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, 69–70, 103, 137, 151; Konstantin Kanev cites a series of Ottoman documents of the mid-18th and 19th centuries, regarding village properties, purchases and sales, etc., see Канев, *Миналото на село Момчиловци*, 43 ff.

266 See Дечов, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, 268–279 (explanatory notes by Strashimir Dimitrov); Димитров, С. “Управниците на Ахъчелеби,” in *Родопски сборник*, vol. 4, ed. Хр. Христов et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1976), 60–77; Мутафчиева, В. “Вакъфска земя в Родопите,” *Родопи* 7–8 (1966): 24–25; Мутафчиева, В. “Основни проблеми в изучаването на вакъфа като част от социално-икономическата структура на Балканите под османска власт,” *Studia Balcanica. Проблеми на балканската история и култура* 14 (1979): 92–93, 105, 114, 123–125.

267 Евлия Челеби, *Пътенис*, 137; Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 3–4, 302.

ers, or hired shepherds who take the flocks to the pastures. The Yürüks from the environs of Drama, a town near Serres, are the only ones who leave their wretched abodes in the summer and go to their *yayla* with their families.²⁶⁸

Bearing in mind all the remarks and comments made above, we may presume that the testimonies of the local Christians point to a positive rather than a negative experience of contacts with Yürüks. Judging from Ottoman documents, the Rhodopes were not the only place where Yürüks hired non-Muslims as shepherds and engaged in economic cooperation with them. The Vlachs and Karakachans were also engaged in economic relationships (mutually advantageous in some cases and exploitative in others) with each other or with members of the sedentary population.

It is certain that the Yürüks did not hold “the whole [Rhodope] mountains” leased by the *vakıf* administrations and, since the second half of the 17th century, at least in some places, possessed by wealthy local Christian Bulgarians (forests, pastures, and so on).²⁶⁹ Although some of the “newly founded” non-Muslim villages may have predated the arrival of the Yürüks, there is no way we can trace the relations between settlements in the area of mountain pastures in the Central Rhodopes. Furthermore, “founding a village” is a mythological construct, an act organizing cultural space as opposed to the natural space, of which the Yürüks are a compelling symbol in the Rhodopian oral tradition.²⁷⁰ The oral tradition that there was Yürük patronage over Christian settlers cannot be rejected outright, although according to Strashimir Dimitrov, in this case, too, Dechov was simply making things up. It most probably was not linked to mass flights from “Turkification,” but there could have been Christian migrations for other reasons in the late 17th or early 18th century. The settlement of Bulgarians in former Yürük vil-

268 Cited in Б. Цветкова, “За юруците в българските земи под турска власт,” *Родопи* 10 (1976): 24.

269 Димитров, С. “Важен документ за историята на Средните Родопи. “*Векове* 2–3 (1974): 105–107.

270 Николов, И. “Основаване на селище – предания и обичаи,” in *Родопи. Традиционна народна духовна и социалнонормативна култура*, ed. Р. Попов et al. (София: Етнографски Институт с Музей при БАН, 1994), 51–61.

lages and places (regardless of whether there was an old non-Muslim settlement nearby or not) could hardly be simply rejected as a gradual process. Such a process can be partially traced in other areas and places.

Most probably, the nomadic Yürük groups in the Rhodopes had their “own” Christian and Pomak villages, neighbors with whom they had seasonal but long-time trade and other relations. These relations were and are vitally important to all nomadic and semi-nomadic groups, which have autonomous, but never autarkic economies.²⁷¹ It is quite reasonable to presume that the Yürüks (shepherds, kâhyas, elders) indeed regarded “the mountains” as their own, regardless of whether they held them or rented them from the *vakıf* administrations, communes or private individuals. In the traditional notions of the Anatolian and Balkan Yürüks, the Aromanians and the Karakachans, the mountain is their true native home even though the shepherds and their families spent only several months a year there.

It is certain that the Turkish-speaking pastoralists had the independent and defiant attitude towards the central and local authorities that is mentioned so frequently in Ottoman sources. Even when they were in the situation of impoverished sedentary land cultivators and stock-breeders,²⁷² the Yürüks largely felt they were part of the dominant Muslim and, furthermore, militarized community. Ample proof of this is to be found in the hitherto-mentioned documental and oral evidence of conflicts with the sedentary population. It is entirely possible that the instances of mutual solidarity and support, the two communities’ common (albeit different) negative attitudes towards the Ottoman state and authorities, may have grown into the legend of the Yürüks as protectors of Christians. Either way, that is precisely how the Yürüks are remembered in the oral tradition in the Rhodopes.

As a necessary comparison, it is noteworthy that during the Second World War the memory of good relations with the Yürüks from the western part of the Chalkidiki peninsula was very much alive among their neighbors, who were Georg Eckert’s Greek informants. Here,

271 Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 68–85.

272 Law on the reorganization of the Evlâd-i Fâtihân of 1828, in Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 338; Петров, *Материали по изучаването на Македония*, 669.

too, we find testimonies about the hospitable, diligent and tolerant nomads just two decades after their complete deportation to Turkey.²⁷³ By the 1940s, the constant conflicts in the one-time Ottoman Kalamaria of the 16th and 17th centuries and the burning down of Yürük settlements during the Greek Uprising in the 1820s had long been forgotten.²⁷⁴ This was also the case with the Yürüks in the area of Panagyurishte (the former villages of Oruçlu, Duvanlı, Okçulu and Caferli – present-day Borimechkovo). Despite the armed clash during the April Uprising of 1876 in which the local Yürük *mahalles* were attacked by Bulgarians, some twenty years later Petar Karapetrov had only good things to say about the Yürüks. He thinks that the emigration of many of them to Turkey was a great loss, while according to Konstantin Jireček, “they lived well with the Bulgarians and today [in the 1880s] they continue to live in the same places.”²⁷⁵

It is entirely reasonable to expect that the nomads had established good relations with the people of the Rhodopes, even if those relations were of course far from idyllic. Drawing upon the oral tradition, Vasil Dechov and Father Konstantin Kanev transposed those relations into the past, likening them to the patronly, friendly, but advantageous to the *ağas*, provision of winter pastures and flocks for grazing. The relations in Aegean *çiftlik*s as described by Dechov, Kanev, and Stoyu Shishkov, among others, is very similar to the patron-client relations between winter-pasture owners and other influential figures in Greece in the 1920s–50s, and the Karakachans. The relations with village communes were similar – on the whole, they were mutually advantageous.²⁷⁶

273 Eckert, “Die Jürüken in Zentral-Makedonien,” 565–566. The Greeks in Chalkidiki had a saying: “prudent and thrifty like a Yürük.” Father Konstantin Kanev recorded the saying, “like a Yürük sack,” as meaning someone or something that takes up little space; people packed together in one place (around the table), knee to knee, like the sacks in which the Yürüks loaded their belongings on their caravans.

274 Urquart, D. *The Spirit of the East* (London: Henry Colburn, 1839), vol. II (London, 1839), 60.

275 Иречек, *Пътувания по България*, 402.

276 Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, 230–264, 300. For their part, wealthy and influential Bulgarians were guarantors of the Karakachans who crossed over into Turkish Eastern Thrace in winters, see Маринов, *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България*, 31.

If they were not politically and militarily dominant in their own right – as the Yürüks incorporated into the Ottoman system definitely were not – the nomads were vulnerable precisely because of their two-fold dependence upon their natural and their social environment.²⁷⁷ This is true for the entire period of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, but especially for its last two centuries. In the 18th and 19th centuries, both sedentary and nomadic Yürüks were far from economic enterprise and from a leading role in the economic changes, which in many areas, villages and towns of the Balkans were based on specialized large-scale transhumant stockbreeding. Military-service and tax evasion, economic activities, and bartering of livestock and products presupposed good relations with their immediate neighbors.²⁷⁸ This also holds for the safety of the shepherds, women and children during seasonal migrations in the event of bandit attacks, as well as for the employment of hired labor. Among the Kurds, for example, we find cases of “patronage” relations with their “own” Armenian neighbor-peasants until the 1890s, although Kurdish raids and violence in a nearby area, village or pasture were by no means an exception.²⁷⁹

The traditional behavior of the Karakachans in Greece fits entirely into this context. For them, livestock theft was a desired and “honorable” occupation in the mountains, but not in the areas where they wintered their herds. In those areas, they sometimes hired themselves and their horses out as local transport or harvesters; they rented pastures from the communes or from wealthy owners. The latter were often their patrons and mediators in relations with the state and with the surrounding society at large, although parts of the Karakachan headmen were quite wealthy in their own right. The summer pastures were either “nobody’s” or were rented, but here the Karakachan summer camps were often quite far from the villages or were isolated in the sub-alpine zone, where the nomads felt much more confident. The main areas of conflict with the sedentary population were

277 Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 198–222.

278 Канев, *Миналото на село Момчиловци*, 39.

279 Van Bruinessen, M. *Agha, Shaikh and State. The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1992), 106–107.

the transit points of seasonal migrations: village or town commons, fields and fallow lands, meadows and groves.²⁸⁰

Despite the scarcity of direct documentary evidence, there is no doubt that the Yürüks in the Rhodopes were nomads or semi-nomads, who were wintering in the lowlands to the south, east and north of the mountains in the 15th–18th centuries. The *ocaks* in the Aegean region made up a significant part of the Yürük corps. This presupposes a very wide spectrum of relations with the sedentary population at different times and places, and in different social and economic conditions: from economic cooperation, patronage and friendship to exploitation; from shepherds' quarrels and thefts to "captive-taking," banditry and even occasional individual cases of "Turkification."

The end of "the time of the Yürüks," which Vasil Dechov believes took place in the first quarter of the 18th century in the case of the Central Rhodopes, did not come suddenly. The processes of sedentarization in Anatolia, as well as in the Balkans, were cyclic, uneven, not always final and, in some instances, reversible. For example, we know that part of the Vlachs on Bulgarian territory, who were in the process of sedentarization in the 1920s–30s, tried to resume their seasonal migrations to the Aegean region when it was annexed to Bulgaria during the Second World War.²⁸¹

Among the documented and presumed causes for the disappearance of Yürüks from a number of areas – wars, settlement and cultural assimilation, climate changes, epidemics and socio-political cataclysms – oral tradition invariably points to the last three. This of course applies to Yürüks in older times, and not to the refusal to let them enter into Bulgarian territory after 1912–1913 and the prohibitions on burning forests, the destruction of Yürük villages during the First World War, the exoduses after that war, or some tense relations and conflicts in the Serbian (Yugoslav) part of Macedonia.

280 *Kavadias, Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens*, 221, and the above-cited "Законопроект за налога върху номадните племена в Източна Румелия," 95–103.

281 For such examples in Anatolia in the second half of the 19th century, see A. Riza Yalman (Yalkın), *Cenupta Türkmen Oymakları*, vol. I, 387; vol. II, 213–216; Рақшиева, С. "Пастирите от Грамос," *Българска етнология* XXII, 1 (1996): 56.

In present-day Southeastern Serbia, subzero “winters drove away the Yürüks”;²⁸² in the Dolna Banya basin, Bulgarians and local Turkish notables engaged in armed clashes with them, and the plague finished them off;²⁸³ in some areas in Macedonia and Thessaly, the plague “hit the Koniars particularly hard.”²⁸⁴ According to local legends, among the reasons why the Yürüks left the Central Rhodopes were a great drought at the beginning of the 18th century followed by extreme cold spells that decimated their flocks of sheep in the winter pastures, and the raids of Kırçalı bands.²⁸⁵ Although the local oral tradition again depicts the Yürüks within the context of the natural cycle, and points to the interruptions in it, the latter do not seem to be entirely legendary. Vasil Dechov dates the greatest misfortunes of the Yürüks to the summer of 1725 and the winter of 1725/1726 on the basis of a stone inscription from Yenice-i Karasu/Genisea which mentions that many people had drowned and a large number of livestock had died at that time: “the misfortune is great, but that was God’s will. For remembrance and solace. Karapazarlı Yüsmen.”²⁸⁶

Similar cases are also mentioned in Ottoman sources:²⁸⁷

The annual revenue, amounting to 3700 *kuruş*, from the fiscal section in the form of *malikâne* [state revenue held privately] from the sheep and goat tax from Ahyolu/Pomorie and the area, is owned by Ishak and Hasan. By God’s will, in the year [11]43 [1730/31] a disaster befell the sheep and more than half of them died.

282 Николић, *Крајиште и Власина*, 179.

283 Цветков, “Село Долна Бая – Ихтиманска околия,” 94–95.

284 Кънчов, *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 349–350.

285 Канев, *Миналото на село Момчиловци*, 233; Канев, К. ““Къран сенеси”, морова година,” *Родопи* 1 (1967): 28–30.

286 Дечов, *Миналото на Чепеларе*, 68; The practice of placing commemorative inscriptions on fountains and gravestones was not foreign to the Yürüks, see Цончев, Д. & Ат. Милчев, “Разкопки в чашата на язовир “Багак”.” *Известия на Археологическия институт на БАН XXXII* (1970): 152; Венедикова, К. “Епиграфски паметници от Крумовградско,” *Rhodopica* II, 2 (1999): 174–184.

287 Първева, С. “За вакъфите в Североизточна Тракия през първата половина на XVIII в.,” *Исторически преглед* 5 (1992): 44–53: 44.

It is quite possible that part of the Yürüks in the Central Rhodopes were indeed befallen by natural disasters. Mobile pastoralists were constantly exposed to the danger of the decimation of their flocks and herds. Extreme temperature fluctuations, which caused pastures to dry up, and outbreaks of parasites and epizootics periodically killed part of the sheep tended in the open in winter and summer pastures. Temporary cessation of seasonal migrations because of floods or other natural, as well as political, disasters (wars, closure of state borders) could also have lethal effects.²⁸⁸ The breeds of sheep raised by mobile pastoralists were resilient, but they needed to be kept in cool weather – in the lowlands in the winter and in the mountains in the summer.²⁸⁹ In the event of heat waves, as well as extreme cold spells and deep snows, they were bound to perish – in the second case, above all because they could not graze the frozen or snow-covered grass. Supplying fodder, which is not a common practice among transhumant shepherds and nomads, was a difficult task considering the comparatively large size of their flocks and herds. Thus, the drought in 1874, followed by extreme cold spells in 1875, decimated the flocks of Rhodopian shepherds; the same thing also happened later, in the 1920s.²⁹⁰ One of the reasons for the final settlement of the last nomadic Vlachs on Bulgarian territory was that their sheep and horses died from the cold in the winter of 1928/1929.²⁹¹

The long-lasting Kırçalı disturbances, local chieftain (*ayan*) infighting and separatism in the late 18th and early 19th centuries definitely had adverse consequences for mobile pastoralists. If they were many in number and when different groups were constantly engaged in armed clashes, the nomads could not resort to the Balkan shepherds' tradi-

288 Маринов, *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България*, 29–54.

289 Хлебаров, “Изучавания върху българските местни овце,” 55–58; Хлебаров, “Номадното овцевъдство на каракачаните и куцовласите,” 13–18; Хлебаров, “Каракачанската овца,” 1–34; Савов, *Развитие на овцевъдството в България до 9 септември 1944 г.*, 153–155.

290 Канев, *Миналото на село Момчиловци*, 143, 260–266; Канев, “Къран сенеси”, 28–30; Коруев, Т. “След звъна на тюмбелеците,” *Родопи* 4 (1976): 36.

291 Ракшиева, “Пастирите от Грамос,” 56; *Армъните в България. Историко-етнографско изследване*, ед. Ив. Георгиева (София: ИК “Васил”, 1998), 336–337 (Appendices – interviews).

tional practice of hiding and striking deals with known and unknown rebels and bandits. An additional factor was the lack of safety of families migrating together with their livestock, especially while travelling between winter and summer pastures. All this is clearly demonstrated by the migrations of the Aromanians and the Karakachans.

Although we do not have sufficient documentary evidence, in this case we can believe the Rhodian oral tradition, according to which part of the Yürüks “struck root”²⁹² in the plain amidst the long-existing villages of their sedentary fellow group members and their own winter settlements or seasonal camping sites. Their ağas and beys sold or leased part of their yaylaks and sheep, concentrating on managing their own çiftliks, quite a few of which became winter pastures of the Rhodian flocks:

[The Bulgarians] let the Yürük ağas tend to their own affairs [...] The ağas took care only of the arrangements for the wintering of flocks and shepherds in the plain, they bought and sold properties, drank heavily and often got into fights with each other, and their fortunes rose and fell. In exchange for making arrangements for the wintering of the flocks from which, after all, they and the shepherds made their living, the ağas received the first lambs born in the spring, *kurkumach* [*kurtmaç*, a dairy product made of milk and cheese], cheese, butter, sheep’s and lamb’s wool, dogs and puppies, stallions, mares, donkeys and various other goods.²⁹³

At the beginning of the 20th century, the “time of the Yürüks” in the Balkans was indeed gradually running out, mostly as a process of social, economic and cultural changes, but it was in fact the subsequent wars and mass emigration of Muslims to the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey that truly ended it.

292 Канев, *Миналото на село Момчиловци*, 233, and 237–60, 328–346; see also Канев, “Овчарството в Горно Дерекьой,” 28–29; Шишков, “Овцевъдството в Тракийската област,” 39, 46–47; Дечов, “Среднородопското овчарство,” 239–248, 253–259, 301–304, 313.

293 Дечов, “Среднородопски овчари и кехаи,” 384–387. For the processes of settlement in Anatolia in the 1830s to 1950s, which led to the formation of çiftliks of Yürük beys in some places, see Eberhard, W. “Nomads and Farmers in Southeastern Turkey. Problems of Settlement,” *Oriens* VI, 1 (1953): 32–48.

CHAPTER FIVE:

YÜRÜKS IN THE BALKANS IN THE 17TH - EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

I. “DESCENDANTS OF THE CONQUERORS”

There are no detailed studies on the Yürüks in the Balkans after the “classical” Ottoman period, although evidence can be found in a number of Ottoman and other sources, travellers’ observations, ethnographic, and other accounts. The seminal historical study by Mustafa Tayyib Gökbilgin mentions the 19th and 20th centuries only in historiographic notes in the general introduction, and discusses the *Evlâd-i Fâtiḥân* military organization in a short commentary introducing selected documents and abstracts about the period between 1691 and 1828. The subject in question is only briefly touched upon in other studies, in the context of general Balkan and Ottoman history.¹

The name *Evlâd-i Fâtiḥân* (“Descendants of the Conquerors”) was given to the military organization of the Yürüks at a difficult time for the Ottoman Empire. After the last unsuccessful siege of Vienna, the Austrians and the Venetians were advancing deep into the European Ottoman territories. The long war with the Holy League (1683–1699) ended with huge territorial and human losses for the empire.

Meanwhile, towards the end of the 16th and throughout the 17th century the Yürük auxiliary corps was in crisis. Its decline is noted among the failings and problems that followed the apogee of the Ottoman state.² The Yürük defters attest to a drastic decrease in the

1 See Shaw, St. J., and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), vol. 2, 26–27. For Yürük auxiliaries after the end of 17th century, see Gökbilgin, M. T. *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiḥân* (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1957), 255–342; Соколоски, М. “За Јуруците и јуручкага организација во Македонија од XV до XVIII век,” *Историја. Списание на Сојузот на историските друштва на СР Македонија IX*, 1 (1973): 97–98; Матковски, А. “Јуруците од Македонија во некои турски документи,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците и нивното населување на Балканот. Материјали од Тркалезната маса, одржана во Скопје на 17. и 18. 11. 1983 година*, ed. Крум Томовски et al. (Скопје: Македонска Академија на Науките и Уметностите, 1986), 43–46; Arslan, A. “Evlâd-i Fâtiḥân Teşkilâtı’nın Kaldırılması,” in *Balkanlar’da İslâm Medeniyeti Milletlerarası Sempozyumu Tebliğleri* (Sofya, 21–23 Nisan 2000), ed. A. Çaksu (İstanbul: İslâm Tarih, Sanaat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 2002), 39–46.

2 Смирнов, В. Д. *Кучибей Гёмурджинский и другие османские писатели XVII века о причинах упадка Турции* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография В. Демакова, 1873), 92–93.

number of registered small mobilization units (ocaks) in the period between 1609 and 1675.³ Mobilization orders from as early as the 1580s point to various causes for this decrease: leaving the Yürük status, impoverishment, battlefield casualties, and death from diseases.⁴ According to a 1682 firman, many Yürüks in Macedonia had died from the plague, had registered themselves outside the ocaks, had dispersed in different places, or were evading military service. Some had become reaya in the vakıf estates of Gazi Evrenos Bey.⁵ Many eşkincis (soldiers) and yamaks (“helpers”) were becoming “perakende” (“dispersed”) and could not be found.

In the context of the widely discussed in Ottoman studies “demographic crisis” in the 17th and 18th centuries, it has been suggested that the Yürük population disappeared completely in a number of areas in the Balkans, or decreased dramatically. This is interpreted either in a purely physical sense or as a possible exodus to Anatolia.⁶ Conversely, M. T. Gökbilgin argues that the process of mass sedentarization during the 17th century led to the breakup of ocaks.⁷ The evidence available shows that, once again, this was more a matter of the impossibility of the already-teetering centralized system and of the declining Ottoman administration to register the Yürüks, than of a drastic decrease or disappearance. We do not have evidence about Yürük migrations from the Balkans to Asia Minor, although such migrations cannot be ruled out. In the 18th century, there are recorded instances of immigration of tribal elements from Anatolia into Rumelia.⁸

3 See the data summarized by Mehmet İnbaşı, *Rumeli Yörükleri (1544–1675)* (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000), 45–95, and his table with the numbers of Yürük ocaks, reproduced in Chapter Two (Table 4); Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 57, 70–93.

4 *Ibid.*, 172; Refik, A. *Anadolu’da Türk Aşiretleri (966–1200)* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930), Doc. 89, 98, 101, 112, 113.

5 Dimitriadis, V. “The Yürüks in Central and Western Macedonia,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 13.

6 Радушев, Е. “Место вооруженных сил в структуре османской феодальной системы на Балканах,” in *Османская Империя. Государственная власть и социально-политическая структура*, ed. С. Ф. Орешкова (Москва: “Наука”, 1990), 110–112.

7 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 255.

8 See Chapter Two, I, 3.

Upon the abolition of the status of some auxiliaries such as *müsellem* and *yaya*,⁹ many of the previous reasons for preserving the Yürük corps remained in place. For example, in the 1650s–60s Evliya Çelebi mentions the Yürük sancaks and their commanders, the number of ocaks and eşkincis, their duties, Yürüks in towns and villages, and pastoralists. In addition to the auxiliary corps, his accounts and notes describe various episodes, superstitions, peculiarities of the Yürük dialect and traditional costume, mores, foods, woolen fabrics, and so on. He mentions Yürüks in many places in Rumelia: in the areas of Sofia (in Bali Efendi/Knyazhevo), Pleven, Ihtiman, Pazardzhik, Nova Zagora, Kazanlak, Yambol, Vize, Tekirdağ, Kyustendil, Kratovo, Štip, Strumica, Melnik, Serres, Salonica, Langaza/Koroneia Lake, Çarşamba Pazarı (Sarıgöl valley and the town of Cuma Pazarı/Amigdalia), on the summer pastures on Dospat in the Western Rhodopes and on Mount Vitosha,¹⁰ and in an unidentified Yürük village in Southern Pirin or the Rhodope mountains.¹¹ According to the Ottoman traveller, the Yürük *beys* – those of Ihtiman, Pleven, Naldöken, Yambol, Ovçe Pole, Kocacık, and Salonica – went to war with 300 “brave Yürük *cebelü* [armored cavalymen]” each.

The Rumelian vizier and even the Padishah do not meddle in their affairs because they are brave warriors who are in the line of fire day and night, risking their lives.

The Yürüks continued to perform their traditional duty of transporting cannons, but they also served as *cebelü*, and some became *sipahis*. Even so, they were not relieved of their status (“Yürüklük”).¹²

9 Under Sultan Murad III (1574–1595) and during the 17th century.

10 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyyahat Name*. Tam Metin, ed. Mümin Çevik at al. (İstanbul: Akide-Üçdal, 1986–1995), vol. 1–2, 129, 139, 142; vol. 3–4, 10, 292–322; vol. 5–6, 390, 484, 492, 506; vol. 8, 22, 70, 106, 465–466, 470;

11 The station (*menzil*) at the village of Avci Yurdu, some five to nine hours away from Vetren (Neo Petritsi at the southern foothills of the Belasitsa Mountain). Then Evliya Çelebi travelled for another 13 hours across the mountain to the district of Stanimaka/Asenovgrad, *ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 478.

12 *Ibid.*, vol. 1–2, 142; vol. 3–4, 305–306.

Apart from the Yürük defters, there is evidence that there were sizeable detachments of eşkincis subject to mobilization in many places, including in places where no ocaks are on record in the extant sources of the 17th century. Authors such as Ayni Ali, Ali Çauş, Ömer Avni or Paul Ricaut give different, but by no means so drastically reduced, figures about the number of ocaks of the respective groups and of the auxiliary Yürüks in general in the early or mid-17th century.¹³ In his treatise, the Italian scientist and diplomat Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli mentions the bey of the Yürüks, as well as the separate groups from the time before 1691. Using Ottoman sources from the second half of the 17th century, he calculates the number of “families” (that is, *ocaks*), at 1,702 in all. The Kızılağaç and Çirmen müsellems numbered 198 and 351 “families” respectively. According to Marsigli, the military organization of the Yürüks was made up of “families wandering across Haemus [Mont Hemus] to feed their herds.”¹⁴

The sultanlic orders from the time of the war with the Holy League show that the Ottomans were trying to mobilize all combat-fit forces available, including Kurdish and Türkmen units from Asia Minor.¹⁵ An order of 1686/87 demands the mobilization of the following number of Yürüks from each *kaza*: 200 from Pravişte/Eleftheroupolis, Kavala district; 300 from Drama; 300 from Gümülcine/Komotini; 200 from Yenice-i Sultan Yeri (Momchilgrad and Krumovgrad districts); 200 from Nevrokop; 100 from Siruz/Serres; 100 from Zihna/Nea Zichni, Serres district; 200 from Çağlayık/Dipotamos; 500 from Filibe and Karacadağ (Plovdiv district and Sarnena Gora); 200 from Yenice-i Karasu/Genisea, Xanthi district; 100 from Doyran; 100 from Karadağ/Mavrovouni Mountain and Mount Krusha/Dysoron; 450 from Bereketlü;¹⁶ 200 from Uzunca Abad/Uzundzhovo, Haskovo district; and 50 from Timurhisar/Sidirokastro. It is explicitly noted that those 3,200 men in all had to be mobilized in addition to the regular

13 See Chapter Two, III, 3.

14 de Marsigli, L. *L'Etat militaire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Hague, 1732, p. 129.

