

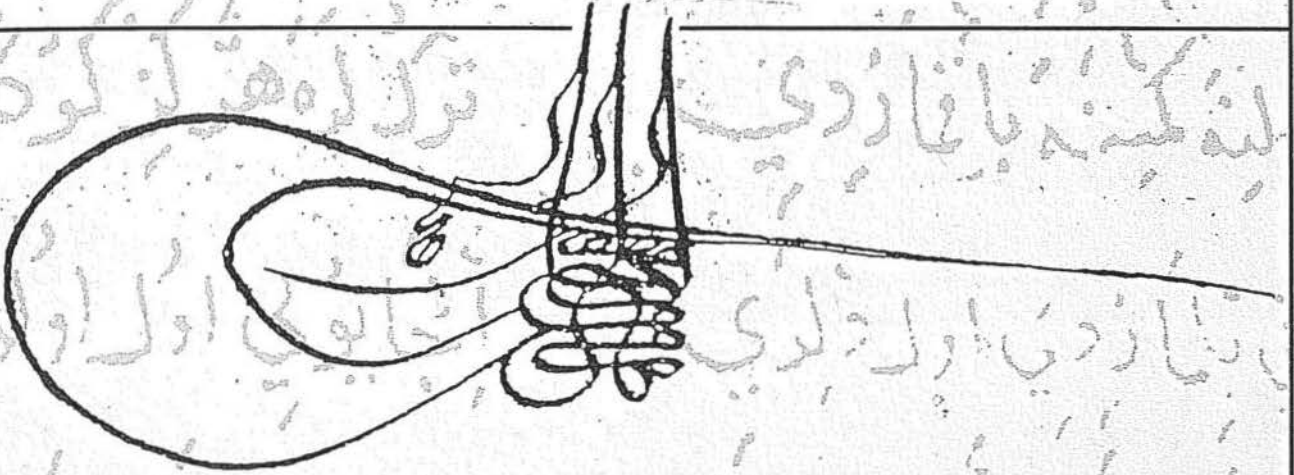
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OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM: ŞÛRET-İ KÂNÛNNÂME-İ 'OŞMÂNÎ BERÂY-I TÎMÂR DÂDEN¹

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Introduction

Systematic study of the administrative structure of the Ottoman empire is proceeding apace with the increasing accessibility of the relevant research materials, including administrative texts. The purpose of this paper is to present, in facsimile, critically edited transcription, and English translation, an important source for the study of Ottoman military administration in the sixteenth century. The text, entitled *Şûret-i kânûnnâme-i 'Osmânî berây-ı tîmâr dâden*, "Copy of the Ottoman Book of Regulations Concerning the Bestowal of Tîmârs," and dated 983/1575-1576, contains a compilation of administrative regulations governing the tîmâr military organization.

I. The Ottoman Kânûnnâme form

A *Kânûnnâme*, or "Book of Regulations," is a collection of kânûns.² In the Ottoman legal lexicon, *kânûn* (pl. *kavânîn*) meant a sultanic directive, and was broadly synonymous with the term *hükm* (pl. *aḥkâm*). The theoretical validity of the kânûn as legislation rested on the principle of *'örf*, which asserted the authority of local custom or usage and the legal right of the temporal ruler to regulate such affairs of state as fell outside the explicit jurisdictional

¹ I wish to thank Gustav Bayerle for his invaluable assistance in all aspects of this project, Géza Dávid, who carefully read the transcription, thus preventing numerous errors, Halil İnalcık, who provided facsimile reproductions of some documents and advice on matters of detail concerning interpretation of the text, and Linda Darling, who read the introduction and made many valuable suggestions. Responsibility for errors still outstanding remains, of course, with me.

² On Ottoman kânûn and kânûnnâmes generally, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition (hereafter *EI²*), s. v. "Kânûn", vol. IV, pp. 558-562 (Halil İnalcık); *ibid.*, s. v. "Kânûnnâme", vol. IV, pp. 562-566 (Halil İnalcık); *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (hereafter *İA*), s. v. "Kânûn-nâme", vol. 6, pp. 185-196 (Ömer Lütfi Barkan); Robert Anhegger and Halil İnalcık, *Kânûnnâme-i sulṭânî ber müceb-i 'örf-i 'Osmânî: II. Mehmed ve II. Bayezid devirlerine ait yasaḳnâme ve kânûnnâmeler* (Ankara, 1956), pp. IX-XVIII; Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı hukukuna giriş: örfi-sulṭanî hukuk ve Fatih'in kanunları," *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 13 (1958), pp. 102-126; *idem*, "Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 1 (1969), pp. 105-138; and Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, ed. V.L. Ménage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

boundaries of the *şerî'at*.³ The concept of sultan law, thus defined, played an important role in Ottoman society, providing the legal foundation of major Ottoman political, military, economic and social institutions.⁴ Ottoman *kanûnnâmes* may be separated into three categories: general *kanûnnâmes*, containing laws and statutes of a general nature which were in force throughout the empire; provincial *kanûnnâmes*, which contained laws and regulations concerning regional and local economic activity; and collections of sultan law directives, usually, but not always, arranged topically so as to address a particular group or institution.⁵

The first category, the general *kanûnnâme*, includes the two *kanûnnâmes* issued by Sultan Mehemmed II (ruled 1451-1481) and continued by his descendants.⁶ The first of these general *kanûnnâmes*, the *kanûnnâme* for *re'âyâ*, issued probably shortly after the conquest of Constantinople, codified the tax structure of the empire and outlined the obligations of the provincial timariot cavalry soldiers to the Ottoman state and the peasant cultivators.⁷ It was to form the nucleus of the expanded general *kanûnnâmes* of Bâyezîd II (1481-1512), Selîm I (1512-1520) and Süleymân the Magnificent (1520-1566).⁸ The second of Mehemmed's general *kanûnnâmes*, issued during the 1470s, concerned state organization, ceremonial and protocol.⁹ By the early seventeenth century, changes in the structure of

3 See Joseph Schacht, *Origins of Muhammedan Jurisprudence*, (Oxford, 1950); idem, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford 1964); N.J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law* (Edinburgh, 1964); A. K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam* (London, 1965).

4 Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London and New York: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973), pp. 70-75.

5 This scheme is based on the classification of Halil İnalcık, see *ibid.*, p. 71. İnalcık later refined this classification system, dividing his second category into two groups, *kanûnnâmes* for regions and *kanûnnâmes* for groups, and separating the *kanûnnâme* of Mehemmed II regarding state organization from other general *kanûnnâmes*, thus arriving at five categories; see *Eİ²*, s.v. "Kanûnnâme," pp. 562-566.

6 On the *kanûnnâmes* of Mehemmed II, see İnalcık, "Osmanlı hukukuna giriş," pp. 111-126; idem, "Suleiman the Lawgiver," pp. 109-111.

7 See the edition of Friedrich Kraelitz von Greifenhorst, "Kanunname Sultan Mehmeds des Eroberers. Die ältesten osmanischen Staat- und Finanzgesetze. Nach der einzigen Handschrift (Wiener Nationalbibliothek) herausgegeben und übersetzt," *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* I (1921-1922), pp. 13-48; the text has been reproduced, with accompanying modern Turkish transcription, in a new series edited by Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve hukukî tahlilleri*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1990), pp. 346-366. See also the analysis of İnalcık, "Osmanlı hukukuna giriş," pp. 116ff., and idem, "Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rûsûmu," *Belleten* 23 (1959), pp. 575-610.

8 The earliest extant manuscript of this *kanûnnâme*, preserved in the Koyunoğlu Library, Konya, was published by Nicoara Beldiceanu, *Code de lois coutumières de Mehmed II. Kitâb-ı Qavânîn-i 'Örfiyye-i 'Osmânî* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967). See also the detailed study of the text by İnalcık, "Suleiman the Lawgiver," pp. 117-126. A St. Petersburg manuscript of the version of Selîm I was published in facsimile and Russian translation by A. S. Tveritinova, *Kniga zakonov sultana Selima I* (Moscow, 1969), and in facsimile again, with regularized Ottoman script and romanized transcription by Selami Pulaha and Yaşar Yücel, "I. Selim kanûnnâmesi (1512-1520) ve xvi. yüzyılın kimi kanunları," *Belgeler*, no. 16 (1987), pp. 9-99 and plates (the edition was subsequently issued, with the French translation of the introduction, as a book, *Le code (kanûnnâme) de Selim Ier (1512-1520) et certaines autres lois de la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle* (sic). *I. Selim kanûnnâmesi (1512-1520) ve xvi. yüzyılın kimi kanunları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988). Akgündüz presents a facsimile edition and modern Turkish transcription of another manuscript in *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 3 (Istanbul, 1991), pp. 85-126. The version of Süleymân was critically edited and published by M. Arif, *Tarîh-i 'osmanî encümeni mecmu'ası* (hereafter *TOEM*), supplement 2 (1329/1911). Facsimile editions, with modern Turkish transcriptions, of two manuscripts have been published by Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Istanbul, 1992), pp. 293-431.

9 See the edition of M. Arif, *TOEM*, supplement 3 (1330/1912), pp. 1-32. The seventeenth century chronicle of Koca Hüseyin also contains a copy of the text, see A. S. Tveritinova's facsimile edition,

Ottoman provincial administration, which came about partly as a result of the eclipse of the timariot cavalry as a significant tactical force, made sections of the Ottoman general *kânûnnâmes* obsolete. Portions of the re'âyâ code were updated and issued as the *Ķânûnnâme-i cedîd* during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617).¹⁰ The incorporation into the *Ķânûnnâme-i cedîd* of material from the considerable body of legal rulings and juridical opinions concerning 'örfî matters illustrates the changing conceptions of legal authority and legitimacy in the seventeenth century Ottoman empire.¹¹

The second category of Ottoman *kânûnnâmes*, the regional *kânûnnâmes*, have received attention from modern historians because of their fundamental importance for the study of the urban and agrarian economy of southeastern Europe and the Middle East.¹² The regional *kânûnnâmes* constituted the basic tax regulations of the Ottoman provinces. In form they represent a continuation of the older Near Eastern practice of maintaining regional records of taxes and regulations. In content they followed an identifiably Ottoman pattern of agrarian tax principles, the elements of which were codified by Mehemmed II, while also admitting certain local influences. The early Ottoman expansion, both in Anatolia and in the Balkans, entailed a process of gradual assimilation. This is reflected in the provincial *kânûnnâmes*. The provincial *kânûnnâmes* often perpetuated aspects of the social and economic relations of a pre-Ottoman system. That these provincial *kânûnnâmes* were rendered formally sultanic directives, and hence became Ottoman law, is signalled by the presence of the sultan's *tuğra* on the register which contained them. In this way, the Ottoman system accommodated and absorbed legal provisions of rather diverse origin. Though its

Bedâ'ü' al-vaqâ'i', 2 vols. (Moscow, 1961) vol. 1, ff. 277b-283b. The text published by Tveritina has been republished, with accompanying modern Turkish transcription, by Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 1, pp. 317-345. See also analysis of İnalcık, "Osmanlı Hukukuna giriş," pp. 111-116.

¹⁰ The text, of which numerous manuscript copies are extant, has not been published in a critical edition. (Manuscript copies of the text give slightly differing dates. An introductory note to the copy in ms. Esad 587 in the Süleymâniye Library, Istanbul, for example, dates the text to 1014/1605-1606; Atif Efendi 758 and others give the date 1018/1609-1610.) A version was published by M. Fuad Köprülü in *Millî Tetebbü'ler Mecmu'ası*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Mart-Nisan 1331/1913), pp. 49-112 and vol. 1, no. 2 (Mayıs-Haziran 1331/1913), pp. 305-348. A Sofia manuscript dated 1017 was published in a facsimile edition, with Bulgarian translation, by Gulub D. Gulubov, in *Turski izvori za istoriyat na pravoto v bulgarskite zemi*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1961), pp. 128-200. More than one manuscript names 'Ayn 'Alî Efendi's work, *Ķavânîn-i Âl-i 'Osmân* the "Ķânûnnâme of Ahmed Khan" (see, for example, Revan 1937 in the Topkapı Sarayı Library), but that work, though presented to that sultan and his Grand Vezir Kuyucu Murâd Paşa, was not a compilation of official standing. The new code was revised again in 1673. For an analysis and a list of manuscript copies, see İnalcık, in *El²*, s.v. "Ķânûnnâme," pp. 565-566.

¹¹ See İnalcık in *El²*, s.v. "Ķânûnnâme," p. 565.

¹² The publications are voluminous. The oldest extant provincial *kânûnnâme*, that of Hudâvendigâr (1487), was published in romanized transcription by Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV. ve XVI. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*. 1. *Kanunlar* (Istanbul, 1943 [hereafter *Kanunlar*]); a facsimile edition with modern Turkish transcription has been published by Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 2 (Istanbul 1990), pp. 179-187. On the provincial *kânûnnâmes* generally, see Barkan, in *El²*, s.v. "Daftar-i Khâkânî"; Halil İnalcık in *El²*, s.v. "Ķânûnnâme"; B. Durdev, et al. *Kanun i kanunnama sa Bosanski, Hercegovacki, Zvornicki, Kliški Crnogorski i Skadarski Sandžak, Monumenta Turcica historiam slavorum meridionalium illustrantia*, vol. 1. (Sarajevo, 1957); and Heath Lowry, "The Ottoman Liva Kanunnames Contained in the Defter-i Hakani," *Osmanlı araştırmaları/Journal of Ottoman Studies* 2 (1981), pp. 43-74; and idem, "A corpus of Extant Kanunnâmes for the Island of Limnos as Contained in the Tapu-Tahrir Defter Collection of the Başbakanlık Archives," *Osmanlı araştırmaları/Journal of Ottoman Studies* 1 (1980), pp. 41-60.

impact has been debated, nonetheless this legal eclecticism was a notable feature of the Ottoman conquest, one which smoothed the way toward long-term Ottoman rule, particularly in the non-Islamic regions of the empire.¹³

The text presented here is an example of the third category of *kanûnnâmes*, collections of directives, usually arranged topically so as to address a particular group or institution.¹⁴ These *kanûnnâmes* are of great importance for an understanding of Ottoman law, for here appears the Ottoman *kanûnnâme* in its simplest form: a collection of sultanic directives. Many such collections are found in Ottoman manuscripts, made for both official and private use, covering such topics as mining, rice cultivation, military organization and administration, the ulema organization, and state sharecropping, among others.¹⁵ In order to see the value of these compilations of decrees, it is helpful to understand the nature of the *kanûnnâmes*.

Ottoman *kanûnnâmes* should not be regarded as lawcodes in the modern sense. Their primary purpose was not to set out the fundamental legal principles of the Ottoman empire, which in any case were never written down in so many words. Nor did the *kanûnnâme* fully define the terms it employed or the institutions it described. Ottoman *kanûnnâmes* should rather be viewed as working documents which served practical purposes, and hence "book of regulations" seems the preferable translation. Their audience was not the Ottoman public, but scribes, judges and other trained administrators who, it could be assumed, were familiar with the system, but needed information concerning its application, or the extent of variation permissible, in a particular case or locality.

13 This summary is based on the essay of Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954), pp. 103-129.

14 The oldest known example of such a collection of decrees, from the time of Mehmed II, was published in a photographic edition, with romanized transcription, by Anhegger and İnalcık (see above, note 2). A facsimile edition of the same Paris manuscript was published by Franz Babinger, *Sultanische Urkunden zur Geschichte der osmanischen Wirtschaft und Staatsverwaltung am Ausgang der Herrschaft Mehmed II.; des Eroberers, I. Teil: Das Kanûnnâme-i sulţânî ber müdscheb-i 'örf-i 'Osmânî* (Handschrift ancien fonds turc 39 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris) (Munich 1956). Nicoara Beldiceanu published a French translation of the text, as *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris, t. I: Actes de Mehmed II et de Bayezid II du ms. fonds turc anc. 39* (Paris and The Hague, 1960); on the latter see İnalcık, "Notes on N. Beldiceanu's Translation of the Kanunname, fonds turc ancien 39, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris," *Der Islam* 43 (1967), pp. 139-157.

15 For the miners' code see Robert Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich. I. Europäische Türkei, 1-2. Osmanlı imparatorluğunda madenler ve madencilik, I. Rumeli, 1-2 and supplement* (Istanbul 1943-1945), with facsimiles; its text was published with Serbian translation by V. Skaric, "Stari turski rukopis o rudarskim poslovima i terminologiji," *Spomenik LXXIX*, 72 ([Belgrade], 1936), pp. 5-24; and in facsimiles with French translation by Nicoara Beldiceanu, see, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris, t. II, Réglements miniers, 1390-1512* (Paris and The Hague, 1964); C. Baltacı, *XV.-XVI. asırlarda osmanlı medreseleri: teşkilat, tarih* (Istanbul 1976), published facsimiles and transcriptions of two *kanûnnâmes*. A facsimile, with modern Turkish transcriptions, of one Istanbul manuscript of the *Kanûnnâme-i ehl-i 'ilm* has now been published by Akgündüz in *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 4, pp. 661-666. On the *ortakçı* system, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı imparatorluğunda toprak işçiliğinin organizasyonu şekilleri," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 1 (1939), pp. 29-74. See also Nicoara Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Quatre actes de Mehmed II concernant les valaques des Balkans slaves," *Südost-Forschungen* 24 (1965), pp. 103-118, with facsimiles; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "En marge d'un acte concernant le pengyük et les agıncı," *Revue des études islamiques* 37 (1969), pp. 21-47; the text of a *kanûnnâme* of the *yürüks* was published by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, in *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân* (Istanbul 1957), pp. 244-246; H. B. Kunter, "Atıcılar kanunnamesi," *Tarih Vesikaları* 2/10 (1942), pp. 253-274; Paul Lemerle and Paul Wittek, "Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères athonites sous la domination turque," *Archives d'histoire du droit mondiale* 3 (1948), pp. 411-472.

A new *kânûn*, in the form of a directive of the sultan, was issued through the offices of the Imperial Council, the *Dîvân-ı hümâyûn*, under the authority of the Chancellor (*Nişancı*).¹⁶ Directives went out in response to a question or a complaint, and so usually were narrowly focused, but sometimes the order addressed problems of administration more broadly construed. After verification by the chancellor, the directive received the official *tuğra* of the sultan. An official *kânûnnâme* remained in the possession of the Secretary-in-Chief (*Re'îsü'l-küttâb*) who was a member of the *dîvân*, as a reference work. It was used for correcting other *kânûnnâmes* or for preparing documents in the *dîvân*. The Intendant of the Imperial Registry (*Emîn-i defter-i hâkânî*) retained a copy.¹⁷ Copies were sent out to provincial officials, especially the provincial governors (sg. *beglerbegi*). When these sultanic directives were received in the provinces, they were copied into the records of the chief magistrate (*kâdi*) of the province,¹⁸ and kept in a chest by the *beglerbegi*.¹⁹ Directives concerning a particular subject might be collected and copied into a single codex for the sake of convenience, and new clauses added as they were received.

It should be noted that numerous compilations of Ottoman *kânûns*, which were produced for nonofficial purposes, survive in manuscript libraries. Sometimes these compilations were copied in private epistolaries. Such works often provide the only extant evidence of certain sultanic directives and are thus valuable for the study of Ottoman legal history. Since, however, their compilers gathered and edited them in accordance with criteria which are now sometimes difficult to determine, they must be used with caution. Compilations of *kânûns* also became sources for independent literary creations. Two outstanding examples might be mentioned: *Qavânîn-i Âl-i 'Osman der hülâşa-ı mezâmîn-i defter-i dîvân*, by 'Ayn 'Alî Efendi, presented to Sultan Ahmed I in 1609,²⁰ and the anonymous *Qavânîn-i Yeñiçeriyân*, written about the same time.²¹ These and other literary works, based on *kânûn* or on a discussion of the legal concept of *kânûn*, are important for understanding the legal culture of the Ottoman empire, but they bore no legal validity. They belong broadly to the Mirrors for Princes genre of Ottoman literature; care must be used in evaluating the content of the legal clauses they contain.²²

16 See *İA*, s. v. "Nişancı," vol. 9 (1971), pp. 299-302 (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin); s. v. "Reis-ül-Küttâb," vol. 9 (1971), pp. 671-681 (Halil İnalcık); and İnalcık, "Suleiman the Lawgiver," pp. 112-114.

17 Note, for example, the remark preceding a list of *tezkiye* fees for *tîmâr* and *zi'âmet* holders in Rumelia, copied into ms. H. O. 154 (Flügel 249), f. 9a: "*Defter emîninüñ kânûnnâmesinde yazıldı.*"

18 For examples from the reign of Mehmed II (1451-1481), see Halil İnalcık, "Bursa şer'îye sicillerinde Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in fermanları," *Belleken* 11 (1947), pp. 693-708.

19 Note the typical admonition concluding the directive, "*Dâ'imâ fermân-ı şerîfümle 'amel olasız hiç bir zamânda hilâfına cevâz göstermeyesiz ve bu hükm-i şerîfümü defter sanduğında hıfz edesiz...*" (Always act in accordance with my honorable edict; never tolerate infractions against it. Preserve this honorable decree in the chest of registers...), in the ms. Atf Efendi 1734, f. 16b.

20 Published Istanbul, 1280/1864; republished, with an introduction by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, Istanbul, 1979. A critical edition is needed.

21 See the recent facsimile edition, with Russian translation, of a manuscript in St. Petersburg, by I. E. Petrosyan, published as *Mebde-i Kanun-i yenicheri odzhagi tarihî (Istoria proiskhozhdenia zakonov Yanicharskogo korpusa)* (Moscow, 1987). A critical edition and English translation of this work by Pál Fodor is forthcoming.

22 On this literature, see Pál Fodor, "State and society, Crisis and Reform, in 15th-17th Century Ottoman Mirrors for Princes," *Acta Orientalia Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40 (1986), pp. 217-240; R. A. Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman nasihatname as a discourse over 'morality,'" *Revue d'histoire maghrébine* 47-48 (1987), pp. 15-30; and Douglas A. Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History* 22 (1988), pp. 52-77.

II. The Ottoman tîmâr system

The basic outlines of the Ottoman tîmâr system are well known.²³ In exchange for the obligation of service, the Ottoman state gave some state servants the privilege of collecting and using for their material support certain tax revenues, typically from the subjects living on the state owned (*mîrî*) land of a particular area. The Ottomans referred to these bestowals of revenue generally as *dirlik*, meaning livelihood, or means of support, a benefice. While this is perhaps not the place in which to engage a full discussion of the problem of "Ottoman feudalism," it is important to note that the tîmâr system resembled other Eurasian feudalisms of the pre-industrial age.²⁴ In the Ottoman case, the state did not normally grant title of the land to the *dirlik* holder, but retained the authority to revoke the benefice for neglect of duty. In certain places, especially in central Anatolia during the fifteenth century, the Ottoman state made grants of private estates (*mülk*) to individuals in return for military obligations. The owners of these private military estates, which were fully heritable, could dispose of them as they wished.²⁴ By the later sixteenth century such estates were rare; as their owners died and the estates became vacant, their revenues reverted to the state.²⁵ It is true that the Ottomans granted *dirliks* in return for a variety of services to the state, yet they

23 For a general overview, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (hereafter *EI*), s. v. "Tîmâr," vol. 4 (1934), pp. 767-776 (Jean Deny); *IA*, s. v. "Timar," vol. 12, pt. 1, pp. 286-333 (Ömer Lütfi Barkan); İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 104-118; and Nicoara Beldiceanu, *Le timar dans l'état ottoman (début XIVe-début XVIe siècle)* (Wiesbaden, 1980).

24 The debate seemed to have stalled by the late 1970s, with a yawning chasm separating two groups. On the one side were more or less doctrinaire Marxists, represented especially by post-World War II Balkan scholars who attempted to place the tîmâr system within the framework of the dialectical advancement toward socialist society: see especially Vera P. Mutaščieva, "Sur le caractère du timar ottoman," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 9 (1959), pp. 5-61; idem, "de l'exploitation féodale dans les terres de population Bulgare sous la domination turque au XV et XVI s.," *Études historiques* 1 (Sofia, 1960), pp. 145-170; Bistra A. Cvetkova, "L'évolution du régime féodal turc de la fin du XVIe jusqu'au milieu du XVIIIe siècle," *ibid.*, pp. 171-206; see also the bibliographical review essay of Wayne S. Vucinich, "The Yugoslav Lands in the Ottoman Period: Postwar Marxist Interpretations of Indigenous and Ottoman Institutions," *Journal of Modern History* 27 (1955), pp. 287-305. On the other side were Turkish nationalist historians intent on demonstrating Ottoman exceptionalism. Among these the work of Ömer Lütfi Barkan was prominent, see, for example, "Türkiye'de 'servaj' var mıydı?" *Belleten* 20 (1956), pp. 237-246 (a French translation was published as "Le servage existait-il en Turquie?" *Annales économiques, sociétés, civilisations* 2 [1956], pp. 54-60; idem, "Feodal düzen ve osmanlı timarı," *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiye iktisat tarihi semineri* (Ankara, 1973), pp. 1-32, earlier, M. Fuad Köprülü, while admitting of resemblances between the Ottoman system and other feudalisms, preferred a connection to "Islamic" feudalism, denying Byzantine influence on the Ottomans, see "Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine te'siri hakkında bazı mülâhazalar," *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* 1 (1931), pp. 165-313, (republished as *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine te'siri* [Istanbul: Otügen, 1986]), idem, "Orta zaman Türk-İslâm feodalizmi," *Belleten* 5 (1941), pp. 319-334 (French translation in *ibid.*, pp. 335-350). For a fresh discussion, including an historiographical summary, see Halil Berktaş, "The Search for the Peasant in Western and Turkish History/Historiography," in Berktaş and Suraiya Faroqi, eds., *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History* (London: Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 109-184.

24 On the institution of the *mülk tîmâr*, see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Türk-İslâm toprak hukuku tatbikatının osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda aldığı şekiller, 1. Malikâne-divânî sistemi," *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* 2 (1939), pp. 119-184; this article has now been republished, with the author's marginal notes and revisions in footnotes, in Barkan, *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi; Toplu Eserler* 1 (Istanbul: Gözlem Yayınları, 1980), pp. 151-208. See also idem, "Osmanlı devrinin 'eşkinçülü mülkler'i veya 'mülk timarlar'ı hakkında notlar," in Zeki Velidi Togan'a *Armağan* (Istanbul, 1950-1955), pp. 61-70, republished in *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi*, pp. 897-904; and the same author's entry "Timar" in *IA* (see note 23, above) also now republished in *Türkiye'de Toprak Meselesi*, pp. 805-872.

25 See the *kânûnnâme* below, §17.

emphasized the fundamentally military character of the system, which was intended to produce troops for military campaigns. Hence the paramount importance placed by the central authorities who administered the system on the integrity of the *kılıç*, the irreducible core revenues of a *tîmâr*, which were designed to support a single soldier. Estimations of the fighting strength of the Ottoman army on campaign were calculated partly on the basis of the numbers of such *kılıç tîmârs* in each *sancağ*.²⁶ The typical Ottoman *dirlik* holder was the common cavalry soldier, the *Sipâhî*; he was an *eşkünci*, one who went to war.

Dirliks were of various sizes. Those garnering the smallest amounts of revenues, less than twenty thousand *ağças*, were typically called *tîmârs* and their recipients *erbâb-ı tîmâr*, *tîmâr* lords or *timariots*. *Dirliks* totalling at least twenty thousand but less than one hundred thousand *ağças* were, from the mid fifteenth century, typically called *zi'âmet*s.²⁷ For administrative purposes, in the sixteenth century, *zi'âmet* holders (called *zu'amâ*, sg. *za'im*) appear to have been of two types.²⁸ The first (also known as a *subaşı*) was a soldier who had formerly been a *timariot* but had achieved a higher rank and gained increased revenues through rewards for meritorious service. The second was someone who had received his *zi'âmet* by virtue of his position in the Ottoman central administration, or by membership in certain elite military groups. Thus, the position of this second type of *zi'âmet* holder did not depend ultimately on his possessing benefice. *Dirliks* of over one hundred thousand *ağças*, and called *havâşş* (sg. *hâşş*); were *dirliks* set aside, as the name infers, for the sultan's treasury or those of members of the dynasty, for the livelihood of military commanders, provincial governors and other important state officials and dignitaries. In addition to the size of the grant, the sources of the revenues and the nature of the service performed were also important in defining each type of *dirlik*. In general, *tîmâr* benefices consisted of the tax revenues from villages and fields. *Zi'âmet*s, by contrast, generally consisted of revenues drawn from larger villages and towns.²⁹ Since the majority of *dirliks* were *tîmârs*, bringing the minimal amount of revenue, even in the Ottoman sources the term *tîmâr* was used generically, as a synonym for *dirlik*, to refer to a benefice of any size.

