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(15TH CENTURY CASE STUDY)**

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Timar Sistemi (15. Yüzyılda Örnek Olay İncelemesi)*

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THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE *TIMAR* SYSTEM IN RUMELIA: THE *TIMAR* SYSTEM IN THE BORDER REGION OF ISA-BEG ISHAKOVIĆ (15TH CENTURY CASE STUDY)

Rumeli'deki Timar Sisteminin Özellikleri: İsa-beg İshaković'in Sınır Bölgesindeki Timar Sistemi (15. Yüzyılda Örnek Olay İncelemesi)

EMA MİLKOVIĆ

Abstract: In this paper would be shown, on the example of border region commanded by İsa-beg İshaković, the example of the *timar* system in the Ottoman border regions of the old type, in Rumelia. The characteristic for this border region type is the multi level *timar* holding, which would be abandoned as a concept in the next decades. The examples of the border region of the new type, without multi level *timar* holdings are the provinces of Smederevo and Bosnia. For border region of İsa-beg İshaković has been preserved the census book dated 1455. The detailed analysis of this register gives the possibility to make a picture about the land holding and social relations in this very important region of the time.

Keywords: Border Region, Rumelia, İsa-beg İshaković, 15th century, *Timar* System, Multi-Level *Timar* Holding

Öz: Bu yazıda Rumeli'de, eski tip Osmanlı sınır bölgelerinde bulunan zaman çizelgesi sistemi olan İsa-beg İshaković'in emrettiği sınır bölgesi örneği gösterilecektir. Bu sınır bölgesi tipinin özelliği, önümüzdeki yıllarda kavram olarak bırakılacak olan çok seviyeli zaman tutma tutumu. Yeni türdeki sınır bölgesi örnekleri, çok seviyeli *timar* olmadan, Smederevo ve Bosna'nın illeridir. İsa-beg İshaković'in sınır bölgesi için 1455 tarihli nüfus defteri korunmuştur. Bu sicilin ayrıntılı analizi, zamanın bu en önemlisi olan bölgesinde arazi tutumu ve sosyal ilişkiler hakkında bir resim yapma imkânı vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sınır Bölgesi, Rumeli, İsa-beg İshaković, 15. yüzyıl, *Timar* Sistemi, Çok Düzeyli *Timarlar*

Introduction

The Ottoman state, as early as in its Anatolian phase (as early as 14th century) had been organized into *uc* (Tur. Border regions), in which the maximum of military and administrative power had been achieved. The border regions had been organized in Rumelia as well, after spreading of the Ottoman power in the South-Eastern Europe. The *timar* system was organized based on multi-level *timar* holdings system, as well as on the system of the feudal protegees, linked to the personality of the commander of the border region. The border region of İsa-beg İshaković, which had encompassed several regions of the territory of ex-Yugoslavia, can serve as the good example for that type of the Ottoman land holding.¹

By the analysis of the preserved census book (Ott. *tapu tahrir defter*) for this region dated 1455, double and triple level *timar* tenures could be differentiated. For the double level tenure, on the first (highest) level was İsa-beg himself or one of his high-ranking officers and on the

¹ More one the *timar* system in the Balkans in the first century of the Ottoman rule, see: E. Miljković, "1450'den 1550'ye Kadar Sırp Topraklarında *Timar* Sistemi: Semendire Sancağı'nda *Timar* Sistemi Üzere Özel Bir Anket İle", *Osmanlı Mirası Araştırmaları Dergisi (OMAD)*, Volume 1, Issue 1 (2014), 36-47.

second the members of Isa-beg family or his feudal proteges (the most influential ones). For example, in the section of the census book where were registered *timar* lands of the garrison members of the Jeleč fortresses, it has been noted that they are all „men of Isa-beg“. The first *timar* recorded in this part was the *timar* holding of certain Bayrali, son of Ibrahim. Then there is a note saying that this income (1.374 *akches*) had been given to *yeniçeri* Hamza from the village of Nagoričane (in the northern part of modern Republic of North Macedonia).² Also, in the *vilayet* of Kalkandelen (Tetovo, Republic of Northern Macedonia of today), the register of the *timar* holdings begin with the „part of *has* lands of Isa-beg held by esteemed Lady“ (i.e. his wife).³

