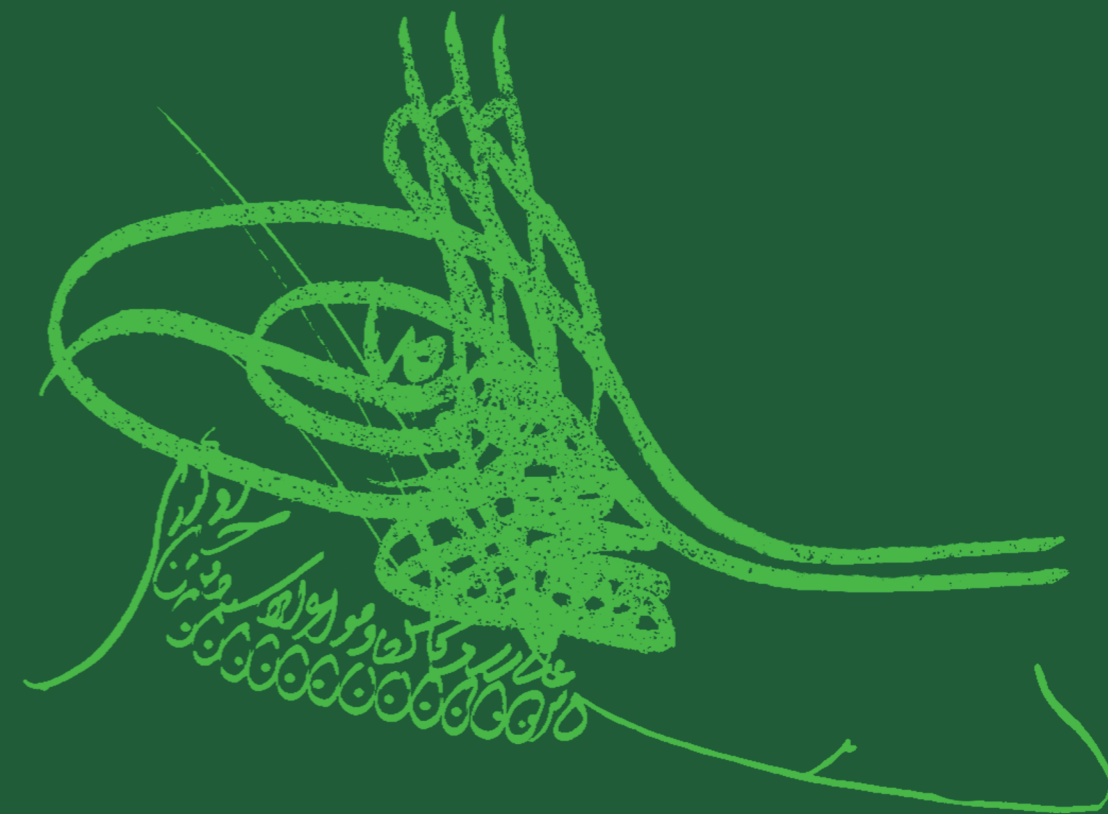


The study of borders, frontiers, and borderlands has gained momentum after 1989, and the current refugee crisis has been redefining the borders of Europe and the idea of Europe itself. This volume, a collection of essays studying the Ottoman borders in Europe and elsewhere from various aspects, is a welcome contribution to the Ottomanist historiography, which, conventionally, has been focusing on the so-called heartlands of the Empire, and much through “state-centered” approaches. The views from the border provinces, offered by many good specialists in this volume, can offer new insights into Ottoman history and historiography. At the same time, the volume contributes to the study of the Western Balkans in particular, making extensive uses of unpublished sources and bibliography.

Dr. Elias Kolovos, University of Crete

Life on the Ottoman Border  
Essays in Honour of Nenad Moačanin



# Life on the Ottoman Border

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Edited by Vjeran Kursar

**PF press**



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VJERAN KURSAR

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**ZAGREB**



*Professor Nenad Moačanin*  
*Photo: Vjeron Kursar*

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## INTRODUCTION

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by Vjeran Kursar

The articles written by friends, colleagues, former students, and one current doctoral student collected in this celebratory volume dedicated to the doyen of Ottoman studies in Croatia, Professor Nenad Moačanin, are divided into three main chapters entitled “Ottoman Bosnia, Turkish Croatia, and Turkey in Europe,” “Distant Borders and Regions,” and “Glimpses Beyond the Ottoman Border: Habsburg Croatia and the Republic of Dubrovnik.” The first section consists of the articles predominantly dedicated to the main fields of interests of Nenad Moačanin, namely social and economic history of the Ottoman Empire, with special focus on Ottoman Bosnia, the Balkans and Central Europe, as well as the Ottoman borderland in Croatia. Several studies in this section discuss an issue of organization of Ottoman border provinces from various perspectives. In the article “Serving King and Sultan: Pavao Grgurić and his Role on the Hungaro-Ottoman Frontier in Southern Bosnia, c. 1463-1477” Michael Urisnus analyzes the situation on the Hungaro-Ottoman frontier in Southern Bosnia in the first decade following the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia on the example of a local nobleman. He raises important questions of transition and accommodation with the Ottomans. Géza Dávid meticulously examines lives and careers of the Ottoman governors (*sancakbegis*) of the border province of Požega in Slavonija during the 16th century in the article “The *Sancakbegis* of Pozsega (Požega, Pojeđa) in the 16th Century”. Fazileta Hafizović surveys peculiarities of Ottoman organization of another Slavonian border province of Pakrac on the example of the *nahiye* of Kontovac in the article “Nahiyes of the Pakrac Sanjak: the Unknown Nahiye Kontovac.” In a similar manner, in the article “Settlement of Lika and Three Ottoman Nahiyes: Novi, Medak and Bilaj Barlete in the 16th Century,” Kornelija Jurin Starčević examines social and economic structure of three *nahiyes* in Ottoman Lika, a border region in central Croatia. In the article “Ocaklık Timar in the Sanjak of Smederevo” Hatice Oruç draws attention to the fact that the institution of hereditary *ocaklık timars* existed not only in Bosnia, as usually thought, but in the Sanjak of Smederevo in today’s Serbia century and a half later as well, due to specific conditions existing in the newly reconquered sanjak. Machiel Kiel examines the vivid history of an Ottoman Muslim town in Ottoman Greece in the article “Margariti/Margaliç: Emergence, Development and Downfall of a Muslim Town at the Edge of the Islamic World (Greek Epirus).” The remaining articles in this section cover various topics from the fields of social and cultural history. Vjeran Kursar enquires into an issue of inclusion of Bosnian Franciscans into the Ottoman administrative system via presenting their representatives with



Ottoman robes of honour (*kaftans* and *binişes*), and Franciscan exemption from sumptuary laws in the article “Monks in Kaftans. Bosnian Franciscans, Robes of Honor, and Ottoman Sumptuary Laws.” In the article “Hasan Esîrî’s *Mi’yârü’d-Düvel ve Misbârü’l-Milel* as a Source for the History of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina” Anđelko Vlašić and Okan Büyüktapu discuss the importance of this newly discovered 18<sup>th</sup> century manuscript for the history of the region. Ekrem Čaušević discusses the issue of the transfer of knowledge on the example of Turkological works of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Bosnian Franciscan author and copyist Fra Mate Mikić-Kostrčanac in the article “Fra Mate Mikić-Kostrčanac and the Turkish Language: Manuscripts, Copyists, and the Transfer of Knowledge in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century.” Slobodan Ilić examines early Turkish readings of Hurufî corpus canonicum and exegetical attempts of the second generation of Fazl Allah Astarabadi’s disciples in the article “‘Abd al-Majîd b. Firishte (d. 1459/60) and the Early Turkish Reading of *Ḥurûfî Corpus Canonicum*.” In the article “The Annular Eclipse of the Sun of 7 September 1820 – a Report in *Tārîḥ-i Cevdet*” Claudia Römer deals with astronomy in late Ottoman period on the example of the eclipse report from the well-known “History” by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha. This section ends with the Tatjana Paić Vukić’s article “Presenting the Ottoman Heritage: An Exhibition of Islamic Manuscripts in Zagreb” which discusses the ways of the presentation of the Ottoman heritage in Croatia, based on the example of an exhibition of Islamic manuscripts held in Zagreb in 2014.

The second section entitled “Distant Borders and Regions” brings three articles which are geographically remote from the Western Balkans and Central Europe, such as Crimea, Syria, and Palestine, but nevertheless fit well into the conception of the volume by offering a possibility for comparison of distant regions. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont analyzes a peculiar report of the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi on Crimea, another borderland with exotic people and strange customs, in the article “*Amœnitates Tauridicæ: La Crimée ou la douceur de vivre selon Evliyâ Çelebî*.” Linda Darling examines Ottoman governance in Syria as a frontier province in the decades after its conquest through the *mühimme defterleri* (registers of “important affairs”), and questions resource extraction in the article “Resource Extraction in a Newly Conquered Province: Ottoman Syria in the Mid-Sixteenth Century.” Mahmoud Yazbak deals with the issue of penetration of urban capital into the countryside of Jaffa, the rising Palestinian port city, in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the article “Penetration of Urban Capital into the Palestinian Countryside: The Beginnings, Jaffa in the 1830s.”

The third section “Glimpses Beyond the Ottoman Border: Habsburg Croatia and the Republic of Dubrovnik” contains five articles which provide an important insight into the situation on “the other side.” Borislav Grgin analyzes the Croatian-Ottoman relations from 1458 to 1527 focusing on armed conflicts, propaganda

and self-representation, negotiations, migrations and exchange of goods and ideas in the article “The Ottoman-Croatian Border at the End of the Middle Ages.” Vesna Miović examines unofficial methods of self-protection of the authorities of the Republic of Dubrovnik, the sultan’s vassal, against their enemies from the Ottoman side in the article “From Tears to Poison: Ragusan Dealings with the Enemies from the Ottoman Neighbourhood.” Zrinka Blažević presents the emotionological analysis of selected Latin diplomatic reports written by Antun Vrančić (1551–1617) and Franciscus Zay (1498–1570), the Habsburg envoys to Sultan Süleyman I and his Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha, in the article “Inter spem et desperationem: Diplomatic Emotions of the Habsburg Envoys at the Ottoman Court (1553–1557).” In the article “On the Economic History of Zagreb in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century” Hrvoje Petrić surveys economic activities in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Zagreb as both the key player in Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia and the border town. The last article in the volume is “Arms Race on the Habsburg-Ottoman Border in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century: Arsenal, Small Firearms, Artillery and Ammunition on the Croatian and Slavonian Military Border” written by Nataša Štefanec, who examines development of the system of storage, distribution and management of arms and ammunition on the Habsburg side of the border in Croatia and Slavonia.

The volume also includes a biographical overview of Professor Močanin’s scientific and educational career at the beginning, and the bibliography at the end of the volume.

As a person who greatly benefited from acquaintance with Nenad Hoca in different stages of life and career, starting as his student back in mid-1990s, a decade later becoming his assistant, and eventually his junior colleague and friend, I am more than happy to be able to present him with a volume with articles written by his old friends and renowned scholars of Ottoman history, his colleagues from Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of University of Zagreb, as well as his former students and later associates.

I am thankful to the reviewers of the volume Aleksandar Fotić and Elias Kolovos. In particular I would like to thank my colleague Kornelija Jurin Starčević, another former student of Nenad Hoca, for her contribution by reviewing and commenting one of the articles.



# NENAD MOAČANIN, THE DOYEN OF OTTOMAN STUDIES IN CROATIA

---

by Vjeran Kursar

Professor Nenad Moačanin was born in Zagreb, Croatia, on March 1, 1949. It seems that family background may have influenced his career choices. His father Fedor Moačanin was a museum curator – director, as well as historian, an expert on the Habsburg military border in Croatia, Vlachs, and the history of Serbs in Croatia.<sup>1</sup> The Moačanins are a family of Serbian Orthodox Christian origin settled in Zagreb since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with a long family tradition extending to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and the great flight of the Serbs from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg territory during the War of the Holy League against the Ottomans (1683-1699). The name of the place of the refuge, Mohács (*Croatian* Mohač, *Turkish* Mohaç) in today's Hungary, became the family name – Moačanin, “one from Mo(h)áč.”

Like his father Fedor, Nenad Moačanin graduated from the Classical Gymnasium in Zagreb, where he, among other subjects, mastered Latin and Ancient Greek languages. In 1972, Moačanin graduated with BA in History from Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. In order to widen knowledge and obtain adequate linguistic tools for future research, in the following year Moačanin moved to neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina, back then another fellow republic in Yugoslav federation, to start his second BA programme at University of Sarajevo. The obvious choice were Oriental Studies, with Turkish language and literature as major (A), Arabic language and literature as minor (B), and Persian as the third subject (C). An ear for languages ran in the family as well.

In addition to the so-called classical Latin and Greek languages, and fluency in the main European languages – above all the trinity of English, French, and German, the father and the son developed interest in and mastery of exotics, too. It seems that only the Second World War prevented Fedor Moačanin from mastering the Oriental studies and Arabic, Persian, and Turkish linguistics. As an ethnic Serb he had to flee the country during the fascist Nazi-alligned Ustaša regime in Croatia in 1941, while his teacher, the Russian emigree Aleksei Olesnicki, the head of the Oriental Collection of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the adjunct

---

<sup>1</sup> On Fedor Moačanin see: Ivo Goldstein and Mario Strecha, “Fedor Moačanin (1918-1997),” *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 30 (1997): 359-360; Nataša Štefanec, “Fedor Moačanin kao povjesničar Vojne Krajine,” in: Fedor Moačanin, *Radovi iz povijesti Vojne krajine*, ed. by Nataša Štefanec (Zagreb: Srpski kulturno društvo “Prosvjeta,” 2016), 9-26.

professor of Oriental languages at the University of Zagreb, died of fear for his life during the Allied bombardment of Zagreb in 1943. Nevertheless, later as the curator of the Judaica collection in the Museum of Arts and Crafts, Fedor Moačanin taught himself Hebrew, instead. The origin of Nenad Moačanin's mother, Neda Moačanin (born Šarčević), from the Slavonian town of Đakovo, may have determined the interest of her son in Ottoman Slavonia.

During 1975 and 1976, Nenad Moačanin was mastering Arabic language in Algeria with the Algerian government's stipend. Spoken Turkish Moačanin was mastering for years on numerous shorter or longer research visits to Ottoman archives and libraries in Turkey.

After graduating from University of Sarajevo in 1979, Moačanin returned to Zagreb to enter the graduate programme of Early Modern History at Faculty of Humanities and Social Studies. During 1980 and 1981 he was in Munich specializing in the fields of Turkish and Ottoman studies at Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen Ostens sowie für Turkologie. In 1983, he obtained MA with the thesis entitled *Administrative Division and the People of the Sandjak of Požega* ("Upravna podjela i stanovništvo Požeškog sandžaka"). In 1990, Moačanin graduated with the doctoral dissertation entitled *Towns in Turkish Slavonia and Srijem* ("Gradovi u turskoj Slavoniji i Srijemu"), under the supervision of Professor Milan Vasić, one of the well renowned Yugoslav Ottomanists of the time. This represented the beginning of the decades-long research of the history of Ottoman Slavonija, which was crowned with three monographs – *Požega i Požeština u sklopu Osmanlijskoga carstva (1537.-1691.) [Požega and the Region of Požega within the Framework of the Ottoman Empire (1537-1691)]* (Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap, 1997), *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine [Slavonija and Srijem during the period of the Ottoman rule]* (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2001), and *Town and Country on the Middle Danube* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006).

Moačanin started his professional career at Institute for Historical Sciences of Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (today's Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts) in Zagreb (1978-1992). In 1992, he joined Department of History of Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, beginning as an associate, soon to be promoted to the rank of assistant professor (1993-1998), then associate professor (1998-2002), and eventually professor (2002-2019). Moačanin was a member of Croatian History Programme of Department of History. He served a mandate as the head of the Department and the head of Croatian History Programme. In addition, Moačanin was collaborating with Turkish Studies Programme of the Department of Oriental and Hungarian Studies (today's Department of Hungarian, Turkish and Judaic Studies), where he taught courses "Islamic Civilization" and "Ottoman Palaeography and Diplomats" from 1994 to 2017. According to Pro-

fessor Ekrem Čaušević, the founder of Turkish Studies Programme (in 1994), and its long-term head, “the foundation of Turkish Studies Programme was above all the idea of Nenad Moačanin, and therefore he should be remembered as the conceptual originator of this programme.”

The link between history and Turkish studies that Professor Moačanin embodied through his educational and scientific work, that is, a combination of historical science with a strong linguistic component, which is essential for the field of Ottoman studies, proved to be a sound foundation for the future of Ottoman studies in Zagreb, too. Today, two decades after the establishment of Turkish Studies programme, Zagreb figures as a regional centre for Turkish and Ottoman studies. Zagreb was the venue for several international congresses organized by the Ottomanist team. In 2008, CIEPO 18 (Comité International d’Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes) conference attended by 160 presenters from 18 countries was organized in Zagreb, in cooperation with Turkish Studies Programme and Professor Ekrem Čaušević. The proceedings of the conference were published as two separate volumes in Berlin and Edirne edited by Nenad Moačanin, Ekrem Čaušević and Vjeran Kursar.<sup>2</sup> A workshop entitled “The Latest Edition of Evliya Çelebi’s Seyahatname: The Account of New Insights” was organized at Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb in 2016 as part of the project “Evliya Çelebi and Croats - New Perspectives” led by Professor Moačanin and financed by Croatian Endowment for Science. The workshop was attended by leading specialists in the field, including Robert Dankoff, Hakan Karateke, Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Nuran and Semih Tezcan, and Slobodan Ilić, among others. Proceedings of the workshop, edited by Vjeran Kursar, Nenad Moačanin and Kornelija Jurin Starčević, were published in Zagreb in 2021.<sup>3</sup> Another major Ottomanist conference, International Congress of Ottoman Social and Economic History (ICOSEH), locally organized by Vjeran Kursar and Nenad Moačanin, is re-scheduled for July 2022 at Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, and will be attended by 120 Ottomanists from around the world.

Nenad Moačanin gave numerous invited lectures at international educational and research centres, such as Ankara University, Middle East Technical University in Ankara, University of California - Riverside, American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) in Istanbul, Institute for Oriental Studies of University of Vienna,

<sup>2</sup> Ekrem Čaušević, Nenad Moačanin, Vjeran Kursar, eds., *Perspectives on Ottoman Studies (Papers from the 18th CIEPO)* (Berlin: Lit Verlag 2010); Ekrem Čaušević, Nenad Moačanin, Vjeran Kursar, eds., *Osmanlı Sanatı, Mimarisi ve Edebiyatına Bakış, 18. CIEPO Sempozyumu* (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi, 2011).

<sup>3</sup> Vjeran Kursar, Nenad Moačanin, Kornelija Jurin Starčević, eds., *Evliya Çelebi in the Borderlands: New Insights and Novel Approaches to the Seyahatname (Western Balkans and Iran Sections)* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2021).

and Central European University in Budapest. During spring semester of 2002, he gave a series of lectures on Croatian history at Department of History of Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of University of Ljubljana.

Nenad Moačanin was the project manager of two scientific projects financed by Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sports: “Croato-Turcica” (1997-2006) and “Turkish Sources for Demographic Picture of Croatian Area and surroundings” (2007-2013). He was also the project manager of the project “Evliya Chelebi and Croats: New Perspectives” (2015-2017), financed by Croatian Endowment for Science.

