

Developments and Changes in the Demographic Structure of Macedonian Cities between the 18-19 Centuries

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Abstract:- The research dealing with the development of the demographic situation in Macedonia between the 18-19 centuries will be examined in general terms. In this study, the Islamization of the Ottoman Empire starting from the classical periods and its effects on the cities will be analyzed by analyzing and the Islamization process of the local people is mentioned. The other aim of our research is to review the social and economic changes and dynamics in the new and existing Macedonian cities and their effects will be mentioned. As a result of this change, our research will examine the change in people's living standards, and urbanization and historical development will be examined by mentioning the marketplaces, which are the ancestors of the consumption logic and the shopping center concept.

Keywords:- History, Demographics, Urbanization, Development, Social and Economic Structure, Consumption.

I. INTRODUCTION

➤ *Change in the Religious Status of the Indigenous Population*

One of the key and most significant consequences regarding the permanent establishment of Ottoman rule in Macedonia, according to the author D. Gjorgiev, in addition to Islamization, as the strongest factor that influenced the formation of the "demographic appearance of the Balkan Peninsula", in any case, it was also the "colonization of the Turkish ethnic element"[1].

The new inhabited element on the territory of Macedonia played a big role, from the point of view of cultural, social, ethnic, and also from the religious aspect [2]. The purpose of such a systematized and planned historical process and state-legal act was to form and create as solid a basis as possible for the permanent occupation of the conquered territories, which should also serve for a more successful and faster presentation of offensive action [3]. With the further spread of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, Turkish colonization also spread. However, this kind of

expansion could not be done equally in all parts of the Balkans, and due to the small reserves of the Turkish population, the colonization policy will be directed towards points of vital strategic importance [4]. According to the knowledge of the author L. Villari, with the colonization, the Ottoman sultans tried to make these places strong and solid fortresses [5]. According to the historian M. Minoan, the colonized places or colonies served as the ears and eyes of the Ottoman rulers [6].

The position of Macedonia represents a vital strategic place, which played an important role as a geopolitical area, with several military and trade routes [7]. However, despite the colonization changes, this situation could not guarantee a more reliable ethnic basis for the Ottoman rule over the Balkan areas. It is also interesting to underline that with such a colonizing policy, it could not establish a certain quantitative balance with the Balkan Christian population [8]. The process related to the Islamization of Macedonia developed much earlier in the cities, because the concentration of the settled Turkish population was much higher than in the villages [9].

According to the author, A. Stojanovski, The results of the Islamization of the city population, which lasted with variable intensity throughout the entire time of the Ottoman rule in Macedonia, can hardly be precisely determined [10]. In other words, intensive Islamization in the urban centers of Macedonia, according to many travel writers, was recorded in all periods, that is, according to them, Macedonian cities during the period of Islamization had an oriental character [11]. According to a certain number of ethnographers from the 19th century, especially V. Kančov, some of the Islamized cities became large urban centers, as was the case

- [1] Dragi Gjorgiev, Skopje from the Turkish conquest to the end of the 17th century, 37.
[2] Aleksandar Stojanovski, The cities of Macedonia from the end of the XIV to the XVII century, ..., 33.
[3] The same, 33.

- [4] The same, 33.
[5] L. Villari, Races, Religions and Propagandas, New York, 1905, 129.
[6] M. Minoan, Liberation Movements and Uprisings in Macedonia 1564-1615, Skopje, 1972, 41.
[7] More about colonization in Macedonia: A. Stojanovski, The cities of Macedonia from the end of the 14th to the 17th century, 33-40.
[8] The same, 39.
[9] The same, 39.
[10] The same, 40.
[11] Anton Minkov, Conversation to Islam in the Balkans, ..., 45.

of Enidze Vardar, which was located between the cities of Thessaloniki and Voden [12]. Hence the conclusion, that the Islamization of Stretje, towards the end of the second half of the 16th century, was greater and, therefore, it is possible to see that the number of the Muslim population in the cities was more than the non-Muslim population [13]. For the movement of Islamization, one of the most important destinations was the following: starting from Drama, it continued through Serez, Petrich, Strumica, Shtip and Skopje and went all the way to Thessaloniki [14].

In the middle of the 17th century, the Islamization of the Balkans entered the third phase. According to the author A. Minkov: "It is very difficult to make the Islamization in the 17th century, the disintegration of the timar system will also bring a reduction in the registration of the timars. For this reason, for the research of demographic changes in the 17th century, the researchers were oriented towards studying the jiziye registrations as a source [15]. As an example, based on the mentioned sources, the author E. Grozdanova made an assessment of demographic changes in the 17th century, where she used information on taxpayers for more than 4,500 cities in the Balkans [16].

According to the analyzes made, it is possible to state that, in the first part of the 17th century, there was a certain degree of decline of 33.7% of the non-Muslim population in the cities. Also, in the second half of the 17th century, a 70% (table no. 29) decline of the non-Muslim population was registered [17].

Table 1 Changes in the Non-Muslim Population in the 17th Century [18].

Vilayets	At the beginning of the 17th century	1730-1740	% exempted	1750-1790	% exempted	Total Change %
Bitola	4,838	4,433	-8.4	3,014	-32.0	-37.7
Ohrid	3,658	3,518	-3.8	2,250	-36.0	-38.5
Adhene	1,630	1,704	4.5	1,500	-12.0	-8.0
Strumica	2,912	2,980	2.3	1,149	-61.4	-60.5

About the decline of the non-Muslim population, according to E. Grozdanova, there were many reasons, such as infectious diseases, immigration to other countries, as well as large conversions to Islam. According to the cited author, conversion to Islam played the biggest role in the changes in

demographic statistics [19]. According to the same author, the distribution of the region was 92.4% in rural areas, and only 7.6% in urban regions, but still the biggest effect of the decline in the number of the non-Muslim population was the dynamics of the conversion process.

Islamization and colonization in the cities will invariably continue within the different time periods and areas. As an obvious example, it is possible to state that the Islamization and colonization of Kriva Palanka, which continued during the 17th century, as well as in the case of Gostivar during the 18th century.