As for the triple level tenure, on the first level was again Isa-beg himself, on the second level his proteges which had been holding the higher position in the military hierarchy of the border region, and on the third place his less influential proteges. Thus, in the above-mentioned part of the census book, with the land held by Isa-beg wife, for some of the villages it had been noted that its income had been granted to someone lower on the hierarchy level. Such is the example of the village Siničani, that was given as a *timar* holding to certain Hizir-beg, son of Turhan-beg. The income from this village, which had been granted to Hizir-beg was 5. 628 *akches*, and consisted of 40 full, 1 widow and 9 bachelor households. This income has later been given to certain Hizir, son Murat, and at the end to *solak* Mustafa son of Yusuf.⁴

The biggest number of double and triple level of *timar* tenure in the border region commanded by Isa-beg had been registered in the region (Ott. *Nahiye*) of Kalkandelen (Tetovo) On the other hand, this type of tenure had not been registered in the region of Sjenica (Republic of Serbia of today).⁵

The census book of border region of Isa-beg Ishaković dated 1455 had been divided into following parts:

1. *Has*⁶ lands of Isa-beg himself;
2. *Timar* lands of the garrison members of the Zvečan fortresses;
3. *Timar* lands of of the *eşkinciler* of the *nahiye* Zvečan;
4. *Timar* lands of the *eşkinciler* of the *nahiye* Jeleč;
5. *Timar* lands of the garrison members of the Jeleč fortresses;
6. *Timar* lands of the *eşkinciler* of the Nikšić *vilayet*;
7. *Timar* lands of the garrison members of the town of Hodijed;
8. Parts of the *has* lands of Isa-beg hold in the *vilayet* of Kalkandelen hold by his five and sons;
9. The *has* lands of the subaşı of Tetovo, Hasan-beg Zenebisi, *timar* lands of the Tetovo *sipahis* and *eşkinciler*;
10. *Timar* lands of the garrison members of the town of Sobri;
11. The *has* lands of the subaşı of Çokadar Ali-beg;
12. *Timar* lands of the *eşkinciler* of the Skopje *vilayet*.⁷

² H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića, Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, Sarajevo 1964, 52.

³ Ibid, 67.

⁴ Ibid, 68.

⁵ Ibid, 3-116.

⁶ For more details on the *timar* system and type of land holding, see D. Quateret, H. Inalcik, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994.

⁷ H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, , LIV-LV.

1. Structure of income of Isa-beg

The *has* lands of Isa-bega Ishaković had consisted of the revenue accumulated from the settlements in the regions of Zvečan, Jeleč, Sjenica, Ras, Nikšići, Sarajevo, Skoplje, Tetovo, as well as from the three settlements in the Branković family region.

At the very beginning of the census book for the border region commanded by Isa-beg Ishaković, was recorded the income of Isa-beg himself. It had amounted the sum of 763.000 *akches*, without his income from the town of Skopje. Isa-beg personally had been obliged to take part in the military campaigns as well as to take along, on his own expense 152 horsemen (Ott. *Cebelu*) under the full campaign gear. He also had the obligation to take into the campaign some additional gear and amenities (15 protection suits, two protection vests, two tents with the aisle, rope and canvas, one tent for the Treasury, one tent for the saddle workshop and one for the cuisine).⁸

In the regions of Zvečan, Jeleč, Sjenica and Ras, the income of Isa-beg consisted of the income of 23 villages in the region of Zvečan, including Zvečan itself, as well as of *niyabet* of *vilayets* Sjenica, Jeleč and Ras. In Zvečan, according to the data of this census book, in mid-15th century 84 Christian and 2 Muslim households were registered, as well as 10 widows and 12 unmarried male. There was also one *hassa* vineyard, as well as 5 mills, which were a part of endowment of Isa-beg. The income that Isa-beg personally had from this place, altogether with *niyabet* was 15.502 *akches*.⁹

As for the rural settlements recorded within the *has* land of Isa-beg in the above-mentioned regions, the most populated was the village Žerovnica, in which were registered 48 full, 7 bachelor and 6 widow households, with a total income of 5.636 *акчи*.¹⁰

The population of the Crnomir village, where had lived the construction workers, working on preservation of the town of Jeleč, as well as the artisans and craftsmen from the villages of Šumilj, Dedino, Žaževo, Rahovo as well as the village Ahengeran (Blacksmiths – direct translation from Ottoman language) who had been engaged on the preservation of the Zvečan fortress, had been excepted of payment of all taxes.¹¹