Professor Moačanin is without doubt the most important Croatian Ottomanist. He continues in the footsteps of his predecessors like Ćiro Truhelka or Aleksej Olesnicki, who earlier attempted to establish “Oriental” or Turkish Studies at University of Zagreb. Moačanin’s achievements in the fields of research and education in Croatia are unparalleled, so it is possible to say that he is the founder of modern Croatian Ottoman studies.

The most important Moačanin’s work is the book *Town and Country on the Middle Danube* published by Brill, Leiden, as the 35th volume of the series “The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage” in 2005. This work represents the continuation of Moačanin’s research that began in the book *Slavonia and Srijem in the Period of Ottoman Rule (Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine)*, 2001). Primarily based on the study of tax registers, in this pioneering book Moačanin analyses socio-economic situation in towns and villages in Ottoman Slavonia and Srijem. The Moačanin’s book *Turkish Croatia (Turska Hrvatska)*, 1999) represents the first and so far the fullest attempt at summarizing the history of Croatian lands under the Ottoman rule. It critically analyses important topics such as Islamization of local population, and demographic changes generated by immigration of nomadic and seminomadic Vlach population, which enjoyed special privileged status. Another revised and enlarged synthesis of the Ottoman period of Croatian history Moačanin published in the form of the textbook entitled *Croatian-Slavonian Military Border and Croats under the Rule of the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period (Hrvatsko-slavonska Vojna krajina i Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskoga Carstva u ranome novom vijeku)* (Zagreb: Leikam, 2007, with Željko Holjevac). Back in 1997, Moačanin published his first book *Požega and the Region of Požega within the Framework of the Ottoman Empire (Požega i Požeština u sklopu Osmanlijskoga carstva (1537.-1691.))*. Based on analysis of Ottoman survey records, Moačanin examined economic and demographic situation in the region of Požega, i.e., the *kadi* district (*kadilik*) of Požega. A very important addition to the study was the translation of four general tax registers for 1540, 1545, 1561 and 1579, which was the first and still the most exhaustive translation of Ottoman sources into Croatian language. One of the Moačanin’s most important contributions to the field was

the analysis of the correlation between taxes and demography. In addition to the above-mentioned titles, his other important studies are *Islamization of Peasantry in Bosnia from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Demistification (Islamizacija seljaštva u Bosni od 15. do 17. stoljeća: demistifikacija)*<sup>4</sup> and *Population of the Bosnian Eyalet in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century according to the Poll-Tax Registers (Stanovništvo Bosanskog ejaleta u 18. stoljeću prema popisima glavarine)*.<sup>5</sup> In addition to studies of socio-economic nature, Moaćanin wrote other important works based on sources of different character, such as the travelogue of the famous Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi – ‘New’ *Evliya Çelebi: the autograph of the Travelogue*, in co-authorship with Kornelija Jurin Starčević, (*Novi’ Evlija Čelebi: autograf ‘Putopisa’*),<sup>6</sup> *Livno and the Livno Region in the Travelogue of Evliya Çelebi and Turkish Archival Sources of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Livno i livanjski kraj u Putopisu Evlije Čelebija i u turskim arhivskim izvorima 17. stoljeća)*,<sup>7</sup> or, the project of the construction of the famous bridge of Suleyman II the Magnificent in Osijek, *Cisr-i kebir-i Ösek (Veliki osječki most)*.<sup>8</sup>

As a talented polyglot, who in addition to the Ottomanist trinity of Turkish, Arabic and Persian, knows well major European languages, in addition to Latin and ancient Greek, as well as, somewhat surprisingly, basic Hungarian, Moaćanin translated several important books from German and French into Croatian.<sup>9</sup> Those include a long-time Ottoman history textbook – Josef Matuz’s *Das Osmanische Reich (Osmansko Carstvo* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1992)), Walter Beltz’s *Sehnsucht nach dem Paradies – Mythologie des Korans (Mitologija Kur’ana: čežnja za rajem* (Zagreb, GZH, 1982)), and Maxime Rodinson’s classic *Marxisme et monde musulman (Marksizam i muslimanski svijet* (Zagreb, Globus, 1988)).

Professor Moaćanin is a well-known Ottomanist with over 130 international and local publications in English, French, Italian, German, Turkish, Hungarian and Croatian, and one of the greatest experts on the Ottoman Balkans and Central Europe. In addition to participation in almost all relevant Ottomanist gatherings for almost five decades, Moaćanin is the member of the bodies of two leading Ottomanist associations: the Governing Directorate of Comité International d’Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes (CIEPO), and the Executive

<sup>4</sup> In *Zbornik Mirjane Gross* (Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1999), 53-63.

<sup>5</sup> In *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razred za društvene znanosti* 50=516 (2013): 93-119.

<sup>6</sup> In *Književna Smotra* 46, 173 (3) (2014): 77-90.

<sup>7</sup> In *CLEUNA* 3 (2019): 199-207.

<sup>8</sup> (Zagreb – Osijek: HAZU, 2014), 91-111; English edition in: Muhammet Savaş Kafkasyalı (ed.), *Balkanlarda İslam*, vol. 3 (Ankara: Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı (TİKA), 2016), 466-479.

<sup>9</sup> Moaćanin learned Hungarian with the support of his wife, late Klara Gönc Moaćanin, an ethnic Hungarian, and Indologist.



Committee of International Association of Ottoman Social and Economic History (IAOSEH). In 2013, Moačanin received a special recognition from Turkey and became the honorary member of Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu). Moačanin is the corresponding member of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Social Sciences Section) since 2012. In 2019, he initiated the establishment of the Academia's Scientific Committee for Research of Relations between Croatia and the European Southeast in Historical Perspective, and was elected its president. Moačanin is also the member of Society for Croatian History (Društvo za hrvatsku povjesnicu), Matrix Croatica (Matica hrvatska), and C. G. Jung Institute for Analytical Psychology in New York. Perhaps this last membership indicates best the wideness of his interests, which do not end at the confines of Ottoman socio-economic history, but extend into fields of culture and religion in Islamic world in general, and, furthermore, enter into some unexpected areas such as Jungian analytical psychology.

When it comes to hobbies and free time activities, his passion for jazz has to be mentioned in the first place, along with his astonishing collection and wide knowledge about the genre. Nenad Moačanin is also well known in local weight-lifting circles, a sport in which he excelled enough to actively compete in local tournaments in the 1970s and early 1980s. Later he continued to practise the sport recreationally in his own basement gym. *Mens sana in corpore sano*, that is, *sağlam kafa, sağlam vücutta bulunur*, as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk used to say.

**OTTOMAN BOSNIA, TURKISH CROATIA,  
AND TURKEY IN EUROPE**



# SERVING KING AND SULTAN: PAVAO GRGURIĆ AND HIS ROLE ON THE HUNGARO-OTTOMAN FRONTIER IN SOUTHERN BOSNIA, C. 1463-1477

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## ABSTRACT

Pavao Grgurić, a Christian ‘man of the sword’ active during the transition period between the last years of the independent Bosnian kingdom and the beginning of Ottoman rule, was an influential office holder in the Livno and (later) Neretva regions who remained a Christian for his entire (visible) career. Being initially awarded as his *timar* a compact group of 14 villages (clearly a feudal complex) in the immediate vicinity of Hum fortress (near Podhum village south of Livno) which he was to guard, he was later given an aggregate *timar* worth at least three times that of a *dizdar* or fortress commander. This poses the question of his exact function and standing within the Bosnian dual regime during the period of early Ottoman rule in the province. Rather than being enslaved later by the enemy, he appears to have been arrested on demand of the Sultan himself. His career can be traced for the period between 1463 and 1477.

One of the most enigmatic figures on the south-western extremity of the Ottoman-Hungarian border during the 1460s and into the 1470s is Pavao veled-i Grgur, alias Pavao Grgurić. He is believed by the late Ahmed A. Aličić, the editor *cum* translator of the earliest summary survey register for the sanjak of Bosna of 1468/69, to be the commander (*dizdar*) of Hum fortress. With his company of guardsmen of Hum fortress (*sa skupinom čuvara grada Huma*) being stationed inside the fortress (*koji se nalaze u tvrđavi*), they would watch over the fortress known as Hum in the district of Livno (*čuvaju tvrđavu zvanu HUM u nahiji Hlivno*) by the time of the survey. Being rightly intrigued by the fact that Pavao is not registered as the *dizdar* of Hum fortress amongst his men, Aličić goes on to say: “Why this fact is not recorded I don’t know. I think that the reason for this is that the troops (*stražari*) within the fortress were not included in the *timar* organization. It may also be that the control over the fortress was given to Pavao, son of Grgur, who probably handed over the fortress [of Hum], while the others are not even mentioned despite the fact that the verb ‘to watch’ is used in its plural form.”<sup>1</sup> According to Aličić, not only was the fortress of Hum handed over to the Ottomans by Pavao Grgurić (a fact stated this time without any qualifying ‘probably’), but also that of Travnik.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine* (Mostar, 2008), 195, footnote 2723.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 100 and footnote 1504

Pavao Grguric, who never converted to Islam during his time in Ottoman service (according to Aličić he served as a timariot between 1463 and 1477 when he was finally taken prisoner [*bio zarobljen*]),<sup>3</sup> clearly was a figure of some standing within the Ottoman ranks, but he must already have held high positions within the military of the Bosnian kingdom if it is true that he was instrumental in the (peaceful) surrender to the Ottomans of at least two fortresses.

It cannot be the aim of this short contribution to chase the ‘needle in the haystack’ by means of a thorough investigation into the diverse and scattered Slavic, Latin and Ottoman Turkish documentation on the transition from Bosnian to Ottoman governance just for the sake of finding a few more details about the identity and role of our protagonist during the third quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>4</sup> however much of a desideratum a comprehensive case-study on any better-documented individual might be who, in his career, traverses the caesura between pre-Ottoman and Ottoman rule.<sup>5</sup> Instead, the (limited) aim of this presentation is to question some of the assumptions and readings put forward by the editor/translator of the *icmal* or synoptic *tahrir defteri* O.76 from the M.Cevdet kütüphanesi İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Atatürk Kitaplığı which, according to Aličić, was being started between 26 January and 4 February and completed between 4 and 14 April 1469.<sup>6</sup> It is believed that only on the basis of a sound interpretation of the evidence in O.76, and a discussion of its principal implications, can any future (more comprehensive) inquiry be successful.

In order to facilitate the later discussion of details, a translation is given here of the text (itself a translation from the Ottoman original) concerning the fortress of Hum and its assumed commander (*dizdar*), Pavao Grgurić, as presented by Aličić in his *Sumarni popis* (p. 195f.):

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> The only independent reference to Paul Gregurić (Gregorich) known to me was found recently by Davor Salihović in a codex from the Zadar archives (HR-DAZD-16, kut. 14, 30/3, fol. 51r) quoting a civil court case from Split, testified January 1470. Here, according to Salihović, the castle of Hum is described as a stronghold ‘which belongs to this Paul’, brother of Stephen Gregurić based in Neretva district. Salihović suggests that the Gregurić (Gregorich) brothers may have been Vlachs: Davor Salihović, “Definition, Extent, and Administration of the Hungarian Frontier Toward the Ottoman Empire in the Reign of King Matthias Corvinus, 1458-1490,” (unpublished PhD thesis, Magdalene College, Cambridge, 2020), p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Another such individual would be Vladislav, ‘deputy’ (*kethüda*) of the Bosnian king in his territories. Several entries in defter O.76 testify to his importance: fols. 49b, 59a, 61b, 62b, 119a-b. Cf. Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 172f., footnote 2441.

<sup>6</sup> Aličić reads the word ‘*ibtida*’ in the *datatio* as a term to indicate the first ten days (*evail*) and ‘*intiba*’ as a synonym for ‘*evahir*’, the last ten days of a given month: Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, XV.

(fol. 132a) Timar of Pavao, son of Grgur  
 They guard the fortress by the name of HUM in the *nahiye* of Hlivno  
 village BUŽANI [BUŽANIN], belonging to Livno, empty  
 village VUČEVIĆ [unidentified],<sup>7</sup> belonging to the aforementioned,  
 empty  
 village MIŠI [MIŠI], belonging to the aforementioned, empty  
 village REŠETAR [unidentified], belonging to the aforementioned,  
 empty  
 village KARAČIKIT [KARAČIĆ], belonging to the aforementioned,  
 empty  
 village ORAŽANI [unknown], belonging to the aforementioned,  
 empty  
 village BANIC [unidentified], belonging to the aforementioned,  
 empty  
 village PODHUM [PODHUM], belonging to the aforementioned,  
 empty  
 village RAKOVICA [unknown/unidentified], belonging to the  
 aforementioned, empty  
 village ČRČINA [unknown/unidentified], belonging to the afore-  
 mentioned, empty  
 village ŠUŠNIĆ [ŠUŠNJIĆI], belonging to the aforementioned,  
 empty  
 village BILA [BILA], belonging to the aforementioned, empty  
 village ORL(J)A [unknown/unidentified], belonging to the afore-  
 mentioned, empty  
 village ZABRADE [unknown/unidentified], belonging to the afore-  
 mentioned, empty  
 altogether villages 14.<sup>8</sup>

The secondary entry in defter O.76 concerning Pavao Grgurić is presented by Aličić in the following way (p. 100f.):

(fol. 59b) Timar of Timurtaš, one of the sons of *sipahis*:  
 This timar has been united with that of Davud, brother of Skender  
*voyvoda*, who is recorded on the opposite page, and by means of a

<sup>7</sup> Many more of these villages have in the meantime been convincingly identified and put on the map by Tomislav Perković, "Livanjski kraj u doba rane osmanske vladavine", *CLEUNA* 1 (2014): 284-380; here: 320ff. For Pavao Grgureva cf. 349. For the (final) Ottoman conquest of Livno in 1480 now see my contribution in *CLEUNA* 4 (2021), pp. 97 - 107 entitled "Ivan Ljubunčić, Frančesko Čubranić i Matij Hrvat[inić]: Davud-pašini livanjski ratni zarobljenici iz godine 1480."

<sup>8</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 195f.

ruler's order given to Pavao Grgurić who surrendered the strongholds of Hum and Travnik.

After the aforementioned was taken prisoner, this village was, by means of an imperial order, given to Haydar on condition that he serves in the field. Istanbul, 23 Zilkade in the year 881.

village HOMOLJE

households 120, unmarried 15

Income 16.161

He personally is *bürüme*, with 5 *cebelü*, 1 *gulam* and 1 tent.<sup>9</sup>

There are in particular three instances where I find it difficult to follow the editor/translator's reading and/or interpretation of the original wording in O.76 of which a scanned copy prepared by the Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü (Atatürk Kitaplığı) in Istanbul is at my disposal:

- (1) "They guard the fortress by the name of Hum": Aličić's use of the plural in the second sentence of the first passage cannot be maintained: The original has the phrase: "*Timar-i Pavao veled-i Griğur Hlivno nahiyesinde Hum nam kale bekler*", which clearly ends with a verb in the singular. Its plural form would be '*beklerler*'. Consequently, there remains no base for assuming that it was Pavao Grgurić, together with a group of guardsmen of Hum fortress being stationed inside the fortress, who watched jointly over the fortress known as Hum in the district of Livno, let alone in the function of *dizdar*:<sup>10</sup> Nowhere in O.76 is Hum, unlike many other fortresses in the sanjak of Bosna, listed as a fortress complete with fortress personnel (*mustahfizan*) under the control of a *dizdar* or 'commander'.<sup>11</sup> And while according to Aličić the (exceptional) maximum prebendal income of a *dizdar* at this period is 8,881 *akçe* derived from up to eight villages,<sup>12</sup> the *timar* of Pavao Grgurić comprises 14 villages with no actual income recorded at the time of the survey at all. His (later) *timar* in Homolje village, which was combined with that of Davud, brother of Skender *voyvoda*, to supply him with sufficient means, was to assure him an income of over 27,000 *akçe* – more than three times the absolute maximum for a contemporary Bosnian *dizdar*. What follows from this is that Pavao Grgurić was hardly a mere *dizdar*, certainly not a conventionally remunerated *dizdar* of Hum fortress with a standard outfit of fortress personnel stationed there. There simply is no evidence for either in O.76.

<sup>9</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 100f.

<sup>10</sup> Atatürk Kitaplığı, Istanbul. Survey register O.76, fol. 51a however records a *dizdar* of Livno, yet for the period after 25 Cumadiyülahir 879 (6 November 1474): Aličić *Sumarni popis*, 84.

<sup>11</sup> Aličić *Sumarni popis*, 163-242.

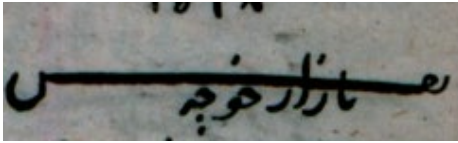
<sup>12</sup> Aličić *Sumarni popis*, 227, footnote 3140. For a *dizdar* receiving his income from eight villages see p. 186.

- (2) Did Pavao Grgurić surrender to the Ottomans the fortresses of Hum and Travnik? This question refers back to the second reference in O.76 to Pavao Grgurić quoted above. While the name ‘Travnik’ seems clearly written on fol. 59b of the original text (albeit without diacritical marks), the name ‘Hum’ (equally without diacritics) is not. The final letter is missing its ‘tail’ to form a properly executed ‘mim’; in addition, it seems to come as a loop rather than a filled-in circular ‘head’ of the letter. Rather than constituting the last letter of the name ‘Hum’ it seems to consist of two conjoined letters reading ‘cim’-‘he’ or ‘çim’-‘he’, suggesting the place-name of H(v)oça (an early spelling of modern-day Foča). Compared with other references to Foča (invariably given with diacritical marks) elsewhere in defter O.76,<sup>13</sup> either spelt ‘H(v)oça’ or ‘H(v)oca’ (see below), the closeness between all three becomes evident:

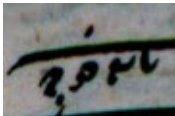
O.76, fol. 59b, from *derkenar*, thus without diacritical marks:



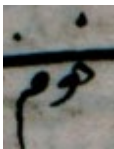
O.76, fol. 36a, from main text: “nefs-i Pazar-i H(v)oça”:



O.76, fol. 37b, from main text: “tabi-i H(v)oça”:



And for comparison, also from main text: O.76, fol. 132b: “Hum”:



It is not uncommon to find references in O.76 for fortress personnel to have surrendered their fortresses to the new Ottoman masters, like Ivaniš and Stipan

<sup>13</sup> O.76, fol. 36a (‘nefs-i Pazar-i H(v)oça’), 37b (‘H(v)oca’).



the fortress of Dobož (fol. 48a), Knez Radoja Zupčić the fortress of Sokol (fol. 67b), Isa Bali (who accepted Islam) the fortress of Samobor (fol. 74b), Mahmud (who accepted Islam) the fortress of Nevesinje (fol. 90a), Macar Mahmud (who evidently also converted to Islam) the fortress of Novi (fol. 125b, the latter three all in Hercegovina) and Karaca the fortress of Skadar (fol. 142b). Pavao Grgurić now appears to have surrendered two strongholds one after the other in close succession, yet remaining a Christian: Travnik (probably in May 1463),<sup>14</sup> and (it now seems) Foča two years afterwards, at the latest.

- (3) Was Pavao Grgurić indeed finally taken prisoner (see the secondary reference)? The original wording in O.76 has the following (fol. 59b):

*bi-emr-i padişahla* [written prominently] *mezkur dutsak oldığı sebebden bu köy Haydara bi-emr-i padişah verildi (...)*, which I take to mean “because the aforementioned was detained by decree of the padishah, this village [Homolje] was by decree of the padishah given to Haydar (...)