One of the types of Islamization was the formation of Muslim "neighborhoods" present in the various locations of the cities. The term "neighborhoods" meant a settlement with Muslim believers, who were brought from other regions and settled, that is, they were integrated into the new settlements and the same families were accommodated in the rural and urban areas [20]. The newly arrived residents were not defined according to their nationalities, but were organized as a group of people of different nationalities, but mainly as Muslims. They were located next to important and strategic places for the Ottoman Empire and its administration [21]. So, for example, in January 1878, in the city of Strumica, 1/5 of the Christians were displaced from their places of residence because of newly arrived Muslims in this city. During the month of May 1879, around 100 immigrant families were accommodated in the city of Skopje. The mentioned Islamization was carried out 60 rural locations of Skopje [22]. Being a Muslim in the empire, on the other hand, made it possible to use the privileges of the state, regardless of whether the Islamization was done arbitrarily or by force, the population was automatically transformed into another level of privileges [23]. Islamization happened quickly and planned, so that except in extreme situations, once Islamized, they did not return to the previous situation [24]. In some historical sources, one can see and state a re-conversion from Islam to the old religion, whereby two places, such as Galicnik and Reka, can be taken as an example. So for example, in the beginning of the 17th century, 30 families were converted to Islam in different ways, but in 1843 the Tomo Tomoski kaya, responsible in Galicnik and the F kaya F. Gurcin Kokaleski, responsible person in Lazaropole, both of them succeeded in reconverting the Islamized families [25]. After a short time, this event will continue to be transmitted from one Macedonian generation

- [12] C. Kanchov, Macedonia ethnography and statistics, Sofia, 1970, 347.
- [13] Anton Minkov, Conversation to Islam in the Balkans, KIsve Bahasi Petition and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730, volume 30, Brill Leiden-Boston, 2004, 83.
- [14] HF Tozer, op. cit. pp. 369-370; N. Liman Oski, Islam kata Religion i Izlamizirnite Makedonija [The Islamic Religion and the Islamized Macedonians], Skopje, 1989, p. 72.
- [15] Anton Minkov, Conversation to Islam in the Balkans, ..., 53.
- [16] The same, 53.
- [17] The same, 54.
- [18] In the table, only the information about the cities in Macedonia is given, it is not given for other countries. It should be noted that in the original version of the table by the author A. Minkov covers all the Balkan states.

- [19] Anton Minkov, Conversation to Islam in the Balkans, KIsve Bahasi Petition and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730, volume 30, Brill Leiden-Boston, 2004, 55.
- [20] Ömer Sevinçgöl, Küçük Lugat 11000 Kelime, Zafer Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990, 143-144.
- [21] Ömer Sevinçgöl, Küçük Lugat 11000 Kelime, Zafer Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990, 143-144.
- [22] G. M. Mac Kenzie and IP Irby, the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe, London, 1866, 34.
- [23] Marija Pandevska, Forced Migrations in Macedonia in the Years of the Great Eastern Crisis (1875-1881), Skopje, 1993, 64-65.
- [24] The same, 65.
- [25] The same, 74.
- [26] The same, 75.

to another. The method of transmission was the poem written about the said event which read:

- "Where everything is heard, seen
- Turk faith to change
- Faith to change
- Kaurin to get up"

The methods related to the Islamization of the indigenous population were not always equal and static, but according to the time and place where the Islamization was carried out. Colonization was used for Islamization in some places, and in some places only Islamization or both methods together. In the region of Dolna, Mala and Golema Reka, only Islamization was done, and no colonization was done. While in Gorna Župa mass colonizations were carried out, and little Islamization [26].

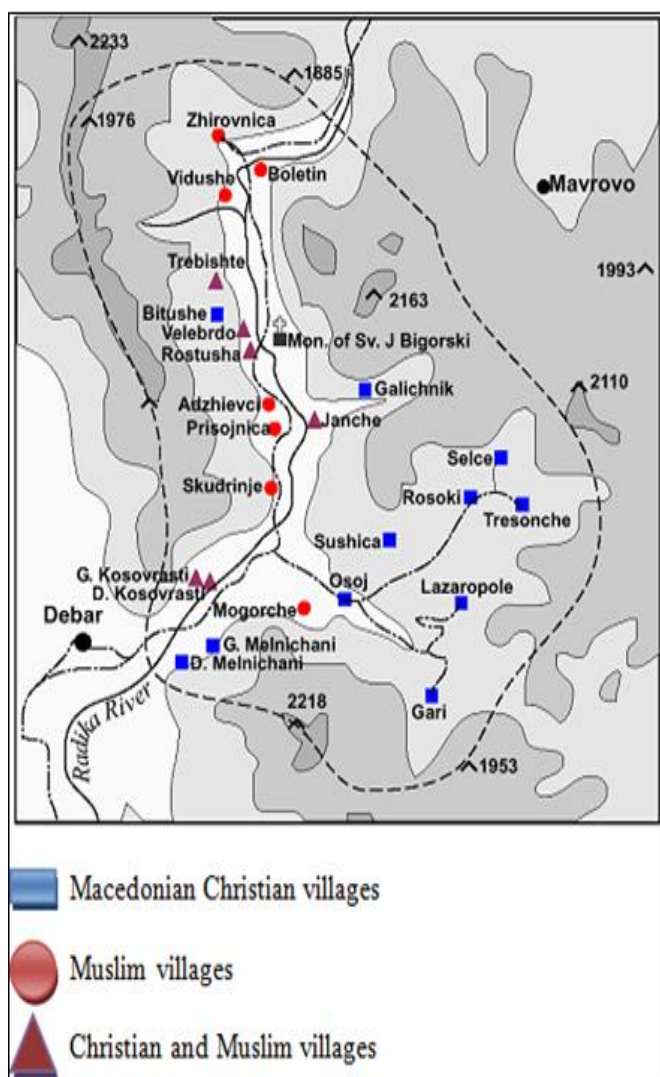


Fig 1 The Religious Distribution of Dolna/Mala Reka in 1900 [27].

- [27] Shtiljan Trajanov Chaparoski (1870-1934), Localities from Debar District, Catalog Number NR54, 11.
- [28] Stillman Trajan Chaparoski (1870-1934), Places in the Debar region, document from the Macedonian Academy of Sciences (MANU) archive, Catalog Number NR54, 90.

