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## ISLAMIZATION IN MONTENEGRO OF BALKANS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

### Abstract

The issue of the spread of Islam in the Balkans remains a historical problem that historians have not yet agreed on. In this research article, I investigated how Islam spread in Montenegro because of Ottoman politics in the sixteenth century. Based mainly on the *Iskenderiye Mufasssal Daftar* and *Mühimme*, a kind of contemporary Ottoman official documents, I concluded that the Ottomans initially spread Islam in Montenegro through military and civilian officials, especially Muslim Ottoman soldiers employed in Montenegrin castles. It appears that Islam did not spread in Montenegro mostly by consent. The Ottoman administration seems to have followed a certain policy of its own for the consensual adoption of Islam by local people. The Ottomans wanted to make Islam permanent by providing tax exemption to new Muslims, granting those positions and rank, enabling them to save land, trying to reduce the pressure of Venice and the Catholic church on the local people, transferring the Muslim population from outside, and establishing foundations such as *zawiyas* and mosques. Despite all this, Islam encountered a great resistance in Montenegro due to the reaction of Venice and the old local feudal families.

**Key Words:** Balkans, Montenegro, Crne Gore, Islam, Ottomans, Highlanders, Podgorica.

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## XVI ҒАСЫРДАҒЫ БАЛҚАН ТҮБЕГІНДЕГІ ЧЕРНОГОРИЯНЫҢ ИСЛАМДАНУЫ

### Аңдатпа

Балқан түбегінде исламның таралу мәселесі – тарихшылар арасында әлі де бір ортақ пікірге келмеген тарихи мәселе болып қала беруде. Бұл зерттеу мақаласында мен XVI ғасырдағы Осман саясаты нәтижесінде исламның Қаратау (Черногория) аумағында қалай таралғанын зерттедім. Зерттеу негізінен Осман мемлекетінің сол дәуірдегі ресми құжаттары – *Искендерие Муфасссал Дафтары* мен *Мюхимме дефтеріне* сүйенеді. Зерттеу нәтижесінде мен ислам дінінің Черногорияға таралуы алдымен әскери және азаматтық шенеуніктер арқылы, әсіресе Черногория бекіністерінде қызмет атқарған мұсылман осман әскерлері арқылы жүзеге асқанын анықтадым. Черногорияда ислам көбіне келісіммен таралды деу қиын. Осман билігі жергілікті халықтың ислам дінін өз еркімен қабылдауына арналған арнайы саясат жүргізгенге ұқсайды. Олар исламды орнықты ету үшін жаңа мұсылмандарға салықтан босату, лауазымдар мен атақтар беру, жер иелену мүмкіндігін ұсыну, Венеция мен католик шіркеуінің жергілікті халыққа қысымын азайту, сырттан мұсылман халықты көшіру, сондай-ақ зәуиялар мен мешіттер сияқты қайырымдылық мекемелерін ашу арқылы әрекет еткен. Алайда, осы шараларға қарамастан, ислам Черногорияда қатты қарсылыққа тап болды, әсіресе Венеция мен жергілікті ескі феодалдық әулеттер тарапынан.

**Кілт сөздер:** Балқан, Черногория, Қаратау (Crne Gore), Ислам, Османдар, Таулықтар, Подгорица

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## ИСЛАМИЗАЦИЯ ЧЕРНОГОРИИ НА БАЛКАНАХ В XVI ВЕКЕ

### Аннотация

Вопрос распространения ислама на Балканах остаётся исторической проблемой, по которой среди историков до сих пор нет единого мнения. В данной исследовательской статье я рассмотрел, как ислам распространялся в Черногории в результате османской политики в XVI веке. Основываясь в основном на таких официальных османских документах того времени, как *Искендерийе Муфассал Дафтары* и *Мюхимме дефтери*, я пришёл к выводу, что ислам изначально распространялся в Черногории через военных и гражданских чиновников, особенно через мусульманских османских солдат, размещённых в черногорских крепостях. Похоже, что ислам в Черногории в основном не распространялся добровольно. Османская администрация, по-видимому, проводила определённую политику, направленную на добровольное принятие ислама местным населением. Османы стремились закрепить ислам, предоставляя новым мусульманам налоговые льготы, должности и титулы, возможность сохранять землю, снижая давление Венеции и католической церкви на местных жителей, переселяя мусульманское население из других регионов и создавая религиозные учреждения, такие как завии и мечети. Несмотря на все эти меры, ислам встретил значительное сопротивление в Черногории, особенно со стороны Венеции и старых местных феодальных семей.

