



ÇANAKKALE ONSEKİZ MART ÜNİVERSİTESİ
BALKAN VE EGE UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

ULUSLARARASI BALKAN TARİHİ VE KÜLTÜRÜ
SEMPOZYUMU

6-8 EKİM 2016, ÇANAKKALE

BİLDİRİLER

CİLT I

EDİTÖR
AŞKIN KOYUNCU

Çanakkale, 2017

TIKVEŞ AN INTRODUCTION OF A LITTLE-STUDIED OTTOMAN PROVINCE IN THE SOUTHERN BALKANS: ITS HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE OTTOMAN CENTURIES (1395-1912), THE SPREAD OF ISLAM, DEMOGRAPHY, ECONOMY AND MONUMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE

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INTRODUCTION

This lecture is intended to be a short introduction of a little known province of the Ottoman Empire, bringing together a number of documents from the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul and combine them with the results of extensive travels in the area and using the few local documents of the Byzantino-Slavic period in combination of what the monuments of medieval and Ottoman -time architecture have to say.

Tikveş is the name of a largely agricultural district in the south of the present Republic of (Skopje) Macedonia situated on both sides of the river Vardar and in the south bordering on Greek territory, where a chain of high mountains forms a natural frontier. Tikveş is also the name of an old castle that in the late-middle ages and early Ottoman period served as administrative centre of the district. At least since the 17th century the centre of the district is the small town of Kavadarci, situated eight km north of Tikveş Castle and 130 kilometer north-west of the great city of Thessaloniki/Selanik. From 1355 to 1395 the district of Tikveş belonged to the Serbian-Bulgarian Principality of Velbužd (Küstendil), and between the years 1395 to 1912 was more than half a millennium part of the Ottoman Empire. From the early 17th century onward to 1912 Tikveş had a large Muslim population, among them eight villages of Yürüks in the eastern part of the Kaza, locally called 'Turkluk.' From 1395 until the Vilayet-reforms of 1864 Tikveş was a Nahiye of the great Kaza of Ustrumca/Strumitsa.

Strumica, which was a part of the Sandjak of Küstendil, after 1864 it was not only elevated to Kaza but was also taken away from Küstendil and added to the Vilayet of Selânik to which it belonged until 1912. The late-Ottoman centre of Tikveş, the *kasaba* of Kavadarci, was connected by railway with the Macedonian metropolis of Selanik via the station Krivolak in the Vardar Valley.

Tikveş straddles on both sides of the great Macedonian river Vardar with the bulk of its territory west of the river. The latter is a district of undulated plains, mostly very fertile, with some low, wooded mountain ranges. The river Črna coming from the Pirlepe/Prilep district in the west cuts the Tikveş district in two almost equal parts.

Tikveş is, and was, the largest wine producing area of the entire southern Balkans. In Turkey Tikveş was especially known for its second main product "Tikveşli" yoghurt and *ayran* produced by a firm founded by a successful *mühacir* from the district. For

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the much older generation the region was known as the place where the purest Bulgarian (now called Macedonian) was spoken, expressed in the local saying: *İstanbul'un Türkçesi, Elbasan'ın Arnavutçası, Tikveş'in Bulgarçası, Yanya'nın Rumçası*.

For the greater part of its history Tikveš was a land without cities, having in 1519 110 large and small villages and roughly the same number in 1570; and an economy entirely based on agriculture and cattle breeding. In Antiquity it was almost the same. The only real urban centre, Stobi, with city walls, palaces, a theatre, warm baths, a few large early-Christian basilicas and a synagogue, was situated just at the extreme northern limit of Tikveš. Stobi went down around 600 A.D. after a number of destructive invasions of the Goths, Huns, Avars and Slavs and was never rebuilt.

History

After the downfall of the antique civilisation around 600 A.D. the land was settled by Slavic tribes. The Slavic "Landname" meant a total break with the past. The original Illyrian population either fled, perished, or was assimilated in the Slavic masses. Most probable all three factors combined. In the entire territory of the later Ottoman Kaza of Tikveš not a single pre-Slavic place name is preserved. From the 7th century onward the territory belonged nominally to loosely knit the First Bulgarian Empire. From 976 until 1018 it was part of the short-lived Empire of Tsar Samuel. After the destruction of this state by the Byzantines under Emperor Basilus the Bulgar-Slayer all of Macedonia was added to the Byzantine Empire, that could maintain its grip on the territory for almost two centuries, leaving behind a number of castles and beautiful churches, some of which surviving till today. After 1202 (capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders and dismantlement of the Byz. Empire) Macedonia changed hands several times. From 1202 to 1224 it was part of the Frankish state of Boniface of Monferrat (with Thessaloniki/Selânik as capital), for some years it was part of the Despotate of Epirus (Yânnina-Arta), became Bulgarian again in 1230 after the Battle at Klokotnica had broken the power of the Despotate of Epirus. In 1246 it was re-conquered by the energetic emperor John Vatatzes and added to the Byzantine successor state of Nicaea/İznik. Finally Tikveš and most of Macedonia was conquered by the Serbians under King Stefan Dečanski in 1330. After the death of the powerful Serbian Tsar Stefan Dušan, 1355, his ephemeral empire broke up in a number of small principalities. Tikveš became part of the Serbo-Bulgarian principality of the Dejanović family (the Dragaši), who resided in Velbužd/Küstendil.

