

Whither Defterology? A Review Article of Halil İnalçık, Evgeni Radushev & Uğur Altuğ, *1445 Tarihli Paşa Livâsı İcmâl Defteri**

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The publication of seven Ottoman *tahrir defters* (tax registers) from the Balkans, or more correctly fragments thereof, compiled during the first sultanate of Mehmed II (November 1444 - May 1446), appeared in 2013 thanks to the efforts of Halil İnalçık, Evgeni Radushev, Uğur Altuğ and the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish Historical Society). As someone who has studied and published this particular type of source throughout the past forty-five years,¹ I am well aware of the amount of work involved in their undertaking. Future generations of *defterologists*, will benefit from their efforts, as we earlier have from Halil Hoca's pioneering 1954

* Halil İnalçık, Evgeni Radushev & Uğur Altuğ, *1445 Tarihli Paşa Livâsı İcmâl Defteri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013), pp. xxiii + 218 pages of Transcription + 1 Map + 300 pages of Facsimiles. Hereafter cited as: İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013.

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1 See: Heath W. Lowry, *Trabzon Şehrinin İslamlaşması ve Türkleşmesi, 1481-1583* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1981) [5th Edition, 2012] [English: *The Islamization & Turkification of Trabzon (Trebizond), 1461-1583* (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2009) [Hereafter: Lowry, 2009]; Heath W. Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos* (İstanbul: Eren Publications, 2002) [Turkish: Heath W. Lowry, *On Beşinci Yüzyıl Osmanlı Gerçekleri: Limnos (Limni) Adasında Yaşam* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2013) [Hereafter: Lowry, 2013] & a revised and expanded edition was published as: *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos* (İstanbul: BAU Publications, 2019), pp. x + 364 + 38 Plates + 3 Maps + 1 Appendix. [Hereafter: Lowry, 2019] & Heath W. Lowry, "The Ottoman *Tahrir Defterleri* as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations," *Türkische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte von 1071 bis 1920*, eds. H. G. Majer & R. Motika (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), pp. 183-196.

publication of one of the earliest extant Balkan *tahrir defter* (tax register), that covering parts of Albania, which was drawn up in 1431-1432.²

This said, the İnalçık/Radushev/Altuğ work contains a number of troubling lacunae and errors, together with interpretations with which I am in less than full agreement, hence the present review.

The Book's Title

The problems begin with the work's title: *1445 Tarihli Paşa Livâsı İcmâl Defteri* [The 1445 Summary Register of the Paşa's Livâ (Province)]. Frankly, this title is, on several counts, a wholly inaccurate description of the book's contents:

First, contrary to what the title implies, the work that follows consists of transcriptions and facsimiles of 'fragments' of not one *defter* (register), but rather of several different *defterleri* (registers), i.e., the seven fragments they publish were never part of a single register. This is immediately apparent from the fact that several different handwritings are discernible in the various fragments.

Secondly, the use of *Paşa Livâsı* (Paşa's Liva) in the title is problematic. The use of this term to describe the area under the control of the *Rumeli Beylerbey* (Governor-General of the Balkans), cannot be confirmed prior to the mid-1520s, i.e., a good seventy-five years after the date of these registers.³ In 1445, i.e., the time this book addresses, Edirne was the state's capital. Stated differently, it was the seat of the Sultans (*pâyitahtı*). Consequently, it could not have been called *Paşa Livâsı* (Paşa's Province). Here the authors have inappropriately applied a 16th century administrative term to the first half of the 15th century.

Thirdly, the usage of the term *icmâl defter* (summary register) to describe the fragments of the seven registers they publish is likewise problematic. It is a term more appropriately applied to *tahrir defter*s (tax registers) compiled in the

2 Halil İnalçık, *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954) [Hereafter: İnalçık, 1954a]. This work was reprinted without change in 1987.

3 M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV- XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livasi: Vakıflar - Mulkler - Mukataalar* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1952). See: pp. 6-8 where Gökbilgin traces the first usage of the name 'Paşa Livâsı' to the period of İbrahim Paşa's Grand Vezirate (1523-1536), during the reign of Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566); See also: İbrahim Sezgin, "Paşa Livâsı," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 34, 2007, pp. 183-184.

second half of the 15th and throughout the 16th century, where it is used in conjunction with the term *mufassal* (detailed) registers. By that time the process of compiling tax registers had evolved to the point that two different types of registers were used to detail the sources of revenue due to the state and *timariots* (fief-holders) and the manner of their distribution: a) the *mufassal* (detailed) registers which detailed the sources of revenue; and, b) the *icmâl* (summary) registers, which detailed the manner in which the revenues thus acquired were to be dispersed.

In contrast, prior to the third quarter of the 15th century⁴ the practice had been to compile a single register, which listed both the sources of revenue (albeit in summary form i.e., usually, but not always, without providing the names of the individual tax-payers), and the *timariots* (fief holders) to whom they were dispersed. While these 15th century registers do resemble the 16th century *icmâls* in terms of content, they were not in fact a 'summary' of anything, rather they were the only type of tax register drawn up in that period, and, as such, were the prototype for the registers compiled after the middle of the 15th century.

Stated differently, the fragments published by İnalçık/Radushev/Altuğ should more appropriately be termed: 15th century Rumeli (Balkan) *timar defters*. They share four common features: a) all were drawn up in the period when Sultan Murad II had relinquished the throne to his son Mehmed (1444-1446); b) each is a fragment of a larger survey; c) each deal with a region of the Balkans; and, d) each are among the earliest surviving 15th century *timar defters*.

As such, a more accurate title for the book would have been: *Fragments of Early Balkan Timar Defters from the First Reign of Sultan Mehmed II (1445)* [Turkish: *Sultan II. Mehmed'in İlk Sultanatına Ait Balkan Timar Defterlerinin Parçaları (1445)*].

4 Note: The oldest published *mufassal* registers I am aware of are: a) a detailed survey of the Vilayet-i Vulk in present-day Albania. It was compiled in h. 859 (1455) and published in 1972 by: Hamid Hadžibegić, Adem Handžić & Ešref Kovačević, *Oblast Brankovića: Opširni Katastarski Popis iz 1455. Godine* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu, 1972) & b) a detailed survey of the Vilâyet-i Tırhala in present-day Greece, it was likewise compiled in h. 859 (1455) and published by Melek Delilbaşı & Muzaffer Arıkan, *Hicrî 859 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Tırhala*, 2 Vol. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001).

Preface (Önsöz)⁵ & Appendix (Ek)⁶

The book opens with a Preface (Önsöz) entitled: ‘II. Murad ve Fatih Sultan Mehmed Dönemlerine ait Tahrir Defterlerinin Yayın Projesi’ [The Publication Project for the *Tahrir Defters* from the Reign’s of Murad II and Fatih Sultan Mehmed], followed by an appendix (Ek) purporting to provide a chronological list of all the *tahrir defters* from the reigns of these two rulers which they propose to publish. As such, we might logically expect that it is a complete listing of all extant registers drawn up between the years 1421 and 1481. However, in their listing of the Balkan *tahrir defters*⁷ the authors have overlooked/missed numerous registers:

- 1) First and foremost their list of works to be published does not include the earliest such register, that which was initially published sixty years ago by İnalçık himself.⁸ This is *Tapu Tahrir #1m* housed in the Başbakanlık Archives in İstanbul. Three factors necessitate a new publication of this register:
 - a) In his 1954 edition İnalçık acknowledged that the register was incomplete, i.e., an indeterminable portion of it was missing. Some years ago I was informed by his co-author Evgeni Radushev that he had located the missing portion in Bulgaria and was preparing a new edition of the whole register. If this is in fact the case, one would assume that this would be the first *tahrir* [sic. *timar*] *defter* to appear in the planned publication series. Instead, it is not even included among the registers from the reign of Murad II in their chronological listing;⁹
 - b) there is a serious, albeit heretofore unnoticed, error in İnalçık’s 1954 book. Namely, in the ‘transliteration’ of the register page 74 ends with the register’s Folio 80b and page 75 begins with Folio 90b, i.e., he mistakenly wrote Folio 90b in place of Folio 81a. As a result of this error, everything that follows, i.e., from page 75-120 (35% of his transcription) is incorrectly paginated. Correspondingly, any scholar who has cited or will cite that section of his study has/will likewise

5 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. vii-viii.

