

ZAGRLATA: FROM SERBIAN ŽUPA TO OTTOMAN NÂHIYE*

Introduction

The *vlach nâhiyes* represented a special category of administrative units within the Ottoman Empire, which has not been adequately studied yet. They encompassed population of vlach status, which enjoyed certain benefits¹ related to their military obligations². Zagrlata was such a *nâhiye*. In this paper we shall determine time and modality of its establishing, reconstruct borders, settlement network, as well as demographic and economic situation. The main data sources were land registries of the Sandjak of Kruševac (Alaca Hisâr) and the census of vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo (Semendire). The information about Zagrlata's population and its special status are given in the *kânûns* (laws) for vlachs of the Sandjak of Smederevo³, the military organization that the vlachs from Kruševac belonged to.

The source material this paper is based on is preserved in the Archive of the Prime Minister in Istanbul, as a part of archive series *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri*⁴. The main historical records that we used are: the census of vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo from 1528⁵, two synoptic register

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1. D. Bojanić, 'Vlasi u severnoj Srbiji i njihovi prvi kanuni', *Istorijski časopis* 18 (1971) 255-268; H. Hadžibegić, 'Kanun-nama Sulejmana Zakonodavca iz prvih godina njegove vladavine, Glasnik Zemljskog muzeja u Sarajevu 4-5 (1949-1950), 370-372.

2. H. Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk, postanak i upravna podjela*, Sarajevo 1981, 110. On extensive literature related to vlachs, see: E. Miljković, 'Vlasi u domaćoj istoriografiji (1960-210)', *Braničevski glasnik* 7 (2010), 5-22.

3. There are several laws for Smederevo vlachs from the second half of fifteenth century and first decades of sixteenth century which were published in: D. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni i zakonski propisi iz XV i XVI veka za smederevsku, kruševačku i vidinsku oblast*, (Beograd, 1974).

4. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi (hereafter *BBA*), *Tapu Tahrir Defteri (TD)*.

5. *BBA, TD 1011*. Within this land registry, vlachs were listed in the following *nâhiyes*: Braničevo, Niš, Lomnica, Prilep, Lepenica, Lefča, Morava, Kolubara, Zagrlata and Petrus. The census of vlachs in the Morava *nâhiye* was published by A. Aličić in *Turski katastarski popisi nekih područja zapadne Srbije XV i XVI vek*, vol. 2 (Čačak, 1985), 29-230. D. Amedoski and G. Garić Petrović published the census of vlachs in the Petrus *nâhiye* in 'Vlasi nahije Petruš u popisu vlaha Smederevskog sandžaka iz 1528. godine', *Mešovita građa* 33 (2012), 113-141. According to H. Šabanović's opinion, this census comes together with significantly shorter *BBA, TD 144*. The part of *BBA, TD 144* that represents census of vlachs

(*icmâl*) of the Sandjak of Alaca Hisâr from 1516⁶ and 1530⁷, as well as extensive survey (*mufassal tahrîr*) of Sandjak of Alaca Hisâr from 1536⁸ and extensive survey of Sandjak of Alaca Hisâr made during the reign of sultan Selim II (1566-1574), around 1570⁹. Out of all listed records only the summary register of the Sandjak of Alaca Hisâr from 1530 has been fully published.

Medieval *Župa Zagrlata*

The area, to which medieval and Ottoman historical records refer as Zagrlata, in its widest scope encompassed parts of the Kruševac valley around downstream flow of the Rasina River, left coast of the South Morava in the Aleksinac valley, as well as Zdravinje and Kaonik notches extending between Jastrebac and Mojsinje mountains. Variety of archaeological sites¹⁰ indicates that the territory of former Zagrlata was densely populated since the ancient times. Due to the advantageous living conditions, especially in the fertile flat parts of the South and West Morava basins, as well as its exceptional strategic position together with the immediate proximity of one of the most important land communications in the Balkan Peninsula, this territory is one of the most developed regions of present-day Serbia.

in the Belgrade *nâhiye* was published in: H. Šabanović, *Turski izvori za istoriju Beograda* (Beograd, 1964), 29-112.

6. *BBA, TD 55.*

7. *167 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet- Rûm-ili defteri (937/1530), II, Vülçitru, Prizrin, Alaca-hisâr ve Hersek Livâları*, (Dizin ve Tıpkıbasım), Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayın Nu: 69, Defter-i Hâkânî Dizisi: IX (Ankara, 2004).

8. *BBA, TD 179.*

9. *BBA, TD 567.*

10. Neolith, late Bronze Age and early Iron Age settlements were discovered in the central part of former *župa* and *nâhiye* of Zagrlata in the basin of Ribarska reka, next to the Pozlata village, Kaonik, Veliki Šiljegovac and Belasica. A. Palavestra and A. Bankoff, 'Istraživanje praistorijskih naselja u mikroregiji Ribarske reke kod Kruševca', *Glasnik SAD* **3** (1986), 51-62; A. Palavestra, 'Pozlatska reka i Globoder', in N. Tasić and E. Radulović eds., *Arheološka nalazišta Kruševca i okoline* (Kruševac – Beograd, 2001), 198. In certain localities such as Selište in Veliki Šiljegovac and Grabojevac in Zdravinje, the continuity in populating had been determined from early Iron Age to late Middle Ages. M. Bugar, 'Toponimija u arheologiji Kruševačkog kraja', *Kruševački zbornik* **9-10** (2003), 14, 17. Roman coins hoards were found in Bovan and Pašjak. D. Rašković, 'Rekonosciranje antičkih lokaliteta i komunikacija na području Poslonskih i Mojsinjskih planina', *Glasnik SAD* **14** (1998), 183-186. Remains of early Byzantine fortifications are on the following localities Čukar in Boljevac, Gradac in Buci, Odaje in Jablanica and Gradac in Petina. Medieval localities were found in Boljevac, Velika Kruševica, Veliki Šiljegovac, Zdravinje, Zebica, Kaonik, Mala Reka, Naupara, Pozlata, Rosica and Srnje. Bugar, 'Toponimija', 12-14, 17-18, 21, 30-34.

The earliest reference to *župa*¹¹ Zagrlata is found in the Establishing Charter of the Hilandar Monastery issued by Simeon the Monk (Stephen Nemanja)¹². By all odds, Zagrlata was a part of the Serbian medieval state, before Nemanja's reign, since it was mentioned as his grandfather's bequest in the Charter of the Hilandar Monastery and Life of St Simeon written by his son, Sava, in 1208, as the preface to the Studenica typikon¹³. More information on Zagrlata's and its settlements brings the Charter of the Drenča Monastery from 1382. Dorotej the Monk with his son Danilo, donated to his foundation several settlements and villages near present-day Aleksandrovac and Kruševac, as well as in the area of Braničevo. Among the settlements that belonged to the Zagrlata *nâhiye*, in this Charter are mentioned Staronoge, Sezemče and Slatina¹⁴. Dorotej also donated to the Drenča monastery a market place with crossing over the Morava River in Zagrlata. Afterwards, Vrlnica, Brezi, Bitino, the Peščanica River, Blato, Bigle with entire villages, hamlets and borders and Ljubeš upstream from Zarva were listed¹⁵.

Out of above-mentioned settlements, Donji and Gornji Ljubeš, on the left bank of the South Morava, upstream from Đunis have existed up to date. In their vicinity, on the top of Gradac Hill the remains of fortress can be recognized even today. It had important strategic position controlling the Aleksinac valley, all the way to Jastrebac, Ozren and Koritnik, defending the entrance to the Stalać gorge¹⁶. On equally significant strategic point in Trubarevo village, a few kilometers downstream from Vitkovac and Đunis, there is another medieval fortress - Jerina's town. It controlled a wide area on the opposite side of the South Morava and the upstream flow of the river in the length of a few kilometers¹⁷. Above-mentioned two fortifications, together with Stalać, constituted a unique defense system in the Stalać gorge.

11. *Župa* was a medieval territorial unit. M. Blagojević, 'Grad i župa' - mede gradskog društva, in J. Kalić and M. Čolović eds., *Socijalna struktura srpskux gradskih naselja (XII - XVIII vek)* (Smederevo – Beograd, 1992), 67-84.

12. Stephen Nemanja mentions Zagrlata as *Greek land* appended to his country in the following part of the Charter: 'And I gained on the side of the sea, Zeta with towns. And from Arbanases I took Pilot, from the land of the Greeks I took Lab with Lipljan, Glbočica, Reke Zagrlata, Levče, Belica [and] Lepenica.' T. Živković, S. Bojanin and V. Petrović, *Selected Charters of Serbian Rulers (XII-XV century)* (Athens, 2000), 24.

13. M. Blagojević, 'Pregled istorijske geografije srednjovekovne Srbije', *Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja* 20 (1983), 68-77.

14. All mentioned settlements are still present in the area south from Kruševac, except for Staronoga.

15. A. Mladenović, *Povelje kneza Lazara* (Beograd, 2003), 181, 185, 188; M. Dinić, *Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku* (Beograd, 1978), 74-75.

16. Riznić, 'Starine u planini Mojsinji i okolini', 48-49; Rašković, 'Rekognosciranje', 180-181.

17. D. Minić, 'Srednjovekovno utvrđenje u Trubarevu', *Glasnik SAD* 6 (1990), 140-142, 144.

Its main role was to protect accessible crossings of the South Morava and prevent intrusions towards Kruševac and central parts of the medieval Serbia. This system was integrated into a wider strategic zone consisting of fortifications on the right bank of Morava and with Petrus, Bovan, Sokolac, Lipovac, Svrljig and Koprijan presented the unique formation on the eastern border of the Serbian Despotate¹⁸.