Nahiye Sjenica had also been a part of the *has* land of Isa-beg.¹² The population of the *nahiye* of Sjenica had been in 1455 divided into two groups, mostly cattle breeder population with the Vlach status¹³ and *reaya*.¹⁴ Within the *has* lands of Isa-beg had also been registered *cemaat* (group) of the population of *nahiye Sjenica* that had the Vlach status, as well as the *reaya* villages in the Sjenica *nahiye*.¹⁵

Within the *has* tenure of Isa-beg in the *vilayet* of Nikšić had been four populated and one empty village with 35 houses, two widows and one bachelor, and the total income of 4.277 *akches*.¹⁶ The register had been preceded by the written note that the population had had the Vlach status; however it is not completely clear if the note had been related to the all registered villages, or just the first three of them whose income was summed up (villages of Orline, Otmičevo and Štitarica) and made total of 2.752 *akches*. The income of the one village which

⁸ Ibid, 3.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid, 4.

¹¹ Ibid, 3-7.

¹² For more details, see: С. Мишић, *Жупа и нахија Сенице у средњем веку*, Милешевски записи 8 (2009), 31-40.

¹³ Vlach status was a social status given to cattle breeding various ethnic groups in Rumelia. More: E. Miljković, "Власи у Смедеревском санџаку у другој половини 15. и првој половини 16. века (с посебним освртом на влахе Браничеве)", *Браничевски гласник* 7, Пожаревац (2011), 49-69.

¹⁴ For more details on the social diversification in the European provinces the Ottoman Empire, see: E. Miljković, "Who was rich and who was poor? Creation of the new Serbian „elite“ in the Serbian 15th century society", *Belgrade Historical Review* 2, Belgrade (2011), 129-142.

¹⁵ H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, 8-13.

¹⁶ Ibid, 13-14.

tax amount was not summed up with the previous three within the above-mentioned vilayet, the village of Kruševo, had been 525 akches. Five family had lived in it. The total sum of the *niyabet* of the vilayet of Nikšić, had been 1.000 akches.¹⁷

The income of Isa-beg in the vilayet of Hodijed had been 54.441 акчи.¹⁸ Differently from the other regions whose income had been part of his *has* tenure, in the vilayet of Hodijed the tax had been paid by household (Ott. *Hane*) and not *per capita*. The population of this region had been paying the tax called *filuri*, normally paid by the population with the Vlach status, although it had not been noted that they were granted that particular social status. It could, however, be assumed that this way of paying tax was a reflex of the medieval tax „golden coin per house“, since the sum of 45.000 itself¹⁹, had been transferred from the previous period, thus it was not needed to determinate the exact number of settlements and households in them.²⁰

In the *nahiye* Tilava, the *has* lands of Isa-beg consisted of 40 settlements. For this *nahiye* had been registered that it was a part of Pavlovića land (Serb. Zemlje Pavlovića) and that since the begin of administration of Ishak-beg (father of Isa-beg) it was in tenure of Pavlović, for the lease of 300 godled pieces (*filuri*)²¹, which would equal to the amount of 10.000 akches. For the purpose of this census, in the *nahiye* Tilava was registered 40 villages, with 88 *reaya*, 46 *voynuq* and two households of falcon keepers. At the end of the census for this *nahiye*, there was noted that the *filuri* income had been set to 15.000 akches, which means that it was doubled by half (for 5.000 akches) in the comparison of time of ruling of Ishak-beg.²²