Küstendil (now in Western Bulgaria). In 1371 this principality became Ottoman vassal and after the death of the last Prince, Konstantin Dejanović, 1395, was as a Sandjak included in the Ottoman Empire without great upheavals, Konstantin not having a suitable heir to succeed him (Fine, 1987; Jireček, 1911; Matanov, 1997). His name lives on in the name of the Ottoman Sandjak: Küstendil ("Kostadin İli" = The Land of Constantine). The bulk of Konstantin's army, accustomed to fight together with the Ottomans, was assimilated into the Ottoman army, either as Christian Sipahi, or as Voynuk. We see the Christian sipahis in the *tahrir defters* of the 15th century, and the Voynuks in the 16th and 17th centuries in the *Cizye defters*. In the 16th century the Christian Sipahis slowly disappeared, absorbed in Turkish Islam. The Voynuks remained Christian to the 19th century.

The first known centre of medieval Tikveš was the castle of Devol on the ancient road from the great Pelagonian Plain (with Manastır/Bitola and Prilep) to the valley of the River Vardar, connecting it with Skopje in the North and Thessaloniki in the south.

It had a Late-Roman forerunner. Devol is situated 2 km from the village of Drenovo overlooking the small Raečka River. In the early Middle Ages the ruins of the Roman Acropolis of Devol was rebuilt, using stones from the ruins of the great Roman town of Stobi. Devol is dated by Slavic ceramics from the 10th to the 12th century and coins from the Byzantine emperors from Johannes Tsimiskis (969-976 until Andronikos II - 1289-1328). (Mikulčik, 1996).

With the Serbian conquest (1334) Devol lost its importance and its function as administrative centre of the district was taken over by the hilltop castle of Tikveš, 160 meters above the river Črna, eight kilometer south of Kavadarci. Like Devol it had a Roman predecessor, a great rectangle of 140 x 155 meters. The new, medieval, stronghold measured only 56 x 30 m. Below the castle, on the banks of the Črna River, was a suburb with three small churches, one with wall paintings (fresco) from the first century of Ottoman rule. The castle of Tikveš is not mentioned in the Byzantine or Slavic sources. Its existence is proved by medieval Slavic pottery and by Byzantine coins from the 13th century onward (Mikulčik, 1996, p.204 – 206). The Ottoman sources show it as the centre of the Nahiye of Tikveš from the mid 15th century onward (the defter fragment A.DFE, D 0002 from 1454). The 1570 *tahrir* has it with 36 households. After that date the village declined slowly and was finally deserted. The Cizye Defter F. 134 A in the Sofia National Library and dating from 1031 (1622) has the village of Tikveš with 8 households, the Cizye Defter MAD 1052 in B.O.A. from 1052-1642 with 6 households, the defter F. Mk 26/11 (Sofia) from 1065-1665 does not mention it anymore. The administration moved to the more centrally located Kavadarci, which in 1570 (Küstendil Tahrir) is shown with 24 households but in 1031 (1622) had already 53 households. Evliya Çelebi has Kavadarci with 300 houses and by the mid-19th century had grown to 600 houses and over 3.000 inhabitants. The curious name “Tikveš” could derive from the Slavic “Tikva” – pumpkin, or pumpkin-shaped, or is a rare relic of pre-Slavic (Illyrian) origin.

Medieval Monuments

From the medieval times some outstanding monuments of Byzantino-Slavic religious architecture remain preserved. Mentioned should be the relatively large church of the Holy Virgin in the village of Drenovo 10 km west of Kavadarci, restored in 1355 (inscription) and decorated with fine wall paintings under Tsar Dušan. In fact the church is a much older structure inspired by the plan of the grand Aya Sofya Church in Thessaloniki, built under Emperor Constantin VI (780-797). Of great importance for history and for history of art is the church of the Pološko Monastery, not far from the ruins of the medieval castle of Tikveš. It was built by Tsar Dušan shortly before 1340 to contain the tomb of his brother Dragutin. In the middle of the 14th century the interior of the church was painted with frescos of great historical importance having large-size portraits of the founder, Tsar Dušan, his successor King Uroš (1355-1371) and his wife Queen Elena, as well as Dragutin and his wife Despotica Maria, holding a model of the church in her hands (Nikolovski-Ćornakov, 1961); Popovska-Korobar, 2008).

Another memory of the medieval past of Tikveš is the name of a village in the south-west of the district: Kumaničevo (Kuman's Village), and nearby the mountain top Kumanov Glava (Kuman's Head), referring to the settlement of a group of Kıpčak Turks, the Kumans in Macedonia. Kumaničevo is first mentioned in 1378 when the Prince Konstantin Dejanović donated the village to the Athos monastery of Panteleimon but must be at least a century older.

There is no information what-so-ever about the population of Tikveš before 1395. We may assume that in the 14th century it was rather low, like in most European countries, many villages having been deserted because endemic plague starting from 1348. A recovery started hesitatingly in the second half of the 15th century (Russell 1971; Mols. 1974).

Demographic Development

The oldest preserved Ottoman source for the Tikveš district is a fragment of a *mufassal* defter of the Sandjak Küstendil, preserved in the B.O.A. İstanbul, which I came across beginning of this year. It contains the dates of 15 villages in the Kaza Tikveš, besides some others in the Kazas of Doyran and Strumitsa, that also belonged to the Sandjak of Küstendil. On some Tikveš villages notes about mutations were added a various years in the second half of the 15th century. The oldest of these mutations is from 871/1457. This makes it clear that the fragment was once a part of the register made in 1453/54, of which large parts are preserved, dealing with other parts of Macedonia. The Tikveš fragment bears the signature: A. DFE. D 0002. Together the 15 villages had 294 households of Christians, 33 bachelors (*mücerred*) and 34 incomplete households headed by a widow (*bive*). Some of these 15 villages the preserved documentation allows us to follow their development through the centuries.