The Ottoman Conquest

This area, as well as its fortresses, became exceptionally significant after the battle on the Marica River, when Ottoman intrusions into the central parts of the Balkan Peninsula became more frequent and intense. At the same time, the newly built fortress in Kruševac, the seat of Prince Lazar, became the new administrative centre¹⁹. In the early years after the battle of Kosovo, attacks of Turkish and Hungarian troops reached all the way to Kruševac and Zagrlata. According to Turkish chronicler Âşik Paşazâde, transmitting the testimony of Kara Timûrtaş's son, a veteran from Ottoman-Hungarian conflicts, in the year 1391, in the Kruševac *nâhiye* Sultan Bayezid I took great victory over Hungarian troops led by king himself²⁰. Two decades later, in 1413, the devastated attack of Prince Musa took place. His aim was to conquer the above-mentioned fortress system on the east of the Despotate and get control over the roads towards Kruševac, Novo Brdo, Belgrade and the West Morava valley. During this campaign, the fortresses of Bovan, Lipovac, Stalać and Koprijan were ruined, as well as surrounding areas²¹.

The "time of Musa" repeated again during the Serbo-Turkish war 1425-1427, when the area around Kruševac was devastated, and the city itself fell under Turkish rule²². For the first time, the territory of Zagrlata found itself within the Ottoman Empire, together with the territory between Niš and Preševo at the south, and Trstenik and Kučajske Mountains at the north²³. It had remained undoubtedly under the sultan's rule until renewal of the *Despotate* in 1444, when the Hungaro-Ottoman peace treaty foresaw return-

18. Rašković, 'Rekognosciranje', 180-181; Minić, 'Srednjovekovno utvrđenje u Trubarevu', 143-144.

19. The process of building lasted several years, most probably during the period between 1371 and 1377. M. Spremić, 'Kruševac u XIV i XV veku', in A. Stošić, I. Božić and M. Spremić eds., *Kruševac kroz vekove* (Kruševac, 1972), 10.

20. Spremić, 'Kruševac u XIV i XV veku', 11. According to: G. Elezović, 'Turski izvori za istoriju Jugoslovena', *Brastvo* 26 (1932) 54, 58-59.

21. S. Mišić, 'Pohod sultana Muse na Despotovinu 1413. godine i istočna srpsko-turska granica', *Istorijski glasnik* 1-2 (1987), 76.

22. Spremić, 'Kruševac u XIV i XV veku', 14.

23. M. Blagojević, 'Istočna granica Despotovine', *Istorijski glasnik* 1-2 (1995), 32, 34.

ing of 24 cities to Despot Đurađ (1427-1456). Among them had been Kruševac as stated in *Historiae Polonicae* written by Ioannes Dlugosius²⁴. However, a few settlements that later belonged to the Kruševac *nâhiye*, and afterwards to Zagrlata, had been recorded in the Ottoman register of the areas of Kruševac, Dubočica and Toplica, conducted between August 1444 and July 1445²⁵.

After the death of Murad II (1421-1451), his successor, Mehmed II (1451-1481) returned to Despot Đurađ, together with Princess Mara, both Toplica and Dubočica²⁶. During the period between 1451 and 1453, in addition to these territories, areas around Kruševac, Koznik²⁷, Petrus and Bovan were also within the Serbian state. All above-mentioned territories finally fell under the Turkish rule in September or October of 1453. The fact that the majority of *timârs* from the Despot's *tahvîl* were granted during that period supports this time-line²⁸. The new Serbo-Turkish peace treaty concluded in 1455 confirmed all above-mentioned territorial changes²⁹.

The establishment of the Zagrlata *nâhiye* and *kazâ*

The parts of the Despotate conquered during this period had initially formed an area with a *vilâyet* status within the bordering region (*krajište*)³⁰. Later on, they became an integral part of the newly formed Sandjak of Kruševac. In the beginning, it consisted of the following *nâhiyes*: Alaca Hisâr (Kruševac), Petruš (Petruš), Koznik (Koznik), Bolvan (Bovan), Ūrgüp (Prokuplje), Kurşunlu Kilise (Kurşumlija), Dıboçice (Dubočica), Polyanice (Poljanica) and Izmornik (Izmornik), while in the period between 1530 and 1536 Zagrlata (Zagrlata) and Kisline (Kisline) were included³¹.

24. *Joannis Dlugossii seu Longini canonici Cracoviensis Historiae Polonicae libri XII*. T. IV. libri XI. XII, Cracoviae, 1877, 703.

25. Villages such as Porodin, Vrćenovica, Radevci and Šogolj. O. Zirojević, I. Eren, 'Popis područja Kruševca, Toplice i Dubočice', *Vranjski glasnik* 4 (1968), 390, 391, 396, 404.

26. M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba* (Beograd, 1994), 362; R. Ćuk, 'Carica, Mara', *Istorijski časopis* 25-26 (1978-1979), 66.

27. More on the Koznik fortress see: D. Amedoski, V. Petrović, 'Tvrđava Koznik - od prvog pomena do kraja 16. veka', *Vojno-istorijski glasnik* 2 (2011), 127-137.

28. Zirojević, Eren, 'Popis područja Kruševca, Toplice i Dubočice', 378; S. Mišić, 'Obnova Despotovine i njene granice (1444-1459)', in M. Spremić ed., *Pad Srpske despotovine 1459. godine*, (Beograd, 2011), 66.

29. Despot Đurađ made peace with the sultan at the end of the summer 1455 and at the end of September, he returned to Smederevo. His country was reduced to the area between the Western Morava, Sava and Danube. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ Branković*, 460.

30. Up to sixteenth century, the term *vilâyet* implied territory, military-administrative unit that was part of bordering sandjak.

31. M. Vasić, 'Stanovništvo Kruševačkog sandžaka i njegova društvena struktura u XVI vijeku', in A. Stošić, I. Božić and M. Spremić eds., *Kruševac kroz vekove* (Kruševac, 1972), 49.

The Zagrlata *nâhiye* was established as a vlach *nâhiye*. Vlach *nâhiyes* represented specific military-administrative units that encompassed the same areas as regular *nâhiyes* (districts), consisting of settlements populated by inhabitants with the vlach status. In the Sandjak of Kruševac vlachs were registered in the following *nâhiyes*: Petruš, Kruševac and Zagrlata. They were registered together with the vlachs from the Sandjak of Smederevo, as well as the vlachs from the Sandjak of Zvornik³². This conjunction was most likely the result of a specific status that the Sandjak of Smederevo has had up to the establishment of the Eyâlet of Budin in 1541. As a bordering sandjak it was so called *serbest* (free) sandjak, and its commander – sandjakbeg – had significantly broader authorities, freedom of operations and competencies in internal administration than sandjakbegs in the central parts of the Empire³³.

In preserved Ottoman registries and legislative acts, Zagrlata as *nâhiye* was mentioned for the first time in *Kânûn* for the vlachs of the Sandjak of Smederevo from 1516. The oldest available detailed list of its inhabitants represents a part of the 1528 census of the vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo³⁴. In that time, Zagrlata consisted of vlach settlements primarily located in the areas encompassed by the Kruševac *nâhiye*, as well as a few villages belonging to Koznik, Prokuplje and Bovan *nâhiyes*³⁵.

During the period between 1530 and 1536, settlements populated by vlachs and registered in the census of Zagrlata's vlachs were included in the Sandjak of Kruševac. In the land registry of the Sandjak of Kruševac from 1536, it was registered that some settlements and *mezra'as* of the Zagrlata *nâhiye* had been extricated from the Sandjak of Smederevo and annexed to

32. O. Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbiji (1459-1683)* (Beograd, 1974), 172. Šabanović, *Turski izvori*, 29. The *Berât with instructions for registration of vlachs* which was probably published between 1489 and 1491, shows that the vlachs in the Sandjak of Kruševac were registered together with the vlachs from the Sandjaks of Smederevo and Zvornik. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 93.

33. H. Šabanović, 'O organizaciji turske uprave u Srbiji u XV i XVI vijeku', *Istorijski glasnik* 3-4 (1955), 62-63. It is important to mention that in 1475, Bali-beg, sandjakbeg of Smederevo, governed Kruševac sandjak as well. Bojanić, 'Vlasi u severnoj Srbiji', 257.

34. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 28; Within *Defter-i Eflakân-i Livâ-i Semendire (BBA, TD 1011)* dated in 1528 vlachs were registered in the *nâhiyes* of: Braničevo, Niš, Lomnica, Prilep, Lepenica, Lefča, Morava, Kolubara, Zagrlata and Petruš. This census was not conducted within the administrative borders of the Sandjak of Smederevo, but covered the population with the vlach status in significantly wider area. The same case was recorded in the *zeâmet* of vlachs in Vuk's land that was not organized by territorial principle but by status of its inhabitants. T. Katić, G. Garić Petrović, 'Popis zeameta i timara oblasti Brvenik iz 1477. godine', *Mešovita građa* 32 (2011), 159.

35. Compare: *BBA, TD 1011* with *BBA, TD 55* and *167 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet-Rûm-ili defteri (937/1530)*.

the Sandjak of Kruševac³⁶. On that occasion a vlach group coming from the Sandjak of Smederevo that had populated the above-mentioned extricated territories, was registered into imperial defter as *re'âya* with obligation to pay *öşür*³⁷. Its land possessions were registered in the new defter as *baştinas*³⁸, distinguishing the Zagrlata *nâhiye* from other *nâhiyes* of the Sandjak of Kruševac by its number.