**Ключевые слова:** Балканы, Черногория, Црна Гора (Crne Gore), Ислам, Османы, Горцы, Подгорица

**Introduce.** When and how Islamization began in the Balkans remains a historical issue on which Balkan historians cannot agree. They have continued to think hard this issue for at least two hundred years. Since Serbian, Albanian, Macedonian and Bosnian historians see Islamization as an important historical argument to prove the legitimacy of their nationality and national state, the issue were remained objectively unresolved. I think every region or country of the Balkans uses Islamization to legitimize its political views. The first academic studies on this subject was carried out on Bosnia. Balkan historians such as Franjo Racki, Ivo Andric, Alexander Solovjev, Nedim Pilipovic, Nenad Filipovic, Adem Handzic, Ahmed S. Alicis and Muhammed Hadzijahic have studied the issue of Islamization that occurred in Bosnia under Ottoman since the late 19th century. One of the most discussed issues by them is whether Islamization in the Balkans was by forced or voluntary. Nedim Pilipovic explains Islamization in terms of Ottoman politics, using Ottoman cadastral registers (*tahrir*). Most Serbian historians, such as Vladimir Stojancevic [1, pp. 29-32], argue that Islamization was mostly by force by Ottomans. In addition, when Islamization began in the Balkans was a subject of separate debate. The main views on this subject was that the Ottoman military and civil administrators caused Islamization. The Balkan people accepted Islam in order not to become prisoners of war. It is states that the *devshirme* system and collecting novice boys (*Acemi oğlani*) from the local people contributed positively to Islamization of Balkans and that Islam gradually spread through Ottoman foundations (*vakf*) and zawiyas. Adem Handcic adds the Vlach factor to all this. They were settled in Bosnia by the Ottoman administration to pressure the Catholics. This triggered the conversion to Islam among non-Muslims of Balkans [2, pp. 231-244].

**Objective.** As for Montenegro, Professor Mustafa Memis claims that Ottoman soldiers entered Jelac, Srednje, Polimlje and Potarje of Montenegro starting from 1396, and that the Crnojević family, who ruled Montenegro, persistently resisted the Ottoman expansion for 175 years. As a result, Montenegro was annexed to by the Ottoman administration in 1496 as the

Shkodra sanjak. Ulcin and Bar castles were captured by the Ottomans in 1571. The annexation was carried out in four stages with Ottoman soldiers coming from different directions. The first one from Skopje-Pristina-Trepča-Jeleč-Nikšići towards Lim, the second from Skadar towards the Zeta river valley, the third from Herzegovina towards Novi, and the fourth towards Onogošte, Komarnica and Piva [3, pp. 155-185].

**Research materials and methods.** In my article, the documents about Ottoman Montenegro in the *İskenderiye Tahrir Daftar*, a kind of contemporary official population and tax records of the Ottomans, and *the Mühimmes*, the minutes of the highest court in Istanbul, preserved in the Presidential Ottoman Archives of Turkey, in terms of Islamization. I will put forward the view that Islam began to spread in Montenegro under the Ottoman rule, thanks to seven factors implemented by the Ottoman administration. The first and most important group who spread Islam on Montenegro was the Muslim Ottoman soldiers who stationed in the castles of Montenegro. Many modern historians have noted their role. The second was the role of local people who voluntarily embraced Islam and later became Ottoman fort soldiers. These soldiers, referred to as converts, influenced others around them in their conversion to Islam. Thirdly, the Muslim and non-Muslim population transferred to Montenegro by the Ottoman administration, especially *Haymana* and Vlachs groups, triggered Islamization. Fourth, and one of the most effective politics, was the reward of those who embraced Islam by the Ottoman administration. This reward was in the form of being appointed to certain Ottoman offices and positions, as well as giving local feudal families the opportunity to re-use own agricultural lands. I think this was one of the most important factors in the spread of Islam in Montenegro. With the confiscation of the real estate of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, some of these agricultural lands began to be allocated to new Muslims who were supporters of the Ottoman Empire. Fifthly, tax exemption was introduced to new Muslims who were supporters of the Ottoman Empire. People living in castles such as Podgorica and Bar of Montenegro were exempted from various taxes by the administration. The sixth was the role of Muslims of the cities of Peja and Shkodra, which were the developed commercial centers of the region, in the Islamization of the Montenegro. Finally, the lack of regular security in the region was Venice's failure to protect the local population. Many Bosnian historians generally attribute the spread of Islam in Montenegro to the politics of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (1432-1481), Ottoman sultan who conquered Constantinople. Bosnian-Herzegovinian historian Branislav Durdev (1908-1993) states that Mehmed the Conqueror captured Montenegro and made a vassal to Ottomans, but in 1496, his son, Bayezid founded Ottoman rule in Montenegro strongly. According to Durdev, the regions on the Dalmatian coast of Montenegro were under the rule of Venice Republic, while the inner parts of it were under the control of the Ottomans. Again, according to him, the Ottoman administration exempted the Montenegrins from *jizya* and tithe, two of the main Ottoman taxes. They agreed to pay only a tax called 'filori', a gold coin, per house and field [4, p. 574]. I am hesitant about the accuracy of this view by Durdev. I don't know if this view is valid only for the period of the vassalage or if it covers the entire period of Ottoman administration, but Ottoman documents show that the Ottoman administration always demands *jizya* and tithe from the Montenegrins for the treasury. In fact, many villages of Montenegro rebelled against Ottoman rule in 1579 due to heavy taxation. The Ottoman administration could not suppress these peasant revolts. When the administration collected *jizya* and other taxes from them, it did not want to punish them. In addition, agricultural products produced by Montenegrin peasants were also subject to tax [5, p. 139].