15 Kurdish and Türkmen detachments had deserted from *sefer* (military expedition) and were terrorizing the poor in the region of Gallipoli, according to sultanlic order of 1691, see Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 152.

16 This kaza was located between the Gulf of Kavala, Pınardağ/Pangion, Çal-dağ/Lekanis and Drama.

quota of Yürük *eşkıncis*.¹⁷ Yürüks from the district of Sofia, Thessaly (from the region of Trikala), Çirmen (Eastern Thrace) and other places in Rumelia were also recruited for war.¹⁸

In January 1690 the Ottoman authorities mobilized troops for their summer offensive against the Austrians.¹⁹ The *serasker* (commander-in-chief) of Mora/Morea, the vizier Halil Paşa, had to mobilize a total of 1,200 Yürüks. They were “musket-bearing” (“tüfenk endgaz”) infantrymen from the following kazas: 100 men from Tekirdağ; 150 from the Debar; 60 from Birgos/Lüleburgaz; 20 from Karacık (probably Karacadağ/Sarnena Gora); 80 from Zahirepole (?); 20 from Saray (a nahiye in the kaza of Vize, Eastern Thrace); 150 from Babaeski; 50 from İpsala; 100 from Çorlu; 60 from Kırkklişe; 60 from Çatalca and Babadağ; 20 from Keşan; 80 from Malgara; 50 from Uzunköprü; and 200 from the kaza of Edirne. To that end, the authorities appointed representatives (*mübaşir*), who operated together with another vizier, Hüseyin Paşa, the former Yürük bey Derviş, the *çeribaşıs*, and the judges of Petrich, Strumica, Radoviš, and Tikveš.²⁰

At that time the future *zabit* (military commander) of all Rumelian Yürüks, the vizier Hasan Paşa, was in Morea, recruiting soldiers to fight against the Venetians. That same year, 1690, he was appointed *muhafız* (commander of the fortress) of Belgrade and tasked with reorganizing the corps. He is known to have been a *kapıcıbaşı* (a court title – head of the palace doorkeepers) and, during the war, a representative of the serasker of Mora, Halil Paşa. The new commander (*mir-i miran-i Yürükân*) remained in office at the beginning of the 18th century, too. During the Janissaries’ revolt in Constantinople in 1703, he is mentioned as Yürük Hasan Paşa.²¹

17 Грозданова, Е. “Нови сведения за юруците в българските и някои съседни земи през XV–XVIII в.,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 19; Грозданова, Е. “Към въпроса за юруците в българските и някои от съседните им земи през XV–XVIII в.,” *Векове* 2 (1984): 24–25.

18 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 135, 140, 141, 143 (of 1689).

19 Катих, С. *Јеген Осман-паша* (Београд: АПП, 2001), 200.

20 Матковски, А. “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” *Гласник на Институтот за Национална Историја* XXIX, 3 (1985): Doc. 24 and 25, pp. 247–248. In 1689 Derviş Bey was *mutasarrıf* (governor) of Tırhala/Trikala, see Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 143, p. 93.

21 Uzunçarşılı, İ. *Osmanlı Tarihi* (third ed., Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1982), Vol. IV, 32–36.

In 1690/91 a registration of the “Rumelian Yürük vilayet” was conducted under his direction.²² It was accompanied by appointments of *çeribaşıs* and other commanders, constant mobilizations, and the usual problems.²³ According to a sultanic order of 1691, the lower-rank commanders were under the command of the *alaybeys* of the left and right wing of Rumelia. They were appointed in the following kazas: Avrethisarı/Kukush/Kilkis (based in Zhensko, now Paleo Ginekokastro), Radoviš; Štip, Tikveš, Dimotika, Sultan Yeri, Pravište, Karadağ, Kavala, Bereketlü, Selânik/Salonica, Kelemeriye/Kalamaria, Bazargân (Bazargâh, a nahiye around lake Beşik/Volvi) and Boğdan (north of the Bogdanska mountain/Vertiskos); Petriç and Ostrofça (Sidirokastro district), Göl Başı in the kaza of Doyran (a common name for part of the local Yürük groups – *ce-maats*), Drama, Karaferiye/Veroia, Yenice-i Vardar/Giannitsa, Eğri Bucak and Cuma Pazarı/ Amygdalia, Sarıgöl (to the south of Ostrovo/Vegoritida lake), Yenice-i Karasu (Genisea, Xanthi district) and Çağlayık/Dipotamos, Siroz/Serres and Timurhisar/Sidirokastro, Edirne/Adrianople and Gümülcine/Komotini.²⁴

The urgent task during the war was to provide Yürük contingents for combat. They had to be equipped with firearms (“tüfenk endgaz”). Most of them took part in driving back the Austrians, and in the subsequent combat operations, while some served in garrisons – for example, 300 men served in the Ada fortress on the Danube.²⁵ A sultanic order of 1695 addressed to Hasan Paşa regarding the military campaign in Hungary suggests that in some cases the number of volunteers exceeded the quotas:

22 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 150 (of 1690), p. 98; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 255–256.

23 Yürük *eşkinsis* from the area of Çirmen claim that they were *küreci* [miners] and vakıf reaya...; There has been a Yürük ocak in the kaza of Yenişehir Fener (in the area of Larissa in Thessaly) since old times, but some have died, others have scattered, and now they say that all of them are reaya...; Complaints of the population about violations in the registration of Yürüks in the kazas of Cuma Pazarı and Yenişehir Fener. Adhere to the principle that “the sons of Yürüks are Yürüks” (“Yürük oğlu Yürük”), see Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 141 (of 1689), 153, 158 (of 1691), pp. 92–106.

24 Ibid., Doc. 156 (of 1691), p. 102–103.

25 Ibid., Doc. 155 (of 1690), p. 102.

In Mora [the Peloponnese] there had to be 362 nefers [soldiers] of the Yürük asker [troops]... Up to 1,700 turned up [to enlist] and, in the early spring, 2,000 yiğitler [brave men] ... all are fit for war, selected and chosen, and armed with pairs of pistols and muskets...

Although such official formulas for the Yürüks and evlâd-i fâti-hâns were commonplace in the 17th–19th centuries, in this particular case the auxiliaries in question were experienced soldiers. The order explicitly notes that there were no untrained youths (“uşak,” “oğlan”) among them.²⁶

Thus in 1690/91, the Yürük auxiliaries in Rumelia were reorganized into a new formation, Evlâd-i Fâti-hân. This involved a number of reforms. The previous Yürük sancaks were abolished, and a unified command system was introduced. The number of local commanders was not strictly specified, but one of them was the commander-in-chief (*mir-i liva i Yürükân, bey*), usually a courtier of the sultan.²⁷ From the early 19th to the mid-19th centuries the Yürük bey resided in Salonica, from where he governed the affairs of the corps. M. E. Cousinery, the French consul in Salonica and vice-consul in Smyrna/Izmir in the 1770s–90s, notes that he was similar to the bey appointed as “protector” of the Anatolian Yürüks. He, too, was an Ottoman dignitary who was not of Yürük origin.²⁸ Next in rank were the *subaşı*s, who were personally chosen by the local *zabits* and were regarded as superior to the other *çeribaşı*s. Such more eminent *çeribaşı*s are mentioned in some of the mobilization orders cited here. A similar hierarchy among local commanders may have also existed earlier, in the 16th century. Both

26 Ibid., Doc. 162 (of 1695), p. 110–111.

27 A 1699 document on *berats* (diplomas) issued to *çeribaşı*s mentions the *zabit* Ibrahim Paşa, subordinate to Hasan Paşa, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâti-hân*, 313–315.

28 Cousinery, M. E. *Voyage dans la Macédoine* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1831), vol. 1, 195; Цветкова, Б. “За юруците в българските земи под турска власт,” *Подону* 10 (1976): 25; Leake, W. M. *Travels in Northern Greece* (London: J. Rodwell, 1835), vol. 3, 175. This is also noted by other West European sources in the 18th century (French consuls in Salonica, and others), see Eckert, G. “Die Jürüken in Zentral-Makedonien,” *Buletinul Institutului Român din Sofia* 1 (1942): 561–562.

subaşı and the çeribaşı were appointed by sultanic *berats* (diplomas) confirming the choice of the local commanders. Zaim and çeribaşı *yamaks* disappeared, but the command staff still had zeamets and timars. *Eşkıncis* received from their *yamaks* 50 *kuruş* (piasters) each upon mobilization, but now one in six *evlâd-i fâtiyhâns* went to serve in the army. In peacetime *eşkıncis* also paid the equivalent of the *bedel* tax, but they were charged 30 instead of 50 *kuruş* and the money went to the central treasury. All were exempt from *avarız*, *bedel-i nüzül*, *celepkешan-i ağnam* and other war-related extraordinary taxes, as well as from some fees such as *geçit bacı* (for passing through passes).²⁹

On the whole, these regulations regarding obligations and concessions remained in place until the beginning of the 19th century.³⁰ In the 1690s and early 1700s, part of the *Yürüks* was registered as *sekban*.³¹ Those were recruits who were supported by the other members of the organization, similarly to the *eşkıncis*.³² *Sekbans* also served as personal armed guards of çeribaşı and zabits.³³ They were recruited on a quota basis from among the *evlâd-i fâtiyhâns*, and this distinguished them from the *sekban* infantry units and *saruca* cavalry of provincial governors, which were often made up of impoverished young men. Along with the growing share of paid troops, they were a sort of counterbalance to the traditional contingents of the declining Janissaries and sipahis. At the same time, this

29 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 168 (of 1698), 116–117.

30 Ibid., Doc. 167, 168, 184, 190, 202; Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 30 and 33, pp. 251–256; Firman of Sultan Mahmud II from 1814, confirming the duties and privileges of *evlâd-i fâtiyhâns* based on the previous firmans – from 1777 (under Abdul Hamid I) and 1789 (under Selim III), see *Турски документи за македонската историја*, ed. П. Џамбазовски (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1955), vol. III, 59–61; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 255–317.

31 Ibid., 275–276.

32 Радушев, “Место вооруженных сил в структуре османской феодальной системы на Балканах,” 97–117; İnalçık, H. “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1700,” in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983), V, 283–337; İnalçık, H. “The Socio-political Effects of the Diffusion of Fire-Arms in the Middle East,” *ibid.*, IV, 195–217.

33 Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 26 (of 1709) and Doc. 30 (of 1715), p. 248, 252.

was one of the social factors for the numerous riots and rebellions in the late 16th and 17th centuries. In the Ottoman sources “Yürük” and “evlâd-i fâtiḥân” remain synonymous, and the invariable references to previous times (from the era of the conquest to the 16th century) are accompanied by laudatory formulas and clichés, such as is the new name of the corps itself.

As sheep-breeding remained the main livelihood of the Yürüks, evlâd-i fâtiḥâns were exempt from *ağnam* (sheep-tax) for up to 150 sheep and paid one akçe (asper) for every sheep above that number. This rate of sheep tax remained in force until the beginning of the 19th century, and the revenues went exclusively to the central treasury.³⁴

The following table presents data from the first systematic defter of *piyade nefers* (yamaks) and their *ağnam* of 1691.

TABLE 1

Eastern Thrace			
kaza/nahiye	nefers	kaza/nahiye	nefers
Çatalca	4	Hasköy ³⁵	83
Ereğli/Marmara Ereğlisi	2	Hayrabolu	62
Çorlu	50	Kırkklişe/Kırklareli	54
Vize	27	Hatun İli ³⁶	19
Saray	22	Edirne	572
Birgos/Lüleburgaz	65	Cisr-i Erkene/Uzunköprü	59
Rodosçuk/Tekirdağ	9	Malgara	26
Baba-i Atik/Babaeski	37	İpsala	53
		Silivri	16
Total: 1,160			

34 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiḥân*, 308; Hadžibegić, H. “Porez na sitnu stoku i korisćenje ispaša,” *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* VIII–IX (1958–1959): 79.

35 Present-day Hasköy north of Havsa, Edirne Province. In the defter: Havass-i Mahmud Paşa.

36 Between Karabunar/Grudovo and the northern hills of Mount Strandzha.

Upper Thrace			
kaza/nahiye	nefers	kaza/nahiye	nefers
Rus Kasrı/Rusokastro	44	Zağra-i Atik/Stara Zagora	171
Aydos/Aytos	17	Çirpan/Chirpan	75
Ahiyolu/Pomorie	19	Kazanlık	173
Karinabad/Karnobat	151	Karloğlu/Karlovo	51
Yenice-i Kızılağaç/Elhovo	14	Tatar Pazarı/Pazardzhik	174
Yanbolu/Yambol	100	Filibe/Plovdiv	264
İslimiye/Sliven	61	Uzuncova/Uzundzhovo ³⁷	199
Zağra-i Cedid/Nova Zagora	138	Kavak/Topolovgrad	8
Total: 1,659			
Western Thrace³⁸			
kaza/nahiye	nefers	kaza/nahiye	nefers
Sultan Yeri ³⁹	174	Ferecik/Feres	197
Makri/Potamos ⁴⁰	14	Gümülcine/Komotini	1154
Dimetoka/ Didymoteicho	13	Yenice-i Karasu/Genisea	232
Total: 1,784			
Northern Bulgaria			
kaza/nahiye	nefers	kaza/nahiye	nefers
Tirnova/Veliko Tarnovo	315	Lofça/Lovech	432
Ziştov/Svishtov	35	Hotalıç/Servi ⁴¹	44
Total: 826			

37 Haskovo district.

38 Including part of the Rhodopes.

39 Kaza situated between present-day Kardzhali and Momchilgrad in the Eastern Rhodopes.

40 West of Dedeağaç/Alexandroupolis, on the Aegean coast.

41 Kaza based in the present-day town of Sevlievo.

Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha			
kaza/nahiye	nefers	kaza/nahiye	nefers
Pravadi/Provadia	19	Çardak ⁴²	118
Yeni Pazar/Novi Pazar	27	Hezargrad/Razgrad	351
Hacıoğlu Pazarcık/Dobrich	56	Yergögü/Giurgiu ⁴³	13
Balçık/Balchik	9	Tuzluk ⁴⁴	819
Mangalia	25	Osman Pazarı/Omurtag	175
Babadağ	60	Eski Cuma/Targovishte	116
Hırsova/Hırşova	11	Şumnu/Shumen	222
Tekfurgölü/Techirghiol	8	Ruşçuk/Ruse	533
Silistre/Silistra	427		
Total: 2,989			
Eastern and Southeastern Macedonia			
kaza/nahiye	nefers	kaza/nahiye	nefers
Tikveş/Tikveş ⁴⁵	92	Kelemeriye/Kalamaria ⁴⁶	695
Radovişte/Radoviş ⁴⁷	68	Doyran ⁴⁸	630
İştib/Štip	85	Avrethisarı/Kukush/Kilkis ⁴⁹	608
Dupnice/Dupnitsa	18	Ustrumca/Strumica	56
Kavala	24	Drama	554

42 Kaza situated in the Bulgarian part of Dobrudzha, between Silistra, Dobrich, Ispirih, Kubrat and Tutrahan.

43 Opposite Ruse, one of the Ottoman outposts across the Danube. Nefers registered from the town itself.

44 Kaza situated between present-day Targovishte, Veliko Tarnovo, and Sliven.

45 Nefers registered from three local Yürük groups (*cemaats*) and one village. Out of 92, just three are present.

46 Nefers registered only from *cemaats*.

47 Nefers from eleven *mahalles* (hamlets) and one *cemaat*.

48 Nefers registered from four large *cemaats*: Gölbaşı Mahalleri Cemaatı with 25 *mahalles*; Kozlu Dere Cemaatı, 16 *mahalles*; Kara İlâslı Cemaatı, five *mahalles*; Hüseyinli Cemaatı, 12 *mahalles*.

49 Nefers registered from several *cemaats*.

Bereketlü ⁵⁰	60	Çağlayık ⁵¹	234
Timurhisarı/Sidirokastro	81	Pravişte/Eleftheroupoli	682
Selânik/Salonica/Thessaloniki ⁵²	60	Misivri/Mesimerion ⁵³	180
Bazargâh ⁵⁴	375	Siruz/Serres	482
Boğdan ⁵⁵	335	Karadağ ⁵⁶	607
Langaza ⁵⁷	495	Petriç/Petrich	51
Vardar-i Sagir ⁵⁸	36		
Total: 6,591			
Western and Southwestern Macedonia			
kaza/nahiye	nefers	kaza/nahiye	nefers
Yenice-i Vardar/Giannitsa	16	Eğri Bucak ⁵⁹	710
Vodine/ Voden/Edessa	51	Cuma Pazarı/Amygdalia	155
Karaferiye/Veroia	48	Çarşamba ⁶⁰	264
Total: 1,245			

50 Kaza located between the Gulf of Kavala, Pınardağ/Pangion, Çaldağ/Lekanis and Drama.

51 Nahiye in the kaza of Kavala, around the eponymous settlement, present-day Dipotamos.

52 Nefers registered from the city itself – “der nefis şehir-i Yürükân.”

53 In the present-day prefecture (nomos) of Pella.

54 Around lake Beşik/Volvi.

55 North of the Bogdanska mountain/Vertiskos.

56 In the area of Mavrovouni Mountain and Mount Krusha/Dysoron.

57 In the area of the eponymous lake north of Chalkidiki. Nowadays the town is called Langadas, and the lake Koroneia/Agios Vasileios. Nefers from five villages and thirteen *cemaats*. One of the *cemaats*, Osmanlı/Otmanli, later formed five *mahalles* of the same name, see Кънчов, В. *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, second ed. (Избрани произведения, vol. 2, София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1970), 469–471.

58 On the lower reaches of the river Vardar, northwest of Salonica. This defter contains a separate entry on the cemaat of Divane Yahşili, which fell into this nahiye.

59 To the south of Ostrovo/Vegoritida lake. Nefers from villages and *cemaats*.

60 In the basin of Serfice/Servia.

This wartime registration was not complete. It did not include a number of places for which there were mobilization orders – for example, in Thessaly and parts of Macedonia. The defter contains some discrepancies and missing figures regarding the number of registered evlâd-i fâtiyhâns. With few exceptions, the amounts of the collected *adet-i ağnam* are not indicated by place. The total figure for this tax, 10,552 akçes (at a rate of one akçe per sheep), refers to the number of sheep above the 150 exempt from tax. In some places, we find the usual note, “no sheep found,”⁶¹ while in others Christians, Muslims and Jews are included in the sheep tax collected from local evlâd-i fâtiyhâns, apparently being entitled to this privilege.⁶² Still, the total number of sheep even just of the evlâd-i fâtiyhâns registered in this defter is approximately 2,500,000 (16,582 nefers listed by the registrars, multiplied by 150, plus 10,247).⁶³

Of course, when it comes to flocks and to the Yürüks themselves, no officially recorded figures can be completely reliable. For example, in the kazas of Gümülcine and Yenice-i Karasu (that is, along the Aegean coast and part of the adjacent slopes of the Rhodope Mountains) in 1686, there were many places where the registrars could not find any Yürüks, and they managed to register 700 men in all. This was despite the fact that the enlistment of soldiers for the army in 1686 was conducted in November, when the shepherds and their flocks were in the lowlands. In the register of Hasan Paşa from 1691 there are a total of 1,386 yamaks from the two kazas mentioned above; considering that there were six yamaks for every eşkinci, there must have been another 231 eşkincis.⁶⁴

The registered 16,582 piyade nefers (yamaks) are grouped in 1,146 *hane*, which corresponds to the maximum size of the collective tax

61 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 262, 263.

62 105 akçes from Christians and Muslims who were not evlâd-i fâtiyhâns in the district of Sliven; 100 akçes from Muslims and 30 from Christians in Razgrad; 100 akçes from Christians and 20 from Jews in the city of Drama, see *ibid.*, 258, 267, 270.

63 A total of 355 akçes, collected from the above-mentioned places, have been subtracted from the total 10,552 akçes.

64 Грозданова, “Нови сведения за юруците в българските и някои съседни земи през XV–XVIII в.,” 19–20; Грозданова, “Към въпроса за юруците в българските и някои от съседните им земи през XV–XVIII в.,” 24–25, 29.

units (*avarız hane*) among the ordinary reaya in the 1690s – fifteen households.⁶⁵ If the real ratio was five to one, then those yamaks should correspond to 2,764 *eşkınci nefer*, mobilized soldiers. During the war against the Holy League, another registration was conducted – in 1697.⁶⁶ A sultanic order of the same year stipulates that the evlâd-i fâti-hâns descended from the tribes (“aşiret ve kabile”) that came from Anatolia to Rumelia during the holy war (“gaza ve cihad,” the Ottoman conquest) should be sent to Hungary. In the sancaks of Nikopol and Silistra there were 3,830 evlâd-i fâti-hâns, out of whom 639 infantrymen (“nefer-i eşkınci piyade”) were to be sent on military expeditions.⁶⁷ In another order, the total number of eşkıncis in Rumelia is set at 2,822.⁶⁸

In the course of the 1683–1699 war, the Ottomans tried to maintain a high mobilizational capacity of the Yürük auxiliary corps. The number of conscripted eşkıncis, sekbans as well as of enlisted yamaks varied, but was by no means much smaller than in the 1540s–80s. In the second half of the 16th century the eşkıncis who were to be sent on military or labour service usually numbered 1,200–1,500. However, they could increase to 6,000–8,000 if the reserves (*çatal*) were called up or even more if part of the yamaks was mobilized for labour or transportation service. As a whole, all data cited so far suggest that the wartime mobilizations in the 1680s–90s involved up to several thousand men.

After the reorganization of the previous ocaks, the Yürüks continued to serve as infantry and cavalry, in garrisons and in artillery transportation. This last is explicitly noted as a tradition from old times, and it is present in many of the general provisions on the status of evlâd-i fâti-hâns in sultanic firmans, court records, and other documents. Eşkıncis

65 See Грозданова, Е. “За данъчната единица хане в демографските проучвания,” *Исторически преглед* 3 (1972): 81–91; Later, two yamaks (piyade nefers) were counted as one *hane*, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâti-hân*, 307.

66 Ibid., 277–279 (Section regarding the kazas of Samokov, Gümülcine and Sultan Yeri).

67 Refik, *Anadolu’da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 167, pp. 114–116. The number of nefers (yamaks) approximately corresponds to that of those registered in Northern, Northeastern Bulgaria and Dobrudzha in 1690/91 (3,815 men).

68 Ibid., Doc. 168 (of 1698), pp. 116–117.

invariably took part in the 18th and early 19th-century wars with Venice, Austria, Russia, and Persia (1715–1718, 1743–1746, 1768–1774, 1787–1792, 1806–1812). According to two sultanic orders of 1716, evlâd-i fâtiḥâns with wagons were sent to Demir Kapu on the Danube (Đerdap/Portile de Fier) and from Niš to Vidin, and then to the fortress of Belgrade to serve as cannon-wagon men (“top arabacı”). Of them, 50 were killed or wounded, and ten did not present themselves for service.⁶⁹ In 1717, in addition to the available eşkincis, another 500 Yürük soldiers (ten *bayraks*, “flags” – units) had to go to war, and the judges of Lerin, Voden, and Bitola were ordered to keep track of them to make sure that none of them deserted.⁷⁰ A report of the Venetian consul in Salonica to the bailo (the chief diplomatic representative of the Venetian Republic at the Porte) from January 1743 says that the Yürük *bey* had to recruit 3,000 Yürüks and send them to Gallipoli and Asia. Janissaries and sipahis, who were also going to war (with the Persian Nadir Shah in Georgia, Eastern Anatolia, Kurdistan, and Iraq, 1743–1746), were constantly passing through Salonica.⁷¹ In 1733/4 evlâd-i fâtiḥâns from the districts of Tikveš and Bitola had to guard the fortress of Ağrıboz/Chalkida on the island of Euboea. In 1788, a total of 1,000 soldiers (“er nefer”) from the corps was sent to Vidin and Belgrade, and in 1799 a total of 1,500 was assigned to guard the fortress on the island of Corfu (after the joint Russian-Turkish conquest of the island from the French in March that year). A sultanic order of 1806 calls for 1,130 eşkincis from Tikveš district.⁷² In 1764 a total of 2,000 infantrymen (“piyade asker,” 40 *bayraks*) went on a military campaign in Georgia with the appropriate arms and equipment (“çadır ve çerçe” – tents), salaries for six months, and bonuses (“bahşiş”).⁷³ Another sultanic order, of 1769, deals with the capture and punishment of Yürüks from the garrison of Khotyn in the Podolia (Southern Ukraine). They had stolen money from the sal-

69 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 199, 200, pp. 154–155.

70 Matkovski, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 32 (of 1717), p. 255.

71 Matkovski, A. *Македонија во делата на странските патописци (1778–1795)* (Скопје: “Мисла”, 1991), 111.

72 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiḥân*, 340–341.