The second oldest preserved information of the population of Tikveš is the Cizye Defter from 1488, published by Barkan (1964) where we find a total number of 2.509 households. The well preserved *mufassal tahrir* of the Sandjak Küstendil of 1519 (MAD 170) shows a slow growth to 2.997 households in the 86 Tikveš villages of that year. Among them were 29 households of Muslims (=1%). The *tahrir* of 1570 - easiest accessible in the Macedonian translation of Stojanovski (1982) shows a healthy growth to 3.980 households in 110 villages, among them a Muslim group of 170 households (4%). The register also shows that a slow process of re-colonization of deserted places took place especially in the area east of the Vardar, later commonly known as Türklük. The village of Brusnik has the remark that in "previous register" this place was empty and deserted (*mezra'a*) worked by the villagers of Pešternica (also in Türklük), but that "Turks" had settled there, 18 households in all who mostly had a para-military function of *eşkinci* or *yamak*. In 1570 the *mezra'a* of Vălci Dol (Wolf's Dale) had four households of Yürüks and an Imam. The place became registered as village. Near the important village of Gradec in the south-eastern end of Türklük the "Cema'at of Turgut Fakih" having 42 *hâne* had settled down. They were "Selânik Yürükleri". In the course of time more Yürüks settled in the *mezra'as* of what was to become "Türklük and at the end of the Ottoman period numbered almost 2.000 people. On the much larger western part of Tikveš Islam made headway in a different manner. Most of the Muslims of this area were local converts to Islam, or descendants of converts. In the existing literature conversion to Islam in a rural population is thought to have come from the groups of landless peasants or small crofters who wanted to escape the poll tax and better their status in society. However, in 1570 villages like Krivolak, Dolni Disan, Pepelište and others show that all the converts were in possession of a full farm (*çift*). The *cizye* registers of the 1622, 1636, and 1642 show a rapid decline of the Christian population.

The decline of population in the 17th century was a world-wide phenomenon, comprehensively studied and explained in Geoffrey Parker's impressive monograph *Global Crisis* (871 pages!). It was partly due to the effects of the "Little Ice Age" partly also to a creeping process of Islamisation. In the early Ottoman period, between 1395 and

1454 Islamisation in Tikveš was next to nothing. Between 1519 and 1570 it rose to 8% of the total population of Tikveš. In the course of the 17th century, until 1688 Islam slowly gained more adherents. Four registers of the poll tax (*cizye*) of the Christians from the years 1622, 1636, 1643 and 1688 allow us to follow this process in detail.

During the troubled period following the break-through of Austrian/ Hungarian troops of 1689, and the outburst of violence in the following months, have been thought to be the reason behind the explosive growth of the number of Muslims in Tikveš. The Poll Tax registers (*Cizye Defters*) of the years between 1622 and 1688, however, show that a large part of the Islamisation of the Tikveš population was for the greater the result of a long and slow process running between 1454 and 1688 and NOT from one big bang! This is NOT to say that nothing serious happened during the aftermath of the Habsburg invasion. Besides realistic sounding local traditions, there are a number of marginal notes in Serbian religious books (used by Radovanović in 1924) that in a sufficiently clear way speak about the plundering and killing by the Ottoman troops, including a large contingent of Crimean Tatars, pushing back the Austrians. The conquest and total destruction of the metropolis of Slav Macedonia, Skopje (Üsküp), the capture of the Sandjak capital Küstendil by Austrian and Hungarian troops, accompanied by a gruesome massacre of its Muslim inhabitants, the capture of the great merchant city and Muslim cultural centre of Štip and the break through to Köprülü/Veles, are all recorded in the sources. The local oral history records that a part of the Austrian army moved southward to čičevo and Klen and captured the castle of čičevo and refortified it. The main military base (*tabor*) of the Ottomans was Podles. Another Pasha held Tremnik. The first mentioned places lay just outside the northern border of Tikveš. Tremnik was deep in Tikveš' territory. After a battle, fought between Rujen and čičevo the castle was taken and demolished by the Ottomans and the Austrian troops destroyed.

This was followed by the Ottoman re-conquest of the whole area, accompanied by looting and destroying whole villages and the killing of innocent civilians, the Ottoman army being "100.000" men, Turks and Tatars. The number is doubtlessly the product of popular imagination, the over-reaction of the Ottoman army, however, looks understandable after all the damaged done by the Habsburg invaders. After the wilfull destruction of the great city of Skopje the Habsburg's commander Piccolomini died suddenly from a bad illness, which by many was seen as God's punishment of a man who had gone too far.

The marginal notes mentioned here are available since 1910 in the great work of Ljubomir Stojanović. Both the oral traditions and the marginal notes coined the thinking about the reason behind the Islamisation of such a large part of the Christian inhabitants of Tikveš. The principal Ottoman sources remained very long unknown and those published largely unused.

The end result of the slow and creeping Islamisation, the victims of war and the slow recovery in the later years was that in 1889 (*Kamûsü'l-'Alâm*) the population of the villages of Tikveš villages, and the little town of Kavadarci, amounted to 7.541 households of whom no less than 49% was Muslim. Those with the convert background spoke the West-Bulgarian dialect that in our time is called "Macedonian" and are locally known as Torbeš, more usual called Pomaks. Those of *Türklük* were the descendants of Yürük colonists of the 16th century, with a small amount of converted Christians who submerged in the dominant Turkish language of this small district.