**Discussion. I. The castle of Podgorica.** The importance of Podgorica (now the capital of Montenegro) to the Ottomans comes from its castle [6, pp. 227-245], weekly market, mosque and the non-Muslim villagers who opposed the Ottoman rule, called *Tagi* (Highlanders), who lived in the surrounding mountains. In addition to a mosque in Podgorica named after Mehmed the Conqueror, in 1530 there was a resident population in the castle of Podgorica consisting of 21 Muslim and 143 non-Muslim households. In 1582, this Muslim population increased to 94 households and the non-Muslim population increased to 167 households. A Wallachian population of 3 households was added to the population of Podgorica.

One of the most important factors contributing to the increase in the Muslim population was the settlement of Muslim population from outside to Montenegro. In the Ottoman cadastral registers, New Muslims (*nev-Muslim*) were given the name *Abdullah* as their father's name. The fact that more than half of the Muslim population of Podgorica had their father's name as Abdullah in 1582 was proof of the significant number of conversions. Another factor that supports conversion to Islam was that, as I wrote above, the castle soldiers and local people were exempt from some important taxes. All inhabitants of the Podgorica castle were exempted from *avariz* and customary taxes in exchange for repairing the existing castle. In addition, Muslims who settled on the outskirts of the castle of Podgorica also undertook the task of repairing the bridges over the Rebnich River passing near Podgorica. Non-Muslims of Podgorica also agreed to work in the repair service of this castle if needed. Five non-Muslim blacksmiths undertook to carry out the iron works of the castle, on the condition that they would not pay tribute or *ispence* tax. Additionally, 18 non-Muslim men living in the suburb of Podgorica were appointed as *Müsellem*, a type of Ottoman cavalry soldiers. *Müsellems* was among their duties to help Ottoman collectors who came to Podgorica to collect taxes. It seems from Ottoman documents that Islam spread more difficultly among the villagers of Montenegro. In fact, some policies implemented by the Ottomans, such as insisting on tax collection from the Montenegrin, made non-Muslim peasants more angry. Undoubtedly, both Orthodox and Catholic churches of Montenegro should also have a role in keeping the villagers together. These groups, which the Ottoman administration called *Tagis* (Highlanders) and living in the villages in the mountains around the castle of Podgorica, rebelled against the Ottoman administration from time to time and did not want to pay taxes to Ottomans. The duty of these non-Muslim Ottoman soldiers (*Müsellem*) was to go to the Mountaineers together with the Ottoman tax collectors and help collect taxes. It has stated by the Ottoman chroniclers that this Ottoman practice has continued since the time of Firuz Bey (1495-1515), the Ottoman *sanjak* governor of Bosnia and Shkodra. Cavalry soldiers were also obliged to deliver some millet to the castle of Podgorica. All this information shows that the first Muslims of Montenegro were Ottoman castle soldiers and that the administration tried to spread Islam through them. Because a Muslim civilian community began to form, residing in the suburb of Podgorica, under the protection of Muslim cavalry castle soldiers.

**II-The Castle of Bar.** Bar's importance was due to its existing castle. The Ottoman administration provided tax exemption to the people living in the castle. No one would interfere with the churches inside or outside this castle. Non-Muslims who stayed in the castle voluntarily were exempt from traditional Ottoman taxes. The government would not confiscate their belongings and goods. No recruits would be taken from those living inside or outside the city of Bar and they would not pay *avariz* and customary taxes. In addition, no one would be able to stop those who left their homes but wanted to return to their old places in Bar. Those who had *bastina*, a type of large amount of agricultural land, vineyards and gardens were to pay two gold *filori* per household for the Ottoman treasury. According to the agreement made between Venice Republic and the Ottoman Empire dated 983 Rebiyülevvel (July 1575), *filori* would not be requested from those who did not have a vineyard or garden in Bar. All of the Ottoman soldiers who were employed in the castle of Bar were Muslims. It was also good documented that non-Muslim civil families lived in Bar. In the Altunili region, which consists of 44 villages, only two villages, Lutik and Repiniç villages accepted Islam in 1582. In the Ivraje region, which consists of 16 villages, Islam had not yet spread among the villagers. There was almost no Muslim population in the Jabyak [7, p.], region consisting of 16 villages, the Plopavlik region consisting of 6 villages, and the Hut region consisting of 8 villages in 1582. Apparently, the castle of Bar was an important military center for the spread of Islam in rural areas of Montenegro.

