

# Voynuk or Askerî? The Transformation of the Voynuk Landholdings into Askerî Çiftlik in the Context of the Ottoman Socio-Economic History

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The Ottoman ruling class, called askeri, included military and administrative officers, court officials, religious class and those occupied in the educational system. As state agents they were involved, one way or another, in the control and taxation of the agrarian land (miri), of which the state was the ultimate owner<sup>1</sup>.

Several documents related to different territories in the Ottoman Empire demonstrate that during 16<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> century some members of the Ottoman elite took part in the land use and local rural economy to turn to profit creating çiftlik, usually producing for the market. In this way, the land-holder invested some of his assets in this çiftlik and the agricultural production which was realized on the market as a source of his personal wealth<sup>2</sup>.

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1 Halil Inalcık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society", *Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. Halil Inalcık and Donald Quataert, Cambridge University Press, New York 1994, s. 16-17; Halil Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age (1300-1600)*, London 1973, s. 76-193; Peter Sugar, "Ottoman Social and State Structure", *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman rule, 1354-1804*, ed. Peter Sugar and Donald Treatgold, University of Washington Press, USA 1977, s. 31-40.

2 There are numerous studies and books focusing on the *askeri çiftlik* in the Balkans: Avdo Sućeska, "O nastanku čiflika u našim zemjama", *Godišnjak društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, godina XVIII, 1968-1969; Bruce McGowan, "Çiftlik Agriculture and Fiscal Practice in Western Macedonia, 1620-1830", in: Idem, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe. Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land 1600-1800*, USA 1981, s. 121 - 172; Michael Ursinus, "The Çiftlik Sahibleri of Manastir as a Local Elite, Late Seventeenth to Early Nineteenth Century", *Provincial elites in the Ottoman Empire. Halcyon Days in Crete V. A Symposium Held in Rethymno*, ed. A. Anastasopoulos, 10-12 January 2003, Rethymno: Crete University Press, 005, s. 247-256; Traian Stoianovich, "Land Tenure and Related Sectors on the Balkan Economy, 1600-1800", *The Journal of Economic History*. XIII, N 4, 1953; Евгени Радусев, *Аграрните институции в Османската империя през XVII-XVIII век*, София 1995, [Evgeni Radushev, *Agrarnite Institutsii v Osmanskata Imperiya prez XVII-XVIII vek*, Sofia 1995], s. 135 -147; Вера Мутафчиева, "Към въпроса за чифлиците в Османската империя през XIV-XVIII век", *Исторически Преглед (ИПР)* N 1, 1958 [Vera Mutaftchieva, "Кам въпроса за чифлиците в Османската империя през XIV-XVIII век", *Istoričeski Pregled*, N 1, 1958], s. 34-57; Страшимир Димитров, "Към историята на чифликчийството в Русенско", *Исторически*

In fact, according to the law the lands cultivated by the askeri were taxable<sup>3</sup> which means that the existence of such lands was a standard practice<sup>4</sup>. The land law did not restrain the representatives of the askeri class from possessing agrarian holdings<sup>5</sup> but the timar system was one of fragmented possession where the state, the sipahi and the peasant had simultaneous rights of control over the land. The sipahi who held the timar had some rights of control over the land, and was in this capacity termed 'land-owner'. Actually, the sipahi received from the state not the land itself but the authority to collect a fixed amount of state revenue from the reaya who cultivated the land. The central government granted him the rights over the land in order to guarantee his income. In this Ottoman socio-economic model where the rights and obligations of the state, the askeri and the reaya were strongly regulated, the askeri members were who served in the Ottoman military and administrative institutions, enforced the state's laws and controlled the cultivation and the transactions concerning the miri lands<sup>6</sup>. Thus, the use and cultivation of miri lands by the askeri class was not typical either for their social status and duties, or for the Ottoman socio-economic model.

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*Преглед* N 4, 1958 [Strashimir Dimitrov, "Kam vaprosa za chiflikhiystvoto v Rusensko", *Istoricheski Pregled*, N 4, 1958]; Христо Гандев, *Зараждане на капиталистическите отношения в чифлишкото стопанство в Северозападна България през XVIII век*, София, 1962 [Hristo Gandev, *Zarazhdane na kapitalisticheskite otnošenija v chiflishkoto stopanstvo v Severozapadna Balgariya prez XVIII vek*, Sofia, 1962]; Цветана Георгиева, *Пространство и пространства на българите XV-XVII век*, София 1999 [Tsvetana Georgieva, *Prostranstvo i prostranstva na balgarite, XV-XVII vek*. Sofia 1999], s. 185-188; Idem, *Еничарите в българските земи*, София 1988 [Enicharite in bulgarskite zemi, Sofia 1988], s. 173-192; Стефка Първева, *Земята и хората през XVII и първите десетилетия на XVIII век*, София 2011 [Stefka Parveva, *Zemiyata i horata prez XVII i parvite desetiletija na XVIII vek*, Sofia, 2011], p.140-160, s. 375; On çiftliks in the Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire: Yuzo Nagata, *Some Documents on the Big Farms (Çiftliks) of the Notables in Western Anatolia*, Tokyo, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1976, s. 269-290; Halil Inalcık, "The Emergence of Big Farms, Çiftliks: State, Landlords and Tenants", in: Idem. *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, London 1985, s. 108-124; Suraya Faroqhi, "Wealth and Power in the Land of Olives: Economic and Political Activities of Mürîdzade Hacı Mehmed Agha, Notable of Edremit", *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East*, ed. Çağlar Keyder, Faruk Tabak, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999, s. 77-96, etc.

3 ,...if government officials or various military officers cultivated lands pertaining to a timar they should pay *üşur* (tithe) and *resm-i çift* (land-tax)...'-Agrarian land from 1609.'-Гълъб Гълъбов, Бистра Цветкова (съст.) *Турски извори за историята на правото по българските земи (ТИИПБЗ)*, т. I, София 1961 [Galab Galabov, Bistra Tsvetkova, *Tutski izvori za pravoto po bulgarskite zemi (TIIPBZ)*, vol. 1, Sofia 1961], s. 129.

4 Първева, *Земята и хората*, s. 41; Радусhev, *age*, s. 142.

5 The representatives of the askeri class did not pay taxes with the exception of the cases when they cultivated reaya çiftliks or lands. Първева, *Земята и хората*, s. 41.

6 Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age*, s. 109-110.

Although the act of hold on miri lands and their cultivation was in addition to the obligations and official duties of the representatives of the Ottoman elite, from a large number of documents we understand that the askeri acquired agrarian lands by sale transactions or by illegal methods. Thus, they founded extensive and market-orientated farms, which we termed askeri çiftlik<sup>7</sup>.

The research works on the askeri farms give evidences of different ways and methods used by the askeri for acquiring miri or mülk lands<sup>8</sup>. Besides, a local specific of the process of the çiftlik-formation<sup>9</sup> related to the transformation of voynuk holdings (baştinas) into askeri çiftlik can be also found.