Table 2 The Ethnic and Religious Situation of the Area of Gorna Župa

The area of Gorna ŽUPA - DISTRICT OF Debar 1890.			
Villages	Turks/houses	Muslims/houses	Christians/houses
Oak trees	35-58		
You owe	10-12		7-8
Dolno Elevci		40	15
Gorno Elevci	160		10
Evla			
Carriages	55		20
Kodzadzik	600-650		
Noats	70		
Residence Turkey	40		
Shelter			45-50
Laundry	70		1
Village			100-110
In total	1,040 – 1,095	40 houses	198-214 houses

About Islamization during the 18th century, among the best sources can be seen in the work of B. McGowan [28]. As sources for Islamization, more widely in the territories of the Balkans, and more specifically in the Macedonian settlements, the jizye (cizye) registers, which were registered in the 18th century, were used. Here it is possible to mention the fact that according to B. McGowan: "We have different information about Islamization according to the centuries, there is a big difference between before the eighteenth century and in the eighteenth century" [29]. The analyzed changes are also reflected in the demographic position of the population in cities and villages. After the 18th century, the gradual decline of the non-Muslim population will take place, according to the author A. Minkov, the reason for the decline of the non-Muslim population in the Macedonian settlements was the Islamization that began since the 15th century [30]. About the Islamization and the growth of the Muslim population, the author B. McGowan, for his part, claims that migrations from the south, natural growth, and Islamization in Bosnia and Serbia were the key factors [31]. Due to the process of the continuation of Islamization, the growth continued in 1720, by 7.2%; and between 1720-1815, the growth even reaches 25%. But it must be mentioned that the growth of Islamization will continue until the first half of the 18th century. After the process of the mentioned phase, Islamization will begin to flow more and more slowly and will reach the phase of lagging behind [32]. Although individual conventions will continue to last until the 19th century. It is necessary to emphasize that Islamization in the

- [29] Bruce McGowan, "Head Tax Data for Ottoman Europe, 1700–1815," in idem, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade, and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 1981), 80–104.
- [30] Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans*, ..., 57.
- [31] The same, 59-60.
- [32] Bruce McGowan, "Head Tax Data for Ottoman Europe, ... ninety-one.
- [33] Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans*, ..., 60.

mentioned century will play the role of a strategic point in Macedonia, in a state with other places of the Ottoman Empire.

According to the knowledge of the author A. Minkov, the Muslim community in the Balkans never achieved the goal of being dominant, because the Islamization in the 18th century will be largely suppressed [33]. These situations are also indicated by the situation, that Islamization was stopped at the time when the halfway point of this process was reached, and the reasons for such a situation were as follows: the non-Muslim population began the phase of obtaining its independence from the empire during the second half of 19th century, when Islamization within the entire Ottoman Empire reached 40%, i.e. when the central power of the state in this century will pass into the hands of the local governors, where in this case it will pass into the hands of the well-known ayans (ayanlar) [34].

In order to understand the essence of the Islamization of indigenous heritage within the Balkans and in Macedonia during the 18th and 19th centuries, it is necessary to know about the method and methods of Islamization. There are various opinions and theories about the way and methods of Islamization. Some are stereotypes, and some of these theories and opinions are objective and based on specific historical facts. The majority of the authors agree in only one opinion about the Islamization of the indigenous population, that it was direct and indirect or economic Islamization. By direct Islamization is meant the Islamization done by applying institutional methods, such as slavery and *devşirme*, that is, this type of Islamization was controlled by the central government [35]. This kind of Islamization was not too much allowed for "arbitrary" Islamization. During the application of indirect Islamization, the method of arbitrary Islamization was practiced, that is, the central government was not an indicator, but through its institutions it sympathized with the conversion to Islam. According to the knowledge of the author A. Željaskova, the Islamization of the Balkans was carried out from the beginning through the system of slavery, that is, during the conquest of the new territories by the Ottoman Empire, the captured hostages were treated as slaves. These slaves were freed if they converted. This type of Islamization allowed a certain amount of Islamization of the native population [36]. A. Željaskova, for her part, emphasizes the fact that slaves were not always forced to convert, but other factors also influenced the conversion, such as becoming a member of a social group, as a freed slave, there were incentives to the slaves are Islamized [37].

[34] The same, 62.

[35] The same, 62-63.

[36] The same, 65.

[37] Antonia Zelyakova, "Nekotorie aspekti razprostraneniya islama na Balkanskom poluostrovev XV–XVII vv. [Some Aspects of the Spread of Islam on the Balkan Peninsula]" In VI Danailov, MS Mejer and SF Oreshkova, ed. *Osmanskaya imperia: Sistema gosudarstvenigo upravleniya, socialniniye i ethnorelogioznie problems*. Moscow, 1986, 103–116.

[38] The same, 259-260.

In the case of the implementation of the said Islamization, through the institutions or taking *devşirme*, such practice was the highest scale for the realization of Islamization. The *Devşirme* system was based on the basis of conversion in such a way that the children taken from the non-Muslim population were trained in training as soldiers, something similar to the Janissary Corps. The *devşirme* system was regulated only by more recently issued, religious and state, sultan laws (*kanun*), or in some specific cases, small boys were collected at the end of military events, or were orphaned children, who were collected by of the central authorities of the Ottoman Empire [38]. In this case, it is possible to accept the fact that in the 17th century, there were also many tendencies for the non-Muslim population to join the janissaries. The stated tendencies were followed with willfulness or acceptance of voluntary Islamization, with the objective: to enter the janissary corps [39].