In exchange for his service, the *timariot* received the right to collect certain state duties from the subjects who lived on the *tîmâr*. These included the tithe (*'öşür*), the land tax (*resm-i çift*), and certain other feudal obligations.³⁰ In the Ottoman system the subjects

26 The best known example is 'Ayn 'Alî's treatise on the *tîmâr* system, *Ḳavânîn-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, pp. 39-61.

27 The *zi'âmet*, as a benefice intermediate in size between the *tîmâr* and the *hâşş*, appears to have been an innovation dating from the reign of Mehemmed II. See *İA*, s. v. "ze'âmet," vol. 13 (1986), pp. 477-479 (Halil Sahillioğlu); see also Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "The First Centuries of the Ottoman Military Organization," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31 (1977), pp. 147-183.

28 The late sixteenth century *icmâl* registers (on which see below) of the Defter-i Hâkânî make a distinction between these two sets of *zi'âmet*s. See, for example, the *icmâl* register of Aydın sancağı, completed 981/1573-1574 (Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü [hereafter TKUM], Ankara, no. 289, f. 130b).

29 I. Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650* (New York, 1983), pp. 12-13.

30 See İnalcık, "Osmanlılar'da raiyyet rûsûmu." The *kânûnnâme* of Selîm I specified that the *resm-i çift* was to be collected in the month of March (see Akgündüz, *Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 3, p. 94, text p. 118). In his important study of the Ottoman army wintering in the field, Gilles Veinstein noted that some duties were collected and made available to the *sipâhî*s in the fall, after the campaign season. See Veinstein, "L'hivernage en campagne, talon d'Achille du système militaire

formed as integral a part of the tîmâr as the land itself, since, it was reasoned, if the peasants fled from their land the timariot would lose his income. Precautions were taken, therefore, to ensure that the peasants remained on the tîmâr, so that the land continued in cultivation.

The campaign obligations of timariots included three basic elements: their own participation, the participation of a certain number retainers (sg. *cebelü*), and the arming and equipping of themselves and their retinue.³¹ The responsibility of each soldier was calculated according to the revenue of his benefice.³² These requirements were codified at an early date.³³ In addition to service on campaign, the Ottoman state charged the timariot, who was expected to reside on the site of his benefice, with the responsibility of keeping order in the countryside. Revenues collected from fines imposed for petty crimes, administered by the local magistrate, were, in the case of the common cavalry sipâhî, divided between the timariot and the *sancağbegi*; some possessors of hâşş and zi'âmet benefices, including military commanders, administrative personnel, members of elite guard corps and certain others, whose benefices were designated "free" (*serbest*), kept the revenue from these fines in their entirety.³⁴

III. The kânûnnâme and the administration of the tîmâr system

The şûret-i kânûnnâme-i 'oşmânî berây-ı tîmâr dâden contains regulations concerning the administration of the tîmâr system, specifically concerning the bestowal of tîmârs, from the perspective of the central government, as distinct from the obligations of peasants to their timariot, or of timariots to the peasants and to the Ottoman state. These administrative matters were not treated explicitly, either by the kânûnnâme on state organization of Mehemmed II or by the expanded general kânûnnâmes of his successors. Especially during the time of Süleymân the magnificent, the bestowal of tîmârs developed into an increasingly complicated set of administrative procedures, carefully monitored by scribes in Imperial Registry (*Defter-i hâkânî*), a bureau of the dîvân.³⁵

Efforts to systematize the kânûns concerning the administration of tîmâr bestowals date from a series of directives issued by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent on 22 Receb 937/March 11, 1531.³⁶ Probably few of the regulations found in Süleymân's directives of

ottoman classique: à propos des *sipahi* de Roumélie en 1559-1560," *Studia Islamica* 58(1983), pp. 109-148; see also the remarks of Caroline Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare: The Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593-1606* (Vienna, 1988), pp. 198-203.

31 Just who the *cebelü* were in the sixteenth century remains somewhat unclear; the sources which record the tîmâr bestowals of sipâhis, the *rûznâmçe* registers of the Imperial Registry (on which see below) are virtually silent on the matter of the composition of their retinue. See the discussion of Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare*, pp. 26-28.

32 For a summary, see Beldiceanu, *Le timar*, pp. 74-93.

33 By the time of the kânûnnâme of Bâyezîd II; see the text published by Beldiceanu, *Code de lois*, ff. 9v-11v.

34 See the detailed discussion, with notes, in Heyd, *Studies*, pp. 291-296; see also Beldiceanu, *Le timar*, pp. 36-38.

35 On this bureau, see Barkan's entry "Daftar-i Khâkânî," in *EI2* (note 12 above); see also Douglas A. Howard, "The Historical Development of the Ottoman Imperial Registry (*Defter-i hakanî*): Mid-Fifteenth to Mid-Seventeenth Centuries," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 11 (1986 [1988]), pp. 213-230.

36 The document was published in German translation, on the basis of two unidentified manuscripts, one in Vienna, the other in Paris, by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Das osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung dargestellt...*, vol. 1 (Pest, 1815; reprinted Hildesheim, 1963), pp. 349-356; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin published a Turkish summary of the order from a copy

1531 were really new; some had already appeared in the provincial *kanûnnâmes* of Bosnia,³⁷ Biğa,³⁸ and Nikopolis,³⁹ and in the register containing the record of the survey of Rum,⁴⁰ all dating from earlier in the sixteenth century. (The unusual placement of clauses concerning the bestowal of *tîmârs*, a matter of general applicability in the empire, in these provincial *kanûnnâmes* can perhaps be explained as the result of a petition, such as the one in a case cited by Uriel Heyd from Christian inhabitants of the island of Cephalonia, who about 1485 sent a representative to Istanbul to complain about the oppressiveness of the tax collectors and other officials and requested a *kanûnnâme*.⁴¹) The identical wording of certain of these regulations suggests that an official *kanûnnâme* detailing *tîmâr* bestowal regulations existed in some form by the time of Sultan Selîm I. The genesis of these regulations may have been in the quite distant Ottoman past: Ottoman tradition attributed to Kara Timurtaş Paşa, the mid-fourteenth century statesman who served Murâd I, a "*kanûnnâme*" which organized the *sipâhî* and *silâhdâr* palace guard corps and ordered that sons of *sipâhîs* be given *tîmârs* on the death of their fathers, so that they not be left destitute.⁴² Of course, the survival of *tahrîr* registers argues for the existence of a set of regularly accepted administrative procedures for *tîmâr* bestowals already in the early fifteenth century; sections of the general *kanûnnâme* of Bâyezîd II show that such procedures, if not a formalized *kanûnnâme*, were probably in place at the time of composition of that document.

Later writers nevertheless hailed the most innovative of Süleymân's directives of noteworthy 1531, the requirement that all initial *tîmârs* be given by Ottoman central government, for "until that date the initial diplomas of sons of *sipâhîs* were given by the provincial governor."⁴³ Modern scholars have usually interpreted the directives of 1531 as evidence of the efforts toward bureaucratic centralization of Süleymân's reign.⁴⁴ The

in Paris, see "Kanûnî Sultan Süleyman'ın timar ve zeamet tevcihi ile ilgili fermanları," *Tarih Dergisi* 22 (1968), pp. 37-43; a copy of the directive in ms. Atıf Efendi 1734 has now been published in facsimile with modern Turkish transcription by Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 4/1, pp. 563-575. See also the remarks of Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants*, pp. 35-38 and n. 8.

37 Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 395-396, paragraph 1.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 20, paragraph 12.

39 Copies of the *tîmâr* regulations contained in the *kanûnnâme* of Nikopolis abound in Ottoman manuscripts. They usually purport to be copies of the document found in the *tahrîr* register of the province, in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Devlet Arşivi, Istanbul (hereafter BODA), *Maliyeden Müdevver* collection (hereafter MM) no. 11 (dated 1516), *Tapu Tahrir* collection (hereafter TT) no. 370 (1528), or in TKUM, no. 58. Textual differences, however, are noted; compare the version published by Tayyib Gökbilgin on the basis of an unspecified manuscript, in *Kavânîn-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, pp. 102-104. BODA, TT 370 was published in transcription by Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 267-271, see paragraphs 1-6. BODA, MM 11 has now been published in a facsimile edition, with modern Turkish transcription, by Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 3, pp. 412-441.

40 See BODA, TT 98, p. 2. This fragment was published by Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 109-110.

41 Heyd, *Studies*, p. 14. Similar cases may be cited: ms. Fatih 4271, f. 251a, records an example of a delegation of janissaries stationed in Şehrizol, who requested in writing a "*kanûnnâme*," and were sent a schedule of fees.

42 The episode is referred to in a brief text which appears to be a partial chronology of early Ottoman *kanûn*, appended to some copies of the *kanûnnâme* of the famous sixteenth century Re'îsü 'l-küttâb, Celâlzâde. See the facsimile edition of the *kanûnnâme* published by Gulubov, *Turski izvori*, ff. 79b-81b; another copy is ms. Esad 587, Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, f. 20b.

43 'Ayn 'Alî Efendi, *Kavânîn-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, pp. 63 and 66.

44 See Hamilton A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, 1 vol. in 2 pts. (London: Oxford University Press, 1950 and 1957), pt. 1, p. 49; Klaus Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte* (Berlin and New York, 1973), pp. 39-40; and Káldy-Nagy, "The First Centuries," pp. 154-156.

directives of 1531 were supplemented, and in some cases amended, by subsequent directives issued by Süleymân and his descendants.

Compilations of regulations, issued as directives of sultan, do not, of course, tell us exactly how the tîmâr system, or the Ottoman administration in general, operated. The Ottoman dîvân proceeded in the expectation that its orders would be adhered to. While it would be naive to treat the kânûnnâmes as a description of reality, to discount them as administrative sources because they are not seems a similar negligence. The kânûnnâmes are legal sources; they present a description of the Ottoman system from a central perspective. This set of regulations provides details which are indispensable for interpreting other archival materials related to the tîmâr system, especially the *mufaşşal*, *icmâl* and *rûznâmçe* registers, and for reconstructing the process by which tîmârs were bestowed. Research utilizing these other tîmâr records has shown that the kânûnnâme regulations indeed guided the administration of the tîmâr system until well into the seventeenth century, when military as well as financial considerations made a substantial reform of the system necessary.⁴⁵ Ottoman intellectuals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, moreover, found in the kânûnnâmes the framework of an identifiably Ottoman system, one which expressed typically Ottoman formulations of the ideal social order.⁴⁶ The kânûnnâmes, then, became an important point of reference for a powerful Ottoman interpretation of society and of history. In this regard, the tîmâr system occupied a significant place in the writings of Ottoman cultural critics, who viewed it as a uniquely Ottoman institution, founded on kânûn, and consequently viewed its late sixteenth and early seventeenth century transformation as evidence of an Ottoman decline.⁴⁷

On the basis of the kânûnnâme text presented here, and other tîmâr records, particularly the rûznâmçe registers of the Imperial Registry, the process of tîmâr bestowals as it had developed by the mid-sixteenth century⁴⁸ may be briefly summarized.⁴⁹ The Registry handled two types of tîmâr bestowals, initial (*ibtidâ'*) bestowals and renewed bestowals. The kânûnnâme insisted that only boys who were the sons of sipâhîs and had reached maturity were eligible to receive an initial tîmâr bestowal. These boys petitioned the dîvân for a tîmâr grant through well-established bureaucratic channels. Each submitted a writ of petition (*'arz*)⁵⁰, supported by the commander of the sipâhîs in his district, the *alaybegi* or *sancakbegi*, to the provincial governor and commander, the *beglerbegi*. Before 1531, the *beglerbegi* bestowed small, initial tîmârs on such sons of sipâhîs by his own authority, with

45 Douglas A. Howard, "The Ottoman Timar System and its Transformation, 1563-1656" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1987).

46 See Cornell, H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 191-231.

47 Howard, "Ottoman Historiography," pp. 59-73.

48 Compare the process outlined here with the bestowal process in the early fifteenth century, on the basis of register of the sancak of Arvanid (published in a model edition, with facsimile and transcription, by Halil İnalcık, as *Hicrî 835 tarihli sûret-i defter-i sancak-ı Arvanid* [Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954]). See Halil İnalcık, "1431 tarihli Timar defterine göre Fatih devrinden önce timar sistemi," *IV. Türk tarih kongresi tebliğler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1952), pp. 132-139. See also Káldy-Nagy, "The First Centuries," pp. 149-154.

49 For a detailed analysis of the bestowal procedures, see Howard, "The Ottoman Timar System and its Transformation," pp. 77-142.

50 On this document, see Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı bürokrasisinde aklâm ve muâmelât," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / Journal of Ottoman Studies* 1 (1980), pp. 1-14.

his personal diploma (*berât*), in accordance with lists of vacancies kept in the provincial *tîmâr* records. Süleyman's directive of that year ordered that beglerbegis forward these petitions to Istanbul with a certificate (*tezkiye*) and an indication of the specific *tîmâr* being given the petitioner. Thereafter, the central government diploma represented the definitive bestowal of the *tîmâr*, and the certificate of the beglerbegi was regarded as provisional--such *tîmârs* were called "certified" (*tezkiirelû*). Sipâhîs did not remain in possession of the same *tîmâr* throughout their careers (with the exception of the *mülk timariots*). Through a system that is not yet clearly understood, sipâhîs periodically gave up their *tîmârs*, becoming "separated" (*ma'zûl*). After a period of dispossession, these sipâhîs then reentered a *tîmâr* through a process of petition similar to that outlined above.⁵¹ In these cases, the documentation of the previous bestowal, including the date and reason of the separation, became part of the record presented with the new petition. When a *tîmâr* in the district or a neighboring district became vacant, it could be bestowed on these separated sipâhîs. The provincial administration handled such *tîmâr* renewals when they amounted to a small revenue figure, which varied from province to province,⁵² bestowing them by the beglerbegi's personal diploma. The *ķânûnnâme* termed these bestowals "non-certified" (*tezkiiresüz*) *tîmârs*.

Thus, the administrative procedures described in the narrative sections of the *Şûret-i ķânûnnâme-i 'Osmanî Berây-ı Tîmâr Dâden* (§12, §13, §14 and §15) defined the *tîmâr* system essentially as an organization by which provincial families maintained a tradition of service in the Ottoman cavalry army.⁵³ In fact, however, a certain number of *tîmârs* had evidently always been given to scribes of the central or provincial administration and to members of various specialized "palace" military corps. Thus, the *ķânûnnâme* listed revenue figures for *tîmârs* given out to palace military personnel on their transfer to provincial service (§1 and §2); it likewise recorded figures for *tîmârs* which were given to slaves in the households of deceased vezirs, beglerbegis and sancaķbegis (§6., §1-6.4, and §8, respectively). But the *ķânûnnâme* did not give direct attention to the administrative procedure governing such bestowals, which differed substantially in that it was handled entirely by the central administration in Istanbul, except to refer obliquely to a system called *mahall-i himmet*, "influence," (or perhaps "patronage" [§5, §15.4.2.2.]).⁵⁴ Quantitatively, this is a significant omission: the *rûznâmçe* registers of one western Anatolian district surveyed, the sancaķ of Aydın, reveal that because the independent records of the central administration in Istanbul and of the office of the beglerbegi in the province could not always be regularly coordinated, simultaneous bestowal of a vacant *tîmâr* on different individuals caused serious administrative problems and sometimes acrimonious personal

51 This appears to parallel in some ways the alternating periods of possession and dispossession which characterized the careers of sancaķbegis and beglerbegis, as discussed by Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants*, pp. 71-76. See also Douglas A. Howard, "The Life and Career of an Ottoman Sipahi, Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," in Denis Sinor, ed., *Aspect of Altaic Civilization III* (Bloomington, 1990), pp. 47-57.

52 In Rumelia and other European provinces, below six thousand akças; in Anatolia, below five thousand akças. For a summary, see 'Ayn 'Alî Efendi, *ķavânî-i Âl-i 'Osmanî*, pp. 63-65.

53 Note Barkan, in *İA*, s. v. "Timar," pp. 298-302.

54 Bestowing timars by this means was said to have been forbidden to beglerbegis by an order of Süleymân, Gurre-i Ramazân 961/31 July 1554, according to a note in ms. Veliyüddin 1970, f. 6a.

disputes between the men involved.⁵⁵ The *rûznâmçe* registers of Aydın show that initial tîmâr bestowals by means of the common provincial petition and the certificate of the beglerbegi accounted for a steadily decreasing percentage of all tîmâr bestowals in the century after the death of Süleymân.⁵⁶ Yet no sources equivalent to the *ķânûnnâme*, describing the other routes to a tîmâr bestowal from the administrative point of view, have been identified. The nature of this process must at present be inferred from the reports of it noted in the *rûznâmçe* entries and in the *ķânûnnâme*.

IV. Toward an edition of the ķânûns concerning the tîmâr system.

A. The Şehid Ali Paşa Manuscript

Copies of ķânûns on the subject of tîmârs can be found in numerous Ottoman archival registers and manuscripts, including epistolaries and miscellanea, *tahrîr* registers, and the *mühimme* registers of the dîvân. Collating these tîmâr regulations presents interpretive difficulties. No two collections so far uncovered are perfectly identical. Directives which appear in one manuscript are absent in one or more others. Otherwise identical copies of a directive contain discrepancies in wording or grammatical tense or person. Some of the collections contain directives which are dated, many do not. Virtually identical copies of a directive carry discrepant dates. Directives sent out years apart contain virtually identical clauses. The *ķânûnnâme* for tîmâr bestowals was quite evidently in a continual state of flux, with some regulations being supplemented or superseded by new rules, and others being explained or amplified by later directives. Hence there can be no question of a "critical edition" of the *ķânûnnâme* for tîmâr bestowals if the goal is to recover or reconstruct the "original" text of the ķânûns. Rather, it seems reasonable to begin an edition of Ottoman regulations concerning tîmâr bestowals with a single compendium, thought to be complete for a particular date, as a base text.

Fourteen Ottoman manuscript containing collections of ķânûns concerning the tîmâr system were examined for the purposes of this edition. The text *Şûret-i ķânûnnâme-i 'Os-mânî berây-ı tîmâr dâden*, comprising the first thirteen folia of codex no. 2832 of the collection of manuscripts in the library of the eighteenth century Re'îsü'l-küttâb Şehid Ali Paşa (siglum Ş), now preserved in the Süleymâniye Library, Istanbul has been selected as a base text. This manuscript provides certain advantages as a base text. It is dated 983/1575-1576, late enough to include the legislative activity of Süleymân and of Selîm II, yet before the rapid changes which overtook the tîmâr system beginning in the 1580s and which were given administrative ratification in the 1630s.⁵⁷ Ş, moreover, presents an edited version of the *ķânûnnâme* as a discrete text, rather than merely a catalogue of ķânûns on the tîmâr

55 For an example, see Douglas A. Howard, "The BBA *Ruznamçe Tasnifi*: A New Resource for the Study of the Ottoman Tîmar System," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 10/1 (March, 1986), pp. 11-19, appendix. (My erroneous translation of the phrase *ber vech-i iltizâm-ı sâbık* [p. 18] as "by virtue of the previous tax farm" ought to be corrected to read "because of the earlier expediency." The phrase carried essentially the same meaning as the more commonly used *ber vech-i tekmîl*, that is to say, a tîmâr bringing less revenue than that to which the recipient was entitled; it had, of course, nothing to do with tax farming.)

56 See Howard, "The Ottoman Tîmar System and its Transformation," pp. 164-182.

57 See *ibid.*, pp. 193-235.

system. Thus, for example, while Süleymân's tîmâr directive 1531 is referred to and even briefly quoted in *hükms* included in *Ş*,⁵⁸ the directive itself does not appear, its major themes having become moot. Neither the lengthy discussion of the definition of an Ottoman *kul* (slave, or servant) and the qualifications of "outsiders" (*ecnebler*) who acquired tîmârs, nor the clarification of those provisions announced in a later directive,⁵⁹ appear in *Ş*. Where provisions found in *Ş* match sections of the directive of 1531 (§4, §6.1-6.2, and §7.2-7.4⁶⁰) they were available to the editor of *Ş* (or, more accurately, to the editor of the text of which *Ş* is a copy) in other sources. Similarly, the important legislation on tîmârs of Süleymân's chancellor, Celâlzâde Mustafa Çelebi (also known as Koca Nişancı), had by this time been superseded by later legislation and only appears in this text indirectly.⁶¹

The regulations which comprise the work in *Ş* fall into two broad groups: folia 1b-6a (§1-§11) contain lists of various officials, civil servants and military officers and administrators, and the amount of dirlik revenues which lawfully might be bestowed on them, on their sons, or on their slaves; folia 6b-13a (§12-§17) contain narrative instructions regarding administrative procedures to be followed in the bestowal of tîmârs on sons of sipâhîs.

Of the other manuscripts examined, A. F. 547 (Flügel 1820; siglum F) in Vienna most closely parallels *Ş*. In F, which was copied in 1650, the *kânûnnâme* is preceded by copies of 'Ayn 'Alî Efendi's two works on Ottoman administration, the *Kavânîn-i Âl-i 'Osmân* mentioned above and *Risâle-i vazîfe-horân* which often accompanies it in manuscripts, a copy of the *kânûnnâme* of Nikopolis, and a version of the *kânûnnâme* of Süleymân, and is followed by a copy of the *kânûnnâme* of Mehemmed the Conqueror. The version of *Şûret-i Kânûnnâme-i 'Osmânî Berây-ı Tîmâr Dâden* in F is somewhat shorter than that in *Ş* because F contains no material on the tîmârs of slaves; nor on fees levied for tîmâr bestowals. F contains all four of the narrative *hükms* which comprise §12, §13, §14, and §15 of *Ş*, and in the same order (although a copy of §7 of *Ş* comes between the latter two *hükms* in F). No other manuscript examined contains all four of the narrative *hükms* given in *Ş*.

Two other manuscripts, Fonds turc 41 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Siglum B) and Revan 1936 in the Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi in Istanbul (Siglum T), contain important collections of both the figures given in the first half of *Ş* and three of the four narrative *hükms* which make up the second half of *Ş*. Atıf Efendi 1734 in Istanbul contains dated copies of three of the narrative *hükms* given in *Ş*. Revan 1935 and Esad 2362, in Istanbul, and H. O. 154 in Vienna contain collections of many the figures given in the first half of *Ş*. The other manuscripts examined provide minor collections of the figures or copies of one or two of the narrative *hükms* in *Ş*.⁶²

58 For example, §14.4. quotes the directive of 1531; see Atıf Efendi 1734, ff. 5b-6a.

59 Dated Evâhır-ı Zî'l-ka'de 950/February 15-24, 1544. Atıf Efendi 1734, ff. 14a-15a.

60 All can be found in the Atıf Efendi 1734 copy of the directive of 1531: §4 on ff. 4a-5b; §6.1-6.2 on f. 7b, and §7.2-7.4 on ff. 7b-8a. See also the ms. A. F. 547 (Flügel 1820), ff. 72a-79a.

61 As, for example, when the old rule that sons of sipâhîs attend campaigns from the age of ten years old was modified (see §14.3). For the *kânûnnâme* of Celâlzâde, see note 43, above. On the career of Celâlzâde, see the entry by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin in *İA*, s. v. "Celâlzâde," vol. 3, pp. 61-64; the entry by V. L. Ménage in *EI*², s. v. "Djalâlzâde Mustafa Çelebi," vol. 2, p. 400; and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Tosyalı Celâlzâde Mustafa ve Salih Çelebiler," *Belleten* 22(1958), pp. 391-441.

62 For detailed descriptions of the contents of the manuscripts see below.

The title of § is set off boldly and is clearly intended as the title of the work as a whole, and not merely a section of the work.⁶³ The introductory honorifics, including the names of the addressees, of what were once sultanic directives are sometimes shortened or eliminated in §,⁶⁴ and the dates of the original directives are left out. Evidence suggests that the editor probably used several sources, including archival sources. The expression of gratitude which concludes §11.1. in § seems inappropriately placed, and probably records the spontaneous response of the copyist of the editor's source (or a prior version of the editor's source), in which it was the final statement. §5 in § appears to be a reworking of the *Kânûn-ı tîmâr* as given in several manuscripts.⁶⁵ A fee schedule of the kind which comprises §11.2-11.3 in § appears in a similar, tabular, format at the beginning of an archival register recording the daily receipts of these fees, paid for *dirlik* certificates.⁶⁶ In §14.8-14.9, § repeats clauses already written in §13.4-13.5. It appears that the *hükm* which included §14.1-14.5 and §14.7 was written to Luṭfi Paşa, the beglerbegi of Rumelia, in Evâḥır-ı Rebî'ü'l-evvel 943/September 7-16, 1536.⁶⁷ The same *hükm*, but with §14.6 and §14.8-14.9 added, was written in Evâḥır-ı Cemâzî'l-âḥır 943/December 5-13, 1536.⁶⁸ This version of the *hükm* constitutes §14 in §. These new clauses (§14.6 and §14.8-14.9) were then incorporated into a different *hükm*, sent to Meḥammed Paşa, beglerbegi of Rumelia, in Evâ'il-i Zî'l-ka'de 943/April 11-20, 1537.⁶⁹ This *hükm* is §13 in §.

After a note reading "end of the Ottoman *kânûn* (*tetimetü'l-kânûnı'l-'Osmânî*)", § contains a colophon: "In the time of the late Sultan Selîm Khan, may God's mercy rest upon, him, son of Sultan Süleyman Khan done in the year nine hundred eighty three of the hegira of the Prophet."⁷⁰ Therein lies a problem: although there is some disagreement in the sources regarding the exact day of his death, Selîm II must have died not in the year 983, but in 982, at the end of Şa'ban or beginning of Ramazân (December 1574).⁷¹ It is likely that the last two directives of § (§16-§17) followed immediately, or were appendices to §15, and that all three directives date from the reign of Selîm II.⁷² Two other copies of these directives give what is probably the original date of issue, at least of §15--Muḥarrem 976/June-July 1568.⁷³ F parallels §, presenting §15-§17 in order and connecting them explicitly with Selim's accession: §15 is titled, in F, *Şûret-i kânûnnâme-i cedîd der zamân-ı sulṭân Selîm Hân-ı şânî* (Copy of the new *kânûnnâme*, in the time of Sultan Selîm Khan II). But there, the date 974,

63 This is probably also the case in A. F. 547 (Flügel 1820); compare the different title given to the material comprising §1 in H. O. 154 (Flügel 249).

64 Compare §14 to f. 9a, and §15 to f. 180b, of Atıf Efendi 1734.

65 So called in Revan 1935, ff. 72b-73a, and Revan 1936, f. 109b; see also Esad 2362, ff. 77a-b and Reisülküttâb 1004, ff. 26b-27a.

66 For the year 1001/1592-1593. See BODA, TT 641, p. 1.

67 See the copy in ms. Atıf Efendi 1734, f. 12a.

68 This date is given in the version published by Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Loi sur la transmission du timar (1536)," *Turcica* 11 (1979), pp. 78-102.

69 See the copy in ms. Atıf Efendi 1734, f. 14a.

70 *Der zamân-ı merḥûm Sulṭân Selîm Hân tâbe şerâhu bin Sultan Süleymân Hân el vâk'i fî sene şelâş ve semânîn ve tis'mi'e 'l-ḥicra 'n-nebeviye*, f. 13a.