Rather than having been taken prisoner by the enemy, he appears to have been detained (*tutsak*) on account of a sultanic order. The relevant marginal note (*derkenar*) is dated Istanbul, 23 Zilkade 881 (9 March 1477).

The picture which emerges from the re-visited evidence perhaps poses more questions than it can answer, but it nevertheless allows us to discuss some of the principal features in the career of a man who offered his services first to the Bosnian king Stjepan Tomašević, shortly thereafter (so it seems) to *herceg* Stjepan Vukčić Kosača of Hercegovina, and finally to Sultan Mehmed II before being removed from the scene by the Conqueror himself, but only after a career in the Ottoman ranks that spanned at least a dozen years.

Despite the fact that the survey register entry quoted above mentions the fortress of Travnik only as the second stronghold surrendered by Pavao Grgurić, our understanding of the chronology of events during the turbulent years of the ‘silent’ fall to the Ottomans of the kingdom of Bosnia, incomplete as it certainly is, would suggest that he served in Travnik first. That it was he who ‘surrendered’ the fortress is clear from the wording employed in defter O.76 which uses the participle of the verb ‘to give, hand over’ (*veren*)<sup>15</sup> like in all other instances of people handing over to the Ottomans Christian-held strongholds.<sup>16</sup> If we are to believe Hazim

<sup>14</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk* (Sarajevo, 1982), 38.

<sup>15</sup> “(...) *H(v)oca ve Travnik hisarları veren Pave Grguriğe verildi.*” O.76, fol. 59b.

<sup>16</sup> O. 76, Fols. 48a, 67b, 74b, 90a, 100a, 125b, 142b.

Šabanović, Travnik fell in May 1463 (see above). The accepted date for the fall of Foča to the Ottoman forces is given by the same authority as ‘spring 1465’;<sup>17</sup> but two *derkenars* recorded in the *icmal* survey register published by Hazim Šabanović<sup>18</sup> were executed ‘in the camp of Foča’ on 2 July 1463, a fact which Šabanović is not, however, inclined to consider as evidence for a possible earlier surrender of Foča to the Ottoman forces. Whatever the actual date of Pavao’s involvement here, it is a matter for future investigations to establish how it was possible for one of the king’s fortress commanders to surrender one fortress to the Ottomans before getting a new command elsewhere defending another Christian lord, this time, apparently, in Hercegovina. Yet it is highly probable that Pavao Grgurić had indeed served the Ottomans well twice before he was granted a *timar*, albeit a *timar* with several highly unusual features:

The 14 villages in the vicinity of Hum fortress assigned to him as a *timar* are all listed in O.76 as *hali* (‘empty’, ‘unoccupied’, ‘deserted’), with accordingly no income figures (*hasil*) indicated. The word ‘*hali*’ set against every single one of his villages is generally taken to mean ‘deserted’ (this also is Aličić’s interpretation), but one must keep in mind the possibility of it meaning ‘void of any *hasil* figure’, suggesting, for example, sources of income not yet assessed for their *hasil* value. In a survey register that has no predecessor, but is the first to have been executed for the area in question, this would be the equivalent of a *haric ez defter* (‘not in the [previous] survey register’) recording.

It may be significant that the 14 villages in question are densely spread over and around the Tribanj area overlooked by the fortress of Hum,<sup>19</sup> of which some architectural features remain to this day. Together they form a group of villages and hamlets which constitute a cluster of settlements stretching across the hilly terrain above the plains of Livanjsko polje and Buško blato while facing the Kamešnica massif in the south-west, constituting an area through which since Roman times the principal road from Split led into the interior of Bosnia. By 1468/69, this cluster of villages must have marked the westernmost extent of Ottoman control, if indeed they (still) were under Ottoman (military) control by the time O.76 was completed. In fact, it may be questionable whether they ever fully came under Ottoman (administrative) control during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It therefore may have been the absence of full Ottoman administrative control over the villages and hamlets granted as a *timar* to Pavao Grgurić which led to their recording as ‘void of any *hasil* figure’ – unless one believes like most researchers have done that every one

<sup>17</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 37 dates the fall of Foča to ‘spring 1465’.

<sup>18</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića. Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine* (Sarajevo, 1964), 68.

<sup>19</sup> Perković, “Livanjski kraj”, 320ff.

of the cluster of 14 village and hamlet in the (wider) Tribanj area by 1468/69 lay empty and deserted to the last man, with not a single exception.

Another fact which singles out the *timar* of Pavao Grgurić has already been mentioned: While most other larger *timars* in the sanjak of Bosna are constituted of villages (or parts of villages) which are (geographically) often considerably spaced apart, his is based on a contiguous group of settlements. Is this a mere coincidence, or are we dealing here with the remnants of pre-Ottoman 'feudal' structures, such as a 'Burgbezirk' or cluster of settlements under the authority of a castle in the hands of a feudal lord? If the latter were the case, we might perhaps have found an explanation for the limited Ottoman administrative 'grip' on the resources of this particular group of villages, if this is what the term 'empty' signifies. What would be significant in such a case is that a more detailed assessment of the area's tax resources would still have eluded the Ottoman fiscal authorities several years after the area's (initial) conquest.

Another feature which distinguishes the *timar* of Pavao Grgurić from most, if not all other (larger) *timars* in the sanjak of Bosna is that it is granted him at the rate of zero income (i.e. no *hasil* indicated). He is said in O.76 just to hold a *timar* of 14 villages. Significantly, there are no specific military obligations mentioned alongside this *timar* in the survey register, except that he 'guards the fortress by the name of HUM in the *nahiye* of Hlivno'. What, one might ask, would then have been the benefit to the *timar* owner of holding a *timar* of 'deserted' villages with no income, unless the villagers could be expected soon to return (or to be replaced by new manpower in due course), or else surveyed for tax purposes without delay, thereby securing the *timar* owner's income – unless the *timar* owner in question had already secured himself access to the resources of the area with the tacit consent of officialdom. It has long been known that large swathes of Ottoman Bosnia remained outside the *timar* system's application, continuing pre-Ottoman (military and social) forms of organization, particularly in predominantly Vlach inhabited areas. In the case of Pavao Grgurić, however, we do seem to observe some form of application of the *timar* system – at least in name. But had it also been applied in substance? Remember, there is no fixed recorded income, nor any specific indication of military obligations. Why though apply the *timar* system in name only? The answer most likely lies in the Ottoman practice of incorporating pre-Ottoman 'feudal' structures into the Ottoman prebendal system by means of a *timar* wherever feasible. For example, when the *baştinas* of the (Christian) *kadimî sipahis* (pre-Ottoman feudal landed horsemen) called Pribić, son of Priboje and his brother Pribašin in Bribičko, Zastenje and Kutjezero villages in Vrtar district were entered into O.76, they were recorded as a *timar* without revenue figures, but with the obligation to serve.<sup>20</sup> The village of Podsol in Osad district was awarded (without

<sup>20</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 132.

any revenue figures) to (the Christian) Radojin Batević with the sole obligation to cultivate and populate the village which was presently *haric ez defter* ('not in the [previous] survey register').<sup>21</sup> It may have been a similar arrangement on which the *timar* of Pavao Grgurić was based.

Pavao Grgurić – was he originally a feudal lord (*cum castellan?*) in the Tribanj area below Hum fortress turned possessor of a *timar* by the new Ottoman masters to accommodate him within the Ottoman fortress command structure? It may be significant that the defter O.76 would record his *timar* between the *timars* belonging to the personnel of Bobovac fortress and those in the hands of the personnel of Hodidide fortress.<sup>22</sup> His job, like that of his Muslim colleagues, perhaps was to serve, despite his previous loyalties, as the Christian defender of Hum fortress in the service of the Sultan, drawing on the resources from the villages of his (ancestral or assigned) 'Burgbezirk' in the (wider) Tribanj area belonging to the district of Hlivno.

Whatever his exact de-facto annual revenue from the cluster of villages in the Tribanj area, Pavao Grgurić was soon to hold a substantial *timar* elsewhere in Ottoman Bosnia: After Davud, a brother of Skender *voyvoda*, became the chief commander (*ser-asker*) of Saray-ovası district, his *timar* that was originally held by a certain Mahmud Diraz in the Konjic/Rama area (including the village of Gorani near Konjic) was transferred to Pavao Grgurić, together ('combined') with that of Homolje, also situated near Konjic.<sup>23</sup> Taken together, the combined revenue amounted to 25,705 *akçe* from 182 households, 30 bachelors and two widows, a very considerable assignment.<sup>24</sup> His personal military obligations, indicated for the first time, are equally substantial: He was to appear personally as a horseman in armour (*bürüme*), followed when called to arms by five armed and equipped servicemen (*cebelü*), one servant (*gulam*) and a tent (see above). Unfortunately, O.76 does not offer a dated *derkenar* for this transfer, but we know that the *timar* originally held by Mahmud Diraz (who is said to have fled to the unbelievers) was awarded to Davud on 7 April 1470, while another *timar* in the Kakanj area (already) in the hands of Davud, brother of Skender *voyvoda*, is transferred by means of a *derkenar* dated between 13 and 22 April 1470 to a certain Ismail on the grounds of Davud already holding another *timar* elsewhere.<sup>25</sup> This means that Pavao Grgurić can only have been awarded his (combined) *timar* after this date. Exactly how much later is

<sup>21</sup> *Loc.cit.*

<sup>22</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 193-202.

<sup>23</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 100, 102.

<sup>24</sup> For comparison: Kara Balaban, *ser-asker* of Brod, Bobovac, Visoka, Lašva and Kreševo, draws on a revenue of 17,937 *akçe* from 113 households and 15 bachelors, augmented to 21,037 *akçe*: Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 77f.

<sup>25</sup> *Lo.cit.*, 88.

difficult to establish with certainty, unless we identify Davud with Davud, *voyvoda* of Saray-ovasi, who replaced Skender *voyvoda* who had been in this position from 1463. Vesna Mušeta-Aščerić appears to date the change from Skender to Davud *voyvoda* to as early as 8 April 1470.<sup>26</sup>

A marginal note (*derkenar*) in O.76 marks the end of Pavao's career in Ottoman service, at least for the time being. "Because the aforementioned was, by means of a decree of the padishah (highlighted in bold letters, or else inserted at some later stage), detained (*dutsak*), this village [Homolje] was given by order of the padishah to Haydar who serves. [Written] on 23 Zilkade 881 in Istanbul" (fol. 59b). The corresponding Gregorian date is 9 March 1477. It is thanks to the *derkenar* already discussed further above that we can suggest a more precise date for Pavao's detention: The marginal notes which accompany the entry of Mahmud Diraz's *timar* hold yet another piece of evidence: Following the *derkenar* that this *timar* is in the hands of 'the Christian by the name of Pavao Grgurić', it is stated by a different hand that it was given, by order of the padishah, without augmentation, to the Christian by the name of Filip,<sup>27</sup> on condition that he serves. The date: 28 Ramazan 881 (14 January 1477), in the camp of Niš. It would appear that Pavao Grgurić was detained by decree of Sultan Mehmed not long before this date, after which part of his substantial *timar* was awarded to another Christian sipahi.

At this stage of our knowledge we can only speculate what made the Sultan have his long-standing Christian 'man of the sword' arrested on his own order. Pavao Grgurić had served his master for many years in his capacity as a Christian *sipahi* holding a double *timar* which was exceptionally large (25,705 *akçe*) by the standards of a Christian *sipahi*, but also in comparison with the incomes of Muslim *timar* holders it must be considered unusually substantial. While the *zeamet* of Mehmed Çelebi, son of Isa Beğ, comprising the entire Pavlović *vilayet* had a recorded computed income of 73,460? *akçe*,<sup>28</sup> the revenue recorded in O.76 for the *zeamet* possession of Hasan Beğ only amounted to 18,099 *akçe*.<sup>29</sup> The vast majority of *timars* listed in this survey register came with an income of far less than 9,000 *akçe*, with very many below 3,000. It is interesting to note that while Mehmed Çelebi's military obligations included the provision for two tents to house the 18 *cebelü* he was to lead while on campaign, Hasan Beğ had to provide four *cebelüs*, one fewer than Pavao Grgurić. The latter's (military) role was clearly significant even when compared with that of *beğs*. Whatever other roles, if any, he might have played as a Christian

<sup>26</sup> Vesna Mušeta-Aščerić, "Sarajevo – od kasabe do šehera", in: Eadem., *Sarajevo i okolina u XV stoljeću: između zapada i istoka* (Sarajevo, 2005), 143-97; here: 168.

<sup>27</sup> For (this?) Filip also see Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 108 (*derkenar* dated 2 Şaban 881); p. 200 (*derkenar* dated 11 Şaban 882).

<sup>28</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 72-74.

<sup>29</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 74.

in Ottoman services vis-à-vis the ‘puppet’ Kotromanić kingdom of Bosnia under Ottoman suzerainty since its re-foundation late in 1465 is unclear, but it may be no coincidence that he was detained, evidently not long before 14 January 1477, that is shortly after we hear of the Bosnian king Matija Vojsalić for the last time (by 3 July 1476). Both Pavao Grgurić and the last Bosnian kingdom appear to have vanished from the pages of history at much the same time.<sup>30</sup>

## CONCLUSION

There is an urgent need for bringing back the individual into the writing of Ottoman (provincial) history, without losing sight of the institutional implications of our findings as we go along. It would seem particularly rewarding to trace through space and time by means of a case-study individuals who, in their careers, have successfully negotiated the transition from pre-Ottoman to Ottoman rule, or from the Abode of War into the Abode of Islam (or vice-versa). Pavao Grgurić is but one example for the first category, while certain friars (Franciscan, Benedictine), particularly of the early period, as well as renegades like Macar Mahmud, are examples for the second. It should have become clear from the present study just how important, alongside the far better known type of detailed (*mufassal*) Ottoman *tapu tabirir defteri*, is the summary (*icmal*) type for establishing a detailed chronology of events between the irregularly spaced intervals of province-wide surveys.

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# THE SANCAKBEGIS OF POZSEGA (POŽEGA, POJEGA) IN THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

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## ABSTRACT

Little attention has been paid so far to the district governors of Pozsega. Using mainly Ottoman archival documents an almost complete list of *sancakbegis* appointed there can be assembled. The length of their service, the place they came from, their annual income, and occasionally their family background are detectable.

My old friend, Nenad Moačanin has clarified several important details of Ottoman military progress in Slavonia.<sup>1</sup> He emphasized that there followed a period of time when Ottoman domination was not yet stable in the region after the town of Pozsega (Croatian Požega, Ottoman Pojega) was occupied<sup>2</sup> in 1537. The precise time of the fall of the castle is disputed. Accepting Ive Mažuran's assertion<sup>3</sup> Fazileta Cviko-Hafizović gives an exact day: 15 January.<sup>4</sup> This date is explicitly referred to by Ferenc Tahy in two of his letters of 4 and 5 February 1537 just some days af-

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<sup>1</sup> Nenad Moačanin, "Osječki ili požeški sandžak," in *Zbornik Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Istraživačkog centra Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*. Volumen 12. (Zagreb: 1982), 35–40. Idem, "Granice i upravna podjela požeškog sandžaka," in *Zbornik zavoda za povijesne znanosti IC JAZU u Zagrebu*. Volumen 13. (Zagreb: 1983), 107–18. Idem, "Ratovanje i osnivanje upravnih jedinica u srednjoj Slavoniji 1536–1541," in *Zbornik radova simpozija o vojnim krajinama do 1699, Beograd 1987*. Naučni skupovi Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, knj. XLVIII, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, knj. 12.)/"Kriegsführung und Gründung der Verwaltungseinheiten in Mittelslavonien 1536–1541," in *Die Militärgrenzen in den jugoslawischen Ländern der Neuzeit bis zum Frieden von Karlowitz 1699*. (Wissenschaftliche Konferenzen, Bd. XLVIII, Klasse für Geschichtswissenschaften, Bd. 12.) (Belgrade: 1989), 115–24.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, when Buda (Ottoman Budun, Budin) was subjugated by the Sultan, years had to pass until the territories south of her could be controlled and the first *defters* prepared in 1545–1546, as I pointed out in my "Incomes and Possessions of the *Beglerbegis* of Buda in the Sixteenth Century," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps. Süleymân the Magnificent and His Time*, publiés par /ed. by Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), 385, 388 and Idem, "Buda (Budin) vilayeti'nin ilk timar sahipleri," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi. Prof. Cengiz Orhonlu Hatıra Sayısı* 12 (1982–1998): 57–61.

<sup>3</sup> Ive Mažuran, "Požega i požeška kotlina za turske vladavine," in *Požega, 1227–1977*, glavni urednik Marijan Strbašić (Slavonska Požega: 1977), 164.

<sup>4</sup> Fazileta Cviko-Hafizović, "Grad Požega kao sjedište Požeškog sandžaka – urbani i privredni razvoj u 16. stoljeću," *Povijesni prilozi, Institut za suvremenu povijest Zagreb* 13 (1994): 31. See also in her collected essays: Fazileta Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak i osmanska Slavonija. Sabrane rasprave*. (Bibliotheca Croatica: Slavonica, Sirmiensia et Baranyensia. Studije. Knjiga 21.) (Zagreb–Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2016), 98.



ter the event took place therefore it seems acceptable.<sup>5</sup> The vaguely formulated account of an Ottoman chronicler, Bostan (erroneously published as Ferdi) about armed activity in the winter of H. 943/1536–1537 can also be interpreted as a proof of this assumption.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, December 1537 is also mentioned as a possibility.<sup>7</sup> As against this, in Hungarian historiography the year 1536 occasionally appears, on the basis of a document republished, without indicating its original location by Vjekoslav Klaić.<sup>8</sup> The source in question is a letter written in Várad (later Hungarian Nagyvárad, Romanian Oradea, Ottoman Varad) by Johan Wese (Johannes van Weeze), archbishop of Lund, on 20 August 1536 which informs the emperor about Ottoman advancement in Slavonia. Pozsega, however, is not mentioned in the text at all, which renders its testimony irrelevant or at least questionable. Neither Szakály, nor Margalits noticed that the report had been published – among others – by Mihály Hatvani.<sup>9</sup>

In spite of the lack of full integration of the neighbourhood, at the beginning of 1538 or so a *sancak* was created here,<sup>10</sup> the earliest on the south-western territory of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Obviously, a district governor was also appointed at the same time. While the exact date of his starting service in Pozsega cannot

<sup>5</sup> Ferdo Šišić, *Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium*. XXXVI. *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae Dalmatiae Slavoniae*. II. (Zagreb: 1915), 11, No. 6, 12, No. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Török történetírók*. II., ford. etc. József Thúry. (Budapest: 1896), 95. It is to be noted that another Turkish annalist, Celalzade Mustafa, narrates the capture of Pozsega during the 1532 campaign: *Ibid.* 219.

<sup>7</sup> Nenad Moačanin, “Pojeđa,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 34 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2007), 307.

<sup>8</sup> V. K., “Kako su Turci osvojili Požegu?” *Vienac* XXI/52 (1889): 829. This short publication was summarised by Ede Margalits, *Horvát történelmi repertórium*. II. (Budapest: 1902), 739, No. 314 (misdated for October!) and cited by Ferenc Szakály, “A dél-dunántúli hadszíntér, 1526–1543,” in *Pécs a törökkorban*, szerk. Ferenc Szakály (and József Vonyó). (Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből, 7.) (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 1999), 35, note 72.

<sup>9</sup> Mihály Hatvani, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a Brüsseli Országos Levéltárból és a Burgundi Könyvtárból*. I. 1441–1538. (Monumenta Historiae Hungarica/Magyar történelmi emlékek. Első osztály: okmánytárak, 1.) (Pest: 1857), 357–364, No. 145, here 363–364.