**III. Cities of Peja and Shkodra.** It is well documented that two cities had an impact on the spread of Islam in Montenegro. One of them was Peja (İpek) and the other was Shkodra (İşkodra). In 1582, Peja was one of the effective administrative and commercial centers of the region, with nearly 300 settlements. The city of Peja, which was allocated to Korkud Bey, the governor of the Dukakin sanjak in 1582, was a predominantly Muslim city consisting of 13 Muslim



neighborhoods, 3 of which were non-Muslim quarters. Ottoman Muslim officials with titles such as voivode, kadi, bey and chelebi founded all of these. The only exception to this was the Muslim neighborhood formed around the mosque built in the name of Mehmed Bey's wife Gülfem Hatun. The town of Peja also had a very small number of non-Muslim *Haymana* who produced shoes. While there were 5 Muslim quarters of Peja in 1530, this number reached 13 in 1582. This shows that Peja was one of the attractive places for the Muslims of this region.

The city of Shkodra was an important Ottoman city with 6 Muslim quarters in 1582. Most of Shkoder's Muslims were tradesmen, craftsmen and civil servants. The town of Shkodra also became a shelter for Muslims migrating from the villages. Almost all of the farms and fields in city center of Shkodra were under Muslim ownership. The right of disposition of the *bashtinas* here was still in the hands of non-Muslims. Non-Muslims who owned these large agricultural lands agreed to pay 300 akça to the *spahi* every year in return for tithe tax. We should point out that there are vineyards and gardens belonging to Muslims in the castle of Shkodra. *Bashtinas* in some villages of Shkodra fell into the hands of Muslims over time, because of Ottoman policy. Farms in the abandoned non-Muslim villages of Shkodra was allocated to Muslims by the Ottoman administration. The agricultural lands of the non-Muslim villages were allocated as fiefs for the Muslim soldiers guarding the castle of Shkodra. In 1582, Islamization was continuing in many villages of Shkodra. It seems that Shkodra was one of the liveliest places in terms of Islamization in the Balkans. The population of villages such as Kriyesha, Hrastiyan, Kaminichtur and Kurta was completely Islamized. Garibköy, located in this region, was one of the Muslim villages and agreed to pay filori to the Ottoman treasury. Muslim soldiers also worked some of the land in the abandoned hamlets. Muslim and non-Muslim villagers of Shkodra agreed to repair the bridges, keep the passes open, clear forests and work on state-owned ships on Lake Boyana. Some villagers were migrating to other villages where they saw more income.

**IV. The revolt of non-Muslim Peasants of Montenegro.** From the *Mühimme* records (attached), it is documented that the rebellions of non-Muslim Montenegrin peasants against the Ottoman rule increased between 1570 and 1583 due to heavy taxation and mal-administration. One of the reasons for this was that the Republic of Venice encouraged the peasants to revolt due to the Cyprus war between 1570 and 1571. In 1583, non-Muslim peasants of Ulgün, Dukakin, Ohrid, Shkodra and Podgorica were in rebellion against Ottoman rule. There was almost no public order in this region. In this environment of insecurity, the slave trade also increased in the region. The villagers were confident that their villages were located in the mountainous regions of Montenegro, and they thought that the Ottoman soldiers would not be able to reach their villages. The villagers blocked the roads and killed the merchants and travelers trading in the area. They usurped their property and responded to the Ottoman soldiers with their weapons. They also raided non-Muslim villages that agreed to pay taxes to the Ottoman treasury and captured their families who agreed to pay taxes. Many villagers had to leave their villages due to this pressure from the Mountaineers. Relations between the Ottoman administration and the Highlanders completely deteriorated. Finally, the Ottoman administration gathered soldiers from the surrounding cities, sent them to Montenegro to suppress the rebellion, and ordered the killing of all rebellious villagers (See attached documents). This extreme practice, I think, prevented or slowed down the conversion of non-Muslim villagers to Islam. Thanks to the support provided to the peasants by both Venice and the church, Islam was unable to penetrate here.