73 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 243 (of 1764), pp. 218–219.

aries (“ulufe”) and bonuses (“bahşiş”) of the army and had run away from the garrison, causing unrest among the others. The problem had to be dealt with by the judges of Bitola, Prilep, Lerin, and Ohrid, as well as by “the notables of the vilayet and the çeribaşıs of the Yürüks from those parts.”⁷⁴

The Porte kept track of the auxiliary corps, constantly reminding local authorities that they should not interfere in the affairs of the military organization and avoid violence or abuse of office when determining who belonged to the ordinary reaya and who was subject to service. It explicitly instructed them not to enlist other “new” members (from the reaya) in the military organization except those who were of Yürük origin, male descendants and relatives of the evlâd-i fâtiyhâns.⁷⁵

As can be expected, this rule was sometimes violated.⁷⁶ The frequently cited here court records of the kadı of Bitola from 1715 mention that some zabits and çeribaşıs, “together with numerous sek-bans,” were unlawfully collecting money, wheat and food provisions from the evlâd-i fâtiyhâns in peacetime, punishing them cruelly or even attacking them. They were also harassing the reaya “registered in the defters for other persons, thus driving the reaya to flee from its villages, about which there were countless complaints.”⁷⁷ In a number of those cases, the offenders were Yürüks who were not members of the corps. Since the practice of registering individuals by name disappeared in the 17th century, it is not clear whether, as in earlier times, some of the persons enlisted in the military organization were new converts to Islam – captives and manumitted slaves, hired shepherds and servants – as well as Gypsies, Tatars or others. There must have been such persons, considering the tax concessions, wars, insubordination and great mobility of the Yürüks themselves.⁷⁸

74 Matkovski, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 35 (of 1769), p. 255.

75 Ibid., Doc. 30 (of 1715), p. 254.

76 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 176 (of 1700/1), pp. 139–140.

77 Matkovski, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc 30, p. 252.

78 In 1702 a çeribaşı of evlâd-i fâtiyhâns reported that, contrary to orders, they were leaving their abodes in several kazas (including the kaza of Anchialo/Pomorie) and settling in the districts of Yambol, Stara Zagora, Nova Zagora and Uzundzhovo, see Грозданова, Е., & С. Андреев. “Османотурски документи за јужното Българско

Casualties on the battlefield, the growing crisis in the Ottoman Empire and its increasingly unsuccessful and unpopular military campaigns made part of the members of the corps prefer to register as ordinary reaya despite the more-or-less preserved privileges that stemmed from their status.⁷⁹ This meant that they had to take on the burden of paying extraordinary taxes, which had become the usual practice at the time. Defters and sultanic orders from the early 19th-century note evlâd-i fâtiyhân who had fled (moved elsewhere) or died (on the battlefield). That is why the number of nefers in the sancaks of Nikopol and Silistra (Northern, Northeastern Bulgaria, and Dobrudzha) decreased dramatically as compared to the 1690s:⁸⁰

TABLE 2

Kaza	1691	1697	1704
Pravadi/Provadiya	19	25	?
Yeni Pazarı/Novi Pazar	27	172	19
Hacıoğlu Pazarı/Dobrich	56	71	13
Balçık/Balchik	9	26	-
Mangalia	25	43	-
Babadağ	60	66	16
Hırsova/Hırşova	11	26	4
Tekfurgölü/Techirghiol	8	35	-
Silistre/Silistra	427	?	121
Çardak ⁸¹	118	147	31

Черноморие и прилежащия му район.” *Векове 6* (1980): 82; Грозданова, “Нови сведения за юруците в българските и някои съседни земи през XV–XVIII в.,” 21.

79 Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” *Doc. 30*, p. 252.

80 Based on Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 274–276, 283–285.

81 See bellow, note 42.

Hezargrad/Razgrad	351	348	54 ⁸²
Tuzluk ⁸³	819	?	115
Osman Pazarı/Omurtag	175	395	54
Eski Cuma/Targovishte	116	160	56
Şumnu/Shumen	222	291	26
Ruşçuk/Ruse	533	654	195
Tirnova/Veliko Tarnovo	315	957	10
Lofça/Lovech	432	372	162
Ziştoy/Svishtov	35	39	11
Hotalıç/Sevlievo	44	54	164
İvraca/Vratsa	?	6	8
Berkofça/Berkovitsa	?	41	26

As in the 16th century, the comparison between different sources and data can hardly give us an idea about the real number of Yürüks in the Balkans. Although the wars and concomitant disasters took their toll, one cannot speak of an overall catastrophic decrease even in the number of members of the evlâd-i fâtiyhân corps. To some extent, the changes in the figures reflect the usual problems of the Ottoman administration and of the command staff. Against the background of the overall decrease in Northern, Northeastern Bulgaria and especially in Dobrudzha, in 1704 there was an increase in the number of nefers in the district of Sevlievo (contrary to the drastic decrease in, for instance, the neighboring district of Veliko Tarnovo). In 1705 the authorities established that many of the evlâd-i fâtiyhâns registered in the kaza of Plovdiv in 1697 had fled, migrated to other places, died or been killed in war. Others claimed they

82 A defter of 1702 lists 202 nefers in this kaza, see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 315–316.

83 See bellow, note 44

were not Yürüks and were not paying *bedel*, and in some places, there were three instead of five persons per eşkinci.⁸⁴ Still, in 1707 the newly introduced measures providing for enlisting sons, brothers, relatives and Yürüks who had previously been “left out of the defter” obviously proved effective. The number of nefers registered in 1707 was 580 in the kaza of Plovdiv, 117 in the kaza of Stara Zagora, 126 in the kaza of Chirpan, and 180 in the kaza of Kazanlak.⁸⁵ For comparison, in 1691 their number was 264 (including 15 from the city of Plovdiv), 171 (31 from the city of Stara Zagora), 75 (14 from the town of Chirpan), and 173 (seven from the town of Kazanlak) respectively.⁸⁶ It is another matter how many of them were present and performed their duties.

At the beginning of the 1715–1718 war, when Morea was seized from the Venetians but there were still battles to be fought with the Austrians, the quota for piyades (yamaks) in Western Thrace, Macedonia and part of Thessaly was set at 13,401, and for eşkincis at 2,238.5.⁸⁷ In June 1716 out of a total of 2,856.5 eşkincis and 17,139 nefers from Macedonia, and part of Western Thrace, 930.5 and 5,583 respectively, were the quota for the army.⁸⁸ As a whole, the records show that there the general and local mobilization quotas in the period between 1716 and 1806 were comparatively large.

In some instances, corruption among the commanders was also a reason for leaving the corps. For example, in 1709 evlâd-i fâtiyhân from the Bitola district were permitted to become reaya because the local çeribaşı mistreated them.⁸⁹ Other reasons included a commitment of punishable offenses and crimes. The records mention cases in which Yürüks who had committed such offenses went on to enlist as Janissaries and were protected by their ağas.⁹⁰ The major problems continued

84 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 309–312.

85 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 190, p. 139–140.

86 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 259–260.

87 Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 30 (November 1715), pp. 251–254.

88 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 307–308.

89 Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 26–29, pp. 248–251.

90 *Ibid.*, Doc. 33 (1728), p. 256.

to come from evlâd-i fâtiḥâns hiding in timar and other landholdings, on deserted land (*mevad*),⁹¹ among the reaya, or enlisting as Janissaries, topçu (cannoneers), *cebeci* (armorers attached to a special military corps), etc.⁹² In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, leaving the evlâd-i fâtiḥân status was again driven by a desire to evade all taxes and duties, as were the frequently-mentioned migrations from previous villages and places. The Yürüks who in the 1690s wintered their flocks in the environs of the village of Balcılar (present-day Medovo, northwest of Chirpan, at the foothills of Sarnena Gora) are a typical example. They refused to pay any taxes whatsoever, claiming that they were paying taxes to one Mustafa who had a timar in the village of Aksakal, also known as Kulaguzca (unidentified). The authorities checked and found that there was no connection between the Yürüks and the sipahi in question.⁹³ The evlâd-i fâtiḥâns often claimed they were not on the defter, refused to pay the *bedel* tax provided for by law, could not be found, or their relatives refused to enlist as eşkincis or piyades. In other cases, they did not want to become ordinary reaya and were eager to keep their status and privileges, taking on the burden of military service. In 1715 Yürüks who had registered as reaya came into conflict with “the true reaya” over a payment of taxes and requested that their previous status of evlâd-i fâtiḥâns be restored.⁹⁴

Similar conflicts arose over the *celepkeşan-i aḡnam* tax, that is, the monetary equivalent of a definite number of sheep and goats collected for the central treasury (different from the frequently mentioned here sheep tax – *adet-i aḡnam*).⁹⁵ The members of the corps were exempt

91 Evlâd-i fâtiḥâns had become reaya on *mevad* lands (deserted or unfarmable land; often, winter pastures), see Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 175 (of 1700/1), pp. 122–123.

92 Ibid., Doc. 174 (of 1700/1), p. 122; Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 30 (of 1715), 33 (of 1728), 34 (of 1728), pp. 251–257.

93 Андреев, Ст. & Е. Грозданова, “Българските и съседните им земи според “Книгата на жалбите” от 1675 г.,” *Известия на Народната библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методиј”*, XXII, 28 (1994): 204.

94 Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 30, p. 253.

95 This tax, introduced in the early 17th century, replaced the previous system of mandatory supplies of sheep and goats. For its rates and ways of collection until the early 19th century, see Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев, *Джелепкешаните в българските*

from this tax, but in certain cases, it was levied upon them as a fixed lump sum (*maktu*). This is what happened in 1716, 1748 and 1750 in the kazas of Salonica, Avrethisarı/Kukush/Kilkis, Voden/Edessa, Negush,⁹⁶ Ber/Veroia and Yenice-i Vardar/Giannitsa. This form of taxation was also a sort of privilege, although in 1754 the total lump sum was doubled. The evlâd-i fâtiyhâns refused to pay this tax and tried to shift it onto the reaya. After numerous quarrels, in 1754 Yürük auxiliaries from 27 villages in the *nahiye* of Pazargâh, 37 in Kalamaria, 16 in Langaza, 13 in Boğdan (areas on and to the north of the Chalkidiki peninsula) and seven in Vardar-i Sagir (on the lower reaches of the river) had to pay their share of celepkeşan-i ağnam together with the reaya from a total of 96 villages and several *çiftliks* (estates) in the nahiyes of Vardar-i Kebir, Vardar-i Sagir and Langaza.⁹⁷ In other instances, members of the corpse continued to seize by force winter or summer pastures on village lands.⁹⁸

From the point of view of the Ottoman chancery, the ornately titled evlâd-i fâtiyhâns remained too inclined towards insubordination.⁹⁹ Although they were supposed to persecute bandits, they obviously often became such themselves.¹⁰⁰ A sultanic order of 1748 to the kadıs of Bitola, Lerin/Florina, and Prilep reads as follows:

и съседните им земи през XVI–XVIII век (по документи от наши и чужди архиви) (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, 1998), 142–192.

96 The present-day town of Naousa in Southern Macedonia, Greece.

97 Ibid., 170–171, 179.

98 Грозданова, Е. & Ст. Андреев. “Категории население със специални задължения и статут – правна норма от XVI в. и реална практика,” in *Българският шестнадесети век. Сборник с доклади за българската обща и културна история през XVI в.*, edited by Б. Христова (София: Народна библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, 1996), 43.

99 Матковски, “Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија,” Doc. 24 (of 1690), p. 247.

100 Sultanic firman of 1724 on persecution of the bandit Kara Velioğlu. A *kapıcı kethüda* (personal representative of provincial governors before the Sublime Porte) was sent for the purpose; the firman is addressed to “the kadıs of Sarıgöl, Manastır, Lerin and Ostrovo to all çeribaşıs of the Yürüks to all vilayet *ayans* (notables), *iş erleri* [competent men], zabits, and others from those parts,” see Матковски, А. *Турски извори за ајдутството и арамиството во Македонија* (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1973), vol. III, Скопје, 185.

Your kazas are quite far away from Salonica, therefore if anyone of the evlâd-i fâtihâns turns against the authorities and becomes a bandit, it would not be easy to catch him and investigate his criminal acts according to the law. Bearing all this in mind, as well as the need to appoint an able person as their representative ... Elhac Ali Ağa of Manastır [Bitola] is appointed... If any of the evlâd-i fâtihâns from the kazas of Manastır, Lerin [Florina] and Prilep, which are under your administration, turn against the authorities and become bandits, you must catch them immediately and put them on trial ... And you, Elhac Ali Ağa, must constantly deal with the said bandits from those parts according to Shari'a law. (Signed by the zabıt of the Evlâd-i Fâtihân, Ahmed)¹⁰¹

Another episode, this time from *Zhitie i stradanie greshnago Sofroniya* (The Life and Suffering of the Sinful Sofronii), reveals how justice was meted out in some cases at the end of the 18th century. In 1792, when he had a parish in Karnobat, and 12 villages from the eparchy of Anchialo in Southeastern Bulgaria, Sofronii Vrachanski (Sofronii of Vratsa), a prominent Bulgarian writer, and Orthodox bishop was imprisoned by the local governor Serbezoğlu. With him he had got into trouble in the past because of the sale of sheep. His life was saved after a plea from the local Christians and the mother of Serbezoğlu:

The men fell to their knees in front of one of his favourite men and the women fell to their knees in front of his mother, and his mother pleaded with him that he give me to her so that he would not offend the Christians by killing me: and with their fervent pleas they saved me from that cruel death. But since he had sworn to kill me, that day he impaled a Yuruk on a pole in my stead because the man was a murderer, while the fine they had taken from him was taken from me, too.¹⁰²

101 Ibid., vol. IV, 1979, 107.

102 Cited from Софроний Врачански, *Житие и страдание грешнаго Софрония* (София: "Български писател", 1981), 29.

Yürük auxiliaries are also mentioned in an episode from the turbulent times of the Kırçalı disturbances and the rebellions of the *ayans* (provincial notables and chieftains). In the autumn of 1791 evlâd-i fâtiyhâns led by Ali Paşa, together with loyal ayans and local detachments (“eyaletlü”) recruited from the districts of Zihna/Nea Zihni and Salonica, were sent to Northern Bulgaria. They had to fight against İsmail Tristeniklioğlu and Çingiz Mehmed Giray (a Ruse ayan from the Giray dynasty of Crimean Tatar khans).¹⁰³

103 Мутафчиева, В. *Кърджалийско време* (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1977), 82.

II. NEW REFORMS

In the 18th century, the *bedel* tax collected from *piyade* nefers (*yamaks*) was used to pay the salaries of *eşkıncis* who also received *bahşiş* (money from the treasury as a supplement to their wages).¹⁰⁴ The *evlâd-i fâtiyhâns* serving in garrisons received food.¹⁰⁵ At the beginning of the 19th century, the members of the corps were exempted from a number of regular and extraordinary taxes.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, the tax-farming system (*iltizam*), including lifetime tax farms (*malikâne*),¹⁰⁷ became a means of managing the finances of the corps. It inevitably led to corruption and losses for the organization and the state. An 1814 firman of Sultan Mahmud II on the duties and rights of the members of the *Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân* mentions that the dignitary Seyyid Selim Bey, *kapıcıbaşı* (head of the palace doorkeepers) and *miraHOR* (master of the sultan's stables), was a co-holder of a *malikâne* collecting the main source of revenue, the *bedel* tax. According to the firman, the authorities had found violations of the status of the *evlâd-i fâtiyhâns*. Extraordinary taxes had been levied upon them unlawfully, and they had been asked for money for various local

104 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 243 (of 1764), p. 219; Матковски, "Турски извори за Јуруците во Македонија," Doc. 35 (of 1769), p. 255; According to a list of expenditures of the district of Bitola from 1809, two *Yürük* standard-bearers ("Yürük alemdar", lower rank commanders) received 500 and 87 *kuruş* each, respectively, see *Турски документи за македонската историја*, ed. П. Џамбазовски (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1955), vol. III, 23.

105 Refik, *Anadolu'da Türk Aşiretleri*, Doc. 199 (of 1716), p. 154.

106 Such as *hane-i avarız*, *bedel-i nüzül* (collected mostly in kind, and occasionally in cash), *bedel-i sürsat* (wartime in-kind levy), *bedel-i beldar* (cash levy in lieu of the obligation to dig trenches), *celepkeşan-i ağnam*, *araba* (supply of wagons), *deve* (supply of camels) *zahire mubayası* (provision of foodstuffs), and other (*tekâlif-i örfiye ve şakka*), see *Турски документи за македонската историја*, vol. III, 59–61.

107 See Yücel, Y. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Desantralizasyona (Adem-i merkeziyet) Dair Genel Gözlemler," *Bulleten XXXVIII*, 42 (1974): 657–708; Мейер, М. *Османская империя в XVIII веке. Черты структурного кризиса* (Москва: "Наука", 1991), 22–24, 74–81; Радушев, Е. *Аграрните институции в Османската империя през XVII–XVIII век* (София: Академично издателство "Марин Дринов", 1995), 104–132.

expenditures, including by force. At that, their relatives were apparently being intimidated, as members of the organization had been imprisoned and chained. Those acts were committed with the aim of enriching “the ayans, powerful people, and the other executive bodies in the kazas.”¹⁰⁸ According to the royal decree (*hatt-ı hümayun*) on the reorganization of the Evlâd-i Fâtihân from 1828, the bedel tax was farmed out as malikâne to Yusuf Paşa from Serres, Sırrı Selim Paşa, former governor of Bosnia, and the sultan’s kapıcıbaşı Ahmed Tevfik Bey. This had completely upset the financial order of the corps.¹⁰⁹ Despite this, Ahmed Tevfik Bey was appointed as acting *zabit* upon the reorganization of the corps. The document in question also mentions that the *kırserdars* (local police chiefs), who were supposed to persecute bandits, were moving around the settlements of evlâd-i fâtihâns and committing evil deeds “against the poor reaya.”¹¹⁰

Owing to the crisis of the timar system, at the beginning of the 19th century (and obviously earlier, too) *zabits* and *çeribaşıs* supported themselves to some extent from the collection of the bedel tax as a fixed lump sum (*maktu*). They were the only ones authorized to collect it for the treasury,¹¹¹ and their salaries and bonuses came from the bedel tax revenues.¹¹² The formulation, “the *çeribaşıs* and the other *zabits*,” in the above-mentioned document of 1828 suggests that except for the chief bey (*zabit*) who was appointed by the Porte, the hierarchy of the other military commanders was tentative.¹¹³ It was a matter of position, authority, wealth, and post. Some

108 The measures which the local judges had to take provided for imprisonment and exile to distant places, see *Турски документи за македонската историја*, vol. III, 60.

109 *Турски документи за македонската историја*, vol. V, 23; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 336–338.

110 *Ibid.*, 338.

111 Firman of Sultan Mahmud II from 1814, *Турски документи за македонската историја*, vol. III, 23; Firman of Mahmud II exempting evlâd-i fâtihâns from a levy in the form of provisions for the army operating in Morea, 1824, *ibid.*, vol. IV, 92.

112 According to the *hatt-i hümayun* of 1828, in 1727 *çeribaşıs* had “salaries and revenues” (“maaş ve avaidler”), see Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 339.

113 According to G. Hassel, by 1820 there were 24 sancaks, 914 *zeamets*, 8,350

çeribaşıs had control and command powers over a single kaza, and others over several kazas.¹¹⁴ For example, a February 1808 firman of sultan Selim III on the replacement of the çeribaşı of the evlâd-i fâtiyhâns from the kazas of Bitola, Prilep, Lerin, Eğribucak and Cuma Pazarı, states that this post had previously been held by the former *kaymakam* (head of the district) of Bitola, Osman Bey. Later, he was exiled to the island of Tenedos and killed. He was replaced by one Himmet, and then by Ali Bey. The latter turned out to be unsuitable and unwanted by “all members of the said taife [group].” On a motion from the other çeribaşıs and with the consent of the *mukataa* holders,¹¹⁵ Himmet was reappointed.¹¹⁶ In this and other cases, those concerned insisted on observing the rule whereby çeribaşıs must not be outsiders, that is, that they had to come from the Yürük community. The said Himmet had been chosen by “the notable citizens of Bitola and by the members of the Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân, as he was proficient in military affairs.” It is again explicitly noted that only the military commanders of the evlâd-i fâtiyhâns were authorized to judge, punish, and govern them.¹¹⁷

After the abolition of the Janissary corps (1826), the central government gradually modernized the army. Faced with the threat of war with the European powers because of the Greek Uprising of 1821, Sultan Mahmud II and his associates did not immediately disband the sipahi cavalry although its commanders had to receive salaries above the sums provided by their timars. The reorganization of sipahis into regiments was accompanied by confiscation of the timars of those who were unable to service when called.¹¹⁸ Similarly to the other traditional military structures, the Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân corps

timars, and seven Yürük beys (Jürükbegen), cited in Михов, Н. *Населението на Турция и България през XVIII и XIX век. Библиографски изследвания със статистични и етнографски данни* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1915), vol. I, 133.

114 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 328–329.

115 That is, the *bedel* tax farm holders.

116 *Турски документи за македонската историја*, vol. II, Скопје, 61.

117 *Ibid.*, vol. III, 60; vol. IV, 91.

118 Shaw, St. J., and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2, 26–27.

was an anachronism on the eve of the Tanzimat, the period of modernizing reforms. In 1806 William M. Leake, who was quite well-versed in Ottoman military matters, wrote in his journal that the troops of “one of the most military provinces in the empire,” Macedonia, consisted of Janissaries, sipahis (“Turkish cavalry”), Yürüks, and Albanians. All the Yürüks and Janissaries had

pleaded the insufficiency of their force for their own defence [...] The Albanians justly hold both Janissaries and Yürüks cheap in comparison of themselves; but they have a considerable respect for the Turkish cavalry.¹¹⁹

The state of the Yürük auxiliaries was also judged to be unsatisfactory by the reformer sultan and his entourage. Evlâd-i fâtiyhâns took part in military operations against the Greek rebels,¹²⁰ and then, in March 1828, the corps was reorganized.

Only some of the Yürüks were recruited, and the quota had to be filled by former evlâd-i fâtiyhâns, regardless of whether they were eşkincis or yamaks, from the “kazas and settlements” or from “some çiftliks [estates] where they had settled temporarily.”¹²¹ Their uniform and arms were those of the new regular army built in the 1826–1830 period and called *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye* (“Victorious Troops of Muhammad”),¹²² and they were considered to be part of it. The *malikânes* were abolished, and the budget of the

119 Leake, W. M. *Travels in Northern Greece* (London: J. Rodwell, 1835), vol. III, 257.

120 Order of the *vali* (governor) of Rumelia on mobilization of evlâd-i fâtiyhâns in the army of Hurşid Paşa, April 1821. A total of 3,000 soldiers from the corps had to be sent to Trikala and Larissa, and on to Morea. The order is addressed to the *kapıcıbaşı* of the sultan and Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân commander-in-chief Yusuf Bey, and to the “ağa fâtiyhâns” (“senior fâtiyhâns”, commanders); there were also 3,000 evlâd-i fâtiyhâns in the army operating in Morea in 1824 (according to a firman of Mahmud II of February 1824), see *Турски документи за македонската историја*, vol. IV, 60, 90.

121 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 338.

122 Димитров, С. *Султан Махмуд II и краят на еничарите* (София: “Седем дни”, 1993), 245–255.

corps was centralized in the financial institution *Mukataat Hazinesi* (Tax-Farm Treasury), created to support the new army. Four infantry battalions (*tabur*) were established. Their structure was similar to that of the Asakir-i Mansure army. Each battalion was commanded by a *binbaşı* (“chief of a thousand,” major) chosen from among the previous *çeribaşıs*. Next came one *sağ kol ağa*, one *sol kol ağa* (commanders of the right and the left wing), eight *yüzbaşı* (“chief of a hundred,” captain), 16 *mülâzim* (lieutenants), 32 *çavuş* (sergeants) and 64 *onbaşı* (“chief of ten,” corporal). In addition to them, there were a standard-bearer, drummers headed by a *çavuş* and an *onbaşı*, *baltacı* (“axmen” performing various auxiliary functions), water-carriers, scribes, and imams; thus, out of a total of 814 men in each battalion, 600 were ordinary soldiers. They had to be aged between 15 and 40, and were trained in modern warfare. The battalions had orderlies (appointed from among the soldiers), and were assigned a doctor and surgeon from the sultan’s hospital, food rations, and officers’ pensions. They were expected to supply their own uniforms that, however, had to be the same as those of the new army, while the state supplied weapons and other equipment. The commander-in-chief, Ahmed Tevfik Bey, was assigned an annual salary of 40,000 *kuruş*, while the monthly wage was set at 750 *kuruş* for a *binbaşı*, up to 20 *kuruş* for an *onbaşı*, and 15 *kuruş* for ordinary soldiers. As in previous times, punishments – reprimand, whipping, and death – could be administered only by officers from the battalions.¹²³ Members of the corps also received bonuses (*bahşiş*).¹²⁴ The 1.2 million *kuruş* a year needed to support the total of 3,256 soldiers and commanders in those battalions were obtained not just from non-serving *evlâd-i fâtiyhân*s and their relatives, but also from the neighbouring *reaya* in the respective areas and places, including, in some cases, local non-Muslims.¹²⁵ For example, in 1824 the *vali* (governor) of Rumelia demanded food supplies for the

123 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 255–256, 336–339; *Турски документи за македонската историја*, vol. V, 23–29.