<sup>10</sup> Szabolcs Varga argues that there was a practical reason for calling into life this district. He wrote: “After the fall of Pozsega the most important crossing point [in the region] was the ferry on the Száva (Croatian Sava) at Gradiske (Serbian Bosanska Gradiška) on the territory of Béla Abbey (Croatian Bijela) where constant clashes took place. This was where the troops of the beg of Szendrő (Serbian Smederevo, Ottoman Semendire) and Belgrade passed; to widen the bridgehead, the Ottoman military leadership at some point in early 1538 organized the *sancak* of Pozsega from the area between Ivánka (Croatian Ivankovo) and Kobas (Croatian Slavonski Kobaš).” Cf. Szabolcs Varga, “Nádasdy Tamás horvát-szlávon bánsága (1537–1539)” *Századok* 144 (2010): 814. (His reference goes back to a letter dated on 30 January, 1538 and sent by Péter Keglevics/Petar Keglević od Bužima and Tamás Nádasdy to Ferdinand I which was published by Šišić, *Monumenta*, 160. I quote the relevant passage: “*Preter hec scribit nobis Stephanus Skelanawycz, cesarem Thurcarum adiecisse ditioni zanczyakatus Samandriensis ... totam terram usque ad Iwanka; ab Iwanka vero usque ad Kobas dedisse pro nouo zanchyaku ...*”

be specified there is no hesitation about the person: he was Arslan *beg*,<sup>11</sup> one of the sons of Yahyapaşazade Mehmed, the conqueror of Pozsega. Undoubtedly, his task must have been a difficult one: to extend the frontiers as much as possible, to pacify the areas having been taken into possession earlier, and to have the first registers of the *sancak* prepared. In this, he and his subordinates were quite successful, an exceptional *defter* (preserved in two parts) was ready by the beginning of November 1540.<sup>12</sup> The initial page of this register contains the earliest Ottoman archival reference to Arslan *beg*, *sancakbegi* of Pozsega. This is an additional remark from 28 November 1540 which is about the renewal of his diploma (*berat*).<sup>13</sup> I think there is no need to doubt almost contemporary Ottoman tradition which puts Arslan's appointment to the event when the happy news of Hans Katzianer's defeat in October 1537 arrived at Istanbul.<sup>14</sup> Here the sum total of his *bases* is also indicated; they were far from being high, amounting to 204.114 *akçe*, hardly exceeding the minimum normally granted to a district governor in European territories. The very same figure appears in the list prepared when he left the post in favour of Murad *beg* on 18 September 1541.<sup>15</sup> The enumeration in question is instructive as it shows that Arslan's revenues (which passed to his follower) were almost

<sup>11</sup> About his career see Sándor Takáts, "Oroszlán basa," *Történelmi Szemle* 4 (1915): 51–70 (outdated, with some interesting details); Claudia Römer, "On Some Hâşş-Estates Illegally Claimed by Arslan Paşa, Beglerbegi of Buda, 1565–1566," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. by Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1994), 297; Markus Köhbach, *Die Eroberung von Füleke durch die Osmanen 1554. Eine historisch-quellenkritische Studie zur osmanischen Expansion im östlichen Mitteleuropa*. (Zur Kunde Südosteuropas, II/18. Hrsg. von Horst Haselsteiner.) (Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1994), 220–24, note 107. Additional data on his places of office are offered in: Géza Dávid, "Macaristan'da yönetici Osmanlı aileleri," *OTAM* 38 (2015 güz): 18.

<sup>12</sup> Namely Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Tapu defteri 204, 203. They were described by Fazileta Cviko, "O najstarijem popisu požeškog sandžaka," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* XXXIV (1982/83 [1985]): 129–35. See also Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 35–42. The material of the *kaza* of Pozsega was published by Nenad Moačanin, *Požega i Požeština u sklopu Osmanlijskog carstva (1537.–1691.)* (Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap, 1997), 117–50.

<sup>13</sup> Tapu defteri 204, p. 1. I use original parts of this *defter* and some other documents in this article from the courtesy of Éva Simon, who with the financial support of OTKA No. 108919 had a copy prepared of them which are now preserved in the Hungarian National Archives (hereinafter: OTKA).

<sup>14</sup> Antal Gévay, *A' budai pasák* (Bécs: Strauss Antal' özvegye', 1841), 10, No. 14. (= Anton von Gévay, "Versuch eines chronologischen Verzeichnisses der türkischen Statthalter von Ofen," *Der österreichische Geschichtsforscher* 2 (1841): 60–61, No. 14.)

<sup>15</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maliyeden müdevver defter 34, ff. 678<sup>r-v</sup> (f. 678<sup>r</sup> = OTKA). Murad's appointment was mentioned by Hafizović (*Požeški sandžak*, 13, note 14., 36), using an additional remark from Tapu defteri 204, p. 1. which gives the very same day. This date, however, has not become common knowledge. *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, e. g. indicates 1542 as starting year of his office in Pozsega: "Tardić, Murat-beg," accessed 15 June 2019, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=60449>. An Ottoman annalist, Kâtib Mehmed zaim also made a mistake in this connection, stating that he became the *beg* of Pojega in 1543. Cf. *Török történetírók*, II, 383.

exclusively collected from other people's prebends, two of them died, one resigned, one vanished, and two received another *timar* elsewhere and none of them from his own *sancak*!<sup>16</sup> The first 12 villages constituted perhaps his own previous income, reaching a sum of 38.793 *akçe*.<sup>17</sup> The next 16 settlements had belonged to a certain Dimiški *beg*, who had deceased, with a total of 49.778 *akçe*. (I could not find any further information about him.) Then came Ferhad *kethüda* who also died (28.000 *akçe*) and Ahmed *miralay* whose place of activity and mode of depriving him from his sources of revenue is not specified (12.379 *akçe*). Mehmed *beg* bin Kasım *beg*,<sup>18</sup> who had abdicated, contributed with 25.986, while Hasan *beg* bin Mustafa *beg*,<sup>19</sup> who had been granted another *timar*, with 9.302 *akçe*. The next item, 15.042 *akçe*, came from Piri bin Uçmaz, who was a "guide" (*kılağuz*) and who "had vanished". The last two persons were ordinary *timar*-holders (10.618 and 6.300 *akçe*), the latter was compensated by a prebend elsewhere. Some of the settlements assigned to Arslan *beg* were quite remote (300 to 400 kms) from his seat, belonging *e.g.* to the *nahiyes* of Lepaniç (Serbian Lepenica), Lefçe (the Levač region), Lomniç (Serbian Lomniča), Rudnik, and Valjeva (Serbian Valjevo, old Hungarian name Macsó) in the *sancak* of Szendrő. Even if we know that the Yahyapaşa clan was well rooted in this latter area it must have caused difficulties to remain in contact with those concerned, either the population or the delegated tax-collectors. All this clearly shows that the situation was far from being settled and the treasury faced serious problems in assembling the sources reaching the sum Arslan deserved. But this phenomenon was not exceptional in the frontier zone and probably occurred again and again when a remote castle without its *hinterland* was first taken into possession; the governors of Buda faced the same situation in the 1540's.<sup>20</sup>

Arslan's way led to Prizren,<sup>21</sup> and his successor, Murad *beg*, took over his sources of revenue. Since during his service in Klis (Hungarian Klissza, Ottoman Kilis) from 1537 onwards he reached a higher level of income than his predecessor which

<sup>16</sup> A curious contradiction can also be detected: in the 1540 register (p. 1.) we find a village which was appended to Arslan's revenues from the Sultan's estates on 2 January 1541 (*der dest-i Arslan beg mirliiva, ber vech-i zamime, ber muceb-i tezkere-i emin-i defter. Fi 4 ramazan sene 947.*), but it does not appear in the *ruznamçe* entry in question. An even earlier similar remark from 28 November 1540 indicates that Pozsega itself passed into the hands of Arslan: once again there is no sign of it in the list (cf. Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 13, note 14.)

<sup>17</sup> Adding up the respective figures we only come to 37.723 *akçe*.

<sup>18</sup> It cannot be excluded that he is identical with one of the key figures of the period being active mostly on Hungarian territories. See my "Kasım Voyvoda, Bey ve Paşa." *Ankara Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 35/60 (2016): 291–330, but I did not encounter his son(s). He is first referred to as *beg*, namely that of Eszék on 16 September 1541. *Idem*, 297.

<sup>19</sup> I could not identify the father, though he must have been an influential person but with a very common name.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. my above-mentioned article: "Incomes and Possessions," 386 (a map showing the location of the *bases* of the *beglerbegis* of Buda between 1542 and 1584).

<sup>21</sup> *Maliyeden müdevver defter* 34, f. 427<sup>a</sup>.

was further raised by a total of 55.000 *akçe* as a reward of his excellence on two occasions, the treasury had to find additional money. A part of the missing amount was assigned to him from the *kaza* of Eszék (Croatian Osijek, Ottoman Ösek). The list of the new places given to him is curious: in the first subgroup merely the town of Eszék appears with a – quite low – concrete sum (5.505 *akçe*) while solely the names of further sixteen villages are recorded followed by the term *hasil* ('result', 'produce') of firewood (*hime*), if I read it correctly, in the value of 11.558 *akçe*. This practice goes on with some variations. The grand total is 84.598 *akçe* but if we add up all the items of this section, we come to a much lower value: 27.729 *akçe*. It is another unusual characteristic of Murad's income that he pocketed 56.288 *akçe* in cash (*ber vech-i nakd*) from imperial *hases* in the *liva* of Pozsega.<sup>22</sup> It is difficult to tell what proportion of the ruler's local revenues were involved but if we consider that the 24 villages categorized as *hassa-i hümayun* in the *defter* of 1540 did not produce more than 67.046 *akçe*, it seems to be a fairly high percentage.

I think it is worth translating the explanatory part of the entry containing Murad beg's prebends: "The *hases* above amounting to 204.114<sup>\*23</sup> *akçe* became vacant from the assignment (*tahvil*) of Arslan beg. In the *kaza* of Ösek in the *sancak* of Semendire<sup>24</sup> *hases* amounting to 84.598\* *akçe* became vacant and 56.288\* *akçe* was also allocated in cash from the *hases* of the ruler, the refuge of the universe, in the *liva* mentioned [likely Poješka]. [All these] were accumulated reaching the sum 345.000\* *akçe*. The above-mentioned [Murad beg] who had been the *sancakbegi* of Kilis with 301.000\* *akçe* and to whom the named *liva* was granted on 27 *cemaziül-evvel* 948 (18 September 1541), received an order for a raise (*terakki*) of 30.000\* *akçe* on the last nine days of *cemaziül-ahir* of the same year (12–20 October 1541) and a noble order for a raise of 15.000\* *akçe* on the last ten days of *zi'l-hicce* of the same year (7–16 April 1542), thus his *hases*, together with the raises, reached 345.000\* *akçe*. The *beglerbegi* of Budin reported to the Threshold of Felicity that "the *defter* of the *liva* mentioned<sup>25</sup> is not present here"<sup>26</sup> therefore it was ordered that his certificate (*tezkere*) should be issued (*ihrac olunmak*) by the exalted Porte, a certificate was given for an illustrious diploma (*berat*). Dated on 12 September 1542."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The pertinent additional note reads like this: "It was ordered that Murad beg's extant deficit of 56.288\* *akçe* be completed from the [sultan's] *hases* of Poješka. On 18 January 1543. It should be noted into his diploma."

<sup>23</sup> Figures with an asterisk are in *siyakat* in the original.

<sup>24</sup> This confirms Moaçanin's view ("Osječki ili požeški sandžak," 40) where he states: "das Gebiet von Syrmien hinweg bis Osijek war bis etwa 1541/43 als Grenzmark dem Sandschak Smederevo direkt unterstellt."

<sup>25</sup> It is not quite clear if the reference is to Szendrő or Pozsega.

<sup>26</sup> This statement is another proof that the *vilayet* of Buda has not yet been fully organized by this time.

<sup>27</sup> Maliyeden müdevver defter 34, f. 679<sup>v</sup>.

As it has often been referred to, Murad was a faithful servant and even friend of Hüsrev beg.<sup>28</sup> Murad, a new Muslim, assisted his master as a *kethüda*<sup>29</sup> or *voyvoda*,<sup>30</sup> denoting more or less the same duty. Their relationship must have been quite warm since Hüsrev made Murad “*voyvoda*” *mütevelli* (guardian) of his pious foundations in 1531.<sup>31</sup> It remains a question how he could supervise the *vakf* in practice, since from 1537 he was employed as district governor in considerably remote Klis and then in Pozsega. Murad’s role in capturing Valpó (Croatian Valpovo, Ottoman Valpova) belongs to the best known details of his life.<sup>32</sup> The chronicler Muradî (published as Sinan çavuş by Thúry) attributes a report to him in which he summarized the circumstances of the siege.<sup>33</sup> The letter can be regarded authentic as we know similar documents from the period.<sup>34</sup>

Murad’s life ended soon: the chronogram on his *türbe* in Sarajevo suggests H. 952/15 March 1545–3 March 1546. Both Truhelka and Sikirić erroneously converted the year as 1544.<sup>35</sup> However, the chronogram is also incorrect (or denotes to another occasion, like, perhaps, the opening of the mausoleum after Murad’s remains were transported there<sup>36</sup>) since he died in H. 951. This is evidenced by an order of the Imperial Council written on 9 *zi’l-kade* 951/22 January 1545 where he is mentioned as having died recently and thus no more able to prepare wood for bridge construction as having been prescribed.<sup>37</sup> Fazileta Hafizović came to another

<sup>28</sup> About his life see – among others – Ćiro Truhelka, “Gazi Husrefbeg, njegov život i njegovo doba,” *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* XXIV/1 (1912): 91–234; Behija Zlatar, *Gazi Husrev-beg*. (Orijentalni institut. Posebna izdanja, XXXII.) (Sarajevo: 2010).

<sup>29</sup> *Török történetírók*, II. 383. (Kâtib Mehmed *zaim*.)

<sup>30</sup> *Török történetírók*, II. 99. (Bostan/Ferdi.)

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Truhelka, “Gazi Husrefbeg,” 196, 208, 215; Šaćir Sikirić, *Derviskolostorok és szent sirok Boszniában*. *Turán* (1918): 587.

<sup>32</sup> Besides the narrative sources, his participation in the 1543 campaign is corroborated by archival evidence. See Mehmet İpçioğlu, “Kanuni Süleyman’ın Estergon (Esztergom) seferi 1543. Yeni bir kaynak,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* X (1990): 143.

<sup>33</sup> *Török történetírók*, II. 296–297.

<sup>34</sup> Second Vizier Pertev *paşa* e. g. forwarded two *arz* to the centre during the blockade of Gyula in 1566. See Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi E. 2232, 2359. Cited by Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A Gyulai szandzsák 1567. és 1579. évi összehírása*. (Forráskiadványok a Békés Megyei Levéltárból, 10.) (Békéscsaba: Békés Megyei Levéltár, 1982), 6, notes 10 and 11.

<sup>35</sup> Truhelka, “Gazi Husrefbeg,” 166; Sikirić, “Derviskolostorok,” 589.

<sup>36</sup> Sikirić, “Derviskolostorok,” 587.

<sup>37</sup> Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, „Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való.” *Aszultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1544–1545, 1552)*. *“Affairs of State Are Supreme”. The Orders of the Ottoman Imperial Council Pertaining to Hungary (1544–1545, 1552)* (Budapest: História, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 8, No. 2. Though the first register was published by Halil Sahillioğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951-952 tarihli ve E-12321 numaralı mühimme defteri*. (Osmanlı Devleti ve medeniyeti tarihi serisi, 7.) (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2002), I cite our improved edition with more explanatory notes. The same refers to the rest of *mühimme* quotations; I used the original texts except for some cases when I do not have a copy.

conclusion in this respect based on a piece of information in Mažuran's overview of Ottoman rule in Pozsega which allegedly refers to Murad to be in life and ready to go to Zagorje at the beginning of May 1545.<sup>38</sup> Using an entry dated 26 May 1545 in the first *defter* of Pozsega where only the year of the next *sancakbegi's* appointment is specified, she concluded that Murad died in mid-May.<sup>39</sup> I am inclined to accept the testimony of the *mühimme defteri* and put his departure some months earlier (more likely to the end of 1544 or to the very beginning of 1545).

The above-mentioned command names the new district governor of Pozsega. He was called Bali and had been active in Vidin from the same day as his deceased colleague in his own place with an income of 300.000 *akçe*.<sup>40</sup> To our luck, the additional remark of the 1540 Pozsega *defter* informs us about his descent: his father was Dur Ali (Turali) *beg* and his grandfather Malkoç *beg* a leading figure of the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.<sup>41</sup> By this time, Bali's yearly "salary", including 30.000 *akçe* raise, had reached 405.000\* *akçe* which can be considered a pretty sum.

On 25 March 1547 he was followed by an even more influential person, Ulama former *sanacakbegi* of Bosnia (Ottoman Bosna). His adventurous life started in Eastern Anatolia. He was an offspring of the Tekeli clan which played a significant role in the emergence of the Safavid dynasty in Iran. After having participated in the Şahkulu uprising in 1511, he escaped to Persian-ruled territories. Here he first served in the court of the Shah, than as the governor of Azerbaijan. On losing favour, he returned to the Ottomans. He assaulted Bitlis in 1530-1531, became the *beglerbegi* of Tebriz and then fled to Van. Around 1537 he filled the post of the *mirliva* of Shkodër (Ottoman İskenderiye), then from an unknown date until 2 July 1541 that of Vlorë (Italian Valona, Ottoman Avlonya). Twelve days later he received district of Bosnia<sup>42</sup> for a quite long period of time: more than five and a half years.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Mažuran, "Požega i požeška kotlina," 175. I could not figure out which source of Mažuran's could confirm this assertion.

<sup>39</sup> Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 36.

<sup>40</sup> Maliyeden müdevver defter 34, f. 241<sup>r</sup>. Before Vidin, he had served in Akkerman.

<sup>41</sup> Fahamettin Başar, Malkoçoğulları, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 27 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), 538. – He or another Malkoç, however, was never the *beg* of Pozsega as it is suggested in Károly Jung's article citing a sentence from Vido Latković (who borrowed it from Svetislav Stefanović), "A „rác módú" éneklés, avagy egy Tinódi-locus karrierje a délszláv folklorisztikában," *Hungarológiai Közlemények. A Bölcsészettudományi Kar Magyar Tanszékének Folyóirata. Bányai János 70. születésnapjára* 40 (2009, no. 3) = Új folyam 10, no. 3: 18.

<sup>42</sup> For the details see: Géza Dávid, "Egy távolról jött oszmán főember a magyar végeken: Ulama bég," *Keletkutatás* (2002. ősz–2006. tavasz): 62–82; Köhbach, *Die Eroberung von Füle*, 42–44, note 42, 44–46, note 44. A partial life-story was published by Dino Mujadžević, "Bosanski i požeški sandžakbeg Ulama-beg," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 60 (2010): 251–58.

<sup>43</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, (Sarajevo: 1982), 90 spoke about eleven and a half years which is an exaggeration.

The respective entry of his appointment to Pozsega contains some interesting details about the composition of his income and the expansion of the *sancak*: “Ordered to Ulama *beg*, the former *beg* of Bosna. With its equivalent (namely with the same sum which he had possessed at his previous post). His present *hases* are 400.000. Reportedly, Ulama *beg* had had an additional 100.000 *akçe hases* on the other side of the Sava when he had been the *beg* of Bosna; with this [surplus] it will be 500.000. His outstanding 220.000 [*akçe*] should be completed from newly opening places and from places which will be opened (conquered) in the future. It was ordered that the castle of Gradiška and its neighbourhood be appended to the *sancak* of Pojega.”<sup>44</sup> Two details are worth attention: Ulama’s high prebend and the territorial growth of the district.