The *nâhiye* of Zagrlata was included into the Kruševac *kazâ* in 1516³⁹. In the period up to 1530, the Zagrlata *kazâ* was established as a separate *kazâ* belonging to the Sandjak of Smederevo. The *nâhiyes* of Zagrlata and Levač were under its jurisdiction⁴⁰. One of the reasons to organize a *kazâ*, encompassing these two *nâhiyes*, most probably was the role of a *kâdî* in supervising vlach *kânûns* and organization of their registration. This role they performed as officials of the central administration and interpreters of sharia laws with the greatest autonomy comparing to the military-political and governing bodies in a sandjak⁴¹.

Kâdîs conducted separate registries with names of deceased vlachs, which were disposed for submission to sultan's *emîns*. After inspection, names of those whose death was conclusively determined were erased from

36. In that period the Zagrlata *nâhiye* had 74 villages and 976 households. Vasić, 'Stanovništvo Kruševačkog sandžaka', 51-52.

37. The census records, 'Re'âya tâifesi zulümden ve ta'dîden ve nizâ'dan hâlî olmadıgı ecilden zikr olân nâhiye Semendre sancâğından ifrâz olunub livâ-i Alaca Hisâra ilhâk olunmâk münâsib olduđu pâye-i serîr-i r'lâya arz olunub.' *BBA, TD 179*, s. 166. Indirect information about populating of *mezra'a* in the Sandjak of Kruševac and reasons for the above-mentioned injustice and disputes we can find in the *Berât with instructions for registration of vlachs*. It also informs us about granting empty and abandoned *mezra'as* in some sandjaks. Registrars were assigning them with the tax duty by 'cut off' or *öşür* estimation. At the time of the *berât* issuance, vlachs had been already living in some of these *mezra'as* litigating with *sipâhis* who had been requiring *öşür* from them. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 96.

38. An estate on a state land with exactly determined duties. The owner had a right to sell it, give away or bequeath to anyone. With limited proprietorship over this *baştine*, a new owner would be subjected to all obligations related to it. T. Katić, *Opširni popis Prizrenskog sandžaka iz 1571. godine* (Beograd, 2010), 593.

39. *BBA, TD 55*, s. 15.

40. *MAD 506 numaralı Semendire Livâsı İcmâl Tahrîr Defteri (937/1530)*, Dizin ve Tıpkıbasım, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, Yayın Nu: 104, Defter-i Hâkânî Dizisi: XIV (Ankara, 2009), 5.

41. Šabanović, 'O organizaciji turske uprave', 70. *Kâdî* has protected the law, carried out orders of the central government, monitored activities of all civil servants in the territory of *kazâ*, suppressed violence and illegal actions of military and civil authorities and reported accordingly to the sultan and *vezîrs*. He was also responsible for resolving civil disputes among Muslims, as well as for the all relationships that were based on regulations of administrative, taxation and land laws. In criminal proceedings, *kâdî* judged in deeds that can be subsumed under the general crime. He also had custody of minors and other persons without legal capacity, monitored *vaqf* properties and supervised markets. A. Sućeska, *Ajani: prilog izučavanju lokalne vlasti u našim zemljama za vrijeme Turaka* (Sarajevo, 1965), 49-50.

the registers and the names of their sons or relatives were inserted instead. According to the *kânûn* published in 1516, after appeals submitted by, among others, vlachs of the Zagrlata *nâhiye*, collection of *filuri* was allowed only with the presence of *kâdî*. His approval was necessary for the collection of amercements and carrying out severe corporal punishments. In this manner, the legislator protected population with the privileged vlach status from various abuses, above all those executed by sandjakbeg's *voyvodas*⁴². The *Kânûn* from 1516 cancelled so called *Despot law*⁴³ and extended *kâdîs* jurisdiction. Consequently, all hostiles and civil disputes were transferred to sandjakbeg and *vilâyet kâdîs* and from that moment on the sharia laws were respected⁴⁴.

The termination of the vlach status of Zagrlata's inhabitants and their including into the Sandjak of Kruševac, brought the territory of this *nâhiye* under the governance of Kruševac *kâdîs* therefore Zagrlata was not mentioned in latter *kazâ*'s lists of this region⁴⁵.

Social structure of the population

The majority of population in the Zagrlata *nâhiye* was made up of Christian Serbs⁴⁶, enjoying the vlach status, while there were much less *ratays*⁴⁷ and *re'âya*. There were also Muslims on the territory of the Zagrlata, but in a negligible number. There were no urban centers with developed market potentials, located on the crossroads of the main routes that would encourage the islamization of locals or attract Muslim inhabitants from other parts of the Ottoman Empire. The share of Muslims of various ethnicities in total number of males performing military service was 0.9 percent. Despite such a small share, some of them performed significant mili-

42. The Sandjakbeg should have prevented abuses in the first place. If not, *kâdî* was required to report to the sultan and later conduct a penalty. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 28-32.

43. Various opinions on *Despot law* and its relation to later legislatives are brought by: G. Tomović, 'Despotov kanun', in S. Ćirković and K. Čavoški eds., *Srednjovekovno pravo u Srba u ogledalu istorijskih izvora* (Beograd, 2009), 291-300; E. Miljković, A. Krstić, 'Tragovi srpskog srednjovekovnog prava u ranim osmanskim kanunnamama', in S. Ćirković and K. Čavoški eds., *Srednjovekovno pravo u Srba u ogledalu istorijskih izvora* (Beograd, 2009), 314.

44. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 28-32.

45. In the registry of *kazâs* in the Ottoman Empire from 1745, composed according to some previous registry from the year before 1699, it was noted that the Kruševac *kazâ* borders with the following *kazâs*: Jagodina, Paraćin, Koznik and Prokuplje. H. Šabanović, *Popis kadilukâ u Evropskoj Turskoj od Mostarca Abdullaha Hurremovića*, Glasnik Hrvatskih zemaljskih muzeja u Sarajevu **54** (1942) 336, 356.

46. The census of vlachs in the Zagrlata *nâhiye* is set for printing.

47. *Ratay* was a person with no land who cultivated land of *voyvodas* or *primikures*, *çiftçi*. *Ratays* paid fees to their principles.

tary duties as *primikurs* and *knezes*, representing 6 percent of all vlach principals.

In the area encompassed by this *nâhiye*, vlachs had been registered during Prince Lazar's reign. In the above-mentioned Charter of Drenča Monastery from 1382, among listed villages and hamlets, *Vlasi Šiljegovci*⁴⁸ are also mentioned. Later, they gave name to two settlements – Gornji and Donji Šiljegovac⁴⁹ in Kruševac *nâhiye*. Vlachs have had certain role in military organization of the medieval Serbian army, which they have kept even after the Turkish conquering⁵⁰. Namely, consolidating the newly conquered territories, the Ottomans preserved overtaken military forces⁵¹. Alike other members of military and auxiliary divisions in the Ottoman Empire, vlachs enjoyed tax reliefs, which were related to their military service⁵².

Although, primary *kânûns* for vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo originate from the second half of the fifteenth century, only for the *kânûns* published in the years 1516 and 1528 we can definitely allege that they were regulating status of vlachs on the territory of Sandjak of Kruševac. According to these laws, as well as to the *Decision on vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo* from 1536, vlachs that were under the jurisdiction of sandjakbeg of Smederevo, due to their military service, were exempted from all Christian *re'âya*'s obligations: *harâç*, *ispence*, *öşür*, *avâriz-i dîvâniyye* and *resm-i*

48. Mladenović, *Povelje kneza Lazara*, 181, 185.

49. Present-day Veliki and Mali Šiljegovac.

50. Vlach soldiers were mentioned in the Charter of King Milutin to the Banjska Monastery and in the Charter of King Stefan Dušan that recorded the donation of the Church of St. Nicholas in Vranje to the Hilandar Monastery. V. Mošin, S. Ćirković and D. Sindik eds., *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilskih povelja i pisama Srbije, Bosne i Dubrovnika*, vol. I, 1186-1321 (Beograd, 2011), 468; Đ. Trifunović ed., *Povelja kralja Milutina manastiru Banjska – Svetostefanska hrisovulja*, vol. 1, (Priština – Beograd, 2011), 159; S. Marjanović-Dušanić, 'Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana o poklanjanju crkve Svetog Nikole u Vranju manastiru Hilandaru', *Stari srpski arhiv* 4 (2005) 73, 77. However, the medieval sources do not say anything about military duties of vlach soldiers. Preserved medieval documents reflect only specific aspect of their work on the monastic estates. Miljković, Krstić, 'Tragovi srpskog srednjovekovnog prava', 310.