71 See İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1948), pp. 420-421.

72 Revan 1936 omits both §16 and §17; but in Atıf Efendi 1734, §16 is incorporated into §15, while §17 is absent.

73 Atıf Efendi 1734, ff. 180b-183a gives Evâ'il-i Muḥarrem 976/June30-July 5, 1568; Revan 1936, ff. 186b-189b, gives Evâsıt-ı Muḥarrem 976/July 6-15, 1568.

not 983 or 976, appears at the end of the text. The somewhat awkward wording of the note in which the date appears, however, suggests that it may have been added later: "*işbu kânûn-ı cedîd muḳaddimâ re'îsü'l-küttâb olub defter emîni olub ba'da zâlik ḥazîne defterdârı olan Meḥammed Çelebi Efendiniñ zamânında toḳuz yüz yetmiş dört tarîhindedür* (this new kânûn was done in the time of Meḥammed Çelebi Efendi, who was earlier Secretary-in-Chief and Intendant of the Imperial Registry, and subsequently was Registrar of the Treasury, in the year nine hundred seventy-four)."⁷⁴ Although it is difficult to conclusively identify Meḥammed Çelebi Efendi (his name is not an uncommon one among scribes), the information given here makes it seem likely that this is the same Meḥammed Çelebi Efendi whom the historian Selânikî records as present in his capacity as Re'îsü'l-küttâb at the mustering for the Szigetvár campaign in 1566.⁷⁵ A register of bonuses for personnel of the central bureaucracy lists him as Intendant of the Registry for the years 972-977/1564-1570.⁷⁶ Another register has this man as the Registrar of the Treasury of Anatolia, and former Intendant of the Registry, in late 977/1570,⁷⁷ a detail confirmed by Selânikî, who places an Anatoli defterdârı Meḥammed Çelebi Efendi at the *cülûs-ı salṭanat* of Murâd III (1574).⁷⁸ This may also be the Meḥammed Çelebi Efendi described briefly by the eighteenth century statesman and scholar Ahmed Resmî in his bio-bibliography of Secretaries-in-chief.⁷⁹

This evidence suggests the following tentative solution of the problem raised by the colophon. The directive which forms §15 of Ş, and to which was appended §16-§17, was promulgated in 976/1568, early in the reign of Selîm II, when Meḥammed Çelebi Efendi was Intendant of the Imperial Registry and Secretary-in-Chief. The compiler of F and the editor of the source of Ş used similar copies of this directive, which carried no date, but which connected the directive to Selîm's reign and perhaps to his accession. The compiler of F supplied the date 974 for the accession of Sultan Selîm II, which occurred in that year, on 15 Rebî'ü'l-evvel (September 30, 1566).⁸⁰ The copyist of Ş intended also to give the text a date

74 The same section is called, in Ş, "The book of regulations which was sent to provincial governors on the imperial accession (*Cülûs-ı hümayûnda beglerbegilere gönderilen kânûnnâmedür*)", f. 11a.

75 "...âlfî dîvân oldu. Defterdâr-ı emvâl Murâd Çelebi ve sâbıkâ Mîr-tevkî'î Müteferrika-başı Celâl-zâde ve Reîsülküttâb Mehmed Çelebi cümle Dîvân-ı Hümayûn kâtibleri ile geldiler." Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, ed. Mehmed İpşirli, vol. 1 (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1989), p. 35.

76 BODA, *Kâmil Kepeci* collection (hereafter *KK*) 6593, ff. 253b-268b. He was replaced in 977 by Mustafa Çelebi. On this register, see Cornell Fleischer, "Preliminaries to the study of the Ottoman Bureaucracy," in *Raiyyet Rûsûmu* [*Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 10] (1986), pp. 135-141, at p. 139. The bureau *Defter-i vilâyet* appears to be identical to the *Defter-i ḥâkânî*; see Howard, "Historical Development," p. 139.

77 BODA, *Rûznâmçe* collection (hereafter *Ruz.*) 29, pp. 200 and 400.

78 Selânikî, ed. İpşirli, vol. 1, p. 100.

79 Ahmed Resmî, *Ḥalîfetü'r-rü'esâ* (Istanbul, 1269/1852-1853), p. 12. Resmî states that Meḥammed Çelebi had taken his post before the death of Süleymân the Magnificent, that he maintained the position until Muḥarrem 978/June-July 1570, and was unsuccessful in advancing further in the administration. This identification would require that Meḥammed Çelebi held the position of Re'îsü'l-küttâb and Emîn-i defter simultaneously, a not unprecedented feat in the mid-sixteenth century: according to Resmî, Ramazânzâde Meḥammed Çelebi had done the same prior to his appointment as Nişancı in 965/1557-1558 (See *Ḥalîfetü'r-rü'esâ*, p. 7). It would also require, however, that Resmî was unaware of this fact, and perhaps also of Meḥammed Çelebi's subsequent appointment to the *defterdârlık* of Anatolia (although it might be argued that Resmî considered the latter no advancement). I thank Virginia Aksan for this reference.

80 Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, vol. 2, pp. 352-362. On the Ottoman tradition of the promulgation of a law on the accession of the new ruler, and its reflection of steppe tradition, see Halil İnalcık, "Kutadgu Bilig'de Türk ve İran Siyaset Nazariye ve Gelenekleri," in *Reşid Rahmeti Arat için* (Ankara 1966),

corresponding to Selîm's reign, but supplied an erroneous date, perhaps the date in which the source of Ş was copied.⁸¹

It is also possible to interpret the colophon of Ş in another way. As Emîn-i defter and Re'îsü'l-küttâb, Mehemmed Çelebi Efendi sat in a position to significantly shape the administration of the tîmâr system. This 1568 directive of Selîm II (§15-§17 of Ş) essentially summarizes the tîmâr bestowal (*tevcihât*) system. Its placement at the end of Ş suggests that, as a statement of current problems, this decree properly concluded a text which synthesized regulations concerning the system. Thus, Ş may reflect an effort at codification begun during the reign of Selîm II, under the direction of Mehemmed Çelebi Efendi, but only completed by the Secretary-in-Chief after Sultan Selîm's death. If this is correct, Ş provides an important starting point for a study of the administration and organization of the tîmâr system.

B. Other manuscript compendia of tîmâr regulations

As has already been noted, numerous Ottoman manuscripts contain copies of the directives which comprise the *Şûret-i kânûnnâme-i 'Osmânî berây-ı tîmâr dâden*. The following is a list of the compendia I have been able to examine in addition to the Ş text.⁸² The vast holdings of Başbakanlık Osmanlı Devlet Arşivi in Istanbul have only begun to be tapped; the published catalogues of many of the major European manuscript libraries are, moreover, old and have become outdated as these collections have been enlarged and more carefully analyzed. There can be little doubt that additional copies of these directives will be found by future researchers.

1. A. F. 547, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Vienna [Flügel 1820] (Siglum: F). This manuscript, copied in 1650, is fully vocalized and written in a clear *nesih* hand. After a copy of Süleymân's directive of 1531, it contains on ff. 77a-86b a version of the *Şûret-i kânûnnâme-i 'Osmânî berây-ı tîmâr dâden*, with the directives arranged in roughly the same order as they appear in the base manuscript, Ş. This version is shorter than Ş, in that it does not include the material in §5-§11, except for §7.1-7.4, which appear between §14.7 and §15 (i. e., at the point where Ş repeats some earlier material, as noted above).

pp. 259-271; this article is now available in an updated English version, as "Turkish and Iranian Political Theories and Traditions in *Kutadgu Bilig*," translated by Douglas A. Howard, in İnalçık, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), pp. 1-18. See also İnalçık, "Suleiman the Lawgiver," pp. 107-111.

81 It should also be noted that the indication of amended figures for the dirliks of the tîmâr registrar of Rumelia, the tîmâr steward of Anatolia, and the tîmâr registrar of Karaman provide no assistance in precisely dating the text, since those changes had already occurred during the reign of Süleymân; see Revan 1935, f. 70b-71a.

82 I have not seen the following manuscripts, listed by İnalçık ("Suleiman the Lawgiver," pp. 114-115 and in *El²*, s. v. "Kânûnnâme," p. 563), which may contain copies of some of the directives from the reign of Süleymân included in Ş: Reisülküttâb 1058, in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul; Or. no. 9503 in the British Museum; fonds Turc Ancien no. 85 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and Turcica no. 3 in the Orientalni Institut, Sarajevo. I was unable, moreover, to secure a microfilm copy of, and hence to account in the collation for, Fatih 4271, in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, which contains copies of our §12 and §14. The manuscript Yeni Yazma 150 in the Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi is a very late copy made from Ş and need not be considered.

- a. §1, entitled '*Atebe-i ulyâda olan ağalar sancağa çıkdūda kânûn-ı pâdişâhî budur*, appears on f. 77a.
- b. §2, '*Atebe-i ulyâda subaşılığa çıkan kimesnelerün kânûndur*, appears on f. 77a.
- c. §3, '*Kethüdâlarda ve defterdârlar tîmârî beyânındadır*, also appears on f. 77a.
- d. §4, which is here given no separate title but merely commences "*evvelâ*," appears on f. 77a-78b.
- e. §12, entitled '*Kânûnnâme-i mîrmîrân der tîmâr dâden*, appears on f. 78b-79b.
- f. §13, introduced as '*Şûret-i hükm-i hümayûn ki be Lutfî Paşa mîrmîrân-ı Rûm Êline vürûd yâft*, appears on f. 79b-81a.
- g. §14, beginning abruptly with "*bundan evvel*," appears on f. 81a-83a, concluding with our §14.7.
- h. §7, '*Sancağbegleri vefât etseler oğullarına tîmâr oldukda kânûn budur*, appears on f. 83a-b.
- i. §15, headed, '*Şûret-i kânûnnâme-i cedîd der zamân- ı Sulţân Selîm Hân-ı şânî*, as noted above, appears on ff. 84a-86b, concluding with the note concerning the date discussed above.

2. Atıf Efendi 1734, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (Siglum: A). This sixteenth century manuscript contains copies of several sultanic directives which appear in §:

- a. Hükm addressed to Behrâm Paşa, beglerbegi of Rumelia, dated 22 Receb 937/11 March 1531 (ff. 1b-8b). As discussed above, this directive is excerpted in §4, §6.1, and §7.3-7.4.⁸³
- b. Hükm addressed to Lutfî Paşa, beglerbegi of Rumelia, dated Evâhır-ı Rebî'ü'l-evvel 943/September 7-16, 1536 (ff. 9a-12a). This directive, concerning the granting of tîmârs to sons of sipâhîs, appears in §14.1-14.5, and ends with a version of the sanctio which completes §14.9.3.
- c. Hükm addressed to Mehemmed Paşa, beglerbegi of Rumelia, dated Evâ'il-i Zî'l-ka'de 943/April 11-20, 1537 (ff. 12b-14a). This directive forms §13 in §.
- d. Hükm addressed to Ahmed Paşa, beglerbegi of Rumelia, dated Evâ'il-i Muḥarrem 976/June 26-July 5, 1568 (ff. 180b-182a). This directive, copied later than the rest of the manuscript, concerns tîmâr transfers and appears in § as §15.

3. Fonds turc 41, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Siglum: B). This manuscript was partially described and some of its directives summarized by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin.⁸⁴ It contains copies of the following sultanic directives which appear in §:

- a. The directive of March 1531 (ff. 1-9b), excerpted in §4, §6.1-6.2, and 7.1-7.4.
- b. The directive of September 1536 (ff. 9b-13b), §14.1-14.5 and §14.7, ending with version of the sanctio which completes §14.9.3.
- c. The directive of April 1537 (ff. 13b-15b), §13.
- d. The '*Kânûnnâme-i mîrmîrân der tîmâr dâden* (ff. 19a-20b), §12.

⁸³ As noted above, this document has now been published in a facsimile edition with modern Turkish transcription by Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 4/1, pp. 563-575.

⁸⁴ Gökbilgin, "Kânûnî," pp. 35-48.

- e. A section headed *Şûret-i kânûnnâme-i pâdişâhîdür ki nakl olunur*, which begins with §14.1 of § (ff. 20b-21a) and also includes material contained in §9.-9.1 (f. 21a-b), §7.-7.3 (ff. 21b-22a), §9.3 and §6.1 (f. 22a) of §.
- f. A section (ff. 22a-23b) giving the dirlik figures for tîmâr stewards and registrars which appear in §3 of §, and for various state servants which appear in §1.
- g. A section (ff. 23b-24a) which parallels §5. of §, but in different form, and is followed by the figures that appear in § as §11.
- h. *Şûret-i hükm-i pâdişâhî* (ff. 24a-25a), which corresponds to §13.1-13.2.2. and §14.5-14.5.1. of §.
- i. A short table of fees paid for certificates (f. 25a-b), corresponding to §11-11.1. of §.
- j. Fees paid by beglerbegis (ff. 25b-26a), corresponding to §10.
- k. Dirlik figures for various palace officials and for tîmâr registrars and treasures in the provinces (ff. 27b-28a), corresponding to §1. §3. in §.
- l. The *Kânûnnâme-i sultânî* (ff. 28a-30a), which appears in § as §4.
- m. Figures of dirliks given to officials of the janissary and yaya corps (f. 30a), §5 in §.
- n. Figures of dirliks given to the sons and to household slaves of deceased vezirs, beglerbegis, and sancağbegis, and to the sons of tîmâr registrars and treasures in Anatolia and Rumelia (ff. 30a-31b), sections which correspond to §6. §9. of §.
- o. The first part of the *Kânûnnâme-i mîrmîran der tîmâr dâden* (ff. 32a-b), §12-12.2 of § followed by two more copies, one after the other, of the section comprising §11.1. in §. The remainder of this manuscript is taken up with instructions for scribes, manual on the siyakat script and Indian (Arabic) numerals, and lists of Ottoman provinces and districts.

4. Turc ancien 35, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Siglum: P). I have used the section (ff. 102b-105b) of this manuscript as published in Ottoman Turkish and translated into French by Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr.⁸⁵ It comprises a single sultanic directive, corresponding to our §14 in its entirety. This directive is dated, in the Paris manuscript, Evâhîr-ı Cemâzî'l-evvel 943/December 5-13, 1536.

5. Revan 1935, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (Siglum: R). This collection of kânûns on various subject was copied in 972/1564-1565 in a readable chancery hand. It contains the following sections included in §:

- a. The *Âdet-i rûsûm-ı mîr-i âlem-i dergâh-ı âlî*, §11.1.⁸⁶
- b. A section headed *Kânûnnâme-i şerîf-i pâdişâhî budur ki zîkr olunur* (ff. 68a-70a), which corresponds to §14.⁸⁷
- c. Figures for dirliks to be given to the sons of tîmâr stewards and registrars and sancağbegis, and to various central government and palace servants (ff. 70a-72a), contained in §9, §4, §3, §1, §6 and (after a short note not contained in §), §5, in that order.

⁸⁵ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Loi," pp. 78-102. I have had access to this manuscript only through this publication.

⁸⁶ This document has been published in a facsimile edition with modern Turkish transcription by Akgündüz, *Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 4/1, pp. 585-586.

⁸⁷ This document has been published in a facsimile edition with modern Turkish transcription by Akgündüz, *ibid*, pp. 576-581.

- d. Tezkire fee figures (f. 72a) corresponding to §11 in Ş.
- e. *Ķânûn-ı tîmâr* (ff. 109b-110a), corresponding to our §5.
- f. The *Ķânûnnâme-i mîrmîran der tîmâr dâden* (ff. 110b-111a), our §12.⁸⁸
- g. Another copy (in a different hand) of the directive which corresponds to §14.-14.7.1., addressed to 'Isâ, beglerbegi of Ķaraman, dated Evâhır-ı Receb 939/February 16-25 1533 (ff. 152b-153b). This is followed by another copy of the directive of 1544, which does not appear in Ş, clarifying some points of Süleymân's order of 1531, noted above (see also Atıf Efendi 1734, ff. 14a-16b), addressed to Hüseyn Paşa, the beglerbegi of Ķaraman, and dated Evâsıt-ı Zî'l-ka'de 950/5-14 February 1544.

6. Revan 1936, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (Siglum: T). This manuscript's contents were partially described by Karatay.⁸⁹ A colophon on f. 182a dates the completion of the copying of the bulk of this material to Evâhır-ı Şa'bân 975/February 19-28 1568.⁹⁰ Among the numerous *Ķânûnnâme* texts copied into this codex are the following, which correspond to portions of Ş:

- a. A hükm, here entitled *Ķânûn-ı rûsûm-ı tîmâr* (f. 59a), comprising an explanation of some of the fee figures of which appear in § 10-11.3.
- b. The *Ķânûn-ı tîmâr* (ff. 72b-73a), the figures of which appear in §5 in Ş.
- c. The *Ķânûnnâme-i mîrmîran der tîmâr dâden* (ff. 73a-74b), §12.
- d. The *Ķânûn-ı rûsûm-ı tîmâr*, which contains some of the figures described in §11.⁹¹
- e. The *Şûret-i Ķânûnnâme-i pâdişâhî* (ff. 116b-119b), §114. of Ş.
- f. Dirlik figures for sons of tîmâr stewards and registrars in Rumelia and Anatolia (§9), and for sons of sancağbegis (§7); dirlik figures for palace officials on their matriculation (§1); dirlik figures for the household slaves of paşas and sancağbegis (§6.3 and §8); and dirlik figures for janissary officials on their matriculation (§5) appear on ff. 119b-121b.
- g. Fee figures for certificates (ff. 121b-122a), §11.
- h. A section headed *Şûret-i hükm-i şerîf-i mûcib-i Ķânûnnâme* (ff. 186b-189b), §15 in Ş. This is followed, on ff. 189b-191b, by a copy of Süleymân's directive of 1531.
- i. A fragment of a copy of the hükm (ff. 191b-192a), addressed to Hüsrev, the beglerbegi of Anatolia, which corresponds to §14. of Ş.

7. H. O. 154, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek, Vienna [Flügel 249] (Siglum: Ö). This fragment of a collection of *Ķânûnnâmes* includes several documents which appear in Ş.

- a. *'Atebe-i ulyâda bi'l-fi'l muḳarrer olan Ķânûn*, §6.1-6.2. of Ş, followed by §7.7.5 concerning sancağbegis, ff. 5b-6a.
- b. §1., here titled *Der-i devlet olan ağalar sancağa çıḳduḳları Ķânûn*, appears on f. 6b.

⁸⁸ This document has been published in a facsimile edition with modern Turkish transcription by Akgündüz, *ibid.*, pp. 582-584.

⁸⁹ Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloḡu*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1961), p. 594.

⁹⁰ The material in the end pages was obviously copied later, including the directive of Selîm II, §15 in Ş, which appears, bearing the date 976/1568-1569, on ff. 186b-190b.

⁹¹ This document has been published in a facsimile edition with modern Turkish transcription by Akgündüz, *Osmanlı kanunnâmeleri*, vol. 4/1, pp. 587-589.

- c. §6. concerning the tîmârs of slaves of vezirs, begins on f. 6b; it is followed by our §6.3., concerning the tîmârs of slaves of beglerbegis, and our §8., concerning the tîmârs of slaves of sancağbegis, on f. 8a.
- d. A section headed *Yeñiçeriler kânûnudur*, excerpted in §, §5., appears on ff. 8b-9b.
- e. A version of §3. of § appears on f. 9a.
- f. 'Âdet-i rûsûm-ı mîr-i 'âlem-i dergâh- 'âlî, §11.1. of §, appears on f. 9a.
- g. A section headed *der beyân-ı rûsûmât-ı tezkirehâ-ı elviye ve zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı tîmâr der vilâyet-i Rûm Êli* includes the first six figures only of §11.
- h. A hükm dated 944/1537-1538, including parts of §5, is copied into f. 9b, addressed *Dergâh-ı 'âlî kapudanlarına*.
- i. A hükm dated 13 Ramazan 944/14 February 1538, corresponding to §6.4., is recorded on f. 10b.

8. Veliyüddin 1970, Bayezit Devlet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (Siglum: Y). This codex of miscellanea includes copies of a number of documents relevant to the study of the administration of the tîmâr system in the sixteenth century. Only a few of these appear in §.

- a. Dirlik figures for palace personnel on their matriculation, for janissaries and their sons, for the sons of begs and paşas (ff. 23b-28b), corresponding to material excerpted in §6.1-6.3 (23b), §7 (complete, 24a-b), §9 (24b), §1 and §6 (25a), §8 (25b), parts of §5, included in an order dated 942/1535-1536 (f. 25b-27a), and §3 (27a-28b), in that order.
- b. The hükm which comprises §14 appears on ff. 45a-48b.
- c. Dirlik figures for sons of subaşı and sipâhîs, and sons of tîmâr defterdârs and kethüdâs (ff. 74b-75a), §4 and §9.-9.2. of §.

9. Veliyüddin 1969, Bayezit Devlet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (Siglum: V). This collection of kânûnnâmes and other materials includes a copy of sultanîc directive and one other short document relevant to §.

- a. The *Kânûnnâme-i mîrmîran der tîmâr dâden*, §12, appears on ff. 122a-123a.
- b. The *Kânûn-ı rûsûm-ı tîmâr*, corresponding to §11.2-11.3, appears on ff. 125b-126a.

10. Re'îsü'l-küttâb 1004, Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (Siglum: K). This important compendium of copies of hükms and other miscellaneous documents contains numerous items of interest for a study of the tîmâr system, only a few of which appear in §.

- a. Figures for dirliks bestowed on janissaries of the Porte, §5 in §, appears on ff. 26b-27a.
- b. §1 appears in narrative form on f. 27b-28a.
- c. §6.3 appears on f. 28a.
- d. §7, concerning dirliks bestowed on sons of sancağbegis, appears on ff. 28a-b.
- e. §4-4.2.7. appear on f. 66a-b, including the margins.

11. Esad Efendi 2362, Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (Siglum: E). This codex, which contains copies of several Ottoman kânûnnâmes, includes a short section (ff. 75b-79b), entitled '*atebe-i 'adâlet 'unvânın bi'l-fi'l muqarrer vü ma'mûl olan kânûnnâmelerdür*', in which the following paragraphs from § appear.

- a. §6.1-6.2, ff. 75b-76a;
- b. §7.1.-7.4. (but omitting the last phrase of §7.4.), f. 76a-b;
- c. §9.3, followed by §9.-9.1., f. 76b;

- d. §1, (but omitting the *Sekbânbaşı* and the *Nişâncı*), ff. 76b-77a;
- e. §6, followed by §6.3, f. 77a;
- f. some of the material in §5, f. 77a-b;
- g. §4.1.1-4.2.2.1, f. 79a-b

The *Ķânûn-ı rûsûm-ı mîr-‘alem-i dergâh-ı ‘âlî*, §11.1. of Ş, appears separately on f. 80a.

12. Türk Yazmaları 2753, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, İstanbul (Siglum: H).

This important collection of *ķânûnnâmes* from the time of Süleymân includes copies of two documents which appear in Ş.

- a. The *Ķânûnnâme-i mîrmîran der tîmâr dâden*, §12 of Ş, ff. 50b-52a.
- b. The *Şûret-i ķânûnnâme-i pâdişâhî budur ki naķl olunur*, §14 in full, ff. 52b-55a.

13. Türk Yazmaları 1807, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, İstanbul (Siglum: I). This text elevates the genre of *ķânûnnâme* compendium to a level of synthesis unattained by any of the collections so far considered, and thus belongs to a literary process of slightly different origins. This is essentially a collection of *ķânûnnâme* collections, edited and organized into a work of several chapters each containing numerous subsections. Chapter two carries a lengthy title, "Concerning the imperial regulations (*ķavânîn*) about the state taxes (*rûsûm*) of the zu‘amâ and timariots, the commanders of commanders, the ulema, and other people of royal law (*‘örf*), the classes of dues (*mertebe-i istihķâķ*) of the zi‘âmets and tîmârs of the military class, and other matters." The chapter, divided into seven sections, includes much material which parallels that found in our text., but this material has in most cases been reworded and reorganized, so that a direct textual connection to Ş is not readily apparent. The reader of Ş recognizes §14, which appears in abbreviated form (§14.1-14.5, ff. 12a-13b), and §13.1-13.5.2 (but excluding §13.3.1 and abbreviating §13.4-13.4.3, ff. 13b-14a), in section four of the work; and some of the dirlik equivalents found in section five of the work appear in parts of Ş.

C. Principles of the edition

The present publication of the *Şûret-i ķânûnnâme-i ‘osmânî berây-ı tîmâr dâden* includes a facsimile of the base text Ş, a transcription of the text into a romanized alphabet, a critical edition, and an English translation. The transcription system employed is based on that of *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Since Ş is quite readable in the facsimile, presentation of the text in regularized Ottoman script seemed superfluous. The primary purpose of this edition is to present the text of this *ķânûnnâme* in a manner which will promote detailed study of the tîmâr system. An effort has been made to translate Ottoman terms where a suitable English equivalent exists. Commentary on the text has been limited to the introduction and the few notes accompanying and explaining the translation. A more complete critical commentary, encompassing an analysis of the operation of the tîmâr bestowal system, requires its integration with other archival documents, and is better taken up in a separate study.⁹²

⁹² The editor plans to publish such a study, a revised version of his doctoral dissertation. See Howard, "The Ottoman Tîmar System and its Transformation."

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

The most obvious innovation in this edition is the introduction of numbered paragraphs in the transcription and translation of the text. This is, of course, wholly an artifice of the edition, an interpretation of the text, and is not present in the text itself. The principle advantages of such an arrangement are that it permits easier collation and comparison of copies of each clause in the directives, and that it enables the reader to more easily compare transcription and translation. In broadest outline, the text suggests such divisions by its use of section headings. In the non-narrative sections of the text, the paragraph divisions used here seem perfectly defensible; it is in the narrative sections (paragraphs §4, §6.1-6.2, §7, §9, and §12-§17) that the interpretation implied by the subordinate paragraph divisions might become more contentious. Subordination of clauses, signalled by the addition of a decimal place and indentation, does imply dependence on a prior clause. In many, perhaps in most, cases, the verb-final structure of the Turkish sentence and the repetition of clauses in -ub/-üb provide a safe enough guide to the structure of the clauses. In other cases I have attempted to make divisions according to the sense of the directive.

The transcription, furthermore, carries the critical apparatus of the edition, at the bottom of each page. This has become standard practice in the publication of Ottoman texts, and needs little explanation.⁹³ The elements employed in the critical apparatus are as follows. The significant variants and rejected readings appear at the bottom of each page, with the sigla of manuscripts in which they occur, referenced to the paragraph number in the transcribed text. In the transcribed text, they are signalled by superscripted lower-case roman letters.⁹⁴ Folio numbers of the base manuscript § appear italicized within pointed brackets < > in the transcribed text; for the narrative material, line numbers appear italicized within slanted brackets //. Square brackets [] mark emendations to the text.

In the translation, parentheses () mark words added merely to enhance the clarity of the English sentence; square brackets [] mark emendations to the text based on the critical edition.

COPY OF THE OTTOMAN BOOK OF REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE BESTOWAL OF TÎMÂRS

Translation

§1. When the Ağas of the Exalted Threshold transfer to a sancak, the regulation is as follows.

Ağa of the Janissaries--value five hundred thousand--	500,000
Standard Bearer--value four hundred fifty thousand--	450,000

93 See the remarks of Andreas Tietze, "Principles and practice of editing Ottoman texts in historical perspective," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 3 (1988), pp. 79-82.

94 The suggestions of Alfred Foulet and Mary Blakely Speer seem sensible and have, for the most part, been adopted here. See *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence, Kan.: Regents Press of Kansas, 1979), pp. 95-102.

DOUGLAS A. HOWARD

Head Gatekeeper--value four hundred thousand--	400,000
Greater Commandant of the Stable--value four hundred thousand--	400,000
Master Taster--value three hundred fifty thousand--	350,000
Lesser Commandant of the Stable--value three hundred thirty thousand--	330,000
Head Falconer--value three hundred thousand--	300,000
Ağa of the Cavalry Guard--value three hundred thousand--	300,000
Chief Armourer--value two hundred eighty thousand--	280,000
Head of the Right 'Ulûfeci Corps--value two hundred thousand--	200,000
Head of the Left Ulûfeci Corps--value one hundred eighty thousand--	180,000
Ağa of the Right Ğarîb Corps--value one hundred seventy thousand--	170,000
Ağa of the Left Ğarîb Corps--value one hundred sixty thousand--	160,000
Master of the Hounds--value two hundred thousand--	200,000
Chancellor--value four hundred fifty thousand--	450,000

§2. The regulation concerning those who transfer to subaşılik from the Exalted Threshold.