6 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. ix-xi.

7 Note: My comments on this section are confined to 15th - century Balkan *tahrirs* (copies of which I have) and do not discuss the Anatolian registers.

8 İnalçık, 1954a.

9 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. ix-xi.

be misleading their readers [Note: Thirty-three years later this error was left uncorrected in the 2nd edition of the book which appeared in 1987]; and,

- c) the 1954 work does not include a facsimile of the actual register and only provides a random sampling of scattered folios, i.e., 15 of its 152 folios, or 10% of the register.¹⁰ In short, a project purporting to publish all the surviving tax registers from the reigns of Murad II and Mehmed II must needs begin with a new edition of *TT #1m*;
- 2) Even assuming that the author's consider İnalçık's 1954 Arvanid book an adequate edition of *TT #1m*, they have failed to explain why an ongoing project designed to chronologically publish all *tahrir defters* from the reigns of Murad II and Mehmed II, i.e., the registers compiled between 1421 and 1481, has neglected to publish the second oldest surviving *tahrir*: *MAD #237*, a register drawn up in early in Murad II's reign, covering the *Vilâyet*s (Provinces) of Köprülü, Kastorya and Kolona in Macedonia. While they list it in their 'Ek' [p. ix], they fail to include it in their Table I [p. xvi] listing the registers from the reign of Murad II, nor do they publish it or inform the reader of their reasons for not so doing?¹¹
- 3) A third oversight is the author's failure to include the register housed in the İstanbul Atatürk Kitaplığı, which is catalogued as: *AK: MCT #0.90*. This is a 57 folio *tahrir defter* for Vidin which is dated h. 859 (1455) [Note: It is possible that this is the register they list as *MC 111?*];
- 4) A fourth is their failure to include a 39 folio fragment of a second register in the İstanbul Atatürk Kitaplığı, which is catalogued as: *AK: MCT #0.117-2*. This register is dated h. 859 (1455) [Note: It is possible that this is the register they list as *MC 36?*];
- 5) A fifth register they have overlooked is: *AK: MCT #0.73*, a detailed register dated 1474 (h. 878) for the large Aegean island of Eğriboz [Note: an early example of a Balkan '*mufassal*' (detailed) register. The author's failure to list this register is inexcusable, as it had been published (in an excellent edition) twenty-five years earlier by Evangelia Balta, *L'Eubée A La Fin Du XVe Siècle: Économie et Population Les registres de l'année 1474*, Athens: Society of Euboean Studies, 1989];

10 İnalçık, 1954a: Facsimiles (*Tipkibasımlar*): Plates (*Levha*) I-XV.

11 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. ix & vii-xvi.

Given the author's stated aim of publishing chronologically all of the surviving *tahrir defters*, and fragments thereof, from the reigns of Sultan Murad II. and Fatih Sultan Mehmed, one would hope that they see fit to add these missing items to their list of registers (*defters*) to be examined.

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Introduction (*Giriş*)¹²

The introduction clearly states that Halil İnalçık's 1954 Arvanid book will henceforth be used as a model for the method to be followed in publishing the *tahrir defters* from the reigns of Murad II and Fatih Sultan Mehmed.¹³ Its choice as a 'model' is questionable due to its failure to provide a facsimile of the entire register. This lacuna alone is enough to disqualify it as a 'model' for how to publish a *defter*.¹⁴

Despite the author's claim that they are modeling their planned series on İnalçık's 1954 book,¹⁵ this is not in fact what they have done. Unlike İnalçık's 1954 study, they have in fact provided facsimiles of all the seven *defter* fragments they published. While İnalçık's 1954 study included a pioneering introduction to the *tahrir defters*, as well as a useful summary analysis of its contents,¹⁶ in contrast, the study under review provides no analysis of the *defter* fragments it publishes. In, short, rather than following their own stated guidelines, the authors have produced a book which bears little resemblance to their stated 'model.'

As noted in my discussion of the book's title, the author's misuse the terms *icmâl defter* (summary register) and *Paşa Livâsı* (Paşa's Liva) by applying them to

12 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. xv-xxiii.

13 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. vii: "Bu defterin yayınlanmasında izlenen metot bundan sonraki yayınlarda örnek alınacaktır," & p. viii: "proje sunanlardan İnalçık'ın 1954'te yayınlamış olduğu Arvanid-İli Defteri esas alınmaktadır."

14 Note: At the risk of opening myself up to the charge of self aggrandizement, a far better model would be my: *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos* (İstanbul: Eren Publications, 2002). This work includes a transcription with facsimile (together with a lengthy analysis) of TT #25, a detailed register for the island of Limnos (Limni) from h. 895 (1490). It presents the 'transcription' and 'facsimile' on facing pages, thereby making it easy for the reader to check the accuracy of the transcription.

15 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. vii.

16 İnalçık, 1954a: pp. xi-xxxvi.

the early 15th century registers they publish. This is likewise illustrated in the 'Introduction' to the work, where we read:

As is known the Ottoman *tahrir defters* fall into two categories. The first is the *mufassal defters* (detailed registers); following the conquest of a region an initial survey was drawn up listing all the villages, towns, populations, indeed all sources of taxes, thus providing a snapshot of the entire region. This first category, the *mufassal defters*, provide us a description of each region's population, settlement pattern, sources of revenue and socio-economic status. The *icmâl defters* (summary registers), on the other hand, show us the ways and means by which these sources of revenue were distributed among the soldiers.¹⁷

As previously noted, even if one accepts the description of the *mufassal* and *icmâl* registers provided in this passage it describes the 16th century *tahrirs* and is in no way applicable to the 15th century registers published in the study under review, i.e., these are terms which only refer to the types of registers drawn up in the period following that which the present study addresses.

İnalçık and his co-author's failure to take into account the differences between the 15th and 16th century tax registers is particularly difficult to comprehend as it was Halil İnalçık himself who, half a century ago, in his path-breaking study on the Christian *timar* (fief) holders in the Balkans,¹⁸ stressed the necessity of always bearing in mind that "during its formative period, in the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Empire's character was completely different [from that seen in later periods]."¹⁹ He went on to state that the "deep lines" which divide the state's institutions (even when they bear the same names) in different periods are generally overlooked by scholars working on Ottoman institutions who all too often fail to comprehend the 15th century realities of the Ottoman conquest and administration of the Balkans due to the inadequacy of the sources at their disposal.²⁰ Here is an instance where İnalçık and his co-authors would have been well served to have heeded his earlier warning.

17 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. xv. Footnote 1.

18 Halil İnalçık, "Stefan Dušan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna: XV. Asırda Rumeli'de Hıristiyan sipahiler ve menşeleri," Halil İnalçık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954), pp. 137-184 [Hereafter: İnalçık, 1954b].

19 İnalçık, 1954b: p. 137.

20 İnalçık, 1954b: pp. 140-141.

