

## The *Sancak* of Prizren in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century 15. ve 16. Yüzyılda Prizren Sancağı

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### *Abstract*

The *sancak* of Prizren is one of the few *sancaks* in the Balkans that for most of its existence did not have an integral territory. It was divided into two disconnected areas. Southern one covered the wider surroundings of Prizren and the regions of north-eastern Albania and was inhabited by mixed Albanian-Serb-Vlach population. Northern one stretched over the area between the rivers Lim and Ibar and was inhabited by Serb-Vlach population. Prizren, the center of *sancak*, the town with a long tradition and the capital during the reign of Tsar Dušan, eventually became a typical oriental town which economic progress can be attributed to a favorable position at the crossroads of important trade routes. This paper presents a summary of our findings on the formation and development of the *sancak* of Prizren in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. Based on *Tapu Tabrir* and *Maliye defters*, and other Ottoman and Western sources, we have attempted to point out the changes in the *sancak*'s size, the general features of the settlements, the ethnic and religious composition of the population and main demographic and economic trends.

**Keywords:** Prizren, *sancak*, *defter*, migrations, islamization.

### *Özet*

Prizren sancağı, Balkanlarda mevcudiyetinin büyük bir kısmında toprak bütünlüğüne sahip olmayan nadir sancaklardan biridir. Bu sancak, birbirlerinden uzak iki bölgeye ayrılmıştır. Güney kısmı Prizren'in geniş bir çevresini, Arnavutluk'un kuzeydoğu kesimlerini kapsamaktaydı ve Arnavut-Sırp-Eflak karışımı bir nüfus ile meskûndü. Kuzey kısmı Lim ve Ibar nehirleri arasındaki bölgede uzanıyordu ve Sırp-Eflak nüfus ile meskûndü. Sancak merkezi, uzun geleneğe sahip bir şehir ve İmparator Dušan'ın payitahtı olan Prizren, zamanla tipik bir doğulu şehir haline geldi. Önemli ticaret yollarının kavşağında olması şehrin ekonomik gelişimini kolaylaştırmaktaydı. Bu çalışma, 15. ve 16. yüzyıllarda Prizren sancağının oluşumu ve gelişimini hulasa olarak sunmaktadır. Bu çalışmada Tapu Tahrir ve Maliye defterleri, diğer Osmanlı ve batılı kaynaklar esas olmak üzere sancağın sınır değişimlerini, yerleşim

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birimlerinin genel karakterini, nüfusun etnik ve dini yapısını ve başlıca demografski ve ekonomski temayülleri ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır.

**Anabtar Kelimeler:** Prizren, sancak, defter, göçler, İslamlaşma

### Introduction

The *sancak* of Prizren was located in the southern part of the Central Balkans, in the area surrounded by the Šar Mountains and the Black Drin River in the south, the mountains Jadovnik, Javor and Golija in the north, the rivers Lim in the west and Ibar in the east. It encompassed the areas the Ottomans gradually conquered from the late 14<sup>th</sup> until the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, and that, for the most part, belonged to Serbian nobleman Vuk Branković. Prizren, the old medieval town and the capital of Dušan's Empire, the seat of the *sancak*, continued its development under the Ottomans as a strong regional economic, political and cultural center. Over time, it began resembling a real oriental town and kept its multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character until recently.

Rich Ottoman heritage of Prizren has drawn the attention of many scholars, who began researching the very town as well as the *sancak* as a whole. Among them Hasan Kaleši<sup>1</sup>, Olga Zirojević<sup>2</sup> and Machiel Kiel<sup>3</sup> are worth mentioning. The edition of detailed cadastral survey of the *sancak* of Prizren in

<sup>1</sup> Hasan Kaleši, "Jedna prizrenska i dve vučitrske kanunname", *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova i Metohije*, Vol. II, Priština 1957, p. 289-300; Idem, "Prizrenac Kukli-beg i njegove zadužbine", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, Vol. VIII-IX, Sarajevo 1959, p. 143-168 (co-authored with Redžep Ismail); Idem, "Kada je crkva Svete Bogorodice Ljeviške u Prizrenu pretvorena u džamiju", *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, Vol. XXVII/3-4, Beograd 1962, p. 253-261; Idem, "Prizren kao kulturni centar za vreme turskog perioda", *Gjurmime Albanologjike*, Vol. I, Priština 1962, p. 91-118; Idem, "Das Wilajet Prizren: Beitrag zur Geschichte der Türkischen Staatsreform auf dem Balkan im 19. Jahrhundert", *Südost-Forschungen*, Vol. 26, München-Oldenbourg 1967, p. 176-238 (co-authored with Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf); Idem, "Prizrenac Mahmud-paša Rotul, njegove zadužbine i vakufnama", *Starine Kosova i Metohije*, Vol. VI-VII, Priština 1973, p. 23-60 (co-authored with Ismail Eren).

<sup>2</sup> Olga Zirojević, "Vučitrski i Prizrenski sandžak u svetlosti turskog popisa 1530/31. godine", *Gjurmime Albanologjike*, Vol. II, Priština 1968, p. 103-120; Idem, "Цркве и манастири у призренском санџаку", *Косовско-метохијски зборник*, Vol. 1, Београд 1990, p. 133-141; Idem, "Кроз бихорску нахију 1571. године", *Симпозијум Сеоски дани Српска Вукосављевића*, Vol. XIV, Пријепоље 1992, p. 173-190; Idem, "Насеља нахије Трговиште 1571. године", *Новопазарски зборник*, Vol. 18, Нови Пазар 1994, p. 31-53; Idem, "Prizren Şehri, İslamiyet ve Hıristiyanlığın Beraber Yaşamının Bir Örneği", *XI Türk Tarih Kongresi*, cilt V, Ankara 1994, p. 2115-2122; Idem, "Призрен у дефтеру из 1571. године", *Историјски часопис*, Vol. 38, Београд 1991, p. 243-263.

<sup>3</sup> Machiel Kiel, "Prizren", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Vol. VIII, Leiden 1995. About Prizren Muslim endowments see also Raif Virmića, *Suzi ve Vakıf Eserleri*, Priština, 1998; Idem, *Prizren'de Türk Dönemi Kültür Mirası*, Prizren 2009; Idem, *Kukli Mehmet Bey Vakıfyesi*, Ankara 2010.

1571 as well as numerous articles published in recent years have contributed to a better understanding of certain areas of the *sancak*, its establishing, economic strength, and more.<sup>4</sup>

This paper discusses the formation and development of the Prizren *sancak* in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. According to our research, based for the most part on the *Tapu Tabrir* and *Maliye defters*, as well as on the documents from other series of Başbakanlık Arşivi, we tried to accentuate the changes in the size of the *sancak*, general features of the settlements and its population, and the main demographic trends. Attention is also paid to economic activities, thanks to which the local population benefitted.