Analyzing the issue of voluntary entry into the janissary corps, as an objective example we can cite the data from the tax books from 1723, in connection with the Nevrokop estate, especially for the village of Nison-iste, where 30 janissary households were registered, with a total of 73 inhabitants. telis and the village of Koprivlani with 30 Janissary families with 46 inhabitants [40]. During the development of the process of Islamization, as a direct method for its realization, it is possible to specify the determined punitive measures [41]. Also, marriage can be mentioned as a very influential method for Islamization, because the marriages concluded with the non-Muslim, native population brought with it the conversion to Islam [42]. Newly born children from such marriages, as under a regime of certain automatism, were

[39] Anton Minkov, *Conversation to Islam in the Balkans, Kİsve Bahası Petition and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730*, volume 30, Brill Leiden-Boston, 2004, 68; Pakala, M. Zeki; "Pericak" mad desi, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, MEB İstanbul 1983, C. II, s. 766-767; Uzunyans'ıl, İ. Haki, *Osmanlı Devleti Difficulty Medhal*, TTK Ankara 1989, s. 13-53-54-100-101 yd.; Uzunçarşılı. İ. H.; *Osmanlı Devletinde Kapıkulu Ocakları*, TTK. Ankara 1989, C. I, s. 16-17; Pakalın, Z.; "Devşirme" mad desi, e, C. I, s. 445448; Uzunçarşılı İ. H.; *Osmanlı Tarihi*, TTK. Ankara 1989, C. I, S. 508; Köprülü, Fuat; *Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluşu*, TTK Ankara 1987, s. 108 see; Yavuz, Ercan; "Devşirme Sorunu", *Be/eten XVIII*, s. 712-713; *Tarih-i Selaniki, Selaniki Mustafa Efendi*, Haz. Mehmed İpşirli, İstanbul 1989, C. II, s. 263; Ercan, m., s. 713 *Mür'it Tevarih; Fındıklılı Şamdanizade Süleyman Efendi*, Neşr. Münir Aktepe. İstanbul 1976, s. 58 see; Pakalın, e., s.446-447; Uzunçarşılı, Kapıkulu Ocakları, s. 16-22; Uzunçarşılı, e., s. 26-28, Ercan, m., s. 717; Bozkurt, Günihal; *Gayri Müslim Osmanlı Citizens Hukuki Durumu*, TTK. Ankara 1989. s. 7-29 Ercan, m., s. 716; Ergin, Osman; *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, İstanbul 1977, C. 1, s. 11-12.

[40] Anton Minkov, *Conversation to Islam in the Balkans*, ..., 75.

[41] The same, 75.

[42] Antonia Zelyakova, "Nekotorie aspekti razprostraneniya islama na Balkanskom poluostrovev XV–XVII vv. [Some Aspects of the Spread of Islam on the Balkan Peninsula]" In VI Danailov, MS Mejer and SF Oreshkova, ed. *Osmanskaya imperia: Sistema gosudarstvenigo upravleniya, socialniniye i ethnorelogioznie problems*. Moscow, 1986, 103–116.

brought up within the framework and scope of the Islamic religion, culture and tradition.

According to the methods of Islamization of the indigenous population applied in practice, it is necessary to analyze the factors for conversions in Macedonia and in the Balkans in general. The unknown factors for Islamization can be defined and determined in three main areas, such as: economic, psychological-social and religious factors.

Regarding the economic factors of Islamization, the author A. Zhel-jaskova states the following opinion: "The tax character as the biggest economic factor for Islamization was the factor of the empire's fiscal system." In the area of the empire's fiscal policy, the best Islamization factor was the taxes, which were paid by the non-Muslim population [43].

The same opinion is presented by the famous Turkish historian H. In-aldzik, who states the following objective conclusion: "The tax system of the empire also played the role of the mass Islamization of the Balkans even in the later centuries [44].

In terms of economic factors, according to tax policy, other economic factors also played a significant role in Islamization: such as trade, where local merchants through Islamization from local capital, using the benefits as loyal citizens of the empire, for their part, they increased the capital's capacity through the Islamization of a certain part of the non-Muslim population, that is, members of Christians and Jews.

As for the social factor in relation to Islamization, it began with great speed, because the main reason for the influential Islamization of a social character was the conversion of the well-known and respected domestic aristocracy of the region [45]. For the realization of Islamization, the general factors were the above-mentioned factors, in addition to the above, there were also factors of a religious nature as well as factors of a cultural nature. In that case, in the following, the new demographic situation of the cities of Macedonia will be presented, shown in tabular conditions.

In the tabular display of statistical data, it is necessary to find a place and data from the properties of religious and ethnic characteristics of the city population from the 18th and 19th centuries. In these tabular views, all city settlements from the specified period are taken into account, therefore all source data will be displayed within the presented tabular views.

[43] The same, 92.

[44] H. (Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1700," AO, 6 (1980), 283–337, and Evgeni Radushev, Agrarian institution v ostomanata imperia pres. 17–18 vek [Agrarian Institutions in the Ottoman Empire during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries] (Sofia, 1995).

[45] Anton Minkov, Conversation to Islam in the Balkas, KIsve Bahasi Petition and Ottoman Social Life, 1670–1730, volume 30, Brill Leiden-Boston, 2004, 102.

Table 3 Macedonian Cities in the 18th Century [46].

Towns	Number of population	Religions
Thessaloniki	33,000	Christians, Muslims, Jews
Skopje	10,060	Christians, Muslims, Jews
Ber	4,000	Christians, Muslims, Jews
Ceres	4,000	Christians, Muslims, Jews
Bitola	3,000	Christians, Muslims, Jews
skeleton	2,500	Christians, Muslims, Jews
Strumica	2,040	Christians, Muslims
Serfidze	1,800	Christians, Muslims, Jews
Yanina	1,500	Christians, Muslims
Lerin	1,500	Christians, Muslims

Table 4 The Total Number of Population in the XIX Century [47].

Vilayet	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Bulgarians	Jews
Bitola	630,000	228,121	29	.	5,072
Thessaloniki	463,000	277,000	1,257	223,000	37,206

Within the above table, we show only the cities from Macedonia, that is, the cities from other provinces are not taken into account.

Table 5 The Population in the Sanjaks of the Bitola Vilayet Since 1895 [48].

	Wife and	Men	In total
Bitola	170,513	179,188	349,701
Serfidze	86,257	93,994	180,251
Gorica	81,847	90,395	172,242
Debar	-	43,081	43,081
Elbasan	7,692	31,182	38,874
In total	346,309	437,840	784,149

Table 6 The Population in the Vilayet, Sanjaks and Center of Thessaloniki in 1895 [49].