51. In the Sandjak of Smederevo, the majority of army forces were consisting of Christian military groups such as vlachs, *voynuks* and *martoloses*. Inaldžik, 'Od Stefana Dušana', 34, 51. About *martoloses* and *voynuks* see: B. Đurđev, 'O vojnicima,' *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 2 (1947), 75-137; M. Vasić, *O martolosima u jugoslovenskim zemljama*, (Sarajevo, 1967); Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje*, 162-169, 184-189. Relevant literature on military ranks, such as *yâyâs* and *müsellems* is given in: N. E. Mergen, 'The Yaya and Müsellem Corps in the Ottoman Empire (Early Centuries)' (unpublished MA theses, Bilkent University, 2001), available on <http://www.thesis.bilkent.edu.tr/0001862.pdf>

52. D. Yörük, 'XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yaşayan Gayrimüslimlerin Nüfusu', *Selcuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 17 (2007), 631; E. Miljković, *Smederevski sandžak 1476-1560 : zemlja – naselja – stanovništvo* (Beograd, 2004), 227.

gerdek. In return, they were in charge for guarding dangerous places and sending troops. During war campaigns five vlach households had to give one soldier, whose title was *petnik*. In the *Decision on vlachs* from 1536, it was alleged that they had performed their military service taking cart-horses with themselves. In addition, 50 vlach households were giving one servant to sandjakbeg whose name was *komornica*. During a penetration into hostile territories, or in time of increased need of manpower, each house was obligated to send a soldier whose name was *zamanica*. He performed service as pedestrian or as *petnik*, carrying a cart horse. Vlachs and their cattle carried out various services for the sultan, above all transport service as well as taking detainees to the Porte, the obligation stated in the *kânûn* from 1516⁵³.

At the same time, each vlach household annually gave 83 *akçes* to the State treasury. According to the *kânûn* from 1582, the annual fiscal obligations were increased to 90 *akçes*⁵⁴. This amount was given on behalf of *filuri*, which was equivalent for one ram, one sheep with the lamb and joint obligation of a *katun* (50 households) giving one *čerga*, two rams, two wheels of cheese, and three halters⁵⁵. Besides that, sandjakbeg obtained nine-tenth of financial penalties (the rest belonged to vlach *knezes*) and one or two *himls* of wheat and oat from each village. *Kânûn* from 1528 changed this amount, so that each three households had the obligation of one *kile*⁵⁶ of oat, while only villages with over 25 households were obligated to give one *kile* of wheat. Besides that, each household had to give two *akçes* for *emîn* and notary who collected *filuri*. Vlachs who were cultivating crops on a land registered to sandjakbegs, *sûbâşıs* and *tîmâr* holders, were obliged to give the twentieth part of yield during harvesting period⁵⁷.

Supreme military commander of vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo was the sandjakbeg of Smederevo. He was subordinating vlach principals, *knezes* and *primikures*, who were leading vlach troops during wartime. The vlach principals were also responsible for order maintenance in the whole sandjak, as well as for collection of *filuri* and finding fugitives.

53. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 28-34, 47.

54. Idem, 34.

55. Vlachs on the estates of St. Stefan and St. Arhangel Monasteries had annual obligations corresponding to Ottoman *kânûns*. More on similarity of the vlach obligations in the Serbian medieval state and within the Ottoman Empire see: M. Blagojević, 'Zakon svetoga Simeona i svetoga Save', in V. Đurić ed., *Sava Nemanjić – sveti Sava* (Beograd, 1979), 147; Miljković, Krstić, 'Tragovi srpskog srednjovekovnog prava', 307-315.

56. This *kânûn* regulated the size of *himl* and *kile* in the Sandjak of Smederevo. The *himl* unit was set to five *kiles*, and one *kile* to 20 *okas*. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 34. This value of *kile* corresponds to standard *kile* (10,256 kg). W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte: Umgerechnet ins metrische System* (Leiden-Köln, 1970), 41-42.

57. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 20, 28-34, 47.

Villages inhabited by vlachs were grouped into specific territorial units governed by *knezes*⁵⁸. In Zagrlata, in 1528, three *knezes* were registered: Radoslav, Caf'er and Božidar, under whose jurisdiction there were 44 *primikurs*. Radosav was governing 55 vlach villages with 678 households, Caf'er ten villages with 155 households and Božidar 20 villages with 220 households. This means that *petnik*-army of Zagrlata *nâhiye*, together with *primikurs* and *voyvodas*, counted 257 soldiers. At the same time, *zamanica*-army counted 1097 soldiers⁵⁹.

The position of vlach principals was regulated by *kânûns* for vlachs. According to these acts, *voyvodas* and *primikurs*, as well as their sons and *baştinas* were exempted from all dues, even from *filuri* – which were given by all other vlach households. Their title was hereditary and could be revoked only in the case of offence. One of it was concealment of persons subjected to census⁶⁰ or injustice and violence against civilians⁶¹.

After the abolishment of vlach military service and privileged status, separate legislatives regarding vlach principals were issued. They kept their titles, and exemption of all dues, with commitment to maintain order in *vilâyet*, collect *harâç* and other taxes, find fugitives and go to military campaigns as logistic troops⁶².

Demographic data

According to the census of vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo, performed by *kâdî* Fethullâh and clerk Dervîş Sehi-Çelebi, famous Turkish poet, during month of Ramazan 934 (June 1528), the total number of households was in the Zagrlata *nâhiye* 1252. Also, 41 *vaqfs*, one *çiflik*, three *mukâta'as* and seven monasteries were registered.

Table 1: Structure of population in the Zagrlata *nâhiye* according to the census in 1528

Households	Heads of the families	<i>Tâbi'as</i>	Adult males
Vlach	1097	1628	2725

58. *Knezes* and principal (*knežinska*) self-government has been analyzed in many papers. For example see: B. Đurđev, 'O knezovima pod turskom upravom', *Istorijski časopis* **1** (1948) 132-166; M. Vasić, 'O knežinama Bakića pod turskom vlašću', *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* **10** (1959) 247-268; E. Miljković-Bojanić, 'Knežinska samouprava u Smederevskom sandžaku u drugoj polovini XV i prvoj polovini XVI veka', *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* **57** (1998) 87-97. About the *knezes* in the Habsburg Monarchy see: V. Dabić, 'Knezovi u Vojnoj krajini u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji do polovine XVIII veka', *Zbornik o Srbima u Hrvatskoj* **6** (2007), 7-123.

59. *BBA, TD 1011*, s. 1001-1043.

60. It was emphasized in *Berât with instruction for vlach census* from the end of fifteenth century. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 31.

61. This was noted in the *kânûn* from 1516. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 96.

62. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 46.

Vlach widows	21	-	-
<i>Ratay</i>	42	49	91
<i>Rayetin</i>	77	56	133
Muslim	15	12	27
In total	1252	1745	2976

In addition, 2976 adult males were registered, out of which 1231 as the heads of the families and 1745 *tâbi'as*. Unlike land registry records of population with the *re'âya* status, vlach registries do not contain number of married and unmarried men as separate categories. The term *tâbi'as* implies all adult males except for the heads of the families⁶³. Knowing the total number of adult males, by applying male multiplier 3, we can estimate a total population of about 9,000⁶⁴.

Several legislative acts related to vlachs favored development and preservation of multiple-family households⁶⁵. Consequently, families within

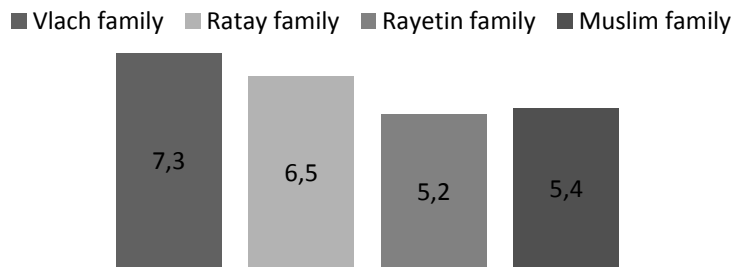
63. The specific manner in which items in the vlach population were recorded informs us of kinship relations between listed males. On the basis of analysis and comparison of data from the census of vlach population in the Sandjak of Smederevo from 1528 and data from the land registry from 1530 (related to four villages in the vicinity of Belgrade), E. A. Hammel has reconstructed the size and structure of Serbian family in the sixteenth century. E. A. Hammel, 'Zadruga as process', in P. Laslett and R. Wall eds., *Household and Family in Past Time, Comparative Studies in the size and structure of the domestic group over time* (Cambridge, 1972), 335-374. M. Todorova gave an evaluation of the results of the Cambridge group, in 'On the Epistemological Value of Family Models: The Balkans within European Pattern', in R. Wall, T. K. Hareven, J. Ehmer eds., *Family History Revisited: Comparative Perspectives* (Newark, 2001), 242-256.

64. In cases when the number of households (families) is known, multiplier from 3.5 to 5 is usually used to estimate the total population. L. Erder, 'The Measurement of Preindustrial Population Changes: The Ottoman Empire from the 15th to the 17th Century', *Middle Eastern Studies* 11, 3 (1975), 294. Having in mind that the vlach families were to some extent larger than families of other status groups, we decided to apply male multiplier. Value of male multiplier varies between 3 and 4 and is directly related to expected life expectancy and natural population growth. Erder, 'The Measurement of Preindustrial Population Changes', 297-298; B. K. Ataman, 'Ottoman Demographic History (14th-17th Centuries). Some Considerations', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35, 2 (1992), 191. J. Russell has used male multiplier 3 in estimating the size of the population in the Ottoman Empire. J. Russell, 'Late Medieval Balkan and Asia Minor Population', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3, 3 (1960), 265. Since the land registry from 1536 records significant population decrease, which was, among other reasons, most probably the result of a low population growth during the time of plague epidemic in this area, we selected medium value of male multiplier 3.

65. A strong financial motive is also pointed out by the *Decision on vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo* from 1536, which reads: 'Regardless of the number of vlachs in one household, if there was one man in the household, or two men, or three men, or four, or five or more people, they would have to pay 93 *akçes* annually as one *filuri* household. They did

the population with the vlach status were in a certain degree larger than families of other status groups. This becomes evident comparing the ratio of household heads and *tâbi'as* within vlach, *ratay* and *rayetin* households (see Figure 1)⁶⁶. This practice continued even after the termination of the vlach status in the Sandjak of Smederevo, but only in relation to *primikurs* and *voyvodas*, a part of population that retained its privileges⁶⁷.