The voynuks were one of the biggest and the most long-life categories in the Ottoman society with special status and specific obligations who had right of use of land with tax exemption and these lands were a chance for the askeri class to establish their çiftlik. Though they are worth a special attention, they haven't been fully investigated yet.

The origin of the askeri çiftlik from voynuk baştinas as a specific and long-lasting process can be found out only in a limited territory such as the region of Sofia where a concentration of a great number of voynuk baştinas can be traced during 16<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although the voynuk corps lived in other Balkan territories, as well, such a transformation of the voynuk baştinas into askeri çiftlik is rarely detected. Among the Balkan regions which have already been investigated only the documents concerning the sancak of Küstendil<sup>10</sup> supply us with data of a similar process.

- 7 The *askeri çiftlik* can be defined as agricultural and stock-breeding farms which produced mainly for the market.
- 8 There are three basic methods of miri lands acquisition which were used by the askeri for çiftlik-formation-by transaction, tantamount to purchase, by foreclosure on lands given in pawn, and by seizure of lands. McGowan, age., s. 122-124; Paulina Andonova, "Power and Influence of the Ottoman Ruling Class in Landed Property: Askeri Chiflik in the Region of Sofia in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries", *Power and Influence in South-Eastern Europe 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century*, Maria Baramova, Plamen Mitev, Vaniya Racheva, LIT Verlag, Berlin 2013, s. 88-95.
- 9 Andonova, *Power and Influence*, s. 93-94; Паулина Андонова, *Аскери чифлици в българското пространство. Софийската каза през XVII-началото на XIX век* [Paulina Andonova, *Askeri Chiflitsite v balgarskoto prostranstvo. Sofyskata каза през XVII-nachaloto na XIX vek*], Unpublished dissertation. Sofia 2013.
- 10 Кръстьо Йорданов, "Башината като основа на социално-икономическото положение на войнушкото домакинство в Румелия през XV-XVI век", *Проучвания по стопанска история и история на социално-икономическата сфера в Югозападна България*, Мария Кичева (съст.), Югозападен Университет, Неофит Рилски", 2015 [Krstyo Yordanov, "Baschinata kato основа на sotsialno-ikonomichestkoto polozenie na voynushkoto domakinstvo v Rumeliya през XV-XVI vek", *Prouchvaniya po stopanska istoriya i istoriya na sotsialno-ikonomichestkata sfera v Yugozapadna Balgariya*, ed. Mariya Kircheva, Yugozapaden Universitet "Neofit Rilski" 2015], s. 141.

Bearing in mind that the right of use of voynuk baştinas depended on the voynuk duties it is difficult to understand how the representatives of the askeri class acquired such lands without performing the voynuk service? Thus, my research paper aims at shedding light on the organization of askeri çiftlik on voynuk baştinas in order to find out if it was a typical practice and a long-termed process in the region under the investigation. The focus of the paper will be on the mechanism by which the members of the Ottoman elite acquired voynuk baştinas, the conditions of use and taxation of these lands. To find out what the role of such voynuk holdings on the socio-economic activities of the Ottoman elite was the çiftlik components, their size and borderlines will be investigated. Besides, the eco-geographical factors of the villages where the askeri çiftlik were situated, the possible harvest and surplus of the farms will be included in the research. Finally, it will be also interesting for us the social status of the askeri registered as voynuks to be presented.

### Sources

The main sources which supply us with rich information about the voynuk baştinas held by the representatives of the askeri class are the voynuk defters. Four registers<sup>11</sup> covering the period between the early seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries will be involved in the present study. The voynuk defters from the 16<sup>th</sup> century did not give data about Muslim holders of voynuk baştinas which supposes that the process of transformation of such lands into askeri çiftlik probably began from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Actually, the çiftlik-formation in the region of Sofia, as well as in other Ottoman territories, is not typical for the early 16<sup>th</sup> century which means that the practice of incorporation of voynuk lands into askeri farms in the kaza of Sofia coincided with the process of askeri-çiftlik formation.

11 Bulgarian National Library, "St. Cyril and Methodius", Oriental Department (NBKM, Oro) *Cf* 26/31 (Ramadan 1014-29 şaban 1015/10.01. 1606-30.12.1606), The document is published as "Incomplete Register of Baştinas in Sofia, Piro and Pernik", in: *Турски извори за българската история (ТИБИ)*, т. 5. *Документи за войнуците*, Редактор и исторически коментар Бистра Цветкова, София 1974, [*Turski izvori za balgarskata istoriya (TIBI) vol. 5. Dokumenti za voynutsite*, ed. Bistra Tsvetkova, Sofia 1974], p. 197-251; NBKM, Oro *Cf* 26/28 (rabi el-sani 1230/31.03.1815), the document is published as "A Fragment of Register of Voynuks in Kaza Sofia" *Ibid*, p. 335-345; Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler (MAD.d.)*, 537 (29.Z.1131//12.11.1719); BOA, Bab-ı Asafi Defterhane-i Amire Defterleri (*A.DFE.d.*), 0328 (1181//1768).

In addition to the defters, a protocol of a çiftlik sale dated from the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>12</sup> provides us with evidences of the tendency the voynuk lands to be included into askeri farms.

### **The Process of Transformation of Voynuk Holdings into Askerî Çiftliks**

To understand the aspiration of the Ottoman elite for acquiring voynuk lands the legal status of the voynuk baştinas should be presented. The voynuks<sup>13</sup> were among the several categories of Christian population with special duties and status in the Ottoman Empire<sup>14</sup>. Their right on use and cultivation of baştinas which were exempt from tithes and other taxes<sup>15</sup> related to the grain production was the main specificity that differentiated the voynuks from the ordinary Ottoman subjects, the