Muslims		Rum		Armenians		Bulgarians		Catholics	
M	Z	M	Z	M	Z	M	Z	M	Z
14,303	15,186	17,815	19,170	61	88	279	838	230	241

- M – Men; Z – Women
- Total population in Thessaloniki Sanjak:

Muslims		Rum		Armenians		Bulgarians		Catholics	
M	Z	M	Z	M	Z	M	Z	M	Z
108,815	116,423	89,815	103,331	65	92	44,066	51,741	1,129	1182

[46] Elias Kolovos, Phokin Kotzageorgis, Sophia Laiou and Marion's Sariyannis, The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans and the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History, The ISSIS Press, Istanbul, 2007, 1 41.

[47] Kemal H. Karp at, Ottoman Population, Demographic and Social Characteristics, 1830-1914, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985, 43.

[48] Necdet Hayta, Salnamelelere Göre Atatürk'ün Askeri İdadiede Öğretim Gördüğü Yıllarda Manastır Vilayeti, Atatürk ve Manastır Sempozyumu, Manastır, 1998, 142.

[49] Nuri Yavuz, Birinci Balkan Harbi Selanik'in Kaybı, Gazi Yayınları, Akademik Bakış Cilt I, Sayı 2, Ankara, 2008, 142

	Z	M
Jews	17,759	18,065
Protestants	335	367
Latins	45	49
Monophytes	7,767	8,622
Roma/non-Muslims	82	81
Strangers	490	710
In total	261,437	291,544
In total	552,981	

Table 7 The Population of Thessaloniki in 1890 [50].

Ethnic groups	Homemade		Strangers	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Foreign residents	2	3	101	51
Roma/non-Muslims	66	58	35	21
Jews	23,215	23,583	275	249
Bulgarian Protestants	7	6	22	6
Protestants	2	1	22	2
Bulgarian Catholics	13	11	24	13
Catholics	12	16	74	6
Armenian Catholics	7	9	19	15
Armenians	72	66	171	75
Greeks	5,300	5,313	2,931	1,463
Turks	11,677	12,452	2,919	26,555
Syrians	3	-	3	-
Protestant Armenians	4	-	1	-
Greek Catholics	1	-	1	-
Latins	10	5	4	7

Table 8 The Population of Bitola Vilayet in 1875 [51].

Say	Surnames	Muslims	Christians	Gypsies/Cypts	Jews
Center	2,641	10,956	33,500	1,042	916
Gonia	1,298	803	2,741	492	-
Adhere	1,180	1,370	5,685	233	-
Ohrid	2,358	5,419	12,905	464	-
skeloton	1,334	4,861	17,565	-	613
Leather	619	14,140	7,450	2	-
I settled	257	2,510	8,481	-	-
Lerin	528	8,193	10,370	390	-
Serfidze	1,390	1,033	4,465	107	-
Kichevo	1,290	4,150	8,795	220	-
An island	787	8,800	1,200	260	-
Cologne	190	4,500	4,000	-	-
In total	13,880	66,735	117,157	3,470	1,520

THE TOTAL NUMBER OF POPULATION 188,891 inhabitants

[50] Alimovski Safet, Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Manastır Merkez Kazasının Sosyo – Ekonomik Durumu, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi Türkiye Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Türk Tarihi Ana Bilim Dalı Yakın Çağ Anabilim Dalı, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul, 2005

[51] Mucize Ünlü, Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapı (1873-1912), Yüksek Lisans Tezi, TC Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Samsun, 1996, 117 .

During 1875, the total number of population in the Bitola vilayet was 188,891 inhabitants , with according to the above-mentioned table, the largest number of the population was made up of Christians. Half of the population were Muslims, and the rest belonged to the Kyprians (Gypsies). In the following year 1876, the population grew to 229,676 inhabitants . which increase can be seen from tables where there were visible changes among the Christian, Muslim and Cyprian populations, but such a situation did not occur among the Jewish population.

Table 9 The Population of the Bitola Vilayet in 1876 [52].

Say	Surnames	Muslims	Christians	Gypsies (Roma)	Jews
Center	2,641	10,956	33,500	1,042	916
Gonia	1,298	815	2,751	490	-
Adhere	1,180	5,487	18,731	223	-
Ohrid	2,358	5,501	13,507	467	-
skeloton	1,334	6,557	21,942	83	400
Leather	619	14,158	7,580	375	-
I settled	257	3,548	8,557	273	-
Lerin	528	7,639	11,956	390	-
Serfidze	1,390	1,053	4,457	107	-
Kichevo	1,290	4,901	8,812	219	-
An island	787	8,800	1,200	260	-
Cologne	190	4,500	4,000	-	-
Friday	-	12,355	2,297	207	-
In total	13,880	86,270	139,270	4,116	131

TOTAL POPULATION NUMBER 229,676

Table 10 The Population in Skopje Sanjak in 1875 [53].

Say	Surnames	Muslims	Christians	Gypsies (Roma)	Jews
Center	3,929	16,717	4,581	367	194
You're happy	684	4,341	3,091	-	-
Kratovo	1,888	1,085	4,403	-	-
Cobs	4,820	4,231	6,205	230	-
Kriva Palanka	3,087	510	11,200	203	-
Ship	2,157	11,380	10,747	450	231
Kumanovo	6,225	9,114	15,244	-	-
In total	22,790	47,378	55,471	1,250	425

TOTAL: 104,524

Table 11 The Population in Skopje Sanjak in 1876 [54].

Say	Surnames	Muslims	Christians	Gypsies (Roma)	Jews
Center	3,929	16,462	14,581	307	160
You're happy	684	4,398	3,016	-	196
Kratovo	1,888	1,037	3,287	61	-
Cobs	4,820	4,232	6,205	230	-
Palanka	3,087	510	15,000	267	-
Ship	2,157	11,400	10,750	330	260
Kumanovo	6,225	5,264	14,360	156	-
In total	22,790	43,303	67,207	1,351	649

TOTAL: 112,510

The total number of the Skopje sanjak in 1875 was 104,524 inhabitants , that is, according to table no. 7. it can be seen that the number of the Christian population was higher compared to others in the sanjak. During 1876, the population of Skopje Sanjak amounted to 112,510 inhabitants. From here you can see the fact that even due to

[52] Mucize Ünlü, Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapı (1873-1912), Yüksek Lisans Tezi, TC Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Samsun, 1996, 117 .

[53] Mucize Ünlü, Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapı (1873-1912), Yüksek Lisans Tezi, TC Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Samsun, 1996, 119 .