Transcription (*Metin/Defterler*)²¹

Prior to writing this review article I became aware of a newly published edition by Feridun Emecen of *MAD #303*,²² a 1445 register for Pırlepe-Kırçova which is also one of the *defter* fragments published by İncılık, Radushev and Altuğ.²³ As I had read and transcribed this register over a decade ago (as part of an ongoing study on Ottoman administration in the 15th century Balkans), I decided to make a comparison of the ‘transcription’ provided by Emecen, with my own readings and with those given in the İncılık, Radushev and Altuğ book. A quick perusal of these was all that was needed to convince me that the readings provided by Emecen are far more accurate than those in the İncılık, Radushev and Altuğ study. Seven examples from among dozens which could be cited will serve to illustrate this fact:

- 1) On p. 37, [at the top of the entry for: p. 3 of the register], in the İncılık, Radushev and Altuğ study is an entry reading: *Karye-i Apostol* (the village of Apostol).²⁴ In the Emecen transcription this entry is correctly given as: *Manasdır-ı Apostol* (Monastery of Apostol).²⁵ As the words *Karye* and *Manasdır* bear no resemblance to one another when written in the Ottoman script, the reason for this error in reading is difficult to comprehend;
- 2) On p. 39, [at the top of the entry for: p.10 of the register], in the İncılık, Radushev and Altuğ study is an entry reading: *Buzme adlu hisârcık* (the small fortress known as Buzme).²⁶ In the Emecen transcription this entry is correctly read and identified as: *Petre adlu hisarcıkı* (the small fortress known as Petre).²⁷ As the words: *Buzme* and *Petre* likewise bear little resemblance to one another when written in the Ottoman script, the reason for this error in reading is also difficult to comprehend;

21 İncılık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. 1-149.

22 Feridun M. Emecen, “Defter-i Köhne: Pırlepe-Kırçova Kesiminin En Eski Timar Defteri (1445-1455),” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, XLIII (2014), pp. 341-474 [Hereafter: Emecen, 2014].

23 İncılık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. 35-70 [Transcription] & pp. 317-356.

24 İncılık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. 37.

25 Emecen, 2014: p. 354.

26 İncılık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. 39.

27 Emecen, 2014: p. 361 & fn. 2.

- 3) On p. 40, [in the entry for: p. 11 of the register], in the İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ study is an entry reading: *dâmâd-i* [?] *Gedük İsteban* (the son-in-law of Gedük İsteban).²⁸ In the Emecen transcription this entry is correctly given as: *dâd-ı Gedük İsteban* (the portion of Gedük İsteban).²⁹ Aside from the fact that the words: *dâmâd* and *dâd* bear no resemblance to one another when written in the Ottoman script, and do not even contain the same number of letters, they likewise have two very different meanings;
- 4) On p. 42, [in the entry for: p. 15 of the register], of the İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ study is an entry which they have read as: *Şimdiki hâlde bu timârün nısfı ki İsa elindedir ilk eşer, satdı deyü bildürdükleri sebebden alınub Hazîne Oğlanı Balaban virildi; fî evâhir-i Ramazan, Sene 857, der Edirne.*

İnalçık/Radushev/Altuğ - MAD #303: p. 42

In Emecen's transcription this entry is correctly read as: *Şimdiki hâlde bu timârün nısfı ki İsa elindedir, illik esir satdı denildiüğü sebebden alınup Hazîne oğlanı Balaban'a verildi; fî evâhir-i Ramazan, Sene 857 [der Edirne]*³⁰ (At this time half of this *timar* is in the hands of İsa, as it was reported that he had sold a slave belonging to the state, it was taken from him and given to the *Hazîne Oğlan* (Treasury Slave) Balaban; recorded during the first 10 days of the month of *Ramazan*, in the year 857, i.e., September 5-14, 1453, in the city of Edirne).³¹ As is apparent from the underlined section of the transcription given in the İnalçık/Radushev/

²⁸ İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. 40.

²⁹ Emecen, 2014: p. 363. Note: Emecen missed the words: *der Edirne* (in Edirne), which are written below the entry.

³⁰ Emecen, 2014: p. 363.

³¹ Emecen, 2014: p. 367.

Altuğ version they have misread a key segment of this entry, namely the fact that it was İsa's misappropriation of state property (*illik esir satdı denildüğü*) which led to his losing his fief. In its place they the meaningless phrase: *ilk eşer, satdı deyü bildürdükleri* (first campaign, it was reported that it was sold);

- 5) On p. 45, [at the top of the entry for: s. 18 of the register], in the İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ study is an entry reading:

Timâr-i Raço [?], *veled-i Raduta, ez tahvîl pedereş kadimîdir mezkûr Raduta* [yirmiştir] *ölmüş, ol sebebden oğlu Lane üzerine yazıldı* [The fief of Raço [?] son of Raduta, it was transferred from his father who is of the old [Christian] nobility. The aforementioned died and for that reason it was registered to his son Lane].³²

As properly given by Emecen this entry actually reads:

Timâr-ı Rali veled-i Radute, ez-tahvîl-i pedereş, kadimîdir. Mezkûr Radute a'mâ olmuş, ol sebebden oğlu Rali üzerine yazıldı [The fief of Rali son of Radute, it was transferred from his father who is of the old [Christian] nobility. The aforementioned [Radute] lost his eyesight and for that reason it was registered to his son Rali].³³

Not only have İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ misread the phrase: *Mezkûr Radute a'mâ olmuş* (the aforementioned Radute lost his eyesight) as: *mezkûr Raduta* [yirmiştir] *ölmüş* (the aforementioned Raduta died), they have also misread the name 'Rali' in two different fashions in the same entry, i.e., first as 'Raço [?]' and then as 'Lane';

- 6) On p. 55, at the bottom of the entry for: s. 40 of the register], of the İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ study is an entry which they have read as: *Şimdiki halde İsklosili Görge kim doğruluk idüüb ahir gelüb müslümân olan İsklosili, Bula Keldye* [?] *ve kardaşı Lazor müşterek virildi, nöbetce eşerler, fi evâhır-i Zilhicce sene 855, der Edirne.*

32 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. 45 & p. 328.

33 Emecen, 2014: p. 375.



İnalçık/Radushev/Altuğ - MAD #303: s. 55

In the Emecen transcription this entry is correctly given as: *Şimdiki hâlde İstaloşda gereği gibi doğruluk edip âhir gelüp müslüman olan İstaloşlu Yolageldi'ye ve kardaşı Lazor'a müşterek verildi, nöbetce eşerler, fi evâhır-i Zilhicce sene 855, der-Edirne* (At the present time, as is customary for those who have chosen the right/true path in İstaloş, it was given jointly to the [new] Muslim Yolageldi [Note: The name 'Yolageldi' literally means: He who has found the true path, i.e., converted to Islam] from İstaloş and his brother Lazor. They take turns campaigning. Recorded in the first ten days of the month of *Zilhicce* in the year 855 [December 25, 1451 – January 4, 1452], in Edirne).³⁴

The authors are seemingly unaware of the fact that İstaloş was a fortress in the Mat district of Albania, and have read it as a proper name. Likewise, they have misread: '*İstaloşda gereği gibi*' as '*İsklosili Görge kim*' [?] and '*İstaloşlu Yolageldi'ye*' as '*İsklosili, Bula Keldye*' [?];

- 7) On page 70, [at the top of the entry for: s. 83 of the register], of the İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ book is an entry they have read as: *Timâr-i Bariki (mürde) ve birâdeş Asilo, evlad-i Yahşi* [The *timar* of Bariki (deceased) and his brother Yahşi, the son of Asilo]. Emecen's transcription correctly gives this entry as: *Timâr-i Yâri Bey (mürde) ve birâdeş Esenlü, evlad-i Bahşi* [The fief of Yâri Bey (deceased) and his brother Esenlü the son of Bahşi].³⁵ Here, they have misread 'Yâri Bey' as 'Bariki,' 'Esenlü' as 'Asilo' and 'Bahşi' as 'Yahşi.'