124 According to an 1839 *deFTER* for the expenditures of the Red Kışla (barracks) in Bitola, *ibid.*, vol. V, 135.

125 Shaw, St. J., and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2, 27.

Ottoman army fighting against the Greek rebels. Issued on this occasion, a firman of the sultan ordered the judges of Radoviš, Štip, Tikveš and Dojran, “together with the other authorities in the kazas,” to exercise control. They had to make sure that this wartime levy was imposed on the reaya, including on those claiming to be evlâd-i fâti-hâns, but not on the exempted members of the corps, part of whom were in the army operating in Morea.¹²⁶ That all soldiers in these battalions were Yürüks is evident in all cited documents. In the mid-/second half of the 19th century, the Yürüks themselves were still claiming that they were divided into “Koniars” and “fatihans,”¹²⁷ while at the end of the 19th century, those in Macedonia associated the “fatihanlık” (fâti-hân status, a synonym of “Yürüklük”) with the era of the Ottoman conquest and their migration into these lands.¹²⁸

The small privileges provided by the military service, however, went hand in hand with some measures that were unpopular among the Yürüks. The military reforms were accompanied by the introduction of a tithe (*ondalık*) on sheep and goats, which were purchased at state-regulated low prices. This applied only to Rumelia, and was designed to supply sheep and goats for the new army.¹²⁹ Mandatory

126 *Турски документи за македонската историја*, vol. IV, 91–92.

127 See Tuma von Waldkampff, A. *Griechenland, Makedonien und Süd-Albanien, oder: Die südliche Balkan-halbinsel. Militärgeographisch, statistisch und kriegshistorisch Dargestellt* (second ed., Leipzig: Zuckschwerdt, 1897), 219–220; von Hahn, J. G. *Reise durch die Gebiete des Drin und Wardar* (Wien: Kaiserl.-Königl. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1869), vol. II, 261.

128 Z. (anonymous author), “Два санджака от Източна Македония,” *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество* VII, 36 (1889): 850.

129 *Hatt-i hümayun* on the reorganization of the Evlâd-i Fâti-hân from 1828, see *Турски документи за македонската историја*, vol. V, 27; Кендерова, С. “Османски регистър за деветъка от овцете в Пазарджишко през средата на XIX в.,” *Родопи* 1 (1977): 15–19; Дорев, П. *Документи из турските държавни архиви*, част I (1564–1872) (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1940), 61, 121–145, 259–288, 333–370. In 1842 the *ondalık* was abolished and a unified *resm-i aġnam* of five or six kuruş per head (where lambs were again counted together with sheep) was introduced on the whole territory of the empire, see Hadžibegić, H. “Porez na sitnu stoku i korisćenje ispaša,” 76. See also Беров, Л. “Ролята на задължителните държавни доставки в българските земи XV–XIX в.,” in *Из историята на търговията в българските земи през XV–XIX*

supplies of sheep were required as early as from the beginning of the 19th century onwards, without exemption for the Yürüks, be they evlâd-i fâtiyhâns or not.¹³⁰ This requirement met with resistance from the Yürüks, in the form of refusal to deliver the necessary number of sheep and goats or its cash equivalent, hiding animals from tax officials, and insubordination against the authorities. For example, an ordinance of the governor of Rumelia from 1817 notes that evlâd-i fâtiyhâns and Yürüks were refusing to supply sheep for two years now, claiming that they were exempt. The *kapıcıbaşı* of the sultan and *kaymakam* of Bitola, İbrahim Ağa (probably *zabit* at the time), had to take measures together with the *voyvoda*, the *kadı*, the *ayans*, and other local notables.¹³¹ According to an 1815 firman of Mahmud II addressed to the *kadı* of Bitola, the Yürüks from this *kaza* were the only ones who had refused to provide their quota of sheep, declaring arrogantly: “Even if a royal firman arrives, we shall not deliver [sheep].” There were similar cases in 1824, too.¹³²

When it came to resolving various problems, and especially problems with supplies and recruitment of men for the new battalions after 1828, the central government relied upon the former *zabits* and *çeribaşıs* in the places concerned. The ex-commanders from the old organization who were no longer serving as officers received a lifetime allowance of 700 *kuruş* per month, but probably some of them continued to be in the reserve of the command staff appointed by the war ministry. The Yürüks also formed something like police groups in “their” areas, headed by *kır zabits*, and Yürük officers had to operate in partnership with ex-*çeribaşıs* outside of the battalions.¹³³

v., eds. В. Василев and Н. Жечев (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1978), 123–153.

130 This also applied to *derbendcis* (pass-guards), *voynuks*, *köprücüs* (bridge keepers), *doğancıs* (falconers), and others, see *Турски документи за македонската историја*, vol. V, 40 (Firman of Mahmud II from 1829 on collection of *adet-i ağnam* from the *kazas* of the Samokov *kol* (“wing,” side).

131 Ibid., vol. IV, 24–25.

132 Ibid., vol. III, 78; Петров, П., & М. Мюсюмов, eds. *Дружни и единни през вековете. Сборник от исторически документи и спомени за турското население* (София: Издателство на БКП, 1966), 35–36.

133 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 338–339; *Турски*

Although they were considered to be part of the Asakir-i Mansure army, the evlâd-i fâtiyhâns were not regular troops and they were mobilized only when necessary. In its new form, the corps took part in the 1828–1829 Russo-Turkish War.¹³⁴ In 1846 the Yürük military organization was finally dissolved, and its members became subject to the generally valid regime of taxation and conscription.¹³⁵

документи за македонската историја, vol. V, 24, 28.

134 Shaw, St. J., and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 2, 27.

135 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân*, 256.

III. BALKAN “YÜRÜKLÜKS”

The sources for evlâd-i fâtiyhâns from the late 17th and early 18th centuries cover the previous main areas of the old Yürük corps. By the beginning of the 19th century, the geographical perimeter of the military organization had become significantly narrower. As a whole, the Ottoman and West European sources on Yürüks are mostly about Macedonia and the Aegean region. The Yürük bey resided in Salonica, while all documents from the 1730s to the 1830s cited so far, which mention administrative units, or settlements, refer to:

“The valley of the Vardar”; “The kadılık [judicial district] of Manastır [Bitola]”; “...the Selânîk [Salonika], Yenice-i Vardar [Giannitsa], Avrethisarı [Kukush/Kilkis], Siruz [Serres], Eğri Bucak [to the south of Cuma Pazarı], Doyran, Cuma Pazarı [Amygdalia], Pravişte [Eleftheroupoli], Tikveş, and the other twenty-five kazas inhabited by the said [evlâd-i fâtiyhâns]”; “the kazas of Manastır, Pirlipe [Prilep], Lerin [Florina], Eğri Bucak and Cuma Pazarı”; “the kazas of Radoviş, İştib [Štip], Doyran and Tikveş”; “Doyran, Tikveş, Radomir, Ustrumca [Strumica], and other kazas of the Samokov *kol* [“wing,” side],” and so on.

In 1828 the former Yürük çeribaşıs of the kazas of Tikveş, Doyran, Karadağ [in the area of Mavrovouni Mountain and Mount Kru-sha/Dysoron], and Avrethisarı were appointed as commanders of the four Evlâd-i Fâtiyhân battalions.¹³⁶ The West European observations on current or former military service of Yürüks are also primarily about areas and places in Macedonia and Eastern Thessaly.¹³⁷ In the 19th and first two decades of the 20th century the areas with a more compact population of Yürüks (“Koniars”) were above all in those two geographical regions.¹³⁸ There are quite a few men-

136 Ibid., 339.

137 Cousinery, M. E. *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, vol. I, 14; Falmerayer, I. F. *Fragmente aus dem Orient* (Stuttgart–Tübingen, 1845), vol. II, 223, 232–233; Матковски, А. *Македонија во делата на странските патописци (1796–1826)* (Скопје: “Мисла”, 1991), 76.

138 Кънчов, В. *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*; Яранов, Д. *Македонија*

tions of Yürüks in the Rhodope mountains and along the adjacent Aegean coast.¹³⁹ There were local groups of villages and hamlets, single settlements or nomadic groups in a number of other areas: the Strandzha and Sredna Gora mountains, the Upper Thracian Valley,¹⁴⁰ the district of Kotel in the Eastern Stara Planina,¹⁴¹ and in Southwestern Bulgaria.¹⁴² According to William M. Leake, at the beginning of the 19th century the principal abodes of the Yürüks were in the districts of Komotini, Drama, Nevrokop, Serres, Strumica, Radoviš, Tikveš and Karadağ/Mavrovouni.¹⁴³

In most cases, however, the Yürüks were not in the focus of researchers or travellers (“tourists”) although they were constantly distinguished against the background of the Muslim population of European Turkey. In addition to the Greeks and the other Christian peoples, the groups that were of political, statistical and “civilizational” significance were the Muslims as a whole, the Turks, the Albanians, and the Bosnians. The contacts with and views about them inevitably reflected the own stereotypes and prejudices, social status

като природно и стопанско цяло (София: “Художник”, 1945); Веркович, С. *Топографическо-этнографический очерк Македонии* (Санкт-Петербург: Военная типография, 1889); Barth, K. *Reise durch das Innere der europäischen Türkei im Herbst 1862* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1864), 67–131; Philippson, A. *Thessalien und Epirus. Reisen und Forschungen im nordlichen Griechenland* (Berlin: W. H. Köhl, 1897), 61–62.

139 Михов, Н. *Населението на Турция и България през XVIII и XIX век. Библиографски изследвания със статистични и етнографски данни* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките), vol. I (1915), 220; vol. III (1929), 33, 59, 71; vol. V (1969), 65; Struck, A. *Makedonische Fahrten*, vol. 1, *Chalkidike* (Wien–Leipzig: A. Hartleben, 1907), 33.

140 Захариев, С. *Географико-Историко-Статистическо описание на Татар-Пазарджишката кааза* (Виена: Печатница на Л. Соммер и С-ие, 1870), 38, 73–74; *Пазарджик и Пазарджишко. Историко-географски преглед* (София: Профиздат, 1969).

141 “Ticha Yürüks” (named after the eponymous river Ticha/Kamchiya) are mentioned here during the 1828–1829 Russo-Turkish War, see Киров, Г. “Летописът на Женда Вичов от Котел,” *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина* XII (1895): 365–366; see also Раковски, Г. С. *Съчинения в четири тома*, ed. К. Топалов (София: “Български писател”, 1983), vol. 3, 46.

142 See Chapter Four.

143 “Gumertzina, Drama, Nevrokopo, Serres, Strumitza, Radhovitz, Tikfis, Karadagh,” see Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 175.

and occupation, personal preferences and knowledge of researchers and travellers.¹⁴⁴

With some exceptions, most of the evidence about “Yürüks” and “Koniars” in the 19th and early 20th centuries consists of brief mentions.¹⁴⁵ The travel accounts that mention Yürüks are based on observations and information acquired from the surrounding population and deemed to be noteworthy. Contacts in settlements near the major or more significant highways, mountain passes, in market-places, are mentioned in passing.¹⁴⁶ Here are some typical examples:

Louis-Auguste Félix de Beaujour, the French consul in Salonica in the 1790s, describes the road from the valleys of the rivers Struma and Mesta to the river Arda and across the Rhodope mountains (that is, Serres – Drama – Buk/Paranesti – Rudozem – Ardino – Kardzhali):

This road, which is used only by caravans, runs across a harsh, wooded land which, however, is rich in iron ore mines; the population there is very sparse and scattered in separate hamlets, but it is very militant and consists almost entirely of peasants or Turkish shepherds who came from Asia Minor and are known as Yürüks.¹⁴⁷

144 Todorova, M. *Imagining the Balkans* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

145 Viquesnel, A. *Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe. Description physique et géologique de la Thrace*. Paris: Bertrand, 1868. Vol. I, 21, 46; Eliot, Ch. *Turkey in Europe* (New York: Barnes&Noble, 1965), 99 (First ed. 1900); Schultze-Jena, L. *Makedonien. Landschafts- und Kulturbilder* (Jena: Gustav Fischer Verlag, 1927), 38–39; See Peifuss, M. “Die Balkantürken im Lichte der österreichischen Balkanforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları (The Journal of Ottoman Studies)* 4 (1984): 133–146.

146 Cousinery, M. E. *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, vol. I, 145; Baker, J. *Turkey in Europe*. London, Paris & New York, Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1877, 69; 274–275; Urquart, D. *The Spirit of the East* (Second ed., London: Henry Colburn, 1839), 60.

147 Френски пътеписи за Балканите (XV–XVIII в.), ed. Б. Цветкова (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1975), 136.

An anonymous French traveller (1807) notes what he saw on the road between Orfanos gulf and Kavala, in the area of Sarışaban/Chrisopoulis:

Not a single field has remained unplowed, all kinds of cereal crops, vines, hemp, cotton, tobacco are grown here, many beautiful villages reach the mountain [Pınaradağ/Pangion], especially its northern side; they are inhabited by *Yerüks*. They are Muslims descended from Turkoman immigrants. After the conquest of Macedonia, they were transferred to this province to restrain the rebellious subjects. They are devoted primarily to their herds and to agriculture. The *Yürüks* who inhabit the area [around the mouth of the river Mesta/Nestos and the Çaldag/Lekanis mountain] are thieves and killers...

In his notes on roads, Comte Jacques-Jean-Marie-François Boudin de Tromelin mentions the environs of the main road, Via Egnatia:

The mountains that surround it to the north (the ancient Rhodopes) are inhabited by Turkish colonists-*Yürüks*, while the coast and plains are cultivated by Christians. The *Yürüks* are descended from Turkoman groups which were transferred in the 16th century from Asia to Macedonia to restrain the subjugated peoples which could not bear enslavement and to replace the population that had died in the war.¹⁴⁸

In the summer of 1888 the Serbian traveller Spiridon Gopčević passed through the village of Suho/Sochos (in the mountain pass on the road between Salonica and Serres, the centre of the nahiye of Boğdan; according to Vasil Kanchov, at the end of the 19th century its population consisted of 2,600 Bulgarians and 1,000 Turks). There he learned that in addition to Turks, the nearby mountains (Kruša/Karadağ and Bogdanska/Beşik) were inhabited by nomadic Muslims whom he calls “Illyrians.” According to him, they were a Turkish nomadic tribe whose name meant “those who walk.” They rarely had permanent abodes, and their numerous villages often changed

148 *Френски пътеписи за Балканите (XIX в.)*, ed. Б. Цветкова (София: “Наука и изкуство”, 1981), 49–50, 133.

their location. They were engaged less in agriculture than in stock-breeding. They roamed the nearby mountains with their herds and went near villages only to sell livestock. The majority lived in tents and rarely built huts. They were not very pious Muslims, because they did not go to the mosque and their wives and daughters did not veil their faces. It is obvious that here Gopčević is referring to the Yürüks, of whom a large part in this area remained mobile pastoralists until the 1920s. At the same time, Gopčević describes the Mayadağ Yürüks around Gevgelija, the majority of whom were Bektashi, as “Turkish weavers who drink alcohol and therefore waste the income from their large vineyards,” and the semi-nomadic Yürüks around Demir Kapija (in the villages of Čelevec and Košarka) as “Muslim Serbs.”¹⁴⁹

At the beginning of the 20th century, George Frederick Abbot observed in the market-place in Petrich:

Bulgarian rustics in shaggy goatskin caps and sheepskin jackets, rubbing shoulders with Wallachian shepherds in white kilts and long blue cloaks; Koniars in shabby brown breeches mingled with shabbier Gypsies...¹⁵⁰

The Yürüks were often used as an example in pointing out the (ethnic, dialectal, cultural, mentality) diversity of the “Turks,” the “Ottomans,” the “Muslims.” Various studies from the late 19th and early 20th centuries historicize the difference between the “true Turks” in Macedonia, Thrace and Thessaly – “Yürüks,” “Ikonians/Koniars,” “Turkomans,” “Vardariotes,” “Seljuks,” and so on – and the Slavic-speaking, Greek-speaking, Romance-speaking, Albanian-speaking

149 Гопчевич, С. *Старая Сербия и Македония. Историко-географическое исследование* (Санкт-Петербург: Типография В. В. Комарова, 1899), 45, 48; 153; See also Кънчов, *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 470; Яранов, *Македония като природно и стопанско цяло*, 77; Яранов, Д. “Беломорска Тракия и Приморска Македония. Географски очерк (II. Обща част).” *Годишник на Софийския Университет – Историко-Филологически Факултет* XXXIV, 5 (1938): 80, 91; Радовановић, В. *Тиквеш и Рајец. Антропогеографска испитавања*, Српски Етнографски Зборник XXIX (Земун: Српска Академија Наука, 1924), 161, 162, 497–498.

150 Abbot, G. F. *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia* (London: E. Arnold, 1903), 154.

Muslims, Circassians, “Chitaks.”¹⁵¹ The Balkan Yürüks were invariably compared to the Anatolian Turkish tribes.¹⁵²

In the early 19th century the ethnographic picture of the Balkan Peninsula was often represented simultaneously through topical information and archaization. For example, the map compiled by the Prussian officer F. A. Ötzel and published in 1821 locates the Yürüks comparatively accurately to the east of the river Vardar. We find them there alongside Ottomans (“Osmanen,” from Boeotia to Epirus and the valley of the river Morava to the mouth of the Danube, where there are Nogays –“Nogayer”), Vlachs (“Walachen,” from the Upper Struma to Adrianople), Greeks (“Griechen”), Albanians (“Albaneser”), Illyrians (“Illirier,” in Northern Albania and Montenegro), Serbs (“Serwier”), Rascians (“Raitzen,” north of the river Sava), Bosnians (“Bosnier”), Croats (“Kroaten”), Bulgarians (“Bulgaren,” in Northern Bulgaria), and others (north of the Danube).¹⁵³

Differences from the others were frequently represented through particular culture and physical traits. A classic example is the prom-

151 Lejean, G. *Ethnographie de la Turquie d'Europe* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1861), 33–35; Tomaschek, W. *Zur Kunde der Hämus-Halbinsel: Topographische, archäologische und ethnographische Miscellen* (Wien: C. Gerold, 1882), 44; Мошков, В. “Турецкие племена на Балканском полуострове. Очерк о поездке на Балканский полуостров летом 1903 г.,” *Известия Русского Географического Общества* XL, 3 (1904): 399–436; Brailsford, H. N. *Macedonia. Its Races and their Future* (London: Methuen & Co, 1906), 80–82, 88; Oberhummer, E. *Die Balkanvölker. Vortrag, gehalten den 14. März 1917* (Wien, 1917), 39–43; Гаджанов, Д. “Мюсюлманското население в новоосвободените земи,” in *Научна експедиция в Македония и Поморавието 1916*, compiled by П. Петров (София: Военноиздателски комплекс “Св. Георги Победоносец”, Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”, 1993), 275, 276; Weigand, G. *Ethnographie von Makedonien* (Leipzig: Friedrich Brandstetter, 1924), 22; Bajraktarević, F. “Jürüken,” in *Encyclopädie der Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1934), vol. IV, 1273–1274; Kowalski, T. “Les Turcs balkaniques,” *Revue Internationale des Etudes Balkaniques* II, 4 (1936): 420–430.

152 Cousinery, M. E. *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, vol. I, 184–203; Убичини, У., & , П. де Куртейл. *Современное состояние Оттоманской империи* (Санкт Петербург: Типография О. И. Бакста, 1877), 18–22, 61; Hasluck, F. *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), vol. I, 126–139; vol. II, 501, 528.

153 Wilkinson, H. R. *Maps and Politics. A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia* (Liverpool: University Press, 1951), 11, 12–20, 43.

inent Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić and his concept of “psychological types” of people in the Balkans and among the South Slavs.¹⁵⁴

These Turks [in the Ovče Pole region] are mostly Yürüks, very old immigrants from Asia Minor. They look physically weak and exhausted, they are very slothful, and they are perhaps the most uncultured population in these parts. Their exact opposites are the Koniar Turks, also an Asian Minor tribe, undoubtedly from Ikonion... They are sober, cheerful, and very hard-working...

Elsewhere, commenting on migrations, deserted and half-deserted villages, Cvijić writes the following:

Still, the abandoned appearance of the villages and houses cannot be explained only with the infertile land and hot climate, but also with the unusually uncultured character of the Yürüks who are the main population of this part of Tikveš.¹⁵⁵

Most of the Yürük settlements and areas, summer and winter pastures, routes and paths were in isolated, barely accessible places. In the period between the late 19th and mid-20th centuries, very few researchers provided sufficient information about the Balkan Yürüks in the context of general ethnographic, “anthropogeographic” or historical studies, showed particular interest in or devoted special studies to them. The notable exceptions in this respect are Konstantin Jireček, Vojislav Radovanović, Vasil Kančov, Vasil Dechov, Dimitar Yaranov, Ivan Batakiev, Lyubomir Dinev, Yordan Ivanov, Adolf Struck, Georg Eckert, and Peter Träger, among others.

Still, it is not possible to identify a number of Yürük villages and

154 Цвијић, Ј. *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље*, књига II, *Психичке особине јужних Словена* (Београд: Издавачка књижевница Геце Кона, 1931).

155 Цвијић, Ј. *Основе за географију и геологију Македоније и Старе Србије* (Београд: Државна штампарија, 1906), књига I, 226, 317; Цвијић, Ј. *Антропогеографски проблеми Балканског полуострва*, Српски Етнографски Зборник IV (Београд: Српска Краљевска Академија, 1902), СХХХI; Цвијић, Ј. *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље* (Београд: Државна штампарија, 1922), књига II, 30–31.

groups on the basis of their studies. As a whole, the data they provide on the mobility, land cultivation and pastoralism or the ethnographic peculiarities of local Yürük communities overlap, but there are also significant differences in their accounts. It is also difficult to trace out the ongoing or completed cultural assimilation into the surrounding Muslim population. We cannot always be certain about the meaning of definitions such as “Turks,” “Chitaks,” “Koniars” or “Yürüks” for a number of concrete settlements and local communities; or about the group boundaries in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

In the relatively compact Yürük areas that remained extant in Macedonia and the Aegean region until the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), both the sedentary and the semi-nomadic groups continued to regard themselves and to be regarded by the others as a separate Muslim, Turkish-speaking community. At the same time, some sedentary Yürük communities were being assimilated into the surrounding Turkish-speaking, Albanian-speaking or Bulgarian-speaking Muslim population. At the beginning of the 20th century, Vojislav Radovanović paid special attention to this phenomenon in an “anthropogeographic” study in which he traced genealogies in many of the villages in the region of Tikveš. Muslim Slavs in Tikveš quite often told him about mixed marriages: “A true Yürük, but now he’s become a Turk – he speaks our dialect”; “He was a Yürük, but now they’re degenerate Turks like us”; “half-Turk, half-Yürük”; and so on. Similarly to other authors, Radovanović notes that some Yürüks did not speak the language of the surrounding population (of the “Tikveš Poturnaks,” Muslim Slavs).¹⁵⁶ Elsewhere we find statements such as the following:

The village of Pochivalo is in the area of Štip, five hours away to the north at the foothills of Plačkovica, 60 houses of Bulgarians and 80 of Turks. The Turks are Yürüks and Turks who know and speak in Bulgarian with their wives and children [in 1860s].¹⁵⁷

156 Радовановић, *Тиквеш и Рајец*, 276–298, 329–371, 408, 456–468, 471, 476–489; See also Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 360–361; Кънчов, В. “Великденска разходка из Поленинско,” *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина* IX (1893): 657.

157 Славейков, П. Р. “Чавдар войвода и Лалуш,” in *Избрани съчинения*, ed.

Another Serbian author, Jovan Hadživasiljević, gives examples of “Albanianization” as well as of mutual assimilation of Yürüks and Bulgarian-speaking Muslims in Macedonia, resulting in a Slavic-Turkish mixed language.¹⁵⁸

The aculturation of sedentary Yürüks evidently did not occur simultaneously in all local communities. For example, one of the last isolated Yürük groups on Bulgarian territory, in the Western Rhodope Mountains, gradually lost its Yürük identity after the 1920s–30s. The memory of mobile pastoralists who visited their lands until 1912–1913 faded away, and intermarriage with Muslim Bulgarians/Pomaks became the rule rather than an exception. Thus, the “Yürüklük” (belonging to the Yürük way of life, tradition) stopped being an “own” and became a “foreign” cultural specificity. This was found onsite among the Turks – residents of Borino, Grohotno, and Gyovren during two field studies designed to collect oral testimonies about the mobile Yürük groups in the Western and Central Rhodope Mountains. They were conducted in 1988 and 1991, the first one individually by this author, and the second as part of a student team research. At the same time, Boryana Panayotova collected oral information from local Christians for her graduate thesis, which she defended in 1990 at the Faculty of History at Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski.” The interviews conducted during those studies, including among a now-departed generation of residents of the Rhodopes, outlined the overlapping of the widespread myth of “Yürüks” in this area and the contacts with the last semi-nomadic groups which spent summers here and winters in the Aegean region.¹⁵⁹ The example of present-day Turks in the district

С. Баева (София: “Български писател”, 1979), vol. III, 271 (according to Dimitar Pochivaletsa from this village, a confectioner in Constantinople).

158 “Алд`м пушкаџи, гит`м ниваџа, трептети бир сламка, истеди чикармаџа око ми”; “Ачан бакт`м абонун, јок бре, комшинци телеси имиш”; “Ачан бакт`м бир врба, врба устунде бир седало, седалода доли јајцалар; ачан крд`м бир јајце, чикти бир пилич, узункљунали, дугоногали, галиба штрче имиш”; see Хаџи Васиљевић, Ј. *Муслимани наше крви у Јужној Србији* (Београд: “Свети Сава”, 1924), 17–18, 37, 46, 75.

159 Калњонски, А. “Юруците и етническото самоопределение на турското население в Девинско (Борино и Ѓоврен),” in *Етническата картина в Бълга-*

of Devin well illustrates one of the main reasons for the disappearance of Yürüks in other places: cultural assimilation.