[54] Mucize Ünlü, Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapı (1873-1912), Yüksek Lisans Tezi, TC Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Samsun, 1996, 119 .

the increase in the population, by about 4,000 inhabitants, there was still a decrease in the Muslim population in the sanjak.

Table 12 The Population in the Debar Sanjak in 1875 [55].

Say	Surnames	Muslims	Christians	Gypsies (Roma)
Center	8,893	17,051	8,718	362
Debrei zir	2,560	2,500	1,500	-
Matt	318	8,170	-	84
Elbasan	6,280	21,500	2,300	-
In total	17,979	49,221	12,518	446
TOTAL: 62,185				

Table 13 The Population in the Debar Sanjak in 1876 [56].

Say	Surnames	Muslims	Christians	Gypsies/Cyptians
Center	8,893	18,500	9,500	500
Debrei zir	2,560	2,500	1,500	-
Matt	318	8,170	-	84
Elbasan	6,208	21,500	2,350	-
In total	17,979	50,670	13,350	584
TOTAL: 64,604				

The total number of population in Debar sanjak in 1875 was 62,185 inhabitants, according to table no. 9., that is, the number of the Muslim population increased. In 1876, the population of the sanjak was also increased, or the Muslim population amounted to 50,670, the Christian 13,350 and the Kibiti 584. An increase in the Muslim population is also observed in the Central Kaza and in Elbasan.

Table 14 The Situation in the Bitola Province in 1881/82 [57].

Sanjatsi	He said	Muslims	Greeks	Armenians	Bulgarians	Catholics
Bitola	Center	30,517	41,077	26	-	61,494
	Adhere	14,270	1,248	-	-	43,763
	Ohrid	16,360	3,049	-	-	33,306
	Lerin	12,863	27,162	-	-	3,354
	Kichevo	13,282	64	-	-	20,879
Total: 322,720						
Gorica	Center	32,759	30,475	-	-	2,134
	skeleton	13,113	11,425	-	-	35,588
	An island	21,106	3,028	-	-	-
	Cologne	9,511	5,814	-	-	-
Total: 164,953						
Serfidze	Center	4,046	12,892	-	-	-
	Alassonia	2,188	24,631	1	-	-
	Leather	15,017	12,633	2	-	-
	Friday	28,84	2,895	-	5,374	-
	I settled	7,114	23,374	-	-	1
	Grabbed	4,536	27,999	-	-	-
Total: 171,555						
GRAND TOTAL: 637,228						

[55] Mucize Ünlü, Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapı (1873-1912), Yüksek Lisans Tezi, TC Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Samsun, 1996, 1 22 .

[56] The same, 1 22 .

[57] The same, 123.

Table 15 The Population of Bitola Vilayet in 1892-93 [58].

Place	Population
Bitola	326,687
Serfidze	195,987
Gorica	159,379
Debar	99,780
Elbasan	56,554
In total	838,353

Table 16 The Condition of the Bitola Vilayet in 1896/97 [59].

Sanjatsi	He said	Men	Women	Total population
Bitola	only Bitola	71,478	68,589	140,067
	Adhere	33,445	31,794	65,239
	Ohrid	28,541	28,267	56,808
	Lerin	26,238	23,403	46,641
	Kichevo	18,886	18,459	37,345
	In total	178,588	170,512	346,100
Serfidze	Serfidze	8,987	8,550	17,537
	I settled	17,729	16,422	34,161
	Leather	12,317	11,957	24,274
	Kylari	23,691	23,380	45,071
	Grabbed	17,834	16,203	34,037
	Alassonia	13,426	11,745	25,175
	In total	272,583	256,769	180,255
Gorica	Gorica	33,496	32,529	66,025
	Cologne	8,457	7,662	16,119
	An island	12,870	12,544	25,414
	skeleton	34,577	28,527	63,104
	In total	361,982	238,031	170,662
Debar	Gorni Debar60	21,805	0	21,805
	A river	10,631	0	10,631
	Dolni Debar61	5,198	0	5,198
	Matt	5,447	0	5,447
	In total	405,063	-	43,081
Elbasan	Elbasan	18,278	0	18,278
	Gamish	5,536	0	5,536
	Pecklin	7,368	7,692	15,060
	In total	436,295	345,723	38,814
GRAND TOTAL: 778,912				

[58] The same, 124.

[59] The same, 123.

[60] According to Ottoman terminology, the mentioned city was registered in these statistics as "Debre-i Bala" or Gorni Debar.

[61] Dolni Debar was recorded in these statistics as Debre-i Zir .

Table 17 The Population of Bitola Vilayet by age [62].

Ethnic groups and congregations	1875	1876	1882-93	1895	1897	1906-07	1911	1913
Muslims	370,237	297,590	225,534	225,534	252,962	320,551	260,418	-
Christians	220,099	272,215	-	-	-	5,556	-	-
Gypsies (Roma)	6,935	10,621	-	-	2,597	2,104	-	-
Jews	2,139	2,015	-	5,072	5,914	5,459	-	-
Greeks	14,813	-	227,766	277,766	272,205	286,001	291,238	465,000
Armenians	-	-	29	29	22	8	-	-
Bulgarians	-	-	5,374	205,892	177,750	197,088	188,412	-
Catholics	-	-	200,519	1	-	-	-	-
Protestants	-	-	-	38	785	5	-	-
Vlachs-Serbs	-	-	-	-	-	-	30,116	421,000
Albanians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	148,000
In total	647,886	581,145	639,228	664,399	712,217	824,828	770,184	1,034,000

II. CHANGES IN THE WAY OF LIVING

Changes in the way of living have always been directly related to the social-economic position of the population. In the Ottoman Empire, the political and economic position of the population, especially in the large cities of Macedonia, largely depended on the introduction of reforms in the political system of government in the country [63]. Starting from 1839, with the publication of "Gul ha ne Hatti Humayun", then in 1856, publication of "Islahat Fermanot", even in the extension of a period of 37 years, it represented a period of reforms in the political, social, economic and military system of the state. Such reforms contributed to the transformation of the classical system, towards the direction of transformation into a modern and European system in the Ottoman Empire [64]. One of the many reforms, which for its part played the main role in the formation of the new bourgeois class and change in the way of living in the country, was the establishment of the system of the empire based on the equality and equality of the population, regardless of of religion or nation [65].