One year later, however, an unexpected change occurred in his life: on 20 March 1548 he became the *beglerbegi* of Erzurum.<sup>45</sup> In my interpretation while earlier he had been intentionally transferred into the European parts of the Empire to avoid his mischief-making in the East again, on the eve of a new campaign against Iran in 1548, his local knowledge and personal connections seemed vital for the Ottoman high command. True, he was appointed the provincial governor of Karaman in September of the same year but this did probably not alter his position within the military hierarchy deployed against the Shah. When his experiences and acquaintances were no more needed he was sent back to the Western hemisphere of the Sultanate.

Regrettably, I have no data about the *mirlivas* of Pozsega between the above-mentioned date (20 March 1548) and 10 December 1549. On this latter day Mehmed Han was lucky enough to become the head of the “*sancak* of Pojega and Ösek”.<sup>46</sup> He deserved 700.000 *akçe* annually, an almost astronomic figure, which shows that he was really an exceptional person. Indeed, he was the cousin of Selim I, their common grandfather being the emir of Zulkadır, Alaüddevlé Bozkurd. Mehmed Han governed Erzurum as its first *beglerbegi* between 1535 and 1539.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 208, p. 18. Cited by Feridun Emecen and İlhan Şahin, “Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından 957–958 (1550–1551) tarihli sancak tevcih defteri,” *Belgeler* 23 (1999): 61.

<sup>45</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 1864, p. 80. Cited by Dündar Aydın, *Erzurum Beylerbeyliği ve teşkilâtı. Kuruluş ve genişleme devri (1535–1566)*. (Türk Tarih Kurum yayınları, VII/151.) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 169, note 31. – According to news reaching Europe, he remained unsuccessful, was wounded and in his anger, Süleyman wanted him to be killed. Cf. *Austro-Turcica. Diplomatiscche Akten des habsburgischen Gesandtschaftsverkehrs mit der Hohen Pforte im Zeitalter Süleymans des Prächtigen*, bearbeitet von Srećko M. Džaja unter Mitarbeit von Günter Weiß, in Verbindung mit Mathias Bernath hrsg. von Karl Nehring. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, 95.) (München: R. Oldenbourg: 1995), 261, No. 89; 267–268, No. 92; E[rmest] Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*. I. (Paris, Emprimerie nationale, 1848), 96.

<sup>46</sup> Emecen and Şahin, “Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından,” 61.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. J. H. Mordtmann and Mükrimin H. Yinanç, “Dulkadırlılar,” in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. III. (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1988 [reprint]), 660–61. Aydın, *Erzurum Beylerbeyliği*, 87–91.

He arrived with Ulama to Rumelia, accompanied by Velican, Kamber and “Deriel” *begs* as Miklós Istvánffy, the great Hungarian humanist annalist maintains.<sup>48</sup> Out of them, Velican and Kamber became high level dignitaries, but we know nothing about “Deriel” because his name is unidentifiable. It can be ascertained, however, that this Eastern “maffia” played an important role in this area for several years.

Here we have a somewhat mysterious detail: the list kept in Istanbul speaks about Yahya *beg* as previous district governor of Pozsega when he was charged with the administration of Szerém (Serbian Srem, Croatian Srijem, Ottoman Sirem) on 11 January 1550,<sup>49</sup> while we cannot find him under the heading “Pojega”, moreover, respective changes can be accurately followed in entries of other *sancaks* relevant to us. We could say that there is a misunderstanding here had the *tapu defteri* of 1561 not contained reference to his pious foundation and mosque in the town.<sup>50</sup>

Be as it was, on 19 May 1550 Ahmed *beg*, the son of Yahyapaşa (whose family did not probably wish to lose their influence in the region) was to arrive at Pozsega after he had served in Egypt, an explicitly remote territory (this rarely happened to actual administrators<sup>51</sup>); he was entitled to 300.000 *akçe hases*.<sup>52</sup> However, he was even less fortunate than his predecessor, since he had to abandon his office to give way to Ulama on 14 September 1550. As a former provincial governor it is not a miracle that his annual income was set at 600.000 *akçe*.<sup>53</sup> Not much later than one year, on 10 October 1551 Mehmed Han returned from Zvornik<sup>54</sup> (Ottoman İzvornik) to Pozsega with the same high revenues as previously, while Ulama was sent to the new *sancak* – named after three smaller castles – of Csanád (Romanian Cenad, Ottoman Çenad), Becse (later Hungarian Törökbecse, Serbian Novi Bečej,

<sup>48</sup> Nicolai Isthvanfi Pannoni, *Historiarum de rebus ungaricis, libri XXXIV* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Antonius Hieratus, 1622), 240.

<sup>49</sup> Emecen and Şahin, “Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından,” 62. In this latter capacity he was instructed by the Sultan between 30 March-8 April to examine actions against the peace. See Ernst Dieter Petritsch, *Regesten der osmanischen Dokumente im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Band 1. (1480–1574)*. (Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband, 10/1.) ([Wien]: 1991), 62, No. 128.

<sup>50</sup> Moaçanin, *Požega i Požeština*, 236, 252; Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 111–12.

<sup>51</sup> Metin I. Kunt, *The Sultan’s Servants. The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550–1650*. (The Modern Middle East Series, 14.) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 69.

<sup>52</sup> Emecen and Şahin, “Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından,” 61. (They also cite Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 209, p. 49 where the same date is indicated.)

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. Confirmed by an entry in Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 209, p. 96. Both documents refer to his previous post as *beglerbegi* of Karaman.

<sup>54</sup> Interesting details about Mehmed Han’s men’s illegal activity can be found in a firman of 1560: See Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, „Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos.” *A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1559–1560, 1564–1565)*. “This Affair is of Paramount Importance”. *The Orders of the Ottoman Imperial Council Pertaining to Hungary (1559–1560, 1564–1565)* (Budapest: História, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2009), 101, No. 140.



Ottoman Beçi/Beçey), and Beçskerek (later Hungarian Nagybeçskerek, Serbian Zrenjanin, Ottoman Beçkerek).<sup>55</sup> After an interval in Fehérvár (later Székesfehérvár, Ottoman Ístolni Belgrad) from 15 October 1551, to our surprise, he once again appears in Pozsega. Namely, in a firman dated 4 March 1552, the *divan* emphasized that Ulama should remain on his place of service there and guard the border zone territories in Pozsega and Bosnia.<sup>56</sup> Subsequently, he participated in military activities in the area<sup>57</sup> as he had done earlier as well. Then, the central authorities, in spite of his failure in 1548, needed his expertise during the preparations of a new war against the Shah in 1552–1553,<sup>58</sup> so he was dismissed.

His successor was Bali, in all likelihood the same person who had already resided in the town between 1545–1547. At least, he also came from Vidin; we learn this from the heading of the list of his *hases* amounting to 482.630 *akçe* with the date of his title-deed (*hüküm*) corresponding to 18–27 December 1552.<sup>59</sup> This shows a completely different composition than the one of Murad *beg's* in 1541: the revenues originate almost without exception from settlements belonging to the *sancak* of Pozsega which was typical in a regular administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. We also learn that 392.401 *akçe* of the grand total had enriched Ulama (which does not necessarily mean that this latter had had no other prebends in Pozsega).

Bali was luckier than his earlier colleagues since he could govern his district for more than three years. Than he received Zvornik, and Bayram *beg*, arriving from Euboea, (Ottoman Agriboz), was charged with his post on 14 April 1556.<sup>60</sup> I cannot tell when Bayram's term ended in Pozsega,<sup>61</sup> but it is obvious that after him a certain Halil took over his task because this latter is mentioned in an order as dead in connection with an event occurring on 25 March 1559.<sup>62</sup> Veli, another significant personality of the Hungarian border zone territories followed him:<sup>63</sup> we first meet him in this position on 14 April 1559.<sup>64</sup> The last but one firman sent directly to him in this capacity was formulated on 17 July 1559.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile he was still

<sup>55</sup> Emecen and Şahin, "Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından," 61 and 64.

<sup>56</sup> Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Koşular 888, 85<sup>v</sup>. Published by Dávid and Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, 281–83, No. 59, here 282, 283.

<sup>57</sup> Dávid and Fodor, *Az ország ügye, passim*.

<sup>58</sup> Köhbach, *Die Eroberung von Füle*, 45, note 44.

<sup>59</sup> Wien, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Ehemalige Konsularakademie, Krafft 284, f. 28<sup>v</sup>–33<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme defteri 2, p. 56, Nos. 510 and 508, respectively.

<sup>61</sup> The last entry in which he appears is dated 16 January, 1558. Cf. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 216a, p. 102.

<sup>62</sup> Dávid and Fodor, *Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*, 17, No. 16.

<sup>63</sup> His almost full *vita* can be found in Köhbach, *Die Eroberung von Füle*, 261–64, note 246.

<sup>64</sup> Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A Budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása*. (Pest megye múltjából, 3.) (Budapest: Pest Megyei Levéltár, 1977), 65, No. 78.

<sup>65</sup> Dávid and Fodor, „Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos”, 17, No. 16.

addressed on 31 July 1559 as possessing this rank,<sup>66</sup> on the same day [Tütünsüz] Hüseyin, the *beg* of Szendrő was reminded to stay in this *sancak* until Bali the new administrator appears there and only then should he go to his next place of service<sup>67</sup> – which was Pozsega, as it turns out from an order of 3 August.<sup>68</sup>

One year and a month later another change befell: At least on 12 September 1560 a *mühimme defteri* entry reminded the district governor of Zvornik that by collecting *sipahis* in a sufficient number without delay and putting the local *alaybegi* to command them, care should be taken of Pozsega until the subsequent *beg* happens to get there.<sup>69</sup> Three days later (!), on 15 September, we read in a *rüüs defteri* entry, that Hüseyin, the *beg* of Pozsega became the *lala* of *şehzade* Selim, while his former tutor, Lala Mustafa was going to replace him.<sup>70</sup> On 18 October, however, this latter was granted an even higher post: that of the *beglerbegi* of Temeşvár (Romanian Timișoara, Ottoman Temeşvar/Timişvar).<sup>71</sup> With the same date of nomination, after an interval of 19 years, Arslan, the first *mirliva* returned to run affairs in Pozsega.<sup>72</sup> No doubt, he found much more consolidated circumstances there than those he had experienced earlier.

We cannot tell how long he could remain here. Our next piece of information about the *beg* of our *sancak* comes from a letter by Hasan dated 4 April 1563 and sent to Johannes/Hans Lenković, *Grenzobrist* in Croatia containing typical complaints against the unfriendly activity of Miklós Zrínyi/Nikola Zrinski's "hayducks" in the frontier area.<sup>73</sup> A similar report to the Ottoman court was formulated by him and Ferhad, district governor of Začasna (Ottoman Začasna, Croatian Čazma) in May/June of the same year.<sup>74</sup> This latter was attached to papers forwarded by Albert de Wyss/Wijs to Ferdinand from Istanbul on 5 July 1563. The resident wrote that Hasan had been the *beg* of Füle (Slovakian Filákovo, Ottoman Filek) before taking over Pozsega.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Dávid and Fodor, „*Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*”, 22–23, No. 22.

<sup>67</sup> Dávid and Fodor, „*Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*”, 17, No. 15.

<sup>68</sup> Dávid and Fodor, „*Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*”, 28, No. 29.

<sup>69</sup> Dávid and Fodor, „*Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*”, 127, No. 179.

<sup>70</sup> Mühimme defteri 4, p. 131, No. 1331, 1332. Cf. Şerafettin Turan, “Lala Mustafa paşa hakkında notlar ve vesikalar,” *Bellekten*, XXII/88 (1958): 556. (He comes to the same conclusion by using narrative sources: Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali and Peçevi.)

<sup>71</sup> Mühimme defteri 4, p. 146, No. 1481. Cf. Turan, “Lala Mustafa paşa,” 556.

<sup>72</sup> Mühimme defteri 4, p. 146, No. 1482.

<sup>73</sup> Petritsch, *Regesten*, 143, No. 403. (This document is preserved in the Kriegsarchiv, Vienna.)

<sup>74</sup> Petritsch, *Regesten*, 144, No. 405.

<sup>75</sup> Wien, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Türkei I. Karton 17. Konv. 4. 1563 VI–IX, 19–23. (My citations from this material are based on extracts prepared by István Fazekas. Honestly, I generally have not seen the original documents. The short summaries were made available on a CD (*Segédletek az Osztrák Állami Levéltár (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv) magyar*

Some six months have passed and a typical rotation of offices occurred: on 18 October 1563 Hasan had to go to Esztergom (Ottoman Estorgom/Östörgom), leaving his place to Bayram from Szerém while this latter *sancak* was given to Ahmed from Esztergom.<sup>76</sup> Though I cannot convincingly prove I am almost sure that this was Bayram's second term in Pozsega. He moved to Szerém again on 8 July 1564.<sup>77</sup>

The first reference to the following district governor, Nasuh stems from 12 October 1564 (but his date of appointment was probably 8 July). This is a *mühimme defteri* order addressed – besides him – to Hamza, *sancakbegi* of Mohács (Ottoman Mihaç) and the kadis of Eszék, Pécs (Croatian Pečuh, Ottoman Peçuy) and Siklós (Ottoman Şikloş) instructing them to prevent abuses of the soldiers of Moszlavina (Croatian Moslavina Podravska, Ottoman Moyslavina) and Berzőce (Croatian Brezovica).<sup>78</sup> He was addressed some firmans in 1565 and at least one in the next year. This was dated in April 1566 and prescribed him to renew the bridge near Eszék.<sup>79</sup> For some months, I have no undisputable data on the *beg* in Pozsega. In an order, sent to the actual leader of the *sancak* on 20 October 1568, a certain Hüseyin is mentioned as “*mir-i sabik*” (former district governor) without indicating his place of service. From the context Nenad Moačanin logically concluded that he must be the previous administrator who, as we read in the document, had demolished certain parts of the crossing facility at Eszék.<sup>80</sup> However, not being absolutely sure that Hüseyin was really employed in Pozsega I omit him from Appendix 1 below.

Our next hero, Bali, had directed Szerém until 10 December 1566 when he was transposed to Pozsega. Moačanin posits that he is identical with Malkoçoğlu Bali but this is not so evident to me.<sup>81</sup> Same or not, he must also have been an old veteran because the level of his nominal “salary” reached 560.000 *akçe*. And though a part of this sum remained outstanding what he *nolens volens* accepted, he was ready, in an almost unparalleled manner, to renounce from 41.186 *akçe* for three persons with the stipulation that the respective sums will no more figure in his diploma (*berat*); two of them were his sons and one his *kethüda*,<sup>82</sup> which explains somewhat

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*vonatkozású irataihoz*, szerk. István Fazekas, István Kenyeres, and Béla Sarusi Kiss, No place: Arcanum, no date) which, unfortunately, is a bit difficult to use. They can be found in the database “Arcanum” as well – similarly hard to handle. I am grateful to the author for giving me a raw but easily searchable version of the “manuscript”.

<sup>76</sup> Kámil Kepeci tasnifi 218, p. 38 (new pagination 62).

<sup>77</sup> Kámil Kepeci tasnifi 74, p. 85. – He must have been fond of the region, because besides Pozsega and Szerém he also crops up two or three times in Szendrő.

<sup>78</sup> Dávid and Fodor, „*Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*”, 171, No. 36.

<sup>79</sup> Nenad Moačanin, “Cisr-i kebir-i Ösek,” in *Veliki osječki most / The Great Osijek Bridge. Povijesni dossier i suvremena interpretacija*. Zagreb and Osijek: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku, 2014, 87-88.

<sup>80</sup> Moačanin, “Cisr-i kebir-i Ösek,” 91.

<sup>81</sup> Moačanin, “Cisr-i kebir-i Ösek,” 91.

more his generosity. He could stay in Pozsega for a comparatively long time; then he changed place of service with Ali, the *beg* of Vidin on 27 July 1569. This latter was entitled to collect 430.000 *akçe* a year.<sup>83</sup> His surviving list of *bases*, however, gives – without any kind of explanation – a grand total of 442.606 *akçe*. The enumeration can be found in such a rare *icmal defteri* where three later *sancakbegis* are also shown and alterations in the composition of the district governors' income, if it happened to be lower, can be detected.<sup>84</sup> Its testimony fully overlaps with the pertinent entries in the centrally kept book of *ümera*, cited above. Accordingly, Mehmed from Fehérvár, Hızır<sup>85</sup> from Zácsna,<sup>86</sup> and Sinan from Szekszárd came one after the other, on 13 (or 12) May 1571, 9 July 1572, and 6 February 1574, respectively.<sup>87</sup> Mehmed got 463.250 *akçe*, of which a modest but fix amount originated from the *liva* of Szendrő with the stipulation that it should be always kept in his possession wherever he has a *sancak*.<sup>88</sup> Hızır's official *bases* – including a raise and some surplus (*ziyade*) – were 348.310 *akçe*, but for one reason or another in the relevant entry in the prebend-journal kept in Buda we see 353.610.<sup>89</sup> Sinan stood on an even lower grade on the revenue scale with 280.000 *akçe* but he also received some extra, which pushed the total to 298.700 *akçe*.<sup>90</sup> This is a sign of relatively good financial possibilities in the *sancak* at this point of time.<sup>91</sup>

Though the two sources fully harmonize, we read in an order dated on 14 February 1572 that Ali, the *beg* of Pozsega had proposed that the district governors

<sup>82</sup> Maliyeden müdevver defter 563, p. 48.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. – Nenad Moaçanin, “Kapudánságok a bosnyák határvidéken a 16–18. században,” *Aetas* (1994, no 4): 52, speaks about him as the *kapudan* of Gradiška from 1565 and also the *beg* of Esztergom, without giving a date. I cannot prove this latter statement.

<sup>84</sup> Tapu defteri 486, pp. 7–10 (OTKA).

<sup>85</sup> Carolus Rym, who informed correctly about his previous seats (namely Akkerman before Zácsna), asserted that he was the brother-in-law (or son-in-law?) of the Crimean Han (“gener Tartarhani”). Unfortunately, I could not clarify the accuracy of this detail but I deem it worth being mentioned. *Türkei I. Karton 28. Konv. 5. 1572. VII–X, 51–64.*

<sup>86</sup> He was dismissed from Pozsega, because “he had been unable to get along with the people of the *sancak*, had put forward the *dirlik* of the *ağas* and the soldiers for others without any reason and his *voyvodas* [...] come into possession of *timars*.” See Mühimme defteri 25, p. 48, No. 484. – As so often, the punishment did not mean great ordeals: Hızır could continue in Szekszárd (Ottoman Seksar) from 6 February 1574, the very same day when Sinan left it for Pozsega. Ibid. p. 48, No. 482.

<sup>87</sup> Maliyeden müdevver defter 563, p. 48; Tapu defteri 486, p. 7.

<sup>88</sup> The usual formula sounded like this: “*Her kanda sancak tasarruf ederse, baslarından mahsub olmak üzere*”. Occasionally *çiftlik tarikıyla* is added before “*baslarından*”. Even in our case the extended version occurs when speaking about his allowances in Szigetvár: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Flügel 1387 (Mxt 597), f. 263<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> Flügel 1384 (Mxt 571), ff. 57<sup>v</sup>–58<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Flügel 1384 (Mxt 571), ff. 250<sup>v</sup>–251<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Tapu defteri 486, p. 7.