A marginalia appended to the same entry states that the share of the fief held by Esenlü was later transferred to a certain Mehemedî; then in a

³⁴ Emecen, 2014: p. 402.

³⁵ Emecen, 2014: p. 433.

later marginalia, appears what İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ have read as: *Bu Muhammedî eşkünden gitmiş, kadı hüccet etdi ol sebebden gene Asilo'ya virildi; fi evâhir-i Receb sene 850, der-Edir[ne]*. As read/given by the authors this entry is meaningless.

İnalçık/Radushev/Altuğ - MAD #303: s. 70

Emecen's transcription correctly gives this entry as: *Bu Muhammedî İskender'e gitmiş. Kadı şehâdet etdi, ol sebebden gene Esenlü'ye verildi, fi evâhir-i Receb sene 850, der-Edirne*³⁶ [This Muhammedî fled to/deserted to İskender, this was attested to by the *kadı* (religious judge), and for that reason this share was once again given to Esenlü. Registered in Edirne on September 22, 1446].

Here İnalçık/Radushev/Altuğ have misread the phrase '*İskender'e gitmiş*' as '*eşkünden gitmiş*,' in so doing they have missed the meaning and importance of this marginalia, namely that an Ottoman *timar* holder, Muhammedî, has deserted and joined the Albanian rebel İskender [George Kastrioti Skanderbeg].³⁷ Further that his desertion has been attested to by the *kadı* (religious judge), resulting in the revocation of his fief. They likewise, and inexplicably, misread the word (*şehâdet* شهادت) as '*hüccet*' (حجت), even though in their written form these two words bear no resemblance to one another?

As may be seen from the above examples, the transliteration of MAD #303 provided by Emecen is far more reliable than that given in the book under review. In addition to their frequent misreadings the authors have overlooked an important feature of this register. Namely, when bound, its pages were out of order. As a result, in some instances it lists *timars* from Pirlepe under Kırçova and visa versa. In his edition of this register Emecen has carefully corrected this error and his transliteration publishes the register in its original order.³⁸ However, the authors

36 Emecen, 2014: p. 433.

37 Emecen, 2014: p. 347 & fn. 15.

38 Emecen, 2014: pp. 351-352 & p. 345 & fn. 13.

of the present study remained unaware of this problem and have therefore presented the pages out of order. As a result of these facts, anyone wishing to utilize *MAD #303* would be well advised to do so based on Feridun Emecen's edition rather than that provided by İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ.

Map (*Harita*)³⁹

The book includes one map which was made by Emre Özşahin.⁴⁰ It too contains a number of troubling errors which a perusal of the extant literature could easily have eliminated. As a case in point, it places the location of the *Vilayet-i Keşişlik* in the Halkidiki region south of the city of Selânik (Thessaloniki), rather than where it actually was: along the shores of Lake Tahinos which lay some fifty miles to the East, i.e., the region lying to the south of Siroz (Serez) and Zihne.⁴¹ Likewise, it places Avrethisar some fifty miles north and east of where it is actually located.

Similarly, the home base of the Evrenos family, *Yenice-i Vardar* (the New Town on the Vardar River), appears incorrectly on the map as: *Yenice Kale* (The Fortress of Yenice).⁴²

A close perusal of the book's 'Index' establishes that the name '*Yenice Kal'a*' appears a total of nine times in six of the seven published *defter* fragments. It does so as one of the locations where *timars* were reassigned, i.e., in the form of later dated marginalia added to the registers.⁴³ Contra the book's 'Index'⁴⁴ which

39 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. 219.

40 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. xxiii.

41 Heath W. Lowry, "The Fifteenth Century Ottoman *Vilayet-i Keşişlik*: Its Location, Population and Taxation," *Humanist and Scholar: Essays in Honor of Andreas Tietze*, eds. H. Lowry & D. Quataert (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1993), pp. 15-26.

42 Heath W. Lowry & İsmail E. Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice-i Vardar: Notes & Documents* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2010) [Turkish: *Yenice-i Vardar'lı Evrenos Hanedanı: Notlar & Belgeler* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010)].

43 Note: The dates these marginalia were added all fall between May 1, 1452 and August 26, 1452: 1) *fi evâsıt-i Rebiyülâhır, sene 856* [1-10 May, 1452]; 2) *fi evvel-i Rebiyülâhır, sene 856* [21-30 April, 1452]; 3) *fi evâil-i Rebiyülâhır, sene 856* [21-30 April, 1452]; 4) *fi evâsıt-i Rebiyülâhır, sene 856* [1-10 May, 1452]; 5) *fi evvel-i Cemaziye-lâhır, sene 856* [19-28 June 1452]; 6) *fi evâil-i Receb, sene 856* [18-27 August, 1452]; 7) *fi evvel-i Cemaziyelâhır, sene 856* [19-28 June, 1452]; 8) *fi evâhır-i Cemaziyelâhır, sene 856* [19-28 June, 1452]; 9) *fi evâil-i Şaban, sene 856* [17-26 August, 1452].

44 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. 191.

equates it with the home base of the Evrenos family, the town of *Yenice-i Vardar*, there is nothing to indicate that ‘*Yenice Kal’a*’ was synonymous with ‘*Vardar Yenicesi*’ or ‘*Yenice-i Vardar*.’

In point of fact, as the 15th century chronicler Tursun Bey’s account makes clear, the *Yenice Kal’a* where updates were appended to the *defter* fragments, refers to *Anadolu Hisarı* on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus in İstanbul, i.e., to the fortress built by Yıldırım Bayezid in the 1390s.⁴⁵ On the dates the *timars* in question were reassigned in *Yenice Kal’a*, the *Rumeli Hisarı* Fortress (which lies directly across from it on the European shore of the Bosphorus), was under construction. From the fact that this was the location where the *timars* were reassigned, we may infer that it was where Mehmed II was staying at the time, and from which he followed the ongoing construction of the *Rumeli Hisarı* fortress.

In short, despite the fact that the senior author had previously published Tursun Beğ’s chronicle, they have confused the Yenice Fortress (‘*Yenice Kal’a*’), i.e., *Anadolu Hisarı* in İstanbul, with the town of ‘*Yenice-i Vardar*’ (lying six hundred kilometers to its west) in the Balkans.

Likewise, the town of *Yenice Karasu* (the New Town on the Karasu River), appears on the map simply and incorrectly as: *Karasu*. Karasu [Gr. Nestos] is the name of a river, whereas *Yenice Karasu* is the name of the town.

Bibliography (*Bibliyogr[a]fya*)⁴⁶

Particularly disturbing, given the book’s purported purpose of serving as a guide for an intended ongoing series of 15th century *defter* publications, is its ‘Bibliography,’ which is, to say the least, sparse, indeed misleadingly so. It consists

45 See: Tursun Bey, *Tarih-i Ebül-Feth*, ed. A. Mertol Tulum (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1977), pp. 43 & 45. The passage in question read: “Çün pâdişâh-ı rüy-ı zemin ... emr itti ki İstanbul’un üstün yanında, Anatoli yakasında olan Yenice-kal’a mukâbelesinde Rûm-ili yakasında kal’a yapturıla” [When the Sultan ... ordered that a castle should be built on the Rumeli side of the Bosphorus directly across from the castle on the Anatolian side known as Yenice Kal’a]; Halil İnalçık, *The Survey of Istanbul, 1455* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası: Kültür Yayınları, 2012), p. 514; Halil İnalçık & Rhoads Murphey, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg* (Minneapolis & Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1978), pp. 33-34. Note: Feridun Emecen, while realizing that *Yenice Kal’a* had nothing to do with Yenice Vardar in the Balkans, incorrectly identified it as Rumeli Hisar, rather than as Anadolu Hisar [Emecen, 2014: p. 346].