Outside the Aegean region, the Rhodope Mountains and Macedonia, Yürüks remained unnoticed by external observers and researchers, and had disappeared as a distinctive identity in many regions: Northern and Northeastern Bulgaria, Dobrudzha, as well as in quite a few lowland areas in Southeastern Bulgaria, the Black Sea coast and Upper Thrace. It is believed that in the 18th and 19th centuries, several primary factors may have contributed to the depopulation of Yürük settlements, the retreat of pastoralist groups from a number of mountain areas, and their final settlement in the plains or possible migration elsewhere. Wars, diseases among animals and humans,¹⁶⁰ climate changes, mass banditry, and anarchy were universal factors, but in this particular case, specific demographic factors were also at work. Abandonment of settlements, migrations, and death from diseases and on battlefields were common among the Yürüks throughout the Ottoman period. The seasonal migrations, austere way of life in the permanent Yürük villages,¹⁶¹ and primitive agriculture that was often supplementary to stockbreeding were conducive to a relatively high degree of mobility. The Ottoman sources show that

рия (София: “Клуб 90”, 1993), 97–104; Панайотова, Б. “Юрушкото присъствие в Средните Родопи през погледа на местното християнско население,” in *Представата за “другия” на Балканите*, ed. Н. Данова et al. (София: Академично издателство „Марин Дринов“, 1995), 113–116.

160 In addition to the Ottoman sources, the death of “Koniars” from diseases and their deserted villages in Macedonia and Thessaly are mentioned by Western travellers and researchers in the 19th century. Their villages in Thessaly are described as poor, but they were sedentary agriculturalists and stockbreeders who cultivated their own land and did not work for *çiftlik*-owners. See Falmerayer, *Fragmente aus dem Orient*, 232–233; Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* vol. III, 174; vol. IV, 327, 419; Кънчов, *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 349, 350; Lawless, R. “The Economy and Landscape of Thessaly During Ottoman Rule,” in *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*, ed. Fr. W. Carter (London: Academic Press, 1977), 508, 518, 525. Sivignon, M. “The Demographic Evolution of Thessaly, 1881–1940,” *ibid.*, 386.

161 Cousinery, M. E. *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, vol. I, 188. For the type of settlements and the oldest permanent abodes of Yürüks in Macedonia, see Недков, В. “Юручките населби и население во Источна Македонија,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 75–88; Томовски, К. “Юручки куќи во Македонија,” *ibid.*, 89–104.

this was a common phenomenon in the 16th to 18th centuries. The cases of “dispersion,” “abandonment” of sites and settlements, or migration from one kaza to another, as recorded in the context of registrations and orders on mobilization of Yürük auxiliaries, went together with data about nomadic groups and seasonal migrations.

There is evidence from the 17th and 18th centuries that the Yürüks decreased or disappeared from some of their previous settlements – for example, in Southwestern Bulgaria and the district of Salonica. The records show that some wholly or partially deserted Yürük villages in those regions were gradually taken over by Christians. During the 18th century many Yürük villages in the district of Salonica were either abandoned or converted into large *çiftlik* farms. Others were given to Christians from neighboring villages for land cultivation and settlement.¹⁶²

M. E. Cousinery notes that the Yürüks in the area of Salonica and Serres

are not enough [in number] to provide the necessary supplies of rams for consumption in Macedonia and the surrounding provinces; their flocks are not particularly relied upon. It is Illyrian Albania that annually spreads out its pastoral riches in the vast plains of Strymon, and mainly in those of Salonica; it is above all the shepherds from the *yaylas* [summer pastures] on Pindus who drive their flocks to the plains of Thessaly.¹⁶³

In the period between the 18th and early 20th centuries nomadic or semi-nomadic Yürük groups continued to winter their flocks in the district of Salonica – hence, the abandonment of permanent settlements did not always mean disappearance of the population itself. Salonica court records mention Yürüks from the districts of Kyustendil, Štip, Priština, Nevrokop and elsewhere in the period between 1711 and 1721, while in 1775 nomadic Yürük *taifes* continued to invade the

162 Dimitriadis, V. “The Yürüks in Central and Western Macedonia,” in *Етногенеза на Јуруците*, 14.

163 Cited in Цветкова, Б. “За јуруците в българските земи под турска власт.” *Родопи* 10 (1976): 24.

woods and pastures of some villages around Salonica.¹⁶⁴ The seasonal migrations of Christian and Muslim shepherds from the Salonica district and elsewhere in Eastern and Central Macedonia to the Rila Mountain are recorded in the Ottoman documents of the Rila Monastery from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century. In 1903 Yürük pastoralist groups “from the Salonica district” continued to spend summer in the Central Rhodope Mountains – in the summer pastures between Mugla and Shiroka Laka (Mursalitsa).¹⁶⁵ Compact Yürük groups, settlements, summer and winter pastures remained extant in Chalkidiki, in the lake basins, hills and mountains to the north until the 1920s. West European sources from the second half of the 18th century attest to numerous Yürük villages in the plains around Salonica – therefore in this case, too, it is possible that some of the Yürüks who are thought to have “disappeared” may have migrated elsewhere.¹⁶⁶

We know from ethnographic sources about the Rhodope Mountains and Macedonia that in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Christian and Yürük populations of some mountainous and semi-mountainous regions swapped places. This was the case in the Tikveš region, Plačkovica, Osogovo and other places in Macedonia, the Central Rhodope Mountains, and the Aegean region.¹⁶⁷ In the 19th century part of the permanent Yürük settlements in Macedonia,¹⁶⁸ in the district of Sofia,¹⁶⁹

164 Грозданова, “Нови сведения за юруците в българските и някои съседни земи през XV–XVIII в.,” 21; Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*, 172.

165 See Chapter Four, II, p. 298, footnote 207.

166 Eckert, G. “Die Jürüken in Zentral-Makedonien,” *Buletinul Institutului Român din Sofia* 1 (1942): 561–562.

167 Кондев, Т. “Осоговија,” *Годишен зборник на Природно-математичкиот факултет* XIV, 2 (1963): 56–64, 72–73, 77; Радовановић, *Тиквеш и Рајец*, 161, 192, 203, 205, 210–211, 487; Кънчов, *Македонија. Етнографија и статистика*, 351, 355; Яранов, *Македонија като природно и стопанско цяло*, 115, 122, 146; Яранов, “Беломорска Тракия и Приморска Македонија,” 85–86.

168 See Chapter Two, Table 3 and notes to it.

169 Genç, N. *XVI Yüzyıl Sofya Mufassal Tahrir Defteri’nde Sofya Kazası* (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1988), 328, 446, 450; *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, ed. Б. Цветкова et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1972), 95, 99, 103.

and Upper Thrace,¹⁷⁰ which originate from *cemaats* in the 15th–17th centuries, had a different share of non-Muslim residents or had become Christian villages carrying the names left by their previous inhabitants. The list of identified Yürük settlements that disappeared or acquired a Christian component would be a long one, but it is practically impossible to trace these processes. They require a separate study based on vast empirical material, but it would still be questionable whether the data are representative in the context of the high mobility of the Yürüks. In some cases, one should not rule out a possible return to the nomadic way of life (that is, seasonal migrations of pastoralists together with their households) because of climatic, other environmental, economic and/or social and political reasons, and “disappearance” only from the field of vision of the relevant sources.

170 Грозданова, Е. “Карнобат и Карнобатския край през XV–XVIII в.,” in *История и култура на Карнобатския край*, Vol. III, ed. Д. Тодоров (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1993), 28; Момчилов, Д. “Поселищното развитие в Карнобатския край през XV–XIX в. по археологически данни,” *ibid.*, 81–90; Колева, Е. “Исторически сведения за населението на Пловдивския край през периода на османското робство,” *Известия на музеите от Южна България* III (1977): 168–171; Батаклиев, И. *Пазарджик и Пазарджишко. Историко-географски преглед* (София: Профиздат, 1969), 100–121; 466, 472, 538–622; Гергов, И. *Село Левски* (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1989), 59.

IV. YÜRÜKS, AROMANIANS, AND KARAKACHANS

Among the various internal and external (beyond the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire) migrations from the end of the 17th and during the 18th and 19th centuries, those of the Vlachs and Karakachans/Sarakatsani are again a direct indication – this time, of the departure of the Yürüks from a number of places and regions. The shifts in the zones of nomadic and semi-nomadic seasonal movements ultimately had an increasingly visible result during the 19th century. By moving from the western to the eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula, new pastoralists took over summer and winter pastureslands carrying the Turkish names of their previous inhabitants and proceeded to follow the traditional routes of their seasonal migrations.¹⁷¹ This change can only be established post-factum. It is impossible to identify the different stages, demographic dimensions or settlement cases in each region.

The first presumably Karakachan/Sarakatsani immigrants appeared under the name “Rumelioties” from continental Greece in Venetian Morea in 1700.¹⁷² In the second half of the 17th century, the records mention Vlachs wintering in the district of Salonica; there is also evidence that shepherd groups and caravan drivers were crossing the peninsula from Sofia to Constantinople in the mid-16th century.¹⁷³ In the late 17th and first quarter of the 18th century, the Austro-Turkish wars and subsequent depopulation and migrations caused shifts not just in the Albanian but also, to some extent, in the Vlach population. Vlachs, who were not yet completely assimilated, migrated from Lika and Krbava in Dalmatia to Slavonia, together with Serbs and Croats.¹⁷⁴

171 Ракшиева, С. “Пастирите от Грамос,” *Българска етнология* XXII, 1 (1996): 59–60.

172 Beuermann, A. *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeographie des östlichen Mittelmeergebietes* (Braunshweig: Georg Westermann Verlag, 1967), 66–72. For presumably Karakachan names and indirect evidence about the community from the mid-17th century to the period before and after the Greek Uprising of 1821, see XATZHMIXAΛH, A. *ΣΑΡΑΚΑΤΣΑΝΟΙ* (ΑΘΗΝΑ, 1957), T. I, A', η–ρβ.

173 See Chapter Two, II, 2.

174 Kaser, K. *Familie und Verwandtschaft auf dem Balkan. Analyse einer*

In the period between the early 18th and early 19th century, “Tsintsars” – Epirote, Thessalian and Macedonian Vlachs, merchants, artisans and inn-keepers – settled in various Bosnian towns, while pastoralist groups moved into some mountain regions.¹⁷⁵ They founded colonies, together with other Orthodox Christian communities from Macedonia, in Austrian dominions – Slavonia, Vojvodina, Banat, Baranya, and Bačka – in the late 17th – mid-18th century.¹⁷⁶ “Greek” Vlachs took part in the development of active Balkan Christian trade in the 17th–19th centuries, within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire and as a diaspora beyond them.¹⁷⁷ The network of “Tsintsar” urban communities gradually expanded to the east and to the north of the main regions inhabited by Vlachs – continental Greece and Thessaly, Epirus, Southern Albania and Southwestern Macedonia. Some may have been preceded and others followed by sporadic migrations of nomadic groups. The flourishing commerce and caravan trade at the turn of the 19th century and later attracted many pastoralists to Eastern, Northern Macedonia, the present-day Bulgarian lands, and the Aegean region. They joined the general, long-lasting, and varying in intensity over time, movement from the west to the east: to the economically rising and comparatively more peaceful areas. This movement developed from the mountains of Macedonia and Albania to the basins and plains; to the local towns and big cities such as Salonica,

untergehenden Kultur (Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), 112–117.

175 Filipović, M. “Cincari u Bosni.” *Zbornik Radova Etnografskog Instituta Srpske Akademije Nauka* XIX, 2, Beograd (1951): 53–108; Петровић, Ж. “Стари Влах. Етничка прошлост, име и положај предела,” *Гласник Етнографског музеја* 24 (1961): 29–31; de Laveleye, É. *La péninsule des Balkans* (Bruxelles: Félix Alcan, 1886), vol. I, 244–245; Грачев, В. *Балканские владения Османской империи на рубеже XVIII–XIX вв.* Москва: “Наука”, 1990, 11.

176 Capidan, Th. *Les Macedo-Roumains. Esquisse historique et descriptive des populations roumaines de la péninsule balkanique* (Bucarest: Académie Roumaine, 1937), 60–64; Поповић, Д. *О Цинцарима. Прилози питању постанка нашег грађанског друштва* (Београд: Штампарија Др. Грегорића, 1937), 24, 34, 43.

177 Ibid., 18–50; Capidan, Th. *Die Mazedo-Rumänen* (Bukarest: Dacia Bücher, 1941); Stoianovich, Tr. “The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant,” *Journal of Economic History* 20 (1960): 234–313; Здравева, М. *Трговците и занаетчиите од Македонија во Јужен Срем и Јужен Банат во XVIII и првата половина на XIX век* (Скопје: Институт за национална историја, 1996), 20, 42, 58–67, 80–157.

Plovdiv, Adrianople, and Constantinople. The migration of the so-called “Arnauti”¹⁷⁸ and the seasonal migrations of the large flocks of West Macedonian transhumant sheep-breeders in the Aegean region, the seasonal labor migrations of carpenters, masons, and other artisans, also followed the same main direction from West to East.¹⁷⁹

The largest wave of migration of Vlachs and Karakachans began in the second half of the 18th century as a search for new pastures and comparatively greater security after the pressure of the Albanian warlords, bands, and settlers. One of the well-known Vlach populations formed a diaspora in many Balkan towns after three-time destruction and pillaging of Moscopole (Moschopolis/Voskopoja) in 1769, 1788 and 1821. Other settled or nomadic Aromanian groups followed the “Moskopoliteni” because of the constant looting and raids of their settlements and hamlets.¹⁸⁰ It gradually increased the

178 “Albanians,” in the Eastern Balkans, often meaning non-Muslim seasonal migrants or settlers (Albanians and Slavs) mostly from Northwestern Macedonia, Central and Southern Albania.

179 Гюзелев, Б. *Албанци в Източните Балкани* (София: Международен център за изследване на малцинствата и културните взаимодействия, 2004), 59–220; Колева, “Исторически сведения за населението на Пловдивския край”, 168; Попов, И. “Пещера до Освобождението,” in *Страници из миналото на град Пещера*, ed. В. Хаджиниколов (София: Издателство на Отечества фронт, 1973), 78, 81–84; Кънчов, *Македония. Етногеография и статистика*, 302–311; Яранов, Д. “Преселническо движение на българи от Македония и Албания към източните български земи през XV до XIX век,” *Македонски преглед* VII, 2–3 (1932): 63–118; Тодоровски, Г. “Сточарството во Малорекаанскиот предел во втората половина на XIX в. до крајот на Првата светска војна,” in *Одредбе позитивног законодавства и обичајног права о сезонским кретанјима сточара у Југоисточној Европи кроз векове*, ed. В. Чубриловић, Посебна Издања Балканолошког института, књига 4 (Београд: Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, 1976), 234.

180 Арш, Гр. *Албаниа и Епир в конце XVIII–начале XX в. Западнoбалканские пашалыки Османской империи* (Москва: “Наука”, 1963), 21–68, 81–92, 128–159; Грачев, *Балканские владения Османской империи на рубеже XVIII–XIX вв.*, 10–32, 40–42; Фрашери, Кр. *История Албании* (Тирана, 1964), 88–101; Kaser, K. *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden: Ursprünge und Gegenwart des balkanischen Patriarchats* (Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), 359–368; Wace, A. J. B., and M. S. Thompson. *The Nomads of the Balkans. An Account of Life and Customs among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus* (London: Methuen & Co, 1914), 23–26; Вайганд, Г. *Аромъне. Етнографическо - филологическо - историческо издирвание на тѣй*

number of Vlach migrants into the Belgrade province on the eve of the Serb uprisings, and then into the autonomous principality, the Romanian lands, and Austrian territory.¹⁸¹ The flight of the Aromanians and Karakachans from the unrest in Southern Albania and Epirus, the hostilities with Ali Pasha of Ioannina and the consequences of the Greek Uprising are by no means motives only in their folk songs and legends. At the very end of the 18th and in the first decades of the 19th century Vlachs settled in a number of places in Macedonia and the Aegean region. New Vlach summer and winter hut camps and new routes were established at that time.¹⁸² This period saw the emergence and rise of the Vlach colonies in Peshtera, Samokov, Pazardzhik, Plovdiv, in present-day Southwestern Bulgaria and elsewhere, almost all of them surrounded by pastoralist groups.¹⁸³ Many Aromanian groups, such as “Gramosteani” (that is, from the region of Mount Grammos) and the Karakachans found vacant pastureland or began to rent pastures in the mountains of Bulgaria, wintering their flocks in the Aegean region, Eastern Thrace, and the hinterland.¹⁸⁴

наречения народ македоно-ромъне или цинцаре, transl. С. Данов (Варна: П. Хр. Генков, 1899), 94–103, 283–289; Поповић, *О Цинцарима*, 34–43.

181 Ibid., 19–56, 88–179; 186–305; Цвијић, *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље*, књига I, 72–73, 162–181, 218.

182 For the spread, permanent and seasonal settlements, pastoral migration routes, winter and summer camps of the Vlachs and Karakachans, see Вайганд, *Аромъне*, passim; Wace, A. J. B., and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 9–31, 206–225; Романски, Ст. “Македонските ромъни,” *Македонски преглед* 5-6 (1925): 61–96; Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 23, 73–74, 120–154, 162–174; Capidan, Th. “Rumânii Nomazi. Studiu din viața Românilor din Sudul Peninsulei Balcanice,” *Dacoromania* 4 (1924–1926): 183–352; Winniffrith, T. *The Vlachs. The History of a Balkan People* (New York: St. Martin Press, 1987), 1–38, 135–138.

183 Попов, И. “Пещера до Освобождението,” 28, 78–142; Балкански, Т., & Д. Андрей. *Големите власи сред българите. Ономастична просопография* (В. Търново: Знак’94, 1996), 21, 28, 37, 81.

184 Карайовов, Т. “Материали за изучаването на Одринския вилает,” *Сборник за народни умотворения XIX* (1903): 7–15, 40; Weigand, G. *Romänen und Aromaten in Bulgarien* (Leipzig: Barth Verlag, 1907), 5–25, 32–62; Романски, Ст. “Власите и цинцарите в България.” *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество LXIX* (1908): 135–147; Ракшиева, С. “Пастирите от

The general demographic dimensions of the pastoralist component of those migrations were not significant. They developed gradually in a century or so – most visibly from the late 18th to the late 19th century. It is impossible to estimate the numbers involved, and that is not just because of the isolation and mobility of the groups in question. Demographic growth in the course of the migrations was accompanied by the processes of sedentarization and assimilation of the Vlachs. Between the late 19th and mid-20th centuries, the total number of nomadic and semi-nomadic Vlachs and Karakachans in the Balkans was in the range of 140,000 to 160,000, or perhaps more.¹⁸⁵ In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the Vlachs and Karakachans inhabited the Macedonian mountains, the Rhodopes and the Aegean winter pastures together with Yürük pastoralists, but by then they were the only nomads mentioned in Rila¹⁸⁶ and Stara Planina/the Balkan range. This of course, does not mean that there were no Yürük groups in Rila, divided by the Bulgarian-Ottoman border before 1912, or coming from some villages or hamlets on Bulgarian territory to the summer pastures in the Balkan range. According to some travellers, Yürüks were still summering their flocks in the Kalofer section of the Stara Planina in the 1890s:

The Yürük huts (the Yürük *ağıls*, the Yürük *eğreks*, [the Yürük sheepfolds]) are built below the Zagradenitsa Peak, above the path, while the Kalofer Tower, which no longer exists, was built opposite them, on the Zanoğata Peak ... This is the area where

Грамос,” 54–61; Барболов, Г. *История на армъните и взаимоотношенията им с българите* (София: Ателие АБ, 2000), 7–8, 17–26, 31 ff.

185 See Chapter Two, III, 3.

186 Добруски, В. “Българомохамеданската република в Родопските планини,” in *България през погледа на чешки пътешественици*, compiled by Я. Бъчваров, ed. by В. Бехиньова (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1984), 72–73; Иречек, К. *Български дневник 1879–1884* (София: “Христо Г. Данов”, 1930), 119–120; Илков, Д. “Екскурзия до езерата на Рила,” *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина XIV* (1897): 249, 271; Попов, А. “Каракачанските колиби в Стара Планина,” *Светлина X* (1895): 153, 159; Шишманов, И. “Стари пътувания през България в посока на римския път от Белград за Цариград,” *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина IV* (1891): 483.

the Yürüks keep their sheep and goats in summer, from the beginning of spring to the Day of the Holy Cross; it is barren in winter. Almost the entire area is grassy and serves as pasture, except for the foothills of the two peaks ...where there are oak and beech forests.¹⁸⁷

Despite the general growth of large-scale transhumant stockbreeding in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Aromanians and Karakachans managed to find (and they artificially expanded) summer pasturelands above all in the high-mountain (subalpine) regions, transit pastures on village lands, and winter pastures in inland plains, basins, and along the Aegean coast. The departure of Yürüks and the gradual decline of large-scale transhumance from the 1870s–80s onwards, additionally expanded Vlach and Karakachan grazing grounds. This was particularly the case in the Aegean region and adjacent mountains,¹⁸⁸ but also in the Tikveš and Ovče Pole, the Štip Jurukluk, and Osogovo. On the other hand, the low prices at which the lands of Muslim emigrants from Ovče Pole were purchased and the plowing-up of çiftlik estates reduced the winter pastures of the Aromanians and Karakachans after 1912 and in the 1920s.¹⁸⁹

Albeit in different historical and demographic conditions, the years leading up to the Balkan Wars saw a gradual Vlach and Karakachan recolonization that reached the territory which was once the starting point of the nomadic Turkic colonization: Western Asia Minor. The direction of pastoralist migrations across the Straits had turned once again: in the 13th century, medieval Vlachs sometimes migrated with their flocks from Eastern Thrace into Byzantine Anatolia,¹⁹⁰ then

187 Илков, Д. “Екскурзия по Калоферската планина.” *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество* LII–LIII (1896): 648.

188 Караманов, В. “От Кукуш през Лъгадина до Бешикгьол (Пътни бележки).” *Македонски преглед*, VIII, 4 (1933): 61–70.

189 Трифуноски, Ј. “Цинцари у Овчеполској котлини. Примери сталног насељавања номадских сточара,” *Етнологишки преглед* 1 (1959): 37–49; Antonijević, Dr. “Tradition and Innovation at Tzintsars in Ovce Polje in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia,” *Balkanica* 5 (1974): 319–329.

190 Vukanović, T. P. “Les valaques, habitants autoctones des pays balkaniques,” *L’Ethnographie* (nouvelle série), 56 (1962): 15–16.

Yürüks settled in Ottoman Rumelia, and finally, some Aromanian and Karakachan shepherds found pastures in the mountains near Bursa and İzmir, and trade opportunities among local Greeks and Turks.¹⁹¹

In Macedonia, Southeast Serbia, the Aegean, and the present-day Bulgarian lands this recolonization was confined to the scope of the erstwhile Yürük seasonal migrations.¹⁹² Once again, there was a deliberate government policy, this time of the Serb and Romanian authorities, to settle nomads and to establish colonists – in this particular case, in Ovče Pole and Dobrudzha.¹⁹³ The gradual establishment of new national borders was the first sign of the beginning of the end of this type of seasonal migrations, hastened by the inter-state and civil wars, the guerilla movements, and the dynamic changes in the surrounding nations. From the 1920s–30s onwards, a large part of the Vlach pastoralists eventually settled down after going through several different stages. These stages were the following: reorientation towards wintering in inland basins and plains within the respective country; shortening of the routes of seasonal migrations; movement only of males with flocks and herds; and finally, abandonment of mobile pastoralism or of stockbreeding in general as a means of livelihood. This process had not yet affected the overwhelming majority of the Karakachans, who stubbornly kept their nomadic way of life. They tried to resist the political, economic and social changes until the point when that was no longer possible: in the 1950s and 1960s. The last groups of Sarkatsani in Greece settled for good in the 1970s. In Bulgaria, their final sedentarization took seven years to complete and was done through drastic administrative and police measures (1954–1961).¹⁹⁴

191 See Burada, T. T. *O călătorie la Români din Bithinia (Asia mică)*, Iasi, 1893, 1–34; ХАТЗΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ, ΣΑΡΑΚΑΤΣΑΝΟΙ, Т. I, А', λθ; Weigand, *Romänen und Aromunen in Bulgarien*, 24–25; Маринов, В. *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1964), 19, 29, 30.

192 See Chapter Two.

193 Завоев, П. *Град Щун*. София: Министерство на Народното Просвещение, 1943, 10; Веуерманн, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 214.

194 Ракшиева, “Пастирите от Грамос,” 56–58; Калъонски, А. Каракачански етюд,” *Демократически преглед* 37 (1998): 248–251; Markowska, D. “Kilka

As a whole, the history of the Aromanians is somewhat different. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Vlachs to the south of the Danube had economically, socially and culturally significant “Tsintsar” colonies and urban centers. It is no coincidence that they produced leading figures of the rival national causes – above all of the Greek, but also of the Serbian, Bulgarian, Romanian, and Albanian national movements.¹⁹⁵ The Aromanian culture, identity, and political question have had a long and controversial history since the 18th and second half of the 19th centuries to the present day. In 1905 the Vlachs on Ottoman territory were recognized as separate *millet* (religious community, nation), and they were invariably part of the philological-ethnographic-statistical-cartographic game reflecting the clash of Balkan and European interests and plans in this period.¹⁹⁶

Understandably, throughout this period there was far greater research interest in the Aromanians than in the Yürüks. The “Roman,” “vulgar Latin” (Romance-language) heritage and exotic character of the nomadic way of life attracted the accidental observer, traveller, classical philologist, and historian.¹⁹⁷ Later, the theories of the Karakachan

увaг о процесие заникания nomadzkich migrazji pasterskich на терение Булгaрии.” *Etnografia Polska* 6 (1962): 226–238;

Sanders, I. T. “The Nomadic Peoples of Northern Greece: Ethnic Puzzle and Cultural Survival,” *Social Forces* 33 (1954): 122–129.

195 Capidan, *Les Macedo-Roumains*, 68–69; Capidan, Th. *Die Mazedo-Rumänen*, 136–139; Поповић, *О Цинцарима*, 306–480; Балкански, Т., & Д. Андрей. *Големите власи сред българите*, passim (with great reservations about part of the listed names); Трпкоски-Трпку, В. *Власите на Балканот* (Скопје: Здружение “Питу Гули”, 1986), 34–40.