**V. Confiscation of the real estate of the Christian monasteries by the Ottoman administration and new legal status of the agricultural lands belonging to the local lords.**

I strongly argue that the most important factor in the spread of Islam in Montenegro was the land issue. Because the Ottoman administration, as a dominant power, wanted to allocate the ownership of agricultural lands in Montenegro to its Muslim supporters. This situation enabled some of the local feudals to convert to Islam. We learn from the records in the *Iskenderiye tahrir daftar* that the Ottoman administration seized the monasteries in the region and the fields and vineyards of the monasteries in the surrounding villages. Later, he started to rent these properties to the tenants (New Muslims and Ottoman supporters) on behalf of the state treasury. He also taxed

the agricultural products produced by the Montenegrin peasants. The real estate of the Precheste and Isveti Gorgi monasteries were also confiscated by the government. Agricultural products of the villages of Grila, Gruda, Grinch, Tuza, Midya, Ishpatar, Mazaruk, Samarish, Sirpeska, Dayı Baba, Ivladina, Rogam, Izlanich, Kotuvik, Kakarik, Istayovik, Paylit, Boghat, Dolna, Istovice, Gve Orice of Podgorica taxed. Some villagers had to clear the forests on the shores of Lake Shkodra and open fields. The Ottoman administration rented these newly opened fields on behalf of the state. Those who wanted to live in the center of Podgorica and the outskirts of Medun castle also had to pay a certain tax. The pier on the Moracha River was also taxable. Grila, Gruda, Tuza and Dayı Baba were the villages that had to pay the most taxes, respectively.

**The result.** The basic policy by the Ottoman administration was to take control of the agricultural lands in Montenegro, give the land to the use of Muslims, and thus provide plenty of income to the treasury. However, this land-based policy generally caused a reaction from local non-Muslim villagers and slowed down the conversion to Islam. In fact, there was extreme resistance against the Ottoman administration in some regions. In other words, as the ownership of the lands belonging to the former non-Muslim feudals, called *bashtina*, gradually passed into the hands of the Muslims because of this policy of the Ottoman administration, the monastery administrators and some local non-Muslim landowners reacted. The source of the problem between Montenegrin Muslims and non-Muslims was the issue of who would dispose of the existing agricultural lands, which deeply affected Islamization. Some of the former local non-Muslim feudals, who wanted to preserve their lands, were forced to embrace Islam in order to regain possession of their old lands under the rule of the new ruling power. Such feudal families and a very small number of peasants began to use both a Muslim individual's name and a non-Muslim individual's name side by side in official correspondence. It is understood from the *Iskenderiye tahrir daftar* that in 1582, two Muslim men named Mustafa Lako and Hüseyin Lako in the Grila village of Podgorica were seen as the people who owned the most agricultural land in the village. Muslims named Ali Andriya and Mehmed Kun from Gruda village were the people with double names who owned the most land. The main purpose of people with personal names such as Mahmud Abdullah, Mustafa Nikola, Mezid Nikola, Ridvan Raduchko from Tuza village was to protect the right to dispose of their existing lands in the new administration. It is difficult to determine the ethnic origins of these people (identifying as Albanian, Bosnian or Macedonian etc.) from these names. Again, it is understood from same cadastral register that the people of the Hut region were exempt from the obligation to send recruits to the Janissary Corps and pay *avariz* tax in return for the protection of the passes called Kosva and Glava. In 1582, the population in the Hut area was entirely non-Muslim, except for the village of Lubic, which had a mixed population. Islam spread gradually in Montenegro according to the geographical conditions of the region. The center of Budimle, which had a population of 51 households in 1582, was given to Hüseyin, one of the soldiers of Siyavush Pasha, as a fief and was completely non-Muslim. The entire rural population of Budimle, which consisted of thirty-six villages, was non-Muslim. It seems that the princes, Wallachias and *Müsellems* serving in the region were also non-Muslims. It should be noted that the entire population of Chetinah, which consisted of sixteen villages in 1582, was non-Muslim. Islamization was continuing in only four villages in the Kranya region. The entire population of the Klemente region (township), where three settlements were located, consisted of non-Muslims. The population of Focha (Focha does not currently belong to Montenegro), where there were twelve settlements, had not yet been Islamized. Villages of Foka the Great and Foka the Small were in ruins due to lack of public order. The former inhabitants of the region had to leave their villages for this reason. Although the Ottoman administration could not ensure public order in Montenegro, it did not want to leave the right of disposition of agricultural lands to non-Muslims. In 1582, the population of the Lower Gribelan region was still non-Muslim. It is understood from the documents that this region, where salt, lime and millstone were extracted, was commercially active. The Ottoman administration was trying to collect transit tax from commercial goods passing through this region. The non-Muslim population of the region was defined by the Ottoman administration as Tuzcu (salt miners) and Filorici. These miners