46 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. 151.

of a mere eight entries (seven books and one *defter*), three of which have nothing whatsoever to do with 15th century *tahrir defters*:

- 1) Barkan, Ömer Lûtfi – Meriçli, Enver: *Hüdavendigâr Livasi Tahrir Defterleri*, I. Ankara, 1988.

[Note: While an important study it deals exclusively with 16th century *tahrir defters* for the region of Bursa in Anatolia and has nothing to do with the Balkans or the 15th century];

- 2) Fekete, L.: *Eztergomi szandzsdk 1570, eviadooszeidrsa*. [The tax register of the Sancak of Gran for 1570] Budapest, 1943;

[Note: While likewise, as the first *tahrir defter* ever published, this is an important study, it deals exclusively with a late 16th century *tahrir defter* and has nothing to do with the regions or time period dealt with in the book];

- 3) *Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgaricae: Series XV-XVI*. C.XIII. Ediderunt: Nikolai Todorov & Boris Nedkov. Sofya, 1966.

[Note: A more accurate way of citing this important study is: Todorov, Nikolai & Nedkov, Boris (Editors): *Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgaricae: Series XV-XVI*. XIII (in 2 Volumes). Sofya (Academiae Litterarum Bulgaricae), 1966].

- 4) İnalçık, Halil: “Timariotes Chrétiens en Albanie au XV. Siècle d’après un registre de Timars Ottoman,” *MÖSA*, IV (1952).

[Note: A more correct form of citing this important study is: İnalçık, Halil: “Timariotes Chrétiens en Albanie au XV. Siècle d’après un registre de timars ottoman,; *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, Volume IV (1952), pp. 118-138. Without the full name of the journal and page numbers of the article, it would be difficult for a would be user to locate this article on the basis of the citation provided];

- 5) İnalçık, Halil: *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara-1987.

[Note: The correct form of citing this important study is: İnalçık, Halil: *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954. Its significance lies in its date of publication: 1954, not in the fact that it was republished in 1987. Strangely, in the text of the work this study is correctly cited in one instance as having been published in: 1954,⁴⁷ and a few pages later it is incorrectly listed as having been published in 1987]⁴⁸

- 6) İnalçık, Halil: “Stefan Duşan’dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna: XV. Yüzyılda Rumeli’de Hristiyan Sipâhiler ve Menşeleri,” *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*. Ankara - 1995.

[Note: The correct form of citing this important study is: İnalçık, Halil: “Stefan Duşan’dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna: XV. Asırda Rumeli’de hıristiyan sipahiler ve menşeleri,” *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*. Ankara, 1954, pp. 137-184. Here the authors have given the date of a reprint of this work. In so doing, not only is the date of publication given incorrect (1995 rather than 1954), no page numbers are provided for the article, and inexplicably the 1995 edition has even changed the article’s original name?];

- 7) Radoshev, Evgeni: *The Pomaks*. Sofya, 2008.

[Note: While a useful study, it has absolutely nothing to do with the registers published in the book];

- 8) Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv Dairesi Başkanlığı: Tapu Tahrir Defteri, numara 4.

[Note: This register [BOA: TT #4], is the only *defter* to appear in the book’s ‘Bibliography.’ Noticeably missing in this entry, or anywhere else in the book, is the fact that this register was published forty-three years ago by M. Sokoloski & A. Stojanovski: *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod = Documents turcs sur l’historire du peuple Macedonien: opširen popisni defter no. 4: 1467-1468 godina*. Skopje: Arhiv na Makedonija, 1971];

47 İnalçık, Radoshev and Altuğ, 2013: p. vii., Footnote 1.

48 İnalçık, Radoshev and Altuğ, 2013: p. xv., Footnote 1.

Indeed, the reader of this ‘Bibliography’ might well assume that heretofore there have been no publications on the 15th century Balkan tax registers except for the three important studies by İnalçık (published between the years 1952-1954) which are cited in it. Such an assumption would be erroneous at best. In point of fact editions of a significant number of the extant 15th century Balkan *tahrir defters* have previously been published. Those at my disposal, listed by their dates of publication, include the following:

- 1) H. Šabanovic: *Krajište Isa-Bega Ishakovića zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455 godine*. Sarajevo, 1964 [Note: This is an edition of BOA: OAK MAD #544, a 217 page register, which was compiled in h. 859 (1455). While appearing in the book’s chronological list of registers, no mention of the fact that it was published fifty years ago is made, nor is it cited in the ‘Bibliography’];
- 2) Nikolai Todorov & Boris Nedkov: *Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgaricae: Series XV-XVI*. 2 Volumes. Serdicae: Academiae Litterarum Bulgaricae, 1966. [Note: Includes an edition of fragments of several 15th century *tahrir defters* for Niğbolu Sancağı & other regions in Western Thrace and Macedonia. They are among the 28 train car loads of Ottoman Archival documents mistakenly sold to Bulgaria in 1931. While three of the fragments published by İnalçık, Radushev & Altuğ (*D #707, OAK #45/30, #OAK 52/59*), originally appeared in this book, the authors have overlooked another relevant 15th century *defter* fragment which was published in the same study];
- 3) M. Sokoloski & A. Stojanovski: *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod = Documents turcs sur l’histoire du peuple Macedonien: opširen popisen defter no. 4: 1467-1468 godina*. Skopje (Arhiv na Makedonija), 1971. [Note: This is an edition of an important 913 page register for the regions of Pırlepe, Köprülü, Kırçova, Kalkandelen, Üsküp and Manastır, which was drawn up in h. 881 (1476-1477). While this register [BOA: TT #4] strangely appears as one of the eight works in the ‘Bibliography,’ it does so as: “Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşiv Daire Başkanlığı: Tapu Tahrir Defteri, numara 4.” Noticeably missing in this entry, or anywhere else in the book, is the fact that this register was first published forty-three years ago by M. Sokoloski & A. Stojanovski];

- 4) Hamid Hadžibegić, Adem Handžić & Ešref Kovačević: *Oblast Brankovića: Opširni Katastarski Popis iz 1455 Godine*. 2 Volumes. Sarajevo (Orientalni Institut u Sarajevu), 1972 [Note: This detailed (*mufassal*) register is extremely important as its 234 folios cover a large section of western Macedonia. It is catalogued as: BOA: OAK MAD #2*m* and was compiled in June 17-26, 1455 (1-10 *Recep* 859). While appearing in the book's chronological list of registers, no mention of the fact that it was published forty-two years ago is made, nor is it cited in the 'Bibliography'];
- 5) Dušanka Bojanić: "Faksimili fragmenta zbirnog popisa vidinskog sančaka iz 1466, godina," in *Miscellanea. Tome 2*. Beograd: Institut D'Histoire Documents, Tome 11, 1973. A fragment of a 1466 (h. 870) register from Vidin [Note: This work is likewise not cited by the authors nor listed in the book's 'Bibliography'];
- 6) Relja Novaković: *Miscellanea. Tome 2*. Beograd, Institut D'Histoire Documents, Tome 11, 1973. [Note: This register is housed in the Başbakanlık Archives in İstanbul, where it is catalogued as: BOA: MAD #18, consists of a 25 Folio fragment of a 1466 *tahrir defter* for Vidin. While appearing in the book's chronological list of registers, no mention of the fact that it was published forty-one years ago is made, nor is it cited in the 'Bibliography'];
- 7) Relja Novaković: *Miscellanea. Tome 2*. Beograd (Institut D'Histoire Documents: Tome 11), 1973. [Note: This work, housed in the Başbakanlık Archives in İstanbul, where it is catalogued as: BOA: MAD #814, consists of a 49 page fragment of a 1478 *tahrir defter* for Vidin, which is neither included in the chronological catalogue of registers or the 'Bibliography'];
- 8) Momčilo Stojaković: *Recensement de Braničevo: Recensement détaillé de la région de Braničevo de l'année 1467*. Belgrade (Institut D'Histoire), 1987 [Note: This 305 page register is housed in the Başbakanlık Archives in İstanbul, where it is catalogued as: BOA: MAD #5[m]. While appearing in the book's chronological list of registers, no mention of the fact that it was published twenty-seven years ago is made, nor is it cited in the 'Bibliography'];
- 9) Evangelia Balta: *L'Eubée A La Fin Du XVe Siècle: Économie et Population Les registres de l'année 1474*. Athens: Society of Euboean Studies, 1989 [Note: This is an edition of a detailed survey of the Aegean island of Eğriboz (Euboia) [AK: MCT #0.73] drawn up in the year h. 878 (1473-1474).