- 12 Димитър Ихчиев, “Турски документи за правата на чифликчиите” *сп. БИД*, 1910, год. XIV, кн. 1-2, [Dimitar Ichchiev, “Turski dokumenti za pravata na chiflikchiite”, *БИД*, XIV, 1-2, 1910] s. 79.
- 13 Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Burgarlar ve Voynuklar*, Ankara 1989; Гълъб Гълъбов, “Османотурски извори за българската история”, Св.1. Няколко стари османо-турски документи относно войниганите, *Годишник на Софийския Университет, Историко-филологически факултет (ГСУ ифф)*, N 34, 1938 [Galab Galabov, “Osmanoturski izvori za balgarskata istoriya”, vol. 1. Nyakolko stari osmano-turski dokumneti относно voyniganite, *Godishnik na Sofyski Universitet, Istoriko-filologicheski fakultet (GSU iff)*, N 34, 1938], s. 1-69; Вера Мутафчиева, “Към въпроса за положението на войнушкото население”, *Известия на Държавната библиотека “Васил Коларов” за 1952 г.*, 1953, [Vera Mutafchieva, “Kam varprosa za položenieto na voynushkoto naselenie”, *Izvestiya na Daržavnata biblioteka “Vasil Kolarov” za 1952 godina*, 1953], s. 247-276; Бранислав Ђурђев, “О войнуцима са освртом на развој турског феудализма и на питање босанског агалука”, *Гласник Земалског музеја у Сарајеву*. Св.2. Сарајево, 1947, s. 75-137; Алаксандар Стојановски, *Раја со специјални задолженија во Македонија (војнуци, соколари, оџузари и солари)*, Скопје 1990 [Aleksandar Stoyanovski, *Raya so specijalni zadolženija vo Makedonija (voynutsi, sokolari, orizarii solari)*, Skopje 1990], s. 7-79; Кръстьо Йорданов. “Командно-управленски апарат на войнушката институција в българските земи под османска власт през XV-XVI век: йерархична структура, функции и кадрови състав”, *Исторически преглед*, N 3-4, 2012, [Krazyo Yordanov, “Komandno-upravlenski aparat na voynushkata instituciya v balgarskite zemi pod osmanska vlast prez XV-XVI vek: yerarhichna struktura, funktsii i kadrovi sastav”, *Istoricheski Pregled*, N 3-4, 2012], s. 38-85.
- 14 The studies related to these groups are listed in: Елена Грозданова, “Проблемът за т.нар. ‘привилегирована’ рая в историческата книжнина”, in: *България през XV-XVII в. Историкографски изследвания*, София 1987, [Elena Grozdanova, “Problemata za taka narechenata “privilegirovana” raya v istoricheskata knizhnina”, in: *Balgariya prez XV-XVII vek. Istorigrafski izsledvaniya*, Sofia 1987], s. 135-152.
- 15 The tax obligations of the voynuks are investigated in details in Yavuz Ercan. “The Taxes imposed on Voynuks and those from which they were Exempted”, *Revue de Études Sud-Est Européennes*, XXI, Bucarest, 1983, s. 341-348.

reaya<sup>16</sup>. The law defines that the voynuks should not pay the harac, jiziye, ispenç, avariz, bedel-i and adet-i ağnam up to 100 heads<sup>17</sup>. But these privileges were valid as regards the early centuries of the existence of the voynuk corps<sup>18</sup>.

According to the law dated from the 16<sup>th</sup> century the voynuks obtained their holdings only in return and during the time of their office in the State stable. If the voynuks cultivated additional lands outside their baştinas they should pay tithes and ispenç<sup>19</sup>. Besides, as the voynuk baştina was an official holding if another person used and cultivated it he was obligated to pay the voynuk the tithes<sup>20</sup>. Actually, the voynuk baştinas were part of the miri lands as the rayyet çiftlik and baştinas were. But a difference between both of them can be traced out. The voynuk baştina included not only the arable lands and meadows, but also the vineyards, orchards and vegetable gardens, even the house and the court, which for the reaya were a mülk property. It means that the voynuk holdings were closely bound to the office – they could not be sold and succeeded. After the completion of the official duties of the voynuk his lands were given to those who took the office<sup>21</sup>.

That was the legal position but the archival documents show that it did not correspond to the real practice. If the right on voynuk baştina was related to the voynuk service how the representatives of the Ottoman elite acquired them when it is obviously that the latter did not take the office? Besides, some Muslim women, wives and daughters of Ottoman askeri, were also holders of several voynuk baştinas. Although the exact explanation of such situations cannot be given, I will try to trace out the possible mechanism of acquiring the voynuk lands by the askeri and their later transformation into çiftlik.

The voynuk defter from 1606 refers to the list of those voynuks from the kazas of Sofia, Şehirkoj, Berkofça, Iznebol and Breznik, whose service in the Second Sultan's Stable was canceled. In the cases of the voynuk office cancelation it was

16 Стојановски, op.cit., p. 65.

17 ТИИПБЗ (ТПРВЗ), vol.1, s. 279-282, 286-288, ТИБИ (ТИБ), vol. 5., s. 21, s. 24, s. 34.

18 According to a ferman dated from 1693 the voynuks were obligated with tithes on the vineyards, orchards and vegetable gardens, as well as on the meadows. They should pay 40 akçe per one jerib vineyard and bostan, 15 akçe per one dönüm orchard and meadow. Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda*, s. 112-114; Besides, the ciziye was also imposed from the 18<sup>th</sup> century on. Мутафчиева, *Към въпроса за положението на войнушкото население*, s. 247 - 276.

19 ТИИПБЗ (ТПРВЗ), vol.1, s. 279.

20 *Ibid*, s. 282, s. 286.

21 *Ibid*, s. 286.

possible for the former voynuks to keep their rights on the lands under a special condition which was mentioned in the defter – they were obligated to pay their tithes and other taxes under the maktu system. Besides, the jiziye, ispenç, avariz, bedel-i and adet-i ağnam should be paid as the florijü did – 1000 akçe. The register includes information about the names of the former voynuks in the villages which belonged to the above mentioned kazas and the total sum of their tax-obligation as a fixed sum, maktu. There 26 Muslims, representatives of the askeri class which is obviously from their honorific titles, are also registered as holders of baştinas. It was mentioned that they held the baştinas instead of another person, Christian, who was probably the real office-holder – the real voynuk. There a woman who was Göreci Ali bey's mother was also a holder of baştina (Table 1).

The acquisition of the baştinas from the askeri in the above mentioned cases was facilitated by the voynuk service cancelation. I am prone to think that the State was interested in the tax collection and the social status of the holder of the lands was not important as he was not obligated with the office any more. Thus, the askeri were possible to acquire the empty baştinas or those on which the voynuks were not interested to reserve their rights on. The defter also shows that some of the askeri had two baştinas in one and the same village (Table 1).

But what is interesting here is the drastic difference between the sum paid as maktu by the former Christian voynuks and the sum paid by the 'askeri' voynuks. All the former voynuks with few exceptions paid between 1200 and 1500 akçe for their baştinas. The sum paid by the askeri amounted to approximately 200-300 akçe. We can assume that the total sum listed as an obligation for the Christian voynuks included also the jiziye, ispenç, avariz, bedel-i and adet-i ağnam as it was mentioned at the beginning of the defter (1000 akçe). As representatives of the askeri class the Muslims, mentioned as baştina-holders, cannot be obligated with such taxes and probably they paid only the tithes which amounted to approximately 200 or 300 akçe as a fixed sum for one baştina. These facts allow us to conclude that the Ottoman elite preferred the former voynuk baştinas because of the tax-gathering system – maktu, which was a fixed sum (Table 1).

The other two defters included in the research present data about regular voynuks. The first one from 1719 supplies us with the names of ten representatives of the Ottoman elite who were registered as voynuks or yamaks. Here the components of the baştinas and their size are also mentioned. Some of the askeri held more than one baştina and that was the reason why some of them were listed as a



voynuk and yamak in one and the same günder<sup>22</sup>. In some cases from the name of the voynuk and those of the two yamaks is clear that the holder of the three baştinas was one and the same person (Table 2).