Sergeant of the Guard

value one hundred thousand--	100,000
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Ağa of Ğalata Palace

value seventy thousand--	70,000
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§3. Concerning the tîmârs of the Stewards and Registrars⁹⁵

Tîmâr Steward of Rumelia--value one hundred sixty thousand--	160,000
Tîmâr Registrar of Rumelia--value one hundred fifty thousand--	150,000
Presently one hundred thousand	100,000
Tîmâr Steward of Anatolia--value one hundred fifty thousand--	150,000
Presently one hundred thousand	100,000
Tîmâr Steward of Diyarbekir--value one hundred thousand--	100,000
Tîmâr Registrar of Anatolia--value eighty thousand--	80,000
Tîmâr Registrar of Diyarbekir--value eighty thousand--	80,000

⁹⁵ That is, the Stewards and Registrars of provincial tîmâr bestowals, the *tîmâr kethüdaları* and *tîmâr defterdârları*, respectfully.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

Tîmâr Steward of Karaman--value seventy thousand--	70,000
Tîmâr Registrar of Karaman--value sixty thousand--	60,000
Presently fifty thousand	50,000
Tîmâr Steward of Rum--value eighty thousand--	80,000
Tîmâr Registrar of Rum--value fifty thousand--	50,000
Tîmâr Steward of Zûlkâdır--value eighty thousand--	80,000
Tîmâr Registrar of Zûlkâdır--value sixty thousand--	60,000
Tîmâr Steward of Damascus--value one hundred thousand--	100,000
Tîmâr Registrar of Damascus--value sixty thousand--	60,000
Tîmâr Steward of Erzurum--value sixty thousand--	60,000
Tîmâr Registrar of Erzurum--value fifty thousand--	50,000
Tîmâr Steward of Baghdad--value one hundred thousand--	100,000
Tîmâr Registrar of Baghdad--value eighty thousand--	80,000
Tîmâr Steward of the Archipelago--value eighty thousand--	80,000
Tîmâr Registrar of the Archipelago--value fifty thousand--	50,000

§4. The Sultanîc Book of Regulations

4.1. Firstly, when the son of a subaşı receives a tîmâr, this is the regulation:

4.1.1. For the subaşı who have died: if it is the case that they have performed service in my assault in the battle and fight, and have abandoned head and heart:

4.1.1.1. For subaşı whose tîmâr were between twenty thousand and fifty thousand (akças), a tîmâr should be bestowed on each of three sons who as yet have not received a tîmâr--six thousand (akças) to one, five thousand to the second, and four thousand to the third.

4.1.1.2. And for those whose tîmâr were between fifty thousand and a hundred thousand (akças), and they abandoned heart and head for my way in the campaign, a[n initial] tîmâr should also be given each of three of their sons who have reached maturity--an initial tîmâr of eight thousand (akças) to one, of seven thousand to the next, and of six thousand to the third.

4.1.1.3. And if they have more (than three) sons, let (the sons) come and perform service [on] my imperial campaign, and subsequently, when my noble directive goes forth, [a tîmâr] should be bestowed accordingly.

4.1.2. For the subaşı who did not die on campaign, but rather died at home:

4.1.2.1. If his tîmâr is between twenty thousand and fifty thousand (akças), a tîmâr should be bestowed on each of two of his sons. To the first, a tîmâr of

five thousand aḳças should be given, and to the second, a tîmâr of four thousand aḳças.

4.1.2.2. And for the subaşı whose tîmâr was between fifty and one hundred thousand (aḳças), who has died at home, on each of two of his sons who have reached maturity [a tîmâr] should be bestowed, on the first a tîmâr of six thousand, and on the second a tîmâr of five thousand aḳças.

4.2. Secondly, when the sons of sipâhîs receive tîmârs, this is the regulation:

4.2.1. Concerning the sipâhîs who are not subaşıs but rather are in possession of a tîmâr of fewer than twenty thousand aḳças:

4.2.1.1. If it is the case that they died in battle, while on campaign, if their tîmârs are between ten and twenty thousand (aḳças), then a tîmâr is to be given to each of two [of their] sons who have reached maturity--to one an initial tîmâr of four thousand aḳças, and to the second a tîmâr of three thousand aḳças.

4.2.1.2. And for the sipâhî who dies in battle whose tîmâr is less than ten thousand aḳças, a tîmâr is to be given to each of two [of his] sons who have reached maturity--to one three thousand, and to the other a tîmâr of two thousand aḳças.

4.2.2. and for the one who holds a tîmâr of fewer than ten thousand aḳças:⁹⁶

4.2.2.1. A tîmâr of two thousand aḳças each should be given to two of his sons.

4.2.2.2. And if, of all his sons, only one has reached maturity, a tîmâr of the highest amount that had been ordered⁹⁷ should be bestowed.

4.2.3. And for the subaşı who possess a zi'âmet of between twenty and fifty thousand aḳças: if it is the case that they have sacrificed head and heart in my way and died in battle, and if it is the case that his sons possess non-certified tîmârs, then to each of two sons an increase should be given, or two thousand aḳças to the first and one thousand five hundred aḳças to the other.

4.2.4. And for the subaşı whose zi'âmet is between fifty and one hundred thousand (aḳças) and who has died on campaign: if it is the case that his sons possess non-certified tîmârs, let each of two sons receive an increase. To one an increase of three thousand aḳças should be given and to the other an increase of two thousand aḳças.

4.2.5. And for those sipâhîs who have died in their own homes and whose tîmârs are greater than ten thousand aḳças: a tîmâr should be given to each of two mature

96 This clause must refer to those sipâhîs with tîmârs of fewer than 10,000 aḳças who died not on campaign but at home; compare clause 4.2.5.

97 That is, during the lifetime of the father.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

sons--to one a tîmâr of three thousand akças, and to the other a tîmâr of two thousand akças.

4.2.6. And in the case of my servants already mentioned, whose sons have not reached their majority, but are minors, in that event as well my noble edict is in this regard:

4.2.6.1. That for those subaşı who fall in battle, who have (tîmârs) of fewer than [fifty] thousand akças, a tîmâr of five thousand akças should be bestowed jointly on two of the minor sons, on condition that they will send a retainer to fight until they reach maturity.

4.2.6.2. As for those who die in their homes, a tîmâr of four thousand akças should be bestowed jointly on two sons.

4.2.6.3. For those subaşı who have [tîmârs of] between fifty thousand and one hundred thousand [akças] and who die in battle, a tîmâr of six thousand akças should be bestowed, also jointly, on two sons.

4.2.6.4. For those subaşı [who have tîmârs of between fifty and one hundred thousand akças and] who die in their homes, a tîmâr of five thousand akças should be bestowed [jointly] on two sons. If he has only one son, half of this amount should be given.

4.2.6.5. If one who is not a subaşı dies on campaign and is survived by two sons, a tîmâr of three thousand akças should be given [jointly], on condition that until they reach maturity, they will send a retainer to fight. If he is survived by only one son, a tîmâr of two thousand akças should be given.

4.2.6.6. If the sons of one who has died at home are minors, a tîmâr by retainer is not given, (rather) until they reach maturity a fortress fief is given; later, when they reach maturity, tîmârs should be bestowed in the above manner.

4.2.6.7. When the minor sons of subaşı and sons of sipâhîs subsequently reach maturity and become able to attend campaign, tîmârs should be bestowed according to the manner decreed.

4.2.7. Holders of zi'âmets of fewer than twenty thousand (akças) belong to the sipâhî class. Their sons are to be (considered as) analogous to the sons of sipâhîs.

§5. The regulation concerning the heads of the Yayas and the Janissaries of the exalted Throne

To the heads of the Şolak corps--value thirty-six thousand-- 36,000

To the heads of the Hâşşeki Yayas and to the head of the Turnacı who transfer, if by campaign or by influence--value thirty-six thousand-- 36,000

But to the heads of the Hâşşeki Yayas and the head of the Turnacı, in accordance with regulation--value thirty thousand-- 30,000

DOUGLAS A. HOWARD

To the head of the Yayas of the Gate--value	twenty-six thousand--	26,000
To the head of the 'Acemi Oğlân Yayas--value	twenty thousand--	20,000
To the [head of the] mounted Zâgarcı corps--value	sixteen thousand--	16,000
To the head of the mounted Sekbân, Şolağ, and Ağa divisions; and to the deputy of the head of the Yayas and the head of the Sekbân corps:		
As tîmâr--value	fifteen thousand--	15,000
To the müteferrihas of the Şolağs--value	ten thousand--	10,000
To the chamberlians of the Exalted Throne--value	fifteen thousand--	15,000
To the head pages of the of the head of the Ağa division, to the Sekbâns and to the Turnacıs--value	nine thousand--	10,000
To the Janissaries, generally --value	nine thousand--	9,000
To the Janissaries of Damascus--value	seven thousand--	7,000
presently 5,000		
To the bandsmen, armorers, cannoneers, carters, saddlers, and blacksmiths, let a tîmâr of a thousand akças be given per akça. ⁹⁸		

§6. The regulation of the tîmâr which is given to the slaves of vezirs who have died

To his steward --value	fourteen thousand--	14,000
To his Head Gatekeeper--value	thirteen thousand--	13,000
To his other Head Gatekeeper--value	twelve thousand--	12,000
To his Commandant of the Stable--value	eight thousand--	8,000
To his Treasurer--value	eight thousand--	8,000
To his head 'Ulûfeci--value	eight thousand--	8,000
To his Master Taster--value	seven thousand--	8,000
To his Deputy of the Gatekeepers--value	six thousand--	6,000
To five of his Subaşıs--value	ten thousand--	10,000

6.1 On the death of the beglerbegis of Rumelia and Anatolia, if they have one son, a zi'âmet of forty thousand akças should be given; if there are two, a zi'âmet of twenty-five thousand should be given to one, and of twenty thousand akças to the other; if there are more, this amount should be distributed.

98 That is one thousand akças of tîmâr revenue for every akça of daily salary.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

6.2. At the death of beglerbegis other than these, if they have one son, a tîmâr of thirty-five thousand should be given; if there are two sons one should be given twenty thousand and the other fifteen thousand.

6.3. The regulation of the tîmâr given to the slaves of beglerbegis on their death

To his steward --value ten thousand--	10,000
To his Head Gatekeeper--value eight thousand--	8,000
To his other Head Gatekeeper--value seven thousand--	7,000
To his Commandant of the Stable--value six thousand--	6,000
To his Master Taster--value six thousand--	6,000
To his head 'Ulûfeci--value six thousand--	6,000
To his Chancellor--value six thousand--	6,000
To his Head Çavuş--value six thousand--	6,000
To his Treasurer--value six thousand--	6,000
To his Subaşı--value six thousand--	6,000
To his Deputy of the Gate--value five thousand--	5,000

6.4. The regulation of the tîmâr given to the slaves of beglerbegis who have separated and subsequently died

To his steward --value eight thousand--	8,000
To his Head Gatekeeper--value six thousand--	6,000
To his other Head Gatekeeper--value five thousand--	5,000
To his Commandant of the Stable--value five thousand--	5,000
To his Master Taster--value five thousand--	5,000
To his Head 'Ulûfeci--value five thousand--	5,000
To his Head Çavuş--value five thousand--	5,000
To his Voyvoda--value five thousand--	5,000

§7. The regulation of the tîmâr given to the sons of sancağbegis on their death

7.1. If a sancağbegi of seven hundred thousand akças dies, let a zi'âmet of thirty thousand akças be given to his mature son. If there are three (sons), to the older let fifteen thousand and to the two younger ten thousand each be given; but if there is one, if he is young, until he reaches maturity let a tîmâr by retainer of fifteen thousand be given.

Other

7.2. If a deceased sancağbegi of between five hundred thousand and seven hundred thousand has one mature son, let a zi'âmet of twenty-five thousand akças be given. If there are three, fifteen thousand should be given to the older and to the two younger nine thousand each; but if there is one and he is a minor, half this amount should be given on condition that a retainer will attend the campaign.

7.3. Let a zi'âmet of twenty thousand akças be given to the one mature son of a deceased sancağbegi of between three hundred thousand and five hundred thousand. If there are three, let nine thousand be given to the older and seven thousand each to two younger; if minors, let half be given on condition that until maturity a retainer will attend the campaign.

7.4. Let a tîmâr be given to the sons of a deceased sancağbegi of between one hundred fifty thousand and three hundred thousand. If there is one [and he is] mature let a tîmâr of fifteen thousand akças be given; if there are three, let a tîmâr of eight thousand be given to the older and of six thousand each to the two younger; if there are two twelve thousand to the older and seven thousand to the younger; if one [and he] is a minor, let a tîmâr of ten thousand akças be given.

7.5. If the above sons of sancağbegis are in possession of a tîmâr: if there is a deficit on it, it should be completed; if there is a surplus on it, or if the tîmârs in their hands are equivalent to (that which they are entitled), let an increase of five thousand be given to the oldest, of four thousand to the middle, and of three thousand to the youngest.

§8. The regulation of the tîmâr given to the slaves of deceased sancağbegis

To his Steward --value six thousand--	6,000
To his Head Gatekeeper--value five thousand--	5,000
To his Voyvoda--value five thousand--	5,000
To his Master Taster--value four thousand--	4,000
To his Commandant of the Stable--value four thousand--	4,000
To his head 'Ulûfecis--value four thousand--	4,000

§9. On the death of the tîmâr stewards of Rumelia and Anatolia, let an increase be given to four of their sons who possess tîmârs, three thousand akças each to two and two thousand akças each to two; if there are three, let an increase of three thousand akças be given to one and of two thousand akças to the two; if there are two, three thousand akças to one and two thousand akças to one; if there is one, let an increase of three thousand akças be given.

9.1. To the sons of the (tîmâr) registrar, let an increase be given according to (the principle of) one thousand less.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

9.2. To the sons of the above who do not possess a tîmâr, let a tîmâr be given in accordance with the (the principle of) one thousand akças more each than was commanded for the sons of deceased subaşı.

9.3. If the sancakbegis of the Yaya or Müsellem corps die, their sons are (considered as) analogous to the sons of subaşı.

§10. Figures of the fees of the Emîr of emîrs⁹⁹

From the Beglerbegi of Rumelia

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

From the Beglerbegi of Anatolia

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

From the Beglerbegi of Karaman

Mîrî fee--value six thousand--	6,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value seven thousand five hundred--	7,500

From the Beglerbegi of Erzurum

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

From the Beglerbegi of Rum

Mîrî fee--value six thousand--	6,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value seven thousand five hundred--	7,500

From the Beglerbegi of Zülkadır

Mîrî fee--value six thousand--	6,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value seven thousand five hundred--	7,500

From the Beglerbegi of Van

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

From the Beglerbegi of Aleppo

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

⁹⁹ These fees were for the *berât*, the diploma. Fees for the *tezkiye*, the certificate, are listed in §11.-11.3.

DOUGLAS A. HOWARD

From the Beglerbegi of the Archipelago

Mîrî fee--value six thousand--	6,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value seven thousand five hundred--	7,500

From the Beglerbegi of Damascus

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

From the Beglerbegi of Egypt

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

From the Beglerbegi of Buda

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

From the Beglerbegi of the Magrib

Mîrî fee--value six thousand--	6,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value seven thousand five hundred--	7,500

From the Beglerbegi of Yemen

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

From the Beglerbegi of Basra

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

From the Beglerbegi of Diyarbekir

Mîrî fee--value twelve thousand--	12,000
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value fifteen thousand--	15,000

From the Sancağbegis

Mîrî fee--value one thousand two hundred--	1,200
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value one thousand five hundred--	1,500

For renewal half is taken

From the zi'ânets

Mîrî fee--value six hundred--	600
Fee of çavuşes and chamberlains--value seven hundred fifty--	15,000

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

For renewal half is taken

10.1. From the tîmâr holders twenty-five akças per thousand fee is taken; on renewal, half is taken.

10.2. Tîmâr holders give full fee of an increase and half fee of the old.¹⁰⁰

10.3. Those who are fortress guards with tîmârs give fifty akças fee per thousand for the mîrî (fee), and fifty akças per thousand is given as fee of çavuşes and chamberlains; in total one hundred akças per thousand is taken.

10.4. And from the muhtesibs eighty-three akças each per thousand fee is taken.

10.5. And from the Alaybegis

Mîrî fee--value seven hundred--	700
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Fee of the çavuşes and chamberlains--value nine hundred--	900
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10.6. And from the (tîmâr) registrars

Mîrî fee--value eight hundred--	800
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Fee of the çavuşes and chamberlains--value nine hundred--	900
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10.7. From the diplomas of the tîmârs of the sentries of the province of Rumelia

Mîrî fee--From each full share, value --[fifty-five]

From each half share, value--[forty]

(Amounts) above one thousand akças are calculated as a full share; those less are calculated as a half share.

§11. Figures for the fees on the certificate of the livâs, and the za'îms and tîmâr holders of the province of Rumelia.¹⁰¹

Certificate fee of the mîrlivâ--value five hundred seventy-three--	573
--	-----

Certificate fee of the za'îms--Full, value two hundred fifty-eight--	258
--	-----

Renewal, value one hundred twenty-nine--	129
--	-----

Certificate fee of tîmâr holders ¹⁰² --Full, rate: twelve--	12 per 1,000 akças
--	--------------------

Renewal, rate: six-- 6 per 1,000 akças

Figure of the date, inker and scribes,

per 1,000--rate: one hundred twenty-two-- 122

¹⁰⁰ That is, when an increase (*terakki*) was granted, the sipâhî paid the fee for the akça amount of the increase at the full rate; he also paid a fee for the akça amount of the tîmâr he already held, but at half the full fee rate.

¹⁰¹ That is, fees paid by the following individuals for acquisition of the certificate (the *tezkiye*), which would be exchanged in Istanbul for the diploma (the *berât*). See above, note 5.

¹⁰² See below, §11.2.-§11.3.

Fee for the certificate of the (tûmâr) registrar--value	three hundred--	300
Fee for the certificate of the mîrlivâ of the Piyades and		
Müsellems--value	three hundred--	300
Fee for the certificate of the steward--value	three hundred--	300
Fee for the certificate of the mîralay--value	three hundred--	300

11.1. Figures for the fees of the Standard Bearer of the Exalted Threshold

Rumelia, Anatolia, Egypt, Damascus and Diyarbekir

If one of the above named provinces is given to someone, let him give, for the Standard Bearer, ten thousand aḳças cash, one fully outfitted horse and one Frankish canvas. And to the head bandsman is given two thousand aḳças cash and one kaftan; to the other bandsmen it is the regulation that five thousand aḳças cash be given. To the gatekeepers of the Exalted Threshold give ten thousand, to the çavuşes give five thousand aḳças. From the sancaḳbegis, it is the regulation that two thousand is given for the Standard Bearer, five hundred for the members of the Standard Band, and five hundred for the head bandsman.¹⁰³

Ended, with the help of God, may he be exalted!

11.2. In the province of Rumelia¹⁰⁴

One thousand--value	35
Two thousand--value	47
Three thousand--value	59
Four thousand--value	71
Five thousand--value	83
Six thousand--value	95
Seven thousand--value	107
Eight thousand--value	119
Nine thousand--value	131
Ten thousand--value	143
Eleven thousand--value	155
Twelve thousand--value	167

¹⁰³ This regulation was discussed by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1945; reprinted 1984), p. 389.

¹⁰⁴ Fees paid by timariots in the province of Rumelia for the certificate (*tezkiye*) of the beglerbegi. Beginning with a base rate of thirty-five aḳças, the rate was twelve per thousand, as noted above (§11.). See also BODA, TT 641, p.1.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

Thirteen thousand--value	179
Fourteen thousand--value	191
Fifteen thousand--value	203
Sixteen thousand--value	215
Seventeen thousand--value	227
Eighteen thousand--value	239
Nineteen thousand--value	251
Twenty thousand--value	273

11.3. In the province of Anatolia¹⁰⁵

One thousand--value	27
Two thousand--value	39
Three thousand--value	51
Four thousand--value	63
Five thousand--value	75
Six thousand--value	87
Seven thousand--value	99
Eight thousand--value	111
Nine thousand--value	123
Ten thousand--value	135
Eleven thousand--value	147
Twelve thousand--value	159
Thirteen thousand--value	171
Fourteen thousand--value	183
Fifteen thousand--value	195
Sixteen thousand--value	207
Seventeen thousand--value	219
Eighteen thousand--value	231
Nineteen thousand--value	243
Twenty thousand--value	250

¹⁰⁵ Fees paid by timariots in the province of Anatolia for the certificate (*tezkiye*) of the beglerbegi. Beginning from a base of twenty-eight akças, the rate was twelve per thousand, as noted above (§11.). See also BODA, *TT* 641, p.1.

§12. Regulation of the Emir of emirs concerning *tîmârs*

The imperial rescript directs that: in accordance with the confirmed ancient regulation, regarding the present situation among *tîmâr* holders and the matters concerning the register, my order of illustrious power issues forth as follows:

12.1. In the case of those from the *sipâhî* class who are inactive for seven years, and those sons of *sipâhîs* who, after their fathers have died, themselves attain maturity, and seven, eight or more years pass and they do not apply for a *tîmâr*, but later come and apply for a *tîmâr*: if they have not gone on campaign with me and a noble command has not arrived, a *tîmâr* is not given.

12.1.1. And those sons of *sipâhîs* who die while in possession of a *tîmâr* through the diploma of the *beglerbegi*, if they have surviving sons, and they come and apply for a *tîmâr*, a *tîmâr* should be bestowed on such sons in accordance with their service and their situation.

12.2. And those *sipâhîs* who accept a certified *tîmâr* and the diplomas are given by my Sublime Porte: if then they die and leave minor sons, a *tîmâr* must be given by means of a retainer. For reputable ones such as these who die and leave minor sons, a *tîmâr* must be given by means of a retainer. In accordance with the confirmed regulation, a *tîmâr* of at most three thousand *ağças* should be given, no more.

12.3. And if a village has its registered estate or hereditary holder, but less than three thousand is written, then let his retainer be compelled to attend campaign with a deficit. It is to be given on the condition that the retainer attend campaign with less.¹⁰⁶

12.4. And a *sipâhî* who is himself living but has not strength for the campaign, is not yet free of his *tîmâr* and yet has a minor son: that *sipâhî's* retainer should by all means fight; it is not permitted to give the *tîmâr* to the minor son by means of a retainer.¹⁰⁷

12.4.1. If it is wished that the *tîmâr* be given to his minor son by way of a retainer, on condition that he himself henceforth not have a *tîmâr*, the *tîmâr* is not given to such sons by way of a retainer until my noble command [arrives].

12.5. It is not permitted to sell a *tîmâr* to another and give a *tîmâr* two or three times in a year for the purpose of making an increase of a few hundred *ağças* for a *sipâhî*.

12.5.1. Such *sipâhîs*, who want to exchange their *tîmârs*, are not to be given another *tîmâr* until they themselves separate and their *tîmârs* are given to others.

12.5.2. And his resignation from the *tîmâr* is not to be accepted until he himself collects the yield at least once.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ This clause is difficult to interpret, but it must be read in the light of the previous clause. The total amount of this *mülk tîmâr* in the survey register might not equal three thousand *ağças*, but the minor son of the *sipâhî*, who inherits the estate, must in any event send a retainer.

¹⁰⁷ This seems to imply a temporary infirmity.

¹⁰⁸ Since the yield was normally collected twice a year, this regulation would have the effect of preventing rapid and repeated exchange of *tîmârs*.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

12.5.3. As for those sipâhîs who, while in possession of a zi'âmet, are separated and come into possession of another zi'âmet, the beglerbegi is permitted to bestow on them an increase of at the most one thousand akças.

12.5.4. And as for those who possess a certified tîmâr and those who accept a tîmâr with the diploma of the beglerbegi, when they separate and another tîmâr must be given, at most four hundred or five hundred akças surplus is given to such; more than that is not given.

12.6. The tîmâr registers should be opened in a place near the (tîmâr) registrar; they should not be opened in a distant place. In this regard, if the registrar is uncertain about and does not trust the scribes who are responsible for the [registers], and the registrar, even on his own initiative, appoints hard working, trustworthy persons for the registers, it is permissible.

12.6.1. But the separation and appointment of the scribes is in the hands of the beglerbegi.

12.6.2. Those who are (tîmâr) registrars must never submit a decision to the beglerbegi in contradiction of the regulation, and must not act in any matter contrary to the regulation.

12.6.2.1. And if on the part of the beglerbegi a decision contrary to the regulation is advanced, let him make every effort possible to prohibit and suppress it.

12.6.2.2. In this regard, if the beglerbegi is in no wise and by no means able to prevent it; and if the registrar does not write in detail concerning the exact truth (of the matter), submitting it to my Sublime Porte; if the registrar, instead, acquiesces, and does not report; or if unlawful activity is reported and he himself has assisted; it shall be a rationale for dismissal.

Always act in accordance with this, my imperial book of regulations; in no wise is it to be contradicted. Let it thus be known.

§13. Copy of the royal directive that reached the Mîrmîrân of Rumelia

May it be known to the commander of illustrious commanders, notable of great notables, possessor of might and respect, holder of special honor and splendor through the abundance of the grace of the exalted king, to Luţfi Paşa, Beglerbegi of Rumelia¹⁰⁹ --blessings upon his excellency-- on the arrival of the honorable imperial cipher, that:

13.1. From of old it has been customary that when beglerbegis gave a tîmâr the appointment paper was given on their own initiative. Now however, when a tîmâr is given to such sipâhîs and it is necessary to give a diploma, some sipâhîs take possession of their tîmârs by way of the appointment paper and do not make their certificates

¹⁰⁹ Luţfi ibn 'Abdû 'l-Mu'în (1488-1563), beglerbegi of Rumelia from 1536 until he became Grand Vezir in July, 1539. See *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, s. v. "Luţfi Paşa," vol. 7, pp. 96-101 (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin).

diplomas. As a result of their postponing, my command in this matter emanates as follows.

13.2. When a tîmâr is bestowed on a subaşı or on a sipâhî and his certificate is given, do not under any circumstances give the appointment letter on your own initiative. And warn as necessary that, whether they are sancağbegis, whether they are tîmâr stewards or registrars, whether they are subaşıs or sipâhîs, they should make their certificates diplomas from my Sublime Porte within six months.

13.2.1. And if, after this order, the certificates of tîmârs which are awarded are again delayed, and they are not brought and made diplomas within six months in accordance with my noble order, it is ordered that their tîmârs will be seized for mortmain.

13.2.2. And they should know that subsequently there is no possibility that their excuses will be tolerated.

13.3. The tîmârs of the (tîmâr) stewards and registrars of Rumelia are no longer to be split and exchanged and altered; let every steward and registrar who comes possess those tîmârs.

13.3.1. It is necessary that the tîmârs of the stewardship and registrarship just mentioned no longer be altered and exchanged.

Always act in accordance with my noble order.

13.4. Some sipâhîs among the tîmâr holders, in order to gain a simple increase, resign from their tîmârs by expedient and pretext and seek another tîmâr, one with a surplus. On this pretext most sipâhîs gain increases for themselves. Now my noble command in this matter is as follows:

13.4.1. Henceforth if some za'îms or tîmâr holders, to gain this kind of increase, by pretext resign from the tîmârs of which they are the possessors, do not accept them. Have them possess as before the tîmâr they hold. Do not grant an increase to a sipâhî in this way.

13.4.2. Sipâhîs who have not gone on campaign, and to whom it has been commanded tîmârs not be given thereafter, have acquired a tîmâr again by various misrepresentations. In view of this, then, exercise perfect caution and care; when you must bestow a tîmâr on a subaşı or on a sipâhî, examine the muster register, examine the place where the reason of his separation is entered. If there is no impediment to his being given a tîmâr, if according to my command he is deserving of a tîmâr, bestow it after that. Then, on the certificate which you dispatch to my Sublime Porte, also note the reason of his separation in detail.

13.4.3. When your certificate comes to the Exalted Step, it will again be inspected and scrutinized, and a tîmâr will not be given to those who contradict my command by this pretext.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

13.5. No command exists that tîmârs which are, in the register, certified, be divided and given by the diploma of the beglerbegi. Therefore, be extremely diligent; do not divide zi'âmets and tîmârs which are registered as certified.

13.5.1. Thus, neither is there necessity, nor is it permitted, to divide a certified tîmâr, even if someone has died and my noble command arrives from my Sublime Porte for the son to be given part of the tîmâr of his father, or for another matter.

13.5.2. Bestow it by means of a share, jointly, and dispatch their certificates to my Sublime Porte.

13.5.3. Later, when such shares become vacant, do not give them as if they were independent, treating them as separate tîmârs. Give them by means of a share again, so that all the tîmârs are not divided.

13.5.4. Finally, know it firmly that henceforth [it is forbidden] to give certified tîmârs by your own diploma.

Record in the register there the copy of my noble directive saying "always act in accordance with my noble order" and secure it in the chest of registers. Always act in accordance with its noble contents. Know this. Trust the noble cipher.