Not only is it not listed in the book's purported comprehensive list of registers from the reigns of Murad II and Fatih Sultan Mehmed, it likewise is not cited in the 'Bibliography'];

- 10) Melek Delilbaşı & Muzaffer Arıkan: *Hicrî 859 Tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Tırhala*. 2 Volumes. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001 [Note: This detailed (*mufassal*) register is extremely important as its 460 folios cover a large section of central Greece. It is catalogued as: BOA: OAK MAD #10 and was compiled in h. 859 (1455). While appearing in the book's chronological list of registers, no mention of the fact that it was published thirteen years earlier is made, nor is it cited in the 'Bibliography'];

In short, as even this in no way comprehensive list shows, rather than there being nothing other than İnalçık's 1954 work on the 1431-1432 Albanian register, there have been a significant number of 15th century Balkan *tahrir defters* published in the past sixty years. Were we to extend the time frame of our search up to the 1490, the list grows even longer:

- 1) Selami Pulaha: *Le Cadastre de l'an 1485 du Sandjak de Shkoder: Présentation, introduction, transliteration, traduction et commentaire*. Tirana: Academie des Sciences de la R.P. d'Albanie: Institut d'Histoire, 1974 - *Defteri i regjistrimit të sanxhakut tëshokodrës i vitit 1485*. 2 Volumes. Tirana, 1974 [Note: This is an edition of BOA: TT #17, a register drawn up in 1485 (h. 890), which covers the region of İskenderiyye (İşkodra)];
- 2) Heath W. Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos*, İstanbul: Eren Publications, 2002. This work includes a transcription and facsimile of BOA: TT #25, a *mufassal* register for the island of Limnos (Limni) compiled in early 1490 (10-20 *rebiülevvel* h. 895)]. A Turkish edition of this work appeared in 2013 as: *On Beşinci Yüzyıl Osmanlı Gerçekleri: Limnos (Limni) Adasında Yaşam*, İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2013, pp. xxiv + 331 + 38 Plates + 3 Maps + 1 Appendix & in 2019 a greatly expanded version of the 2002 study was published: *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos*, İstanbul: BAU Publications, 2019, pp. x + 364 + 38 Plates + 3 Maps + 1 Appendix.

It is almost as if for İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, time stopped in 1954 with the publication of İnalçık's 1431-1432 Arvanid (Albania) register, and has

resumed in 2013 (sixty years later) with the appearance of the study under review. Stated differently, so egregious are the lacunae in this ‘Bibliography’ that the uninformed reader could logically assume that in the interim between 1954 and 2013 no scholarly attention whatsoever had been focused on the 15th century Balkan *tahrir defters*.

In addition to the fact that the ‘Bibliography’ has overlooked at least a dozen published editions of 15th century Balkan registers, there are literally dozens of books and articles based on them which have appeared in the past sixty years. Not a single one of which is mentioned in the critical apparatus of this book.⁴⁹

While the work’s ‘Bibliography’ fails to list any of the aforementioned published registers, it does contain a footnote in its *Ek* [Appendix], consisting of what purports to be a list of all the extant registers, which reads: “*Bu listedeki defterlerden bazıları çeşitli araştırmacılar tarafından yayınlanmıştır*” (Some of the

49 Note: Using only my own work as an example (due to my familiarity with it), in addition to the Limnos book, in the past three decades, I have published the following books and articles based wholly or partly on the registers from the reigns of Murad II and Fatih Sultan Mehmed: Books: *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550: Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2008); Articles: “The Ottoman *Liva Kanunnames* Contained in the *Defter-i Hakani*,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları - Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 2 (1981), pp. 43-74; “A Corpus of Extant *Kanunnames* for the Island of Limnos as Contained in the *Tapu-Tahrir* Collection of the *Başbakanlık* Archives,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları - Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 1 (1980), pp. 41-60; “Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selanik (Thessalonica) in the Year 1478,” *Diptycha*, 2 (1981), pp. 254-293; “The Island of Limnos: A Case Study on the Continuity of Byzantine Forms Under Ottoman Rule,” *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, eds. A. Bryer & H. Lowry (Washington, D.C. & Birmingham, England: Dumbarton Oaks & University of Birmingham, 1986), pp. 235-259; “Changes in Fifteenth Century Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radilofo (Radolibos),” *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, eds. A. Bryer & H. Lowry (Washington, D.C. & Birmingham, England: Dumbarton Oaks & University of Birmingham, 1986), pp. 25-37; “The Fifteenth Century Ottoman *Vilayet-i Keşîşlik*: Its Location, Population and Taxation,” *Humanist and Scholar: Essays in Honor of Andreas Tietze*, eds. H. Lowry & D. Quataert (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1993), pp. 15-26; “The Ottoman *Tahrir Defterleri* as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations,” *Türkische Wirtschafts und Sozialgeschichte von 1071 bis 1920*, eds. H. G. Majer & R. Motika (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995) pp. 183-196; and “A Note on Three Palaiologon Princes as Members of the Ottoman Ruling Elite,” *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands: Toward a Social and Economic History. Studies in Honor of John C. Alexander*, eds. E. Kolovos, Ph. Kotzageorgis, S. Laiou & M. Sariyannis (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2007), pp. 279-288.

defters in this list have been published by various researchers), thereby implicitly acknowledging the author's awareness of their existence.⁵⁰ What is more difficult to comprehend is why they did not bother to include these published registers in their Bibliography?

Facsimiles (*Tipki basım*)⁵¹

The facsimiles of the seven register fragments provided by the authors are likewise flawed in several key aspects:

- 1) The authors have neglected to provide page/folio numbers on the facsimiles corresponding to those they have given in the transcriptions. In point of fact, they have provided no numbers whatsoever on the facsimiles. This means that the reader wishing to check a particular reading in the transcription is forced to search the relevant facsimile page by page. This is not only time consuming, it is also a serious flaw in the design of the book;
- 2) Inexplicably in the facsimiles provided for: *D #707* (Sofya),⁵² *OAK #52/59* (Visoka),⁵³ *OAK #45/30* (Selânik),⁵⁴ the authors have strangely chosen to enlarge (blow up) sections of certain pages, which means that what is a single page in the register appears as two pages in the facsimile. Given the absence of page/folio numbers in the facsimiles this becomes a serious impediment to anyone wishing to use the book. Why this was done is difficult to comprehend as all the fragments they have published come from the same size registers: 29x11 cm;
- 3) Seemingly the authors themselves were confused by the strange manner they chose to publish the facsimiles, a confusion which has on occasion led to their skipping folios. One such case in point is in *D #707* where the authors skipped Folio #12r, i.e., failed to provide a facsimile of this page of the register, although in their transliteration they do include this page;⁵⁵

50 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. IX, footnote #2.

51 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. 221-518.