Economy

One of the things that came with the Ottomans was the introduction of rice, presumably in the second half of the 15th century when especially the Sultans Mehmed II and Bayezid II greatly encouraged rice growing. Rice growing in the Western and Central Balkans is mentioned by the Burgundian knight Bertrandon de la Broquière in 1433, who mentioned rice in the great and well watered plain of Niš in Central Serbia. The 1519 *mufassal tahrir* of Köstendil (MAD 170) show rice plantations (çeltük) in five different places in the Nahiye of Tikveš, the four most important ones were part of a “Crown Dominion” a Sultanic *Hass*: Došnica on the Bošava River, Manastirec, Vozarci, and Tirstenik all three situated on the River Črna River. The fifth *çeltük*, that of Pološko, is mentioned as new and not in the previous register. Pološko was no great success and in 1570 it is no longer mentioned. In 1570 the register mentions person-by-person 15 Muslim *çeltükci*s and 105 Christians of the same job. The Muslims were the leaders (re’is) and organizers of the work and maintained the irrigation canals. Many of the 36 Christian *çeltükci* of Vozarci had taken the job from a Muslim predecessor and most of the *Çeltükci*s had taken over the job from their fathers. A comparison between the defters of 1519 and 1570 the Tikveš *çeltüks* show a forceful expansion of the rice production. In 1519 they produced in total 3634 *keyl* of rice per year, with a value of 43.608 Akçe, but in the year 1570 87.216 Akçe. The standard *keyl* for rice was 10 *okka* of 1,282 kilogram per *okka* making the total rice harvest of 46 metric tons in 1519 but 70 metric tons in 1570. Meanwhile the population growth of the fertile 16th century pushed up the price from 12 Akçe per *keyl* in 1519 to 24 Akçe in 1570. The *çeltükci*s, regardless of being Christian or Muslim, enjoyed a privileged status. They did not pay the unpopular ‘avâriz and tekâlif taxes and in some cases (here Manastirec and Vozarci) also not the *ispence* of 25 Akçe per household.

The Ottomans are also responsible for the introduction of the water buffalo (manda), who is the source of the production of *kaymak*, the very fat and tasty dairy product that greatly enriched the local kitchen but remained a rather expensive luxury. It is made from the excessively fat milk of the water buffalo.

Together with the Ottomans also came the exploitation of a rare and expensive mineral. This was the arsenic mine (zırnıh/zırnık in Ottoman) near the village of Rožden in the Moriovo district in the south-western corner of Tikveš, the only arsenic mine in the entire Rumeli. In the former Ottoman Balkans the only other mine of arsenic was near the mining town of Kreševo in Bosnia. Arsenic is known since Akkadian times and was, besides as deathly poison, mostly used in metallurgy, as medicine (against gout and skin deceases) as well as binding agent (auripigment) for sensitive colours in monumental paintings in 17th century Holland. In 1467/68 Rožden was a village of 37 households, or about 160/70 inhabitants. Because of the exploitation of the arsenic ore it grew into the head village of a *nahiye* with in 1481/82 with 76 households and in 1530 with 157 households (or 700/750 inhabitants. In the *tahrir* of 1519 the mukata’a of the “*ma’den-i zırnıh der nahiye-i Morihovo*” was fixed at 10.000 Akçe per year, in 1528/30 the mukata’a amounted to 12.844 Akçe. The village was made Hass-i Humayun and enjoyed extensive privileges. In 1568/69 the village had 100 households and 32 adult but unmarried young men (mücerred), or about 500 inhabitants, judging by their names and patronyms all Bulgarian/Macedonian Christians. In 1900 Vasil Kănčov, in his much used work on the demography of Macedonia mentions 984 inhabitants (Kănčov, 1900, 2, 1970).

After 1569 a satellite village, Majdan (= Ma'den), developed south of Rožden and survived all vicissitudes of time, also after the arsenicum production had come to an end. The very surveyable *muhasabe defteri* from the year 937(1530), including the entire southern half of the Balkans, Paşa Livâsi and the sandjak of Kyustendil, mentions only one arsenicum mine, that of Rožden. The arsenic production came to an end in the tumultuous year of the attack of the Habsburg army (1689) and their destruction of Skopje and the occupation of the nearby Köprülü /Veles and the Ottoman counter-attack.

Another aspect of the economic life of the district is its vast production of wine. This must have been the case in the Byzantino/Slavic period but was also very important under the Ottomans, as becomes clear from the tahrir defters of 1519-1550 and 1570. A whole line of villages lived from wine making for half of their total economic activity. In some villages more than 60% of their agricultural production was wine, for which the soil of Tikveš is very suitable. Today also large parts of the undulating hilly land is covered by vineyards. The *tahrir defter* of the Sandjak of Küstendil from 1570 shows that this was not very different from the situation of today. In a whole line of Tikveš villages: Dolna Boševa, Lipa, Moklište, Pčanište, Resava, Vataša, and others the production of wine amounted to more than 40% of the entire agricultural production, immediately after wheat and barley. In some villages like Hodovo near the centre of the district, Kavadarci, wine came with 57% on the first place, the village of Smolani it came to 55% and in the large village of Golem Sopot even to 67%. In Turkey Tikveš is in the first place known for its second main product: "Tikvešli" Yoghurt and ayran. The older generations know the region as place where the purest Bulgarian (now called "Macedonian") is spoken as is clear in the popular saying: *İstanbul'un Türkçesi, Elbasan'ın Arnavutçası, Tikveş'in Bulgarçası, Yanya'nın Rumçası*.