Figure 1: The average size of a household within various social groups



Soon after the abolition of the vlach status in the Sandjak of Smederevo, and including the Zagrlata *nâhiye* within the Sandjak of Smederevo, a process of intensive population decrease started. According to the 1536 survey and a new defter, there were only 958 married men (*hâne*) in the Zagrlata *nâhiye*. The majority of them had lost their previous status and they had been registered as *re'âya*. Comparing to the year 1528, the total number of adult males decreased almost two and a half times, giving the total number of 1228 married men (*hâne*) and unmarried men (*mücerred*). This trend maintained up to the 1570 survey, but not with the same intensity (see Figure 2).

Simultaneous decrease of number of unmarried men in the adult male population additionally complicates estimation of the population size and

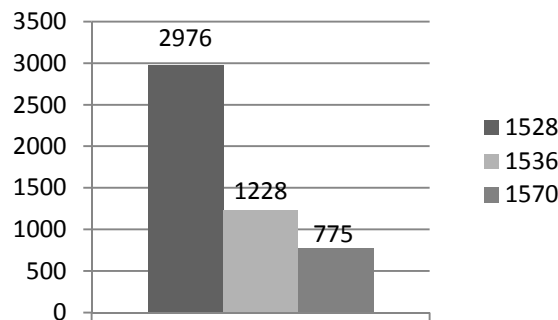
not give *öşüres* and *resûms* and everyone was exempted from *avarîz*.' In addition, such a household would give only one *petnik* or *zamanica*, regardless of its size. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 47.

66. The fact that in this census population with various statuses was registered is of great importance. Although the number of *ratay* and *re'âya* households was several times lower than the number of vlach households, significant difference can be noticed between these groups. The average number of adult males in families of each group undoubtedly suggests that legislative regulation and socio-economic factors are the basic reasons for the development of specific types of households in this particular area.

67. In the Law on *primikures* and *voyvodas* of the Sandjak of Smederevo from 1536, it is also written: 'Their sons and brothers living together do not pay *ispence*. However, if they get married they become separate household and work and cultivate crops, give *öşür*, *harâç* and *ispence*, like other *re'âya*.' Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 46.

comparison of available records. The 1536 register gives ratio of 21 unmarried men to every 79 married men. Some thirty years later, it decreased to 8.5 percent to adult male population⁶⁸. Lower age limit of being *mücerred* was not constant. In the different parts of the Empire, it varied between 12 and 20 years of age. Boys were usually registered at the age of 15⁶⁹. Change in the practice in the certain territory could lead to disappearance or emergence of a larger or smaller group of population (young man) in registry books creating impression of demographic changes that had not actually happened. Issues related to *tâbi'as* and age limit of their recording in registry books raise similar doubts. Therefore, when we use the number of adult males recorded in all three censuses as an indicator of depopulation decline (see Figure 2), we must do it with certain caution⁷⁰.

Figure 2: Number of adult man according to the 1528, 1536 and 1570 censuses



68. In this case, only Christian population is taken into account because married and unmarried men are separately listed. According to the 1530 census, in the Sandjak of Kruševac the proportion of single men in the total number of adult males was 24.7 percent. At the same time, this proportion was 14.2 percent in the Sandjak of Vučitrn and 12.5 percent in the Sandjak of Prizren. Thirty years later, in the Sandjak of Prizren proportion of single men in the total number of adult males rose to 26.1 percent. These calculation were made on the basis of the tables given in *167 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet- Rûm-ili defteri (937/1530)*, 4-5; Katić, *Opširni popis Prizrenskog sandžaka*, 559-582. The explanation for differences in a bachelor to married man ratio, which were recorded in the Sandjaks of Smederevo, Gyula and Szeged in the period 1568-1579, B. McGowan finds in selective migrations i.e. in moving large families with lots of children who benefited the most from the favorable tax system in the new provinces. B. McGowan, 'Food Supply and Taxation on the Middle Danube (1568-1579)', *Archivum Ottomanicum* 1 (1969), 162.

69. Ataman, 'Ottoman Demographic History', 189.

70. Not knowing the lower age limit for inclusion in the register raises the problem of comparing the number of young men in censuses from 1528 and 1536. Difference in the lower age limit between these two categories would show higher difference in the size of male population than the real one.

Demographic changes that occurred at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth decade of the sixteenth century in the Zagrlata *nâhiye*, influenced other *nâhiyes* in the Sandjak of Kruševac with the same intensity⁷¹. Ottoman conquest of Belgrade (1521) and vast territories in southern Hungary after the battle of Mohacs (1526), as well as establishing of the Timisoara *Eyâlet* had the main impact on the depopulation of territories of present-day Central Serbia. After the Ottoman penetration in the Central Europe had taken place, the Sandjak of Kruševac lost its status of a bordering sandjak. At the same time, a part of its population, vlachs, lost their privileges. On the other hand, in newly conquered unpopulated territories, a favorable tax policy⁷² attracted many colonists from different areas of the northwestern Balkans⁷³. This wave of migration ended in 1568, when survey of the Timisoara *Eyâlet* and other sandjaks in Rumelia was completed⁷⁴.

Besides Ottoman conquests and emigration to newly-conquered territories, the plague epidemics also influenced depopulation in some *nâhiyes* of the Sandjak of Kruševac. During the third and fourth decades of the sixteenth century, the disease spread decimating the population of northern and western parts of the Balkan Peninsula⁷⁵. Records implicate that Koznik *nâhiye*, neighboring to Zagrlata, had been stricken by plague during the rule of Suleiman the Magnificent. It was noted that one of the villages in this *nâhiye* – Donji Stupanj, had been abandoned due to the plague⁷⁶. Great plague also spread to Dubočica *nâhiye* and other territories exterminating their population⁷⁷.

Settlements

According to 1528 census of vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo, the Zagrlata *nâhiye* consisted of 88 settlements with village status populated by

71. More on demographic changes in Koznik and Bovan *nâhiyes* see: D. Amedoski, V. Petrović, G. Garić Petrović, 'The Koznik District (Nâhiye) in Central Serbia in the Sixteenth Century: Settlements and Population Dynamics', *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, **17**, 1&2 (2011), 1-19; D. Amedoski, 'Demografske promene u nahiji Bovan kao primer depopulacije Rumelije u 16. veku', *Istorijski časopis* **59** (2010), 225-241.

72. In the sandjaks of Smederevo, Kruševac, Zvornik and Vidin *cizye* and *ispenca* were related to each man, and in Timisoara *vilâyet* to the household, regardless of its size. S. Katić, 'Kneževačko Potisje pod turskom vlašću', in *Istorijski časopis* (Novi Kneževac, 2003), 150.

73. Amedoski, Petrović, Garić Petrović, 'The Koznik District', 14-18.

74. Katić, 'Kneževačko Potisje', 151.

75. B. Hrabak, 'Kuga u balkanskim zemljama pod Turcima od 1450 do 1600 godine', *Istorijski glasnik* **1-2** (1957) 27-29; Michael W. Dols, 'The Second Plague Pandemic and Its Recurrences in the Middle East 1347-1894', *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient* **22**, 2 (1979), 186.

76. *BBA*, TD 428, s. 3.

77. Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, vol. 1 (Beograd, 1902), 154.

vlahs. Twelve years earlier, in the summary register of the Sandjak of Kruševac, population with the vlach status was registered as imperial has in 82 settlements of the Kruševac *nâhiye*. Some of them were obliged to taxes related to land cultivation in 45 villages and 12 *mezra'as*. They have not been living in the distinct area and their villages were mixed with the settlements populated by *re'âya* and *ratays*⁷⁸. Consequently, there was no precisely defined borderline between the Kruševac and Zagrlata *nâhiyes* (see Figure 5).

In the 1516 registry, the majority of settlements (over 85 percent) with a vlach population were recorded as an imperial has. Afterwards they were listed within the Zagrlata *nâhiye*. However, 29 villages (out of 45) where vlahs were paying taxes were registered in the summary register of the Sandjak of Kruševac from 1530. These records contain only settlement names and values of income or notes on cultivation from outside. Most of villages were still related to the Kruševac *nâhiye*, while five of them were registered in the Koznik *nâhiye* and one in Bovan and Prokuplje *nâhiyes*⁷⁹. Even though in 1530 in some villages only incomes were registered, or they were noticed as *mezra'as*, it does not mean that they were actually depopulated during the period between the census of vlahs and the land survey conducted two years later. The enumerator listed them in the land registry because they were a source of certain incomes recorded in that type of administrative documentation. In these villages, except for Pozlata, Omašnica and Sezemča, population was listed again in the next detailed register from 1536, only with the new *re'âya* status⁸⁰.

All settlements were grouped in three rather unique territorial units – principalities (*knežine*) – under the authority of *knezes* Radosav, *Cafer* and Božidar. The largest territory belonged to Radosav. It consisted of 57 villages located in the eastern part of the *nâhiye*, in the Zdravinje and Kaonik notches. Radosav had direct command over 35 vlach households in 9 villages, as well as 31 *primikurs*. Villages in the south part of the Kruševac basin constituted principality under the command of *knez* Cafer. He was in charge of 82 vlach households in the villages of Stanišince, Donja Okruglica, Šogolj, Leskovicica and Golubovac. The settlements located along the Rasina River, between Jankova gorge and estuary of Modrička River, belonged to the *knežina* of *knez* Božidar. In 1528, 20 settlements, 220 vlach households and 9 *primikurs* were registered in this *knežina*. Three villages with eight vlach households belonged to *knez* himself.