§14. Copy of the kingly noble rescript

The command of the lofty sultanic noble rescript and the splendid cipher of the imperial, fortune abounding directive is that:

Formerly, when a considerable time had passed after the retirement or the death of some sipâhîs from among the timariots in the provinces of Rumelia and Anatolia, at the time that their sons sought a tîmâr they were given the response "your father is alive," or "he died too long ago," and the bestowal of a tîmâr was prevented. Now in the matter of such sons of sipâhîs the whole of my kingly compassion has been made manifest: my order of illustrious power issues forth as follows.

14.1. No matter how much time has passed since the original retired sipâhî retired, or since he died--it being understood that he has young sons of the age for the imperial campaign-- do not say "your father retired too long ago" or "he died too long ago". In the matter of the son of a sipâhî, my noble edict that was commanded earlier has already gone out in this regard; let a tîmâr be given.

14.2. Now then: for a long time, some persons presented old diplomas, and some, their documents not being found in the registers, deceived and misrepresented from the outside. Since it is probable that ones who are not true sons of sipâhîs have taken up a benefice, my order of illustrious power issues forth that:

14.2.1. When such sipâhîs come seeking a tîmâr whose fathers have died long ago, to whom must be given tîmârs in accordance with my command, all beglerbegis must listen to ten trustworthy sipâhîs from among the subaşıs and sipâhîs in order to ascertain their true status as sons of a sipâhî. After establishing that they are true sons of sipâhîs in precisely this manner, procure their tîmârs according to my

command, bestow them, and give their certificates. Detail in writing on their certificates, in the above described manner, the names of the ten witnesses, each one of them, and whether they were subaşı or sipâhîs.

14.2.2. Some sipâhîs, while they are still alive, have had a tîmâr given to one of their sons, and then later they have died. When their other sons, who do not possess a tîmâr, come seeking a tîmâr, they have been told "your father had a tîmâr given to your brother while he was still alive," and it has not been given to them. From now on when a sipâhî's sons are given tîmârs during his own time, those (are considered to have) become other sipâhîs. After themselves, however many sons remain, according to my earlier command, let a tîmâr be given, according to the regulation, to two of his sons.

14.2.3. When a sipâhî is old and feeble, and has not the strength for service, when he has a young son who has reached maturity and he wants to convey to his son his tîmâr on condition that he himself no longer receive a livelihood my command is in this regard:

14.2.3.1. The tîmârs of this kind of sipâhîs are four thousand akças.

14.2.3.2. If it is his hereditary holding and estate,¹¹⁰ if his father and grandfather were warriors, if it is also recorded in the register that it is their estate, and if here is no uncertainty, if there are two sons, it should be given jointly. If one, it should be given, with the note that it is their estate, to his one son.

14.2.3.3. When his tîmâr is less than four thousand and he has one son, after he has reached maturity it should be given. But when the certificates of these are given, they should be sent personally, so that they can be seen and known at the Exalted Step.

14.2.3.4. If his tîmâr is greater than four thousand, that is, five thousand and up to six thousand, if he has two sons, it should be given jointly. If one, act in accordance with the above described method.

14.3. Formerly, a tîmâr was given to the minor sons of sipâhîs until they reached the age of ten years old, on condition that they have their retainers attend campaign. After the age of ten years it was not acceptable for their retainer to come and they themselves not come; their tîmârs were withdrawn. At present, the campaign is remote and sons of sipahis who are ten years old will not come on the campaign. Because it is unjust to withhold their tîmârs, my noble order concerning this is:

14.3.1. Until they reach the age of sixteen years, the retainers are acceptable. After fully reaching the age of sixteen years, let them journey themselves; do not accept their retainers.

14.3.2. If while registered as a separate tîmâr a tîmâr was divided and given to two persons, and suspicion has later been raised about the circumstances of

¹¹⁰ See above, §12.3.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

one of the persons [so that] it was not given: tîmârs which have in some way become divided should be reassembled and given out when a sipâhî qualifying for that amount separates.

14.4. If a sipâhî had been dead quite some time, when his sons arrived to seek a tîmâr it was said to them "your father died long ago." Or when a separated sipâhî's separation had occurred quite some time before, even though he had served the beglerbegi and the time expired because a tîmâr was not available, it was said "it is commanded not to give a tîmâr to such as you." My detailed imperial directive, which was given previously concerning tîmârs,¹¹¹ commanded that under no circumstances was a tîmâr to be given to a separated sipâhî who had been separated for seven years without ever coming to the beglerbegi seeking a tîmâr. Ones such as these have pursued gain.¹¹²

14.4.1. That order of mine is confirmed. Those sons of sipâhîs or separated (sipâhîs) who, in the period spoken of, never in any way perform service for the beglerbegi, are not to be given tîmârs.

14.4.2. A tîmâr is to be given, however, to those who are sons of sipâhîs or are separated, if in this period they did come to the beglerbegi seeking a tîmâr, or if they travelled on campaign, and that amount of time expired because a tîmâr was not available. Do not say to those actual sons, "the time expired." Their status as sipâhîs and sons of sipâhîs is certain. Seeing that there is no doubt, let them be given their tîmârs in accordance with my command, no matter how much time it has been.

14.5. Originally, it was forbidden to add one tîmâr to another tîmâr. Now, when I have commanded an increase and my noble directive is given to some of my sancakbegis and some persons from among the servants of my Lofty Threshold, give their increases as additions, in accordance with my command. And, moreover, if it happens that an increase is commanded among the group of za'îms and among the timariots, if my specific noble directive arrives, saying "let them be added," then do so; when there is no specific command, act after the fashion of the [previous] noble edict. Do nothing more.

14.6. In some sancaks of the province of Anatolia there were owners of private estates. Later their estates were broken up and given out as tîmârs. If they,¹¹³ having died while in possession (of the tîmâr), left surviving sons, if two (sons remain), or one (son) remains, give the tîmârs again to their sons. Because they were connected with private estates, they are not comparable to other timariots; give your certificate in accordance with (their status).

14.7. It has been the case that a sipâhî has died while in possession of a tîmâr, and he had a son, but before it was possible to give the tîmâr to his son the son, too, died. If he in turn had a surviving son, later, when his grandfather had died, (that son) was evidently told

¹¹¹ See above, §12.1.

¹¹² *Kâsib silkine münselikdür*, "they are ones who follow the path of gain," that is, they have income from other sources.

¹¹³ That is, the owners of the estates; see above, §14.2.3.2.

DOUGLAS A. HOWARD

"Your father never possessed a tîmâr," and a tîmâr was not given to him. In such cases the command of my illustrious power goes out as follows:

14.7.1. When the grandfather of such a sipâhî's son dies, [if] within ten years of the day that he died the son of the son seeks a tîmâr, he should not be told "Your father did not possess the tîmâr." He is comparable to other sipâhîs. A tîmâr is to be bestowed.

14.7.2. After the passage of ten years, however, if he comes seeking a tîmâr, seeing that so much time has passed, it is (to be treated) as if he had resigned from his tîmâr; the tîmâr is not to be given.

14.8. Some sipâhîs among the tîmâr holders, in order to gain a simple increase, by expedient and pretext resign from their tîmârs and seek and receive another tîmâr, one with a surplus. On this pretext most sipâhîs gain increases for themselves. Now my noble command in this matter is as follows:

14.8.1. Henceforth if some za'îms or tîmâr holders, to gain this kind of increase, resign from the tîmârs of which they are the possessors by pretext, do not accept them. Have them possess as before the tîmâr they hold. Exercise greater caution against granting an increase in this manner.

14.8.2. Some sipâhîs have not gone on campaign and have been ordered not to be given tîmârs, but because their reasons for separation have not been examined, every one has in some way sought a tîmâr, and tîmârs have been given to many sipâhîs contrary to my order. In view of this, then, exercise complete caution and care; when you must bestow a tîmâr on a subaşı or on sipâhî, examine the muster register and the place where the reason of his separation is entered. If there is no impediment, if according to my command he is deserving of a tîmâr, bestow it after that. Then, on the certificate which you dispatch to my Sublime Porte, also note the reason of his separation in detail.

14.8.3. When your certificate comes to the Exalted Step, it will again be inspected and scrutinized, and a tîmâr will not be given to those who contradict my command by this pretext.

14.9. No command exists that tîmârs which are, in the register, certified, be divided and given by your own diploma. Therefore, be extremely diligent; do [not] divide zi'âmets and tîmârs which are registered as certified.

14.9.1. Thus, there is no order to divide certified tîmârs and give them by your personal diplomas, even if someone has died and my noble command arrives from my Sublime Porte, for the son to be given part of the tîmâr of his father, or for another matter.

14.9.2. Bestow it by means of a share, and dispatch their certificates to my Sublime Porte.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

14.9.3. In short, from now on the giving of certified tîmârs by your personal diplomas is blocked; do not oppose this situation; always act in accordance with my noble rescript.

Record in the register there the copy of my noble directive and you yourself secure it in the chest of registers. Always act in accordance with its noble contents. Know this. Trust the noble cipher.¹¹⁴

§15. Book of Regulations

This is the book of regulations which was sent to the beglerbegis on the imperial accession.¹¹⁵

15.1. At present some za'îms and timariots, without being found on the campaigns or in the imperial service, have received certificates with a surplus from you without reason, in order to increase their tîmâr (revenues). And while their tîmârs are complete, they have resigned from one thousand or two thousand akça portions and taken, from a tîmâr, a portion of five or six thousand [akças], and a diploma is made for the single figure. Although there is someone who qualifies for the remaining portion, it is not given; they take possession of them, and usually with a surplus, and numerous certificates are taken, their dates close to one another. One of them is presented at my Gate of Felicity, and as soon as the diploma is awarded, right behind it another certificate is presented, contrary to regulations. For this reason the rest of the certified tîmârs that are vacant are broken up and become trifling portions.¹¹⁶ Because they are added to za'îms and timariots, no ten or fifteen thousand akça tîmârs remain. And since a good many za'îms and timariots who share zi'âmet and tîmârs oppress the subjects, they are not devoid of aggression and attack, and the subjects are agitated and a considerable disturbance has come to the circumstances of tîmârs. Some certified tîmârs also have been broken up and made non-certified by your own diploma; then, saying "it is a certified tîmâr in the register," the certificate is given with one akça surplus.¹¹⁷

15.2. (A tîmâr) was bestowed, with an amount of surplus, in contradiction of the tîmâr command, before the arrival of the command to its place, which was published concerning the slaves of my Exalted Step who (were transferred) from salary to tîmârs and those for whom an initial tîmâr had been commanded. And, contrary to regulations, a surplus was even given on an increase. Why has the old regulation not been respected in

114 Note that §14.8. and 14.9. repeat §13.4. and §13.5.

115 The accession of Sultan Selîm II, 1566. The copy of this decree in A, f. 183a, addressed to Ahmed Paşa, the beglerbegi of Rumelia, contains the date first ten days of Muḥarrem, 967/June-July, 1568; the copy in T, addressed to Hüseyin Paşa, the beglerbegi of Anatolia, gives the middle ten days of Muḥarrem, the same year.

116 The concern of the central authorities, expressed here, is for the preservation of the *kılıç*, that set of revenues which was to form the irreducible core of the tîmâr grant. Estimations of the fighting strength of the Ottoman army on campaign were calculated partly on the basis of the numbers of such core tîmârs in each sancak.

117 The point of his assertion seems to be that core tîmârs were broken up and assigned as tîmârs in revenue totals small enough to qualify as uncertified; the letter of the law was then adhered to by adding enough revenues to the total to reach one akça above the certified limit--in Rumelia, generally 5,999 akças, in Anatolia generally 4,999. The fact remained, however, that the core tîmâr had been divided.

these matters? From now on do not permit a situation which contradicts the old regulations published earlier concerning the za'îms and timariots.

15.2.1. Unless a sipâhî or za'îm has a deficit, while the tîmâr in his possession is complete, he may not resign from his portion in the above described manner in order to be given a simple surplus.

15.2.2. And while there is someone separated, seeking a tîmâr, who qualifies for a tîmâr equivalent to one that is vacant, it cannot be broken up in order to increase the tîmâr of someone else. It is to be given to the one who qualifies for and was seeking the equivalent.

15.2.3. Moreover if a tîmâr is given to a sipâhî who has drawn a separation, as compensation for his labor and service, let it be given with an amount of surplus. Or if no one is found who qualifies for that amount, and an unassigned portion remains, then it will be necessary to give it to someone for his deficit. In the event, however, timariots should be given three hundred, and za'îms at the most five hundred, akça surplus. Not a single akça more than this, and no certificate, is to be given without my command.

15.2.4. With regard to those who transfer to a tîmâr in exchange for salary, and (those) gaining initial tîmârs, unless my command arrives for that place, they are not to be given. Nor are those who present an increase. For to (grant) an increase on an increase is contrary to the regulation.

15.3. And henceforth tîmârs which, in the register, are certifi[ed], are not to be broken up.

15.3.1. When a sipâhî dies, when it is necessary that his tîmâr be given to his sons, it is to be given on condition that they possess it jointly, sharing a single diploma.

15.3.2. If one of them dies and he has no other surviving brother, should his paternal uncle and his paternal uncle's son share it, it would necessitate breaking up a certified tîmâr. It was in order not to deprive them of their father's tîmâr that it was permitted (to be) jointly (bestowed) on two of his sons. Should one of them die, making it necessary to break up a certified (tîmâr), [another] tîmâr should be procured in its place, and the certified (tîmâr) should be given to one who qualifies for (that amount). Whether his paternal uncle, or his brother's son, shares it, under neither these nor other circumstances should you let the certified tîmâr be broken up.

15.4. And it is delineated in my imperial book of regulations, for the son of a sipâhî whose father and grandfather had previously died, and [who] sought a tîmâr on the basis of his grandfather's documentation, that the period for seeking a tîmâr is established at up to ten years;¹¹⁹ and for the son of a sipâhî who was twelve years old at the death of his father, seven years pass, up to (the age of) nineteen years.¹²⁰ During that period, if he

¹¹⁹ See above, §14.7.1-§14.7.2.

¹²⁰ See above, §14.4., which also refers to a previous order, and §12.1.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

has not neglected the service (that accompanies) seeking a tîmâr, or if he attends campaign, it may not be said that "the time has passed"; a tîmâr should be given in accordance with the regulation. Through their fathers' retirement, and after their fathers' death, two of his sons (may acquire) tîmârs.

15.4.1. While sons of sipâhîs were waiting anxiously to qualify for a tîmâr, at the time that they qualified-- in like manner the period of service had been confirmed at up to seven years--tîmârs were bestowed on some sons of sipâhîs (but) when their certificates came, their fathers' diplomas were from the time not of my grandfather, the late Sultan Selîm Khan¹²¹, nor of my father, the late Sultan Süleymân Khan,¹²² but they presented diplomas that were from the time of the late Sultan Bâyezîd Khan,¹²³ eighty or ninety years old or older. Having during the passage of so much time not renewed the diplomas of their fathers, and having kept their status as sons of sipâhîs in this sort of obscurity until the present time, those who have not (renewed) the diplomas of their fathers during the time of the above-named dynasts ought under no circumstances to be counted sons of sipâhîs or given tîmârs through my command. Ones such as these have kept their tîmârs, but some of them have pursued gain, or they want to enter a tîmâr with a diploma only one time. Exercise the necessary caution in such cases.

15.4.2. Since diplomas of the fathers of some of the sons of sipâhîs on whom tîmârs were bestowed were lost, their fathers' documentation was written on the back of the certificate. Most of their dates were found to be before nine hundred thirty-six.¹²⁴ Until that date, the initial diplomas of sons of sipâhîs had always been given by the beglerbegi. When they came, all manner of fraud occurred because it was said to be unnecessary to check the documentation in the day books at my Gate of Felicity.

15.4.2.1. Due to the above suspicious circumstances, exercise all necessary care on the documentation of the fathers. The entrance into a tîmâr of an outsider, posing as a son of a sipâhî through someone else's document, is to be avoided.

15.4.2.2. Those who enter a tîmâr through influence endeavor to make certified their tîmârs. They find the document which conforms to his own name, and saying "our diplomas are lost," they have their documentation written on the back of their certificates. Putting down a date prior to the date mentioned above, they present the certificate for an imperial diploma. In this way outsiders have continually entered tîmârs. Now be vigilant against the giving of a tîmâr to anyone through influence, without my command. Take

121 Selîm I, ruled 1512-1520.

122 Süleymân the Magnificent, ruled 1520-1566.

123 Bâyezîd II, ruled 1481-1512.

124 The reference here seems clearly to be to the decree of Süleymân on tîmârs (see above). Manuscript copies of this decree (Flügel 1820, ff. 72a-77a; Atf Efendi 1734, ff. 1b-8b) agree in dating this decree to Receb 937/March 1531. This discrepancy in date might be resolved by understanding the sentence to mean "until and including the year 936," but against this solution are the manuscript copies of this regulation which read "prior to Receb, 936" (F, A and T).

away from them the diplomas they presented, seal them and send them to my Exalted Step, so that this way will be blocked.

15.5. If a sipâhî who is old and disabled passes on his tîmâr to his sons, and one of his sons dies, the tîmâr is not given to another son while (the father) is alive, in retirement, without my command.

15.5.1. Rather, the one who became a timariot during his father's lifetime has, through my noble command, become another sipâhî.¹²⁵

15.5.2. After the death of their father, two of the sons still remaining qualify for a tîmâr.

15.5.3. A tîmâr is not given without my command to the son of a retiree who is still alive.

15.6. To the sons of those who die while in possession of a "by turn" tîmâr give a tîmâr again in turn. Do [not] give a separate, campaign tîmâr.

Always hold firmly my order of illustrious power in the matter of the za'îms and timariots and sons of sipâhîs. Never and under no circumstances allow conditions which are contrary to the old regulation and my command. Always act in accordance with its felicitous contents. Guard a copy of it. Exercise great caution and prudence against acting contrary to it, so that in the days of my imperial prosperity and in the season of my auspicious success the conditions of knight and peasant may be peaceful and orderly. Thus, after these proclamations and statements become known, if through lack of diligence a situation occurs contrary to the command, you will be held responsible. Know this.

§16. This document should be recorded on the order written [to] Rumelia.

Do not add towns and fields to an individual's tîmâr which is not in the register and the detailed register and do not bestow it by your own diploma. The production of these original towns and fields have always been held in mortmain. Do not contest the production that belongs to the state.

§17. This document should be recorded with the commands written to the province of Rum and Zülkadır.

Some of the owners of the hereditary estates recorded in the detailed register do not survive, and some were overlooked for the register at the time of the survey. All such vacancies are mortmain. It is absolutely forbidden to give to anyone those hereditary estates which are not written up for tîmârs in the survey and for which there are no tîmârs in the summary (register). If before now someone had a diploma made, do not bestow it on another

¹²⁵ See above, §14.2.2.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

by transfer from him. Should it become vacant, let it revert to mortmain and do not add the estate or the production to the detailed (register) or to an individual's tîmâr.

End of the Ottoman regulation.

In the time of the late Sultan Selîm Khan¹²⁶ (may God's mercy rest upon him), the son of Sultan Süleymân Khan.

Dated the year nine hundred eighty-three of the hegira of the prophet.¹²⁷

TRANSCRIPTION

<f.1b> Şûret-i Kânûnnâme-i 'Osmânî Berây-ı Tîmâr Dâden

§1. 'Atebe-i 'ulyâda olan âgâlar sancağa çıķduķda kânûn budur ki zıkr olunur

Yeniçeri âgâsı-kıymet hamse mi'e elf-	500,000
Emîr-i 'alem-kıymet erba' mi'e ve hamsîn elf-	450,000
Kapucılar başı-kıymet erba' mi'e elf-	400,000 ^a
Emîr-i âhır-ı kebîr-kıymet erba' mi'e elf-	400,000
Çâşnigîr başı-kıymet şelâş mi'e ve hamsîn elf-	350,000
Emîr-i âhır-ı şağîr-kıymet şelâş mi'e ve şelâşîn elf-	330,000 ^b
Çakırcı başı-kıymet şelâş mi'e elf-	300,000
Sipâhi oğlanları âgâsı-kıymet şelâş mi'e elf-	300,000
Silahdâr başı-kıymet mi'eteyn ve şemânîn elf-	280,000
Şağ 'ulûfeci başı-kıymet mi'eteyn elf-	200,000 ^c
Şol 'ulûfeci başı-kıymet mi'e ve şemânîn elf-	180,000
Şağ ġarîbler âgâsı-kıymet mi'e ve seb'în elf-	170,000
Şol ġarîbler âgâsı-kıymet mi'e ve sittîn elf-	160,000
Sekbân başı-kıymet mi'eteyn elf-	200,000
Nişancı bēg-kıymet erba' mi'e ve hamsîn elf-	450,000

126 Selîm II, ruled 1566-1574.

127 A. D. 1575-1576.

§1. ^aB: 300,000 ^bF: 380,000 V: küçük emîr-i ahır 350,000

^cV: 180,000

§2. 'Atebe-i 'ulyâdan subaşılığa çıkan kimesnelerün kânûnlarıdur

Çavuşbaşı-kıymet mi'e elf-	100,000
Ğalaţasaray âğası-kıymet seb'in elf-	70,000

§3. Kethudâlar ve defterdârlar tîmârı beyânındadır

Rûm Êli tîmârı kethudâsı-kıymet mi'e ve sittîn elf-	160,000 ^a
Rûm Êli defterdârı tîmârı-kıymet mi'e ve hamsîn elf-	150,000 ^b
hâliyâ mi'e elf-	100,000
Anatoli tîmârı kethudâsı-kıymet mi'e ve hamsîn elf-	150,000 ^c
hâliyâ mi'e elf-	100,000
^d Diyâr-ı Bekir tîmârı kethudâsı-kıymet mi'e elf-	100,000
Anatoli tîmârı defterdârı-kıymet semânîn elf-	80,000 ^e
Diyâr-ı Bekir tîmârı defterdârı-kıymet semânîn elf-	80,000
Ğaraman tîmârı kethudâsı-kıymet seb'in elf-	70,000
Ğaraman tîmârı defterdârı-kıymet sittîn elf-	60,000 ^f
hâliyâ hamsîn elf-	50,000
Rûm tîmârı kethudâsı-kıymet semânîn elf-	80,000
<f. 2a> Rûm tîmârı defterdârı-kıymet hamsîn elf-	50,000
Zû'l-kâdr tîmârı kethudâsı-kıymet semânîn elf-	80,000
Zû'l-kâdr tîmârı defterdârı-kıymet sittîn elf-	60,000
Şâm tîmârı kethudâsı-kıymet mi'e elf-	100,000
Şâm tîmârı defterdârı-kıymet sittîn elf-	60,000
Erz-ı Rûm tîmârı kethudâsı-kıymet sittîn elf-	60,000
Erz-ı Rûm tîmârı defterdârı-kıymet hamsîn elf-	50,000
Bağdâd tîmârı kethudâsı-kıymet mi'e elf-	100,000

§3. a RT: mi'e hamsîn elf VY: iki yüz biñ

^bF: 100,000 RT: mi'e elf

^cF: 100,000 R: mi'e elf

^dRT: Ğaraman ve Rûm ve Diyârbekir ve Şâm ve Zû'l-kâdr ve Erz-ı Rûm ve Bağdâd tîmârı kethudâları yüz biñer ve defterdârları seksener biñ aqça ile verilür şöyle ki bir aqça ziyâdesi dağı olursa verilmeye dëyi emr olındı

^eT: mi'e elf ^fF: 70,000

^gB: Lûristân kethudâsı 50,000 Lûristân defterdârı 40,000 F: Lûristân kethudâsı semânîn elf 80,000 Lûristân defterdârı semânîn elf 80,000

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

Bağdâd tîmârı defterdârı-kıymet şemânîn elf-	80,000g
Cezâ'ir tîmârı kethudâsı-kıymet şemânîn elf-	80,000
Cezâ'ir tîmârı defterdârı-kıymet hamsîn elf-	50,000

§4. </> Kânûnnâme-i Şultânî

4.1. Evvelâ

Subaşı oğullarına tîmâr olduğda kânûn budur

4.1.1. Vefât eden subaşıların seferde ve hazırda benüm uğruma yoldaşlık edüb^a can ve baş fedâ etmiş olalar

4.1.1.1. Yigirmi biñden elli biñe varınca vâki' olan subaşıların tîmâr taşarruf etmemiş üç nefer /5/ yarar oğullarına [ibtidâdan]^a birine altı biñ ve birine beş biñ ve birine dört biñ akçalık tîmâr tevcih olına

4.1.1.2. Ve elli biñden yüz biñe varınca vâki' olan subaşılar ki anlar dañi cengde benüm yoluma can ve baş terk etmiş olalar kezâlik üç nefer yarar oğullarının ibtidâdan birine sekiz biñ ve birine yedi biñ akça ve birine altı biñ akçalık tîmâr verile

4.1.1.3. Oğulları /10/ dañi ziyâde olursa gelüb sefer-i hümâyûnum[da]^a hizmetin edâ eyleye ve şöñra anlar bâbında emr-i şerîfüm tevcihle şâdir olursa aña göre 'amel olına

4.1.2. Ve seferde vefât etmeyüb evinde vefât eden subaşıların [yarar]^a oğullarına

4.1.2.1. Yigirmi biñden elli biñe varınca iki neferine birine beş biñ ve birine dört biñ akçalık tîmâr tevcih olına

4.1.2.2. <f. 2b> Ve elli biñden yüz biñe varınca evinde vefât eden subaşıların iki nefer yarar oğullarına birine altı biñ ve birine beş biñ akçalık tîmâr [tevcih]^a olına

4.2. Şâniyâ

Sipâhizâdelere tîmâr olduğda kânûn budur^a

4.2.1. Ve subaşılık olmayub yigirmi biñden aşğa tîmâr taşarruf eden sipâhilerden [ki]^a

§4.1.1. ^aABFY: ile

§4.1.1.1 ^aABFVY, Ş: yarar oğullarına birine

§4.1.1.3. ^aB, Ş: hümâyûnum

§4.1.2. ^aFKYV, Ş: subaşıların oğulları

§4.1.2.2. ^aABFY, Ş: tîmâr olına

§4.2. ^aKVY omit §4.2.

§4.2.1. ^aABFVY, Ş: sipâhilerden muhârebede

4.2.1.1. /5/ Muḥârebede yoldaşlıkda vefât etmiş olalar on biñden yigirmi biñe varınca iki nefer yarar oğullarınıñ ibtidâdan birine dört biñ ve birine üç biñ aqçalık tîmâr vèreler

4.2.1.2. Ve on biñden aşğa olub cengde vefât eden sipâhilerün iki [nefer]^a yarar oğullarına birine üç biñ ve birine iki biñ aqçalık tîmâr vèrile

4.2.2. Ve on biñden aşğa olanlaruñ iki oğlın^a

4.2.2.1. ikişer biñ aqçalık tîmâr vèrile^a

4.2.2.2. ve cümleden /10/ yarar oğulları bir nefer vâkı' olsa emr olınan miqdârı tîmârüñ a'lâsı^a tevcih olına

4.2.3. Ve yigirmi biñden elli biñe varınca zi'âmet taşarruf eden subaşılar ki benüm yolum[d]a^a can ve baş fedâ koyub^b muḥârebelerde vefât etmiş olalar daḡi tezkiresüz tîmâr taşarruf eder oğulları ola iki oğlunuñ birine iki biñ ve birine biñ beş yüz aqça terakki vèrile

4.2.4. ^aVe elli biñden yüzbiñe varınca yoldaşlıkda vefât eden subaşılaruñ oğulları ki /15/ tezkiresüz tîmârları ola iki oğlunuñ birine üç biñ ve birine iki biñ terakki tevcih olına

4.2.5. ^aVe kendü evinde vefât edenlerden on biñden yukarü olan sipâhilerün iki nefer yarar oğullarına birine üç biñ ve birine iki biñ aqçalık tîmâr vèrile

4.2.6. <f. 3a> Ve zikr olınan qullarımıñ ki oğulları yarar olmayub şağîr olsalar ol bâbda daḡi fermân-ı şerîfüm bunuñ üzerinedur ki,

4.2.6.1. Cengde düşen subaşılaruñ [elli]^a biñden aşğa olanlaruñ iki nefer şağîr oğullarına yarayınca cebelü eşdürmek üzere ber vech-i iştirâk beş biñ aqçalık tîmâr tevcih oluna

4.2.6.2. /5/ Kendü evinde vefât edenleruñ daḡi iki oğlına ber vech-i iştirâk dört biñ aqçalık tîmâr tevcih oluna

4.2.6.3. Ve elli biñden yüzbiñe varınca cengde vefât eden subaşılaruñ iki nefer oğullarına daḡi iştirâk tarîkile altı biñ aqçalık tîmâr tevcih olına

4.2.6.4. Ve evinde vefât eden subaşılaruñ iki nefer oğullarına beş biñ aqçalık tîmâr tevcih olına oğulları [bir nefer]^a olursa bu miqdârüñ nısfı vèrile

§4.2.1.2 ^aABFVY, Ş: iki yarar

§4.2.2. ^aV: on biñden aşğa olub evinde vefât edenüñ iki nefer oğlına

§4.2.2.1. ^aV: verile deyü muḡayyed ü meştûrdur

§4.2.2.2. ^aAF: miqdârüñ a'lâsı

§4.2.3. ^aABF, Ş: yoluma ^aABFY: oynadub

§4.2.4. ^aABFY: *omit* 4.2.4.