Evliya Çelebi in Tikveš

In 1081 (1670/71) on his way from Albania via Ohrid, Manastir and Pirlepe to Strumitsa (Ustrumca) and onward to Edirne and Istanbul Evliya Çelebi passed through "Tikveş" and describes it briefly. In fact he describes the emerging town of Kavadarci. It was a *kasaba* having four Muslim mahalles, two mahalles of "müşriki" and a total of 300 *keremit örtülü evler* were numerous 'ayân-i kibâri lived. The town had three mosques, two mesdjids, a medrese, a mektep a hamam, a dervish convent and two hans. The town was famous in Anatolia as well as the Arab and Persian lands for the excellent white abba it produced. The little town was the centre of a district with 70 prosperous villages. Evliya's description is stereotype and names of the founders of the main buildings or dates of construction are completely lacking. This description only makes clear that Kavadarci had between 1570 and 1671 made the jump from small village to a real *kasaba*. The medrese mentioned by Evliya is not mentioned in the official list of medreses in Rumeli from same year (Özergin, 1976). Yet the likewise official list of kadılıks of Rumeli from 1660 mentions "Tikveş" as a kadılık of the tenth rank on the list of 12 categories. (Özergin, 1973).

War and Destruction

The long war of the Ottomans against the united European forces (1683-1699) had in Macedonia catastrophic results. In the year 1689 Austrian and Hungarian forces took Üsküp/Skopje and Prizren and plundered and burnt down these great cities. They also took İştip/Štip and Küstendil where they committed ugly massacres of Muslim civilians, and pushed on to Köprülü/Veles on the Vardar, very close to Tikveš. Local tradition preserves the memory that a part of the Austrian forces were active around Tremnik, Čičevo and

Podles. Two marginal notes in a church codex mentions that in 1689 a large force of Turks, supported by “100.000” Tatars ruined vast areas and destroyed many villages and people. In this chaotic period of anarchy, and after the end of the war (1699), many local Christians had accepted Islam and strengthened the process of Islamisation that had begun in the early 15th century, pushed up rapidly in the first half of the 17th century, as shown by the Poll Tax registers of 1031 (1622), 1046 (1634) and 1052 (1642), and reached a climax around 1700. (Radovanović, 1924).

Tikveš in the 19th century

During the Vilayet reform of 1864, part of the Tanzimat, the Kaza of Tikveš was reorganized. In the north-west a slice of the Kaza of Köprülü/Veles, with the large Muslim villages of Kruševica, Rosoman and Sirkovo and the Christian villages of Debriste, Faris, Mrzen and Kamendol were cut off from the Kaza Köprülü and added to Tikveš. At the same time the villages Carević, Smolani and Dren in the south-west were taken away from Tikveš and added to the Kaza of Pirlepe/Prilep but Roždân/Rožden with its *zırnıh ma'den* was taken from Pirlepe and added to Tikveš.

The Salnâme of the Selanik Vilayeti of 1324-1906 (p. 308/311) describes the Kaza centre, the town of Kavadarci, as having 1.297 houses, six mosques, one medrese with 50 students, a tekke (of the Rûfâ'iyye order), a church, a Rüşdiye school with 60 pupils, two İptidaiye schools with 150 male pupils and 80 girls, one Hususi Mektebi, a Bulgarian mektep, 15 hans, 225 shops and seven sesame oil mills. Ayverdi noted a Seyh Abdullah Camii, which was mentioned in 1234 (1818/19) and a Medrese of Mustafa Bey, which was immatriculated on 24 Muharrem 1249 (13.6.1833), having the revenue of a çiftlik, a mill, a kahvehâne and some shops as source of maintenance. According to Čehajić Kavadarci also had a Tekke of Abdulkadir Bey belonging to the Melami-Nuriye order (Čehajić, 1986). In 1900 Kānčov mentions 3.120 Muslim inhabitants (3000 Pomaks and 120 Gypsies) and 1.940 Christian Bulgarian inhabitants. The little town thus had over 5.000 inhabitants of whom 62% was Muslim. Kavadarci's expansion was for a large part due to the much quicker transport of goods by the railway from Kosovo through the Vardar Valley to Selânik, put in operation in 1888.

In 1880, with Sultanlic permission, the arsenic mine near Roždên was revived by an Ottoman-French firm called Alşam, a contraction of the name of the prominent Alatini family from Selânik (Thessaloniki) and the French firm Charteau/Şarto). The village of Roždên grew again and in 1900 is described as having 984 inhabitants, much for a poor area as the south-western corner of Tikveš. The mines worked until the Balkan Wars 1912/13 and then stopped. They were not put in operation again after the wars because of the lack of expertise and investment. Only in the most recent years there were talks to revive the mines again. The soil at the place where the arsenic ore was washed is still yellow coloured because of the poisonous mineral waste left behind by the miners. Over the valley of the mines still hangs the foul smell of sulphur as if in the devil's kitchen.

Balkan Wars and after

In October 1912, after their smashing victory in the Battle of Kumanovo, the Serbian army took all of Northern Macedonia, which was added to the Serbian State. Many Muslims fled to the south and later settled in Anatolia. In June 1913 the local population revolted against the harsh Serbian rule. This was the “Tikveš Uprising” which was high-handedly suppressed by the Serbians, 1200 people killed, thousands of houses destroyed and 2700

men languishing in prison. In World War I Tikveš and all of North Macedonia was occupied by the Bulgarian army. A comparison between the numbers of inhabitants and households of the 87 villages of the Kaza of Tikveš from the Ottoman census of 1894/5 (in *Salnâme* of Selânik Vilayeti from 1312), and the numbers of the statistics of Vasil Kănčov from 1900, as well as with the results of the intensive research of Radovanović in 1922) shows what had happened during the three wars between 1912 and 1918. In 1895 the 54 (almost) pure Christian villages of Tikveš had 2.581 households, in 1922 2.635 households. In contrast to them the 14 pure Muslim villages (8 Turkish, 6 Pomak) had in 1900 1.312 households, but in 1922 1.066. The Turkish villages of Aşağı and Yukarı Promet and Sofular in Türklük were destroyed and empty. They were never re-settled. The Turkish village of Brusnik, with 174 inhabitants in 1895 had 25 inhabitants left in 1922. The likewise Turkish village of Koşarka went from 140 households to 58. In 1900 the Pomak village of Turska Kuriya, had 180 inhabitants, in 1922 not a single Muslim was left, but instead now 40 Christian households lived in Kuriya. In 1895 these Muslim villages had a rapidly growing population (5,⁰⁹ inh. per hâne) and in the interval of 27 years could easily have grown to 2.000 souls. In the 19 mixed villages the Christian community lost 13% between 1900 - 1922, but the Muslims 30%.