52 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. 225-274.

53 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. 277-315.

54 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. 405-454.

55 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. 253 gives the facsimile of Folio #12v & p. 254 that of Folio #13v. Folio #12r is not given. This is a strange oversight, as in the 'transcription' of this register Folio #12r is given on p. 14.

- 4) Frequently the authors have printed the facsimile pages out of order. This is particularly so in their facsimile of *OAK #52/59* where, in place of following their actual order (Folio[F]: 1 verso [v], F1 recto [r], F2v, F2r, etc.) they publish the folios in the following order: F1r, F2v, F3v, F2r, F3r [2 pages], F4v [2 pages], F5v, F4r, F6r, F7v, F8v, F7r, F9v, F8r, F10v, F9r, F10r, F11v [2 pages], F11r [2 pages], F12v, F12r, F13v, [Note: the authors skipped Folio 14r, i.e., failed to provide a facsimile of this page of the register – nor do they give it in the transcription?], F15v, F15r, F16v [2 pages], F16r [Note: Facsimile is missing half of the bottom line], F17r [2 pages. Here the authors have printed part of the same page twice⁵⁶], F18v [2 pages]. Due to the author's failure to paginate the facsimiles they provide, the only way the reader can correct their error is to go back to the original registers (*defter*s) and compare their contents with the versions provided by İnalçık, Radushev & Altuğ.

In short, the facsimiles of the seven *defter* fragments published by İnalçık, Radushev & Altuğ are for all practical purposes unusable. In particular the author's failure to provide page/folio numbers for the facsimiles they published is an inexcusable oversight. To date, all previous publications of *tahrir defter*s have provided page/folio numbers for their facsimiles. This includes İnalçık's 1954 edition of the 1432 Arvanid (Albania) *defter*.⁵⁷ Given the present work's claim that it is based on the aforesaid İnalçık publication, their failure in this regard is particularly difficult to comprehend?

Index (İndeks)⁵⁸

Given the fact that the authors incorrectly view the seven fragments they have published as belonging to the same register:

*Yapmış olduğumuz detaylı incelemeler sonucunda, erken on beşinci yüzyıla ait defterlerden, H. 849 [April 17, 1445 – April 7, 1446] tarihli olan parçaların Paşa Livâsî'nin tahrir defterinden ayrılmış olduklarını tespit ettik. Bu çalışmanın amacı, çeşitli arşivlerinden tespit edip birleştirdiğimiz parçaları bir cilt halinde yayınlamaktır.*⁵⁹ [English: As a result of the detailed examinations we have

56 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. 304 & 305.

57 İnalçık, 1954a: *Tıpkıbasımlar* (Facsimiles): *Levha* (Plates) I-XV.

58 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. 153-218.

59 İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: p. xvii.

conducted, we have determined that the fragments all come from the Paşa Livâsı cadastral survey (*tahrir defter*) dated h. 849 (April 17,1445-April 7, 1446]. The intent of the present study is to bring together the fragments we have identified in various archives and publish them as a single volume].

the reader might at least expect that its 'Index' reflect this fact, i.e., that it provide a single 'Index' for the place names (*yer adları*) in the seven registers, and a single 'Index' for the proper names (*şahıs adları*) in them. Unfortunately, this is not the case. While the authors have indeed provided a single index for the place names (*yer adları*), inexplicably they have provided the reader a total of seven (7) separate indexes for the proper names (*şahıs adları*) that appear in each of the *defter* fragments they have published. To say the least, this makes the job of the researcher attempting to use them unnecessarily difficult.

Closing Thoughts

In short, from the 'title' on its front cover to its 'index' this is a deeply flawed book and one which must be used with extreme caution. While this may in part be a reflection of the fact that it was authored by 'committee,' it reflects poorly on the reputation of the late Halil İnalçık, the universally acclaimed doyen of 20th century Ottoman studies. As the authors do not inform the reader as to their division of labor, i.e., do not tell us who is responsible for what, Halil İnalçık, as the senior author, unfortunately must bear the ultimate responsibility for the flawed final product.

One thing is certain. In the same manner that İnalçık's 1954 *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid* is unsuitable to serve as a 'model' for a project designed to publish all the extant *tahrir defters* from the reigns of Sultan Murad II and Sultan Fatih Mehmed, so too, the study under review: *1445 Tarihli Paşa Livâsı İcmâl Defteri* (flawed as it is from beginning to end), an inadequate 'model' for the volumes which hopefully will follow. Regrettably, given the well deserved esteem I feel for Halil Hoca and his work, rather than being a 'model' for how to publish *defters*, the book under review is a 'model' for how not to do so. One can only hope that the author's will take this critique to heart as they prepare the subsequent volumes.

Postscript

In 2016, the second volume in the planned series: ‘The Publication Project for the *Tahrir Defter* from the Reign’s of Murad II and Fatih Sultan Mehmed’ appeared as:

Radushev, Evgeni & Altuğ, Uğur: *1422-1423 Tarihli Köprülü, Kastorya ve Koluna Vilâyetleri Mufassal Defteri: Metin, İndeks ve Tıpkıbasım*. İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2016. pp. xv + 177 + 1 Harita + 94 pages of Facsimiles.⁶⁰

[English: Radushev, Evgeni & Altuğ, Uğur: *Detailed Register for the Provinces of Köprülü, Kastorya ve Koluna for the Years 1422-1423: Text, Index & Facsimiles*. İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2016. pp. xv + 177 + 1 Map + 94 pages of Facsimiles]

Like its predecessor this volume likewise suffers from some disturbing shortcomings. These too begin with the author’s choice of title. Here, despite the fact that the work publishes fragments of three (3) separate registers (*MAD* #237, *MAD* #525 and *MAD* #250), the book’s title refers only to *MAD* #237, an undated *timar defter* (register of military fiefs) covering the provinces of Köprülü, Kastorya ve Koluna (*Vilâyet-i Köprülü, Vilâyet-i Kastorya & Vilâyet-i Koluna*). As for the claim that this register dates to the years 1422-1423 (which, if true, would make it the oldest extant *timar* register), here the authors via what can only be viewed as some rather convoluted reasoning have attempted to ascribe this undated register to the year: h. 825 - h. 826 (1422-1423).⁶¹ I find their efforts in this regard less than convincing.

As for *MAD* #525 and *MAD* #250, Radushev/Altuğ state that both these undated fragments were drawn up in 1545.⁶² As they both contain later marginalia recording changes in their status dating from *hicri* 849 (1445-1446) to *hicri* 859 (1454), we may logically infer that their *terminus a quo* is actually earlier than 1445-1446.

Here too, as in the 2013 work, the authors have inaccurately defined what is clearly an early fifteenth century *timar defter* (register of military fiefs) as a *mufassal tahrir defter* (detailed tax register),⁶³ and in so doing mistakenly applied terminology from a later period backwards in time.