§4.2.5. ^aABF: §4.2.5. *follows* §4.2.2. Y: §4.2.5. *follows* §4.2.1.2.

§4.2.6.1. ^aABF, Ş: altı

§4.2.6.4. ^aABF, Ş: oğulları yarar

4.2.6.5. Ve subaşı olmayub yoldaşlıkda vefât eden sipâhi oğulları iki qalursa yarayınca cebelü eşdürmek üzere üç biñ aqçalık bir olursa iki biñ aqçalık tîmâr vèrile

4.2.6.6. Evinde vefât edenlerüñ oğulları şağîr olsa cebelü ile tîmâr vèrilmeyüb yarayınca hişâr [eri]^a gedügi vèrilüb soñra yaradukça vech-i mesfûr üzere tîmârları tevcîh olına

4.2.6.7. Ve [kezâlik zîkr olınan]^a şağîr subaşı oğulları ve sipâhizâdeler dañi soñradan yarar olup sefer eşmege /15/ kâdır olduklarında^b emr olınan üslûb üzere tîmârları tevcîh olınub vèrile

4.2.7. Ve yigirmi biñden aşğa olan zu'amâ sipâhi kısmındandır anlarüñ oğulları sipâhi oğlanlarından kıyâs olına^a

§5.<f. 3b> Dergâh-ı 'âlî yââyâbaşılar ve yeñiçeriler kânûnıdır

Şolâkbaşılarna-kıymet sitte ve şelâsîn elf- 36,000

Hâşeki yââyâbaşılarna ve turnacı başına yoldaşlıqla veyâ himmetle

çıkalar-kıymet sitte ve şelâsîn elf- 36,000

Amma mezkûr hâşeki yââyâbaşılar ve turnacılar başına kânûn üzere-kıymet şelâsîn elf- 30,000

Kapu yââyâbaşılarna-kıymet sitte ve 'işrîn elf- 26,000

'Âcemi oğlanları yââyâbaşına-kıymet 'işrîn elf- 20,000

Âtlı zâğırıcıya-kıymet sitte ve 'aşara elf- 16,000

Âtlı sekbân ve solâklara ve ağa bölük başılarna ve Yââyâbaşılar kethudâsına ve sekbân bölük başılarna tîmâr-kıymet hamse ve 'aşara elf- 15,000

Şolâklar müteferriklarına-kıymet 'aşara elf- 10,000

Dergâh-ı 'âlî bevâblarına-kıymet hamse ve 'aşara elf- 15,000

Ağa bölük başınuñ odabaşılar ve sekbânlarına ve turnacılara-kıymet 'aşara elf- 10,000

'Umûmen yeñiçerilere-kıymet tis'a elf- 9,000

Şam yeñiçerilerine-kıymet seb' elf- 7,000 hâliyâ 5,000

Mehter ve cebeci ve topçı ve 'arabacı ve serrâc ve na'bendüñ bir aqçasına biñ aqça tîmâr vèrile

§4.2.6.6. ^aABF: hişâr gedügi

§ 4.2.6.7. ^aABFY, Ş: ve şağîr b AK: dañi soñra yarayub sefer erişdüklerinde yukaruda emr B: dañi yarayub erişdüklerinde yukaruda emr F: dañi soñradan yarayub eşmege kâdır olduklarında emr

§4.2.7. ^aY: §9.-§9.2. follow §4.2.7.

§6.1. ^aA: ziyâde olurise

§6. Vüzerâdan vefât édüb kullarına vèrilen tîmâr kânûnıdır

Kethudâsına-kıymet erba' 'aşara elf-	14,000
Çapucı başına-kıymet şelâş 'aşara elf-	13,000
Diger çapucı başına-kıymet işnâ 'aşara elf-	12,000
Emîr-i âhõrina-kıymet şemân elf-	8,000
Hazînedâr başına-kıymet şemân elf-	8,000
'Ulûfeci başına-kıymet şemân elf-	8,000
Çâşnigîr başına-kıymet seb'a elf-	7,000
Çapucılar kethudâsına-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
Beş nefer subaşlarına-kıymet 'aşara elf-	10,000

6.1 Rûm Êli ve Anatolı beglerbegileri vefât êtdüklerinde oğullarına bir olıcak kırk biñ aqçalık zi'âmet vèrile iki olsa birine yigirmi beş biñ ve birine yigirmi biñ aqçalık zi'âmet vèrile ziyâdesi^a bu miqdâr tevzî' olına

6.2. <f.4a> Bunlardan mâ'adâ beglerbegiler vefât êtdüklerinde bir oğlı olsa otuz beş biñ iki oğlı olsa birine yigirmi biñ ve birine on beş biñ aqçalık tîmâr vèrile^a

6.3. Beglerbegiler vefât êtdüklerinde kullarına vèrilen tîmâr kânûnıdır

Kethudâsına-kıymet 'aşara elf-	10,000
Çapucı başına-kıymet şemân elf-	8,000
Diger çapucı başına-kıymet seb'a elf-	7,000
Emîr-i âhõrina-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
Çâşnigîr başına-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
'Ulûfeci başına-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
Nişâncısına-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
Çavuş başına-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
Hazînedâr başına-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
Subaşına-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
Çapu kethudâsına-kıymet hamse elf-	5,000

6.4. Ma'zûl olduqdan soñra vefât eden beglerbegilerün kullarına vèrilen tîmâr kânûnıdır

Kethudâsına-kıymet 'şemân elf-	8,000
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§6.2. ^aV: vèrile ziyâde olurise bu miqdâr üzere tevzî' olına

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

Kapucı başına-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000 ^a
Diger kapucı başına-kıymet hamse elf-	5,000
Emîr-i âhorına-kıymet hamse elf-	5,000
Çâşnigîr başına-kıymet hamse elf-	5,000
'Ulûfeci başına-kıymet hamse elf-	5,000
Çavuş başına-kıymet hamse elf-	5,000
Voyvodalarına-kıymet hamse elf-	5,000

§7. Sancağbegleri vefât êtdüklerinde oğullarına vèrilen tîmâr kânûnidur

7.1. Yedi yüz biñ aqçalık sancağbegi vefât eylese yarar oğlına otuz biñ aqçalık zi'âmet vèrile üç olursa büyüğine on beş biñ iki küçüklerine onar biñ amma bir olub küçük olsa yarayınca cebelü ile on beş biñ aqçalık tîmâr vèrile

Diger

7.2. Beş yüz biñden yedi yüz biñe varınca vefât eden sancağ beginüñ bir yarar oğlu olsa yigirmi beş biñ aqçalık zi'âmet vèrile üç olursa büyüğine on biñ iki küçüklerine toquzar biñ amma bir olup şağîr olsa cebelü eşdürmek üzere bu miqdârüñ nişfi vèrile

7.3. <f. 4b> Üçyüz biñden beşyüz biñe varınca vefât eden sancağ beginüñ bir yarar oğlına yigirmi biñ aqçalık zi'âmet vèrile üç olursa büyüğine toquz biñ iki küçüklerine yedişer biñ şağîr olsa yarayınca cebelü eşdürmek üzere nişfi vèrile

7.4. Yüz elli biñden üç yüz biñe varınca vefât eden sancağ begilerinüñ oğullarına /5/ eger bir yarar olsa on beş biñ üç olsa büyüğine sekiz biñ iki küçüklerine altışar biñ iki olsa yararına on iki biñ küçüğüne yedi bin bir şağîr olsa on biñ aqçalık tîmâr vèrile

7.5. Mez-kûrân sancağ begilerinüñ oğulları tîmâr taşarruf ederlerse [emr]^a üzere noşşânları var ise tekmiî olına ondan ziyâde veyâhûd ona bedel ellerinde tîmârları /10/ olsa a'lâsına terakki beş biñ evsatına dört biñ ednâsına üç biñ aqçalık terakki vèrile

§8. Sancağ begleri vefât êtdüklerinde kullarına vèrilen tîmâr kânûnidur

Kethudâsına-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
Kapucı başına-kıymet hamse elf-	5,000
Voyvodasına-kıymet hamse elf-	5,000
Çâşnigîr başına-kıymet erba' elf-	4,000
Mîr-i âhorına-kıymet erba' elf-	4,000
'Ulûfeci başına-kıymet erba' elf-	4,000

§6.4. ^aB: 5,000

§7.5. ^aB, Ş: blank

§9. Rûm Êli ve Anaṭolî tîmârları ketḥudâları vefât êtdüklerinde tîmâr taṣarruf êder dört nefer oğlunuñ ikisine üçer biñ ikisine ikişer biñ aḳça teraḳḳî vèrile üç olursa birine üç biñ ikisine ikişer biñ iki olursa birine üç biñ birine /15/ iki biñ bir olursa üç biñ aḳça teraḳḳî vèrile

9.1. Defterdâr oğullarına bu emirden biñ aḳça eksik üzere teraḳḳî vèrile.

9.2. <f. 5a> Mezbûrânun tîmâr taṣarruf êtmeyen oğullarına müteveffâ subaşı oğullarına emr olandan biñer aḳça ziyâde ile tîmâr vèrile

9.3. Yaya ve müselleṃ sancaḳbegleri fevt olsa oğulları subaşı oğullarına kıyâs olına

§10. 'Âdet-i rûsûm-ı mîrmîrân

Rûm Êli beglerbegisinden

Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf- 12,000

Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet ḥamse ve 'aşara elf- 15,000

Anaṭolî beglerbegisinden

Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf- 12,000

Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet ḥamse ve 'aşara elf- 15,000

Karaman beglerbegisinden

Resm-i mîrî-kıymet sitte elf- 6,000

Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet seb'a elf ḥamse mi'e- 7,500

Erz-i Rûm beglerbegisinden

Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf- 12,000

Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet ḥamse ve 'aşara elf- 15,000

Rûm beglerbegisinden

Resm-i mîrî-kıymet sitte elf- 6,000

Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet seb'a elf ḥamse mi'e- 7,500

Zû'l-kadır beglerbegisinden

Resm-i mîrî-kıymet sitte elf- 6,000

Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet seb'a elf ḥamse mi'e- 7,500

Van beglerbegisinden

Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf- 12,000

Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet ḥamse ve 'aşara elf- 15,000

Haleb beglerbegisinden

Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf- 12,000

Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet ḥamse ve 'aşara elf- 15,000

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

Cezâ'ir beglerbegisinden	
Resm-i mîrî-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet seb'a elf hamse mi'e-	7,500
Şam beglerbegisinden	
Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf-	12,000
Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet hamse ve 'aşara elf-	15,000
Mısır beglerbegisinden	
Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf-	12,000
Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet hamse ve 'aşara elf-	15,000
Budun beglerbegisinden	
Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf-	12,000
Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet hamse ve 'aşara elf-	15,000
<f. 5b> Mağrib zemîn beglerbegisinden	
Resm-i mîrî-kıymet sitte elf-	6,000
Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet seb'a elf hamse mi'e-	7,500
Yemen beglerbegisinden	
Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf-	12,000
Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet hamse ve 'aşara elf-	15,000
Başra beglerbegisinden	
Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf-	12,000
Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet hamse ve 'aşara elf-	15,000
Diyâr-ı bekir beglerbegisinden	
Resm-i mîrî-kıymet işnâ ve 'aşara elf-	12,000
Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet hamse ve 'aşara elf-	15,000
Sancak beglerinden	
Resm-i mîrî-kıymet elf mi'eteyn-	1,200
Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet elf hamse mi'e-	1,500
Tecdîd olıcağ nışf alınur	
Zi'âmetlerden	
Resm-i mîrî-kıymet sitte mi'e-	600
Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet seb'a mi'e hamsîn-	750
Tecdîd olıcağ nışf alınur	

- 10.1. Erbâb-ı tîmârdan her biñde yigirmibeş akça resm alınur tecdîdde nışf alınur
 10.2. Erbâb-ı tîmâr terakķisinüñ tamâm resmin ve eskinüñ nışf resim vërür
 10.3. Tîmârile dizdâr olanlar her biñde miri içün elli akça resim vërür ve biñde elli akça resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân vërilür cümle biñde yüz akça resm alınur
 10.4. ve muhtesiblerden biñde seksen üçer akça resm alınur
 10.5. Ve âlaybeglerinden
 Resm-i mîrî-kıymet seb'a mi'e- 700
 Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet tis'a mi'e- 900
 10.6. Ve defterdârlardan
 Resm-i mîrî-kıymet şemân mi'e- 800
 Resm-i çavuşân ve bevvâbân-kıymet tis'a mi'e- 750
 10.7. 'An berâthâ-ı tîmâr-ı müstahfızân-ı vilâyet-i Rûm Êli
 Resm-i mîrî-kıymet-i tamâm hişşeden -[erba'în]^a-
 kıymet-i nışf hişşeden[hamse ve hamsîn]^b-
 Biñ akçadan ziyâdesi tamâm hişşeden 'add olunur ve eksügi nışfindan 'add olunur

§ 11. 'Âdet-i rûsûm-ı tezkirehâ-ı elviye ve zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı tîmâr der vilâyet-i Rûm Êli

- Resm-i tezkire-i mîrlivâ-kıymet hamse mi'e şelâş ve seb'în- 573
 Resm-i tezkire-i zu'amâ
 'An tamâm-kıymet mi'eteyn şemân ve hamsîn- 258
 'An tecdîd-kıymet mi'e tis'a ve 'aşrîn- 129
 Resm-i tezkire-i erbâb-ı tîmâr
 'an tamâm be her elf akça fi eşnâ 'aşara 12
 'an tecdîd be her elf akça fi sitte 6
 <f. 6a> 'Âdet-i tarîh ve divitdâr ve küttâb
 be her elf fi eşnâ 'aşrîn 12
 Resm-i tezkire-i defterdâr-kıymet şelâş mi'e- 300
 Resm-i tezkire-i mîrlivâ-i piyâdegân ve müselleman
 -kıymet şelâş mi'e- 300
 Resm-i tezkire-i kethudâ-kıymet şelâş mi'e- 300
 Resm-i tezkire-i mîrâlay-kıymet şelâş mi'e- 300

§ 10.7. ^aB, Ş: hamse ve hamsîn bB, Ş: erba'în

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

11.1. Âdet-i rûsûm-ı mîr 'alem-i dergâh-ı 'âlî

Rûm Êli ve Anaîolı ve Mıřır ve řâm ve Diyâr-ı bekir

Zıkr olunan beglerbegilikden biri bir kimesneye vèrılse emîr-i 'alem içün on biñ nağd ve bir mükemmel ât ve bir Firengi řîb vère ve mehter başına iki biñ nağd aqça ve bir kaftân sâ'ir mehterlere beř biñ nağd aqça vèrilmek kânûndur dergâh-ı mu'allâ kapucılarına on biñ ve çavuşlara beř biñ aqça vère sancaqbeglerinden mîr-i 'alem içün iki biñ ve 'alem mehterlerine beř yüz ve mehter başına beř yüz aqça vèrilmek kânûndur

Temme be 'avn-ı allâhi te'âlâ

11.2. Der vilâyet-i Rûm Êli

elf--kıymet	35
elfî--kıymet	47
Şelâş elf--kıymet	59
Erba' elf--kıymet	71
Hamse elf--kıymet	83
Sitte elf--kıymet	95
Seb'a elf--kıymet	107
Şemân elf--kıymet	119
Tis'a elf--kıymet	131
'Aşara elf--kıymet	143
İhda 'aşara elf--kıymet	155
İsnâ 'aşara elf--kıymet	167
Şelâş 'aşara elf--kıymet	179
Erba' 'aşara elf--kıymet	191
Hamse 'aşara elf--kıymet	203
Sitte 'aşara elf--kıymet	215
Seb'a 'aşara elf--kıymet	227
Şemân 'aşara elf--kıymet	239
Tis'â 'aşara elf--kıymet	251
'Aşrîn elf--kıymet	273

11.3. Der vilâyet-i Anaîolı

elf--kıymet	27
elfî--kıymet	39

Selâş elf--kıymet	51
Erba' elf--kıymet	63
Hamse elf--kıymet	75
Sitte elf--kıymet	87
Seb'a elf--kıymet	99
Semân elf--kıymet	111
Tis'a elf--kıymet	123
'Aşara elf--kıymet	135
İhda 'aşara elf--kıymet	147
İšnâ 'aşara elf--kıymet	159
Selâş 'aşara elf--kıymet	171
Erba' 'aşara elf--kıymet	183
Hamse 'aşara elf--kıymet	195
Sitte 'aşara elf--kıymet	207
Seb'a 'aşara elf--kıymet	219
Semân 'aşara elf--kıymet	231
Tis'â 'aşara elf--kıymet	243
'Aşrîn elf--kıymet	250

§12. <f. 6b> Kânûnnâme-i mîrmîrân ve tîmâr[r]dârân^a

^bNişân-ı hümayûn hükmi oldur ki ^cşimdiki hâlde erbâb-ı tîmârda ve deftere müte'alık olan huşûslarda kânûn-ı kadîm-i muqarrer üzere emr-i celîlî'l-quadrum şöyle şâdır oldıki

12.1. Meşelâ sipâhi tâ'ifesinden şunlar ki yedi yıl mütekâ'üd olub şol sipâhi /5/ zâdeler ki atâları fevt olduqdanşoñra kendüler dañi bâliğ olub yedi sekiz yıl^a veyâ dañi ziyâde yıl geçüb^b tîmâr taleb eylemeyüb^c dañi şoñradan gelüb tîmâr taleb eylemeye^d benümle^e sefer seferleyüb emr-i eşrîf vârid olmayınca tîmâr verilmeye

12.1.1. Ve şol sipâhizâdeler ki beglerbegi berâtile tîmâr taşarruf ederken dañi fevt^a olalar ve dañi oğulları^b qalup gelüb tîmâr taleb eyleyeler ânuñ gibi sipâhizâdelerüñ yararlığına ve hâline göre tîmâr [tevcîh olına]^c

§12. ^aBFR: Kânûnnâme-i mîrmîrân der tîmâr dâden ^bF omits nişân-ı hümayûn hükmi oldur ki ^cBRT: omit şimdiki hâlde

§12.1. ^aF: yedi yıl ^bBFT: ziyâde geçüb ^cF: tîmâr eylemeyüb

^dF: eylemeyüb şoñradan gelüb tîmâr taleb eyleye ^eBTv: ânlaruñ gibiler benümle

§12.1.1. ^aF: ederken fevt ^bF: ve oğulları ^cBFHRTV, Ş: tîmâr ola

§12.3. ^aFT: köy

12.2. /10/ ve şol sipâhiler ki tezkirelû tîmâr yeyûb berâtları sūd-de-i sa'âdetümden vèrilmiş ola daği fevt olub şağîr oğlu ƙalub cebelû ile tîmâr vèrilmelû ola ânuñ gibilerûñ mu'teberlerine ki fevt olub şağîr oğlu ƙalub cebelû ile tîmâr vèrilmelû ola ƙânûn-ı muƙarrer üzere nihâyet üç biñ aƙçalıƙ tîmâr vèrile ziyâde vèrilmeye

12.3. Ve eger bir köyi^a defterlû yurdı veyâ ƙadîmisi olub amma üç biñden eksük yaza /15/ daği noƙşânla cebelûsin eşdürmege mültezim ola eksügi ile cebelû eşdürmek üzere vèrile

12.4. Ve bir sipâhi ki kendüsi ƙayâtta ola amma sefere ƙadır olmaya tîmârından daği ferâgat etmeye ve şağîr oğlu daği ola ânuñ [gibi]^a sipâhilerûñ sefere elbette cebelûsi^b eşe şağîr oğluna cebelû ile tîmâr vèrmek câ'iz degüldür

12.4.1. Ve eger kendüsine min ba'd tîmâr olmamak üzere /20/ şağîr oğluna cebelû ile tîmâr vèrilmek murâd edinürse emr-i şerîfüm [vârid]^a olmayınca ânuñ gibilerûñ [şağîr] oğullarına^b cebelû ile tîmâr vèrilmeye

12.5. <f. 7a> Ve sipâhiye bir ƙaç yüz aƙça teraƙķi eylemek içün tîmârın âhıra şatub ve yılda iki üç def'a tîmâr vèrmek câ'iz degüldür

12.5.1. Ânuñ gibi sipâhi tîmârın tebdîl etmek isteyen^a kendüler ma'zûl olup tîmârı âhıra vèrilmeyince âhır tîmâr tevcîh olunmaya

12.5.2. Ve kendüsi bir hâşıl bâri almayınca tîmârından ferâgâtı maƙbûl olunmaya

12.5.3. Ve şol sipâhiler ki zi'âmete /5/ mutaşarrıf iken ma'zûl ola daği âhır zi'âmet tevcîh olunmalu ola beglerbegi cânîbinden nihâyet biñ aƙça degeni ziyâde tevcîh olunmak câ'izdür^a

12.5.4. Ve tezkirelû tîmâr taşarruf edenlere ve beglerbegi berâtile tîmâr yeyenlere daği ma'zûl olub âhır tîmâr vèrilmelû ola ânuñ gibilere nihâyet dörtyüz ve beşyüz aƙça ziyâde vèrile andan ziyâde vèrilmeye

12.6. Ve tîmâr defterleri daği defterdâra ƙarîb yerde açılıb ba'îd yerde açılmaya ve şöyle ki defterdâr^a /10/ üzerinde oturan kâtiblere defterdâr şübhe édüb i'timâdı olmasa defterdâr olanlar defter üzerine kendü cânîbinden daği yarar emîn kimesneler naşb eylese câ'izdür

12.6.1. Amma kâtiblerûñ 'azlı ve naşbı beglerbegi elindedür

12.6.2. Ve defterdâr olanlar daği gerekdürki aşlâ hilâf-ı ƙânûn beglerbegiye bir ƙazıye 'arz eylemeye ve ƙânûna muhâlif nesneye mübâşeret etmeye

12.6.2.1. Ve eger beglerbegi cânîbinden hilâf-ı ƙânûn ƙazıyye iƙdâm olınacak /15/ olur ise mümkün olduğı miƙdârı sa'y édüb men' ü ref' eyleye

§12.4. ^aBFHRTV, Ş: ânuñ sipâhilerûñ ^bF, Ş: sefere cebelûsi

§12.4.1. ^aBFHRTV, Ş: emr-i şerîfüm olmayınca ^bBFHRTV, Ş: gibilerûñ oğullarına

§12.5.1. ^aF: tîmârın eylemek istese

§12.5.3. ^aBRT: nihâyet biñ aƙçayadegin ziyâde tevcîh olunmak câ'izdür biñden ziyâde vèrilmeye F: nihâyet aƙçaya dek tevcîh oluna ziyâde tevcîh olunmak câ'izdür

§12.6. ^aFHRTV: defter

12.6.2.2. Ve şöyle ki beglerbegi aşlâ ve kaç'a memnû' olmak mümkün olmaya ve defterdâr ol huşûşları 'aynı ile şihhâtı ve vukû'ı üzere mufaşşal yazub südde-i sa'âdetüme 'arz eylemeye eger defterdâr dahı razı olub 'arz eylemese veyâhûd hilâf-ı vâkı' 'arz eylese^a kendüsi ma'âvenet olub 'azline sebeb ola

Dâ'imâ işbu kânûnnâme-i hümâyûnumla ['amel]^c olinub /20/ kaç'a hilâfına cevâz gösterilmeye şöyle bileler^d

§13. <f. 7b> Şüret-i hükm-i pâdişâh ki [be] mîrmîrân-ı Rûm Êli vürûd yâft^a

Emîrû'l-ümerâ'l-kirâm kebîrû^bl-küberâ'i'l-fihâm zû'l-kadır ve'l-ihtirâm şâhibü'l-'izz ve'l-ihtişâm el-muhtaşş be mezîd-i 'inâyeti'l-melikî'l-â'lâ^c Rûm Êli beglerbegisi Luţfi Paşa^d dâmetü ma'âlihi tevķî'-i refî'-i hümâyûn vâsıl olıcaķ ma'lûm ola ki

13.1. Kâdîmden beglerbegiler ki tîmâr vërdüklerinde /5/ kendü cânîbinden tahvîl kâğıdı vërmek 'âdet olub amma şimdi ânuñ gibi sipâhilere tîmâr vërilüb berât vërmelü olduklarında ba'z-ı sipâhiler tahvîl kâğıdı ile tîmârların zabtî edüb tezkirelerin berât ëtdürmeyüb te'hîr ëtdükleri ecilden ol bâbda emrüm şöyle şâdır oldı ki

13.2. Bir subaşıya veyâ bir sipâhiye tîmâr tevcîh olinub tezkirelerin vërdüklerinde aşlâ kendü cânîbinden tahvîl mektûbın vërmeyüb ve geregi gibi tenbîh eylesesin ki [eger]^a /10/ sancaķ begleridür ve eger tîmâr kethüdâları ve defterdârlarıdır eger subaşılar ve eger sipâhiler ki altı âya degin tezkirelerin südde-i sa'âdetümden berât ëtdüresin

13.2.1. Ve eger ba'de't-tenbîh gerü ta'yîn olınan tîmârlarınun tezkirelerin te'hîr edüb emr-i şerîfüm muķtażâsınca âltı aya degin getürmeyüb berât ëtmeyecek olur ise tîmârları mevķûfa zabtî olınmak emr olunmuşdur

13.2.2. Şoñra 'özürleri maķbûl olınmak ihtimâlî yokdur /15/ bilmiş olalar

13.3. Ve vilâyet-i Rûm Êli [tîmârları]^a kethüdâlarınınun ve defterdârlarınınun tîmârları dahı bozulub tağyîr ve tebdîl olunmayub her gelen kethüdâ ve defterdâr ol tîmârlara mutaşarrıf olalar

13.3.1. Gerekdür ki zıkr olan kethüdâlık ve defterdârlık tîmârları dahı tebdîl ve tağyîr ëtdürilmeyüb her zamân emr-i şerîfüm muķtażâsınca 'amel eylesesin

13.4. Ve erbâb-ı tîmârdan ba'z-ı sipâhiler mücerred teraķķi eylemesi içün hîle ve bahâne ile timarlarından ferâgat /20/ eyleyüb bir âhır tîmâra ziyâde ile taleb bu bahâne ile ekş-eriyâ sipâhiler kendülere teraķķi ëtdürürler imiş imdi ol bâbda dahı emr-i şerîfüm bunun üzerine dür ki

§12.6.2.2. ^aF omits veyâhûd hilâf-ı vâkı' 'arz eylese ^bBHTV: kendüsi mu'âteb ü mu'âkeb olub

^cBFRTV, Ş: hümâyûnumla olunub ^dH: bileler 'ilâmet-i şerîfe i'timâd u i'tikâd kıralar

§13. ^aF: Şüret-i hükm-i hümâyûn ki be Luţfi Paşa mîrmîrân-ı Rûm Êli vürûd yâft ^bA: zahîr ^cF: al-melikî 'l-'alâm ^dAB: Mehemmed Paşa

§13.2. ^aAB: tenbîh ve te'kîd eylesesin eger Bİ: tenbîh eylesesinki eger F: tenbîh ü te'kîd eylesesin ki eger

§13.3. ^aAB, Ş: Rûm Êli kethüdâları

13.4.1. Min ba'd zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı tîmârdan ânuñ gibi teraqqî eylemek bahânesile taşarrufında olan tîmârından ferâgat ederse maqbûl dutmayub elindeki tîmârın kemâkân taşarruf etdürüb bu tarîkile sipâhiye teraqqî etdürmeyesin