The defter from 1815 presents the names of the voynuks and the villages where their baştinas were located. At the end of the document as a separate list are enumerated the names of the Muslims who also cultivated voynuk baştinas. It is obviously that the overwhelming majority of askeri had two or more holdings in one and the same village (Table 3).

These defters testify that the representatives of the askeri class can be listed as regular voynuks or even yamaks. It is clear that they were registered as members of the voynuk corps without taking a real office. As it is stated in the historiography the voynuk office had already lost its significance during the 18<sup>th</sup> and especially during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most of the privileges of the voynuks were withdrawn after 1693. That was the reason some of the baştinas to be listed as empty which means remained uncultivated. No wonder that some of the voynuks were craftsmen at the same time<sup>23</sup>. Probably, it was the more preferred area of the activity in comparison with the voynuk service<sup>24</sup>.

There are several vacant baştinas included in the defters from 1719 and 1815 which makes me think that the Muslims acquired these vacant lands. In such a situation the State preferred the cultivation of the empty lands on condition that the cultivators would pay the taxes.

On the other side, some researchers stated that even in 1570 Muslims in the sancak of Küstendil were legally allowed to acquire the rights of use and cultivation of

22 The smallest organization unit of the voynuk corps. Стојановски, *аге*, s. 30-31; Кръстьо Йорданов, “Общи наблюдения за устройството на войнушката институция в Румелия и естеството на войнушката служба в държавните конюшни през XVI век според информацията на един османски войнушки регистър от 1528/29 г.”, *Дриновски сборник, т. 8*, Харьков-София 2015 [Krstyo Jordanov, “Obschi nablyudeniya za ustroystvoto na voynushkata institutsiya v Rumeliya I estestvoto na voynushkata služba v daržavnite konyushni prez XVI vek spored informatsiyata na edin osmanski voynushki registar ot 1528/29 godina”], *Drinovski sbornik*, vol 8, Narkov-Sofia 2015], s. 113.

23 See Table 1-there were tailors, fur-dressers, even a priest, etc.

24 In comparison to other regions where voynuks lived the baştinas of the Sofian voynuks were smaller in their size. They were involved in the urban economy and local craft even in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to that, several voynuks from kaza Sofia were registered as *celepkeşân* and were big sheep-breeders. Йорданов, “Бащината като основа на социално-икономическото положение на войнушкото домакинство в Румелия”, s. 146.



baştinas of the voynuks whose service had been repealed. These lands were leased and transferred to the Muslims under the condition that the latter would pay tithes and the other taxes for the grain production due to the Sultans hass<sup>25</sup>. It is possible to accept that examples of a similar practice can also be found in Sofia. The sum paid as a maktu could cover the rent for the lands which were leased by the State to the askeri which supposes that the voynuk baştinas were accessible for the askeri by lawful means controlled by the State.

At this stage it is impossible for me to point out in which cases the askeri cultivated the lands taking the obligation to cover the tithes; when the Muslims used the baştina instead of a real voynuk paying the voynuk as the law stated the tithes; and when these lands were leased by the State. But it is obviously that in all the cases the askeri holder was obligated to cover the tithes and the other taxes for the production no mattering who received them – the voynuk or the State. For the purposes of the present paper it is important to mention that the law and the archival sources testify that the öşür and the taxes related to it were paid in their currency equivalent, and probably they were always paid as a fixed sum.

Another reason for the practice of transforming voynuk baştinas into askeri çiftlikliks are the eco-geographical factors and the dense urban network of the region of Sofia. The district was densely populated with a predominant number of the old villages created during the medieval Bulgarian country<sup>26</sup>. The lack of available agricultural land was determined by the dense settlement structure and that was another reason for the askeri to acquire vacant baştinas which number had increased through the centuries. The latter explains the increased number of the voynuk baştinas occupied by the representatives of the Ottoman elite who had already become more involved into agricultural economy by çiftlik-formation at that time.

In conclusion, the fact that the Ottoman legislation allows voynuk baştinas to be cultivated by people different from voynuks provided that all the taxes would be paid testifies that the representatives of the ruling class actually did not violate the law. Maybe it was a long-lasting practice of the State to lease the vacant voynuk baştinas to the Muslims bearing in mind that the voynuks who served in the State

25 *Ibid*, s. 141.

26 Георгиева, *Пространство и пространства*, s. 97-99; Елена Грозданова, *Българската народност през XVII в. Демографско изследване*, София, Изд. Наука и изкуство 1989 [Elena Grozdanova, *Balgarskata narodnost prez XVII vek. Demografsko izsledvane*, Nauka i Izkustvo, Sofia 1989], s. 92-162.

Stable were the most long-existed group – until the Tanzimat<sup>27</sup>. According to the sources the number of the *baştinas* which were under the control of Muslims increased between the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The long process of the acquisition of *voynuk* lands by the representatives of the ruling class is also proved by the possibility for them to leave these lands as a legacy. No wonder why Muslim women were registered as holders of *voynuk* *baştinas*.

Thus, this practice supplied the State with regular payments which seemed to be the most preferred situation avoiding the increased number of the vacant *baştinas* which provided no profit. The State was interested in the tax collection leaving aside the social and confessional status of the real holder of the *voynuk* *baştinas*. On the other hand, the *askeri* were involved into acquiring *voynuk* lands both for the lack of vacant land suitable for *çiftlik*-formation in the region of Sofia and for the system of *maktu* under which these lands were taxed. In this way the Ottoman elite used and cultivated these lands as a *çiftlik* (Tables 1, 2, 3).

What kind of evidences for the transformation of *voynuk* lands into *askeri* *çiftlik*s provide us the documents with? There is a document in the *kadı*'s records dating from 1662 which indicates that *baştinas* of *voynuks* and *dogancis* were part of *askeri* *chiftlik*s. It is a sale of *askeri* *çiftlik* including five *voynuk* and *doganci* *baştinas*, a watermill, beehives, a great amount of cattle and tools<sup>28</sup>. The protocol testifies that after the transfer of the *voynuk* holdings to the *askeri* they can be sold or inherited.

Actually the *voynuk* *baştina* was part of the *miri* lands although it depended on the *voynuk* service. When the holding was out of the office duties the lands should be treated as the rest *miri* land. It will explain the possibility of the *askeri* to legal transactions which were typical for the *miri* lands – sale or inheritance. But one difference here can be pointed out – the taxes were paid as a fixed sum.

### **Social Status of the 'Askeri' Voynuks**

Totally 59 Muslims holders of *voynuk* *baştinas* during the period between 17<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century are included in the present research work. They were predominantly representatives of the *askeri* class or members of their families. The social status of 10 Muslims cannot be determined due to the absence of a honorific title which will help us for the identification. But it certainly does not

27 Мутафчиева, *Към въпроса за çiftликите*, s. 273.