In vilayet Kalkandelen, Isa-beg had a part of the income of the *has* land tenure. His part had consisted of 4 villages, with 134 houses, 7 widows, 14 bachelors and income of 25.304 akches.²³ The biggest part of the income of this *has* land had been granted to his wife²⁴ (7 villages, with 501 Christian, 2 Muslim, 22 widows и 8 bachelor households, with the income of 68.038 akches)²⁵ and his son (9 villages, 329 households, 17 widows and 39 bachelor households, with the income of 41.299 akches).²⁶ Special relevance for researche has had the part of the *has* held by the closest relatives of Ali-beg. There could be observed three-lever *timar* holding. On the first level is Ali-beg himself, on the second level his wife and son, while on the third lever there were his servants and slaves to whom income of certain villages had been given as a *timar* tenure, with the obligation to take part in the military campaigns. Thus, for example, the village Miladin, with 88 households, 8 widows, 10 bachelors and income of 9.108 akches, which was in that part of the *has* land hold by the wife of Isa-beg, had been granted in March 1462 as a *timar* concession to certain Karagöz, slave of Isa-beg. In March 1463 this village had been taken from Karagöz and given to certain Omer and his brother Pir-Mehmed for joined tenure. The last change was registered in March 1469, when the village Miladin was granted only to Omer as a reward for his brave behavior in military service.²⁷ In the *nahiye* Skopje, to Isa-beg, as a part of his *has* income, had been granted 5 villages, with 82 Christian, 28 Muslim, one widow and 10 bachelor households. The total income was 8.396 akches.²⁸

¹⁷ Ibid, 13.

¹⁸ Ibid, 14-15.

¹⁹ Since the value of the Venetian gold coin at the time was approx. 45 akches, it could mean that the number of houses paying their taxes like that might have been 1.250.

²⁰ H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, 14.

²¹ Ibid, 15.

²² Ibid, 18.

²³ Ibid, 18-19.

²⁴ In the later census books, there is no women registered as the *timar* land holders.

²⁵ Ibid, 67-69.

²⁶ Ibid, 69-72.

²⁷ Ibid, 67.

²⁸ Ibid, 19.

In the *nahiye* Kačanica the income of Isa-beg consisted of 9 *derbenci* villages: Kačanik, Belgradce, Caričina, Runjevo, Trstenica, Kovačevac, Gornja Sopotnica, Lanište and Bukolić, as well as 4 deserted villages, with total of 274 households (our of which 7 were widows households) and income of 25.664 *akches*.²⁹

Part of this income in the amount of 5.562 *akches* had been separated as the income of *silahdar şahıncı* Ahmed, who had personally taken part in the military campaigns with his company consisting of one *cebelu*, one servant and one small tent. Another part of the above-mentioned total income of the income of Isa-beg in the *nahiye* of Kačanica had been given to *silahdar rikabdar* Yakub who had taken part in the campaign under the same conditions as the already mentioned Ahmed.³⁰

Further on, *silahdar yeniçeri* Hizir had taken part in the military campaigns under the same conditions as Ahmed and Yakub, while a part of 9.326 *akches* had been granted to the *seiz* Ismail (4.663) and *hamamcı* Yusuf (4.663), that had taken part in the campaigns with one *cebelu* and one servant.³¹

The vilagges Lipljan, Glogovac and Robovac, being part of the *has* land of Isa-beg in the Branković region, had been given to this border region commander as a substitute for the villages in which had been located the mine Prošćenje in the region Linski Nikšići. In those villages there were 222 full, 7 widow and 20 bachelor households, with the total income of 28.368 *akches*. Those villages had been given as a *timar* to *silahdar* Ismail in autumn 1458.³²

The above-mentioned part of *has* consisted of 143 settlement, with total of 1772 Christian, 30 muslim, 84 widow and 129 bachelor households. The total income was 250.585 *akches*.

2. Income of Isa-beg family members and feudal protegees

Within the group of *timar* holders who had performed the duty in the garrison of the town of Zvečan, 21 *timar* were registered. The characteristics for the *timar* of the garrison member, thus for those group as well, is that their income were more or less on the same level, with average amount around 2.000 *akches*. The *timar* with the largest income had been granted to Jusuf, *subaşı* of Zvečan and *gulam* (slave) of Isa-beg (5.075 *akches*), while the *timars* of the other garrison members had varied from 1.580 *akches* to 2.897 *akches*. The mentioned sum of 1.580 *akches* had been given to certain Ismail, *gulam* of Isa-beg, while the highest income in this group was granted to Tekeli Ali, servant of Isa-beg. The yearly income of his *timar* was 2.897 *akches*. Among this group of *timar* holders the total sum of 43.044 *akches* had been divided, and consisted of 43 settlements with 540 Christian and 4 Muslim households, 15 widows and 58 bachelors. It is also important to note that only four of the *timar* holders from this group had not been part of the group of slaves and servants of Isa-beg, which points out to the fact that the defense system in the border region had been linked directly to the personality of the border region commander.³³

Within the register of the *eşkınciler* of the *nahiye* Zvečan, the total of 14 *timars* were registered. At the very beginning of this register, it had been pointed out that all the *timar* holders were the men of Isa-beg, and for eight of them had been noted that they had been the slaves or the servants of the border region commander.