<sup>91</sup> Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 123, speaks about “Nesuh” (Nasuh) as coming after Mehmed but without citing her source. My data do not seem to prove this statement.

should stay at Moszlavina since Pozsega is situated in inner territories (*iç il*) and therefore it is difficult to defend the border region from the unbelievers arriving to cause damage. The centre accepted the suggestion – it remains a question if it was really implemented and if so how long the new seat functioned in this capacity.<sup>92</sup> However, I have not seen any entries where the head of the *sancak* was labelled as the *beg* of Moszlavina. Due to these uncertainties, I am hesitant to add Ali to our list; his name was perhaps misspelt by the scribe or one of his earlier, so far “forgotten” proposals was reflected upon after his departure from Pozsega in 1571. It is also noteworthy that on subsequent pages we meet Mehmed twice in the same, chronologically unsystematic (or misbound) volume.<sup>93</sup>

In the new central list of *ümera*, the first appointment to Pozsega bears the date 29 January 1576.<sup>94</sup> Here it was remarked that its *beg*, Hasan had previously served in Nikopol (Ottoman Niğbolı, Hungarian Nikápoly). To our luck his title was indicated as *paşa* and this allows us to identify him with the Hasan who, after his first period in Pozsega in 1563, became the *beglerbegi* of Temesvár, was later dismissed from this position because of ill behaviour, worked in Szendrő for a while<sup>95</sup> and then passed to Nikopol.<sup>96</sup> Remembering Hasan’s earlier significant offices we are not surprised to hear that his nominal *hases* had amounted to 590.000<sup>97</sup> *akçe* by this time. He is mentioned as having departed while performing his duties at Pozsega in a firman of 17 May or 15 June 1583. The entry refers to a lawsuit between his son, Mustafa and a certain Christian woman, called Papas-zade Karin who had lent 50.000 *akçe* to the *mirliva*.<sup>98</sup> Knowing Hasan’s richness, this story sounds a bit queer but nothing can be brought to light about the background.

Though the list kept in Istanbul does not speak about him, Hasan’s follower must have been Mahmud beg who is alluded to twice, first on 29 September 1578<sup>99</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Mühimme defteri 18, p. 46, No. 65 (OTKA). Cf. Kazım Kürşat Yücel, *18 numaralı mühimme defteri (tablil–metin). Yüksek lisans tezi* (Istanbul: 1996). No page numbering.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. Nos. 85 and 141.

<sup>94</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 19.

<sup>95</sup> He is mentioned as possessing this position in September 1570 (Petritsch, *Regesten*, 210–211, No. 624.), in August, 1571 (*Ungrád Dávid konstantinápolyi utazásai*, ford. etc. József László Kovács. Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1986, 37: Pastor Franz Ömich, author of the text, was also aware of the fact that Hasan had been provincial governor of Temesvár), in January, 1572 (Petritsch, *Regesten*, 219–20, No. 654), and in May 1572 (Mühimme defteri 15, p. 83, No. 712.)

<sup>96</sup> My first data about him in Nikopol is from 28 November, 1575, when he received 9.866 *akçe* in the “*her kanda*” form in Szendrő. See Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Tımar ruznamçe defteri 42, part Nikopol, no page numbering.

<sup>97</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 19.

<sup>98</sup> Mühimme defteri 49, p. 57, No. 203 (OTKA). Cf. Hasan Yıldız, *XLIX numaralı mühimme defteri (tablil–metin). Yüksek lisans tezi* (Istanbul: 1996), 91–92.

<sup>99</sup> Mühimme defteri 35, No. 664. (I am grateful to Sadık Müfit Bilge for this and the next pieces of information.)

and then on 15 March 1579 (saying about him that “he sent a letter” to the court).<sup>100</sup> At this latter date, however, he could not be active there anymore, since Ferhad, the previous beg of Füleke was appointed to Pozsega on 9 December 1578. When his diploma was made out some months later, his yearly hases reached 399.339 akçe while he had been entitled to collect 349.040 akçe in Northern Hungary.<sup>101</sup>

The central register is once again imperfect at this point. We only learn from other sources that after Ferhad, Iskender,<sup>102</sup> Ulama *beg/paşa*’s son got Pozsega and died in a clash that was fought nearby on 28–29 September 1580.<sup>103</sup> As reported by Joachim von Sinzendorf, the Habsburg resident in Istanbul, the Sultan was extremely furious upon losing his commander and he himself had to apologize at the Grand Vizier.<sup>104</sup> The single Turkish document which I found about Iskender *beg* preserved the names of his nearest entourage, his “men” (*adamları*) who received *timars*.<sup>105</sup> Some weeks earlier than Iskender deceased, the *vilayet* of Bosnia was called to life and Pozsega became a part of it but this reorganization did not cause any modification regarding its actual leader.<sup>106</sup>

Though his date of nomination remains in shadow, Iskender’s successor was, in all likelihood, Mustafa. I have data concerning his activity from 27 August 1581.<sup>107</sup> It is worth mentioning that he sent a *defter* to the court in which he asked favour for 95 persons who had participated in the renovation of five fortresses in the farthest confines without financial contribution of the treasury. He itemized 8 *ziamet*-holders, 37 timariots, 20 equestrians (*faris*), and 30 *gureba* (namely individuals who had not belonged to the military) deserving the Sultan’s grace recompensing their useful work.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Mühimme defteri 37, p. 87, No. 997.

<sup>101</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 19.

<sup>102</sup> About his voracity (“*tante enim voracitatis eum fuisse, ideoque pinguem & obesum factum ferrebant, vt integrum veruecem feruenti in furno coctum solus absumeret, & repetitis aliquot vicibus, vna die esitaret*”) and huge body see Isthvanfi, *Historiarum*, 557.

<sup>103</sup> Géza Pálffy, “Egy szlavóniai köznemesi familia két ország szolgálatában: a budróci Budor család a XV–XVIII. században,” *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 115 (2002): 943–44 and the literature cited in note 125.

<sup>104</sup> Türkei I. Karton 42. Konv. 2. 1580. VIII–IX., 281–288; Türkei I. Karton 43. Konv. 1. 1580. X–XII. und s.d., 151–160.

<sup>105</sup> Mühimme defteri 45, p. 267, No. 3193.

<sup>106</sup> Feridun Emecen, “Bosna Eyaleti,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 6 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992), 296; Hatice Oruç, “15. yüzyılda Bosna Sancağı ve idarî dağılımı,” *OTAM* 18 (2005): 253, note 19. Ferhad became *beglerbegi* on 4 September (which is not very far from 23 September, postulated by Šabanović – *Bosanski pašaluk*, 78 – as *terminus ante quem* and cited widely). The relevant sentences from Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 2 were published by Metin Kunt, *Sancaktan eyalete. 1550–1650 arasında Osmanlı ümerası ve il idaresi*. (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi yayınları, 154.) (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1978), 150.

<sup>107</sup> Mühimme defteri 45, p. 145, No. 1695; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 7504, p. 121; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 241, p. 105.

<sup>108</sup> Date: 31 July–9 August 1583. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 5000. No page numbering.

On 12 May 1584 Mustafa<sup>109</sup> was moved to Klis, exchanging his place with Sinan's.<sup>110</sup> After two months, on 6 July 1584 an earlier *beg* of Klis, who cannot be found in the *ümera* register relied upon here and must have been dismissed for a while, Mehmed emerges in Pozsega.<sup>111</sup> This *beg* was probably the addressee of a firman in November, 1584 which prescribed him, together with the district governors of Szeged (Ottoman Segedin) and Mohács, he should make the necessary steps if danger emerges in the Bosnian frontier area because this was the – otherwise quite logical – custom.<sup>112</sup>

Earlier, in Szigetvár, he got 590.138 *akçe* which is a clear sign of an advanced stage of career which we can follow considerably well for more than 25 years. We meet him first between 1562–1563 in Füleki,<sup>113</sup> then in Arad–Gyula,<sup>114</sup> after a probable interval – as we have seen – in Fehérvár, Pozsega, then again in Fehérvár, Shkodër,<sup>115</sup> Delvine,<sup>116</sup> Szerém,<sup>117</sup> Szigetvár (Ottoman Sigetvar),<sup>118</sup> Klis, Kjustendil (Ottoman Köstendil), Pozsega, Szolnok (Ottoman Solnik),<sup>119</sup> Kjustendil, and Gyula in 1589.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>109</sup> My data perhaps will help to solve at least a part of the uncertainties concerning his person as described by Hafizović, “Novi podaci o vakufu/legatu Benlu-age u Đakovu,” *Scrinia slavonica* 14 (2014): 46–47; Idem, “Lala Mustafa-paša – kliški sandžakbeg i vakif džamije u Livnu?” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 66 (2016): 99–109; Idem, *Požeski sandžak*, 45 (Here she mentions Filibeli Mustafa paša as *sancakbegi* of Pozsega which is, in all likelihood, a misunderstanding as an official of this name is only known – as far as I could check – from the 17th century (cf. Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, IV., yayına haz. Nuri Akbayar, eski yazıdan aktaran Seyit Ali Kahraman. (Tarih Vakfı Yurt yayınları, 30.) Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1996, 1194) while the respective district governors were Arslan, Hasan and Bayram in the given year.)

<sup>110</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, pp. 19, 35, and 8. Data on p. 35 in this *defter* were cited by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Prof. Tayyib Okıç ve Bosna-Hersek tarihi, Bosna Eyaleti,” in *Tayyib Okıç armağanı*. Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1978, XLI.

<sup>111</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 35.

<sup>112</sup> Musa Günay, *55 numaralı mühimme defteri. Yüksek lisans tezi* (Samsun: 1996), 58, No. 79 (p. 45 in the original).

<sup>113</sup> Gisela Procházka-Eisl and Claudia Römer, *Osmanische Beamtenschreiben und Privatbriefe der Zeit Süleymâns des Prächtigen aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien. Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen*. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 357.) Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, 122, No. 61.

<sup>114</sup> Géza Dávid, “The *Sancakbegis* of Arad and Gyula,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XLVI (1992/93): 148–149.

<sup>115</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 4.

<sup>116</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 5.

<sup>117</sup> Flügel 1387 (Mxt 597), f. 263r–v.

<sup>118</sup> Géza Dávid, “Török közigazgatás a városban,” in *Szigetvár története. Tanulmányok a város múltjából*, szerk. Sándor Bósze, László Ravazdi, and László Szita (Szigetvár, Szigetvár Város Önkormányzata and Szigetvári Várbaráti Kör), 2006, 124, No. 7.; Maliyeden müdevver defter 15283, pp. 302–306.

<sup>119</sup> Timar ruznamçe defteri 78, part Solnik, pp. 33–34 (my pagination).

<sup>120</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 252, p. 27.

On 5 June 1585 the *beglerbegi* of Buda was instructed in a prebend issue as a reflection upon Mehmed's letter written as the *mirliva* of Pozsega in which he repeated his request having been formulated when he was running affairs in Szigetvár during his stay there between 1581–1582.<sup>121</sup> By this time his term in Pozsega had ended (and this fact was somehow disregarded by the court), since upon the demand of Vizier Mehmed *paşa*, Mahmud, the *beg* of Kjustendil received Pozsega on 26 May 1585<sup>122</sup> and supposedly Sinan was selected to continue his activity there.<sup>123</sup>

The next year brought three nominations: Mahmud was followed by Hüseyin on 9 May 1586, arriving from Szerém, then came Mustafa, having worked in Klis, on 27 July, while Hüseyin returned to Pozsega on 2 November.<sup>124</sup>

A not very precise Ottoman chronicle from the point of view of indicating dates, states that Tiryaki Hasan had a short period in Pozsega sometimes before 19 August 1587,<sup>125</sup> probably around 15 March.<sup>126</sup> This knowledge seems to harmonize with Bartholomäus Pezzen's information of 27 September 1587, according to which Hasan *beg* was transferred back to Szigetvár and the latter's leader to Pozsega.<sup>127</sup> The second part of the previous sentence cannot be corroborated since Şehsüvar functioned in Szigetvár from March 1587 until the beginning of 1588.<sup>128</sup>

Here we have another lacuna, at least I do not exactly know when Ferhad *beg* started his activity in Pozsega or who had preceded him. It is, however, clear that his term ended there on 15 December 1589 when he was sent to Pécs.<sup>129</sup> His post was given to Halil who had received Pécs three weeks earlier.<sup>130</sup> This decision was in effect also only for a short time: we see Ferhad's name again as the *mirliva* of Pozsega on 14 January 1590.<sup>131</sup> His return did not last long, either; he is men-

<sup>121</sup> Imre Karácson, *Török–magyar oklevéltár, 1533–1789*, szerk. Lajos Thallóczy, János Kracsári, and Gyula Szekfű (Budapest, Stephaneum Nyomda, 1914), 130, No. 161.

<sup>122</sup> Gökbilgin, Prof. Tayyib Okiç, XLI, misread the name of the months; he gave *zi'l-kade* instead of *cemazi'ü-l-evvel*.

<sup>123</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 244, p. 191; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 35.

<sup>124</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 35; for Klis p. 34 (the name is missing but the date and earlier place of service are the same what escaped Gökbilgin's attention).

<sup>125</sup> Osman Ünlü, *Kanije müdafaası ve Cihâd-nâme-i Hasan paşa*. (Istanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi, 2015), 170–71. Cf. Mahmut Ak, „Tiryâki Hasan paşa,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 41, (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2012), 205 (he probably relied on the same work published by Ünlü).

<sup>126</sup> Dávid, „Török közigazgatás a városban,” 125, No. 12.

<sup>127</sup> Türkei I. Karton 63. Konv. 2. 1587. IX. 2. Hälfté, 75–108.

<sup>128</sup> Dávid, „Török közigazgatás a városban,” 125, No. 13.

<sup>129</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 252, p. 166. Cf. Géza Dávid, „Mohács–Pécs 16. századi bégjei,” *Pécs a törökkerban*, szerk. Ferenc Szakály (and József Vonyó). (Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből, 7.) (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 1999), 81, 84.

<sup>130</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 252, p. 145.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191.



tioned as former district governor at the end of September, 1590 and as “late” in early June 1591.<sup>132</sup>

One single reference can be found in my collection on Ali *beg*, speaking about a *timar* grant registered on his initiative on 30 November 1592.<sup>133</sup> Austrian documents know about Ramazan *beg*, who arrived at Pozsega around 3 June 1593 and died in the battle of Sziszek (Croatian Sisak) on 22 June.<sup>134</sup> Finally, Bahtiyar’s name is preserved in firmans from 1594–1595 issued as a result of his recommendations submitted as the *mirliva* of the administrative unit under scrutiny.<sup>135</sup>

Somewhat surprisingly archival sources seem to be mute on the *sancakbegis* of Pozsega for the rest of the century, or – more likely – I was careless while consulting them. Chronicles are not very promising, either. It is difficult to judge how far Hafizović’s hints about Ibrahim *beg* in 1597 and Hasan *beg* in 1598 are correct because no proof is offered by her.<sup>136</sup>

Though I have pointed out elsewhere that the *sancak* of Pozsega belonged to the short lived *vilayet* of Szigetvár from approximately July 1595 (or somewhat earlier) until its suppression, this fact should be repeated here.<sup>137</sup> It is more widely known that after the capturing of Kanizsa in 1600, three districts, Pécs, Pozsega, and Szigetvár were attached to the new province established there.<sup>138</sup>

## CONCLUSION

We could identify 44 (+ 2 uncertain) *sancakbegis* in the *sancak* of Pozsega between 1538 and 1598. This means that the chief administrators here were changed very often. Within the period January 1538 and September 1590 documents show 41 *mirlivas* serving altogether some 540 months while we have no or incomplete data for approximately 90 months. This means that the average term of a district governor in Požega in the 16th century was not much more than 13 months, shorter than in other regions of Ottoman Hungary. It is another question that several officials were appointed more than once to this very same place. Though occasion-

<sup>132</sup> Maliyeden müdevver defter 15567, pp. 89 and 162, respectively.

<sup>133</sup> Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 253, p. 4.

<sup>134</sup> Leopold Toifl, “Das Jahr 1593 als Vorspiel des Dreizehnjährigen Türkenkrieges,” *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 100 (2009): 146 (misspelt as Rachmatin), 149 (the author does not comment the difference in spelling).

<sup>135</sup> Maliyeden müdevver defter 15567, pp. 176 and 195.

<sup>136</sup> Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 123.

<sup>137</sup> Géza Dávid, “Ottoman Administrative Strategies in Western Hungary,” in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. by Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul: The Isis Press), 1994, 39.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Nenad Moačanin, “Verwaltungsgeschichte Mittelslawoniens als Bestandteil des eyâlets Kanizsa,” *Zalai Múzeum* 4 (1992): 73–75; Dávid, “Ottoman Administrative Strategies,” 41–42.

ally it is not easy to decide if namesakes are identical persons or not, in other cases there is no doubt about it. It would be crucial to figure out if the four Balis are one or two individuals since they “reigned” in Pozsega altogether 111 months and with this length – if he is the same *beg* throughout – he would be the first among his colleagues. Otherwise Arslan would hold the record with a bit more than six years. His is, otherwise the longest duration of one single period of service with 45 months right when the district was established. If we add Murad’s 39 months, a 7 year period results which must have been decisive for the future of the administrative unit discussed. On the other hand, more than twenty appointment terms lasted less than one year; it is remarkable that after 1578 nobody could sit longer than 12 months in Pozsega. Among them Lala Hüseyin enjoyed the shortest the Sultan’s grace: he “possessed” the office in question only for three days. But we can doubt effective work in the case of all those who had to say goodbye to their post in Pozsega before 3 months or so. Some of our people were or became local potentates, the Yahyapaşa family and the Eastern lords were comparatively highly represented, especially at the beginning. Later the background is not always clear, but the fact that the income of *begs* of Pozsega often amounted to high sums evidently shows that the *sancak* had a special place in the area. (Out of the 17 instances when the *mirliva*’s *hases* were detailed or only their total was given we find 3 men with 6–700.000, 4 with 5–600.000, 3 with 4–500.000, 5 with 3–400.000 and only 2 with 2–300.000 *akçe* annual “wage”. We should not forget, however, that occasionally they are the same individuals.) The composition of the high-ranking officials’ prebends significantly altered with the passing of time; initially most revenue-sources originated from territories outside the *sancak*, later there were almost no such examples (except for the “*ber kanda*” parts). Depending on their actual stage of career, 7 (in 1574), 10 (in 1572), 16 (in 1570) or 25 (in 1552) *nahiyes* contributed to the sum the given person was granted by the state. District governors of Pozsega were generally relocated within Rumelia, later also Bosnia (Klis playing an outstanding role from the point of view of where to come from and where to go to): from 26 merely 2 *begs* came from far away corners of the Empire and just 1 single from the court. This fact can be explained by the region’s being in the *serhat* (border zone area) where experience, talent and/or local knowledge counted somewhat more than in core territories where a novice could also perform his duty well.