196 A game termed “political philology” by A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, see *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 9–10. See, e.g., one of the statistics published in July 1877 in the context of the Congress of Berlin: Densunşianu, N., and Fr. Dame. *Les Roumains du Sud Macédoine, Thessalie, Epire, Thrace, Albanie* (Paris: Manginot-Hélitasse, 1877); Seton-Watson, R. W. *The rise of Nationality in the Balkans*. London: Constable & Co, 1917, 23, 48, 74, 130, 148, 201; Peyfuss, M. *Die Aromunische Frage. Ihre Entwicklung von den Ursprüngen bis zum Frieden von Bukarest (1913) und die Haltung Österreich-Ungarns* (Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau, 1974); Нягулов, Бл. “Проблемът за власите между двете световни войни (политически фактори и аспекти),” *Българска етнология* XXI. Извънреден брой (1995): 52–75.

197 Winnifrith, *The Vlachs. The History of a Balkan People*, 39–56, 139–149; Peyfuss, *Die Aromunische Frage*, 17–19; Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden*,

tradition as a living Greek antiquity were developed in a similar context. Some elements of the Karakachan tradition, such as traditional arts and crafts, began to be directly associated with the era (style) of Archaic Greece, but there were also other ethnogenetic theories and arguments.¹⁹⁸ Yet, even so, it was not until the end of the 19th and the first two decades of the 20th century that professional ethnographers, geographers, philologists and veterinary doctors began to enter into the isolated world of the mountain pastoralists. They focused their research on languages, cultural specificities, social structures and economy. The first-hand, comparatively detailed accounts of nomadic migrations from earlier times are very few in number.¹⁹⁹

The Karakachans/Sarakatsani are a case in point in this respect. Until the beginning of the 19th century, they were “hidden” behind the name “Vlachs,” while later some groups claimed to be Aromanians after the recognition of the Vlach *millet* in 1905.²⁰⁰ One of their early mentions as “Karakachans” in the eastern Balkans is in a letter of Naiden Gerov, a prominent Bulgarian intellectual, from 1868:

The newspapers also falsely report that there were various provocative demonstrations here and that the people refused to pay taxes, and other such lies. If you want to know the truth, it is that the Government is alarmed by those rumors and has told the Karakachans who summer their sheep in the Balkan range not to come to these areas from now on because they would not be allowed to go to the mountains. The purpose is to cut off food supplies for the bands of rebels.²⁰¹

15–17; Антонијевић, Др. *Обреди и обичаји балканских сточара*. Посебна Издања Балканолошког института, књига 16 (Београд: Српска Академија Наука и Уметности, 1982), 11–26; Атанасова, К. “Армъните. Историографски преглед,” in *Армъните в България. Историко-етнографско изследване*, ed. Ив. Георгиева (София: ИК “Васил”, 1998), 7–23.

198 Kavadias, G. *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens. Les sarakatsans de Grèce* (Paris: Gautier-Villars, 1965), 5–13; Калъонски, Каракачански етюд,” 251–255.

199 Антонијевић, *Обреди и обичаји балканских сточара*, 45–46.

200 Сурин, Н. “Каракачански колиби над с. Рожден, Мориховско,” *Македонски преглед* V, 3 (1929): 88–92.

201 Naiden Gerov writing to Kiril Nektariev, 1 March 1868, see *Из архива на Найден Геров*, ed. by Т. Панчев (София: Държавна печатница, 1914), vol. 1, 279.

Whereas there are various mentions and accounts of the Karakachans from the 1860s–90s and the early 20th century, their properly scientific “discovery” as a separate community and as the most representative nomadic culture of the Balkans took place between the 1920s and 1960s. During that period this type of seasonal migrations gradually came to an end. Together with the common reasons for sedentarization, such as the establishing of and control of the state borders, economic development, etc. in Greece additional factors were land reclamation (draining, plowing-up and adjustment of winter pastures for agriculture), and later the tourist invasion of the seashores. The end came after the general radical political, economic and social transformations, and forced sedentarization in or expulsion from Communist Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania.²⁰²

Unlike the case in Anatolia, by that time it was too late to observe and study nomadic Yürüks. Joining the exoduses of Muslims to the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey, most of the remaining Yürüks on Bulgarian territory emigrated in the period from 1878 to the Balkan Wars and their aftermath.²⁰³ They completely left Thessaly after 1881,²⁰⁴ and Greek Macedonia and the Aegean region in 1912–1923, and steadily emigrated from Vardar Macedonia before and after the Second World War.²⁰⁵

202 Кальонски, “Каракачански етюд,” 249–250.

203 Делирадев, П. *Принос към историческата география на Тракия* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1953), vol. II, 72; Карапетров, П. *Материяли за описание града Панагюрище и околните му села* (Средец: Либерален клуб, 1893), 133; Батаклиев, *Пазарджик и Пазарджишко*, 133–134, 538, 576–577, 586.

204 Sivignon, “The Demographic Evolution of Thessaly, 1881–1940,” 387–388.

205 Jovan Cvijić compares the fate of the Balkan Yürüks to that of the Turks in Hungary, a once significant community which, however, was no longer extant in many areas, leaving only toponymic traces, see Цвијић, *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље*, књига I, 253–254; See also Hoffman, G. W. “The Evolution of the Ethnographic Map of Yugoslavia. A Historical Geographic Interpretation,” in *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*, 474–488; Eckert, G. “Die Jürüken in Zentral-Makedonien,” 563; Радовановић, *Тиквеш и Рајец*, 238, 241–243; Трифуноски, Ј. “О Турцима у Овчеполској котлини,” *Етнологишки преглед* 3 (1961): 131; Недков, “Јуручките населби и население во Источна Македонија,” 81–84.

V. NOMADIC AND OTHER WAYS OF LIFE

The studies of the Karakachans and Aromanians allow us to define nomadism as a Balkan, and if we exclude part of the Lapps (the Saami) and some groups from the Russian steppes and tundra, as a Mediterranean phenomenon. The different approaches, sciences, and schools of research have proposed their own schemes, which often seek to provide a strict definition and typology in the spirit of 19th-century classification systems.²⁰⁶ Pastoral nomads are part of the many traditional societies and groups with a mobile, non-sedentary way of life.²⁰⁷ Unlike the nomadic hunters and gatherers, their economy is “producing,” not “collecting,” and their history is that of a strong, and in some historical periods or moments, politically dominant presence in parts of Asia, Europe, and Africa.

Although it is included in the general term *pastoralism* (a predominantly stockbreeding economy),²⁰⁸ *nomadism* is most accurately defined as a particular cultural adaptation to the steppe, semi-desert and desert environment, as well as to those of high mountains, coastal plains, and uncultivable or difficult-to-cultivate areas. It is above all a mobile way of life based on an extensive form of the mobile pastoral (or predominantly pastoral) economy, with different variants of the group and social organization. The defining characteristic of nomadism is the seasonal migration of all or the majority of the community

206 Dyson-Hudson, N. “The Study of Nomads,” in *Perspectives on Nomadism*, ed. W. Irons and N. Dyson-Hudson (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 2–29; Rudenko, S. “Studien über das Nomadentum,” in *Viehwirtschaft und Hirtenkultur. Ethnographische Studien*, ed. L. Földes (Budapest: Academiai Kiado, 1969), 15–32; Johnson, D. *The Nature of Nomadism. A Comparative Study of Pastoral Migrations in South-eastern Asia and Northern Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Papers, 1969), 1–19; Spooner, Br. *The Cultural Ecology of Pastoral Nomads* (Boston: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1973), 3–6; Khazanov, A. *Nomads and the Outside World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 15–25; Марков, Г. *Кочевники Азии. Структура хозяйства и общественной организации* (Москва: Издательство Московского университета, 1976), 7–10.

207 Андрианов, Б. *Неоседлое население мира (историко-этнографическое исследование)* (Москва: “Наука”, 1985), 41–80.

208 Dyson-Hudson, N. “Pastoralism: Self Image and Behavioral Reality,” in *Perspectives on Nomadism*, 30–47.

(group) together with their herds and property, between more distant or more closely located grazing zones (or within one zone).²⁰⁹

Historically there are certain patterns of establishment of statehood as a result of nomadic conquests and social evolution (or revolution), as well as of relations of non-sedentary pastoralists with the pre-modern or modern societies, empires or states that dominated them politically.²¹⁰ The Ottoman model is just one of them and, moreover, it is to be found in different variants depending on the time and region.

As a whole, nomadic communities have a number of similar characteristics related to the way of life: utilization of “own” zones and pastures (inhabited by them alone or shared with others); seasonal migrations of all or the majority of the group; the basic principle of combining kinship with economic cooperation within otherwise different kinship systems; mobile or temporary dwellings (yurts, tents, huts); in many areas of the Mediterranean, Near East and Central Asia, a diet;²¹¹ traditional textile production, and so on. Among the other common characteristics of the pastoral nomads, who otherwise differ in terms of history, language, religion, customs, ecological, social and political environment, are their conservatism and endurance, their relative cultural, ethnic and social self-isolation and isolation.

This type of adaptation sets certain technological, economic, social and demographic limits beyond which the carriers of such a tradition either remain socially autonomous but politically subordinate subjects of dynasties from their own community, or settle down, evolving into a population with a “complex” agro-pastoral economy. The possibilities for development and innovation of the economic system itself, for creating and developing specialized branches of the economy, are limited.²¹² Fundamental changes and simultaneous preservation of the nomadic way of life are impossible.

209 Johnson, *The Nature of Nomadism*, 20–165; Spooner, *The Cultural Ecology of Pastoral Nomads*, 23–40; Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 16–17, 119–197.

210 Ibid., 198–302; Christian, D. *A History of Russia, Central Asia and Mongolia* (Blackwell Publishing, 1998), vol. I, 84–107, 124–162.

211 Spooner, *The Cultural Ecology of Pastoral Nomads*, 19.

212 Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 69–81.

There is also a certain limit to social stratification and differentiation despite the private ownership of herds and the relations of inequality, which may be quasi-caste, based on origin (tribal elite, “nobles,” conquer and conquered, poor and rich), and so on. In this sense, considering the absence of private ownership of land, the traditional egalitarianism and kinship relations, some scholars have criticized and rejected the Marxist thesis regarding the existence of “nomadic feudalism” among the Mongols in their pre-state and state period.²¹³

This is certainly not to say that the nomadic cultural traditions and social and political structures underwent no development and change. Here I will not comment on various evolutionist, racist, colonial or post-colonial views about the “stagnant” character of nomadic cultures in the bosom of their natural environment, or about the inherently “predatory,” “nomadic parasitism.” One of the best-known interpretations regarding nomadic “stagnation” belongs to Arnold Toynbee.²¹⁴ Another typical example is to be found in William McNeill:

Nomad conquerors badly needed agricultural products to supplement the yield of their flocks and herds, and found ways to acquire grain and other such commodities – sometimes by trade, but more usually by a successful transfer of nomadic parasitism from animal herds to human population.²¹⁵

In this case, McNeill refers to the change of historical relations between “hunter and hunted” over the centuries in the steppe zone of Europe, and later, to concrete state, military, and clan systems, societies such as the Crimean Khanate and the Nogay Tatars (of which

213 See Владимирцов, Б. *Общественный строй монголов. Монгольский кочевой феодализм* (Ленинград: Издательство Академии Наук СССР, 1934), 56–275; Златкин, И. “Кочевой” феодализм,” in *Советская Историческая Энциклопедия*, ed. Е. М. Жуков et al. (Москва: “Советская Энциклопедия”, 1965), Vol. 7: 1019–1020; Gellner, E. Foreword to Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, IX–XXV.

214 Toynbee, A. *A Study of History*. Abridgement of Volumes I–IV by D. C. Somervell (New York & London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 164–186.

215 McNeill, W. *Europe’s Steppe Frontier, 1500–1800* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 7.

the former cannot be defined simply as “nomadic”). We should also bear in mind that they were within a definite foreign-political and economic context (the Ottoman slave market, the wars, raids, and so on) which, especially in the case of the Crimean Tatars, had great importance and influence. What we see here is a very arbitrary but commonplace generalization, like the Oriental saying, according to which the Bedouins were in fact parasites on camels. A third example may be the comment of Anatoly Khazanov, one of the most eminent scholars of nomadism, on Fredrik Barth’s classic anthropological research, one of the most influential case studies in the theoretical framework of cultural ecology:

Nomads and agriculturalists essentially become like different species of animals which utilize natural resources in different ways; consequently, they do not compete with one another and sometimes even the relations between them are symbiotic.²¹⁶

There is, of course, some truth in the thesis regarding the nomads’ economic and social “stagnation” (or, more precisely, conservatism, the endurance of established, traditional social and economic patterns against the background of more complex pre-modern and modern ones). But who was more aggressive and dynamic in previous eras and when, is a relative matter. It is always a concrete historical case and situation despite the generalizations regarding “them nomads.” In another dimension, that of culture, the traditional arts, crafts and folklore of many nomadic communities is part of the world’s cultural heritage.

The main advantage of the pastoral nomads since times immemorial has been their successful adaptation to an often harsh natural environment. However, this advantage becomes a disadvantage when the nomads clash with and encounter the cultural influence and technological superiority of more complexly structured, stratified and organized societies, states and civilizations. At the same time, they are very dependent on the natural environment and the changes in it. In some regions, the

216 Barth, Fr. *Nomads of South Persia. The Bassery Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy* (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1961); Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 34–35.

nomads withstood external pressure and were militarily adequate until the mid- or late 18th century. From then on, the process of their subjugation, social marginalization or assimilation by sedentary populations became universal, albeit with different intensity and consequences.²¹⁷

As in all other parts of the world where mobile pastoralism formerly existed or still exists, the profile of this phenomenon in the Balkans depends on the approach, the accepted criteria, and terminology.²¹⁸ There are different views on the subject, but most tend to differentiate pastoral nomadism from the traditional agro-pastoral economy and sedentary animal husbandry as its component; from the other mobile, old or evolved types of stockbreeding on the peninsula. In Bulgarian ethnology, this understanding is presented by Svetla Rakshieva, who follows representatives of different schools but generalizes, in an entirely acceptable way, their schemes and proposes a standardized, adequate terminology.²¹⁹

In terms of formal classification, four main types of pastoralism can be identified in the Balkans: *Alpine (highland)*; *transhumance*; *nomadism*; *sedentary*. The first three, those of mobile pastoralism, are subdivided into various separate and intermediate forms, local variants, and so on. What they have in common is the movement of herds and herders from summer to winter pastures and back (most often vertically, but sometimes entirely in the lowlands), but they differ by other characteristics.

217 Ibid., 303–304; Braudel, F. *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, Vol. 1, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, transl. revised by Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), 94–98; Жуковская, Н. *Судьба кочевой культуры. Рассказы о Монголии и монголах* (Москва: Наука, 1990).

218 Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 15–31; Антонијевић, *Обреди и обичаји балканских сточара*, 48–53; Marcu, L. “Formes traditionnelles d’élevage pastoral et systèmes d’organisation chez les valaques balkaniques (seconde moitié du XIXe siècle),” in *Одредбе позитивног законодавства и обичајног права*, 67–85; Dunare, N. “Typologie pastorale sud-est européenne,” *ibid.*, 189–210; Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden*, 295–336; Фрейденберг, М. “Проблеми отгонного скотоводства в современной балканистике,” in *Етническа история восточних романцев. Древност и средние века*, ed. В. Д. Королюк et al. (Москва: “Наука”, 1977), 207–216.

219 Ракшијева, С. “Проблемът за типологията на подвижното животновъдство в българските земи,” *Български етнология* XXI, 4 (1995): 3–19.

The first type, *Alpine* or *highland pastoralism*, has been studied extensively in Europe. Generally speaking, it is an agro-pastoral economic complex where livestock and herders move to summer pastures that are relatively close to permanent settlements with fixed dwellings, within the boundaries of one mountain area and its adjacent plains. In winter, the animals are kept in enclosures; there may be two permanent settlements, a summer, and a winter one, or summer huts; migration of part of the population together with the herders between firmly established, permanent, relatively close locations. Here the availability of fodder does not depend on random climate changes and the state of pastures. It is relatively stable, with winter fodder provided by cutting grasslands.²²⁰

The second type, *transhumance* or *transhumant pastoralism*, is widespread in the Balkans and the Mediterranean at large.²²¹ Flocks and herds migrate year-round for grazing, herded by specialized shepherds, while all other members of the group— women, children, the elderly, the rest of the male population, and often the livestock owners— live a settled life in villages, towns, and cities. They are occupied in different economic activities: agriculture, trade, textile production, manufacture, and so on.²²² Given the high degree of specialization and organization of this form of pastoralism, it is profit-making and has a comparatively significant potential for accumulating capital. If the overall economic, market and political conditions are favorable, the size of the aggregate herd of such a settlement or region may be enormous, and it may be increased further by hiring labor and by acquisition or seasonal purchase of new grazing grounds. Possible here are different vertical, horizontal, regional, and local variants of seasonal migrations; distances; ownership relations and social stratification; exploitation or relatively equal cooperation between mobile owner-herdsmen united in cooperatives. The pastures and routes are usually fixed and permanent, as is the whole network of contacts,

220 Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 17–24, 42–50.

221 Ibid., 56–63; Braudel, F. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, transl. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), vol. I, 85–102.

222 Ракшиева, “Проблемът за типологията на подвижното животновъдство в българските земи,” 13–15.

relations with individuals and institutions, market perimeter, and so on.²²³ This form of stockbreeding entails some risks, though. They come from its dependence on the state of winter and summer pastures (droughts, swamping and flooding, parasites, and other natural disasters, and from the climate fluctuations).

Among the different local forms of transhumant pastoralism, specialized large-scale transhumant sheep-breeding was the most economically viable, efficient, and leading one in market relations and economic growth in the 18th and 19th centuries. The nomadic and semi-nomadic groups on the Balkan Peninsula already looked anachronistic against the background of the wealthy large-scale sheep-breeders, of economic centres such as Kotel, Koprivshtitsa, Panagyurishte, some settlements and areas in the Rhodope Mountains in Bulgaria, Western Macedonia, Epirus, Southern Albania, and elsewhere. Here the old stockbreeding traditions were combined with the new changed economic conditions, manufacturing, trade, the urban lifestyle, the new ideas and modern education. This was one of the most important economic bases for the social changes among, for example, the Bulgarians in the late Ottoman Empire, which led to the formation of a new elite and to a period known as the Bulgarian National Revival.²²⁴

Here we will not dwell on the processes of general transformation in which an active role was played not just by part of the Christian

223 See, e.g., Маджаров, М. “На Божии гроб преди 60 години,” in *Книга за българските хаджици*, eds. С. Гюрова & Н. Данова (София: “Български писател”, 1985), 35–94.

224 Грозданова & Андреев, *Джелепкешаните*, 193–197; Нейчев, Ат. “Джелепи и бегликчи,” in *Юбилеен сборник по миналото на Копривицица*, vol. 1, compiled by Архимандрит Евтимий (София: Държавна печатница, 1926), 523–534; Константинов, Д. *Жеравна в миналото и до днешно време. Историко-битов преглед* (София: Читалище “Жеравна”, 1948), 64–65; Карапетров, *Материяли за описание града Панагюрище и околните му села*, 30; Дуков, Л. “Развитие и организация на котленското овцевъдство в Добруджа,” *Известия на Етнографския институт с музей* 16 (1975): 45–79; Тодоровски, “Сточарството во Малореканскиот предел,” 235–236; Мирчев, Д. “Галичките овчари,” *Периодическо списание на Българското книжовно дружество* LXI (1900): 329–342; Шишков, Ст. “Овцевъдството в Тракийската област,” *Тракийски сборник* IV (1933): 41–45; Топузов, И. “Материяли за историята на кашкавала в България,” *Известия на Института за животновъдство* IX (1958): 367–368.

but also by part of the Muslim population of the empire. The new market conditions and regimes of land-holding and land use brought about not just an orientation towards export of cereal and industrial crops, but also a true expansion of specialized transhumant large-scale sheep-breeding during the 18th and 19th centuries. The expanding market, exports, and growing demand for animal products and textiles determined the spread of this type of stockbreeding. It flowered following the economic revival and the development of the proto-capitalist sector of the economy, and general changes in the empire, but was ended by the radical political and economic upheavals that accompanied the formation of the Balkan nation-states.

Nomadism practically does not exist in “pure” form. Nomads are constantly engaged in selective but dynamic and active relations with the surrounding cultures, societies, and states. They are often a component of nations that differ in terms of economy or ethnicity, and associate themselves with or distinguish themselves from them at various hierarchical levels of the “us-them” opposition. In an ideal variant, “the whole population (the nomadic community) does not have a permanent abode (settlements and dwellings) and performs constant migrations together with their families, flocks, herds, and whole movable property.”²²⁵

If we exclude the degree of mobility²²⁶ and of participation of the community in seasonal migrations, the other most often cited criteria – distance, seasonal cycle, permanent or periodic changing of pastures, dwellings, existence or absence of agriculture and other occupations – are not absolute. Agriculture as a supplementary (not primary) form of subsistence is far from rare among nomads and semi-nomads; it may be practiced by all or part of the group during the different stages of the seasonal cycle of migrations.²²⁷ These last are performed in var-

225 Рақшиева, “Проблемът за типологията на подвижното животновъдство в българските земи,” 15.

226 Understood as seasonal migrations linked with a dominant, but never exclusive and sole role of mobile pastoralism, and not as permanent, constant movement from place to place. Pastoral migrations are not subject to definition and classification in terms of absolute stability, instability, and distance, see Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 38.

227 Ibid., 19–22, 60–62; Spooner, *The Cultural Ecology of Pastoral Nomads*, 19–20.

ious combinations and depend on the particular natural and historical conditions and traditions.

Some nomadic groups migrate over long distances throughout the year, while others possess or rent pastures in proximity to permanent (long-term) sites of their seasonal settlements. Among the Yürüks and Aromanians, we also find sedentary town-dwellers, “Tsintsar” urban colonies being a not less typical phenomenon than shepherds in the mountains.²²⁸ Among the Yürüks throughout the Ottoman period, there was also a significant rural community with permanent dwellings, part of which however migrated in summer in two variants: with the women and children, or without them.

In the first case, we may accept the provisional, but historically and culturally accurate, term *semi-nomadism*.²²⁹ Referring to earlier transformed models of such movements in Herzegovina, Montenegro and the Peloponnese, Arnold Beuermann, the eminent researcher of Balkan pastoralists, proposes the term “mobile pastoralism with nomadic traits.”²³⁰ In the second case, established with certainty as late as the 18th century (for example, in the travel notes of M.-E. Cousinery), what we have is mobile pastoralism on a scale that is not entirely clear, but that was far smaller than that in the major Bulgarian and Balkan economic centers. Judging from Ottoman tax and other designations for land cultivators and mobile pastoralists in one and the same permanent settlement, among the Balkan Yürüks this form must have existed since earlier times.

Vlachs and Yürüks who lived in villages, towns, and cities but went on seasonal migrations together with their families and flocks also ought to be classified as semi-nomads. In the case of the Vlachs, such seasonal migrations continued at the beginning of the 20th century and later, mostly from mountain settlements to winter pastures (for example, Samarina in Northern Pindus – Thessaly, Southern Macedonia, Southern

228 So much so that they are one of the symbols of the Balkan town and bazaar. Jovan Cvijić believes that the “Tsintsars” are inheritors of the Byzantine civilization in a form “distorted” during the Ottoman period, although in many places they were a new phenomenon resulting from the sedentarization of former nomads, see Цвијић, *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље*, књига I, 144–148.

229 Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 19–21.

230 Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 61, 66–72, 116–117.

Albania, Epirus).²³¹ In the case of the Yürüks, we have Evliya Çelebi's accounts about migrations of Yürüks he found resident in towns, but who went with their flocks and families to mountain summer pastures (from Tatar Pazarcık/Pazardzhik in Upper Thrace to Dospat in the Western Rhodopes, and from Xanthi in Western Thrace to the Rhodopes), and evidence about such movements over longer or shorter distances until 1913 (from Chalkidiki to the Rhodope mountains). For example, the Yürüks from the villages of Čelevec, Košarka and Iberli in Macedonia were semi-nomads. At the beginning of the 20th century the local Yürüks summered their livestock on the nearby Konečka-Gradeška mountains. The whole population of Košarka went with the flocks to the summer pastures, leaving just one or two guards in the village; the number of Yürüks who stayed back to guard Iberli and Čelevec was a little higher because of the gardens and vineyards in those two villages. Conversely, in winter guards were left in the huts in the mountains, the population went back to the lowland villages, while the shepherds drove the flocks to the pastures around Demir Kapija and along the Vardar river. There were mosques and graveyards both in the plain and in the mountains. From 1919 on, Vlach nomads who had migrated from the Osogovo Mountain also camped in the area of their summer pastures. In the 1920s Karakachans and transhumant Miyak shepherds camped there, too. The Yürüks from other villages in the area of Tikveš, who were occupied with agriculture to a greater degree, also went to *yazla* (summer camps) in the nearby mountains, where they had huts.²³² Similarly, in winter part of the Vlach summer settlements were almost completely deserted but for a few guards or families.

The typological scheme proposed by Svetla Rakshieva, which is more or less similar to those of other scholars, is the following:

231 Wace, A. J. B., and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 38, 46.

232 "Yürüks at Demir Kapija" are mentioned in the 1570 register for the *sancak* of Kyustendil. They paid *resm-i duhan* as nomads, but they also had 10 *düniims* (approximately one hectare) of vineyards, see *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*, vol. V, книга II, 423; Barth, *Reise durch das Innere der europäischen Türkei*, 118, 129; Радовановић, *Тиквеш и Рајец*, 158, 161–162, 203–204, 497–498; Яранов, *Македонија като природно и стопанско цјело*, 95; Трифуноски, Ј. "Неколико начина сточарења у Струмичком крају. Антропогеографска просмотрања," *Balkanica* 6 (1975): 237–244.