²⁹ Ibid, 19-21.

³⁰ Ibid, 21.

³¹ Ibid, 22.

³² Ibid, 22.

³³ Ibid, 23-31.

In this region had been registered the *timar* hold by Eyub Hoca, Isa-beg second in command, with the income of 5.597 *akches*.³⁴ The income range of the *eşkıncis* of Zvečan had been from 394 *akches*, the sum that had been granted to certain Bogdan up to 8.074 *akches* which had been the amount granted to certain Hoşkadem, *gulam* of Isa-beg. The average income of this group of *timars* had been 2.136 *akches*. The total income of the *eşkınciler* of the *nahiye* Zvečan, had been 29.906 *akches*, and consisted of income from 28 settlements, with 332 full, 21 widow and 36 bachelor households.³⁵

The larger number of *eşkıncis* had the *timar* lands in the *nahiye* of Jeleč. The number of *timar* holders in this group was 67 with the total income of 98.695 *akches* (the average income per *timar* was 1.473 *akches*; there were 111 villages with 1.279 full, 51 widow and 193 bachelor households. The *timar* holder with the largest income among the *eşkıncis* of Jeleč had been certain Koca Tanrıvermiş, *gulam* of Isa-beg. His income was 6.875 *akches* and consisted of the income of 7 villages, with 75 full and 12 bachelor households. Beside the above-mentioned Koca Tanrıvermiş only two more out of *eşkıncis* of Jeleč had the income above 4.000 *akches*. Those were Skender-beg, *subaşı* of Jeleč with the income of 4.498 *akches* and Togan, *gulam* of Isa-beg with the income of 4.159 *akches*. The smallest income (only 200 *akches*) in this group was granted to certain Mustafa, son of Hadum Isa and consisted of one village with 4 households.³⁶

Within the border region of Isa-beg Ishaković in 1455 were registered 14 *timars* of guards of the town of Jeleč. In the census book it was highlighted that they were the people of Isa-beg, while for the nine of them had been again noted that they had been either *gulams* or *hidmetkars* of Isa-beg. The income from this *timars* had been within the rage of 781 *akches*, which was the income granted to Hasan *Fakih*, *imam* of the town of Jeleč up to 3.390 *akches*, granted to certain Bayramlı, son of Ibrahim. This relatively wide range of the granted incomes to the guards of Jeleč has caught the researcher attention, since usually the garrison members had been granted *timars* with approximately same income. However, based on the available sources, it is not possible to give relevant conclusion.³⁷

The total income of garrison members of Jeleč fortress had been 24.635 *akches*, with the average *timar* income of 1.759 *akches*. This group of *timars* consisted of 31 villages, with 313 full, 17 widow and 27 bachelor households.³⁸

A confirmation as to how much attention had been given to the organization of defense of the border region and inclusion of the local population in the defense system is the fact that all the *timars* of the *eşkıncis* of the *vilayet* of Nikšić, all 8 of them, had been Christians, chosen among the local population.³⁹

The members of the garrison of the fortress of Hodijed had been holders of total of 19 *timars*, with the income of 44.227 *akches*. Those *timars* had included 30 villages, 419 full and 20 widow households. The average income from the *timar* was 2.327 *akches*. In this case the income range had been very wide as well. The smallest income had been granted to certain Ali, *gulam* of Isa-beg (519 *akches*), while the highest was the income of certain Hacı Mehmed, who had been granted a *timar* of 3.901 *akches*.⁴⁰

³⁴ Ibid, 33.

³⁵ Ibid, 32-35.

³⁶ Ibid, 36-51.

³⁷ Ibid, 52-57.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ E. Miljković, *The Christian Sipahis in the Serbian Lands (second half of the 15th century)*, Belgrade Historical Review 1,103-121, Beograd 2010.

⁴⁰ H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, 60-66.