### *The Ottoman Conquest of Prizren*

Historiography is yet to resolve the question of when Prizren eventually fell under the Ottoman rule and became the center of the newly established *sancak*. The generally accepted opinion that it occurred in June 1455, after Sultan Mehmed II Fatih conquered the mine Novo Brdo, is based on a single fact from Serbian chronicles.<sup>5</sup> Since the original chronicles no longer exist, and there is only a transcript from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is assumed that the fact comes from scribes' interpolation. In fact, during the conquest of Novo Brdo, a nearby fort with a similar name, Prizrenac, whose purpose was to protect the mine, was conquered as well. Ottoman chroniclers describing Fatih's campaign listed each of the conquered fortresses, but not Prizren.<sup>6</sup>

Several sources confirm the fact that Prizren was under the Ottoman rule prior to June 1455. In the detailed survey of frontier *vilayets* under Isa Bey Ishakoglu from 1452/53, the Prizren Fortress is said to be in the Ottoman possession.<sup>7</sup> The list of arms and supplies in the fort Sobri near Tetovo

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<sup>4</sup> Tatjana Katić, *Описири попис Призренског санџака из 1571. године*, Београд 2010; Idem, "Приходи кадилука Призрен од трговине свилом, рудника Корише и осталог (1525-1545. године)", *Мешовита граба (Miscellanea)*, Vol. XXX, Београд 2009, p. 23-39; Idem, "Вилајет Пастриц (Паштрик) 1452/53. године", *Miscellanea*, Vol. XXXI, Београд 2010, p. 39-74; Idem, "Тврђава Бихор у 15. и 16. веку", *Ђурђеви ступови и Будимљанска епархија*, Беране – Београд 2011, p. 483-498; Idem, "Попис зеамета и тимара области Брвеник из 1477. године", *Miscellanea*, Vol. XXXII, Београд 2011, p. 157-190 (co-authored with Gordana Garić-Petrović); Yücel Yiğit, "Prizren Sancağı'nın İdari Yapısı (1864-1912)", *History Studies*, Vol. 2/1, Samsun 2010, p. 114-146; Sadullah Gülten, "XVI. Yüzyılda Prizren Kazası", *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Vol. 5/20, Ordu 2012, p. 184-199. Idem, "Prizren Vakıflarına Dair", *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Vol. 6/24, Ordu 2013, p. 133-141.

<sup>5</sup> Лубомир Стојановић, *Стари српски родослови и летописи*, Београд - Срем. Карловци, 1922, p. 238.

<sup>6</sup> Mehmed Neşri, *Kitâb-ı Cibân-Nümâ, Neşri Tarihi*, I-II, (yayımlayanlar Faik Reşit Unat, Mehmed A. Köymen), 2. baskı, Ankara 1987, p. 721; Ibn Kemal (Kemalpaşazâde), *Tevârih-i Âli-i Osman*, VII defter, hazırlayan Şerafettin Turan, Ankara 1954, p. 117-120.

<sup>7</sup> BOA (Istanbul, Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Osmanlı Arşivi), *Maliyeden Müdevver Defter (MAD) nu.12*, published in *Турски документи за историјата на македонскиот народ*,

includes "raincoats arrived from Prizren 37 [pieces]" and "bows holders arrived from Prizren 47 [pieces]."<sup>8</sup> The *sancak* of Prizren and the *nahiye* of Prizren are mentioned in defter of *voynuks* compiled at the beginning of March 1455, two months before the alleged Ottoman conquest of Prizren.<sup>9</sup>

Shortly after the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 the Ottomans took control of the road that led from Macedonia to Bosnia and ran through the territory of Vuk Branković, under whose rule Prizren was at the time.<sup>10</sup> At the end of 1391 Pasha Yiğit Bey, conquered Skopje, which also belonged to Vuk Branković. Skopje became the starting point for attacks north and west of the Šar Mountains in the direction of Serbia, Bosnia and Albania. Well-informed chronicler Ibn Kemal, who, in detail, described the conquest of Skopje, did not mention Prizren in the fourth book of his *History of the Ottoman Dynasty*.<sup>11</sup> Since it covers events up to and immediately after the Battle of Angora in 1402, we conclude that the town was in Serbian possession. The fact that there was a truce from 1392 to 1396 between Vuk Branković and Sultan Bayezid supports the claim. After the outbreak of new conflicts and death of Vuk Branković in the fall of 1397, Bayezid I took a part of his land for himself, giving one part to Stefan Lazarević, and one part to Vuk's widow and children for support. Based on the charters issued by the Serbian rulers for Hilandar monastery, it is assumed that Metohija region, including the town of Prizren, belonged to Stefan Lazarević.<sup>12</sup>

After the Battle of Angora in 1402, the history of the Ottoman Empire was marked by conflicts among the Ottoman princes and in Serbia by the conflicts between the families Lazarević and Branković. When Sultan Mehmed I (1413-1421) came to the throne, the situation settled down. George, the son of Vuk Branković, came to terms with despot Stefan Lazarević, and became a vassal of Mehmed I. George did not govern the region of his father independently. Turkish garrisons, *kadıs*, customs officers, *emins*, and others,

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*Описни пописни дефтери од XV век, том III, под редакција на Методија Соколоски, Скопје 1976. About the dating of MAD 12, see Ibid, 10, 15.*

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 132; MAD 12, p. 120.

<sup>9</sup> Istanbul, Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı, *Muallim Cevdet Evrakı, 36-03*, p. 15, 125. Full title of the *defter* is "Sûret-i defter-i voynugân-i sancak-ı Alacahisâr ve vilâyet-i İzveçan ve Yeleç ve Ras ve Seniçe ve Hodidede ve vilâyet-i Vilk ki taalluk-ı sancak-ı Vılçitrin ve sancak-ı Prizrin".

<sup>10</sup> Иван Божић, *Дубровник и Турска у XIV и XV веку*, Београд 1952, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Kemal (Kemalpaşazâde), *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, IV. Defter, (hazırlayan Koji Imazawa), Ankara 2000.

<sup>12</sup> Михаило Динић, "Област Бранковића", у *Српске земље у средњем веку*, Београд 1978, p. 154-155, 161; И. Божић, op. cit., 17, 32. Милош Благојевић, "О издаји или невери Вука Бранковића", *Зборник Матице српске за историју*, Vol. 79-80, Београд 2009, p. 38-39.

were in mining towns, cities and fortresses of Vuk's land (*Vuk-ili*), in Zvečan, Jeleč, Gluhavica, Trgovište, Trepča and Priština.<sup>13</sup>

During the reign of Sultan Murad II (1421-1444, 1446-1451) the Ottoman Empire continued to expand its territory in the Balkans. In 1427 Turks went to war with the Serbian Despotate and deprived it of the region of Pomoravlje, Timok area and fortress Golubac on the Danube. In the same year Despot Stefan Lazarević passed away and George Branković succeeded to his throne. He had to pay increased tribute to territorially smaller state. It is supposed that he was holding Prizren, although the real power in *Vuk-ili* was in the hands of the sultan.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently the focus of the Ottoman military actions was transferred to Greece and Albania. In 1430 the Turks conquered Thessaloniki and then went to Epirus. At the same time *ucbeyi* Ishak Bey broke into northern Albania, where he conquered several towns of Ivan Kastriot and land of Tan Dukagjin.<sup>15</sup>

Territorial conquests of the Ottoman Empire, achieved in the period from 1427 to 1430, led to the implementation of the new cadastral census.<sup>16</sup> It is almost certain that it was at this time that the regions south and west of Prizren: Opolje, Gora, Paštrik, Rudina and Radovina were directly controlled by the Ottomans. Specifically, these areas were listed in 1452/53 as parts of the military-administrative units Paštrik *vilayet*, with the total revenue of 150.000 *akçes*, for which it was explicitly stated that they had been collected before, in accordance with an earlier order.<sup>17</sup> This means that the compiler of the census from 1452/53 had insight into the older *defter* of the same area, probably from the thirties of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. According to the summary census of *Vuk-ili* of May 1455<sup>18</sup> Hazim Šabanović concluded that it was fully annexed to the Ottoman Empire prior to the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup>

In 1433 George Branković had to renounce certain parts of the Despotate and to send his daughter Mara, with a big dowry, to the sultan's harem.<sup>20</sup> All this did not dissuade Sultan Murad II from his intention to fully integrate the

<sup>13</sup> М. Динић, "Област Бранковића", 174; И. Божић, *Дубровник и Турска*, 38; Олга Зиројевић, *Турско војно уређење у Србији 1459-1683*, Београд 1974, р. 34-35.