1) All nomads have *impermanent dwellings and settlements* throughout or most of the year. Whether they are tents, dug-outs or flimsy structures is not that important. What is of primary importance is that they meet the nomads' needs of a *high degree of mobility*.

2) All nomads raise flocks and herds of sheep, goats, cattle, camels, or combinations of them, devoting their whole time, energy and thoughts to tending their livestock. Although they also engage in trade, caravan trading, warfare, and raiding, or they even sow and reap, *stockbreeding remains their primary source of subsistence*.

3) All nomads follow *definite migration patterns* (area and traditional routes of movement) which are dependent on seasonal vegetation and the availability of pasture and water in different zones throughout the year.²³³

Certain additional remarks about the nomads in general and the Balkan nomads, in particular, are presented below. First of all, in the entirely justifiably rejected "ideal model" and in the convincingly drawn working model, the following formulation would be more accurate: "relatively non-durable permanent (non-transportable) dwellings which are abandoned in the respective season;²³⁴ occasionally, also durable ones (in the case of semi-nomads); transportable dwellings." As regards the latter as a common attribute and symbol of nomadism, the best one of them, the felt yurt of the Türks and Mongols (a variant of which is the Anatolian *derim evi* or *topak ev*), is far more durable and comfortable than the houses and huts of many sedentary agricultural peoples.²³⁵ The second, to my mind essential, key to understanding nomadism is that it is in a state not just of dependence on, but also in balance with, the available natural resources. The confinement of migrations to "own" zones often has active effects on the environment due to the periodic

233 Ракшиева, "Проблемът за типологията на подвижното животновъдство в българските земи," 16; emphasis in the original.

234 The traditional cone-shaped Karakachan and Vlach huts in summer and winter camps remain uninhabited for months on end, but if the covering (of straw, branches with leaves, reed) is replaced periodically the structure itself can last for several years.

235 Харузин, Н. Г. "История развития жилища у кочевых и полукочевых тюркских и монгольских народностей России," *Этнографическое обозрение* XXVIII, 1 (1896): 24–51.

presence of herds and human activity (in the Balkans, the artificial expansion of pasturelands, which may cause erosion, and so on). However, as a whole, the pastures with a high carrying capacity remain in their relatively natural state. A common characteristic of the nomadic and semi-nomadic ways of life is the traditional economic strategy aimed primarily at maintaining a definite optimum of livestock, in different combinations of species and numbers.²³⁶

In this context, sometimes the definition of the possible minimum or optimum is too categorical and strict. For instance, in Rudi Lindner's study on the Anatolian tribes in the 16th century, according to which Ottoman tax regulations were deliberately designed to reduce the number of sheep so as to compel their owners to adopt a sedentary way of life.²³⁷

In practice, different variants are possible, depending on the environmental conditions; the species- and breed-composition of herds and flocks, their productivity and reproductivity, and the traditional ways of raising livestock. Also important are social stratification, the relations of inequality, slavery, hired labor, cooperation, and kinship. Among the other important factors are the market opportunities and niches, the favorable and unsuccessful seasons and periods, the combinations of stockbreeding with other activities, and to some extent, the age, gender, and in-group division and organization of labor. The human resources, however, are comparatively limited within the respective group, the kinship and seasonal association, and they are directly dependent on the natural resources. Instances of employment of hired labor, servants, and manumitted slaves are to be found among the Balkan Yürüks, but they played a supplementary role in the latter's economy.

Thirdly, last but not least, nomadism is defined not just as adaptation to the natural environment but also to "the outside world."²³⁸ Nomadic peoples have a certain place in world history and culture – as conquerors, as a bridge between large spaces and civilizations, as an

236 Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 16, 25–40; Spooner, *The Cultural Ecology of Pastoral Nomads*, 8–19; Johnson, *The Nature of Nomadism*, 7–11.

237 See Chapter One, p. 32–47.

238 Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 68–84, 198 ff.

integral and contradictory factor for thousands of years.²³⁹ They have original, rich and influential traditions, arts and crafts, and styles. They are often subjects and a military potential in different empires and states, and a separate, in some cases significant, sector in the pre-modern economy of many regions.²⁴⁰ Their own economic model is autonomous but not autarkic. Exchange, trade, transportation, warfare, and raids are vital spheres of interaction with the sedentary population, which have also significantly modified the ideal “pure type.” They modify the predominantly pastoralist character of the economy, making it more flexible, but at the same time, they may be factors of change, social evolution, and sedentarization.²⁴¹

Hunting may be a supplementary occupation to one extent or another, insofar as relatively pristine sites with sufficient game were preserved in the respective zones of seasonal migrations. The nomads frequently lived in a “wild” natural environment. Nowadays it is hard to imagine what many areas in the relatively sparsely populated Balkans or Anatolia – at that, not just in the mountains – looked like back in the past. For example, according to Ottoman legislation from the time of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566), the skins of lynxes and leopards (*vaşak*, *kaplan*) captured by *yaya* auxiliaries were for their commanders (*beys*). The existence of such species of big cats in Asia Minor in the 16th century is indirect evidence of more or less intact habitats.²⁴² Their skins were an important trade article and, at the same time, a sign of high social status and military merit. In the 17th century, Evliya Çelebi constantly describes hunting

239 As Anatoly Khazanov puts it, in the period between two revolutions: the Neolithic and the Industrial, *ibid.*, 9–13, 17.

240 Еремеев, Д. “К проблеме о происхождения и развития кочевничества,” *Вестник Московского Университета*, Серия 13 (Востоковедение), 3 (1979): 3–13. Еремеев, Д. “Роль кочевников в этнической истории,” *Рассы и народы* 12 (1982): 19–42; Жуковская, Н. *Категории и символика традиционной культуры монголов* (Москва: “Наука”, 1988); Brentjes, B., and R. S. Vasilievsky, *Schamanenkronne und Weltenbaum. Kunst der Nomaden Nordasiens* (Leipzig: VEB E. A. Seemann Verlag, 1989).

241 Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 3, 9–12, 70–84, 198 ff.

242 Once quite widespread and common, nowadays the Anatolian leopard (*Panthera pardus tulliana*) is almost extinct.

scenes, species of big and small game, precious skins for sale in Asia Minor, the Balkans and elsewhere. In the Balkans in the Ottoman period, and in some places until the first decades of the 20th century, there were vast pasturelands in the inland and coastal plains, as well as lowland forests rich in game, which were unaffected or little affected by agriculture.²⁴³ The “Jungle Book” of “wild men and animals,” as Fernand Braudel figuratively describes the environment of preindustrial societies, long remained voluminous and unread to the end in Asia Minor and Southeast Europe.²⁴⁴

Similarly to the Balkan Yürüks, many other communities had relatively permanently (long-term) established pastures and routes. Unlike the Western Mediterranean, though, in the Balkans in the Ottoman period, there were no strict legal regulations regarding privileged and compulsory sheep routes similar to the *tratturi* and *tratturelli* in Italy or the *cañadas*, *cordeles* and *veredas* in Castile.²⁴⁵ Local transhumant shepherds used both the main roads and their own parallel or intersecting routes. Their routes depended on the location of summer and winter pastures, the distance, the relief, the existence of possibilities for grazing along the way and for trade with the local population. By tradition, not by law, on the peninsula for centuries on end there was a network of established, relatively isolated roads and paths, some of which have remained as place-names in present-day Bulgaria: for example, Vlashki pat (Vlach road) in Southern Pirin, Yuruchki drum (Yürük path) in the area of Dupnitsa and Yurushki drum (Yürük path) near the village of Branipole, Plovdiv district; or Yurushki pat (Yürük

243 See, e.g., Пиер Белон дю Ман, *Наблюдения на множество редки и забележителни неща, видени в Гърция, Азия, Юдея, Египет, Арабия и други чужди страни*, transl. В. Николаев, ed. И. Буреш et al. (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1953). This edition includes Pierre Belon’s original text in Old French, *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays étrangers*.

244 Braudel, F. *Civilization and Capitalism*, vol. 1, 64–70. See Akgündüz, A. *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri* (İstanbul: Fey Vakfi, 1992), vol. 4, 320. On hunting as a supplementary occupation and pastime in later times among the Anatolian Yürüks, see Еремеев, Д. *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники* (Москва: “Наука”, 1969), 59–60; Güngör, K. *Cenubî Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki* (Ankara: İdeal Basımevi, 1941), 36, 44.

245 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, vol. I, 89–94.

road) near the villages of Malo Konare and Kapitan Dimitriev, and the town of Peshtera.²⁴⁶

Cases of holding or tenancy of winter and summer pastures, of some specialization in certain crafts and activities, and last but not least, of the existence of longer-term, albeit seasonally abandoned, settlements and dwellings are also common. Depending on the particular conditions, they may be one of the prerequisites for the emergence of various transitional or mixed forms tending towards a fully sedentary way of life (transhumant or sedentary pastoralism, predominant agriculture, urban lifestyle). Semi-nomadism, however, can be a sufficiently stable, enduring economic system which functions for a long time in a state of balance between the different occupations without departing from the particular nomadic tradition.²⁴⁷

The different regional and cultural, historically formed, forms of nomadism – in the tundra, the Eurasian steppes, the Near East, Central Asia, East Africa, the high mountains and plateaus of Central Asia – are more or less differentiated from each other.²⁴⁸ The Anatolian and Balkan Yürüks, part of the Kurds and Türkmen, the Vlachs, the Karakachans, and others, have many things in common in their migration pattern (or patterns), economy, and way of adaptation to the natural, social and political environment. They perform vertical seasonal migrations between summer and winter pastures. These migrations are within varying, but quite similar to the Eastern Mediterranean, Asia Minor and the Middle East, landscape zones. Here seasonal migrations are performed primar-

246 Делирадев, *Принос към историческата география на Тракия*, vol. II, 202, 254, 256; Маринов, *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България*, 28–29; The best study on the routes of transhumant and nomadic shepherds in the Bulgarian lands, based on a vast corpus of interviews and ethnographic evidence, is in Svetla Rakshieva's unpublished dissertation, Ракшиева, С. "Българското традиционно подвижно овцевъдство." PhD. dissertation, Етнографски Институт с Музей, София, 1991, pp. 192–204.

247 Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 21; although there are "nomadic ideologies," according to which agriculture is an occupation for the weak and for women, it is not prestigious, and the necessary non-pastoral products should be acquired through exchange or raids, see Spooner, *The Cultural Ecology of Pastoral Nomads*, 9.

248 *Ibid.*, 6–8; Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 40–69; Андрианов, *Неоседло население мира*, 53–81.

ily between the mountains, the coastal and inland basins and lowlands, and not in the open steppes, semi-deserts, and deserts (that is, in the humid and partially in the semi-arid, not in the arid, zone). They may provisionally be classified as what some authors define as “mountain nomadism” in this part of the world.²⁴⁹ Its “cultural-ecological niche” is not characterized by extreme or very harsh environmental conditions even though its core consists of zones and places that are poorly cultivated, uncultivable by traditional agricultural methods, marginal and barren. In terms of history and economy, it is the least uniform type of nomadism, with various transitional forms tending towards a sedentary way of life and other types of pastoralism.²⁵⁰

All of them are difficult to identify in the Ottoman sources even when there are direct indications of a nomadic way of life. Those who were the closest to the “pure type” in the 19th and 20th centuries are a large part of the Anatolian Yürüks, who migrated with their wives and children, lived in transportable dwellings throughout the year, and did not practice agriculture.²⁵¹ Typically, their livestock consisted of hybrids between the two camel species (the Bactrian or two-humped camel, and the dromedary or one-humped camel) adapted to mountain conditions, sheep of the Kıvrıkcık type²⁵² that were more or less similar to the local Balkan breeds (such as the Karakachan, Panagyurishte or Karnobat ones), and goats (which were usually fewer

249 Johnson, *The Nature of Nomadism*, 20–38, 170–173; Ракшиева, “Проблемът за типологията на подвижното животновъдство в българските земи,” 17–19.

250 What Anatoly Khazanov defines as “the Middle Eastern” type of nomadism (in Asia Minor and the Middle East, Iran, Afghanistan), is considered to be the least homogenous and, in certain respects, intermediate type. Geographically, it is located in areas between “the Near Eastern” (in Arabia, North Africa, Sahara and Northeast Africa) and “the Eurasian steppe” types, see Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 59–63. In principle, the nomads who perform vertical migrations do not easily fit into a strict classification system because of the numerous “transitional forms,” see Андрианов, *Неоседло население мира*, 73.

251 de Planhol, X. *De la plaine pamphilienne et lacs pisidiens. Nomadisme et vie paysanne* (Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958), 127, 186–207.

252 In the Balkans this breed is mentioned for the first time in the register of sheep-suppliers of 1576, see *Турски извори за българската история*, vol. III, ed. Б. Цветкова et al (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1972), 43.

in number or absent). They also raised various breeds of sheep of the type of the widespread fat-tailed sheep (such as Karaman or Dağlıç), which are adapted to steppe and semi-desert conditions.²⁵³ They had pack horses and saddle horses – these last served as a status symbol or were used in raids and war. Unlike the Balkans, in Anatolia camels played a much more important role in seasonal migrations than horses.²⁵⁴ The dogs were of the Akbaş and Karabaş types – large shepherd dogs that were also imported into the Balkans.²⁵⁵

Some of the Yürük pastoralist groups (cemaats) of the 15th and 16th centuries probably had similar characteristics. This assumption is applicable at least for those that are known for sure to have migrated over comparatively long distances. For example, between the area of Salonica and the Maleshevo Mountain; between the area of Štip and the Rila Mountains; between the Thracian Plain and Mount Vitosh; between the Aegean and Mount Vitosh, as well as others which summered their livestock on mountains that were near their winter pastures. In some cases, it is not clear whether women and children participated in the seasonal migrations – for example, from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century, from the areas of Dojran, Kukush/Kilkis and Demirhisar to the Rila Mountains.²⁵⁶

It is quite possible that as early as the 15th or 16th century, “full” nomadism on the Balkans may have begun to acquire local traits, together with the adoption of agricultural practices by semi-nomadic and sedentary Yürüks (horses and mules instead of camels, elements of the costume, some dairy foods, huts, local sheep breeds of the Rhodian, Rila-Monastery, Karnobat, Karakachan or other types).

253 Bates, D. *Nomads and Farmers. A Study of the Yörük of Southeastern Turkey*, Anthropological Papers 52, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1973, 130–131, 145; Съонмез, Р. “Овцевъдството в Турция,” in *Симпозиум по овцевъдство на балканските страни (29 май–1 юни 1967 г., Русе)*, eds. К. Братанов & К. Цочев (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1970), 35–36; Айканли, А. Р. “Развъждане на дребен рогат добитък в Турция. Проблемите в тази насока и тяхното разрешаване,” *ibid.*, 191–193.

254 Eröz, M. *Yörükler* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1991), 159–160; Еремеев, Юрюки. *Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники*, 31.

255 Динчев, В. “Българското каракачанско куче,” *Природа* 6 (1988): 53.

256 See Chapter Four, I, 2.

Naturally, this cannot be traced in the Ottoman sources, nor has it been, unlike Karakachan sheep, horse, and dog breeds, specially studied in a veterinarian and ecological aspects.²⁵⁷

The Karakachans and some Vlach groups (Aromanian Farsherioti), with all specific traits of the respective cultural traditions, are also close to the “pure” form of nomadism. They lived in relatively non-durable, non-transportable dwellings (huts) in their winter and summer camps, and in tents during their seasonal migrations. They kept mostly sheep of the Karakachan type and pack horses, a few donkeys and, occasionally, pigs in their mountain camps. The number of goats in the aggregate herd was usually small. In the case of the Karakachans, the sheep and horses were very purebred and they, too, constitute one of the local characteristics of “full” nomadism that is relatively more isolated from the outside world.²⁵⁸ This also holds for the Karakachan dogs, which are a separate breed. As among the Yürüks, they guarded the livestock and people against bandits and predators but did not herd the livestock.²⁵⁹ Unlike in the steppes, in the Balkans the presence of cattle and a larger number of goats is usually a sign of an ongoing process of sedentarization. If we follow the attempts at more strict classification of pastoralist lifeways in Southeast Europe, part of the Karaguni Vlachs and the Balkan Yürüks in the 19th–20th centuries were semi-nomads. They had one permanent settlement,²⁶⁰ winter or

257 See Савов, Т. *Развитие на овцевъдството в България до 9 септември 1944 г.* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1964), 15, 149–152; Хлеббаров, Г. “Изучавания върху българските местни овце и възможностите за тяхното подобрене,” *Сборник на Българската Академия на Науките XXXIII* (1940): 27–35, 54–55.

258 Ibid., 55–58; Хлеббаров, Г. “Номадното овцевъдство на каракачаните и куцовласите в планините на Балканския полуостров,” *Природа VII*, 1 (1958): 13–18.; “Каракачанската овца,” *Годишник на Софийския Университет – Аграрно-лесовъден факултет XX*, 1 (1941–1942): 1–34; Савов, *Развитие на овцевъдството в България до 9 септември 1944 г.*, 153–155; Петров, Ал. “Българският примитивен кон. Характеристика на развъжданите в България примитивни коне,” *Годишник на Софийския Университет – Агрономо-лесовъден факултет XIX*, 1 (1940–1941), 75–79.

259 Динчев, “Българското каракачанско куче,” 54.

260 With very modest, transportable furnishings, see Wace, A. J. B., and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 94–99.

summer camps of huts, and transportable tents. Stockbreeding was their predominant form of subsistence, in different combinations with other occupations. In this period, caravan trade, also characteristic of Anatolian and Balkan Yürüks,²⁶¹ was widely practiced by the Aromanians who, in addition to sheep, goats, quite a few horses, and donkeys, also had more mules than the others. As a supplementary occupation, caravan trade was an important part of regional and local transportation before, and long after, the appearance of railways.²⁶² Unlike the case of the Vlachs, supplementary agriculture was a more typical occupation of the semi-nomadic Yürüks. Similarly to the analogous form in Asia Minor, it was combined with some cattle-breeding and (in some instances) relatively more extensive goat-breeding.²⁶³ Goats are a little more resistant to cold than sheep, while cows cannot travel as fast as sheep, horses, and camels, and were therefore usually left in the winter settlements. Sometimes, similarly to the Rhodian Christian shepherds, the Yürüks in Anatolia took them along during their migrations. Evidence of cattle-breeding among Yürüks from the Ottoman sources is usually a sign of a sedentary way of life, but it may have been practiced only by some members of the group who remained in the winter/summer settlements, or during semi-nomadic migrations at relatively shorter distances.

The nomadic and semi-nomadic forms of mobile pastoralism may be combined with some agricultural activities near the summer and winter camps, where there is a division of labor within the group. Those forms, however, have a fundamental characteristic in common: a relatively high degree of mobility, taking risks (real or imaginary, mythic

261 The caravan trade or transportation of goods by horses of the Tatars and the Yürüks (*kiracılık*), is included in the lawbook of Sultan Mehmed II (end of 15th c.), see *Турски извори за историята на правото в българските земи*, vol. I, ed. Г. Гълъбов (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1961), 23.

262 On Vlach caravan trade, see Цвијић, *Балканско полуострво и јужнословенске земље*, књига I, 156–157; Weigand, *Rumänen und Aromunen in Bulgarien*, 15, 61–62; Wace, A. J. B., and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 12, 74; Capidan, *Die Mazedo-Rumänen*, 95–98; Трпкоски-Трпку, *Власите на Балканот*, 23–26.

263 de Planhol, X. *De la plaine pamphilienne et lacs pisidiens*, 207–222; Güngör, *Cenubî Anadolu Yürüklerinin Etno-antropolojik Tetkiki*, 35–36, 44; Еремеев, *Юрюки. Турецкие кочевники и полукочевники* 29–35, 50–54.

and demonic) of migrating together with women, children, the elderly and the livestock. The differences are in that semi-nomads have a permanent settlement and combine mobile pastoralism with supplementary agriculture. The latter may be completely absent among nomads, as it was in the case of the vast majority of the Karakachans. In other cases, established through ethnographic research, such as those of some Aromanian semi-nomadic groups, agriculture may be insignificant (small patches of gardens around houses in the summer settlement), or altogether absent.²⁶⁴ Instead, mobile pastoralism is supplemented by caravan trade or transportation of goods by horses (*kiracılık*), and trade in livestock and dairy products, wool, textiles. Some occupations, such as rice cultivation, salt, and charcoal production, are also fully consistent with the semi-nomadic seasonal economic cycle.

Nomadism and semi-nomadism are an integral form,²⁶⁵ which in the Balkans is culturally and socially differentiated from the surrounding sedentary peoples within the historical context of constant domination of “their” states. Ottoman and other sources, as well as a number of ethnological studies, attest to a comparatively high degree of mobility, of readiness to emigrate or move to other pastures, settlements, and areas in response to social, political, economic or environmental changes and cataclysms. Nomadism is not just an economic but also a cultural tradition which may remain an important symbol long after the sedentarization and modernization of a group. Seasonal migrations of pastoralists, artisans or other groups are part of the tradition of all Balkan peoples. However, nomadism is also defined as a specific “value system,” ethos – even in the form of nostalgia, folklore or a still living memory of the past, when life was “heavy” and “wild.”²⁶⁶ Georgios Kavadias calls this phenomenon among the Karakachans “nomadisme par ‘vocation’.”²⁶⁷ Hence also the temptation to look for preserved archaic, archetypal elements in the nomadic cultural traditions in the Balkans. Such temptations are typical not just

264 Wace, A. J. B., and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 94.

265 Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, 19–21.

266 As present-day Karakachans often describe it to outsiders.

267 Kavadias, *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens*, 20.

of historians, philologists, and ethnologists,²⁶⁸ but also of zoologists and veterinarians that studied the ecology of seasonal migrations and the breeds of nomadic groups.²⁶⁹ The local nomads looked like – and in many respects, were – a living antiquity. Such a view is justified for specific aspects of the nomadic way of life, although their traces are lost beyond the first direct account of seasonal pastoralist migrations with women and children in the Balkans. It comes from the Byzantine writer Kekaumenos, and it is an answer to a question addressed to Vlachs in Thessaly who were preparing for the revolt of 1066 together with the then local Bulgarians in the province:

He [Nikulitzas Delphinas, the future leader of the rebellion] also asked the Vlachs: “Where are your flocks and women now?” They answered: “In the mountains of Bulgaria.” That is because it is their custom that their flocks and families live in high mountains and in the coolest of places right up until September²⁷⁰

From the mid-11th to the mid-20th centuries, and probably for many centuries before that, nomadism was invariably present as a social and

268 For different views about the origin of the Aromanians and Karakachans, accompanied by identifications and analogies with prehistory, Antiquity and the Middle Ages (including Vlachs – Pelasgians, Illyrians, Thracians; Karakachans – ancient Hellenes, Thracians, Illyrians, medieval Türks, and so on), see Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden*, 14 ff.; Caranica, N. “Les Aroumains: Recherches sur l’identité d’une ethnie.” Thèse pour le Doctorat Nouveau Régime, Université de Besançon, Département des Science Humaines, 1990; Kavadias, *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens*, 5–14, 174–175; for Yürüks as “ancient Türks” or others, see Eröz, *Yörükler*, 15 ff.

269 Динчев, “Българското каракачанско куче,” 52–54; Хлебаров, “Каракачанската овца,” 1–8; Караиванов, Р., & А. Петров, “Произход на първичния (примитивния) кон в България,” *Архив на Селскостопанския музей* I (1971): 55–128.

270 Cited in Литаврин, Г. *Советы и рассказы Кекавмена. Сочинение византийского полководца XI века*. Москва: “Наука”, 1972, 259. Here “the mountains of Bulgaria” means summer pastures in the eponymous large Byzantine military-administrative unit, *catepanate*, most probably Northern Pindus, Grammos, or nearby mountains in Macedonia, see Gyoni, M. “La transhumance des vlaques balkaniques à Moyen Age,” *Byzantinoslavica* 12 (1957): 33–34.

cultural phenomenon in life on the Balkan Peninsula. It seems to have changed little in the period between the first unquestionable evidence of its existence and the sedentarization of the last Karakachan groups. Although they were of different religions and languages, the local nomadic communities migrated seasonally and replaced each other in the same zones, areas, and places over the centuries. Byzantine authors, Ottoman court records, ethnographic studies and various travel accounts attest to striking similarities in the products, costumes, breeds, dwellings and interests of those mountaineers. The oral tradition of the surrounding Balkan peoples unerringly recognizes the definitive, mutually presupposed elements of the nomadic way of life. They are part of the stereotypes constituting the invisible but significant dividing line between the “sedentary” agriculturalists and town-dwellers, and the “wanderers” or “nomads.” The mention of “Yürüks,” “Vlachs” or “Karakachans” at the beginning of an ethnographic interview or in a travel account does not always make it clear exactly who is being referred to, but almost always entails mentions of large flocks of sheep and herds of horses, tents and huts, caravans, men, women and children moving according to the seasons. At the end of the 19th century “Yürüks” is still found as a general term for nomads in a Bulgarian context, similarly to “Vlachs” in the pre-Ottoman Balkan Middle Ages. For example, in the 1880s–90s the famous Bulgarian writer and enthusiastic traveller, Ivan Vazov, repeatedly notes his meetings with “Yürüks” in the Balkan range/Stara Planina, the Rila, and the Rhodope mountains. Everywhere, though, he actually has in mind the Karakachans. In the same way, long after Yürüks stopped coming to the summer pastures in Central Stara Planina, “the Kalofer commune sold the excess pastures to Karakachans (called ‘Yürüks’ in Kalofer), who grazed their flocks [on them] in summer.”²⁷¹ Eventually, the name that became common on present-day Bulgarian territory, and replaced

271 Вазов, И. “Един кът от Стара планина (1882)”; “Великата Рилска пустиня (1892)”; “В недрата на Родопите (1892),” in *Съчинения в четири тома*, vol. IV (София: “Български писател”, 1982), 93–94, 112–114, 122, 163–164, 167–168, 237; Вазов, И. “Богдан. Излет из Средна гора (1897),” in *Събрани съчинения*, ed. П. Динеков, vol. XI (София: “Български писател”, 1955), 107; Начов, Н. *Калофер в миналото*, (София: “Земиздат”, 1990, first published in 1927), vol. 1, 401; See also Weigand, *Romänen und Aromunen in Bulgarien*, 51.