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## APPENDIX 1

*The sancakbegis of Pozsega in the 16th century*<sup>139</sup>

Name	Beginnig	End of service	Duration	Previous place of service	Amount of <i>bases</i> ( <i>akçe</i> )
Arslan	beginning of 1538 (?)	18 September 1541	45 months?	?	210.114
Murad	18 September 1541	End of 1544, beginning of 1545?	39 months?	Klis	345.000
Bali	22 January 1545	25 March 1547	26 months	Vidin	300.000
Ulama	25 March 1547	20 March 1548	1 year	Bosna	500.000
Mehmed Han	10 December 1549	11 January 1550	1 month	?	700.000
Yahya	11 January 1550	19 May 1550	4 months	?	?
Ahmed	19 May 1550	14 September 1550	4 months	Egypt	300.000
Ulama 2nd time	14 September 1550	10 October 1551	13 months	Karaman	600.000
Mehmed Han 2nd time	10 October 1551	around 4 March 1552	6 months	Zvornik	700.000
Ulama 3rd time	around 4 March 1552	before 18–27 December 1552	9 months	Fehérvár	?
Bali 2nd time	before 18–27 December 1552	14 April 1556	40 months	Vidin	482.630
Bayram	14 April 1556	around January 1558	20 months?	Euboea	?
Halil	around January 1558	before 25 March 1559	15 months	?	?
Veli	before 14 April 1559	around 17 July 1559	4 months	Fehérvár?	?
Hüseyin	around 17 July 1559	around 3 August 1559	less than a month	Szendrő	?
Bali 3rd time??	around 3 August 1559	around 12 September 1560	13 months?	?	?
Hüseyin	around 12 September 1560	15 September 1560	3 days	?	?
Lala Mustafa	15 September 1560	18 October 1560	1 month	Istanbul	?
Arslan 2nd time	18 October 1560	before 4 April 1563	29 months	Mohács-Pécs	?
Hasan	before 4 April 1563	18 October 1563	7 months (?)	Füleki	?

<sup>139</sup> After submitting the final version of my article I found one more *beg* of Pozsega. He was Malkoç and appointed on 5 November 1558 from Bosna while his predecessor, Halil became the district governor of Nikopol four days earlier (Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 216, p. 18.) Consequently 45 (+ 2 uncertain) *sancakbeyis* could be identified. My observation (“or another Malkoç, however, was never the *beg* of Pozsega”) in note 41 needs partial revision. I am grateful to Prof. Kursar for his accepting this addition.

Bayram 2nd time	18 October 1563	8 July 1564	9 months	Szerém	?
Nasuh	8 July 1564 (?)	10 December 1566	28 months	?	?
Bali 4th time??	10 December 1566	27 July 1569	32 months	Szerém	560.000
Ali	27 July 1569	12/13 May 1571	21 months	Vidin	442.606
Mehmed	12/13 May 1571	9 July 1572	14 months	Fehérvár	463.250
Hızır	9 July 1572	6 February 1574	19 months	Začasna	353.610
Sinan	6 February 1574	29 January 1576	24 months	Szekszárd	298.700
Hasan 2nd time	29 January 1576	before 29 September 1578	?	Nikopol	590.000
Mahmud	before 29 September 1578	9 December 1578	?	?	?
Ferhad	9 December 1578	?	11 months??	Fülek	399.339
Iskender	?	28–29 September 1580	11 months??	?	?
Mustafa	?	12 May 1584	?	?	?
Sinan	12 May 1584	6 July 1584	2 months	Klis	?
Mehmed 2nd time	6 July 1584	26 May 1585	11 months	Klis	590.138
Mahmud	26 May 1585	9 May 1586	11 months	Kjustendil	?
Hüseyin	9 May 1586	27 July 1586	3 months	Szerém	?
Mustafa 2nd time	27 July 1586	2 November 1586	3 months	Klis	?
Hüseyin 2nd time	2 November 1586	March (?) 1587	4 months (?)	Klis	?
Tiryaki Hasan	March (?) 1587	September (?) 1587	6 months (?)	Szigetvár	?
Ferhad 2nd time	?	15 December 1589	?	?	?
Halil	15 December 1589	around 14 January 1590	1 month	Pécs	?
Ferhad 3rd time	around 14 January 1590	before end of September 1590	9 months?	?	?
Ali	?	active before 30 November 1592	?	?	?
Ramazan	around 3 June 1593	22 June 1593	?	?	?
Bahtiyar	?	active before 1594	?	?	?
Ibrahim (?)	?	1597	?	?	?
Hasan (?)	?	1598	?	?	?

## APPENDIX 2

*The sancakbegis of Pozsega in the 17th century*

Once I collected them, I add a list of 17th century “*sancakbegis*” in Pozsega, but in a shortened form. It should not be forgotten that the *liva* often lost its real administrative character because it was granted as *arpalık* to provincial governors in or out of office, which practice was typical for the period. The dates indicated are sometimes exact, in other cases approximate or refer merely to a *terminus ante quem*.

Mustafa paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Kanizsa (later Hungarian Nagykanizsa, Ottoman Kanije), before April, 1602. Tımar ruznamçe defteri 259, p. 561; possessing the *sancak* as a *beglerbeglik*, second half of April, 1603, *Osmanlı tarihine âid belgeler: telhisler (1597–1607)*. Hazırlayan: Cengiz Orhonlu. (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1511.) İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1970, 56, No. 65, 58-59 No. 68, 61, No. 71.

Mehmed, former *beglerbegi* of Bosnia, July 1603. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 149, f. 18<sup>r</sup>.

Hasan, February, 1604. Ibid. f. 63<sup>r</sup>.

Hızır, the *kapucubaşı* of the late [Lala Mehmed?], beginning of October, 1605. *Tarih-i Peçevî*. II. No place, no date, 307.

Mehmed, 1612. Türki I. Karton 94. Konv. 2. 1612.V–VII., 177. (Undated Croatian letter of “Posseski Mehmed Begh”.)

Nuri, 1616-1622? (?). Nenad Moaçanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*. (The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage 35.) Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006, 135. I could not check the validity of this piece of information. The period seems unusually long and disputable since we have Ibrahim from June, 1617.<sup>140</sup>

Ibrahim, June, 1617. Tımar ruznamçe defteri 377, p. 22; June 1618, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 71, p. 645.

Hasan (or Hüseyin?) paşa, in the form of *arpalık*, 27 October–24 November 1631. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 266, f. 16<sup>r</sup>.

Mustafa paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Bosnia, in the form of *arpalık*, 26 June, 1633, prolonged on 24 March, 1635. Ibid.

Mehmed paşa, former *beglerbegi* of --- (left open), in the form of *arpalık*, 20–29 January, 1636. Ibid.

Sarhoş Ibrahim paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Bosnia, 3 January, 1637. Ibid.

Mustafa paşa, possessing formerly Karahisar-i Şarkî in the form of *arpalık*, 18 December, 1640. Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Moaçanin, *Town and Country*, 136, speaks of a certain Kulaksız Ali bey/paşa without time indication.

Mehmed, the brother of Silihdar paşa, former *sancakbegi* of Jerusalem (Kuds-i Şerif), 24 December (?), 1640. He was appointed because Mustafa had not accepted Pozsega. Ibid.

Rızvan paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Eger (Ottoman Egri, Egre), in the form of *arpalık*, 21 December, 1641. Ibid; Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, A-RSK-d 1512, p. 38.

Hasan paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Temesvár, 28. July, 1643. A-RSK-d 1512, p. 38.

Dilaver paşa, dismissed (*mazul*) from the *sancak* of Klis, 24 January, 1644. Ibid.

Ismail, former *baş kapuci başı*, 4 July, 1644. Ibid.

Hüseyn paşa, who had formerly possessed in the form of *arpalık* the *sancak* of Herzegovina (Ottoman Hersek), 8 August, 1644. Ibid.

Mustafa (Turahan oğlu), dismissed (*mazul*) from the *sancak* of Kjustendil, 19 October, 1645, prolonged on 7 January, 1646. Ibid.

Memi (or Muhyi ?), dismissed (*mazul*) from the *sancak* of Kruševac (Ottoman Alaca Hisar), 4 April, 1646. Ibid.

Mustafa (Davud paşazade), 25 September, 1646, prolonged 4–13 July, 1647. Ibid.

Hasan, former *bostancıbaşı*, 4 October, 1647, received the rank of Kanizsa. 16 October, 1647. Ibid.

Mustafa, former *sancakbegi* of ? (I cannot read/identify), 8 October, 1650. A-RSK-d 1522, p. 32. (OTKA); prolonged 12. July 1651. Ibid., p. 111,

Bektaş, anew, he was confirmed on the intervention of his predecessor, Mustafa. (This implies that earlier he had already served in Pozsega.) 20 July, 1651. Ibid, p. 114.

Mehmed, from among the *müteferrikas* of the court. 8 November, 1651. A-RSK-d 1524, p. 80. (OTKA)

Ali, the *alaybegi* of Pozsega, from among the *ziamet*-holders, 17 July, 1652, A-RSK-d, 1526, p. 22. (OTKA)

Ibrahim paşa, 16 June, 1653. A-RSK-d, 1526, p. 180.

Muharrem, former *beg* of Pozsega receives Fehérvár. 23 October, 1654. A-RSK-d, 1526, p. 262.

Musli, confirmed on the intervention of Buda, 11 July, 1654. A-RSK-d, 1526, p. 312. (I did not find any reference on his appointment, the last being that of Ibrahim paşa's (see above).

Mehmed, probably an earlier *beg* of Pozsega, 8 June, 1655. A-RSK-d 1529, p. 52. (OTKA)

Hasan paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Kanizsa, as *arpalık*, 3 October, 1655. A-RSK-d 1529, p. 119.

Ak Yaka Mustafa, from among the *sipahis*, 23 June, 1656. A-RSK-d 1529, p. 265.

Mustafa, former *kapuçular kethüdası*, 6 October, 1656. A-RSK-d 1531, p. 2. (OTKA)

Ibrahim *paşa*, before 17 April, 1660. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 434, p. 12.

Ibrahim *paşa*, former *beglerbegi* of Eger, in the form of *arpalık*, from 26 September, 1660. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 434, p. 12.

Mustafa, *paşa, vezir*, in the form of *arpalık*, active July 1661. Lajos Fekete, *A hódoltság török levéltári forrásai nyomában*. Szerk. Géza Dávid. (Budapest Oriental Reprints. Series A 6. Editors: E. Schütz.–É. Apor). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság and Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1993, 223, No. 20.

Hasan, *paşa*, in the form of *arpalık*, active June, 1663. Fekete, *A hódoltság török*, 237, No. 73.

Bekir (?), *mutasarrıf* of Pozsega, active July, 1663. Fekete, *A hódoltság török*, 242, No. 91.

Kaplan Mustafa (?), *paşa, vezir*, active February, 1664. Fekete, *A hódoltság török*, 260, Nos. 149, 150.

Fındık Mustafa *paşa*. 1684. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar tarihi*. II. Istanbul: 1928, 183.

Osman *paşa*. 1684. ("Early in 1684 he performed badly in the defense of the approaches to Buda and was demoted to the commonplace rank of *sancakbegi* of Pozsega." Colin Heywood, *Bosnia Under Ottoman Rule, 1463-1800*. In: *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*. Ed. by Mark Pinson. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1994, 38. He went to Eger in c. May, 1685. *Silahdar tarihi*, II. 199.

Osmanpaşaoğlu Ahmed *paşa, vezir*, from c. May, 1685 until 27 November, 1685. Silahdar, *Silahdar tarihi*, II. 199; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Bağdat 174, f. 41<sup>r</sup>.

Fındık Mustafa *paşa*, until 17 December, 1686. Kanizsa. Silahdar, *Silahdar tarihi*, II. 261.

Ibrahim *paşa*. 1687. Asmir Hasičić, *Slavonija u sastavu osmanskog carstva*. (*Diplomski rad*.) Sarajevo, 2004, 37. ([https://issuu.com/mesicbooks/docs/hasii\\_asmir\\_-\\_slavonija\\_u\\_sastavu\\_o](https://issuu.com/mesicbooks/docs/hasii_asmir_-_slavonija_u_sastavu_o)) (The author cites Ive Mažuran's *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 1998, 259.)

Yeni Zaim, 1691. Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 136: "perhaps the last *sancakbeyi*". I could not check the validity of this piece of information. The name sounds queer.

# NAHIYES OF THE SANJAK OF PAKRAC: THE UNKNOWN NAHIYE OF KONTOVAC

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## ABSTRACT

This paper is based on data from Ottoman cadastral surveys for the sanjak of Pakrac. Not much work has been done about this sanjak based on Ottoman sources, and there are cases where the surveys are only partially correct or entirely incorrect. Even the names of some nahiyes were not read correctly, which is due to the fact that the scripture in the two records used here is extremely incomprehensible. Also, many of the settlements cannot be pinpointed today using their names from that time, which complicates the identification of these administrative units. However, data from these surveys was helpful in identifying previously unknown nahiye of Kontovac.

Ottoman sources for the sanjak of Pakrac<sup>1</sup> are the least investigated archival documents among all others regarding its former territory. The very position and status of this sanjak among other sanjaks in this area made it, in our opinion, to be paid less attention by the Ottoman administration in comparison with other neighbouring territorial units.<sup>2</sup> In addition, constant fights between the Ottomans and their enemies caused destruction of a large part of Ottoman administration's documentation. After the Ottomans left, the documentation was obviously completely destroyed, and if anything had remained, it was saved by the Ottoman enemies and carried to their archives.<sup>3</sup>

However, the Ottoman cadastral surveys, *Tapu tahrir defterleri*, were always written in two copies, one of which remained in the provincial, while the other was sent to the central administration. Thus, these sources are most often preserved in the archives of the central administration.

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<sup>1</sup> Common assumption is that the sanjak of Pakrac changed its name depending on the location of the seat of sanjakbey: Čazma/Začasna, Pakrac, Cernik. However, according to the documents processed here, the following can be said: in cadastral surveys, from the 16th century at least, the sanjak was named after Pakrac, while in the same period in documents from Muhimme defters it was repeatedly called the sanjak of Začasna, even though sanjakbey could not have resided there as the fort was already destroyed. According to H. Šabanović, that had happened in 1559. Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk* (Sarajevo, 1982), 67.

<sup>2</sup> Nenad Moaćanin talks about it in his book *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine* (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2001), 112.

<sup>3</sup> The most famous is the case of the capture of the entire archive of Osman Pasha Kazanac by the Habsburgs in the battlefield after the defeat at Vienna in 1683. The archive ended up in Karlsruhe: Franz Babinger, *Das Archiv des Bosniaken Osman Pascha* (Berlin, 1931). In addition, State Archive in Vienna holds some of cadastral survey records of the sanjak of Požega, which have been extensively used, especially by Nenad Moaćanin.

Other documents, such as *sijils*, protocols from judges of certain judicial units, which were named after the seat of the judge/*kadi*, were not treated the same. They were written as a single copy, and contained very important material, from local cases to correspondence with the capital, all of which was neatly registered.

As far as the cadastral surveys for the sanjak of Pakrac are concerned, two extensive defters from the 16<sup>th</sup> century are saved, to our knowledge. These surveys are kept in the Ottoman archive of the Archive of the Prime Ministry in Istanbul (İstanbul Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, henceforth BOA), where all similar surveys for all parts of the former Ottoman Empire are being kept. The first defter is labelled as BOA TTD no. 355, finished in 1565.<sup>4</sup> It has only 112 pages. The second defter is labelled as BOA TTD no. 612 from 1584.<sup>5</sup> It has in total 115 pages, as the last page is blank.<sup>6</sup>

Defters mentioned above are not complete censuses of this sanjak, but surveys of parts of population, partially agrarian, but mostly of Vlach status and descent. Such way of surveying is characteristic of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as can be seen in other sanjaks in the area. Namely, certain categories of population were surveyed separately, in accordance with their status. This is especially visible in the case of Vlach population, fort crews, and the like.<sup>7</sup>

On the basis of the content of these surveys we can say that they did not include urban and military centres of the sanjak of Pakrac, fortified towns with *kasaba* status, where actually the most of population lived, both civilians and military. Population with Vlach status was not present in the *kasabas*, which is why these surveys show only a partial number of houses in the sanjak.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Defter was dated to third decade of the month of Jumada al-Ula, 973 AH, which corresponds to a period between December 14 and 24, 1565.

<sup>5</sup> At the beginning of the survey it was noted that it had been done in 992 AH, without a closer date. 992 AH lasted from January 14, 1584 to January 2, 1585 AD.

<sup>6</sup> Copies of these two surveys existed in the Oriental Institute in Sarajevo for several decades. However, since the handwriting in both cases, especially in the 1584 survey, is very bad and difficult to read, it was very hard to work with those copies. Luckily, the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul (BOA) performs digitalization of documents in order to preserve the better, so we had access to digitalized form of these censuses, which made the work easier. I am very thankful to Ayten Ardel, archivist in the mentioned archive for providing me these digitalized forms.

<sup>7</sup> One example is with the survey of the sanjak of Klis from 1550, where firstly an extensive population census was made, who were listed in *timars*, *zeamets* or *bas*. See Fehim Spaho, *Opširni popis Kliskog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 2007). After that a list of timars of fort crew in the sanjak was made, complimentary to the firstly mentioned census: Fazileta Hafizović, *Opširni popis timara mustahfiza tvrđava Kliskog sandžaka* (Sarajevo: Institut "Ibn Sina," 2014). Each of these had its summary variant, *icmal defteri*, where alongside the names of estate owners complete population was not written, rather only source of incomes (village, forest, mill, etc)

<sup>8</sup> It would be necessary to find other surveys of this sanjak, it is known there are at least some in Basbakanlik Osmanlı Arsivi in Istanbul. They might not have been catalogized when the Oriental Institute got the first two (which was half a century ago), but in recent times, many of the documents in this archives were revised and processed. We can only mention one census from 1604 in the Oriental Institute, named *Icmal (summary) defter of zeamets and timars of Bosna*,

In addition, there were cases that some villages were not registered in the cadastral surveys at all. This usually happened with villages mainly populated by the Vlachs, especially in mountainous and inaccessible areas, when a surveyor would not tour the land, and local *knezes* and *premikürs*, who were obliged to bring the population and provide the necessary data, would simply not show up. This was happening in the sanjak of Začasna/Pakrac, too.<sup>9</sup> The *knezes* played a significant role and were important associates of the Ottoman government; Knez Vukmir, who was described as *advocating for royal revenues quite diligently*, had a *timar* of 3,000 akce.<sup>10</sup>

The first survey of the sanjak of Pakrac from 1565 is the result of a survey conducted in the sanjaks of Rumeli the same year (including censuses from the sanjaks of Požega, Bosna, etc.). It is possible that it was also a part of the first survey of this sanjak ever, as the sanjak itself had been established only a decade earlier.<sup>11</sup> The significant thing is that in the detailed survey of the sanjak of Bosna from 1540, a large part of territory that would later become the sanjak of Pakrac was recorded.<sup>12</sup> The nahiye of Cernik was listed alongside its villages, as well as some villages that belonged to Bijela Stijena and Gradiška. This would mean that the nahiye of Cernik was not mentioned for the first time in 1550, but ten years earlier.<sup>13</sup> This defter is referred to by the formulation at the beginning of the 1565 survey: “Further on, this is the new extensive survey of the *liva* of Pakrac,” as well as in a short legal directive about taxation, also listed at the beginning of the survey: “Hungarians and other infidels, found in the nahiyes of Drenovci and Cernik, in the mentioned *liva*, under

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*Klis, Pakrac and Herzegovina* which had not been processed yet. Istanbul BOA TTD No. 728. The defter is from a fund that Academy of Sciences of Bosnia and Herzegovina has placed to the Institute’s disposal, where it is filed under number 230.

<sup>9</sup> In the Muhimme defter from 1565 there was a document which analyzed the situation in the sanjaks of Bosna, Klis, Začasna, Požega and Srijem, where the intendant of *mukaatas* mentioned: *in the above mentioned sanjaks there is a lot of hidden possessions, lost property belonging to the Beytul-mal, and many villages, mezzaas, mills, farms, smiths not included in the defter*. Muhimme defter from the 16th century, signatures in the Oriental Institute OIS ANUBIH 139, translated by Abdulah Polimac, in scripture, p. 91-96.