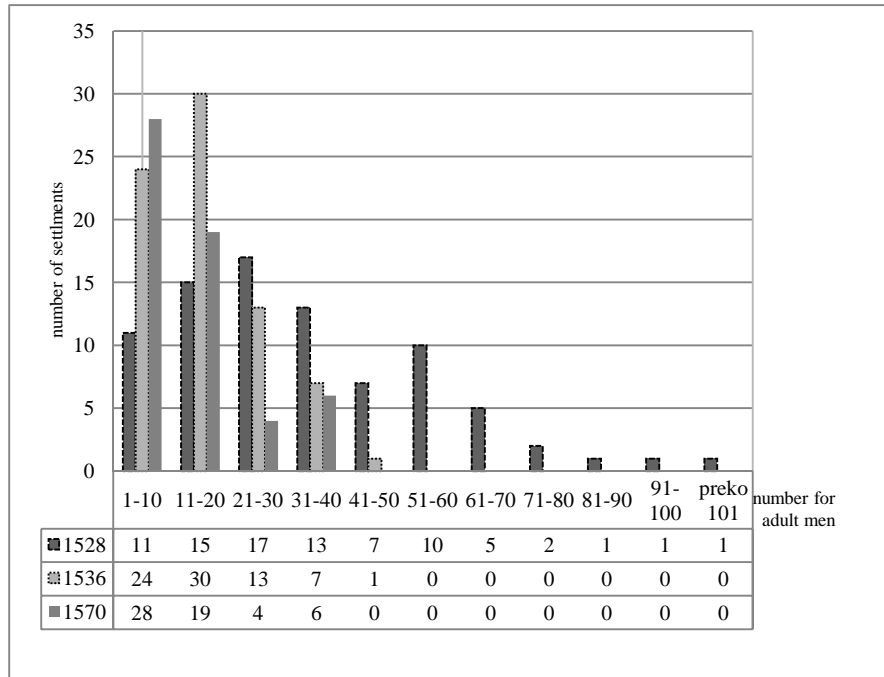
78. BBA, TD 1011, s. 1001-1043.

79. 167 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet- Rûm-ili defteri (937/1530), s. 403-412, 419-427, 444-446.

80. BBA, TD 179, s. 166-202.

During the period between 1528 and 1536 censuses, number of settlements in Zagrlata *nâhiye* was lowered by 15 percent. In the coming period, the trend of population decline continued. Consequently, in 1570, in the Zagrlata *nâhiye* there were 57 villages – 65 percent of number registered in 1528. At the same time, share of small settlements increased. Therefore, almost half of the settlements have had less than 10 adult males (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Distribution of settlements as per number of grown up man in the years 1528, 1536 and 1570



Data on abandoned villages, whose *re'âya* moved and fled away, are recorded in several registers of the Sandjak of Kruševac. Some of these settlements were re-inhabited and revived by migrants. Such villages in the Zagrlata *nâhiye* are Vrbak, Stari Lug, Donje Meševo, Manastir Luka, Gornja and Donja Bukovica, Šavrani and Štitare⁸¹. Population inhabiting abandoned settlements would be exempted from diwan levies and custom duties (e.g. see notes related to the villages of Stari Lug, Šavrani and Štitare)⁸².

Some of abandoned villages in the Zagrlata *nâhiye* were re-inhabited as *derbends*. Their inhabitants paid taxes under the *derbenci* custom, and they

81. Vasić, 'Stanovništvo Kruševačkog sandžaka', 54.

82. Idem, 56.

were excluded from *avâriz* and *tekâlif*. For example, Gornji and Donji Vrbak, in Zagrlata *nâhiye* were located on the crossing of the „emperor’s road“ (*şâh râh*) leading from Istanbul to Smederevo, Belgrade and the Sandjak of Bosnia, and the road connecting Nikopolj to Herzegovina and Zvornik, which they were supposed to guard. Since *harâmis* from Kučajna Mountain were attacking the village, it was very dangerous place, and exempted from *harâç*, tax on small cattle and taking children to Janissary Corpse⁸³.

Economy

According to 1536 registry of the Sandjak of Kruševac, agricultural production represented the dominant economic activity. Even though vlachs are commonly seen as cattle-breeders, registry data show somehow different picture⁸⁴. Their employment in crop-cultivation and viticulture resulted in the production equal to average production per household⁸⁵ in the Sandjak as a whole, being evidence of the long-term agricultural activity and used skills. The most developed agricultural branches were field-crop cultivation, pig farming and viticulture. Data from 1536 register shows that during the first half of the sixteenth century the basic economic activities of the population in the Zagrlata *nâhiye*, despite a certain demographic decline and changed status, were production of cereals, honey, wax, wine, and pork meat. In contrast, there are only a few data available on sheep and goat breeding since taxes on breeding of small cattle belonged to the Fisk and therefore recorded in special books (*agnâm defteri*)⁸⁶.

The inclusion of the Zagrlata *nâhiye* into the Sandjak of Kruševac and the abolishment of the vlach status resulted in the subjection of its population to obligations related to the *re’âya* status. These obligations consisted of *öşür* and *salarî* levied on grains and wine, as well as taxes and tithes of other agricultural products. Based on the records from the 1536 and 1570 registers we are able to draw some conclusions about the agricultural production, as well as to calculate its economic wheat equivalent⁸⁷.

83. Idem, 67.

84. During reconnaissance of Jastrebac in 1985, researchers from Institute for Balkan Studies SASA and Brooklyn College did not find any traces of summer pasture habitats. A. Palavestra, ‘Pozlatska reka i Globoder’, 198.

85. In this case, the term household refers to a simple-family (one married couple).

86. This tax was not a free tax but *defteri* income. As such, it could belong only to those persons whose names were recorded in *berats* or *defters*. Since it was not the case with Zagrlata, *agnâm defteri* was collected solely for the Fiscus. More on this tax see: H. Hadžibegić, ‘Porez na sitnu stoku i korišćenje ispaša’, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 8-9 (1958-1959), 63-109.

87. All further calculations are based on records from *BBA, TD 179* and *BBA, TD 567*.

The method of tax collection is specified in the *Berât with instruction for census in the Sandjak of Smederevo* dated from the late fifteenth century. The part related to that reads, “In every place, a *kadi*, *subaşı*, landowners and their representatives, and village-heads should come before two of my *emîns*. From the village, homesteads, land, vineyards, garden, mills and other sources of revenue and from the persons and individuals, according to the abovementioned explanation, everything under the administration of a single place, mentioned *emîns* should record according to its condition and reality, they are ordered. Let nothing remain hidden or disguised.”⁸⁸ Assuming that this practice continued during the sixteenth century, a part of production given as *öşür* and *salarî* allow us to make a rather realistic estimation of total yield at the time of each survey.

The prices of certain products, which were recorded in each registry, represent a three-year average of local prices, according to which a total income of each *tîmâr* was determined. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the *tîmâr* incomes were determined by *emîns* who entered values in *defters*. From the late fifteenth century on, *tîmâr* incomes were recorded after the royal command on prices, issued after the insight into the three-year average local prices. Misrepresentation, abuse and injustice against the *re'âya* withdrew the strictest punishment⁸⁹.

Assuming that this practice continued during the sixteenth century, a part of production given as *öşür* and *salarî* allow us to make a rather realistic estimation of total yield at the time of each survey. Since the registers of the Sandjak of Kruševac do not have *kânûns* it was necessary to look at the law of the neighboring Sandjak of Smederevo dated from 1536 and *Kanun-nama* of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in order to obtain a definition of *öşür* and *salarî*. According to the law of the Sandjak of Smederevo from 1536, the *salarî* was no longer fixed and tied to the property (1/2 *lukno*⁹⁰ of wheat and 1/2 *lukno* of barley)⁹¹. Its amount was equaled with the same tax in the rest of the Empire where *öşür* was ‘one part to seven and one part to eight.’⁹² Given that, in the Sandjak of Smederevo and in the Sandjak of Kruševac

88. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 99. The same method was applied in the rest of the Empire. More on that see: H. İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, Volume 1* (Cambridge, 1994), 132-139.

89. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 98.

90. *Lukno* is a Serbian medieval measure. In was equal to 140 istanbul *okkas* or 179.2 kg. D. Bojanić, ‘Prelaz sa srednjovekovnih težinskih i površinskih mera na turske mere u severnoj Srbiji’, in *Mere na tlu Srbije kroz vekove* (Beograd, 1974), 92, 98.

91. According to D. Bojanić the tax of 1/2 *lukno* of wheat and 1/2 *lukno* of barley represented a substitute for *salarî*. It was an old medieval tax known as *soće*. In later Ottoman documents, it was noted under the name of *hirepun* (*r'pin*). D. Bojanić, ‘O srpskoj baštini i soću u turskim zakonima’, *Istorijski časopis* 20 (1973) 177; D. Bojanić, ‘Prelaz’, 98.

92. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 41.

öşür collected in grains of wheat, barley, millet and rye was 10 percent and the *salarî* was 2.5 percent of yield, representing together 12.5 percent, or 1/8 of the total production. At the same time, only *öşür* was levied on other grains, lentils, flax, hemp, and fruits, as well as on vegetables that were grown outside the backyard. The tax on wine was 13.3 percent representing the total of *öşür* and *salarî*. The tithe of hives was 10 percent, while the tax on hogs was one *akçe* per two pigs⁹³.