<sup>14</sup> О. Зиројевић, *op. cit.*, 36-39; *Историја српског народа II*, Београд 1982, р. 212-217, 222.

<sup>15</sup> *Историја српског народа II*, р. 228.

<sup>16</sup> There is only one preserved *defter* of Albanian lands south of Kroia dated 1431. Halil Inalcik, *Hürî 835 tarihli Sıret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara 1987 (2. Baskı), р. XVII-XVIII.

<sup>17</sup> ВОА, МАД 12, р. 33b; Татјана Катић, "Вилајет Паштриц (Паштрик) 1452/53. ГОДИНЕ", *Мешовита зраћа (Miscellanea) XXXI*, Београд 2010, р. 39-74.

<sup>18</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Isbakovića. Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, Sarajevo 1964.

<sup>19</sup> *Idem*, *Bosanski pašaluk*, Sarajevo 1982, р. 33.

<sup>20</sup> О. Зиројевић, *op. cit.*, 40-41.

remaining vassal states in the Balkans. Smederevo was conquered in 1439 and the mine Novo Brdo in 1441.<sup>21</sup> During this period, if not earlier, Prizren was seized. We assume that Prizren remained under the Ottoman rule even after the restoration of Despotate in 1444, and that the towns that Murad II then returned to the Despot were precisely those which his son Mehmed conquered a few years later, such as Novo Brdo, Lipljan, Trepča, Brvenik and Bihor.

### *The Territory and Military Forces of the Prizren Sancak*

Prizren was, apparently, conquered in the first period of the reign of Sultan Murad II. We cannot say with certainty whether it immediately became the seat of the new *sancak* or whether it was temporarily under the authority of the Skopje frontier leader, just like the entire land that belonged to Vuk Branković.

The earliest mention of the *sancak* of Prizren, for now, is from the beginning of March 1455. Based on it we can only conclude that it encompassed a part of Vuk Branković's lands, while the other part belonged to the Vučitrn *sancak*.<sup>22</sup> The picture becomes a little clearer on the basis of a summary census of 1477.<sup>23</sup> *Defter* is unfortunately incomplete; the title is missing, as well as the majority of the first half. The preserved pages contain only information about the villages in the areas between Kosovska Mitrovica and Istok (Suho Grlo *zeamet*), Djakovica and Peć (Dečani *zeamet*), and regions south of Djakovica, between the White Drin River and the Prokletije Mountains (Altun-ili *zeamet*).<sup>24</sup> Then come the villages in the area between the rivers Ibar and Lim (Irgovište and Bihor *zeamets*), and north and south-east of Novi Pazar (Brvenik *zeamet*).<sup>25</sup> Vlach villages in the Pešter plateau, in Bihor, in Kosovo around Priština, Suva Reka and elsewhere are registered as well. All were grouped into the *zeamet* of the Vlachs of *Vuk-ili*.<sup>26</sup>

The above mentioned, however incomplete, scope of the Prizren *sancak* was changing in the years after the conquest of Skadar, in 1479, when the villages of Suho Grlo, Dečani and Altun-ili *zeamets* were permanently attached to the newly established *sancak* of Skadar.<sup>27</sup> Thus the territory of the Prizren *sancak* was divided into northern and southern part.

<sup>21</sup> *Историја српског народа* II, 241-251. М. Динић, “Област Бранковића”, 175.

<sup>22</sup> See note 9.

<sup>23</sup> ВОА, *Defterhâne-i Âmiri Tabrîr Defteri* (TD) nu. 5m.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 3, 4, 24-27, also Татјана Катич, Гордана Гарић-Петровић, “Османски АЛТИН (АЛТУН-ИЛИ) 1477. ГОДИНЕ”, *Miscellanea*, XXXIII, Београд 2012, p. 93-112.

<sup>25</sup> ВОА, TD 5m, p. 5-23, 32-61. For district of Brvenik see Т. Катич, Г. Гарић-Петровић, “Попис зеамета и тимара области Брвеник из 1477. ГОДИНЕ”, *Miscellanea*, XXXII, Београд 2011, p. 157-190.

<sup>26</sup> ВОА, TD 5m, p. 28-32.

<sup>27</sup> See Selami Pulaha, *Defteri i Regjistrimit të sanxhakut të Shkodrës i vitit 1485*, I-II, Tiranë 1974.

Brvenik area remained part of the Prizren *sancak* only up to the time of Sultan Selim I (1512-1520), when it was ceded to the Zvornik *sancakbeyi* in order to strengthen his position against the Hungarians.<sup>28</sup>

Summary register dated 1518 is the earliest complete census of the *sancak* of Prizren, based on which we can accurately determine its territory.<sup>29</sup> Almost all enlisted villages were registered in the *defters* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century so it can be concluded that the Prizren *sancak* got its final form at the time of Sultan Selim I. The organization of *nahiyes* was the only entity that changed, but the territory remained the same, more or less.

In 1518 the district of Prizren was divided into the subdistricts (*nahiyes*) of Prizren, Vlachs of Prizren, Vlachs of Vuk's land, Bihor, Trgovište and Štavica that belonged to the *kaşa* of Prizren and *kaşa* of Bihor as well as *nahiyes* of Gora, Opolje, Paštrik, Domštica, Rudina, Radovina and Debar, which belonged to the *kaşa* of the Albanian *bases*.<sup>30</sup>

In the following decade the *nahiyes* of the Prizren Vlachs and the Vlachs of Vuk Branković's land were disbanded due to transition of the Vlachs to the class of *reaya*. Vlach villages were merged with *nahiyes* where they were situated, mostly to the *nahiye* of Prizren but also to the Trgovište and Bihor *nahiyes*. A small number of their settlements were subjected to the *nahiyes* of Vučitrn and Skadar *sancaks*. Some villages were deserted because their population moved to the areas where the Vlach privileges were still in force. These changes were registered in the census of Rumelia in 1530.<sup>31</sup>

In the forties of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the *nahiye* of Štavica ceased to exist as an administrative unit; Štavica villages were annexed to the *nahiye* of Trgovište. Also a number of villages of the Prizren *nahiye* were separated and established a new *nahiye* centered at Hoča.<sup>32</sup>

In the sixties of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, another subdistrict was formed - Žežna, consisting of only 19 villages, mainly from the Prizren *nahiye* and several villages

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<sup>28</sup> See Adem Handžić, *Dva prva popisa Zvorničkog sandžaka iz 1519. i 1533. godine*, Sarajevo 1986.

<sup>29</sup> BOA, TD 92.

<sup>30</sup> See map of the Albanian *bases* in *167 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri (937/1530)*, Vol. II, Ankara 2004, p. 136. Only a few villages of Debar *nahiye* were under the jurisdiction of the Albanian *bases's kadı*. The majority of Debar villages (*nahiyes* of Upper and Lower Debar) belonged to the *sancak* of Ohrid. For more details see Драги Горгиев, *Населението во македонско-албанскиот граничен појас (XV-XVI век)*, Скопје 2009, p. 22-43.

<sup>31</sup> *167 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri (937/1530)*, Vol. II, p. 371-400. TD 167 is a summarized compilation of previous *defters*; data relating to the incomes of the Prizren *sancak* were literally copied from *defter* dating from 1518 (TD 92).