<f. 8a> 13.4.2. Ve sefere varmayub min ba'd tîmâr vèrilmemek emr olan sipâhiler envâ'-ı telbîsât etmekle yine tîmâr âlurlarımış olbâbda dañi kemâlile diğķat ü ihtimâm edüb bir subaşıya veyâ bir sipâhiye tîmâr tevcîh etmelü olduğunda yoklama defterine nazar ve sebeb-i 'azlı kaydı ne olduğı maħalle nazar edüb tîmâr vèrilmesi mâni' olmayub emrüm üzere /5/ tîmâra müstaħak ise andanşoñra tevcîh edüb südde-i sa'âdetüme irsâl eyledüğün tezkirede dañi ânuñ sebeb-i 'azlıni bile kayd eyleyüb tafşıl eylesin

13.4.3. Tezkireñ 'atebe-i 'ulyâya geldükde dañi yoklanub görilüb bu bahâne ile emrüm muħâlif kimesneye tîmâr vèrilmelü olmaya

13.5. Ve defterde tezkirelû olan tîmârlar paralanub beglerbegiler berâtırla vèrilmege emir yokdur ol bâbda tamâm muķayyed olub defterde tezkirelû olan zi'âmeti ve tîmârları paralamayub

13.5.1./10/ Şöyle ki bir kimesne vefât edüb babası tîmârından oğlına tîmâr vèrilmek için veyâ bir gayri ħuşûş için südde-i sa'âdetümden emri şerîfüm vârid ola ol vaķıt dañi tezkirelû tîmâr paralanmak câ'iz ve lâzim gelmez

13.5.2. Ħişşe tarîkile ber vech-i iştirâk tevcîh eyleyüb tezkirelerin südde-i sa'âdetüme irsâl eylesin

13.5.3. Şoñra ânuñ gibi ħişşe maħlûl olduğda müstaķıl tîmârdur deyü istiklâl üzere vermeyüb gerü ħişşe tarîkile vèresin ki /15/ bütün tîmâr paralanmak lâzim gelmeye

13.5.4. Ve'l-ħaşıl min ba'd tezkirelû tîmârların kendü berâtıñla vèrilmegi muķarrer^a bilüb

Dâ'imâ fermân-ı şerîfümle 'âmel olasın deyü ħükmi-i şerîfümüñ şüretin anda defterde kayd eyleyüb ve kendüsi dañi 'aynı ile defter şanduklarında zabt edüb dâ'imâ mazmûn-ı şerîfile 'âmel olasın şöyle bilesin 'alâmet-i şerîfe i'timâd kılasın^b

§ 14. Şüret-i nişân-ı şerîf-i pâdişâhî

/20/^aNişân-ı şerîf-i 'âlişân-ı sultânî ve tuğrâ-ı ħarrâ-ı ħitî-sitân-ı ħâķânî ħükmi oldur ki bundan evvel vilâyet-i Rûm Êlinde ve ^bAnaķolıda olan erbâb-ı tîmârdan ba'z-ı sipâhiler tekâ'üd edüb ve ba'zılar dañi vefât eyleyeli ħayli zamân olub oğulları tîmâr talebine geldüklerinde babañ ħayâtdadur veyâ çokdan vefât <f. 8b> etmişdir deyü cevâb vèrilüb tîmâr

§ 13.5.4. ^aAB: berâtıñla vermegi münse F: berâtıñla vermek memnû' ^bAB: taħrîren fi evâ'il-i şehri zi 'l-ķa'de sene şelâş ve erba'în ve tis'ami'e

§ 14. ^aAB: Emîrü 'l-ümerâ'l-kerâm zahîrî 'l-kebîrî'l-küberâ' 'l-feħâm zû'l-ķadır ve 'l-iħtirâm şâhibü'l-'izz ve 'l-iħtişâm el-muħtaşş be-mezîd-i 'inâyeti'l-meliki 'l-â'lâ Rûm Êli beglerbegisi Luťfi Paşa dâmetü ma'âlihi tevķî'-i refî'-i ħümâyûn vâşıl olķaķ ma'lûm ola ki bundan evvel Fİ: omîť Nişân-ı şerîf-i 'âlişân-ı sultânî ve tuğrâ-yı ħarrâ-yı ħitî-sitân-ı ħâķânî ħükmi oldur ki Y: Anaķolı beglerbegisine ħükmi ki ^aABF: omîť ve Anaķolıda Y: vilâyet-i mezbûrada ^cF: 'alîye ^dF: emri-i celîli 'l-ķadrum bu vechle şöyle

tevcîh olunmak memnû^c olunmuş idi hâliyâ ânuñ gibi sipâhizâdeler huşûşında merâhim-i cemîle-i^c pâdişâhânem zuhûra getürüb emr-i celîlî'l-kadrum şöyle^d şâdir oldı ki

14.1. Ol aşl mütekâ'üd sipâhiler tekâ'üd edeli veyâhûd vefât edeli nemiğdâr zaman olursa olsun şöyle ki sefer-i hümâyûnuma /5/ yarar yigit oğulları ola babañ çokdan mütekâ'üd veyâhûd çokdan vefât etmişdür demeyüb^a sipâhizâde huşûşında sâbıkâ emr olınan fermân-ı şerîfüm bu bâbda dañi icrâ olunub tîmâr vèrile

14.2. Fe-amma tuvel zamânla ba'z-ı kimesneler eski berâtlar ibrâz edüb ba'zılarınıñ defâtirde kaydları bulun[ma]mak^a ile hâricden tezvîr ü telbîs edüb şahîh sipâhizâde olmayanlar dirliğe çıkmak ihtimâlî olduğu ecilden /10/ emr-i celîlî'l-kadrum şöyle şâdir oldı ki

14.2.1. Cümle beglerbegiler^a ânuñ gibi atası çokdan vefât etmiş sipâhîler^b ki emrüm muhtazâsınca tîmâr vèrilmelü olub tîmâr talebine geldükde şahîh sipâhi zâdeliği ma'lûm olmak için subaşılarından ve sipâhizâdelerden on nefer mu'temed^c sipâhîler diñleyüb tamâm bu vechile şahîh sipâhizâde oldukları şâbit olduğdan soñra emrüm mûcibince tîmârların tedârük edüb tevcîh eyleyüb tezkirelerin /15/ vèreler ve tezkirelerin vech-i mesfûr üzere on nefer şehâdet eden subaşılarından-mıdır ve sipâhîlerdenmidür her kim ise isimlerin^d yazup beyân eyleyeler

14.2.2. Ve ba'z-ı sipâhîler hâliyâ hayâtında^a iken bir oğluna^b tîmâr olub soñra ol sipâhîler vefât edüb ve tîmâr taşarruf etmemiş oğulları tîmâr talebine geldükde babañ hayâtında iken karındaşlarıñda tîmâr olmuşdur deyü bunlara vèrilmez imiş imdi bir sipâhîñüñ ki kendü zamânında oğullarına /20/ tîmâr olmuş ola ol başka sipâhî olmuş olur kendüden soñra nemiğdâr oğulları kalursa sâbıkâ emrüm üzere iki nefer oğullarına kânûn üzere tîmâr vèrile^c

14.2.3. Ve bir sipâhî ki pîr ü nativân olub hizmete iktidârı olmayub yetişmiş yarar yigit oğlu olub kendüye min ba'd dirlik olmamak üzere tîmârını oğluna bildürmek istedikde bu huşûşda <f. 9a> dañi emrüm bunuñ üzerine dür ki

14.2.3.1. ânuñ gibi sipâhîlerün tîmârları dört biñ aqçalık olub

14.2.3.2. ve kadîmisi ve yurdu olub ata ve dede ocaq olup yurdları edügi [defterde dañi]^a muqayyed olub^b şâ'ibe-i şübhe olmayub oğulları iki olursa müşterek vèrile bir olursa yurdları olduğu ciñet ile^a bir oğluna vèrile

14.2.3.3. ve yurdları /5/ olmaduğı tîmârlarda oğlu bir olursa iki biñ aqçalık vèrilüb iki biñ aqçalığı dañi âhıra vèrilüb iştirâk üzere kayd olına

14.2.3.4. ve tîmârı dört biñden aşığa olub oğlu bir olub yarar olduğdan soñra vèrile amma bunlarıñ tezkireleri vèrildükde kendüler bi'z-zât bile gönderile ki 'atebe-i 'ulyâda görilüb ma'lûm ola

§ 14.1. ^aH: omits sipâhizâde huşûşında sâbıkâ emr olınan fermân-ı şerîfüm bu bâbda dañi icrâ olunub

§ 14.2. ^aF, §: bulunmak HPRT: bulunmakda hâlel olub hâricden

§ 14.2. ^aY: Sen ki Anadolu beglerbegisisin ^bY: sipâhizâdeler ^cABR: on nefer yarar ve mu'temed ^dY: erler gelüb e her kim şehâdet ede isimlerin

§ 14.2.2. ^aABFHY: hâl-i hayâtında iken ^bABHR: bir iki oğluna ^cHPRTY: dirlik ola

§ 14.2.3.2. ^aF, §: yurdları edügi muqayyed ^bPRT: omit yurdları edügi muqayyed olub

§ 14.2.3.2. ^aF: ciñet ile ma'lûm ola

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION AND THE TÎMÂR SYSTEM

14.2.3.5. ve eger tîmârî dört biñden ziyâde olursa ki beş biñ altı biñliğe varınca ola /10/ iki oğlu olursa müşterek vèrile bir olursa yukarıda zîkr olunduğı vech üzere ‘amel olına

14.3. Ve sâbıkâ sipâhîlerüñ sağır oğullarına on yaşına varınca cebelüsin eşdürmek üzere tîmâr vèrilüb on yaşından tecâvüz édüb kendü gelmeyüb cebelüsü gelicek maqbûl olmayub tîmârları âlınur imiş hâliyâ sefer ba’îd olub on yaşında olan sipâhîzâdeler sefere gelmiyecek tîmârları âlınmak hayf olduğı /15/ ecilden emrüm-i şerîfüm bunuñ üzerine durki

14.3.1. On altı yaşına varıncaya degin cebelüler maqbûl olub tamâm on altı yaşına vardukdan soñra kendüler eşeler cebelüleri maqbûl olmaya

14.3.2. ve bir tîmâr defterde müstakıl tîmâr iken bölünüb iki nefer kimesneye vèrilmiş olsa soñra bir kimesnesi huşûşında tereddüd çekilüb vèrilmez imiş imdi ânuñ gibi sâbıkda bir tarîkile bölünen tîmârlar bedeli ma’zûl olıcağ birikdirilüb vèrile

14.4. <f. 9b> Ve bir sipâhî de^a hayliden müteveffâ olsa oğulları tîmâr talebine varduğda babañız çokdan vefât etmişdür dinilüb veyâhud bir ma’zûl sipâhî ma’zûl olalı hayli müddet olub lakin beglerbegiye mülâzemet édüb tîmâr müyesser olmamak ile zamân geçmekle^b senüñ gibilere tîmâr vèrilmege emir yokdur dèyü^c cevâb vèrilürümüş imdi sâbıkâ tîmâr /5/ huşûş için vèrilen mufaşşal hükm-i hümayûnumda bir ma’zûl sipâhî ki yedi yıldan berü ma’zûl olub aşlâ beglerbegiye tîmâr talebine gelmeyüb ve bir sipâhîzâde ki babası vefât êtdükde on iki yaşında olub yedi yıl geçüp kaç’a beglerbegiye tîmâr taleb êtmege gelmeye ânuñ gibiler kâsibler silkine münselikdür kaç’a tîmâr vèrilmeye dèyü emr olunmuş idi

14.4.1. ol emrüm muqarrer olub şol sipâhîlerzâde veyâ ma’zûl ki /10/ zîkr olunan müddet içinde tîmâr talebine aşlâ ve kaç’a beglerbegiye mülâzemet etmemiş olalar^a tîmâr vèrilmez^b

14.4.2. amma bu müddet içinde sipâhîzâde olsun veyâhud ma’zûl olsun tîmâr talebine beglerbegiye gelmiş veyâhud bir sefer seferlemiş ola tîmâr müyesser olmamak ile ol miqdâr zamân ol müddet içinde geçmiş ola anuñ gibilere tîmâr verilüb ol aşılara müddet geçmiş demeyüb sipâhîlik ve sipâhi /15/ zâdelik muhakkağ olub şübhe olmaduğı taqdîrce ne kadar zamân olursa olsun emrüm üzere tîmârların vèreler^a

14.5. Ve muqaddemâ bir tîmâr bir tîmâra ilhâk olınmak men’ olunmuş idi imdi sancağ beglerümden ve dergâh-ı mu’allâ huddâmdan ba’z-ı kimesnelere teraqqî emrüm olunub

§14.4. ^aFT: bir sipâhî I: bir sipâhî ki ^bF: müyesser olmayub bir zamân geçmekle

^cH: vèrilmege kânûn degüldür dèyü

§14.4.1. ^aF: olalar anuñ gibilere tîmâr B: ola aña tîmâr ^bH: omits tîmâr vèrilmez

§14.4.2. ^aH: 14.4.2. Aña tîmâr vèrilmeye dèyü emr olunmuşdı şol sipâhîzâdeler ki veyâ veyâ ma’zûl ki zîkr olunan müddet içinde tîmâr talebine gelmiş ola veyâhud bir sefer seferlemiş ola tîmâr müyesser olmamış ola ol miqdâr müddet içinde geçmiş ola anuñ gibilere tîmâr olmağ câ’izdür ol aşılara müddet geçmiş demeyüb sipâhîzâdeliği muhakkağ olub şübhe olmaduğı taqdîrce ne kadar zamân olursa olsun emrüm üzere tîmârların vèreler

hük-m-i şerîfüm^a vèrildükde emr üzere teraqqîlerin ilhâk üzere vèreler ve zu‘amâ kısmından ve erbâb-ı tîmârdan /20/ daği vâki‘ olursa ki teraqqî emr olunmuş ola ilhâk édeler dèyü müstaqıl^b hük-m-i şerîfüm vârid olursa eyleyeler müstaqıl emr olmayınca fermân-ı şerîf-i [sâbık]^c mûcibile ‘amel eyleyeler bir dürlü daği olunmaya^d

14.6. <f. 10a> Ve vilâyet-i Anadolıda ba‘zı sancaqlarda mülk şâhibi olub soñra mülkiyetleri bozulub tîmâr tîrîkile vèrilüb taşarruf éderken fevt olıcağ oğulları kaldıkda iki nefer ve bir nefer qalursa daği tîmârların oğullarına vèreler mülke ‘alâkalari olduğı ecilden sâ‘ir erbâb-ı tîmâra kıyâs étmeyüb aña göre tezkiyelerin vèreler

14.7. /5/ Ve bir sipâhî ki tîmâr taşarruf éderken fevt olup oğlı olub oğlına tîmâr müyesser olmadan oğlı daği vefât édüb ânuñ daği oğlı qalsa soñra dedesi müteveffâ olıcağ babañ tîmâr taşarruf étmemişdür dèyü tîmâr vèrilmez imiş imdi ol babda emr-i celîlî'l-kadrum şöyle şâdır oldıki

14.7.1. ânuñ gibi sipâhîzâdenüñ dedesi vefât étdükde vefât étdüğü günden on yıla varıncaya degin oğlı oğlı tîmâr talebine geldükde /10/ atañ tîmâr taşarruf étmemişdür dinil[mey]üb^a sâ‘ir sipâhîzâdelere kıyâs olunub tîmâr tevcîh olına

14.7.2. amma on yıl tecâvüz étdükdensoñra tîmâr talebine gelse ol [mıkdâr]^a zamân geçmekle tîmârından ferâğat étmış gibi olur tîmâr vèrilmeye

14.8. Ve erbâb-ı tîmârdan ba‘z-ı sipâhîler mücerred teraqqî eylemek maşlahatı için hîle ve bahâne ile tîmârından ferâğat eyleyüb bir âhır tîmâra ziyâde ile tâleb olub alub bu bahâne ile /15/ ekşeriyâ sipâhîler kendüye teraqqî étdürürler imdi olbabda daği emr-i şerîfüm bunıñ üzerine dür ki

14.8.1. min ba‘d zu‘amâ ve erbâb-ı tîmârdan ânuñ gibi teraqqî eylemek bahânesile taşarrufunda olan tîmârdan ferâğat éderse^a maqbûl tutmayup elindeki tîmârın kemâkân taşarruf étdürüb bu tîrîkle teraqqî étdürmekden ziyâde hâzer eyleyeler

14.8.2. Ve sefere varmayub min ba‘d tîmâr vèrilmemek emr olınan sipâhîlerüñ sebep-i ‘azılleri /20/ görülmemek ile her biri bir tîrîkle tîmâra tâleb olub emrüne muhâlif çok sipâhîlerine tîmâr olurlarımış olbabda daği kemâlile diğkat u ihtimâm édüb bir subaşıya <f. 10b> veya bir sipâhiye tîmâr tevcîh olduğda yoklama defterine ve sebep-i ‘azli olduğı mahalle nazar édüb [ve tîmâr vèrilmemesine]^a mâni‘i olmayub emrüm üzere tîmâra müstaḥâk ise andansoñra tevcîh édüb ve südde-i sa‘âdetüme irsâl étdükleri tezkirede daği ânuñ sebep-i ‘azlini bile kayd édüb tafşîl eyleyeler

§14.5. ^aH: emrüm olunub ilhâk édeler dèyü hük-m-i şerîf ^bH: omits ve zu‘amâ kısmından ve erbâb-ı tîmârdan daği vâki‘ olursa ki teraqqî emr olunmuş ola ilhâk édeler dèyü müstaqıl ^cABFIPR, Ş: fermân-ı şerîf mûcibile H: müstaqıl olunmayanı hük-m-i şerîfüm mûcibince T: hük-m-i şerîf-i sâbıkum mûcibince ^dH: omits bir dürlü dahi olunmaya

§14.7.1. ^aABPRTY, Ş: dinilüb

§14.7.2. ^aBHPRT, Ş: ol zamân

§14.8.1. ^aPRT: isterlerise H: ferâğat étmek isterler ise

§14.8.2. ^aHPRY, Ş: nazar édüb mâni‘i olmayub

14.8.3. Tezkireler daği 'atebe-i 'ulyâya geldükde daği görilüb ve yoklanub /5/ bu bahâne ile emrümüne muhâlif kimesneye tîmâr vèrilmelü olmaya

14.9. Ve defterde tezkirelû olan tîmârları min ba'd paralanmayub kendü berâtları ile vèrmege emrüm yokdur ol babda daği tamâm muqayyed olub defterde olan tezkirelû zi'âmetleri ve tîmârları paralamayub

14.9.1. şöyleki bir kimesne vefât édüb babası tîmârından oğluna tîmâr vèrilmek içün veyâ bir gayrı huşûs içün südde-i sa'âdetümden /10/ emr-i şerîf vârid ola ol vaqit daği tezkirelû tîmârları paralayub kendü berâtları ile vèrilmeye emrüm yokdur

14.9.2. ber vech-i iştirâk tevcih eyleyüb südde-i sa'âdetüme irsâl eyleyeler

14.9.3. ve'l-hâşıl min ba'd tezkirelû tîmârları kendü berâtları ile vèrmege münse bulub ol huşûşa müte'ârız olmayub dâ'imâ fermân-ı şerîfüm ile 'amel eyleyeler

Ve hükm-i şerîfüm şûreti anda defterde kayd eyleyüb ve kendüsin daği defter /15/ şanduklarında hıfz édüb ve dâ'imâ mazmûn-ı şerîfi ile 'amel olalar 'alâmet-i şerîfe i'timâd kılalar^a

§15. <f.11a> Kânûnnâme

Cülûs-ı hümayûnda beglerbegilere gönderilen Kânûnnâmedür^a

15.1. bŞimdikihâlde zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı tîmârdan ba'z-ı yoldaşlıkda ve hidemât-ı hümayûnda bulunmadın senüñ tarafıñdan bilâ sebep tîmârların kaldırmağa ziyâde ile tezkireler alub ve tîmârları tekemmül iken biñ ve iki biñ akça hisşelerinden ferâgat édüb /5/ bir tîmârdan beş altı biñ [akça]^c hisşe âlub bir miqdârın berât édüb bâkî kalan hisşeye müstahîk var iken vèrilmeyüb üzerlerine derdest étdürüb müttaşıl ziyâde ile tarîhleri birbirine müte'ârib müte'added tezkireler alub bâb-ı sa'âdetümden birini^d şunub berât étdüğü gibi 'akebinden hilâf-ı kânûn bir tezkire daği ibrâz édüb bu sebeble mahlûl olan tîmârların tezkirelûsinden /10/ ma'âdâsı paralanub hurde hisşeler olub zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı tîmâra ilhâk olınmağla on onbeş biñ akçalık tîmâr kalmayub zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı tîmârdan bir nice zi'âmet ve tîmâra müşterik olanlar re'âyânüñ üzerine müstevli olmağla te'addi^e vü tecâvüzden hâlî olmayub re'âyâ muztarıb ve tîmâr ahvâline külli ihtilâl gelüb ve tezkirelû tîmârın ba'z-ı daği paralanub kendü berâtıñla tezkiresüz /15/ édüb ba'deñ defterde tezkirelû tîmâr idi dèyü bir akça ziyâde ile tezkire vèrilür

§14.9.3. ^aAB: 'alâmet-i şerîf-i 'âlem âraya i'timâd u i'tikâd kılâsın tahrîren fi evâhır-ı şehr-i rebî'i 'l-evvel sene şelâse ve erba'în ve tis'ami'e H: 'alâmet-i şerîfe i'timâd kılalar PR: kılalar tahrîren fi evâhır-ı şehr-i cemâzî 'l-âhır sene şelâs ve erba'în ve tis'ami'e T: kılalar tahrîren fi evâhır-ı zî 'l-hicce sene şelâs ve erba'în ve tis'ami'e Y: kılâsın fi 23 r(ebî'i 'l-) a(hır) sene 956

§15. ^aA: Rûm Êli beglerbegisine erbâb-ı tîmâr için gelen emr-i şerîf şûretidür F: Şûret-i kânûnnâme-i cedîd der zamân-ı sulţân Selîm-i şânî T: Şûret-i hükm-i şerîf-i mücib-i kânûnnâme

^bAT: Emîrû 'l-ümerâ' 'l-kerâm kebîrû 'l-küberâ' 'l-fehâm zû 'l-kadır ve 'l-ihtirâm şâhibü 'l-'izz ve 'l-ihtişâm el-muhtaşş be-mezîd-i 'inâyeti 'l-meliki 'l-'alâm Rûm Êli beglerbegisi Ahmed Paşa [T: Anadolı beglerbegisi Hüseyin Paşa] dâmetü ma'âlihine tevki'-i refî'-i hümayûn vâşıl olcağ ma'lûm ola ki

^cF, Ş: beş altı biñ hisşe ^dFT: tezkirenüñ birini şunub ^eA: ta'dîd

15.2. Ve 'atebe-i 'ulyâm kullarından 'ulûfeden tîmâra ve ibtidâdan tîmâr emr olınanlar hakkında şâdır olan emr-i şerîfüm yêrine varmadın vêrilen tîmâr emre muhâlif bir miqdâr ziyâde ile tevcîh olunub ve kânûna muğâyır terakki üzerine daîhi ziyâde vêrilüb bu huşûslarda kânûn-ı kadîm ri'âyet olunmamağa sebep nedür /20/ min ba'd^a zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı tîmâr hakkında sâbıkâ şâdır olan kânûn-ı kadîme muhâlif bir vaz'ı tecvîz etmeyüb

15.2.1. bir sipâhî ve za'imüñ noksanı olmadın <f. 11b> tîmârı elinde tekmîl iken mücerred ziyâde vêrilmek için vech-i meşrûh üzere hisşesinden ferâgat etdürmeyüb

15.2.2. ve mahlûl olan tîmârlara tâlib^a müstahîk var iken kimesnenüñ tîmârın kaldırmağıçün paralamayub bedelile tâlib olan müstahîkına vêrilüb

15.2.3. meger ki ma'zûllık çekmiş sipâhîye emegi ve hizmeti /5/ muhâbelesinde tîmâr vêrile bir miqdâr ziyâde vêrile veyâ bedelile tâlib bulunmayub bâkî hisşe kalub bir kimesneye noksâniçün vêrilmek lâzim gele ol vakit daîhi erbâb-ı tîmâra üçyüz ve zu'amâyâ nihâyet beşyüz akça ziyâde ola emrüm olmadın bundan ziyâde kimesneye bir akça^a veya müte'addid tezkire vêrilmeye

15.2.4. Ve 'ulûfeden ve ibtidâdan tîmâra çıkanlar hakkında daîhi emrüm yerine varmadın /10/ ve terakki hükmin ibrâz edenlere terakki üzere ziyâde vêrilmeye zirâ terakki üzerine terakki olmak kânûna muğâyirdur

15.3. Ve defterde tezkire[lü]^a olan tîmârları min ba'd paralamayub

15.3.1. bir sipâhî fevt olduğda tîmârı oğullarına vêrilmek lâzim geldükde ber vech-i iştirâk 'ale's-sevîye bir berâtla mutaşarrıf olmak üzere vêrilür

15.3.2. biri fevt olup gayri karındaşı kalmasa 'amûsı ve 'amûsı oğlın müşterek edicek tezkirelü [tîmâr]^a paralanmak /15/ lâzim gelür babaları tîmârından mahrûm kalmamağıçün iki nefer oğullarına ber vech-i iştirâk tecvîz olınmışdur biri fevt olıcak tezkirelü [tîmâr]^b paralanmak icâb ede yerine tîmâr^c tedârük olunub tezkirelü [tîmâr]^d müstahîkına vêrile 'amûsın veyâ karındaşı oğlın müşterek etmekle veyâ bir tarîk ile tezkirelü tîmârı paralanmayasın^e

15.4. ve babası ve dedesidür muhaddem vefât edüb dedesi kaydından tîmâra tâleb /20/ ola[n]^a sipâhîzâdelere on yıla varınca ve babası vefâtında on iki yaşında bulunan sipâhîzâdelere yedi yıl geçüp on toktuz yıla varınca tîmâr talebine müddet koyılub^b ol müddet içinde tîmâr talebine mülâzemetden hâli <f. 12a> olmayub veyâ sefer etmiş ola zamân geçmişdür dinilmeyüb kânûn üzere tîmâr vêrile dëyü kânûnnâme-i

§15.2. ^aA: nedür buyurdum ki min ba'd FT: nedür gerekdür ki min ba'd

§15.2.2. ^aAT: tîmârlara bedelile tâlib

§15.2.3. ^aF: bir akça terakki veyâ

§15.3. ^aAFT, Ş: tezkire olan

§15.3.2. ^aF, Ş: tezkirelü paralanmak ^bF, Ş: tezkirelü paralanmak ^cF: yerine ahır tîmâr ^dF, Ş: tezkirelü müstahîkına ^eF: paralanmayub hâzer edesin

§15.4. ^aAFT, Ş: olasın ^bAFT: konulub

hümâyûnumda mestûrdur babaları mütekâ'üd olmağa ve babaları vefâtındanşoñra iki nefer oğulları tîmâr da olub

15.4.1. tîmâra müstahîk olmağa müntazır olan sipâhîzâde müstahîk oldukları zamânda^a kezâlik yedi yıla varınca /5/ müddet-i mülâzemetleri muqarrer iken ba'z-ı sipâhîzâdelere tîmâr tevcih olunub tezkireleri geldükde babaları berâtı merhûmân ceddüm Sultân Selîm hân ve babam Sultân Süleymân hân zamânlarında olmayub merhûm Sultân Bâyezîd hândan seksen ve toxsân yıllık ve daği 'atîk berâtlar ibrâz eder oldılar ol miqdâr [eyyâmuñ]^b mürûrında babaları berâtları tecdîd olmamağa^c ve bu zamâna degin /10/ kalmağa sipâhîzâdeliklerinde nev'a istibâh olmağın müşarileyhumânûñ zamân-ı sa'âdetlerinde babaları berâtı olmayanı sipâhîzâde 'add edüb tîmâr verilmeye aślâ emrüm yoğdur ânuñ gibiler tîmârdan qalub kâsibler silkine münselik olanlardandur veyâ bir kez berâtıle tîmâr duğûl etmek ister olabada geregi gibi ihtimâm olına

15.4.2. Ve tîmâr tevcih olınan /15/ ba'z-ı sipâhîzâdelerün babaları berâtı zâ'i' olmağa babaları kaydın tezkire zahrına yazıldukda ekser tarîhi toğuz yüz otuz altı tarîhinden^a muqaddem bulunur ol tarîhe gelince sipâhîzâdelerün ibtidâ berâtı beglerbegi tarafından verilügelmeğe bâb-ı sa'âdetümde olan rûznâmede kayda mürâca'at lâzım gelmeye dëyü nev'â bir hîle mi olur