28 Ихчиев, *аге.*, s. 79.

mean that all of them should be assigned out of the group of the askeri. The high-ranking military and administrative officers bearing the title of Paşa or Ağa, as well as, the low-ranking ones represent the largest group of Muslim voynuks, followed by the askeri occupied in the religious, educational or legal institutions. The officials engaged in the janissary corps predominated among the military and administrative officials (46%). There are also askeri who were charged with administrative or management functions in the voynuk corps (11%). For about half of the askeri was noticed that they were citizens. The fact that they resided in Sofia confirms that they did not cultivated personally the agrarian lands which was typical and what differentiated the askeri çiftliks from the rayyet and voynuk farms (Table 4).

**Table 4:** Social status of the Muslims – holders of voynuk baştinas, 17<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries

High-ranking	Low-ranking	Ulema	Without identification of the social status	Women	Total
14	14	16	10	5	59
24 %	24 %	27 %	17 %	8 %	100 %

The diverse social status of the Muslim holders of voynuk baştinas testifies that both high and low-ranking military and administrative officials, as well as the Ulema were interested in the use and cultivation of voynuk lands. The situation described above does not differ from the overview of the social status of the çiftlik-holders in the Balkan territories between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>29</sup>. The data testifies the strong presence of the janissaries (46%) into the process of the acquiring of voynuk baştinas in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries which is no wonder bearing the mind that they presented the largest group among the çiftlik-holders both in kaza of Sofia and in other Balkan regions. It was a result of their involvement in the economic life in the Ottoman provinces<sup>30</sup>. The existence of the women in the defter from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century shows that the voynuk baştinas had

29 Janissaries were the largest group of çiftlik-holders in Macedonia, Bosnia, North-western Bulgaria: Yuzo Nagata, *Materials on the Bosnian Notables*, Tokyo, 1979, 51-53, Александар Матковски, *Крепостнишството во Македонија*, Скопје, 1978 [Aleksandar Matkovski, *Krepostnishството vo Makedonija*, Skopje, 1978], p. 205-207, p. 340-344; Радушев, *op.cit.*, p. 145, p. 153, p. 157; Гандев, *op.cit.*, p. 281-299; Димитров, *age.*, s. 84

30 Георгиева, *Еничарите*, s. 116-130.

been already transformed into askeri çiftlik until that time and these women were their successors.

### **Components, Size and Borderlines**

Research works related to the voynuk corps in different regions of the Bulgarian lands show that the baştinas in the kaza of Sofia in comparison with other districts were not concentrated in several specific villages but they were spread throughout the region among the rayyet lands<sup>31</sup>. This local specific is due to the dense urban network of Sofia region.

Mapping the villages with baştinas held by the representatives of the Ottoman elite can make the conclusion that they were located in the immediate vicinity of the city of Sofia. Such a location was of a great importance for the askeri farmers because the production could be transported easily and more quickly to the market when the distance was short and when there was a well-kept road next to the agrarian lands. The market orientation of the askeri çiftlik explains the lack of askeri holders of voynuk baştinas in the faraway villages (Figure 1).

Besides, the eco-geographical factors were of a great importance for the effectiveness of agriculture and livestock breeding. The location of the çiftlik under study shows that the choice of the farm locality was closely connected to the local optimum concerning relief, soil and water-supply.

The voynuk baştinas consisted mainly of fields and meadows, and in some cases vegetable gardens, orchards or harmans. The size of the latter was not described in the register and only that of the fields and meadows would be included in the table down. A detailed description of the size of each meadow and field is included in the two defters from the 18<sup>th</sup> century but only one of them which dated from 1768 supplies us with data about the borderlines of the voynuk baştinas which belonged to the representatives of the Ottoman elite. Although only three cases are presented in the table they give us enough data to understand the location and borderlines of the fields and meadows bearing in mind that the rest voynuk baştinas included in the defter had similar borderlines. It is an evidence that such a location was typical for the most of the voynuk holdings (Tables 5 and 6).

The sources show that the fields and meadows were small in size (mostly up to 6 jerib) and that was the reason why all the presented in Table 5 voynuk holdings consisted of more than six fields. Actually, the voynuk lands in kaza Sofia were not

31 Йорданов, *Общи наблюдения*, s. 146-148.

as sizeable as those of the voynuks in the other Balkan regions which is due, on one side, to the sheep-breeding and the relation of the voynuks to the urban economy, and on the other side of the dense populated district.

The analysis of the data concerning the extent and borderlines of the components of the voynuk baştinas held by askeri during the 18<sup>th</sup> century shows that the fields, meadows, and the gardens were scattered in the territory of the land belonged to the villages and they were not adjacent. They bordered upon the fields and meadows which belonged to Christians or Muslims, representatives of reaya and askeri, as well as, in some cases to the waqf lands. (*Table 6*) None of these lands were linked to each other by a common border. This condition is also valid for the rest voynuk baştinas described in the defter from 1768. Actually this applies to the all of the rayyet farms as much as it does to the askeri çiftlik in the region of Sofia, as well as in the most territories of the Balkan province.

These statements suggest that the location of the components of the voynuk baştinas followed the structure of the land belonging to one village during the Ottoman period which was a complex of scattered meadows, fields, vegetable gardens and orchards, vineyards, pastures, etc.<sup>32</sup> Besides, the structure of the village lands supposes that it was almost impossible the components of the voynuk baştinas to have common borders as it was in the cases of the askeri çiftlik<sup>33</sup>.

### **Harvest and Surplus**

The data about the size of the fields included in the baştinas under study allows us to calculate the possible harvest and surplus. It will set out important aspects of the economic activities of the representatives of the Ottoman elite which transformed the voynuk baştinas into askeri çiftlik. According to the studies concerning the voynuk lands in the Bulgarian territories, most of the baştinas of the Sofian voynuks included not only fields, but also meadows and gardens<sup>34</sup>. It means that the grain production and sheep-breeding were the main activities (*Table 7*).

The research work of Stefka Parveva on the agricultural productivity of the rayyet

32 Георгиева, *Пространство*, s. 201-208; Елена Грозданова, *Българската селска община през XV-XVIII век*, София 1979 [Elena Grozdanova, *Balgarskata selska obschina prez XV-XVIII vek*, Sofia 1979], s. 30; Първева, *Земята и хората*, s. 110, s. 131.

33 For the borderlines of the askeri çiftlik in kaza Sofia see Paulina Andonova, "Emergence and Development of Waqf Çiftlik during 16<sup>th</sup>-early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Case of Sofu Mehmed Paşa and his Waqf Çiftlik in the District of Sofia", *Études Balkaniques*, Sofia 2015, LI, N 4, s. 95-105.

34 Йорданов, *Общи наблюдения*, s. 146.