working in the salt mines worked as rowers in the Depo and Çirna's saltpans and did not pay taxes to the Ottoman treasury for these services. The population of Rica, which consisted of 31 villages, was still non-Muslim. It seems that the population of the Chernich and Plasovic regions, which include seventeen villages, is entirely non-Muslim. In 1582, there was no Muslim population in the Marko region, which consisted of nine villages. After the conquest of Shkodra by the Ottomans, non-Muslims in the Marko region, who were documented to have served the Ottoman administration faithfully, were exempt from taxes such as sheep, *avariz* and recruits. In the Zaboyana region, where there are 60 villages, Islam began to spread slowly. Some villages here consisted of joint, that is, non-Muslim and Muslim villages. Non-Muslims working on ships at Boyana pier were also exempt from taxes. They worked for the state-owned fish traps (*dalyan*) in the lake. The center of the Dushmanili region, consisting of 28 villages, was the village of Dragosh, which had a small castle and a mixed population. The number of Muslims in Dushmanili was very, very small. Plav is the name of a region consisting of eighteen villages and was a very steep and flat place. Agricultural land was very scarce in Plav. That's why the villagers here only raised sheep. The population of Plav's central village, Lozi, was also entirely non-Muslim. It seems that this region had not yet met Islam in these years. The reason for this was that it was mountainous. Jabyak (Zabyak) was connected to Podgorica administratively. The area between Karacadag and Sheshtan Mountain was still unsafe. The castle here was waiting to be repaired. Several Muslim and non-Muslim nomads settled here. These newly settled non-Muslims (infidels) were obliged to pay *jizya* to the Ottoman treasury. They agreed to repair this castle in exchange for exemption from sheep, *ispenche*, janissary boy, *avariz* (collected to cover major public services) and customary taxes. They would also repair the bridges over the Moracha River. They also took on the task of clearing the fields in the forests with axes. In 1582, there were 36 Muslim men in this castle.

**Conclusion.** Islam gradually spread in Montenegro in the sixteenth century, city-centered, within the framework of the policy followed by the Ottomans. It appears that it has not spread easily (voluntarily) in all regions of Montenegro. The Ottomans followed a policy based on military service and land to spread Islam in the countryside. This situation caused a reaction from the church and the former non-Muslim feudals. The Republic of Venice supported the Catholics in Montenegro whenever it had the opportunity. The Ottomans allowed different communities such as *Haymana* and Vlach to settle in Montenegro. Thus, they tried to break the power of the church and local feudals. Since the Muslim population in the Ioannina and Dukakin regions was very small in number, this region did not have a direct impact on the Islamization of Montenegro. However, it can be documented that the Muslims of Albania and Kosovo directly affected the Islamization in Montenegro. The influence of Bosnia on the Islamization of Montenegro should also be examined in detail.

### **Short Bibliography**

#### **I- From the Presidential Ottoman Archives of Türkiye:**

Mühimme 9, Decision no: 121, Year: 977.

Mühimme 23, Decision no: 539, Year: 981

Mühimme 25, Decision no: 790, Year: 981

Mühimme 30, Decision no: 390, Year: 985

Mühimme 36, Decision no: 139, Year: 986

#### **II-From General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastral Archives of Türkiye:**

*İskenderiye Mufasssal Defteri*, No. 93, Date: 1582.

#### **III-Articles:**

Durdev, Branislav (1986), 'Karadağ', EI, second edition, Leiden, p. 574.

Memić, Mustafa (1991) "Nastanak i širenje islama u sadašnjim granicama Crne Gore", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu filologiju*, sayı: 41, Sarajevo, pp. 155-185.

Memić, Mustafa (2016), *Karadağ Boşnak (Müslüman) tarihi*, translator into Turkish: Saffet Atalay, İstanbul 2016, Kastaş publications.

Pepić, Adnan (2007), 'Podgoricka tvrdjava u drugoj polovini 16.vijeka', *Istorijski zapisi*, Vol. 80, No.1-4, pp. 227-245.

Stojancevic (2002), Vladimir, 'A Glance at the Islamisation of Gora and Other Župas of the Šar Mountain Complex', *Zbornik Radova*, No. 51, pp. 29-32.

Turhan, Fatma Sel (2010), 'Bosna-Hersek'te Osmanlı tarihi çalışmaları', *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Vol.8, Number: 15, İstanbul, pp. 231-244. (Ottoman historical studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina).

#### **Additional Documents**

**Document 1:** An order to exempt the Podgorica from some taxes in return for the maintenance of the castle Podgorica and bridges by the Ottoman administration (*İskenderiye Mufasssal Defteri*, No. 93, Year: 1582, in the Land Registry and Cadastral Archives of Turkey, Ankara, folio: 96a).

Kal'a-yı Podgoriç reayası hâne-i avarız-ı divaniyye ve tekâlif-i örfiyyeden muafiyet üzere kal'a-yı mezbure meremmetçileri oldukları mukayyed olup ve nefis-i Podgoriç kurbünde cari olan Rebniç nam nehir üzerinde kadîmden olan köprüler harap olup tamire ihtiyacı olmağın varoş-ı Podgoriç'in Müslümanları mezkûr köprülerin minbad tamir ve ihyasın ve keferesi kal'a-yı mezburenin ihtiyaç oldukda meremmâtı hizmetin kabul ve iltizam etdikleri sebebden üslub-ı sabık üzere mademki hizmet-i mezbureyi bi't-tamam eda edeler kemakân avarız-ı divaniyye ve tekâlif-i örfiyyeden muaf olmak üzere Defter-i Atıkde mukayyed olmağın vech-i meşruh üzere defter-i cedide kayd olundu.