15.4.2.1. huşûş-ı mezbûr mağall-i /20/ şübhe olduğı ecilden babaları kaydında geregi gibi diğğat edüb âhırûñ kaydı ile ecnebîler sipâhîzâde âdına tîmâra duğûl etmesinden şaķınub

15.4.2.2. ve mağall-i himmetden tîmâra duğûl edenler tîmârların tezkirelü etdürmeğe çalışub kendü isimlerine muvâffık kayd bulub ve berâtumuz zâ'i'dür dëyü kaydların tezkireleri <f. 12b> zahrına yazdurub zıkr olan tarîhden muqaddem tarîh kodurmağa berât-ı hümâyûnuma tezkire ibrâz ederler müttasıl bu tarîhden ecnebîler tîmâra duğûl eder oldı imdi emrüm olmadın mağall-ı himmetden kimesneye tîmâr verilmemesinden^a hâzer edüb ibrâz etdikleri berâtların ellerinden âlub mühürleyüb 'atebe-i 'ulyâma /5/ gönderesin ki ol tarîk mesdûd ola

15.5. Ve bir sipâhî ki pîr fânî ola^a tîmârın oğullarına bildürse oğlunuñ biri fevt olmağa mütekâ'üd hayâtında iken bir oğluna daği emrüm olmadın tîmâr verilmez

15.5.1. zirâ babası hayâtında tîmâr alan emr-i şerîfile başqa sipâhî olmuş olur

15.5.2. babası vefâtındanşoñra bâķî kalan oğullarından iki nefer tîmâra müstahîk olur

15.5.3. hayâtında olan mütekâ'üdüñ /10/ oğluna emrüm olmadın tîmâr verilmeyiz

§15.4.1. ^aA: zamâna dek

§15.4.1. ^bAT, Ş: atanuñ ^cF: tecdîd olmamağa sebep nedür

§15.4.2. ^aAFT: toğuz yüz otuz altı recebinden muqaddem

§15.4.2.2. ^aAFT: verilmemesinden ve sâbîķa tarîķla beglerbegi berâtıle tîmâra duğûl edenlere mağlûl tîmâr ve hisse tîmâr verilmemesinden hâzer

§15.5. ^aAT: pîr fânî ola tîmârından ferâğat edüb min ba'd kendüye tîmâr verilmemek şartı ile tîmârın

15.6. ^ave be-nevbet tîmâr taşarruf ederken vefât edenlerüñ oğullarına yine be-nevbet tîmâr vèrüb müstakıl eşkün tîmârın tevcih [étmeyüb]^b

Bi'l-cümle zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı tîmâr ve sipâhîzâdeler umûrında olan fermân-ı celîlî'l-kadrimi tamâm mer'î dutub aşlâ ve kaç'a kânûn-ı kadîme ve emrûme muhâlif bir hûşûşa ruḥṣat vèrmeyüb /15/ dâ'imâ mazmûn-ı sa'âdet-meymûnî ile 'âmil olub ve şûretini hıfz^c étdürüb hilâf-ı emr iş olmaḡdan ġâyet ihtirâz ve ihtiyât édesin ki eyyâm-ı sa'âdet-i hümâyûnumda ve hengâm-ı devlet^d-maḡrûnumda ahvâl-i sipâh u re'âyâ muntazım u mazbû^e ola şöyle ki bu tenbîhât u te'kidât ma'lûmuñ olduḡdan soñra 'adem-i ihtimâmuñla hilâf-ı emr bir hûşûş vâḡi' ola mes'ûl olursın /20/ bilmiş olasıñ^f

§16. <f. 13a> Rûm Êlinde yazılan emirde bu kayd yazıla

^aDefter-i mufaṣṣaldan ve hâric ez defter bir ferdüñ tîmârına kurâ ve mezâri' ilhâk étmeyüb ve kendü berâtuñla tevcih étmeyesin ki mezâra'uñ maḡşûlleri mevḡûfa zabt olaşı kurâ olınugelmişdür hâşılı mîrîye /5/ 'â'id olana müte'ârız^b olmayasın

§17. Vilâyet-i Rûm ve Zû'l-kâdırluya yazılan emirlerde bu kayd bile yazıla

Defter-i mufaṣṣalda muḡayyed olan mâlikânelerden ba'zınuñ şâḡibi ḡalmayub ve ba'z-ı hîn-i taḡrîrde deftere meskût ḡalmışdır ânuñ gibi maḡlûlât /10/ cümle mevḡûf olur şol malikâne ki taḡrîrde tîmâra yazılmaya ve icmâlde tîmâr olmaya fermân-ı hümâyûnum olmadın kimesneye vèrilmek kaç'â câ'iz degüldür şimdiye deḡin kimesne berât daḡi étmîş ise ânuñ taḡvîlinden âḡıra tevcih étmeyesin maḡlûl olıcak ġerü mevḡûf ḡalub malikâne ve maḡlûlât mufaṣṣale bir ferdüñ tîmârına ilhâk étmeyesin

Temmetü'l-kânûn-ı'l-'oṣmânîye

Der zamân-ı merhûm Sulṭân Selîm ḡân tâbe-şerâhu bin Sulṭân Süleymân ḡân el-vaḡi' fi sene şelâş ve şemânîn ve tis'ami'e'l-ḡicretü'n-nebeviye

§15.6. ^aA: omits ve be-nevbet tîmâr taşarruf ederken vefât edenlerüñ oğullarına yine be-nevbet tîmâr vèrüb müstakıl eşkün tîmârın tevcih étmeyüb

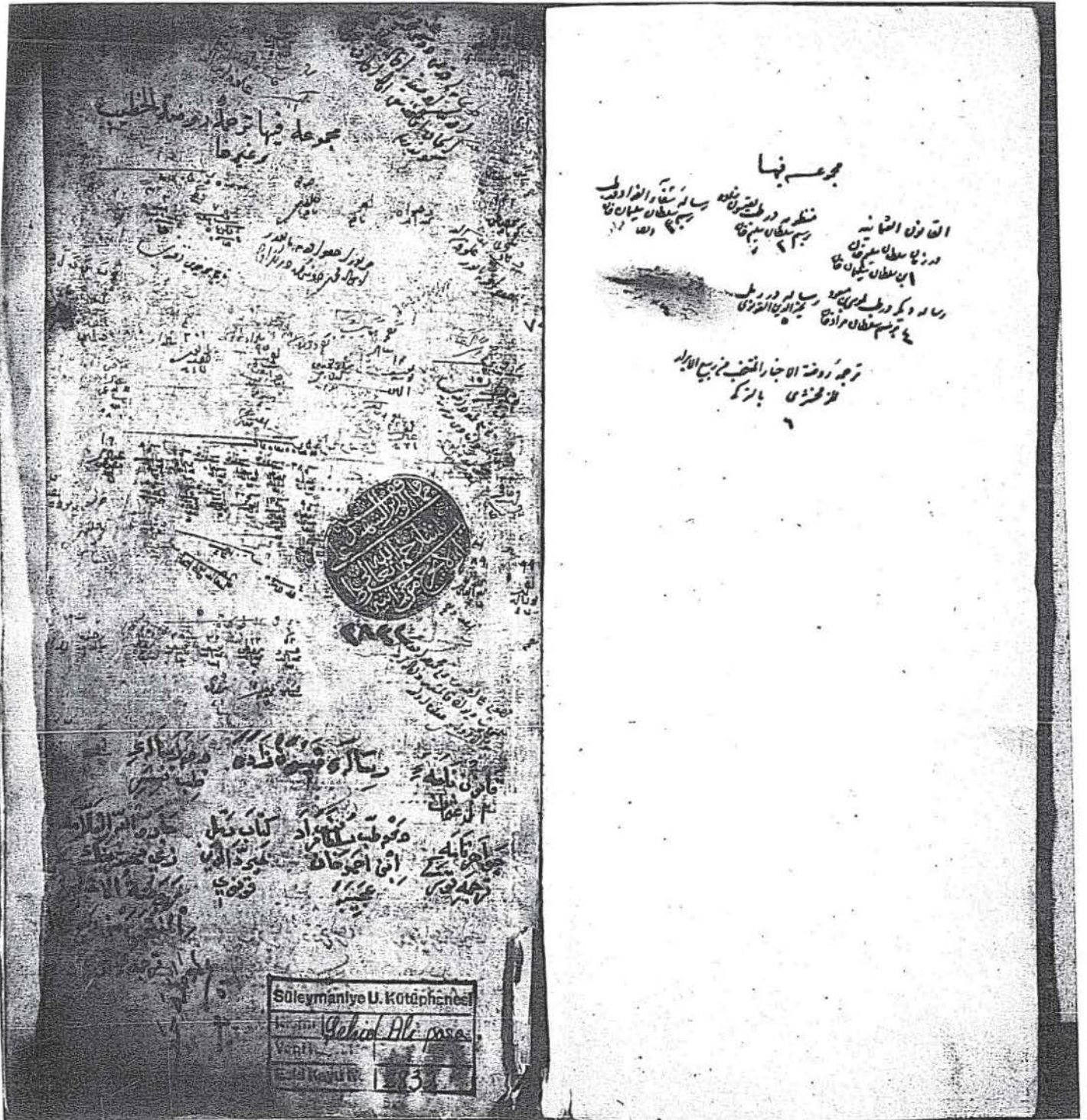
^bF, Ş: édüb ^cAFT: şûretin anda olan defter sabt édüb 'aynı ile bu ḡükm-i hümâyûnumı defter şandukında hıfz

^dhengâm-ı selâmet-i 'izzet-maḡrûnumda

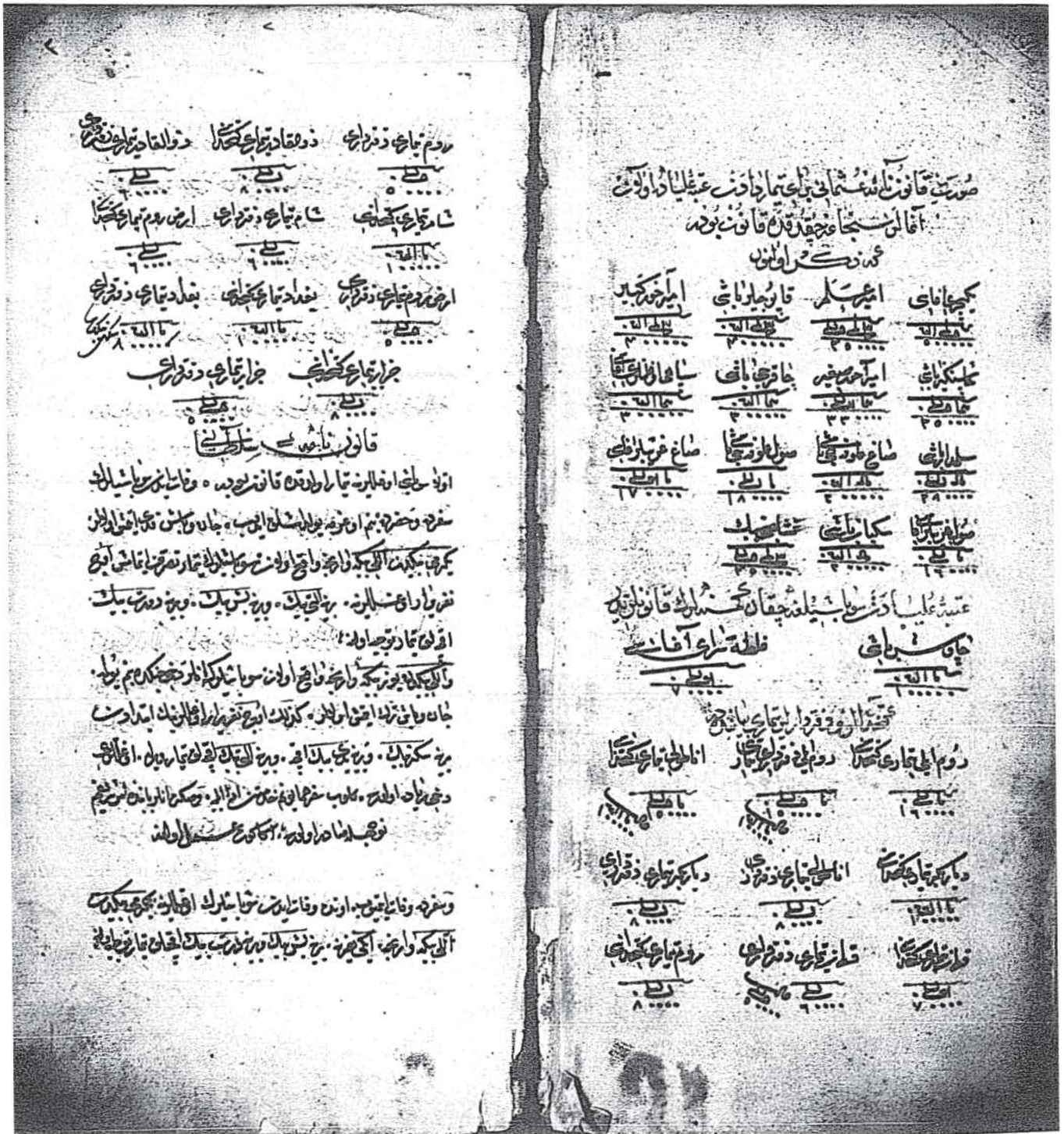
^eA: mazbû^t u muntazım oluna taḡrîren fi evâ'il-i şehr-i muḡarremi'l-ḡarâm sene sitte ve seb'in ve tis'ami'e

^fT: şöyle bilesin 'alâmet-i şerîfe i'timâd ḡılasın taḡrîren fi evâsıt-ı şehr-i muḡarremi'l-ḡarâm sene sitte ve seb'in ve tis'ami'et be maḡam-ı Ḳoṣṭantîniye

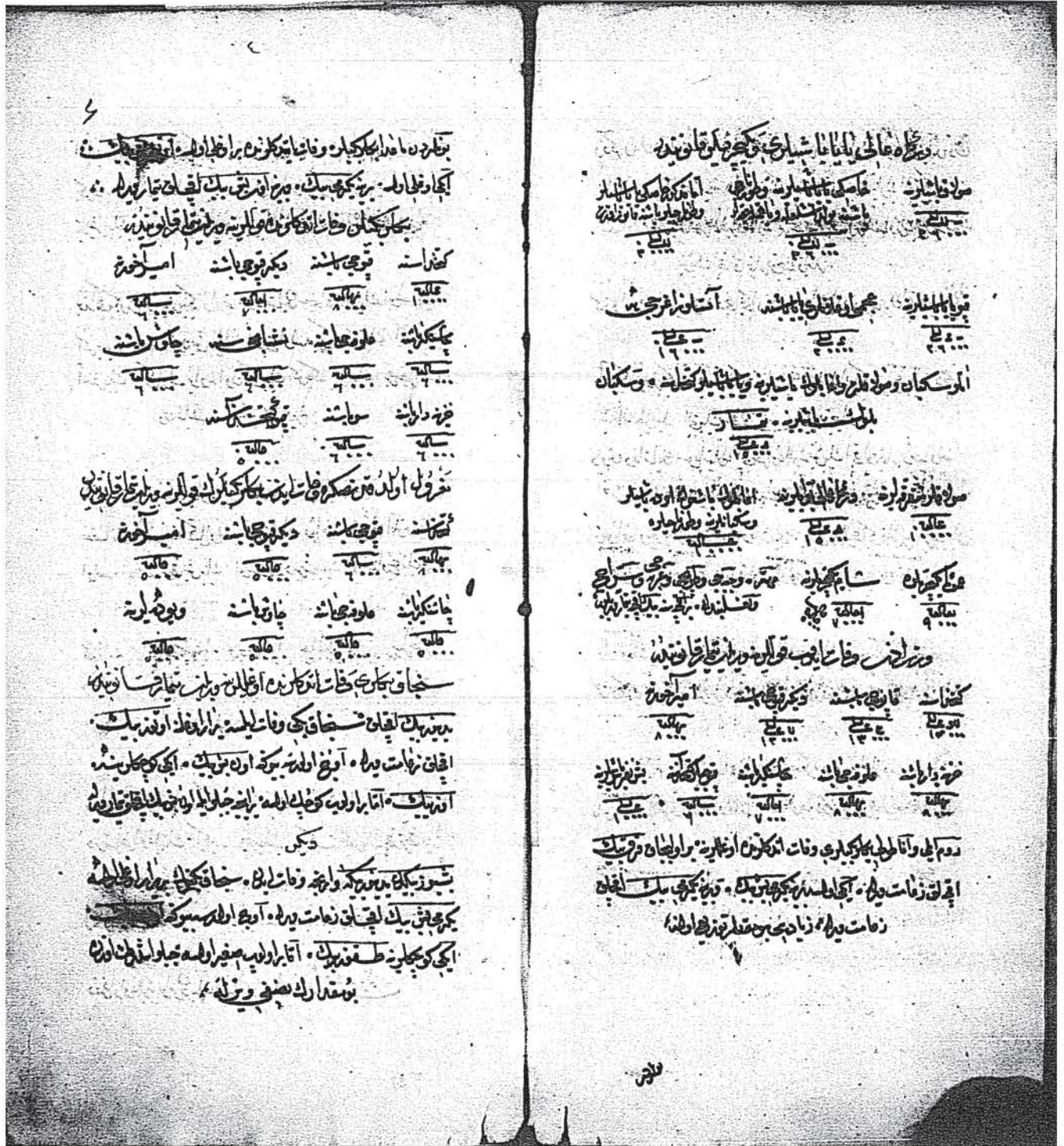
§16. ^aA: §16 follows §15.5.3. ^bA: 'â'id olan maḡşûle müte'ârız

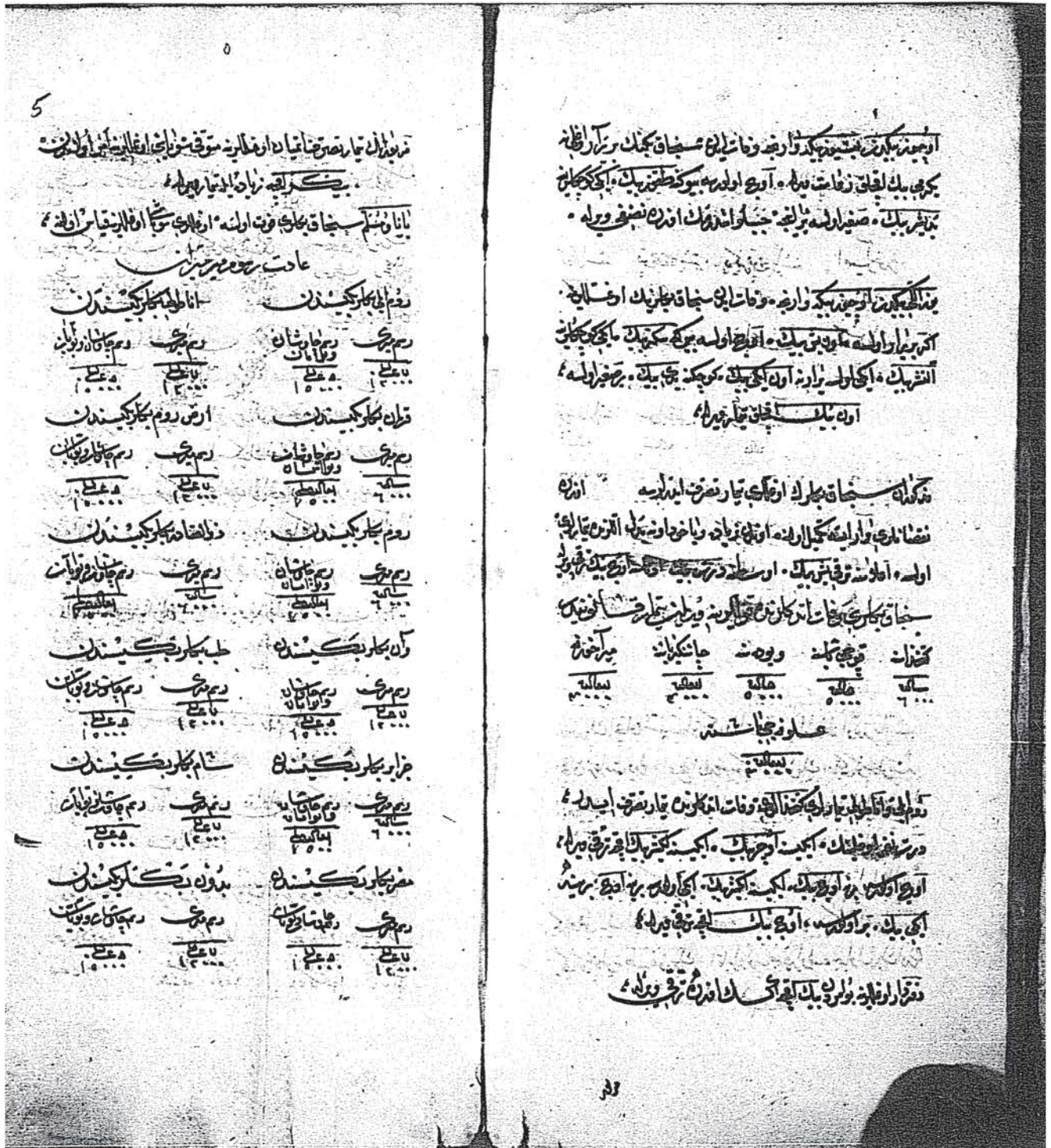


Şehid Ali Paşa 2832: Şûret-i kânûnnâme-i 'Osmanî berây-ı tîmâr dâden [1^a]



[illegible][illegible]





6

یاد و دیوار و بنا به رسم بنده ذی قیاس
برای کارهای بیجا

رسم بنده کشتی
برای

عادی رسم بر رسم در کارها

روم ایلی و آناطلی و مصر و شام و دیار بحر و دکن و ازلان
بحار بحال که تری بر کس نه و بر سه ایمل ایمل اریل بیست نقد
در کار آن و بر فرقی نیست و بر و بر نه باشد یک نقد و بر نه
سایر نه نقد و بر یک نقد و بر یک نقد و بر یک نقد و بر یک نقد
ارنیک و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل
و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل

۱۱۹	۱۰۷	۹۵	۸۳	۷۱	۵۹	۴۷	۳۵
۱۱۹	۱۰۷	۹۵	۸۳	۷۱	۵۹	۴۷	۳۵
۱۱۹	۱۰۷	۹۵	۸۳	۷۱	۵۹	۴۷	۳۵
۱۱۹	۱۰۷	۹۵	۸۳	۷۱	۵۹	۴۷	۳۵

در کارهای بیجا

۱۱۹	۱۰۷	۹۵	۸۳	۷۱	۵۹	۴۷	۳۵
۱۱۹	۱۰۷	۹۵	۸۳	۷۱	۵۹	۴۷	۳۵
۱۱۹	۱۰۷	۹۵	۸۳	۷۱	۵۹	۴۷	۳۵
۱۱۹	۱۰۷	۹۵	۸۳	۷۱	۵۹	۴۷	۳۵

مغرب و شرق و بحر و کشتی
رسم بنده کشتی
برای کارهای بیجا

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وادی بکار و
رسم بنده کشتی
برای کارهای بیجا

عس بر ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل

رسم بنده کشتی
برای کارهای بیجا

یک ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل
عس و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل و بر نه ایمل

عادی رسم بر رسم در کارها

رسم بنده کشتی
برای کارهای بیجا

رسم بنده کشتی
برای کارهای بیجا

[illegible][illegible]

و باین سپاهی تیار توبیا و ادرین بوقلامه و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
نظر ایوب نامقا و ایوب ارم ادرین تیار مستحق ایوب ادرین مستحق ایوب
و سبب سعاده ادرین ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
تغیض ایوب ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
و باین ایوب ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین

و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
و باین ایوب ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
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و باین ایوب ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
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و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین

تاریخ

11

تاریخ ایوب ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
و باین ایوب ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
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و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
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و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین

و باین ایوب ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
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و باین ایوب ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
و باین ایوب ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین
و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین تیار و قهره و سبب عریض و ادرین

تاریخ آن تکلیف یکی بجز زیاد و بر ملک اینچنین وجه شروع اوزن
حقه شدن فراغت مدیوب و محلول اولان تیار لوه طالب مستحق
مغزول و بار کن کس نه یک تیارین قالدی بچسپان لبوب بدلیه طالب
اولان مستحقه و بر لبوب بگره مغزولی بکس سپاهی یکی و بچسپان
مغزول مستحق تیار و بر لبوب بر مقدار زیاد و بر لبوب و باندلیه طالب و لبوب
با بقچه طالب بکسینه نقصان بچسپان و بر ملک لازم که اول وقت دهی
از باب تیان اچوز و ز غایه نهایت بشوز بچه زیاد اولان اسره
اولان بوزنه زیاد کسینه بچسپان و یا مستحقه بکسینه و بر لبوب

و بوزنه و باندان تیاره چقا تا بحدود دهی اوزن برینه و از مدینه
و ترقه بکسپان از اوزن و ترقه اوزنه زیاد و بر لبوب و بچسپان از مدینه
اولان قافله مغزول و بچسپان و بکسینه اولان تیار و بر لبوب و بچسپان
بر سپاهی فوت و از لوه تیاره و بکسینه و بر ملک لازم که بکسینه و بچسپان
طی التی بر بکسینه و بچسپان و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه
قرمانی تالنه و بچسپان و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه
لازم کلور یا بکسینه و بچسپان و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه
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این برینه تیاره و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه
قرمانی تالنه و بچسپان و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه
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تیاره و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه

بکسینه

12

اولان و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه و بکسینه
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ظہرین یازد و رُب ذکر اولان تاریخین مقدم تاریخ خود رمضان
برائت های یونہ تذکرہ ارازا آمدلو مستقل بطریقہ اخباریاریان و قول
ایدا و ایچ ایچ انرم اولدین محل حمد کنہ یار و یارہ سندن
حد زایدین ارازا آمدلری برا تارین الکرین الوب ہر لوب عبد علیا
موند سر کہ اولیون سید و اولد ہر سپاہی کہ بر فانی کا
تیارین اوغلارینہ بلدرسہ اوغلنک بری فوت اولصلہ سقا اعد
جوتن ایکس نرا غلہ و خجائرم اولدین یار و یارینو زبرا بابا جی جوتن
تیار اولان امر سرینہ باشہ سپاہیانرا اولور بابا جی وفاتد شکر
باقہ قالان اوغلرین ایکس نرا غلہ و خجائرم اولور جوتن اولان سقا
اوغل انرم اولدین یار و یارینو
و تربت یار تصرف ایدین وفات ایدنرک اوغلارینہ یونہ
یار و یارین مستقل اشکون یارین و خجائرم بابا جی جوتن
یار و یارین زرا و امر و یارین اولان فانی جلیل الہد رحام و یار و یارین
اشکون و قطعا فانی و یار و یارین رضی رضت و یار و یارین
فانی و یارین سعادت و یارین اید فانی اولوب و یار و یارین خط الہد
خلافانرا ایشا و یارین فانی احرار و یارین سکہ ایام حسنہ
ہایرین و یار و یارین فانی و یارین اید فانی و یار و یارین
و یار و یارین فانی و یارین فانی و یار و یارین فانی و یار و یارین
مقدم تمام کملہ خلافانرا برخصوی واقع الہد سول الہد
بشا اولدین

ॐ

[illegible]

ولیت روز و وقت احادیث یازده
امروز بوقید بیلد یازده

دفعه مفصله مقیده اولان ملکها نه لردن بعضنک صاحب قالیجب
و بعضیان غیره دفعه سکوت قائلند آفونکجه کمال اولان
جمله موقوف اولوز شول ملکها که غیره بیان یازیلده و احوال ان
تیار اولیلده فرمانهای اولان تکمیل و تزیین و تکمیل قطعا جایز و حکما
شدیه دکن کس برات و دهی بمقابلیه آفونکجه اولان آفره و تزیین
مطلوب الیجی کبر و موقوف قالیجب ملکها و حکومت مفصله
بفرزد که تیاره الحاق میزند تمامه تانی

العثمانية وذلک من عند سلطان محمد خاں

بسطه اتمه خزان الواقع في سنة

تلائے و غانیہ علیہ

المحرر الخ