60 Hereafter cited as: Radushev and Altuğ, 2016.

61 Radushev and Altuğ, 2016: pp. 3-9.

62 Radushev and Altuğ, 2016: p. 3.

63 Radushev and Altuğ, 2016: p. 10.

While overall the transcriptions provided, as well as the facsimiles for *MAD* #237, are presented in a better form than those in the earlier work (with the facsimile page numbers provided with the transcriptions, albeit in Arabic numerals rather than Roman), and therefore somewhat more reader friendly, the fact that the transcriptions once again appear separately from the facsimiles rather than together on facing pages still cause the would be user the inconvenience of having to unnecessarily continuously shift back and forth between different sections of the work. An example of the method of presentation I am suggesting, taken from my edition of *TT* #25 of 1490 for the island of Limnos (Limni) is given below:⁶⁴

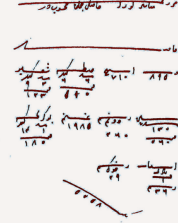
Sayfa 25:

[#14: Satır 1-2] MEZRA-İ MANASTIR-İ LAVRA: Hâsıl eümlede mahsubdır (Lavra manastırının ekilebilir metruk arazisi: Geliri Kondia köyünden alınan toplam vergiye dahildir):

[Satır 3] HÂSİL (Gelirler):

Satır	Vergi Kategorisi	Ölçü Birimi	Değeri (Akçe)
4	Haraç (Arazi Vergisi)		895 [akçe]
	İspenç (Hane Reisi Vergisi)		710 [akçe]
	Hımta (Buğday)	müd: 6 - kile: 6 - kıymet	510 [akçe]
	Şair (Arpa)	müd: 4 - kile: 9 - kıymet	123 [akçe]
5	Şıra (Mayalanmamış Üzümlü Suyu)	medre: 130 - kıymet	260 [akçe]
	Resm-i Dönüm (Üzümlü Bağ Vergisi)		260 [akçe]
	Ganem (Koyun Vergisi)		1985 [akçe]
6	Börülice	müd: 1 - kile: 14 - kıymet	180 [akçe]
	Asyab-i Yelleri (Yel Değirmeni Vergisi)	fi: 1 - resm	36 [akçe]
7	Resm-i Huk (Domuz Vergisi)		29 [akçe]
	Yekün (Toplam):		5258 [akçe]*

Sayfa 25 - Faksimile



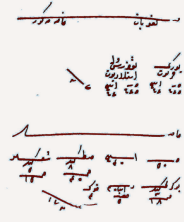
[#15: Satır 8-9] KARYE-İ LAGHOPAT: Hassa-i mezkûr (Lagopation köyünden alınan vergiler zaimin hasına tahsis edilmektedir):

Satır	İsim	Haraç	İspenç	Vergi Kategorisi
10	Yorgi Keryot	25	20	orta hâlli
	Thodoros veled-i İstilyaryot	25	20	orta hâlli
11	Hane: 2			

[Satır 12]: HÂSİL (Gelirler):

Satır	Vergi Kategorisi	Ölçü Birimi	Değeri (Akçe)
13	Haraç (Arazi Vergisi)		50 [akçe]
	İspenç (Hane Reisi Vergisi)		40 [akçe]
	Hımta (Buğday)	kile: 8 - kıymet	40 [akçe]
	Şair (Arpa)	kile: 5 - kıymet	15 [akçe]
14	Börülice	kile: 3 - kıymet	18 [akçe]
	Resm-i Asyab (Su Değirmeni Vergisi)	hisse	5 [akçe]
	Resm-i Huk (Domuz Vergisi)		4 [akçe]
15	Yekün (Toplam):		172 [akçe]

* Vergi gelirlerinin toplamı aslında 4988 akçedir. 270 akçelik bir hesap hatası vardır.



More questionable is the author's choice to publish *MAD* #237 with transcription and facsimiles, while choosing to only publish transcriptions for *MAD* #525 and *MAD* #250, i.e., not to provide facsimiles of the original documents for these two registers. By so doing they deprive the user the ability to control their readings. It is difficult to comprehend the author's choice to include transcriptions of *MAD* #525 and *MAD* #250 in the first place, as both these fragments (together with transcriptions and facsimiles) had previously been published in

64 Lowry, 2013: pp. 206-207.

their 2013 study co-authored with Halil İnalçık.⁶⁵ In a footnote Radushev/Altuğ acknowledge that they are republishing these two registers, and justify it as due to the relationship they bear with *MAD #237*?⁶⁶ As envisaged their ‘Publication Project’ is designed for the specialist rather than a general audience, accordingly, if they deemed it necessary to republish *MAD #525* and *MAD #250* the publication of both transcriptions and facsimiles in this volume would have been desirable.

There are also some mistakes in the transcriptions. One such example is found on p. 60 – line 1 of the transcription, where in listing the Jewish residents of the town of Kastorya (Kesriye), they have written:

Istamad, Lazur, Musa, Lazur, Liyos

Rather than what actually reads:

استاماد لاوز موسی لاوز مردو لیوس

*Istamad, Lazor, Musa, Lazor, Mordo, Liyos*⁶⁷

In so doing they have overlooked: Mordo. This is clearly due to carelessness in editing as the section of the register listing the city’s Jews uniformly provides six (6) rather than five (5) names on each line.

The work, like that published in 2013, also suffers from the lack of an analysis of the registers it presents. The work’s ‘*Giriş*’ (Introduction) is limited to their attempt to convince the reader that *MAD #237* is in fact dateable to 1422-1423.⁶⁸ Even in this ‘Introduction’ there are comments which are clearly inaccurate. For example, in attempting to account for the absence of registers from the late fourteenth or opening decades of the fifteenth century, the authors write:

65 See: İnalçık, Radushev and Altuğ, 2013: pp. 71-91 for transcription & pp. 359-386 for facsimile of *MAD #525* & pp. 93-105 for transcription & pp. 387-402 for facsimile of *MAD #250*.

66 Radushev and Altuğ, 2016: p. 119, fn. 1.

67 Radushev and Altuğ, 2016: Facsimile - p. ۸۶ (86) line 1.

68 Radushev and Altuğ, 2016: pp. 1-10.

*Ankara savaşı'ndan (1402) hemen sonra, Osmanlı pâyitahtı Bursa'nın Timur tarafından işgali esnasında devlet arşivinin yakılması erken döneme ait belgeleri yok etmiş görünmektedir.*⁶⁹

[English: “Immediately following the Battle of Ankara (1402), the burning of the state archives, during the occupation of the Ottoman capital Bursa by Timur, appears to have resulted in the destruction of the documents belonging to the early period”.]

This sentence alone contains several questionable assertions: a) in 1402 (after the defeat at Ankara and prior to its occupation by Timur’s troops) the Ottoman capital (*pâyitahtı* = capital, i.e., seat of government) was transferred from Bursa in Anatolia, to Edirne in the Balkans by Emîr Süleyman, who took the treasury and official state documents from Bursa to what henceforth would be the new Ottoman capital;⁷⁰ b) Timur (Tamerlane) himself never set foot in or occupied Bursa, rather, following Emîr Süleyman’s moving the capital to Edirne, it was occupied, pillaged and partially burnt by elements of his army; and, c) it is simply not known whether the damage inflicted on the city resulted in the destruction of “*documents belonging to the early period*” as alleged by Radushev and Altuğ.⁷¹

Finally, while both these volumes make the registers they include available to a wider audience, and as such make a contribution to our understanding of Ottoman administrative practices in the fifteenth century Balkans, one can only hope that the future volumes in the series take to heart the critiques offered herein. They are offered solely with a desire to strengthen the value of the time and effort the editors are putting into this most important project.

* * *

69 Radushev and Altuğ, 2016: p. 1.

70 M. Tayyib Gökbilgin: “Edirne,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, X, 1994, pp. 425-431. See: p. 425: “*Emîr Süleyman hazineyi ve devletin resmî evrakını alarak Edirne’ye gelmiş ve böylece devlet merkezi Edirne olmuştur*” [English: Taking the treasury and state documents with him Emîr Süleyman moved to Edirne, thus making it the state’s new capital].

71 Note: Here Radushev & Altuğ appear to be relying on Halil İncalcık’s article: “Bursa,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, VI, 1992, pp. 445-449, See: p. 445 where, without citation, İncalcık wrote: “*Yangın sırasında ilk Osmanlı padişahlarına ait resmî vesikalar ve birçok telif eser yok oldu*” [English: During the fire official documents and a number of important works belonging to the first Ottoman Sultans were destroyed].