Also, the trade relations established between Europe and the Ottoman Empire played as an indicator of the change in the way of living in the cities. The transformation of the "Property Law" into a liberal system, which was introduced in 1858, played a major role in the growth and development of the aforementioned conditions and relations with Europe. With it, the economic code was regulated according to European standards, or the new capitalist system was established, which in turn contributed to the formation of the

Muslim middle class [66]. With the formation of the new middle class and the elimination of the classic "Ayan system" in the country, the majority of the Muslim population was largely satisfied. Parallel to the existence of the "middle class", new social groups were formed, such as: ulema families, small merchants, land owners and the new intellectual class.

After the second half of the 19th century, the formed middle class was divided into two basic socio-economic groups: in the first, the leading place was occupied by farmers, who were represented in large numbers by Muslims, and in the second group, composed of commercial-entrepreneurs, who were located in the cities, usually consisted of a large number of non-Muslim representatives [67]. Thus, over time, the new bourgeois class was formed, which became dominant in the Macedonian cities and in general in the entire Ottoman Empire. In order to obtain a better and clearer picture regarding the mentioned issue, we will attach several historical sources, which refer to "Temettuat Defter -leri" [68]. According to these books, it is also possible to determine the amount of capital of the new elite that emerged during the second half of the 19th century.

As was specified in the previous point, the city of Skopje after the Crimean War (1853-1856) was transformed into a city with a lot of capacity for trade, and the establishment of good relations with European merchants contributed to the growth of the social-economic and cultural - storage room in Skopje. During the second half of the 19th century, several factories were built in this city for the production of flour, ice and alcoholic beverages [69]. The formation of the new bourgeois class in Skopje was influenced by the khans and bazaars, which were a kind of center for the movement of capital. Over time, the mentioned city grew into one of the most important trade centers, as other merchants from the Balkans began to settle in Skopje. These merchants were of different religious and national origins. According to the data from the "temettuat def-teri", which refer to the collection of taxes in the Ottoman Empire, in Skopje the mentioned merchants were located in this city for a minimum of 3 to 30 years [70]. Merchants were soon recorded as a bourgeois domestic class. According to "temettuat defteri" in the 19th century, professional income per person was 1,396 gros. This figure for the non-Muslim population was 3,853.5 gros. Hence the fact that the professional incomes of the non-Muslim population were higher. For example, for 55 households of Muslim origin, the income amounted to 47,158 groshis, and the professional

[62] Mucize Ünlü, Manastır Vilayetinin İdari ve Sosyal Yapı (1873-1912), Yüksek Lisans Tezi, TC Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, Samsun, 1996, 122.

[63] Bilal Eryılmaz, Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Tebanın Yönetimi, Risale Basın-Yayın 2 Baskı-Mart, İstanbul, 1996, 99.

[64] The same, 100.

[65] Bulent Özdemir, The Great Ottoman Turkish Civilization, A Local Perception of the Plural Ottoman Society: Muslim, Orthodox and Jewish Communities of Salonica During the 1840's, University of Birmingham, Center for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies/ England, Ankara, 2000, 422.

[66] Kemal H. Karpat, Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History, Selected Articles and Essays, Volume 81, Brill-Laiden-Boston-Koln, 2002, 48.

[67] The same, 49.

[68] A book of income from goods and properties in the empire in which all the villages and towns of the territory were listed.

[69] Emine Gül, XIX Yüzyılda Makedonya ve Üsküb Kazası (Maliye Nezareti Temettuat Defterlerine Göre 1260/1844)ö Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İktisat Fakültesi, Türk İktisat Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, Tez no: 176223, İstanbul, 1999, 52.

[70] The same, 53.

incomes amounted to no more than 85,741 groshis. But when it comes to the non-Muslim population, for 9 households, the total income was 3,853.5 groshis [71]. And if a comparison is made of the incomes, which had an influence in the formation of the bourgeois class in the Macedonian cities, the largest part of the professional incomes was in the hands of the newly arrived non-Muslim merchants (at least three years settled in Skopje). In another case, from 46 households of newly arrived non-Muslim traders, located in Skopje for at least three years, the total professional income amounted to 70,700 groshis. Also, there were cases in Skopje when merchants from outside were accommodated, 4 Jewish households and one Muslim household were accommodated for at least three years. For a better understanding and knowledge of the newly formed bourgeois class in Skopje, it is possible to look at the analysis performed below.

Table 18 Merchants During 1844, According to Ethnicity [72].

Profession	Households	% percent	Income from profession	% percent	Income outside the profession	In total	Professional income	Total revenues
Muslims	55	47.8 %	47,158	29.4 %	10,659	578,464	8,574	10,518
Non-Muslims	9	7.8 %	34,682	21.6 %	4,186	388,896	38,536	49,211
Jews	4	3.5 %	5,000	3.1 %	360	53,631	12,500	13,408
More than 3 Muslims	1	0.9 %	3,000	1.9 %	0	30,019	30,000	30,019
More than 3 non-Muslims	46	40.0 %	70,700	44.0 %	0	707,440	15,370	15,379
In total	115	1.0 %	160,540	1.0 %	15,205	175,845	13,960	15,291