**Document 2:** The decision of the Imperial Council regarding the granting of a fief from the castle of Podgorica to Mahmud, who accepted Islam in the year of 1571 (Mühimme 25, Year: 981, Decision no: 790).

Mahmud, Divan-ı Ali'de İslam şerefi ile müşerref olup inayet reca etmeğın Podgorica kalesinde fevtinde hisar gediği buyruldu

**Document 3:** The decision of the Imperial Council dated 12 March 1570, which ordered the punishment of the peasants who rebelled against the Ottoman rule in Montenegro (Mühimme 9, Year: 977, Decision no:121).

İskenderiye Begine hüküm ki haliyâ Karadağ ve Podgorice ve Budimle kadılarıyla mektup gönderüp, İskenderiye sancağında usât üzerinde olan Boyer nam karye garet olunup, asker gerü yerlerine giderken Menut Dağı demekle maruf karyede ellişer yüzer kimesneler durup, gafil giden asker halkının atların ve kılıçların ve esbâbların garet edüp ve bazılarını katl edüp ve Tuzcu nam karye halkı dahi kezalik fesad ve şenaatdan halî olmayup, karyelerden id alup bey' etdiklerin bildirmişsin imdi buyurdum ki hükm\_i şerifimle vüsul buldukda bu babda mukayyed olup, ol-vechle fesad ve şenaatı sabit olanlardan baş müfsidler elegetürüp, sonra haklarından gelüp reayâ ü berayâ ve ayende ü revende üzerinde fesad ü şenaatların def' edesin ve mezburlardan kaç kimesnenin üzerine fesad sabit olup haklarından gelündiğın arz eylesesin amma bir bahane ile bi-günah olanların malların nehb ü garet olunup ve evlad ü ezvacları esir olunmakdan ve şer'-i kaviye ve emr-i şerife muhalif iş olmakdan ihtiyat edüp amma asl-ı fesade himayet olunmayup haklarından gelin. Kapu kethüdası Mehmed'e verildi 4 Şevval sene 977 (12 March 1570).

**Document 4:** The decision of the Imperial Council dated 12 March 1571, which ordered the punishment of the peasants who rebelled against the Ottoman rule in Montenegro (Mühimme 23, Decision no: 539, Year: 981).

İskenderiye Begine hüküm ki halâ Dergâh-ı Muallama mektup gönderüp kaza-i Podgorice tevabiinden Kleminte nam karye reayâsı umumen isyan edüp bayrak kaldırup, serdarları olan Boytaş nam serdarlarıyla Foça nam karyeyi basup karye-i mezbure knezi olan zimmiyi oğluyula dört nefer zimmiyle katl edüp ve nicesin mecruh edüp ehl ü ıyallerini esir etmekle reayanın ekseri cela-yı vatan edüp ve Mehmed nam sipahinin üç yüz koyunların aldıklarından maada İpek ve Üsküp ve Prizrin yollarında durup ehl-i tüccarı ve ayende ü revendeyi katl ve mal ü esbâbların garet edüp şer'-i şerife davete gönderilen âdemlerin üzerine alet-i harple gelüp itaat-ı şer'î etmeyüp mukaddema dahi garetlerine emr-i şerif verilmiş iken sefer olmağla garet olunmayup ve yine liva-i mezburda küsurât ve askerinin ve kaza-i mezburda Düşmanili nahiyesinde Vilavaze ve Korşa umumen isyan edüp ayende ü revendeyi katl ve reaya ü evladın esir edüp fesad üzere oldukların Podgoriçe ve Karadağ kadılarıyla maan arz eylemişsin ve İskenderiye zuemasından Podgoriçe