çiftlik in south-western Peloponnese in 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>35</sup> is of a great importance for such calculations. Information about the standards of fertility of cereals in the plain territory at that time, about the kiles of grain which were sown in one çiftlik, about the expected average yield ration of one sown kile and yield ratio of one çift can be obtained from this study.

In the research work the following values of the harvest and surplus received from one average rayyet çiftlik in kaza Anavarin and kaza Arcadia are reconstructed: approximately 16,9 Istanbul kiles of grain were sown in one average çift (80 dönüms), the annual yield was calculated of about 92,5 kiles or 5,5 kiles grain as annual yield ratio were received from one sown kile<sup>36</sup>.

These calculations are valid for a region which was considered to be one of the most fertile in south-western Peloponnese with the respect to the natural and geographical features. Kaza Sofia during 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was a region where the agrarian land was considered also very fertile. Besides, Sofia district had eco-geographical features very similar to those typical for kaza Anavarin and kaza Arcadia at that time. This means that the above mentioned calculations of the harvest and surplus of grain in one average çift in south-western Peloponnese can be accepted as valid for the grain production received from one çift (80 dönüms) in kaza Sofia, as well.

From the data included in some texts in the sources concerning the çiftliks in kaza Sofia during the period under study it is clear that one çift in this region was also equal to 80 dönüms<sup>37</sup>. Another information which can be derived from the documents leads us to the conclusion that kile of Sofia was used as the main measurement of the cereals. According to the 'Law of sancak of Sofia from 1526' one Sofia kile was equal to 52 oki<sup>38</sup> or 66,56 kg<sup>39</sup>. It means that one average çift

35 Първева, *Земята и хората*, s. 155-159; Stefka Parveva, „Agrarian Land and Harvest in South-west Peloponnese in the Early 18th Century”, *Études balkaniques*, N 1, 2003, s. 98-111.

36 In the study is used Itanbul kile which was equal to 20 oki or 25,66 kg. Първева, *Земята и хората*, s. 155-159; Parveva, *Agrarian Land and Harvest*, s. 98.

37 For example in 1566 the çiftliks which belonged to Piri son of Sinan Bey and to Ismail Yeniçeri in the village of Vrabnitsa consisted of two çifts of 80 dönüms (thus the total extent of every çiftlik was 160 dönüms). BOA, *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri (TT. d.)* 539, f. 103.

38 ТИИПБЗ (ТИРВЗ), vol. 1, s. 247.

39 Halil Inalcık, "Weights and Measures", in: Halil Inalcık and Donald Quataert (eds.), *Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, Cambridge University Press, New York 1994, s. 16-17.

of 80 dönüms in kaza Sofia was sown with 6,5 Sofia kiles wheat or other cereals. Thus, the annual yield ratio from the sown seeds should be approximately 2,4 tons of grain.

In order to understand how much the surplus of the produced grain in the baştinas used as askeri çiftliks under study was some other calculations have to be made. We have to deduct the quantity of sowing-seed, and the amount of grain needed as a subsistence minimum for the family of the çiftlik-holder and for the workers. Here 200 kg of grain will be used as a subsistence minimum needed to support one person for one year<sup>40</sup>. The grain needed for the oşur and salariye (the tithe and the adjunct of the grain tithe)<sup>41</sup> in the cases of voynuk baştinas was taxable in its currency equivalent.

Besides, for the needs of the possible harvest calculation the measure used in the voynuk defters – jerib, should be converted into dönüm. Because of the regional specifics of the Ottoman measures and lack of standards valid for all of the territories we cannot calculate the exact correlation. On the basis of different types of Ottoman laws and other sources concerning the measure units Stefka Parveva suggests the proportion 1:2,25 between the jerib and dönüm having in mind that the jerib was the bigger measure<sup>42</sup>.

Concerning all the above mentioned data in Table 7 the quantity of the harvest and surplus received from the agrarian lands in the çiftliks during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century will be reconstructed. Here one important thing should be emphasized. The surplus included in the table should be considered as possible surplus which was sold at the market but after that the value of some additional expenses should be deducted from the received profit. There were other extra taxes and market taxes, expenses connected to the transportation and the tithes which were paid probably as a maktu. All these expenses cannot be calculated as fixed values<sup>43</sup>

40 Първева, *Земята и хората*, s. 154-155; Luben Berov used in his research 220 kg. Любен Беров, “Ролята на задължителните държавни доставки във вътрешната и външната търговия на българските земи през XVI-XIX век”, in: *Из историята на търговията в българските земи през XV-XIX век*, София 1978, [Luyben Berov, “Rolyata na zadalžitelnite dostavki vav vatreshnata i vanshnata targoviya na balgarskite zemi prez XVI-XIX”, in: *Iz Istoriyata na targoviyata v balgarskite zemi prez XV-XIX vek*, Sofiya 1978], s. 130.

41 According to the ‘Law of sancak Sofia’ the quantity is 1:7,5 kiles of harvest. *ТИИПБЗ (ТИРВЗ)*, vol . 1, s. 247.

42 Първева, *Земята и хората*, s. 38- 39.

43 About the extra taxes and expenses related to the grain production and its commercialization see Димитров, *аге.*, s. 87-96; Бистра Цветкова, “Към въпроса за пазарните и пристаничните



which means that they will not be deducted from the grain surplus in the following table.

The data included in the table helps us to conclude that the surplus was between 50 and 70% of the total grain production received in the çiftlik. The surplus of between 3 and 8 tons leads us to believe that four farms produced for the market and probably their holders made nice profits from their agricultural activities. The rest seven land-holdings were not as sizeable ones. But here we have to consider that the askeri who held small-sized baştinas may be holders of other farms which origin was not related to the voynuk baştinas (Table 7). Moreover, we can assume that these lands were not the main askeri land-holdings and we can define them as additional agricultural lands which were profitable taking into account the taxation.

This suggestion is also evident from the document concerning the sale of the askeri çiftlik which consisted of five voynuk and doganci baştinas<sup>44</sup>. Only the voynuk lands are visible from the voynuk defters and not all the components of the askeri çiftlik can be reconstructed from this type of documents. As it is clear from the sources one askeri farm can include different in their origin lands - rayet baştinas and çiftliks or holdings of the reaya with specific duties. Moreover, one askeri çiftlik can be regarded as one farm-estate although its components were situated in different villages with no common borders to each other.

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The studied cases outline that the region of Sofia was one of the limited Balkan territories where the process of transformation of voynuk baştinas into askeri

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44 Ихчиев, *age.*, s. 27.

çiftlik can be traced out. Only suggestions about the exact mechanism by which the askeri were given these can be made because of lack of enough data about this process. The cases presented in the study testify that Ottoman law did not restrain the askeri from receiving voy nuk baştinas. Even more, there is a suggestion that the State itself was renting voy nuk holdings to the Muslims. Thus, on one side the State was interested in receiving regular payments, on the other side, the askeri were attracted to the voy nuk baştinas because of the tax-gathering system – maktu. It was a long-lasting process starting probably from the late 17<sup>th</sup> and lasting until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Their new holders were allowed to make all the transactions typical for the rayyet farms which means to preserve their rights on the use and cultivation of these lands.