Between 1918 and 1941 the area saw some recovery but remained basically rural. In World War II the land suffered a second brutal Bulgarian occupation. When after 1945 Marshall Tito opened the borders thousands of Muslim, either Turkish speaking or Bulgarian/Macedonian, migrated to Turkey. Especially in the group of large villages in the north-eastern part of Tikveš a sizeable Muslim population survived to the present day.

In 1968 a great dam was built in the river Črna creating a 14 km² large lake and a big hydro power plant, producing electric energy for a vast area and facilitating irrigation. The hill top with the ruins of the castle of Tikveš became a small island and the famous Monastery of Pološko only accessible by boat. According to the census of 2002 Kavadarci had 38.391 inhabitants among which still is a very small Muslim community having one simple mosque at their disposal, rebuilt by Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1310/1892 on request of the local Muslim population, as is recorded on a 5-line Ottoman inscription on the building (Ayverdi, 1981). After World War II a number of industries were made in the town, among which ferro-nickel production and tobacco are the most important, the latter especially exported to the USA, Japan and so EU-countries. Wine production and exporting remained the pillar of the Tikveš economy, just as it was Ottoman times.

In the town a huge 5-story tower-house of the 18th century is the only Ottoman monument of importance standing. Similar towers still stand in the *çeltik* village of Manastirec (the “Begova Kula”), and in the little town of Negotin. The latter was built at the beginning of the 19th century by Hacı Tahir Ağa, who also built the *bedesten* of the town, which in 1913 during the Tikveš Uprising was destroyed. In the villages of the district some Ottoman-time churches remain preserved and were made known: the Moklište Monastery, built and painted in 1595, the church of Pravednik, built and painted in 1625 and the churches of the villages of Klinovo and Galište, both with wall paintings from the late 17th century. There must be many more villages with Ottoman-time churches but they have not been studied yet. The same is true for the mosques of those villages that remained largely Muslim. Here much inventarisation and study awaits the diligent researcher.

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APPENDIX

I



The King's Church of the Pološko Monastery, 1340, Narthex added in 1609, seen from the south.

II



Monastery of Pološko, the narthex with fresco paintings from 1609.

IV

MAD 1889
Kaza Tikvesz - Tahrir-i cedid H. 1052 Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı

Turkiah
nu:
klissuna

Gemeusko

Rakite

Brnova? Trnova

Resava

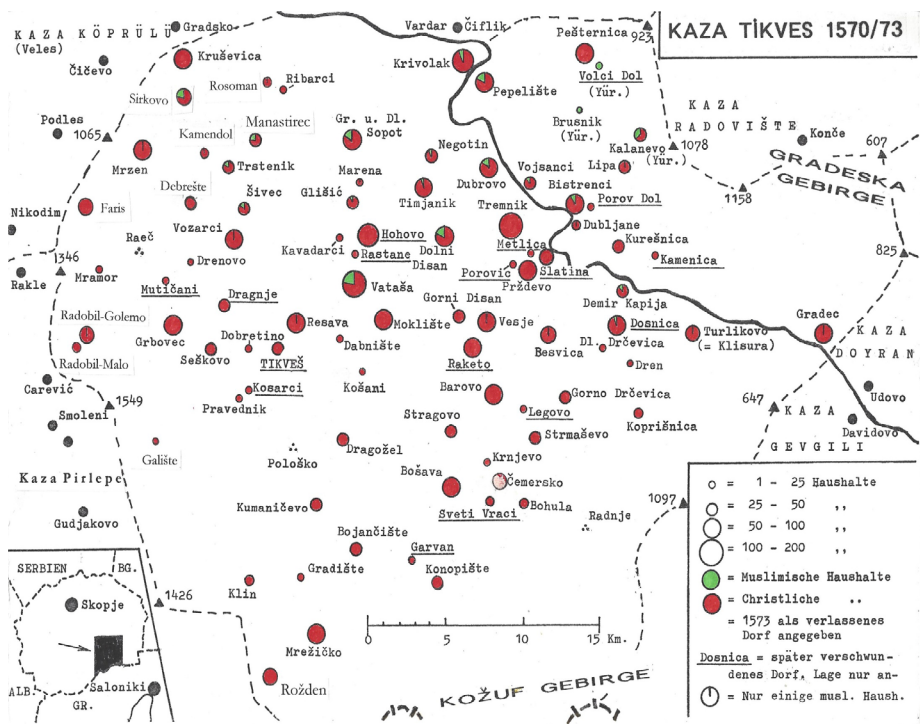
stremasovo

V

Kaza Tikveš between 1519 – 1922 according to 2 Tahirs, 4 Cizye Defters
 one Salnâme and one detailed local Serbian study
 (in Households)
 (made in alphabetic order by us)