<sup>32</sup> BOA, TD 368. The *nahiye* of Hoča was first mentioned in 1541. BOA, MAD 34, p. 419.

from the Vučitrn and Bosna *sancaks*. This *nahiye* as a whole belonged to the sultan's *has* and mine Žežna on the mountain Rogozna.<sup>33</sup>

All of the above changes occurred within the territory of the *sancak* established in 1518. The only temporary, territorial change was joining the *kaza* of the Albanian *bases* to the *sancak* of Dukadjin in the first years of the reign of Sultan Selim II.<sup>34</sup> According to *defter* dating from 1571 the *sancak* of Prizren was reduced to four large *nahiyes* of Prizren, Hoča, Bihor and Trgovište, and a small fifth *nahiye* of Žežna.<sup>35</sup> In the next *defter* dated 1591 the Albanian *bases* were again registered as a part of the Prizren *sancak*.<sup>36</sup> The *sancak* of Prizren during its entire existence belonged to the Rumelia *eyalet*.

Prizren district did not have an integral territory. Between the *nahiyes* of Prizren, Hoča and those belonging to the Albanian *bases* in the south and the *nahiyes* in the north (Bihor, Trgovište and Žežna) there were areas governed by *sancakbeyis* of Skadar, Vučitrn and Bosna. Even the *nahiyes* themselves were not compact; in the Prizren *nahiye* there were several villages linked to the *nahiye* of Priština (the Vučitrn *sancak*), and in the Trgovište and Žežna *nahiyes* there were villages subjected to the *nahiyes* of Zvečan, Jeleč and Vrače (the *sancak* of Bosna).

Provincial army consisted of personal retinue of *sancakbeyi* and *timarli sipahi* cavalry, as well as of members of semi-military units, mainly *voynuks*. The size of governor's retinue (*kapu*) depended on his income. Prizren *sancakbeyi*, as a commander of the strategically less important district, disposed with substantially lower sum of money than *sancakbeyis* on the border of the Empire.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> About the establishment of mining *has*, and *nahiye* of Žežna see Срђан Катих, Татјана Катих, “Рудник Жежна и рударство Рогозне и Подбуковица у 16. Веку”, *Историјски часопис*, Vol. LIX, Београд 2010, p. 200-202.

<sup>34</sup> BOA, TD 499. Part of the material is published in Selami Pulaha, *Popullsia shqiptare e Kosovë gjatë shek. XV-XVI: (Studime dhe dokumente)*, Tiranë 1984, 169-246. It should be noted that it was Dukadjin *sancakbeyi* Kasim as *defteremini* that monitored a census in the *sancaks* of Prizren, Dukadjin and Skadar in 1566-1568. (*7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976 / 1567-1569)*, *Özet-Transkripsiyon-İndeks*, Vol. III, Ankara 1999, p. 175, h. 2322.. For more details see T. Катих, op. cit., 11-12).

<sup>35</sup> BOA, TD 495, published in Татјана Катих, *Описи рудних поља Призренског санџака из 1571. године*, Београд 2010.

<sup>36</sup> Ankara, Tapu Kadastro Kuyud-i Kadim Arşivi, *Prizren sancağı mufassal defteri nu 55*.

<sup>37</sup> In the first half of the sixteenth century Prizren *sancakbeyi* had 263.000 *akçes* at his disposal while the *sancakbeyis* of Smederevo and Vidin had 622.000 and 580.000 *akçes* respectively. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “H. 933-934 (M. 1527-1528) Malî Yılına Ait Bir Bütçe Örneği”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, Vol. 15/1-4, İstanbul 1955, p. 303.

The number of *sipahis* in the *sancak* of Prizren, during most of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, almost did not change at all; it was about 270 men.<sup>38</sup> The actual number of *sipahi* cavalry, in terms of their revenues and obligation to equip *cebelis* was approximately double.

Under the command of the Prizren *sancakbeyi* were *voynuks* - Christian soldiers, who were previously in the service of medieval rulers. They came from the strata of fine nobility, free peasants and the Vlachs (*Eflaks*). According to the *defter* of *voynuks* in 1455, there were 100 *voynuks*, 2 *lagators* and 201 *yamaks* in the *sancak* of Prizren.<sup>39</sup> *Voynuks* were horsemen, equipped with light armor (*cebe*) or without it, armed with a spear, sword and shield.<sup>40</sup> Prizren *voynuks* were recruited mostly among the Vlachs. Some of the *voynuk* villages were named as Vlach *katuns* in the Serbian medieval sources.<sup>41</sup> Some others were organized in the *zemet* of the Vlachs of *Vilk-ili* in 1477, i.e. the *nahiyes* of the Prizren Vlachs and the Vlachs of *Vilk-ili* in 1518.<sup>42</sup>

According to the summary register of 1518, *voynuks* lived in the villages on the western slopes of the mountain Crnojleđa, north of Prizren and in the villages around Hoča.<sup>43</sup> Census recorded them as "black *voynuks*" because they wore black suits made of cloth and special fur hats. However, the same source indicates that some of them had already become *reaya*.<sup>44</sup> According to the *mufassal defter* of the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, in the surrounding of Prizren there were only four men with *voynuk* status.<sup>45</sup> Until the next census in 1571, they were turned into *reaya* as well, and the only trace of their existence had been preserved in a note to one *mezraa*, stating that it had previously "belonged to disbanded *voynuks*".<sup>46</sup>

The situation was different in the northern regions of the *sancak* in which the population with "vlach" status was very large. In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century in the *nahiye* of Trgovište there were 600 *voynuk* households (*hâne*), 115 bachelors and 11 *voynuk* widows. Most of them lived in villages in the Pešter plateau, then in

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<sup>38</sup> According to TD 92 from 1518, there were about 270 *sipahis*, as well as in the middle of the sixteenth century (TD 368).

<sup>39</sup> Istanbul, Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kütüphanesi, *Muallim Cevdet Evrakı*, 36-03, p. 125-145.

<sup>40</sup> According to census of the Skadar *sancak* from 1485, 33 *voynuks* (two of them were *cebelis*) and 167 *yamaks* in *nahiyes* of Trgovište and Bihor were under the command of the governor of Skadar. S. Pulaha, *Defteri i Regjistrimit*, Vol. II, p. 369, 411.

<sup>41</sup> Радомир Ивановић, "Дечански катун", *Историски часопис*, Vol. III, Београд 1952, p. 260-261; Idem, „Властелинство манастира св. Арханђела“, *Историски часопис*, Vol. VIII, Београд 1958, p. 218, 228.

<sup>42</sup> BOA, TD 5m, p. 28-29; BOA, TD 92, p. 26-45.

<sup>43</sup> BOA, TD 92, p. 13-14, 29, 38-39, 41, 45, 55-56.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. 14, 29, 45, 55, 56.

<sup>45</sup> BOA, TD 368, p. 114.

<sup>46</sup> Т. Катих, *Описни попис Призренског санџака из 1571. године*, 83.

the vicinity of Novi Pazar, Rožaje and Tutin.<sup>47</sup> In the *nahiye* of Bihor there were less *voynuks* - 208 *hâne*, 44 *müccered* and 4 *bîve*.<sup>48</sup>

The total of 982 taxpayers with *voynuk* status in the *nahiyes* of Trgovište and Bihor paid the same taxes in the same amount of money as well as their neighbors with *reaya* status. This fact suggests that the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century *voynuks* were no longer part of the combat units but of auxiliary forces; they performed the service of securing the roads, mines, mints etc. Thanks to carrying out those tasks they were exempted from *avariz-i divaniyye ve tekâlif-i örfiyye*.<sup>49</sup> The process of abolishing *voynuk* organization affected these two areas as well, as in the register TD 368 in many places they were entered as "disbanded" (*mensûh*). By the time of the next census in 1571 *voynuks* as a distinct social class in the territory of the Prizren *sancak* definitely disappeared.