The unusually high income of the *timar*, twice higher than the income of *dizdar* himself, had been granted to certain Skender, *gulam* of Isa-beg, with the total sum of 9.219 *akches* and consisted of three villages with 95 full and 4 widow households.⁴¹

On the margin of the census-book there had been noted that this Skender had been representing Isa-beg in Hodijed (in original it was written da he „sits in Hodiyyed instead of him“⁴², i.e. Isa-beg), thus it becomes understandable why his income was that high. The editor of this publication into Croatian-Serbian language (which was the official language in SFR Yugoslavia at the time of publication of this census book), highly esteemed late Bosnian historian Hazim Šabanović had assumed that this Skender is the same person called Skender mentioned in 1455 in the documents from Dubrovnik. Those Dubrovnik documents had noted certain Skender as „voivoda of Vrhbosna“ to whom the Ragusian Republic had sent the presents.⁴³

The register of the Ottoman *timar* lands in *vilayet* of Kalkandelen (Tetovo) had been divided into two parts of the census book. The biggest part of the *timars* from this region had been granted from the total income of *has* land of Isa-beg, thus those *timars* were registered separately. This is characteristic only for the border regions of the old type. In the border regions of the new type, i.e. *sanjak* of Smederevo after 1459, or *sanjak* of Bosnia after 1463 the *timars*, *zeamets* and *has* had been recorded separately and it had not been possible to take from one income to make it other, as it had been done in this particular case.

Within the first part of the register of *vilayet* of Kalkandelen, where had been registered the parts of *has* lands of Isa-beg granted to his wife and son, as well as to his servants, were also noted 43 other *timars*, with total income of 174.206 *akches*, consisted of 76 settlements, with 1536 Christian and 7 Muslim, 63 widows and 209 bachelor households. The average income from those *timars* was 4.051 *akches*. The highest income had been granted to certain Manul, son of Yagri, whose yearly income was 16.480 *akches*. His *timar* consisted of the income of 2 villages, with 118 full, 7 widow and 14 bachelor households.

The income higher than 10.000 *akches* had also been granted to certain Hacı Ahmed, servant of Isa-beg, who had been given 14.019 *akches* per year and consisted of four villages, with 132 full, 2 widow and 8 bachelor households. The smallest income had been given to certain Pavle (who, with great probability, was local Christian), also servant of Isa-beg, who had been granted with 290 *akches* per year (one village with two households).⁴⁴

Within the census of the *vilayet* Tetovo, first was register the *has* land hold by Hasa-beg, *subaşı* of Kalkandelen. Hasan-beg had been granted yearly income of 79.753 *akches*, consisted of income of the market place of Tetovo itself (which had been noted as urban settlement of the type of *şehir* in the process of updating the census book), and 7 villages with 509 Christian, 50 Muslim, 17 widow and 110 bachelor households. Hasan-beg had personally participated in the campaigns and had the obligation to take 19 armored soldiers with him, as well as two tents, two protective suits, one little tent and one protective vest.⁴⁵

This part of the census book had been followed by the register of the 10 *sipahi timars* in the same *vilayet*, who had the total income of 77.520 *akches*. The biggest *timar* within this group had been held by certain Sagrakoganlı İliyas, slave of Isa-beg, who had been granted the income of 13.554 *akches* (3 villages, 87 full, 6 widow and 14 bachelor households while the

⁴¹ Ibid, 62.

⁴² Tur. *Hodiyedde kendü yerine oturur*.

⁴³ H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, 62; М. Динић, *Земље херцеза са. Саве*, Српске земље у средњем веку, Београд 1978, 239.

⁴⁴ H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, 72-84.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 85-86.

lowest income had been granted to certain Jusuf, relative of *emirhor* of Hamza-beg (one village, 10 full and 2 bachelor households).⁴⁶

Within the census of the garrison of Sobri fortress 4 *timars* with 11 guards had been registered. The only *timar* granted to one person was the *timar* held by certain Iliyas son of Küçük Balaban, *dizdar* of the Sobri fortress, whose income was 4.265 *akches*. The income from the three other *timars* had been divided between the ten garrison members of this town. One *timar* with the income of 2.685 *akches* had been granted to four garrison members, one with the income of 4.872 three garrison members, while one *timar* with the income of 2.361 *akches* had been granted to the other three garrison members. Although it had been noted that all those *timars* had to be hold jointly, the significant difference in income value had to be noticed. The highest income (4.872 *akches*) had been granted to Mensur, imam of Sobri, Tanrıvermiş, servant of Isa-beg and Karaca, *slave* of Mehmed-pasha (average income 1.624 *akches*). The lowest yearly income had been granted to brothers Yusuf and Hamza, sons of certain Ahmed and Seydi and Bazarli, sons of Davud (average income 671 *akches*).⁴⁷