	1519	1570	1622	1636	1643	1688	1895	1922
Barovo	50	70	46	53	59	19	87	85
Bohula	67	42	41	41	46	(50)	162	157
Dolna Dračevica	/	15	22	6	4	(3)	11	deserted
Dolni Disan	170	100	55	55	45	11	101	210
Dragne	18	30	23	16	8	5	32	36
Dragožel	45	33	21	21	8	2	25	34
Dublane	36	48	18	20	27	7	70	(45)
Garvan	13	15	10	10	13	5	deserted	deserted
Gradec	78	53	53	112	130	67 ^(Derbend)	89	95
Gorni Disan	454 17	46 452	37 326	45 379	40 380	9 178	45 622	32
10 Villages								
Glišić	31	28	15	15	5	3	50	50
Grbavec	60	67	80	80	16	8	29	30
Gradište	36	20	39	39	6	2	20	23
Hohovo ?	32	105	(60)	25	48	5	deserted	deserted
Kalanevo	55	66	41	41	(20)	4	66	18
Kamen Dol	4	33	(30)	(27)	(23)	19	35	12
Kavadar(ci)	28	14	53	(70)	(110)	150 ⁶⁴	220	278
Konopište	29	42	62	70	94	31	123	97
Korešnica	13	(25)	34	35	(23)	12	(40)	97
Krivolak	97 385	117 517	51 465	34 436	48 393	11 245	150 733	136
20 Villages								
Kumanicevo	55	35	62	68	29	35	45	74
Moklište	78	56	20	20	5	(7)	25	20
Pepelište	52	60	13	13	18	1	229	189
Prždevo	(70)	93	37	11	(10)	7	317	236
Rakita	48	71	49	50	23	(12)	deserted	deserted
Resava	52	50	36	(24)	12	10	107	125
Šeskovo	30	42	35	45	43	12	40	59
Slatina	24	40	26	29	43	(20)	deserted	deserted
Stragovo	30	42	68	63	89	32	44	118
Stremaševo	53 492	42 531	33 379	(25) 348	19 291	9 145	50 857	49
30 Villages								
Tikveš Nefs-i T.	14	36	8	8	6	0	deserted	deserted
Timjanik	48	70	55	55	49	15	233	234
Turlak (later: Klisura)	(15)	(20)	30	(46)	56	64 derbend	72	90
Zleševo	20 97	20 146	13 106	13 122	44 155	3 82	des. 305	deserted
34 Villages								
TOTALS	1.428	1.446	1.276	1.216	1.219	650	2.517	2.329

VI



VII

The Decline of Tikveš Castle and the Rise of Kavadarci-Town

Tikveš Varoš	1519	14 - 3 - 5	Christ.	Stojanovski-Gorgiev, p. 219
„ „	1530	12 - 5 - 2	„	Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Rum-İli, İst. 2003,
„ „	1570	36 - 30		Stojanovski – Gorgiev, p.219
„ „	1636	8 hane	Cizye	Grozdanova (ed.) T. Izv. 2001, p.43
„ „	1643	6 „ „		1389, 1053, p. 15 – 37.
„ „	1665	No longer mentioned		
„ „	1688	Deserted		

KAVADARCI - Town				
Christians				
		Hâne	Müc. Bive	(until 1570 NO Muslims)
1519		28	/ /	
1530	„	27	6 1	Muhasebe Defter Rum-İli, T.D.167
1570	„	14 – 10	1	Source: Stojanovski- Gorgiev, Naselbi i Naselenie Skopje 2001, p. 100
1622	Cizye	53 hâne	cizye	Grozdanova, Tr. Izvori 2001, p.43
1643	Cizye	55 hâne	cizye	BOA, MAD 1389
1670	Total	150 hâne		(Evliya Çelebi, adjusted)
1895	Total	945 hâne		(Salnâme- i Vilayet Selanik
1900	670 Müsl. Hâne /	385 Chr. hâne		(Kănčov, Makedoniya)
1922	709 Müsl. hâne	621 Christ. hâne		Smilanski