### *Settlements and Population*

The *sancak* of Prizren, viewed through the prism of the settlements, was purely a rural area. On its territory there were about 700 villages, out of which 70% had up to 25 taxpayers (including total *hânes*, *müccereds* and *bîves*); only 10% had more than 75 taxpayers. The number of empty villages and *mezraas* was negligible. Almost all the villages existed in the pre-Ottoman period. As we were able to follow them through the Ottoman censuses from 1477 to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, they were continuously inhabited and preserved their medieval names to this day, with minor changes. They are in most cases within the borders of the old areas, because they were founded on the most appropriate geographical locations. All this is testimony to the continuity of the settlements and population.

In the southern parts of the Prizren *sancak* lived mixed Serb-Albanian population. The Prizren *nahiye*, except for the town of Prizren, and a few villages along the White Drin River, was inhabited almost exclusively by the Serbian population. The *nahiye* of Hoča was also predominantly populated by Serbs, with numerous Albanian villages along the White Drin.<sup>50</sup> The *kaza* of the Albanian *hases* was inhabited exclusively by Albanians, and only the *nahiye* of Gora was inhabited by Serbs. Mitar Pešikan came to these conclusions after a comparative examination of homonyms and place names in the Serbian medieval charters and Ottoman *defters*.<sup>51</sup> The same is confirmed by our research

<sup>47</sup> BOA, TD 368, p. 224-294 et passim.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 301-348 et passim.

<sup>49</sup> More about *voynuks*: obligations in Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI'nci asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları*, I cilt Kanunlar, İstanbul 1943, p. 265-266.

<sup>50</sup> For more details see maps in T. Katić, *Опширни попис Призренског санџака из 1571. године*, 608-610.

<sup>51</sup> Mitar Pešikan, *Зетско-хумско-рашка имена на почетку турског доба*, Београд 1984.

of detailed census of the *sancak* of Prizren. Although the conclusions above were gained through the study of homonymy, which is often challenged as an indicator of ethnicity, in the case of the Prizren *sancak* it is very reliable. Specifically, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century there was an extreme dominance of traditional (folk) names of both the Serbs and Albanians at the expense of Christian names. As there is a sharp contrast between the Serbian and Albanian folk names there is no doubt about ethnicity.<sup>52</sup>

Northern parts of the Prizren district were the Serbian ethnic area, namely the Serb-Vlach, where the adjective "Vlach" should be perceived as a status and not as an ethnic marker.

The Vlachs are romanized Balkan peoples who withdrew to the mountains or the fortified towns of the Adriatic Sea due to the Slavs' attacks in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Those who settled in the mountains had adjusted to their new environment and started breeding cattle. As mountain farmers they were forced to have permanent contacts with the population in lowland, which led to their symbiosis, bilingualism and finally drowning in another ethnic community. Since there were limited opportunities of demographic development in the mountains this resulted relatively quickly in overpopulation. Thus, the Vlachs went to the adjacent lower areas inhabited by Slavs and entered the service of rulers, nobles and monasteries as soldiers, shepherds and grooms.<sup>53</sup> Given that the Vlachs engaged in special services (caravan trade, horse-breeding etc) in the Slavic milieu, that milieu transferred their ethnic name to all those who engaged in these and similar services. This is how the name of Vlachs already in the Middle Ages became "vlachs" - the name of a particular social group that included both romanized as non-romanized population of the Balkans. All those who supported themselves from "vlach services", as in the social status of the original Vlachs, were named the Vlachs.<sup>54</sup> The Ottomans adopted the "vlachs", together with their legal status, and incorporated it into their social and military system. Under the name of "vlachs" they often implied to Serbs, as

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<sup>52</sup> Some of the traditional Serbian names are: Radič, Radonja, Večerin, Vučihna, Cvetko, Živko, Petak, Bogosav, Miloš, Stojan, Božić, Vuk, Sladoje, Tvrdeša, Veselin. Traditional Albanian names are: Pepa, Gac, Doč, Nina, Kola, Đin, Bic, Prend, Gika, Đon, Data, Vaka, Pric, Jupa, Mic, Ler.

<sup>53</sup> Tsar Stephen Dušan gifted the monastery of the Holy Archangels 8 *katuns* of Vlach shepherds (about 500 families): Guncati, Jančišta, Golubovci, Kostrečani, Sinainci, Pinušinci, Dragoljevci i Blatce, as well as 9 Albanian *katuns*: Đinovci, Mađerci, Bjeloglavci, Flokovci, Crnča, Saparci, Gonovci, Špinadija i Novaci. Many of these *katuns* existed today as villages and hamlets. Радомир Ивановић, "Катунска насеља на манастирским властелинствима", *Историски часопис*, Vol. V, Београд 1955, p. 401.

<sup>54</sup> Миленко Филиповић, "Структура и организација средњовековног катуна", *Симпозијум о средњовековном катуну одржан 24. и 25. новембра 1961. г., Сарајево 1963*, p. 50-52.

they, when it comes to the area north of the Šar Mountains, became so over the centuries of assimilation process.<sup>55</sup>

The Vlachs in the Ottoman service were soldiers, guards of borders and roads, participants in caravan trade and, as the most mobile part of the population, the colonizers of deserted areas.<sup>56</sup>

When the “vlach” status was abolished, which was a gradual process that took place in the *sancak* of Prizren from the twenties to the seventies of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, only the Vlach elders - *knežes* and *primikürs* retained the privileges because they had certain duties. The main tasks were to assist the Ottoman officials in collecting taxes, to protect and preserve the territory entrusted to them and to prevent migrations of people so that the state would not lose tax revenue. Judging by the *defters*, *knežes*'s patents and other documents, *knežes* were most prevalent in the *nahiyes* of Trgovište (12 men) and Bihor (4 men), for the simple reason that the locals kept “vlach” status the longest.<sup>57</sup>

### *The Town of Prizren*

The only urban settlement in the Prizren *sancak* was Prizren itself. At the time of the Ottoman conquest, it was a completely established and developed medieval town, the seat of the diocese. In addition to the fortress, in which the sovereign residence was probably located, there was a civil settlement in which there were "palaces" of the lords and houses of ordinary citizens. There were several Orthodox and Catholic churches, at least three bridges, a mint, a customs office, a chandlery, etc. There was also a kind of water supply and sewage system, as well as a network of canals for irrigation of agricultural land outside the town. Several market-places intended for the sale of various

<sup>55</sup> Small groups of ethnic Vlachs still live on the mountain of Pind, in Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia. Ibid., 54.

<sup>56</sup> As a compensation for their services “vlachs” had many privileges, for example, instead of paying the *cizye* per capita they paid *filuri* per household (*hâne*), regardless of the number of adult male members. For more details see Nicoară Beldiceanu, *Sur les Valaques des Balkans Slaves a l'Époque Ottoman (1450-1550)*, Extrait de la Revue des Études Islamiques, Année 1966, Paris 1967; Nedim Filipović, “Vlasi i uspostava timarskog sistema u Hercegovini”, *Godišnjak ANUBiH*, Vol. 12, Sarajevo 1974, p. 127-221; Душанка Бојанић, *Turski zakoni i zakonski propisi iz 15. i 16. veka za smederevsku, kerševačku i vidinsku oblast*, Београд 1974; Idem, “Власи у северној Србији и њихови први кануни”, *Историјски часопис*, Vol. XVIII, Београд 1971, p. 255-269; Idem, *Јадар у XVI и XVII веку*, Лозница 1985, 77-191; Idem, “Шта значе подаци о Сјеничким власима у попису из 1455. Године”, *Историјски часопис*, Vol. XXXIV, Београд 1987, p. 97-111.