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### Appendices

**Table 1:** Askeri holders of voyruk baştinas, 1606

Village	Muslim – askeri	Christian - voyruk	Maktu - akçe	Total baştinas
Dolno Çepintsi	Ahmed çebebi	Stepan – deceased	300	1
Dolno Çepintsi	Osman efendi	Petre	200	1
Seslavtsi	Ahmed	Kurt beşe <sup>45</sup>	800	1
Vrıbnitsa	Abdulrahman şeyh-zade	Atanas -deceased	300	4
Vrıbnitsa	Abdulrahman şeyh-zade	Toşe - deceased	300	-
Vrıbnitsa	Abdulrahman şeyh-zade	Spas – ran away	300	-
Vrıbnitsa	Abdulrahman şeyh-zade	Stanço – ran away	300	-
Mramor	Ramazan çavuş	Marko	300	1
Dolni Kostinbrod	Mustafa janissary	Stoyân son of Todor	200	1
Dolni Kostinbrod	Balta Mustafa paşa from Sofia	Bratoy	300	1
Iliyântsi	Ali çebebi	..?, fur-dresser, from Sofia	300	2
Iliyântsi	Ali çebebi	Nešo son of Todor	300	-
Poduyâne	Osman çeribaşı	Kruşe	200	1
Poromino	Mehmed kâtib of the çeribaşı	Petre son of Toto	200	1
Poglekets	Emrullah sipahi	Done	300	1
Poglekets	Perviz? Paşa	Petre son of Nikola	300	1
Poglekets	Mehmed paşa	Lukan, tailor	300	1
Studena	Ömer çebebi	Dragan	300	1
Gurgulyât	Mehmed çebebi	Todor	300	1
Dragoviştitsa	Ali paşa	Lazar, priest	300	1
Malaşevtsi	Hasan halfa elnam	Sevdan	200	1

45 As it is obviously from the table Ahmed held the baştina instead of Kurt beşe which testifies that the previous owner was a Muslim, as well.

Obradovtsi	Ahmed çavuş	Stoyân	500	2
Obradovtsi	Ahmed çavuş	Stoyân son of Petre	500	-
Obradovtsi	Mustafa paşa	Ivan haymane	300	1
Obradovtsi	Hasan çavuş	Stoyân	300	1
Hrabarsko	Osman Abdullah	Leko son of Velço	300	1
Zemyâne	Mehmed janissary	Simoyñ	300	1
Krivina	Riza janissary	Stoyço	300	3
Krivina	Riza janissary	Çoço	300	-
Krivina	Riza janissary	Manuş	300	-
Dolna Meştitsa	Mehmed paşa (liva) from Sofia	Velyo son of Radivoy	300	1
Mirovyâne	Valide-i göreci Ali bey	Boşko son of Gerge	300	1
Belitsa	Çiftlik of Mehmed bey yerli sarac	-	325	1

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Table 2: Askerî holders of voynuk baştinas, 1719

Muslim voynuk	Baştina - dönüm - jerib/	Fields - jerib	Meadows - jerib	Harman (number)	Postan - number - jerib	Court	Water-mill (bab)	Total baştinas (numbers)	Total size of all baştinas (jerib)	Village
Mehmed Ağa son of Hüseyin Ağa	38,5/86,63	38,5		1	1	1	1 bab	8	148,5	Boyâna
Mehmed Ağa son of Hüseyin Ağa (voynuk)	68/153	68		1	1	1		66		Vrnbıtisa
Mehmed Ağa son of Hüseyin Ağa (yâmak)	42/94,5	42		1	1	1		66		Vrnbıtisa
Aladin ? Mehmed	46/103,5	46		1	1	1		66	46	Vrnbıtisa
Mehmed Efendi (voynuk)	72/162	55,5	11					3	178,5	Damyân
Mehmed Efendi (yâmak)	50,5/113,63	47,5	3	1	1	1		3		Damyân
Mehmed Efendi (yâmak)	56/126	52	4	1	1	1		3		Damyân
Mahmud Ağa (voynuk)	56/126	51	5	1	1			6	160	Obradovtsi
Mahmud Ağa (yâmak)	52/117	47	5	1	1			6		Obradovtsi
Mahmud Ağa (yâmak)	52/117	49	3	1	1	1		6		Obradovtsi
Hüseyin Ağa	51,5/115,88	37,5	14	1	1	1		6	51,5	Obradovtsi
Elsyid Ahmed efendi (yâmak of Hüsein Ağa)	45,5/102,38	45,5		1	1	1		6	45,5	Obradovtsi
Janal pasha kadafi	43/96,75	38	5	1	1	1		26	43	Kumanısa
Elhaj Ahmed (yâmak of Janal pasha kadafi)	72/162	65	7	1	1			26	72	Kumanısa
Rejeb efendi	41,5/93,38	41,5		1	1	1		13	41,5	Ilyântsi
Otun Ismi? Ahmed Ağa	67/150,75	67		1	1	1		13	67	Ilyântsi
Ahmed Gobal?	78,5/176,63	63,5	15	1	1	1		11	78,5	Golanovtsi

**Table 3:** Askeri holders of voynuk baştinas, 1815

<b>Village</b>	<b>Baştina-holder</b>	<b>Number of baştinas</b>
It is not clear - it bordered on the Chistian lands	Seyid Mustafa bey	3
Krivina	Keerevi Mehmed ağa	3
Bankyâ	Umigülsüm hanım	6
Mramor	Osman bey	2
Iliyântsi	Seyid Mehmed bey	4
Obradovtsi	Subhide hanım	3
Obradovtsi	Kuşçu zade Ahmed	2
Kumanitsa	Halil	2
Çelopeç	Hamyle hatun	2
Orlandovtsi	Mehmed and Raşid	2
Kaziçane	Ali beşe	2
Gnilyâne	Ahmed and Aliş	2
Jiten	Mehmed sipahi	2
Malaşevtsi	Daughter of the müteveli Hafiza hanım	1
Malaşevtsi	the müteveli Abdulkâri	1
Obradovtsi	Es-seyid Ali efendi	1
Pojarevo	Abdulkadir efendi	1
Çepintsi	Ibrahim	1
Çepintsi	Kalayji şerif	1
Çepintsi	Hafiz ağa	1
Gorni Lozen	Aran	1
Verdikalyâne	Umigülsüm	2
Svetovraçane	Halil	¼

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**Table 5:** Size of the fields and meadows, 1719 defter