nahiyesinde zeamete mutasarrıf olan Hüseyin zide kadruhu gelüp zeameti karyelerinden Dud nahiyesinde Hik ve Bozan nam karyeler reayası umumen isyan edüp haraçgüzâr reayayı basup katl-i nefis ve garet-i emvâl edüp ve itaat-i şer'î eylemediklerin bildirdi imdi isyanların arz eylediğiniz zikr olunan karye ahalisi ve mezbur zaim bildirdiği karyeler reayası umumen urulup, emval ve esbâbları esir olmağa kabil olanlar garet olunmaların emr edüp lazım olursa sana bu babda begler dame izzuhum muavenet edeler deyü emrim olup anlara dahi ahkâm-ı şerife yazılup sana gönderildi, buyurdum ki vüsul buldukda asla tevakkuf etmeyüp sancağında olan erbâb-ı tımar ve tüfenk-endâz ve müstahfız-ı kıl'a ile sen müstakillen haklarından gelmeğe kabil ve imkân değil ise, bu hususu ifşa etmedin zikr olunan ümeraya ahkâm-ı şerifeyi gönderüp anlarla haberleşüp dahi hüsn-i ittifak ve ittihadla zikr olunan asilerin hoyradların umum üzere katl ü esir ve emval ü esbabların garet etdirüp gereği gibi haklarından gelesiz ki sair Tagîlere bais-i nasihat ve muhabbet-i ibret ola amma intima ile basiret üzere kendü sancağında olan erbâb-ı tımar ile haklarından gelmeğe kadir değil isen cüz'i adam ile kendün varup ırz-ı namus-ı saltanata mugayir vaz' südurundan hazer edüp emr olunan ümera ile ittifak edesiz ve bir bahane ile itaat ve inkiyad üzere kendü hallerinde olan kurâ ahalisi urulmakdan ve esir ü garet olunmakdan ihtiyat edesiz. İskenderiye Beginin ve Ohri Beginin kethüdası Hüsrev'e verildi.

**Document 5:** The decision of the Imperial Council dated 9 May 1577, which ordered the punishment of the peasants who rebelled against the Ottoman rule in Montenegro (Mühimme 30, Decision no: 390, Year: 985).

İskenderiye Begi Mehmed Bege ve İskenderiye ve Podgorice kadılarına hüküm ki sen ki sancakbegisin mektup gönderüp İskenderiye kazasına tabi İşterip nam karye keferesi daimâ isyan üzere olduklarından gayrı kal'a-yı Ülgün topçubaşısı olan Hamza'nın mukaddemâ evin basup ve bir nice esbâb ve davarın garet etmekle şer'î hakkı alıverilmek için üç defa emr ibraz etmekle bi'd-defaat ümerâ-i sâlife ve kudât-ı Meclis-i şer'e davet etdiklerinde asla itaat etmeyüp ve bi'l-fiil sa'b ü sengistan yerde sakin olup girü fesad ü tuğyanları mukarrar olup haklarından gelinmesi lazımdır deyü bildirdiğin ecilden buyurdum ki vardıkda te'hir etmeyüp mezburları bir defa dahi meclis-i şer'e davet edüp girü itaat etmezler ise icablarında temerrüd ü inad edüp şer'-i şerife itaat etmeyenlerin haklarından gelesiz ki sairlerine mucib-i ibret ola anun gibi itaat edüp gelürler ise rencide edüp da'va-yı hak edenler ile beraber edüp bir defa şer'le fasl olunmayup üzerinden on beş yıl geçmeyen davaların hak üzere teftiş edüp göresiz, ol nahiyede katl-i nüfus ve garet-i emvâl eyledikleri şer'le sabit olursa ol makulelerin dahi mukteza-yı şer'î-kavim üzere haklarından gelüp asl-ı fesade ruhsat vermeyesin. Hacı Hamza'ya verildi fi 20 Safer 985 (9 May 1577).

#### References:

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2. The views of Bosnian historians regarding Islamization in the Balkans are summarized in the following article: Fatma Sel Turhan, 'Bosna-Hersek'te Osmanlı tarihi çalışmaları', *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Vol.8, Number: 15, İstanbul 2010, pp. 231-244.
3. Mustafa Memić (1991) "Nastanak i širenje islama u sadašnjim granicama Crne Gore", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu filologiju*, Number: 41, Sarajevo, pp. 155-185.
4. Branislav Durdev, 'Karadağ', *EI*, second edition, Leiden, p. 574.
5. Mühimme 36, Decision no: 139, Year: 986.
6. It is accepted that Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror built the castle of Podgorica and the mosque inside. Ivan Crnojevic, the administrator of Montenegro, reported to the Venetian Senate that the Turks had built a castle in Podgoric. Stones brought from Duklja was used in the construction of the castle and were planned to be resistant to defense against firearms. See. Adnan Pepic, 'Podgoricka tvrđava u drugoj polovini 16.vijeka', *Istorijski zapisi*, Vol. 80, No.1-4, 2007, pp. 227-245.
7. In the tahrir daftar, Zabyak was mentioned as the name of both the village and the castle.

*References:*

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2. The views of Bosnian historians regarding Islamization in the Balkans are summarized in the following article: Fatma Sel Turhan, 'Bosna-Hersek'te Osmanlı tarihi çalışmaları', *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, Vol. 8, Number: 15, İstanbul 2010, pp. 231-244. [in Turkish]
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7. In the tahrir daftar, Zabyak was mentioned as the name of both the village and the castle. [in English]