<sup>57</sup> BOA, MAD 7534, p. 854, 1315; Т. Катих, *Опширни попис Призренског санџака из 1571. године*, p. 280, 281, 284, 285, 287, 291, 295, 314, 332.

products existed. The main market was on the left bank of the Bistrica<sup>58</sup> while the other markets were next to the Episcopal Church of the Holy Virgin of Ljeviš (Bogorodica Ljeviška), on the right bank of the Bistrica, in the town's main streets and colonies of foreign merchants, mostly Ragusians. Four times a year there were big fairs (*panagjurs*). Prizren was an important medieval crafts and trade center, famous for its production of silk and gold jewelry. According to the Founding Charter of the Holy Archangels Monastery several goldsmiths lived in the town and gold was panned somewhere in the Prizren area. Some Ottoman sources indicate existence of mine near Koriša village, in the vicinity of Prizren.<sup>59</sup>

The identity of Prizren gradually changed under the Ottoman rule. The new masters first marked the town with the visible symbols of their ideology. The most prominent Christian edifice, the Cathedral of Bogorodica Ljeviška, was turned into a mosque, and outside the town on the road towards Djakovica, next to *musala*, a dervish lodge was built. Other Islamic buildings erected by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century were *mescids* of Sinan the Scribe and Jakub Bey, both built on the right bank of the Bistrica and two hammams of Ahmed Bey, the grandson of Evrenos Bey.<sup>60</sup> While we do not know anything about Sinan, for Jakub Bey we know that he was a *rikabdar* of Mehmed the Conqueror and that he also performed duty as *dizdar* of the Prizren Fortress. He built a mosque in one of the commercial areas of the town that would soon become known as *maballe* of Jakub Bey or *maballe-i Çarşı*.<sup>61</sup> The location of hammams of Ahmed Bey, who also built 80 shops in Prizren, remains unknown.

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<sup>58</sup> Today Šadrvan square.

<sup>59</sup> Константин Јиречек, *Историја Срба*, II, Београд 1952, p. 165, 167, 181, 192, 202, 368; Милош Благојевић, “Град и жупа – међе градског друштва”, in *Социјална структура српских градских насеља (XII-XVIII век)*, Београд-Смедерево 1992, p. 67-84; Тајана Катић, “Приходи кадилука Призрен од трговине свилом, рудника Корише и осталог (1525-1545. године)”, *Мешовита грађа (Miscellanea)*, Vol. XXX, Београд 2009, p. 23-25; Серафим Николић, *Призрен од средњег века до савременог доба (урбанистичко-архитектонски развој)*, Призрен 1998, p. 122-141. Prizren kept growing regardless of fact that Dubrovnik merchants temporary left it in 1433. (Konstantin Jiriček, “Trgovački putevi i rudnici Srbije i Bosne u srednjem vijeku”, *Zbornik Konstantina Jiričeka*, I, Beograd 1959, p. 283). For the opposite opinion see Sadullah Gülten, “Prizren Vakıflarına Dair”, *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, Vol. 6/24, Ordu 2013, p. 133.

<sup>60</sup> 167 Numaralı Mubâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri (937/1530), Vol. II, p. 372, 392; BOA, TD 368, p. 463. Т. Катић, *Описурни попис Призренског санџака из 1571. године*, p. 551.

<sup>61</sup> *Mescid* was reconstructed several times. Latter it became known as Arasta Mosque. Hasan Kaleši, Ismail Redžep, “Prizrenac Kukli-beg i njegove zadužbine”, *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, Vol. VIII-IX, Sarajevo 1959, p. 159.

During the 16<sup>th</sup> century Prizren acquired more and more oriental features. The following were built: about 8 *meschids*, 3 mosques, 3 *mektebs*, 1 *medrese*, a library, a hammam, 3 *karavansarays* and 2 bridges. We shall not elaborate on these edifices and their founders as it has already been written about them.<sup>62</sup> We will highlight only the most important *vakefs*, family members of Dukadjini and Kuka.

Ahmed Bey Dukagjinzade (Grand Vizier 1514-1515), grandson of the famous nobleman Dukagjin, built a *mesjid* in the mahalle of the Old i.e. Friday mosque (Bogorodica Ljeviška Cathedral).<sup>63</sup> His son, Mehmed Bey Dukagjinzade was Skadar *sanjakbeyi* around 1571 when he bequeathed a significant sum of 340.000 *akçes* for the construction of *mesjid* and *medrese* in Prizren.<sup>64</sup> Until 1573 the *mesjid* was transformed into a mosque with a large dome, which later became known as the Bayrakli Mosque. The entire endowment of Mehmed Pasha Dukagjinzade in Prizren also included *mekteb*, *çift hamam*, a library, and later the founder's tomb. All of these buildings still exist today.<sup>65</sup>

The founder of the family Kuka was Iliyas Kuka, after whom a Prizren mahalle was named in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>66</sup> He built a *mesjid* which was later rebuilt by his grandson Kukli Mehmed Bey (died in 1555/56), son of Hızır (Hayruddin) Kuka.<sup>67</sup> Mehmed, *sanjakbeyi* of Skadar and Prizren, it is assumed, built dozens of buildings from Skadar and Lješ to Skopje.<sup>68</sup> In Prizren he built three *karavansarays*, a mosque and a *mesjid*. Also he endowed more than 100 shops, several mills, gardens, meadows and cash for their maintenance.<sup>69</sup>

In the first 150 years of the Ottoman rule Prizren had not seen significant population growth. According to some estimates, the town had between 2.000 and 2.500 inhabitants before the Ottoman conquest, while the number ranged between 2.500 and 3.500 in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid; Олга Зиројевић, “Призрен у дефтеру из 1571. године”, *Историјски часопис*, Vol. 38, Београд 1991, p. 243-263; Machiel Kiel, “Prizren”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Vol. VIII, Leiden 1995; Raif Vırmiça, *Suzi ve Vakıf Eserleri*, Priştine, 1998; Idem, *Prizren'de Türk Dönemi Kültür Mirası*, Prizren 2009; Idem, *Kukli Mehmet Bey Vakıfı*, Ankara 2010; S. Gülten, op. cit., 133-141.

<sup>63</sup> BOA, TD 368, p. 464.

<sup>64</sup> T. Katić, op. cit., 553.

<sup>65</sup> M. Kiel, “Prizren”, p. 339.

<sup>66</sup> R. Vırmiça, *Suzi ve Vakıf Eserleri*, p. 39.

<sup>67</sup> According to the *vakfiye*, his father's name was Hayruddin (H. Kaleši, I. Redžep, op. cit., 158, 163) while as stated in TD 495, it was Hızır. T. Katić, op. cit., 56, 551, 552.

<sup>68</sup> H. Kaleši, I. Redžep, op. cit., 144.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 159-160. Mehmed Bey's second wife, Huriya also had her small endowment intended for the well-being of the Prizren inhabitants. She allocated revenue from 15 Prizren shops for the maintenance of the town fountains. T. Katić, op. cit., 552.

<sup>70</sup> M. Kiel, op. cit., 338.