<b>Holder</b>	<b>Fields – total size</b>	<b>Up to 6 jerib</b>	<b>Up to 10 jerib</b>	<b>Above 10 jerib</b>	<b>Total size meadows</b>	<b>Up to 6 jerib</b>	<b>Up to 10 jerib</b>	<b>Above 10 jerib</b>	<b>Village</b>
Mehmed Ağa son of Huseyin Ağa	7 fields / 38,5 jerib	7							Boyâna
Mehmed Ağa son of Huseyn Ağa	8 fields/ 68 jerib	3	4	1					Vrîbnitsa
Aladin Mehmed Ağa	8 fields / 46 jerib	5	2	1					Vrîbnitsa
Mehmed effendi	9 fields/ 55,5 jerib	6	2	1	2 meadows/ 11 jerib	2			Damyân
Mehmed effendi	10 fields / 47,5 jerib	9	1		1 meadow / 3 jerib	1			Damyân
Mehmed effendi	10 fields/ 52 jerib	6	3	1	2 meadows/ 4 jerib	2			Damyân
Mahmud Ağa	8 fields / 51 jerib	4	3	1	1 meadow/ 5 jerib	1			Obradovtsi
Mahmud Ağa	7 fields / 47 jerib	6	1		1 meadow/ 5 jerib	1			Obradovtsi
Mahmud Ağa	10 fields / 49,5 jerib	7	3		1 meadow/ 3 jerib				Obradovtsi
Huseyin Ağa	6 fields / 38,5 jerib	3	2	1	1 meadow / 14 jerib			1	Obradovtsi
Ahmed effendi	11 fields/ 45,5 jerib	11							Obradovtsi
Gobal Ahmed	9 fields / 63,5 jerib	3	4	2	3 meadows/ 15 jerib	2	1		Golyânovtsi

**Table 6:** Size and borderlines of the fields and meadows included in the voy nuk baştinas, 1768 defter

<b>Holder</b>	Ahmed Ağa	Ömer Ağa	Mehmed Aladin efendi
<b>Field borderlines</b>	the fields of German, Ali, two sides Huseyin's field	the fields of Nikola, Hasan sipahi, Chonko, ?	the fields of Mola Huseyin , Alican son of ? Ağa, Hasan sipahi, Trichko
<b>Size</b>	9 jerib	29 jerib	32 jerib
<b>Field Borderlines</b>	Ahmed Ağa's field, the meadow of Kara Cafer, the waqf fields	the fields of Hasan sipahi, Ilycho, Nikola, mola Huseyin	the main road, the borderline of the village of Kumanitsa, two sides - waqf lands
<b>Size</b>	9 jerib	26 jerib	20 jerib
<b>Field borderlines</b>	the waqf fields, road	the main road, three sides – waqf fields	-
<b>Size</b>	13 jerib	9 jerib	-
<b>Field</b>	the waqf field, Papas' field, the gully, road	the fields of Boshko, mola Huseyin, a waqf field	-
<b>Size</b>	19 jerib		-
<b>Meadow borderlines</b>	the waqf fields	The meadows of Dragi son of Nikola, Sunu?, Hasan sipahi and the waqf meadow	the gully (dere), waqf meadows, Mola Huseyin's field, Hasan's field
<b>Size</b>	10 jerib	6 jerib	12 jerib

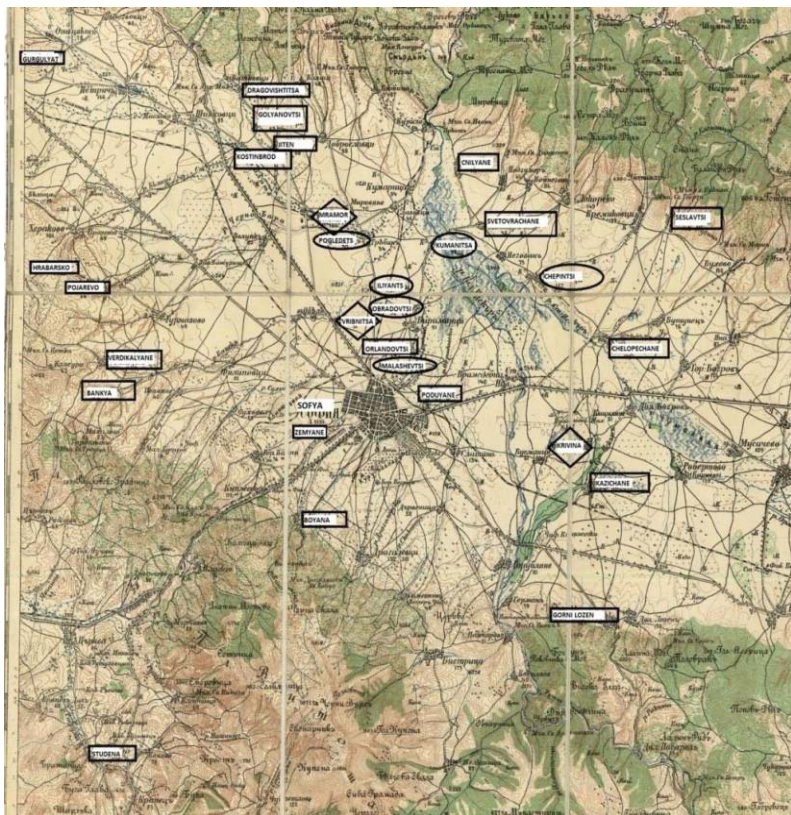
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**Table 7:** The possible harvest and surplus, defter 1719

	Village	Askerî	Fields / dönüm/	Fields / çift/	Quantity of seeds- /kile/	Harvest /kile/	Food / kile/	Surplus /kile/	Surplus /tons/
	Biyana and Vrbinisa	Mehmed Ağa son of Huseyin Ağa	334,125	4,17	27,11	149	24	97,89	6,5
	Vrbinisa	Aladin Mehmed	103,5	1,29	8,39	54,54	15	31,15	2
	Damyân	Mehmed efendi	401,63	5	32,5	178,75	27	119,25	7,95
	Obradovtsi	Mahmud Ağa	360	4,5	29,25	160,88	25,5	105,88	7
	Obradovtsi	Huseyin Ağa	115,88	1,46	9,40	52,2	16,5	26,3	1,75
	Obradovtsi	Elsevid Ahmed efendi	102,38	1,28	8,32	45,76	16,5	20,94	1,4
	Kumanisa	Janal Paşa	96,75	1,2	7,8	42,9	15	20,1	1,35
	Kumanisa	Elhac Ahmed	162	2	13	71,5	18	40,5	2,7
	Iliyânsi	Receb efendi	93,38	1,17	7,61	41,86	15	19,25	1,3
	Iliyânsi	Otun Ismi Ahmed Ağa	150,75	1,88	12,22	67,21	18	36,99	2,45
	Golyânovtsi	Ahmed Gopal	176,63	2,21	14,37	79	18	46,63	3,1





**Figure 1:** Village with voynuks baştinas held by askeri

□ villages with one baştina used by askeri

◇ villages with two baştinas

○ villages with three and more baştinas