“Yürüks,” was “Karakachans” (parallel with “Vlachs” and, sometimes, “Gypsies”), and it was used even for the last local Yürük groups (“Turkish Karakachans”).

At that time, the new economic and social relations in the late Ottoman Empire and the emerging nation-states had an impact also on the nomads and semi-nomads in the Balkans. Those relations were among the causes for the intensification of their migrations. Groups of Vlachs and Karakachans found themselves on winter pasturelands that were part of large commercial *çiftlik* estates in Thessaly, Macedonia, and the Aegean region.²⁷² By renting pastures, they became integrated in larger or smaller economic networks, and trade in livestock, dairy products, wool. Nomadic groups began to cater for the growing market of *kashkaval* (yellow cheese) and for the supply of major consumer centers such as Salonica, Adrianople, and Constantinople, and later, of the respective nation-states markets.²⁷³ They actively exchanged their products with the surrounding population in return for agricultural products, as bread and cereal foods were staples in the diet of the Yürüks, Aromanians, and Karakachans. Their summer settlements were visited by middlemen purchasing *kashkaval*, white brined cheese, livestock, wool, as well as by state officials in charge of food supplies. For example, during the post-war economic crisis in Bulgaria in the 1920s, and in the context of an influx of thousands of refugees from Macedonia and Thrace, the Commissariat for Food Supplies was negotiating the purchase of substantial quantities of milk, dairy products and livestock with Vlach and Karakahan headmen.²⁷⁴ Home textile produc-

272 McGowan, Br. *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe. Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 73 ff; Adanir, F. “Tradition and Rural Change in Southeastern Europe During the Ottoman Rule,” in *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe: Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages until the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. D. Chirot (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 1989), 143–154; Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 88–90, 161; Антонијевић, Др. “Прилог проучавању сточарских миграција на Балкану,” *Balkanica* 7 (1976): 318; Wace, A. J. B., and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans*, 18–19.

273 Ibid., 78–79; Топузов, “Материали за историята на кашкавала в България,” 373, 385; Weigand, *Romänen und Aromunen in Bulgarien*, 60–61.

274 Изложение от скотовъдците кехаи власи и каракачани от 11–28. IV. 1925 г. – СГОДА, Ф. Iк, Оп. 1, а. е. 776, л. 535 – 544.

tion, though – for example, that of the sedentary and semi-nomadic Yürüks of Macedonia between the 18th and the early 20th centuries – could not compete with organized manufacturing, the first factories, and their articles. Even so, Balkan nomads and semi-nomads were vibrant, socially autonomous and economically active in this period, too. Over time, they became ever more vulnerable to the changes in the larger societies around them. Catering for the market continued to be an important strategy, and there are quite a few cases on record of Aromanians and Karakachans who raised sheep and horses in numbers well above the minimum or optimum necessary to maintain seasonal migrations. There are such cases among the Yürüks, too. In general, the nomads strove to ensure that they would be in a position to cope with natural or social misfortunes, taxation, renting pastures, dealing with inheritance, giving levies or dowries in livestock, and providing for their children. They kept some money aside, with which they frequently rented pastures for the season at a higher price than the other mobile pastoralists. Their advantage came from their exceptional stockbreeding skills which, combined with the ethological (behavioral) characteristics of their sheep and horses, to some extent allowed a relatively larger number of livestock to be tended by fewer people, including with the help of children.²⁷⁵ The traditional age-based, gender and group division of labor turned the camps into small production centers. Another advantage came from the very low household maintenance costs, as the modest needs of this way of life were met almost exclusively by home production. This fully holds for the rich Karakachan and Vlach headmen who had large flocks of sheep, herds of horses, and money but shared the way of life of the other members of the group. Their moveable, animate and inanimate property was a treasure and a form of insurance against misfortunes, rather than capital in the proper sense of the word. The comparatively large flocks and herds were a source of subsistence and trade but – regardless of whether they were engaged or not in supplementary agriculture, car-

²⁷⁵ Karakachan horses feed and guard themselves against predators on mountain pasturelands on their own. They are raised in a semi-wild state, but have a strong sense of balance and orientation, which is important in the transportation of children, furnishings and goods. Sheep of this breed do not scatter; they huddle together when they are frightened.

avan trade and other occupations, or military service – the migrations of all or of the majority of the community consumed the resources and time of the nomads and semi-nomads. Their way of life remained much more conservative than, for example, that of the Rhodopian or Kotel transhumant shepherds whose mores, superstitions, prejudices, and backwardness have been the subject of quite critical and humorous comments in a Bulgarian cultural context.

Existing evidence from the 19th and 20th centuries gives us some idea of the scale of nomadic and semi-nomadic stockbreeding in later times as well as of the necessary minimum/optimum number of livestock. For the Karakachans and Aromanians, the established minimum per household was 20–25–30 sheep and several horses (mules) with which they could join the nomadic group. Their traditional regulations were similar to those in Ottoman legislation, according to which a *kara Yürük* (a “pover nomad”) was someone who had fewer than 20 sheep or none at all.²⁷⁶ Orientation towards the market and caravan transportation was unquestionably one of the most important characteristics of all pastoralists in the region. It accounts for the widespread cases of ownership of (sometimes much) more than the optimum number of livestock. Various, more or less reliable, sources clearly reveal the significant place of nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralism in the life of the Ottoman and post-Ottoman Balkans, and its economic integration into the surrounding societies.²⁷⁷ The data cited below also reflect the resilience of the local pastoralist communities and traditions.

In 1812 Henry Holland met a Vlach caravan of 1,000 horses in the area of Arta in Epirus.²⁷⁸ V. O. von Riedmann saw a caravan of Vlachs with some 500 horses on the road between Bitola and Skopje in the 1930s. The horses were divided into groups of 10 to 15 and led by the women.²⁷⁹ These caravans were often followed by flocks

276 See Chapter Three, I, 1.; Вайганд, Г. *Аромъне*, 179; ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ, ΣΑΡΑ-ΚΑΤΣΑΝΟΙ, Τ. Ι, Β', 18; Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 156.

277 Kaser, *Hirten, Kämpfer, Stammeshelden*, 388–341.

278 Holland, H. *Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia &c. During the Years 1812 and 1813* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1815), 91–93, 100.

279 von Riedmann, V. O. “Balkan Nomads on the March,” *Geographical*

of tens of thousands of sheep, divided by kind and age, and tended by armed shepherds and dogs. Before 1878 a group of some 50 to 60 households of Karakachans in Bulgaria had a total of 10,000 to 15,000 sheep (an average of 200–300–500 per household), but their number began to decline after the Second World War.²⁸⁰ In 1898 some 180 to 200 households of Karakachans with approximately 180,000–200,000 sheep and 5,000–6,000 horses (an average of 400–450 sheep and 25–30 horses per household) were expected to cross over into Bulgarian territory.²⁸¹

Gradually, the numbers given by various sources signal the beginning of the end of Balkan pastoralism in general, and of the nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life in particular. In the late 19th/early 20th century, medium wealthy households had between 400 and 800 sheep, in some cases up to 1,000; wealthier households had up to 3,000 sheep. After 1944 the number of sheep declined to 200–400 per household.²⁸² According to information collected by Bulgarian geographer Vasil Marinov, until the 1930s it was normal for a Karakachan headman (shepherds' *kehaya*) to have 3,000–4,000 sheep.²⁸³ The Aromanians in the Beshbunar and Ramna Buka summer camps, in the Rila Mountains, had up to 4,000 sheep and 200 horses per household.²⁸⁴ At the beginning of the 20th century, the Vlachs from the Piziditsa summer settlement, in the Rhodope Mountains, consisted of 50 huts or

Magazine 6 (1937): 435–440.

280 Urbanska, В. “Karakaczani. Nomadzki ľud pasterski na Bałkanach,” *Etnografia Polska* 2 (1962): 202–226; Бонина, Ж. “Съвременното каракачанско семейство,” *Българска етнография* 3–4 (1981): 39.

281 Гърличков, Гр. “Трябва ли да се пуцат каракачанските овце в България и най-вече тая година?” *Ветеринарна сбирка VII* (1898): 133. The total number of sheep included 80,000 milk sheep, 40,000 barren sheep, and 80,000 lambs. In most cases, there is no data about the composition of the aggregate herd.

282 Markowska, “Kiłka uwag o procesie zanikania nomadzkich migracji pasterskich na terenie Bułgarii,” 234–235.

283 Маринов, *Принос към изучаването на произхода, бита и културата на каракачаните в България*, 16.

284 Меджидиев, А. *История на град Станке Димитров (Дупница) и покрайнината му от XIV век до 1912–1963 г.* (София: Издателство на Отечествения фронт, 1969), 46.

60 households (450 persons). Their aggregate herd numbered 6,000 sheep and 600 horses (an average of some 100 sheep and 10 horses per household). Their headman owned 500 sheep and 130 horses.²⁸⁵ In the 1880s, 134 households of Karakachans who wintered in the valley of the river Morava and summered in the mountains of Southeastern Serbia (the areas of Pirot and Vranje) and Kopaonik had 33,000 sheep (an average of approximately 250 per household).²⁸⁶ Before the Second World War, one of the summer camps in the Kopaonik mountain consisted of six huts with 1,500 sheep and 60 horses (that is, an average of some 250 sheep and 10 horses per household).²⁸⁷

In Vardar Macedonia towards the end of the 19th century, some Karakachan households owned up to 1,000 sheep and 200–300 horses.²⁸⁸ Local people claimed that before the Balkan Wars, 10 households kept 80,000 sheep on Mount Galičica (that is, 8,000 sheep per household). This ratio is possible only if they employed hired shepherds and/or if they were living in undivided multiple family households. This was probably the situation in some of the other cases cited here. The semi-nomad Vlachs on Mount Mokra, who wintered in a permanent village in the area of Štip, did not make *kashkaval* for sale and that is why they had an average of 100 sheep and several horses per household. In the 1930s a group of 14 households, which migrated seasonally between the Baba mountain (Pelister) and the area of Gevgelija, owned 5,000 sheep and goats, and 150 horses (an average of some 350 sheep and goats, and 10 horses per household).²⁸⁹ In the 1920s, one of the Karakachan groups in the area of Tikveš consisted of 10 huts with 8,000 sheep and 100 horses, and another of four huts

285 Weigand, *Romänen und Aromunen in Bulgarien*, 62.

286 Иречек, К. *Княжество България* (Пловдив: “Хр. Г. Данов”, 1899), 143.

287 Милошевић, М. “Цинцарско “хорјо” (село) на Копанику,” *Гласник Етнографског музеја* 15 (1940): 165.

288 Петров, Г. *Материали по изучаването на Македонија* (София: Печатница “Вълков”, 1896), 726.

289 Милески, Г. “Историско-географски осврт на номадските и полуномадските движења во Македонија до Балканските војни и меѓу двете светски војни,” in *Природни и социо-географски карактеристики на номадските и полуномадските движења во Македонија*, ed. М. Апостолски (Скопје: Македонска Академија на Науките и Уметностите, 1984), 84–85, 88, 90.

with 600 sheep and 20 horses (that is, an average of 800 sheep and 10 horses, and 150 sheep and five horses per household, respectively). One of the Vlach groups in the same area was made up of 30 huts with 20,000 sheep, 250 horses and 30 dogs (an average of some 650 sheep, eight horses and one dog per household).²⁹⁰ Until the Second World War around 50–60 Vlach households on Mount Plačkovica had 10,000–15,000 sheep (an average of 200–300 each). Some wealthy Aromanians in the Ovče Pole area owned 1,000 hectares of pastures and 5,000 sheep each. Here pastoralist families who had fewer than 100 sheep and five horses were considered to be poor.²⁹¹ In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the less wealthy Vlachs in Macedonia had 100–200 sheep each, the medium wealthy usually several hundred (excluding lambs and barren sheep) and some 50 horses, and the wealthy more than 1,000 sheep. In the 1960s, only groups of men summered in the local mountains; they had between 100 and 400 sheep, and four to 10 horses each.²⁹²

Another example is the well-known Aromanian summer village of Vlacholivadi on Mount Paiko, in the area of Maglen/Moglena; it originated as a summer camp of migrants from Mount Grammos at the end of the 18th century. In the late 19th – early 20th century, the Aromanians from this village rented winter pastures from Muslim *çiftlik*-holders in the areas of Voden/Edessa, Salonica, and Serres. By that time, the population of Vlacholivadi had reached 4,000, and the aggregate flock 200,000–300,000 sheep. They also raised many horses for caravan trade, 3,000–4,000 mules, and goats, but not cattle. The number of residents and animals varied depending on the seasons,

290 Радовановић, *Тиквеш и Рајец*, 295.

291 Даскаловски, В. “Просторно-географски и други карактеристики на планинските села во зоните на номадското сточарство,” in *Природни и социо-географски карактеристики на номадските и полуномадските движења во Македонија*, 160, 170–174.

292 Трифуноски, Ј. “Сточарска кретања у СР Македонији,” in *Одредбе позитивног законодавства и обичајног права*, 180; Трифуноски, Ј. “Данашни влашки катуни у Македонији,” in *Симпозиум о средњовековом катуни одржан 24. и 25. новембра 1961*. Посебна издања Научног друштва СР Босне и Херцеговине, књига II, ed. М. Филиповић (Сарајево: Научно друштво СР Босне и Херцеговине, 1963), 171–202.

years, and information provided by the relevant sources; therefore, we will find different statistical data for this semi-nomadic settlement.²⁹³

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Karakachans in Greece sometimes kept up to 200 horses per household, which they used for caravan trade; headmen owned at least 1,000 sheep each, in addition to goats. In the bigger camps, there were at least 150 horses, as well as mules and some 30 dogs. In Aegean Macedonia “stani” (camps) with 10,000 sheep were not rare.²⁹⁴ According to Angeliki Hadzimi-hali, in Greece in the 1950s full membership of the nomadic group presupposed approximately 200 sheep per household. According to her statistics, the average number of sheep and goats was about 160 per household, but varied significantly for different groups, regions, and places. The same holds for the ratio of sheep to goats. At that time only some 40 Epirote headmen had more than 300 sheep, but many groups kept at least 200 horses. In the Peloponnese the average number of sheep and goats per household was approximately 200, and the maximum 700; in continental Greece, part of Epirus (Southern Pindus) and Thessaly, it was 120 and 800, respectively; in Epirus, 150 and 700; in Western Macedonia, 190 and 1,000 (the minimum being around 70); in Central and Eastern Macedonia, 200 and 600; in Western Thrace, an average of some 200. Taken as a whole, in Greece in the 1950s there were 2,890 Karakachan groups or 10,604 households with 1,729,141 sheep and goats.²⁹⁵ According to Georgios Kavadias, the average household owned between 100 and 200 sheep, but some wealthy ones had up to 15,000 sheep.²⁹⁶

Finally, Arnold Beuermann estimates that in Greece in the 1960s, a total of 2,900 Karakachan groups, consisting of 10,000–12,000 households or 80,000–100,000 persons, had approximately 1,800,000

293 Barba, V. “Juridische, ökonomische und sociale Aspecte der Thranshumanz bei den Aromunen (Macedo-Rumänen) von Livedz – Meglenien,” In *Одредбе позитивног законодавства и обичајног права*, 5–22; Цвијић, Цвијић, Ј. *Основе за географију и геологију Македоније и Старе Србије*, књига I, 418–419; Struck, A. *Makedonische Fahrten*, vol. 2, *Die makedonischen Niederlande* (Wien–Leipzig: A. Hartleben, 1908), 80.

294 Höeg, *Les saracatsans*, 8–9, 16, 18.

295 ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ, ΣΑΡΑΚΑΤΣΑΝΟΙ, T. I, A', 5–85; T. I, B', 8–9, 18, 23, 36.

296 Kavadias, *Pasteurs nomades méditerranéens*, 23, 124.

sheep and goats (or an average of 150–180 per household). At the beginning of the 20th century, the households of the wealthiest Aromanian headmen owned up to 10,000 sheep; to be considered wealthy, a headman had to own more than 1,000 sheep and 30 to 200 horses. By the 1960s, a flock of 3,000–4000 sheep had come to be regarded as extraordinary wealth.²⁹⁷ Before 1922 (that is, before the settlement of Minor Asian refugees and the cultivation of winter pasturelands) it was completely normal for a wealthy nomadic household to have 2,000 sheep. In the 1950s, however, a “big” flock would number 500 sheep, and in the 1970s a Karakachan family was considered “wealthy” if it had 300 sheep.²⁹⁸ The headmen, especially before the Balkan and the two world wars, were often wealthier than the other members of the group and, together with their relatives, formed its nucleus. That is why the average figures are relative but still representative. As for the accuracy of the data collected in this way, through field studies and interviews, they are significantly more reliable than the official statistics because mobile pastoralists will always try to hide their livestock from the authorities.

As regards the Anatolian Yürüks, there are different data on the size and composition of their flocks and herds. According to Daniel Bates, the size was within the range of the approximate Balkan nomadic optimum of 150–200 to several hundred sheep. Around the late 1960s – early 1970s, in Southeastern Anatolia there was an average of 268 sheep and two to eight camels per Yürük household, with a strong influence of the market, securing of grazing grounds through renting (purchasing for the season), and a tendency towards growth of inheritance in livestock.²⁹⁹

The lack of data and sources of that kind for the Balkan Yürüks is quite telling about the lack of interest on the part of travellers and others, but also about the marginal economic situation and geographic isolation of the last semi-nomadic and sedentary local groups in the

297 Beuermann, *Fernweide Wirtschaft in Südosteuropa*, 154–158, 202.

298 Campbell, J. K. *Honour, Family and Patronage. A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 16; Антонијевић, Др. “Саракачани.” *Balkanica* 6 (1975): 222.

299 Bates, *Nomads and Farmers*, 143–154, 163.

late 19th – early 20th century. The data on sheep-breeding in part of the present-day Bulgarian and some neighboring territories from the mid-1800s to 1878 are different and vary depending on the type of pastoralism, region, economic activity and status. Against the general background, the number of sheep in three Yürük settlements in the area of Harmanli stands out as significant. In 1848, the registered number of sheep in the three small hamlets (*mahalle*) on the common land of the present-day village of Ostar Kamak – Sivri Kaya, Hacı Hüseyin and Hacı Salih – was 6,750, 2,740 and 2,600 respectively, or more than in the rest of the *kaza* of Çirmen.³⁰⁰ In some places, stockbreeding remained the predominant occupation long after the final sedentarization of a Yürük group. For example, in the 1930s, long after the destruction of their villages during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and their first and subsequent exoduses to Turkey, the Yürüks from the district of Panagyurishte were the leading stockbreeders in the area of Pazardzhik. At that time Borimechkovo was a mixed settlement with a population of approximately 1,200, but Muslims were continuing to emigrate. Borimechkovo had 15,000 sheep, 5,000 goats and 1,600–1,700 cattle, which were tended primarily by the 400–500 Yürüks in its population. Until the beginning of the 1930s agriculture was primitive and insufficient (mainly rye and vineyards), and the clearing of woodlands caused erosion of the not particularly fertile soil in the area.³⁰¹ In this case, as in a number of localities in the Republic of North Macedonia, we can trace out the transformation of the mobile pastoralist *cemaats* from Ottoman sources into permanent settlements, and then the way of life of a small local Yürük group in later times.³⁰²

300 Драганова, С. *Количествен анализ на овцевъдството в българските земи под османска власт от средата на XIX в. до Освобождението* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1993), 15, 108–109. In addition to Sivri Kaya, Hacı Hüseyin and Hacı Salih, there were also other small Yürük *mahalles* in the area: Baltali, Durali and Pireler. They emigrated in 1887–1888. Their summer pastures were most probably deep in the Rhodope mountains, and their winter pastures were around the settlements or further down along the river Maritsa, see Делирадев, *Принос към историческата география на Тракия*, vol. II, 72.

301 Батаклиев, *Пазарджик и Пазарджишко*, 585–587.

302 See Chapter Two, Table 3 and notes to it.

Some of the last semi-nomadic Yürüks are to be found in the western, northwestern and northern part of the Chalkidiki peninsula at the beginning of the 20th century. Here there were areas with compact Yürük communities with a total population of approximately 2,000.³⁰³ Some had adopted a sedentary way of life and were occupied with agriculture and stockbreeding in these mostly hilly lands, while others lived in the nearby city of Salonica. The local Yürüks produced carpets, rugs of goat's hair and sheep's wool, and brown *aba* (rough woolen cloth), which they sold across Macedonia. In some settlements agriculture was a minor, primitive, and comparatively new activity (a few fields and vineyards). Semi-nomadic sheep-breeding, with migrations to summer pastures in the Rhodope Mountains, was also practiced. So was transhumant pastoralism in the highlands on the peninsula or in neighboring mountains. This is evident from the aggregate herd of the settlements to the southwest and west of Mount Hortach/Chortiatis in Kalamaria. They were inhabited by approximately 1,000 Yürüks with 20,000 sheep, 5,000 goats, 700 oxen, 600 cows, 200 buffaloes, 300 horses, 200 donkeys and 500 mules. Part of the local Yürüks did not leave the villages in summer, while others migrated with the sheep and, possibly, with a few cows.³⁰⁴ Some semi-nomadic families that migrated from the permanent winter settlements to the mountain summer pastures – such as from Tilkili near present-day Krini south of Kalamaria – had up to 7,000 sheep and 50 dogs.³⁰⁵

As in the earlier Ottoman times, in a number of areas semi-nomadic or transhumant pastoralism remained widespread and often predominant over agriculture at the beginning of the 20th century, too. Unlike the Vlachs though, few of the Yürüks lived in large, prosperous settlements. There were no “Yürük” towns such as Moscopole, Kruševo, Magarevo, Gopeš, Avdela, Perivoli, Klisura, Neveska or Samarina. In their way of life, the semi-nomadic Yürüks of the late 19th – early 20th century were more like part of the pastoralist Aromanians than like the Karakachans. But they did not have the urban communes,

303 Кънчов, *Македония. Етнография и статистика*, 353, 469–471; Struck, A., *Makedonische Fahrten*, vol. 2, 31–34, 49.

304 *Ibid.*, 78–79.

305 Eckert, “Die Jürüken in Zentral-Makedonien,” 564.

the dynamic elite, or the trade diaspora of the sedentary Vlachs in the Balkans as a whole.

According to Dimitar Yaranov, until 1912 approximately 25,000 Yürüks migrated seasonally with their livestock in the geographical region of Macedonia, mostly from the Chalkidiki peninsula and the area north of it, between the rivers Struma and Vardar and Mount Krusha/Dysoron, summering their flocks and herds in the neighboring mountains or farther away.³⁰⁶ Such data or estimates are not available about many other places and regions. As the present-day sedentary Karakachans and Aromanians, in the second half of the 20th century, small groups of male Yürüks in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia continued to drive their flocks and herds to the mountains, grazing them on the sites of their previous summer settlements and camps.³⁰⁷ Today's casual observer would hardly recognize in the last Balkan Yürüks the descendants of the nomads from the Ottoman period. The small group in the Republic of North Macedonia still preserves a distinct identity as part of the country's Turkish minority, while some Turks in the Bulgarian Rhodopes are rediscovering the Yürük past of their local communities.

306 Яранов, *Македонија како природно и стопанско цяло*, 263.

307 Кондев, "Осоговија," 54, 72; Трифуноски, Ј. *Струмички крај. Народни живот и обичаји* (Скопје: Универзитетска печатница, 1979), 15.

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Note on place-names and group names

Place-names are given as they appear in the Ottoman or other sources, and according to the respective national standard, for example: Ustrumca/Strumica (town in the Republic of North Macedonia), but Dupnice/Dupnitsa (town in Bulgaria); Cuma Pazarı/Gorna Dzhumaya/Blagoevgrad (Turkish name/older Bulgarian name/present Bulgarian name); Mount Pınardağ/Kushnitsa/Pangion (Turkish/Bulgarian/Greek), or Kırçalı bands of brigands, but Kardzhali (town in Bulgaria). In some cases, the transcription from Ottoman Turkish to Modern Turkish, and the identification of the place (village or site), is difficult due to different possible readings, for example: (village or hamlet of) Maruşeva (?), or Kulagozlu/Kologuzlu (unidentified). Group names are given in their Ottoman form, but also in Slavic or Greek variants, and sometimes in dialectal, common form, for example: Yürük (Ottoman), but Yuruk (Bulgarian), Karakachans/Sarakatsani (Turkish and Bulgarian/Greek); Çıtak (Ottoman), but Çitak (Slavic).

ILLUSTRATIONS¹

¹ All photos (except **1**) by the author of this book.

1: Karakachan summer camp in Central Rhodopes, Bulgaria (photo by Krum Savov, 1920s.).

2 and 3: Yürük graveyard, Bulgaria.

4, 5, and 6: Yürük cemetery in Sarnena Sredna Gora, Bulgaria.

7, 8, 9, and 10: Karakachan huts set up for the annual festival at Karandila, East Stara Planina, Bulgaria (1997, 2002).

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13: Karakachan oven at Karandila, East Stara Planina, Bulgaria (1997).

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21: An old lady of the Ak Keçili Yürüks selling woolen souvenirs in Assos, Turkey (2009).

22: *Yörük çorapları*, traditional woolen Yürük socks for sale in Assos, Turkey (2009).

23, 24, 25, 26 and 27: Karakachan festival at Karandila, East Stara Planina, Bulgaria (1997, 2002).



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YÜRÜKS IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS

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