By the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Prizren mainly spread to the right bank of the Bistrica (in Kurila, where in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there were vineyards and in Ljeviško field), as well as on both sides of the river downstream. New *maballes* which were formed as a result of conversion of the local Christians and the influx of settlers, were established in addition to, or in the area of the existing *maballes*. This contributed to members of different ethnic and religious communities living together in many parts of the town. The exception was the former *suburbium* (Podgrađe) below the fortress where the dominant Christian population clustered around several Orthodox and Catholic churches.<sup>71</sup>

In 1571 in old Podgrađe there were five Serbian *maballes* (Stari Pazar, Nikola Mamzić, Vasilj Radomir and Pridvorica), a mixed Serb-Albanian *maballe* (Bogoj the Fisherman) and one Albanian (Panteliya).<sup>72</sup>

Christian *maballes* were also on the right bank of the Bistrica, three being Albanian: Kurila also named Kuka, Sinan the Scribe and Ayas Luka also named Izkućan, and one Serbian – *maballe-i Çarşı* also named Petar Nikola.<sup>73</sup> Muslim *maballes* were mostly located on the right bank of the Bistrica, two around the former Church of Bogorodica Ljeviška (*maballe* of the Old Mosque and Ljeviša *maballe*), four in the vicinity of Bazaar (*Çarşı* also named Jakub Bey, Ayas Bey, Haçı Kasım and Sinan the Scribe), and one in place of Kurila. Tanners' *maballe* was located on the outskirts of the town and encompassed both sides of the Bistrica.<sup>74</sup>

### *Islamization and Migrations*

The population of the Prizren district was predominantly Christian. Conversion to Islam was gradual and by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it did not assume large proportions; also the intensity of islamization was not the same in all regions.

The earliest census of 1477 did not register a single Muslim household, which fits into the overall picture made by *defetters* of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, for other areas of the Balkans.<sup>75</sup> In the twenties of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the *sancak* of Prizren there were less than 2% of the Muslims. Almost all Muslims lived in the town of Prizren (30% of total registered) and in the immediate vicinity.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> These churches were built in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century and some of them still exist today. For more details see С. Николић, op. cit., 101-112.

<sup>72</sup> Т. Кагић, op. cit., 56-60.

<sup>73</sup> Idem, 58-59, 61.

<sup>74</sup> Idem, 51-55; С. Николић, op. cit., 174-176.

<sup>75</sup> ВОА, TD 5m; Методије Соколоски, "Исламизација у Македонији у XV и XVI веку", *Историјски часопис*, Vol. XXII, Београд 1975, p. 77.

<sup>76</sup> 167 *Numaralı Mubâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri*, Vol. II, p. 372, 392-393, 400.

The successive registers of the Prizren *sancak* show that only in Prizren and its wider surroundings there were Muslims in a significant percentage. In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, when the largest number of converts was recorded in Prizren<sup>77</sup>, there were 45% of Muslims, among the overall registered people<sup>78</sup>, and the number reached 50% in 1571.<sup>79</sup>

It is interesting that none of 150 converts kept their fathers' Christian names. It is almost as if they wanted to, as soon as possible, embrace the new religious and social identity and drown in the Muslim milieu. This was not the case with converts in the country. They often kept their Christian patronyms in order to be identified before the Ottoman authorities. Such examples were found in the census of 1571, for both the Serbs and Albanians.<sup>80</sup> The reason is probably that they were living in a predominantly Christian environment, with close relatives and neighbors who had not converted to Islam.

Islamization of Prizren surrounding was most visible in the *nahiye* of Opolje. Up to the twenties of the 16<sup>th</sup> century there were 2,3% Muslims<sup>81</sup> and in mid-century, already 19,5%.<sup>82</sup> At the same time (around 1550) in other *nahiyes* of the Albanian *bases* the percentage of Muslims was low - Rudina 0,8%, Gora and Domštica 2%, Radovina 3% and Paštrik 4%. According to the defter from 1571, there were 82% of Muslims among the overall registered people in Opolje.<sup>83</sup>

Until 1571 number of Muslims in the whole *sancak*, without the *kaza* of the Albanian *bases*, was approximately 9%. According to our research there were about 15,000 taxpayers out of which something less than 1400 Muslims. In the *nahiye* of Žežna there were no Muslims; in the *nahiye* of Trgovište there were about 3%, in Bihor about 8%, in the villages of the Prizren *nahiye*, without the town of Prizren, 9%, while in the *nahiye* of Hoča there were 11%.

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<sup>77</sup> About 54% of the registered Muslims were of local Christian origin, i.e. "sons of Abdullah".

<sup>78</sup> BOA, TD 368, p. 43-45.

<sup>79</sup> BOA, TD 495, p. 37-41; T. KATIĆ, op. cit., 51-56. The same was in 1591 despite the fact the number of Prizren inhabitants decreased in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. TK 55, p. 13a-16b.

<sup>80</sup> Janissary Mustafa son of Vukča, Hasan Petko, Ahmed Lika, Hasan Lika and Mahmud Lika, sons of Lika Bard, Mustafa Radič, Hasan Džoš, Sulejman Đon, etc. T. KATIĆ, op. cit., 133, 172, 174, 187, 218 et passim.

<sup>81</sup> In the same time *nahiye* of Paštrik had 0,2% of Muslims, Gora 0,3%, Domštica 0,4%, Rudina 0,8%. There were no Muslims in *nahiye* of Radovina. *167 Numaralı Mubâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri*, Vol. II, p. 395-400.

<sup>82</sup> BOA, TD 368.

<sup>83</sup> BOA, TD 499, p. 250-262.

Demographic changes on the entire territory of the *sancak* of Prizren performed mostly in the same way. A population decline is everywhere visible in the early decades of the reign of Sultan Süleyman Kanuni. The census from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century (ID 368) registers the deficit of population relative to that of the twenties of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the following *nahiyes*: Bihor (14%), Gora (19%), Domštica (20%), Paštrik (21,5%), Prizren (22%), Hoča (28%), Rudina (30%), Trgovište (30%), while in *nahiyes* of Radovina and Opolje the population stagnated. In the census of 1571 the population more or less returned to the previous level.

There were several reasons for the demographic decline. One of them is the plague brought by the Ottoman army during the campaign to Belgrade in 1521 that in the next couple of years spread across the entire Balkan Peninsula.<sup>84</sup> Floods of the White Drin, quite common in the section of the *nahiye* of Hoča, could also be the cause of demographic decline.<sup>85</sup> We assume, however, that migrations caused by the abolition of the “vlach” status, were the main reason of the population decline. It is apparent, for instance, that all the villages of the Prizren *nahiye* whose population decreased more than the average in the entire *nahiye* (from 40% to 70%) were located in the elevated areas, on the slopes of the Šar Mountains, Crnoljeva, etc. It is known that numerous villages had “vlach” status. Migrations which occurred so that the privileged status could be preserved, were also the cause of the constant stagnation of population in the *nahiye* of Trgovište, beginning in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Villages of the Žežna *nahiye*, belonging to the mine Žežna, had the largest population decline (41%) until 1550. Over the next two decades, the trend had continued, and the total population loss in 1571 amounted to 62%. This was caused by local migrations conditioned by the reorganization of the mines in the region of Rogozna and Podbukovik.<sup>86</sup>

### *Economy*

As a mountainous area, the *sancak* of Prizren was particularly well suited for animal husbandry, and especially for sheep breeding. Sheep farming employed almost every rural household. In particular, inhabitants of the Gora *nahiye* had numerous flocks, due to the easiest access to rich Šar Mountain pastures. It is hard to estimate how many sheep there were in the southern

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<sup>84</sup> Bogumil Hrabak, “Kuga u balkanskim zemljama pod Turcima od 1450 do 1600 godine”, *Istoriski glasnik*, Vol. 1-2, Beograd 1957, p. 19-37.

<sup>85</sup> Villages of the Hoča *nahiye*, near the White Drin River lost 40% - 60% of their population.