In 1536, in the Zagrlata *nâhiye*, 3,325 *himls*⁹⁴ or 511.84 tons of various grains were collected as *öşür* and *salarî* indicating the total grain production of 28,339 *himls* or 4362.39 tons. Average production of cereals per household⁹⁵ expressed in the economic wheat equivalent (e.w.e.) was 2,070.29 kg.⁹⁶ Three and a half decades later, the total grain production was 2,894.46 tons, or only 66 percent of the total production recorded in 1536. The average production per household of 1,516.34 kg of e.w.e. was still high, although in the meantime, in the Sandjak of Kruševac the ratio of wheat price to prices of other cereals had changed drastically. Consequently, we have changed the factor 0.7 applied for the conversion of the value of grain in 1536 to 0.48 for the conversion of the value of grain in 1570⁹⁷.

The main product was wheat with 1,189 *himls* or 183 tons of *öşür* and *salarî*. It was followed by barley and *mahlût* (mixed grains). Three and a half

93. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 85-86. Hadžibegić, 'Kanun-nama Sulejmana Zakonodavca', 336-337, 340.

94. According to the *Kanun for vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo* from 1528, one *himl* was equal to 5 *kiles*, and one *kile* to 20 *okkas*. After the inclusion of Zagrlata into the Sandjak of Kruševac, *himl* was set to 6 *kiles* or 153.936 kg, as can be seen by comparing the prices recorded in the 1536 registry.

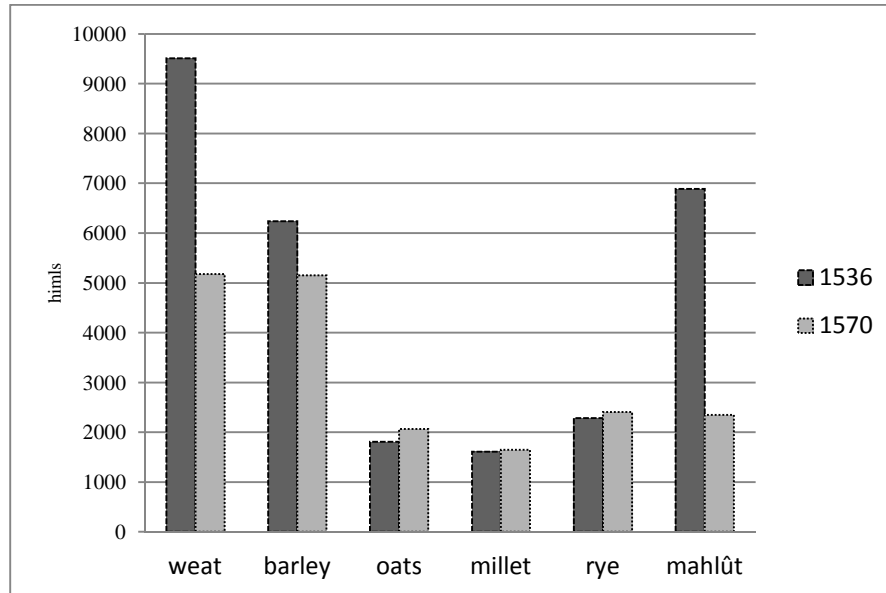
95. In this case, a household represents *hâne* from cadastral records, i.e. married man with a biological family and the closest single relatives. In addition, the total number of households includes widow households, and Muslim houses, which were separately listed.

96. In this case, the economic wheat equivalent has been obtained using the method that B. McGowan had applied on the sandjaks of Srem, Smederevo, Szeged and Djula. McGowan, 'Food Supply and Taxation', 167. In 1536, the average production of grains per household, before deduction of *öşür*, *salarî*, and seed and milling losses was 4,553.64 kg. In 1570, it was 4207.06 kg. A typical village in the Sandjak of Smederevo had an average production of 3,400 kg of grains in 1560. E. Miljković, 'Seoska privreda u Smederevskom sandžaku', *Istorijski časopis* 48 (2001), 125.

97. B. McGowan used factor 0.7 for calculation of the e.w.e. of grain production in the 1568-1570 years. It represents a present-day index for the Middle East region according to the FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations). Using that same factor for comparison, we have obtained the average household production of 1892.61 kg e.w.e, which is greater than the average production in the neighboring Sandjak of Smederevo (1,278 kg) as well as in two northern sandjaks, Srem (1682.4 kg) and Szeged (1762.2 kg), while significantly lower than in the Sandjak of Djula (2710.8 kg). McGowan, 'Food Supply and Taxation', 187, 189, 193, 195. Factor 0.7 represents the ratio of wheat price to price of other cereals recorded in the register from 1536. However, in 1570 the wheat price increased disproportionately in relation to the price of other grains. See: *BBA, TD 179* and *BBA, TD 567*.

decades later, the production of wheat and barley became equal and the production of *mahlût* decreased to only 11 percent of the total grain production (See Figure 4). In 1536, the largest production of grain was recorded in the village of Loznac with a total production of 188 tons. Globoder, Rogočina, Srednje Suhotno, and Srndalje followed it.

Figure 4: Crop pattern in Zagrlata nâhiye according to the 1536 and 1570 censuses.



In the Zagrlata *nâhiye* viticulture and wine production were also developed and recorded in all villages except Vrbak and Kačapor. In 1536, 14,373 *akçes* were collected as *öşür* and *salarî* on a grape must. The total production in that same year was 18,011.2 *medres*⁹⁸ in the *nâhiye* as a whole. At the same time, the average production per household was 18.8 *medres*. The highest absolute production was recorded in the village of Loznac (10,795.77 *medres*) while the village of Staronoge had the highest production of grape must per household (135.34 *medres*). Over the next three dec-

98. There are no relevant records defining the size of a *medre* in the Sandjak of Kruševac. It varied in different parts of the Empire. In the Sandjak of Smederevo the Kanun from 1560 set up its size on 56.5 liters (44 *okkas*). Bojanić, *Turski zakoni*, 56. A standard istanbul *medre* was 10.256 liters. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 45-46; İnalçik, *An Economic and Social History*, xl. Taking in consideration that the price of one *medre* of *şira* was 6 *akçes*, we can fairly assume that the standard istanbul *medre* was used in the Sandjak of Kruševac.

ades, the production of wine in Zagrlata fell to 3962.4 *çaburs*⁹⁹ (15849.6 *medres*) representing 88 percent of the 1536 production. At the same time, the average production per household rose by 23.4 percent and amounted 5.8 *çaburs*.

Besides crop-farming and viticulture, a considerable production of honey, wax, vegetables, lentil and hemp as well as pork meat was recorded in the Zagrlata *nâhiye*. In Zagrlata *öşür* of hives and tax on pigs represented about 4.8 percent of total agricultural revenues in 1536 and 3.4 percent in 1570. In 1536, 1,993 *akçes* were collected as pig tax indicating that the total number of pigs was close to 4,000, or more than four pigs per household. Thirty years later, the amount of same tax was 1,110 *akçes*, or lower by 44 percent. The total number of pigs was 2,220 and the average number of pigs per household fell to 3.2. During the same period, the amount of tithe on hives changed much less, from 2,438 *akçes* in 1536 to 2,070 *akçes* in 1570.

The general trend observed is a decrease in agricultural production, which had several causes. One of them is certainly the population declined of 37 percent during 1536-70 resulting in abandonment of arable land, the phenomenon recorded by many travelers who have passed the central part of the Balkan Peninsula, especially those who used the roads in the valleys of the Velika Morava and Toplica rivers¹⁰⁰. The decline in a wine production, as well as crop pattern changes, was not unique to the Zagrlata *nâhiye* and the Sandjak of Kruševac. Significant changes in agricultural production have been reported in other parts of the Balkans. They were the result of a climate change, which represented an introduction to the Little Ice Age in the 17th century¹⁰¹.

99. In the 1570 census, the *öşür* and *salarî* on a grape must were recorded in *çaburs*. As the price of one *medre* of must was 6 *akçes* and the price of one *çabur* 24 *akçes*, it is evident that the size of one *çabur* was four times the size of one *medre*. Compare BBA, TD 179 to BBA, TD 567.