During the second half of the 19th century, the bourgeois class began to appear in various sectors of social-economic life, but the first steps of this class in the cities can be seen in trade. In the manufacturing sector, the growth of the non-Muslim population can be observed, especially in leather production, where, according to the "Temettuat defterleri", it was noted that out of a total of 212 households, 116 were of Muslim origin, and 40 households of non-Muslim origin [73]. The income of leather production for Muslim producers was 31,482 grosz a (51.4 %); the income of non-Muslim merchants 10,553 groshis (17.2%); the income of those who came to Skopje from outside was 4,400 groshis (7.2%) and the incomes of non-Muslim traders, who were in Skopje for more than 3 years, amounted to 14,830 groshis (24.2%). The same thing happened in the metallurgy sector, where out of the total number of workers, there were 236 households, of which 173 were Muslim, i.e. (73.3%), and only 14 households were of non-Muslim origin [74]. The above statistical information is given for the reason, to see the socio-economic situation of the entire population, as well as the diagram of the economic situation and the sectors in the formation of the bourgeois class in Macedonia. In the formation of the new bourgeois class, as a driver of encouragement for the overall development of the population, the role of production capacities and the rich

potential of cities such as: Thessaloniki, Bitola, Skopje, Drama, Seres, Veles, Prilep, Ohrid, Ka -vala etc. For example, in the city of Bitola, during the 1870s, there was a small group of people who were oriented towards foreign trade. In the mentioned years, two local companies were established: „ M a-mulat-ı Dahiliye-i İlamıye,, and „ İktisad-ı Bakkaliye Şirketleri,, [75]. The formation of such local companies initially oriented their capital at the local level, and with the new capital also towards foreign markets, where economic conditions and opportunities appeared to form the new capitalist class within Macedonia. . The newly created class, for its part, contributed to the development of living standards and the way of living in the cities. The local population was already one step closer to the European bourgeois class, and according to historical sources, in the period from 1850 to 1865, Austria, England, Russia and Iran opened their ambassadorial residences in Bitola [76]. According to the mentioned consular reports, the Jewish bourgeois class was also formed in Bitola. According to the data from the author Solomo Albhoer, in the city of Bitola during the 19th century there were many rich Jews such as: Yehial Nachman Levy, Solomon Nachman Levy, Yaakov Rachamim Nachimias, Yosef Moshe Irgas and Yosef Haim Peres [77]. The emerging bourgeois class and its economic strength was characterized by growth or decline, that is, sometimes the Jewish class was on the rise, but sometimes the Christian class was on the decline or rise. In the beginning of the 19th century, due to the trade orientation towards European countries, such as Austria and Russia, in the city of Bitola, according to the information contained in the "Temettuat defteri", the Christian bourgeois class was growing and becoming more dominant. According to the mentioned ledgers, in Bitola at the beginning of the 19th century, of the total number of merchants, almost 37 were Christians, 15 Muslims and 4 Jews [78]. For more detailed information, it is possible to look in the second chapter under headings 2 and 3 of our topic, in connection with the social-economic changes in the Ottoman Empire, as the main question more committed to the analysis related to the role and significance of trade and craft centers in Macedonia.

For the development of the non-Muslim bourgeois class , how ethnocentric factor, migration movements from the villages to the cities also played a corresponding role and significance. The process of migrations from the villages to the cities during the XIX century was mostly carried out by the Christian population. Essentially, the process of the Macedonians' migration movements from the villages to the cities contributed to the formation of the urban economy of the cities [79]. The Christian bourgeois class, installed in the Macedonian cities, over time grew into a leading social force and had a great influence in the work of the local

[71] The same, 55.

[72] Emine Gül, XIX Yüzyılda Makedonya ve Üsküb Kazası (Maliye Nezareti Temettuat Defterlerine Göre 1260/1844)ö Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İktisat Fakültesi, Türk İktisat Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, Tez no: 176223, İstanbul, 1999, 5 5 .

[73] The same, 59.

[74] The same, 60.

[75] Mucize Ünlü, Manastır Vilayetine İdari ve Sosyal Yapı (1873-1912), ... , 29.

[76] The same, 29-30.

[77] Shlomo Alboher, The Jews of Monastir Macedonia ..., 30.

[78] Safet Alimovski, Temettuat Defterlerine Göre Manastır Merkez Kazasının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu, , 23.

[79] Andrew Rosso's , Macedonia and the Macedonians , ... , 70.

administration, more precisely: trade, education, the development of the church and cultural occasions of the Macedonian people. etc. As an objective example of such an achievement, it is possible to cite the business activity of the merchant Georgi Drndar. This merchant, who comes from the city of Veles, in the current year 1836, because of his trading activity, received a special (imperial) berat issued personally by Sultan Mahmud II., which referred to smooth travel abroad [80].

With the development of capital, the entire population in the cities was reduced and a national awareness of cultural emancipation and civilization was formed. As trade contributed to the development of trade relations with European countries, the historical process indirectly encouraged the development of the national mentality of the population. Parallel to that, European luxury developed, together with the elements of the national culture of the population. Those merchants, who had good relations with the European countries, began to import qualitative industrial products, while also transferring the so-called luxury culture and consumption from the countries of Europe. While the Macedonian artisans and guilds dominated in the cities: the Vlachs, the Jews and the Greeks still controlled the trade [81]. After the end of the Crimean War, which lasted from 1854 to 1856, European countries began to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. The mentioned states, for their part, financed the projects for transport and connections between Macedonian cities, with a special political and economic reason to gain dominance in the exploitation of natural resources in Macedonia as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. During 1860, new roads were also opened, which connected the cities and trade centers. These investments, to a large extent, started to rapidly develop the cities and activated the rapid growth of the population in the cities. For his part, the author Edward Lear, among other things, reported on the way of life of the population in 1849. He was visibly impressed by the large constructions, buildings and administrative centers. Also, he was too impressed by the presence of multi-culture and the development of the cultural level, which reigned in the city of Bitola. Then the presence of reflecting the echo of the music, which was heard in the streets, which in turn gave inspiration to the visitors, or the appearance of the people when they were dressed in good and clean clothes [82].

III. CONCLUSION

With the further spread of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, Turkish colonization and Islamization also spread. But this kind of expansion could not be implemented equally in all parts of the Balkans, mostly because of the small reserves of the Turkish population, the colonization policy was increasingly directed towards the points connected with vital strategic importance. The position of Macedonia is an

important geopolitical and strategic place, through which several key military and trade routes passed through the territory for centuries.

Due to the logic contained in the multicultural and multi-religious character of the cities in Macedonia, it stood for a different national mosaic. According to the mentioned national mosaic, once it oriented the population towards mutual discrimination, while between the religious groups it also led to the homogenization of the community. Due to the development of these two reasons, primarily of a socio-economic nature, there have also been contradictions in the relations between the communities. However, there was a certain will for individual coexistence, especially in cities. For the maintenance of coexistence, the reason was not only socio-economic, religious, and cultural factors, but also natural disasters, which strengthened the relations of coexistence in the cities of Macedonia.

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[80] The same, 70.

[81] The same, 71.

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