<sup>86</sup> Срђан Катић, Татјана Катић, “Рудник Жежна и рударство Rogozne и Подбуковика у 16. Веку”, *Историјски часопис*, Vol. LIX, Beograd 2010, p. 206.

parts of *sancak* because we do not have relevant data. Given the extremely favorable conditions there had to be at least three times more than in the northern *nahijes* of Trgovište and Bihor, where in the eighties of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, about 160.000 sheeps existed.<sup>87</sup>

Considerable production of leather was indicator of significant sheep farming. Prizren, according to numerous Ragusian sources, was the greatest center of Kosovo and Metohija for the production of goat, kid and sheep leather. The greatest demand was in goatskin and kidskin, so called cordovans, named after the Spanish city of Cordoba, in which a new way of tanning was first applied. Prizren tanneries were supplied in raw skin from the surrounding areas, from the Šar Mountains, the region of Dukagjin, Prokletije and other mountain areas. Ready-made leather was sold in Italy, especially in Venice, Genoa, Florence, Ancona and Messina, followed by France, England and the German lands.<sup>88</sup>

The town of Prizren was well known for its production of silk. Silkworm had been cultivated since the 14<sup>th</sup> century around the monasteries of Dečani and Holy Archangels, in Prizren, Koriša and Mušutište, as well as in the region of the Donji Pilot (Pulate) in northern Albania.<sup>89</sup> The Ragusians exported considerable quantities of Prizren silk to Venice at the time and later during the Ottoman rule.<sup>90</sup>

Large mulberry orchards that existed in Koriša and Mušutište in the 14<sup>th</sup> century also existed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These two villages were the only villages that paid taxes for silk cocoons (*resm-i kokon; resm-i güğüll*), which means that the production was on a somewhat larger scale.<sup>91</sup> In other villages, as well as in the town of Prizren, breeding of silkworms was not taxed. The folk tradition testifies that almost every house in the town had several mulberry trees, and that households engaged in the production of cocoons.

Relatively high annual income from weighing scale for silk (*mizān-i harir*) implied a noteworthy production and commerce. It varied from 120.000 *akçes* in the first half of the 16th century to 150.000 *akçes* in the second half of the

<sup>87</sup> Hamid Hadžibegić, “Zvanični podaci o stočnom fondu na području Novog Pazara, Trgovišta i Bihora iz 1585. Godine”, *Istorijski Zapisi*, god. XXII, knj. XXVI, Vol. 4, Titograd 1969, p. 586-616.

<sup>88</sup> Тома Поповић, “Кордовани и монтонини у балканском извозу XVI века”, *Историјски часопис*, Vol. XXXVI, Београд 1989, p. 65-66, 78.

<sup>89</sup> Синиша Мишић, Татјана Суботин-Голубовић, *Светоарханђеловска хрисовуља*, Београд 2003, p. 89-91, 94, 99.

<sup>90</sup> Ружа Ђук, “Извоз свиле из Дубровника у Венецију у XIV веку”, *Историјски часопис*, Vol. XXVIII, Београд 1981, p. 17-25.

<sup>91</sup> Т. Катих, *Опширни попис Призренског санџака из 1571. године*, 36, 68.

century and belonged to the sultan's *has*.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, the petition of Prizren silk producers<sup>93</sup> from 1576 is an indicator of sizable manufacture. *Zaim* Mustafa, lessee of Prizren's silk weighing scale, who submitted the petition in the name of *ipekçis*, asked the state not to enlist them as *celeps*, as they, as he stated, had neither time, nor money for the job. He pointed out that, since the Conquest, the *kazı* of Prizren was acquitted of giving *celeps* because many people already had extraordinary duties: charcoal deliveries to mint in Novo Brdo, some charcoal and beams for mine Žežna, while *ipekçis* anyway had too much work.<sup>94</sup>

The highest income of the Ottoman state stemmed from the mining. Small mine Koriša near Prizren, which was functioning in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century did not make particularly large profit because, apparently was about to close.<sup>95</sup> Mine Žežna, however, was fourth in the production of silver in the European part of the Ottoman Empire, in the last decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Its six-year lease (1585/6-1591/2) was 861.036 dirhams, or 2645 kg of pure silver (calculated at Tabriz dirhams) and 940.000 *akçes*.<sup>96</sup>

Viticulture, wine production and wine trade were widespread in the southern part of the *sancak* of Prizren. The *nahiye* of Hoča had by far the largest wine production.<sup>97</sup> The grapes were also grown at a large scale in the *nahiye* of Prizren. Wine was sold wholesale in Prizren and on village markets around the *sancak*, especially those along the main roads, as well as in Rogozna and Banjska *derbends* where travelers and caravans stayed overnight. The largest wine markets, besides Prizren, were Hoča and Trgovište.

Wine was sold at retail in taverns and inns throughout the *sancak*. The *defters*, however, registered the taverns (*meyhanes*) only in the *nahiye* of Hoča, which paid 6 *akçes* per year (*resm-i meyhâne*).<sup>98</sup>

Apart from leather, silk and wine there was a lot of trade in linen fabrics, wax and other craft products in Prizren.<sup>99</sup> Being on the road that led from the

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<sup>92</sup> BOA, TD 92, p. 1; *167 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri*, Vol. II, p. 371; T. Катих, op. cit., 34.

<sup>93</sup> There were 20 *ipekçi* in Prizren according to census of 1571. T. Катих, op. cit., 51-55.

<sup>94</sup> BOA, MAD 7534, p. 999.

<sup>95</sup> *167 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-ili Defteri*, Vol. II, p. 371. The three-year lease of the Koriša mine, *has* and several smaller revenues amounted to 165.000 *akçes*. Lessees and managers of Koriša in 1526 and 1532 were Christians. BOA, MAD 656, p. 314.

<sup>96</sup> Срђан Катих, “Закупи рудника и хасова Жежна из 1585/6 и 1591/2. ГОДИНЕ”, *Мешовита грађа (Miscellanea)*, Vol. XXXIV, Београд 2013, forthcoming.

<sup>97</sup> The number of vineyards increased considerably in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. TK 55, p. 51b-79a.

<sup>98</sup> There were taverns in the villages of Velika Hoča, Ravna Dubrava, Orahovac, Opetuša and Zočište. Ibid, 51b, 52a, 54a, 55b, 56b; T. Катих, op. cit., 166, 168, 173, 178, 181.

Adriatic Sea to the rich mining areas of Kosovo (*via de Zenta*), Prizren had become a large commercial center.

### *Conclusion*

The *sancak* of Prizren was in a hinterland of the Ottoman Empire, since its establishment in the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore its economic and demographic development progressed without abrupt changes typical for the border areas. Migration of the population with “vlach” status in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was the only demographic movement worth mentioning. However, since the Great War (1683-1699) history of this region became more tumultuous. The *sancak* and the very town of Prizren became a hub of the war operations in 1689/90 which resulted in emigration of the Serbs from the southern part of the *sancak* and settling of the Albanian newcomers in the abandoned villages. The same population movement occurred in Austro-Turkish War 1737-1739. The Ottoman Turks, mostly from the regions conquered by the Habsburg Monarchy, also migrated to the territory of the *sancak* of Prizren. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century the process of conversion to Islam became more intense than before. In spite of these social changes, the southern part of the *sancak* kept its multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character. In the nineties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Prizren was still the only trilingual city in the Balkans.

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<sup>99</sup> Merchants from Kotor erected chandlery in Prizren in the beginning of the fourteenth century. During the Ottoman rule, revenue of Prizren *şembane* belonged to the sultan. BOA, TD 368, p. 15; T. Katić, op. cit., 34.

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