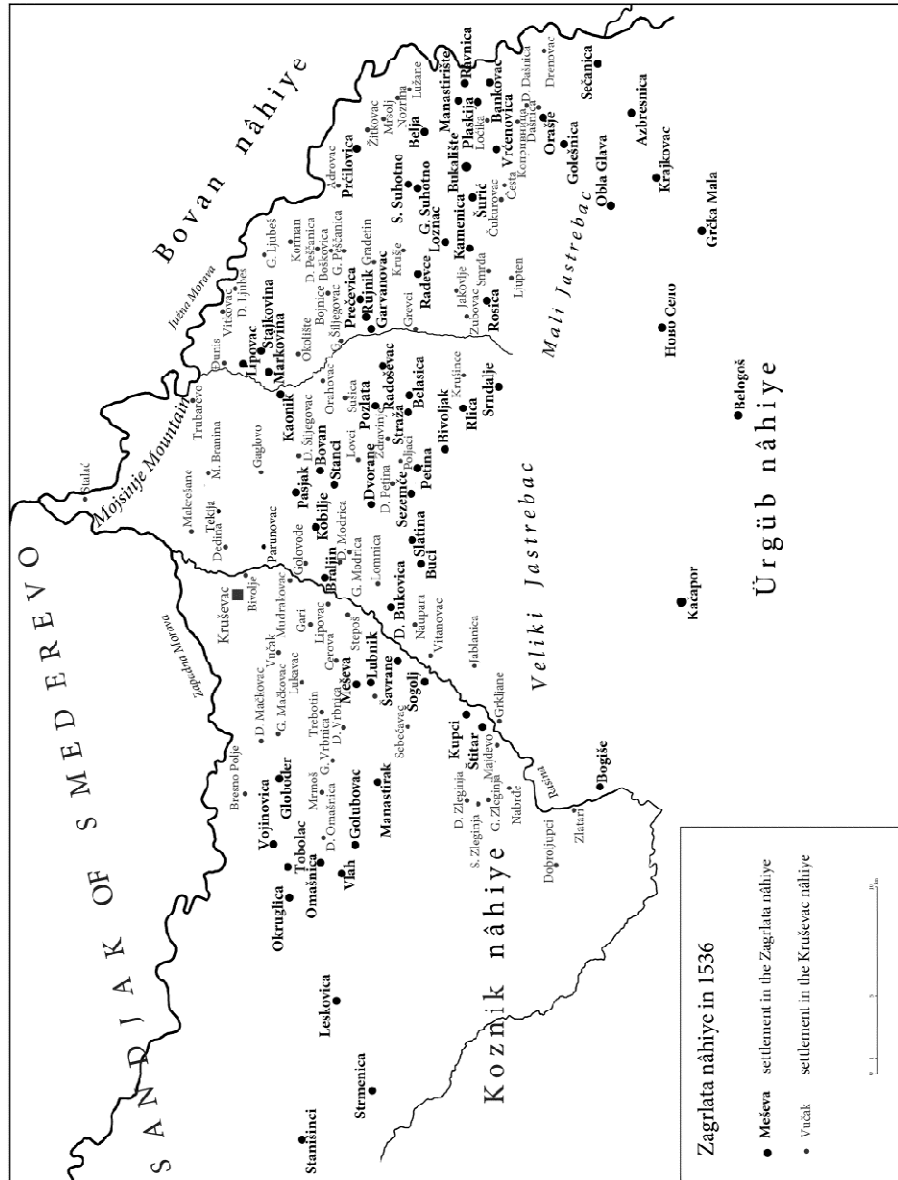
100. Particularly interesting is the difference between the description of Serbia from 1530 written by Kuripešić and descriptions written by travelers in the second half of sixteenth century. According to Kuripešić Serbia is a very fertile land in which various kinds of grain grow in a great abundance. On the other hand, travelers from the later period wrote about abandon fields and vineyards, and deserted and overgrown lands. B. Hrabak, 'Putnici iz hrišćanske Evrope o privrednim prilikama u slovenskim zemljama na Balkanu pod Turcima u XVI veku', *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Prištini* 6 (1969), 6, 11.

101. See: J. Mrgić, 'Wine or Raki - The Interplay of Climate and Society in Early Modern Ottoman Bosnia', *Environment & History* 17, 4 (2011), 613-637.

Table 2: Agricultural production in the Zagrlata nâhiye in 1536 and 1570

Product	1536				1570			
	Total production		Average household production		Total production		Average household production	
	<i>akçes</i>	kg e.w.e	<i>akçes</i>	kg e.w.e	<i>akçes</i>	kg e.w.e	<i>akçes</i>	kg e.w.e
wheat	228.288	1.464.238,755	238,30	1528,43	259.000	797.389,24	376,45	1159,00
barley	112.248	719.958,4373	117,17	751,52	128.800	396.539,52	187,21	576,37
oats	21.720	139.312,0346	22,67	145,42	41.300	127.151,26	60,03	184,81
millet	28.944	185.646,7555	30,21	193,79	41.200	126.843,39	59,88	184,37
rye	41.184	264.154,0899	42,99	275,73	60.200	185.339,12	87,50	269,39
<i>mahlût</i>	123.930	794.886,7609	129,36	829,74	58.750	180.874,97	85,39	262,90
total of grains	556.314	3.568.196,833	580,70	3724,63	569.240	1.752.532,25	827,38	2547,29
cab-bage	5.730	36.752,20802	5,98	38,36	6.110	18.811,00	8,88	27,34
lentil	3.350	21.486,893	3,50	22,43	3.400	10.467,66	4,94	15,21
onion	1.650	10.583,09655	1,72	11,05	2.850	8.774,36	4,14	12,75
fruits	680	4.361,518578	0,71	4,55	760	2.339,83	1,10	3,40
wine	108.066	693.135,098	112,80	723,52	95.098	292.780,39	138,22	425,55
hemp	4890	31.364,44978	5,10	32,74	5.970	18.379,98	8,68	26,72
flax	2700	17.317,79435	2,82	18,08	300	923,62	0,44	1,34
total	683.380	4.383.197,891	713,34	4575,36	705.538	2.172.156,03	1.025,49	3157,20

Figure 5: Zagrlata nâhiye in 1536



Conclusion

Area, to which medieval and Ottoman records refer as Zagrlata, in its widest scope encompassed parts of Kruševac valley around downstream flow of the Rasina River, left coast of the South Morava in the Aleksinac valley, as well as Zdravinje and Kaonik notches extending between Jastrebac and Mojsinje mountains. The earliest reference to *župa* Zagrlata is found in the Establishing Charter of the Hilandar Monastery issued by Simeon the Monk (Stephen Nemanja). More information on this area and its settlements brings the Charter of the Drenča Monastery from 1382. During the Serbian-Turkish war in 1425-1427, the territory of Zagrlata found itself within the Ottoman Empire, for the first time and finally fell under the Turkish rule in 1453.

The Zagrlata *nâhiye* was established as a vlach *nâhiye* within the Sandjak of Smederevo. Vlach *nâhiyes* represented specific military-administrative units that encompassed the same area as regular *nâhiyes*, consisting of settlements populated by inhabitants with the vlach status. In the period up to 1530, the Zagrlata *kazâ* was established as a separate *kazâ* belonging to the Sandjak of Smederevo.

The majority of population in the Zagrlata *nâhiye* was made up of Christian Serbs, enjoying the vlach status. Vlachs had had a certain role in the military organization of the medieval Serbian army, which they have kept even after the Ottoman conquering. Alike other members of military and auxiliary divisions in the Ottoman Empire, vlachs enjoyed tax reliefs, which were related to their military service.

Supreme military commander of vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo was the sandjakbeg of Smederevo. He was subordinating vlach principals, *knezes* and *primikures*, who were leading vlach troops during wartime. The vlach principals were also responsible for order maintenance in the whole sandjak, as well as for collection of *filuri* (tax on vlach households) and finding fugitives.

According to the 1528 census of vlachs in the Sandjak of Smederevo, in the Zagrlata *nâhiye* the total number of households was 1252. There were also 41 *vaqfs*, one *çiflik*, three *mukâta'as* and seven monasteries. In addition, 2976 adult males were registered, out of which 1231 as the heads of the families and 1745 *tâbi'as*. Knowing total number of adult males, the size of the population in Zagrlata *nâhiye* is estimated at 9000. Several legislative acts related to vlachs favored development and preservation of multiple-family households. Consequently, families within the population with the vlach status were in a certain degree larger than families of other status groups.

Soon after the abolition of the vlach status in the Sandjak of Smederevo, and including the Zagrlata *nâhiye* within the Sandjak of Smederevo, a process of intensive population decrease started. After the Ottoman penetration

in the Central Europe had taken place, the Sandjak of Kruševac lost its status of a bordering sandjak. A part of its population, as vlachs, also lost their privileges. On the other hand, in newly conquered unpopulated territories, a favorable tax policy attracted many colonists from different areas of the northwestern Balkans. Besides Ottoman conquests and emigration to newly-conquered territories, the plague epidemics also influenced depopulation in some *nâhiyes* of the Sandjak of Kruševac.

According to the 1528 census of the Sandjak of Smederevo, the Zagrlata *nâhiye* consisted of 88 settlements with village status populated by vlachs. There was no precisely defined borderline between the Kruševac and Zagrlata *nâhiyes*. All settlements were grouped in three rather unique territorial units – principalities (*knežine*) – under the authority of *knezes* Radosav, Caf'er and Božidar.

According to 1536 register of the Sandjak of Kruševac, agricultural production represented the dominant economic activity. Even though vlachs are commonly seen as cattle-breeders, register data show somehow different picture. The most developed agricultural branches were field-crop cultivation, pig farming and viticulture. The abolishment of the vlach status resulted in the subjection of its population to obligations related to the *re'âya* status.

The general trend observed is a decrease in agricultural production, which had several causes. One of them is certainly the population declined of 37 percent during 1536-70 resulting in abandonment of arable land. These changes in agricultural production have been reported in other parts of the Balkans. They were the result of a climate change, which represented an introduction to the Little Ice Age in the 17th century.

SUMMARY

Authors present, relying on Serbian medieval records, as well as on Ottoman land registries (*Tapu Tahrir Defterleri*) and *kânûns* (legislative acts), inclusion of Serbian medieval *župa* Zagrlata into the Ottoman administrative and territorial organization. Paper analyzes mentioned territory from Middle Ages until the end of 16th century. During that period the majority of population in Zagrlata enjoyed the privileged vlach status related to military service. At the beginning of the fourth decade of sixteenth century, their service was abolished as well as their privileges and they were classified as *re'âya*. Crop-farming, viticulture, herding pigs, production of honey and wax represented the main economic activities.