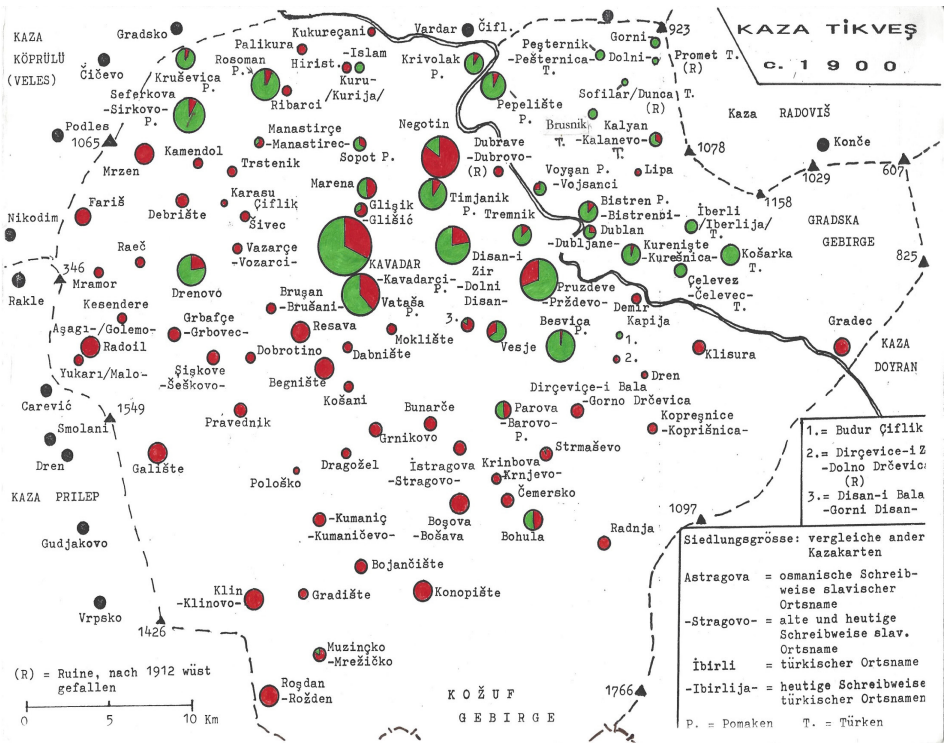
VIII

The „Green“ North-Western Corner of Tikveš: 1454 - 1922

	1454	1519	1545	1570	1654	1900	1922
	Musl. Chr.	Musl. Chr.	Musl. Chr.	Musl. Chr.	Christ.	Musl. Christ.	Musl. Chr.
Debrešte	3 37	4 36	4 40	4 37	16	/ 54	/ 41
Faris	/ 70	/ 80	/ 6	/ 61	32	/ 100	/ 53
Kamendol/	15	/ 13	/ 23	1 32	17	/ 35	/ 12
Kruševica	/ 29	/ 66	/ 88	4 50	40	105 6	94 /
Rosoman	/ 37	2 39	2 45	4 45	15	188 20	161 /
Sirkovo	/ 80	2 50	4 72	11 52	14	280 12	236 /
TOTALS, 3	268	8 284	10 328	24 244	134	537 227	497 106
Both groups	271	292	338	296	134	764	603
% of Muslims	1 %	3%	3%	9%	N.D.	70%	82%

Research and layout: M. Kiel 2016

IX



X

Tikveš, Comparison between Salnâme 1895, Kănčov 1900, Radovanović 1922

In number of inhabitants and as households. The 19 mixed villages

1895			1900		1922	
Inhab. Househ.			Müsl.	Christ. Inhab.	Müsl.	Christ. Househ.
Barevo	422	87	248	220 (suspect)	34	51
Bistrenci	564	122	570	80 (86 more)	89	0
Buhola	835	162	460	405 (okay)	92	65
Dolni Disa	444	101	1.20	350 (impossible)	207	3
Drenovo	949	215	800	240 (very suspect)	145	29
Glišik	263	50	84	200 (okay)	17	33
Kalanevo	301	66	202	100 (okay)	1 (!)	17
Krivolak	659	150	650	75 (65 more)	136	0
Manastirec	453	100	300	270 (117 more)	35	41
Negotin	1.764	379	320	1.925 (480 more)	0	452
Prževo	1.466	317	1.200	500 (234 more)	184	52
Pepelište	1.007	229	850	80 and 54 gypsies	189	0
Rosoman	815		170	940 100 (225 more)	161	0
Sopot	334	68	225	130 (okay)	42	0
Tremnik	657	133	554	93 (okay)	88	0
Vojšanci	(410	88)	310	110 (okay)	96	0
Vataša	1.293	384	618	1.142 (467 more)	102	221
Vesje	707	129	460	255 (okay)	80	36
Totals	13.505	2.662	10.063	6.391 (2.949 more)	1.710	1.008

Conclusion: The 19 mixed Tikveš villages lost terrible; much more than the two homogenous groups

From 13.505 inhabitants 10.787 were lost.

If we subtract the 1.765 ghost-people from the numbers of Kănčov we get an approximate view of what had happened between 1900 and 1922. To transform the 1900 number of inhabitants with help of the known household size in 1895 we get close to what has really happened.

XI

Tikveš, Comparison between Salnâme 1895, Kăncov 1900, and Radovanović 1922

in number of inhabitants and as households

The 14 (almost) pure Muslim villages

	1895		1900		1922
	Inhab.	Househ.	Inhab.		Househ.
Besvice + 2% Chr.	1014	201 (5)	1050 (Pom.) + 2% Chr.		112
Brusnik	174	47 (3,7)	160 (Turk)		5
Čelevec	283	26	auch 283 (Turk)		53
Dolni Promet	92	16 (5,7)	95 (Turk)		0
Gorni Promet	169	31 (5,4)	170 (Turk)		0
İberli	487	112 (4,3)	280 (Turk)		74
Košarka	702	109	auch 702 (Turk)		58
Kruševica	524	116 (4,5)	auch 524 (Pom.) + 5% Chr.		84
Kurešnica	(524)	(120) (4,4)	530 (Pom.) + 3% Chr.		97
Pešternica	103	22 (4,7)	110 (Turk)		113
Sirkovo	1237	234 (5,3)	1400 (Pom.) + 4% Chr		236
Sofular	74	13 (5,7)	auch 74 (Turk)		0
Timjanik	1144	233 (4,9)	1150 (Pom.) + 8% Chr.		234
Turska Kurija	163	32 (5)	180 (Pom.)		0 Musl. 40 Chr.
Gesamtzahl:	6.690	1.312 =5,09 p.h.	6708		1.066

Conclusion: almost no difference. In most case the number of 1895 and 1900 vary only slightly or are identical (taken by Kăncov directly from the Salnâme)

On the map from 1922 Gorni and Dolni Promet are depicted as deserted settlement, “*selište*” place where a *selo* (village) has been. Sofular, also known as Dunje appears as Dunje on the 1922 maps being deserted. A Sofular is not mentioned in the Imenik. Only in the Kaza İstip a Sofular is mentioned which in 1900 had 45 Christian inhabitants. As a whole the Muslims had suffered a deep decline. From the 14 Muslim villages 4 disappeared forever. Of a relatively quickly growing population, which in the interval of 27 years could easily have grown to more than 2.000 souls, half was lost through death or exile, or both. Actually the number of households went down from 1.312 to 1.066, or with 246 households (22%).