In the *vilayet* of Skopje (Usküp) first had been registered the *has* land of Ali-beg, Usküp *subaşı*, whose personal income was 238.973 *akches* per year and consisted of the income of Usküp itself, 23 settled, one unsetteled village and 9 *mezraas*, with the total of 584 Christian and 718 Muslim, 13 Muslim widow, 34 Christian widow and 44 bachelor households.⁴⁸

The next section of the census book is the register of the income of four highly established *sipahis*: Çokadar Ali-beg, another Ali beg who was head of the „*voynuq sancağı*“, Yakub-beg and Murad-beg Kepili, whose income had been taken from the income of the *has* land of Hasan-beg. Çokadar Ali-beg had been granted the income of 98.973 *akches* per year. He was obliged to personally take part in the campaign, as well as to take on his own cost 23 *cebelu* soldiers, 1 servant, as well as to take 3 protective suits, 2 tents, one small tent and one protective vest. Later this income was taken out from him (no reason mentioned) and become the part of the ruler's *has* land. On August 1456 it was given back to the above-mentioned Ali-beg. During the next year (in 1457) this income was again taken from him and given to Isa-beg, as a replacement for the income from his *has* lands in the regions of Tetovo, which had been, as noted, taken away from him.⁴⁹

Other *sipahi* called also Ali-beg had been granted the income of 50.000 *akches*, with the obligation to personally take part in the campaigns, and to take along 11 *cebelu* soldiers and one servant. He was also obliged to take with him one tent, one small tent and protective suite.⁵⁰

The same amount, under the same conditions, had been granted to Yakub-beg, while Murad-beg had been granted the income of 40.000 *akches*, with the obligation to personally take part in the campaign, and to take along 9 *cebelu* soldiers, one tent, one small tent and one protective suit.⁵¹

However, from the notes registered on the margins of this census book, could be found out that all those parts of the *has* land of Hasan-beg in the *vilayet* of Skopje had been taken from their holders and given to Isa-beg, which actually means that the whole territory of *subaşılık* of Skopje had been granted as the income of Isa-beg, and therefore under his full control.⁵²

The census book of the border region of Isa-beg Ishaković was ended by the register of the *timars* of *eşkinsis* of the *vilayet* of Skopje, 18 of them, with the total income of 162.958

⁴⁶ Ibid, 87-94.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 95-96.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 97-102.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 102.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 103.

⁵¹ Ibid, 104.

⁵² Ibid, 103-104.

akches. Within the *timars* of *eşkinçis* of the *vilayet* of Skopje were registered 51 village, 1125 full Christian, 5 full Muslim households, as well as 42 widow and 156 bachelor households.

The average income from the *timars* in this region was rather high and was 9.053 *akches*. The highest income in this group of *timar* holders had been granted to certain Iliyas, servant of Isa-beg, with the yearly income of 27.276 *akches* (7 villages, 171 full, 9 widow и 38 bachelor households). The smallest income being only 200 *akches* (one village with 2 houses) had been granted to certain Lutfi, servant of Isa-beg.⁵³

Conclusion

Since the census-books dated mid-15th century for Rumeli lands are not well preserved, this source is not only perfect base for analysis of the border region of the old type and multi-level *timar* holdings, but also for the beginning of the *timar* system in South-Eastern Europe in general. It is obvious that at the border region of the old type, all the power was accumulated in the personality of the border regions commander. Later, in the border regions of the new type (the example of the border region of the new type is sanjak of Bosnia and sanjak of Smederevo, where such relations had not been observed) the personality of the border region commander was important, but he did not have such a power, as it was shown in the case of Isa-beg. As far as we know, the census book for the border region of Isa-beg Ishaković is the only one preserved for the Balkan region with the examples of the multi-level *timar* holdings which makes its significance even bigger. Thus, this paper has the air to present the details from this census book, to make it known to wider scientific public. For the future research comparison with register of a similar border region in Anatolia would bring fruitful conclusions about the *timar* system in the border regions of the old type in the Ottoman state.

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⁵³ Ibid, 105-116.