<sup>10</sup> The amount of income from timars points that this knez had to have an important role in communication between the government and his subordinates, as the amount is double of the usual income for timar of fort crew. Although the text has a note “He converted to Islam and was given a name Sefer”, it is important that he had the privilege of that timar twice already as a non-Muslim. Muhimme defter from 16<sup>th</sup> century, signatures in Oriental Institute OIS ANUBIH 139, translation by Abdulah Polimac, in scripture p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> H. Šabanović states that Začasna sanjak, or Pakrac, was established in 1557 (HŠabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 223), while N. Moaćanin states the year 1552 as the year of its establishment (Moaćanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*, 8).

<sup>12</sup> *Opširni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1540. godine*, BOA TTD 432. The census is not processed, and it consists of two parts (BOA TTD No. 211 and BOA TTD No. 432) and has almost 900 copies, twice the number of defter pages.

<sup>13</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 224.



the provisions of the old survey were written as such...”<sup>14</sup>. Also noticeable is the fact that in the same year of 1540 the sanjak of Požega was surveyed, but the nahiye of Cernik was not listed as a part of it, but rather as a part of the sanjak of Bosna. This could be due to the fact that the sanjak of Požega itself was a newly established unit, but also because, as N. Moačanin said, “western Slavonia was administratively and politically more connected to Bosnia than it was to the lowlands in the east”.<sup>15</sup>

This survey had the following nahiye listed: Cernik, Drenovci, Pakrac, Bijela Stijena, Kutinovci, Šagovina, Podbučje, Sirač, Dobra Kuća, Čaklovci, Stupčanica, Pakarska Sredel, Kontovac i Podvrški. The nahiye of Podborje, mentioned by H. Šabanović,<sup>16</sup> was not found in either of the two surveys, while, on the contrary, he does not mention the nahiye of Podbučje at all.<sup>17</sup> In comparison to the villages that can be pinpointed, the nahiye of Podbučje was located west of Požega, most likely neighbouring Orjlava nahiye. However, the village of Bučje, which could be connected to the nahiye’s name, was addressed in the nahiye of Drenovac, without a mention of a fort or a suburb.<sup>18</sup> As for the nahiye of Podvrški, it was listed at the end of both surveys, which could point to it being near the border. But, judging by the only recorded village, Hrgodol, it can be located as an estate and a fort of the same name, north of Cernik. As the estates of Sv. Stjepan, Laholc, Deževci, Kovačica and Hrgodol<sup>19</sup> all belonged to the capitol of Podvrško, it is certain that this is the precise area. However, it is noted that this nahiye was formed in the area with multiple nahiyes including Cernik, Drenovci, Šagovina, Bijela Stijena and Podbučje. It had to have villages with agrarian population, as it would not make sense to establish a nahiye for a single village.

The largest nahiye was certainly Cernik,<sup>20</sup> followed by Drenovci and Pakrac as nahiyes having slightly less villages than Cernik, while the remaining nahiyes were fairly small, with border nahiyes even being without population, with deserted villages— Stupčanica had one populated village and fourteen deserted villages, Pakarska Sredel had three populated villages and the nahiye of Kontovac had five unpopulated villages. On the initial glance, territory of this sanjak appeared quite

<sup>14</sup> New extensive census of Pakrac *liva* is this one from 1565, whilst the “directive of the old census” refers to the directives of the census of Bosna sanjak from 1540.

<sup>15</sup> Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Village of Podborje, 2 houses, in the nahiye of Dobra Kuća, BOA TTD No. 355/53.

<sup>17</sup> BOA TTD No. 355/50-51.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 26. Along with its three neighborhood, the village had 30 houses.

<sup>19</sup> Službene stranice općine Cernik, “Podvrško,” <https://www.cernik.hr/podvrsko.html> (accessed 10 November 2019).

<sup>20</sup> S. Ural considers Bijela Stijena as the largest nahiye. Bijela Stijena has more villages and mezreas (Selcuk Ural, “Pakrački sandžak u drugoj polovici XVI stoljeća,” *Scrinia Slavonica* 11, no. 1 (2011): 74.), but those are villages with a small numbers of residents. Same author in the table 2 of the same work lists Cernik and Drenovci as having most houses.

unusual; however, knowing this territory was inhabited by Vlach population makes it clearer why these nahiyes were so unevenly arranged. It is known the Ottomans had the habit of settling Vlach population in the borderlands, in the estates left by the local population after the arrival of the Ottomans, giving them certain benefits for the migration. They were the belt between the Ottomans and their enemies, although this Vlach barrier was not reliable or secure at all. As nomads who were used to travelling across this region for centuries before the Ottoman arrival, they found it hard to adapt to sedentary way of life, especially in these areas of constant quarrel, despite the proclaimed peace.

In the survey of 1584, which was created during surveying sanjaks in the wider area, same nahiyes were listed as earlier- Cernik, Drenovci, Pakrac, Bijela Stijena, Kutinovci, Šagovina, Podbučje, Sirač, Dobrokućani, Čaklovci, Stupčanica, Pakarska Sredel, Kontovac i Podvrški. Based on the listed number of Vlach houses paying the *filuri* tax, which was 407 as opposed to 386 listed in the earlier survey, it is visible that there was a small population increase. The villages of the nahiye of Stupčanica were not deserted anymore, while the nahiye of Kontovac remained deserted, with the only Vlach village in the nahiye of Podvrški was now likewise deserted.

The number of houses is not in proportion with the data from H. Petrić, who studied the topic of Vlach emigration from the area covered by the sanjak of Pakrac. His data speaks of thousands of emigrated Vlach families, meaning a lot more individuals.<sup>21</sup> It is hard to say how that happened – Ottoman censuses records were from that period, but did not show remotely the same number of families. It is also not plausible that they were settlers of villages that escaped surveyors, as it could not have been such a large number of villages. These were probably Vlach nomads, who passed the area, never lingering long enough to be registered, and arriving from area wider than the area of this sanjak.

Interpretation of the text presents a large obstacle, along with the discovery of the locations listed in the survey. Many of them are hard to find today, partly due to name changes and partly because they are gone. It is possible that remnants of some names can be found in nearby areas (plains, hills, etc.), but their discovery would have to be a result of extensive field research. This issue is spoken about by S. Andrić: “Locations of some of these settlements are difficult to pinpoint as they have disappeared completely in early modern toponymy or have survived into the early modern period, but under different names”.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Hrvoje Petrić, “O iseljavanju vlašskog stanovništva iz zapadnog Papuka, Ravne gore i Psunja te susjednih područja krajem 16. i početkom 17. stoljeća”, *Zbornik Janković* 1, no. 1 (2015): 50.

<sup>22</sup> Stanko Andrić, “Šuma Garavica i ‘ničija zemlja’ na slavonsko-turskom pograničju u 16. i 17. stoljeću,” in *Slavonske šume kroz povijest. Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa s međunarodnim sudjelovanjem održanog u Slavanskom Brodu 1.-2. listopada 2015.*, ed. Dinko Župan and Robert Skenderović, (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest - Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2018), 65.

One of the *nahiyes* whose identification was problematic is the *nahiye* of Kontovac. It is already noted that the writing of the *defter* is extremely complicated to read, so some ligatures could give a different variant of the name. However, comparing several versions of the same name reveals the correct variant. It was precisely this method, through which the ligature was solved in the case of names in this *nahiye*.

The *nahiye* of Kontovac was formed around the fort of the same name that belonged to the palatine Nikola Kont<sup>23</sup>, a high officer in the Hungarian court, founder of the later famed noble house from Slavonia, the Iločki, and great-grandfather of Nikola V Iločki who, amongst other titles, had been named the king of Bosnia.<sup>24</sup> The fortress was built as a residence for the landlord and his family, and also for protection during wartime, or as S. Andrić said: “Just like towns and trade centers, fortresses and castles were also geographically uniformly distributed near the end of the Middle Ages, as a reflection of the attempts of many noblemen to secure themselves such residences and warehouses for goods, especially during wartime.”<sup>25</sup> Additionally, as almost every fortress had a suburb, it was, as a trade center, source of income for nobles, and also for Ottoman government later on.

During the Middle Ages, the fortress of Kontovac was located in the county of Križevac, which was one of the most densely populated areas of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom.<sup>26</sup> Given that the fortress was completely abandoned after the arrival of the Ottomans, almost all the remnants have disappeared to this day. Croatian historians have managed to discover its location thanks to non-Ottoman sources. Ranko Pavleš had cited the following: “Kontovec, the second estate in question covered the area of the present-day settlements Grubišno Polje, Poljani, Gornja Rašenica, Donja Rašenica, Ivanovo Selo, Treglava, and likely Dapčevački Brđani, Velika Dapčevica, Mala Dapčevica and Turčević polje. Written history of the area of both seigniories starts in the second part of 13<sup>th</sup> century when Gordova was noted as the name of the administrative unit of the county, and in the place of the later estate of Kontovac, the estates of Zdenci and Gornji Zdenci were listed.”<sup>27</sup>

This populated area was deserted due to Ottoman conquests. Despite having all the necessary living conditions (land, forests, water), war activities, which were a constant with only the intensity changing, contributed to the abandonment of the

<sup>23</sup> Nikola Kont died in 1367, and it is considered that he was born at the beginning of the century.

<sup>24</sup> Title of the king of Bosnia was given to Nikola V Iločki by Matijaš Korvin in 1471, in his attempt to force out the Ottomans, who had already conquered the Bosnian kingdom. However, his plans failed and Nikola Iločki died in Croatia in 1477 as the “exiled Bosnian king.”

<sup>25</sup> Andrić, “Šuma Garavica,” 65-66.

<sup>26</sup> Andrić, “Šuma Garavica,” 66.

<sup>27</sup> Ranko Pavleš, “Gordova i Kontovec – dva srednjovjekovna vlastelinstva na području Grubišnog Polja”, *Zbornik Janković* 3, no. 3 (2018): 9.

area. According to an Ottoman census from 1565, four deserted villages were listed in the nahiye, as well as the settlement of Kontovac, also deserted. The villages were Gornje Polje, Donje Polje, Sejano Hrastje and Lipa. The villages of Gornje Polje and Donje Polje cannot be found today under those names. The village of Sejano Hrastje is mentioned in the literature as an independent estate of nobility,<sup>28</sup> with its location provided: "In the area of future generalate, the toponym Sinarast was listed between Đurđevac and Zdenaci, and it marks the estate of Sejano Hrastje found near the Pauline monastery of Saint Anne in the seigniorship of Dobra Kuća."<sup>29</sup> Concerning the village of Lipa, the scribe did not explicitly state it was deserted, but given that it was recorded without inscribed population and listed with other abandoned villages, it must have been deserted too. Nowadays, the village of Šuplja Lipa exists,<sup>30</sup> and since it is located on the territory of the former estate of Kontovac, it is believed that this is the village in question.

The village-market town<sup>31</sup> of Kontovec, although deserted itself, carries in its name remnants of its status as a suburb of a fort (*varoš*). The survey contains a list of other settlements of the same status, some populated and others deserted: the village-market town Dvorište in the nahiye of Bijela Stijena, the village-market town of Velika Islobočina in the same nahiye, the village-market town of Sveti Vladislav in the same nahiye, the village-market town of Sveta Katarina, the same nahiye, the village-market town of Bila/Bijela in the nahiye of Bijela Kuća, the village-market town of Pakarska in the nahiye of Pakarska Sredel, the village-market town of Kontovac in the nahiye of Kontovac.

In 1565, the nahiye of Kontovac was listed in the congregation (*cema'at*) of Knez Radoja, son of Radiša, where also the deserted village of Vinovci was recorded, in the nahiye of Sirač, as well as 20 populated and 18 deserted villages in the nahiye of Dobra Kuća.

In 1584, the nahiye of Kontovac was listed in the congregation of Novak, son of Selak, although the former Knez Radoja, son of Radiša, was still active, even

<sup>28</sup> "As can be deduced from scarce data available, it seems that the territory of the estate was not compact. An example would be the estate of Sejano Hrastja located near the creek Mala "Soplonca," i.e., today's Peratovici creek, which was an independent estate, possibly surrounded by lands of nobility." Pavleš, "Gordova i Kontovec," 29.

<sup>29</sup> Mirela Slukan-Altić, "Podravsko srednjovjekovlje u zrcalu kartografskih izvora," *Podravina 2*, no. 4 (2003): 125.

<sup>30</sup> The village of Šuplja Lipa is located north of Daruvar and southeast of Grubišno Polje.

<sup>31</sup> This was the usual administrative marking of a settlement that had lost the features of a market town, but was still inhabited. It primarily means that trade was no longer practiced in the scale that would have to be taxed, which we can see in the absence of the mark that states what kind of trade was available- *market tax*, *inspection of the market*, etc. For a while, the administration would cite both characteristics, and if the former settlement would have the features of a village for a longer period, it would start to be marked as a village.

listed as a resident of one of the villages in the nahiye of Dobra Kuća.<sup>32</sup> The settlement and other villages remained deserted, and there are no new data regarding the nahiye or the villages.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the data from two surveys of the sanjak of Pakrac from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the only ones at disposal, it was possible to clear some confusion around the names and layout of the nahiye in this sanjak. This helped in identifying the nahiye of Kontovac, unmentioned in previous works or mentioned under incorrect name.

The defters recorded mostly Vlach population, that is, the villages with mixed population, Vlach and agrarian, and villages with exclusively Vlach residents. Although the surveys usually listed only the population that was obligated to pay taxes, here only a part of that population was listed. There is no data on the population of towns, fortifications, and the like. Such data can be found in detailed surveys of sanjak population, which were divided to *timars* and *zeamets*.<sup>33</sup> The proof that the sanjak Pakrac was administrated like that is at the end of the both defters, where the total income mentions *half of the baduhava tax from sipahi timars of the mentioned liva*.<sup>34</sup>

It is clear that a more detailed search for Ottoman sources regarding this sanjak, which surely exist, needs to be performed. It is a long-term project, but this would greatly contribute to create a clearer image of this area.

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<sup>32</sup> Changing a knez of a nahiye would probably mean that the administration has perceived that a certain knez would be more useful in that area, and could better control the congregation. As seen from the survey of this sanjak, Vlach population was divided in several congregations, all subordinated to the knez. A congregation of one knez would extend beyond the border of the nahiye, for example, the Knez Tomul's congregation was spread over six nahiye. Besides, one nahiye could be divided over multiple congregations, such as the nahiye of Bijela Stijena, where villages were divided between congregations of three different knezes.

<sup>33</sup> Income from Vlach population belonged to the Sultan's *hass*, which is why they were recorded separately.

<sup>34</sup> BOA TTD No. 355/56.

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# SETTLEMENT OF LIKA AND THREE OTTOMAN *NÂHIYES*: NOVI, MEDAK AND BILAJ BARLETE IN THE 16TH CENTURY

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## ABSTRACT

The paper analyses demographic, landholding and economic structure in Lika, namely in the three Ottoman *nâhiyes* founded in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century – the *nâhiyes* of Novi, Medak and Bilaj Barlete, and reconstructs the course of settlement based on the preserved Ottoman tax registers from the 16<sup>th</sup> century for the *sancâks* of Bosnia, Klis and Krka to which Lika belonged. The said *nâhiyes* were “clustered” geographically and administratively; they were three neighbouring administrative and judicial units in the area where the centre of administration over Ottoman Lika was situated. The area encompassed by the three *nâhiyes* become the nucleus of population density in Ličko polje. The paper records the changes between the census years in the number of settlement and population density, demographic movements, landholding structure and tax system. The paper devotes attention to the characteristics of the Ottoman recolonization policy, the efforts invested by the Ottoman government to repopulate Lika and describes the effects of the measures undertaken. The paper reconstructed the landowning structure based on the information from the tax registers.

## AIM, RESEARCH STARTING POINT, SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHIC COVERAGE

Recolonization and repopulation politics of the Ottoman Empire, its demographic characteristics, the characteristics of the *sipâhî timâr* system and the landholding system in Lika are still poorly researched topics. There was no systematic research of the demographic and economic history, and of the landholding relations in Lika during Ottoman rule in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries although the past three decades did bring about a number of valuable historiographic contributions which illuminate individual aspects of the demographic, social and economic history of Lika during Ottoman rule.<sup>1</sup>

This paper aims to analyse demographic, landholding and economic structure of three Ottoman *nâhiyes* in Lika – Novi, Medak and Bilaj Barlete, and to reconstruct the course of settlement to the extent possible from preserved Ottoman sources

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<sup>1</sup> Nenad Moačanin, “Naseljenost Like i izvori feudalne rente početkom XVII. stoljeća pod turskom vlašću,” *Historijski zbornik* XLVI (1993): 61-65; Nenad Moačanin, “Ime Gospić u svjetlu turskih izvora,” *Croatica christiana periodica* 26 (1990): 51-54; Marko Šarić, “Osmanski korijeni Gospića: nahija Novi u 16. i 17. stoljeću,” *Povijesni prilozi* 42 (2012): 215-248.



and literature. The *nâhiyes* were clustered geographically and administratively; these were three neighbouring administrative and judicial units in the area wherein the centre of management of Ottoman Lika was set up. Little is still known about the settlements of the area and their landholding relations, even though the area covered by the three *nâhiyes* was the nucleus of population density in Ličko polje. The *nâhiyes* of Medak and Bilaj Barlete have never been researched, while Novi was incorporated in the study of the Ottoman Gospić.<sup>2</sup>

This paper finds its main source in the Ottoman tax and land ownership registers or defters (*tâpu tahrîr defteri*) for the *sancâks* of Bosnia, Klis and Krka which is where Lika belonged in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The registers used were the registers for the following years: 1528-30<sup>3</sup>, 1550<sup>4</sup>, 1574<sup>5</sup>, 1585<sup>6</sup> and 1604<sup>7</sup>. Some of these defters are *icmâl* or synoptic defters, while others are *mufassal* or detailed ones.<sup>8</sup> In addition to the above, the 1528-30 register is also important<sup>9</sup> as it gives data on the soldiers paid in cash in the forts of the *sancâk* of Bosnia. The research has uncovered numerous individual documents in the *Mühimme Defteri* series (official registers of important affairs) which give information on the settlement of Lika.

Inspection of Ottoman tax registers for the *sancâks* of Bosnia, Klis and Krka enabled reconstruction of the demographic and economic situation in Lika, specifically, in the three *nâhiyes* once those have been established. Changes between census years in the number of settlements, population density, demographic movements, landholding structure and tax system are recorded. The paper then focuses on the characteristics of the Ottoman recolonization politics, namely the government efforts to repopulate Lika and the end results of the measures undertaken. It also aims to uncover or rather, give a rough sketch of basic directions of migrations from the notes of the census takers in the tax registers and the records in other relevant sources. The paper aims to answer the questions of the level of demographic devastation in the period of the conquest and colonisation of the

<sup>2</sup> Šarić, "Osmanski korijeni Gospića," 215-248.

<sup>3</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (henceforth BOA), İstanbul. Tapu Tahrir Defteri (henceforth TD) 157, TD 164.

<sup>4</sup> BOA, TD 284.

<sup>5</sup> BOA, TD 533.

<sup>6</sup> BOA, TD 622.

<sup>7</sup> Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Kuyûd-i Kadime Arşiv (henceforth TK. KKA), Ankara. TD 119.

<sup>8</sup> The difference in these defters is in the information giving potential of the sources; detailed defters are much richer as they give "detailed" description of the sources of income in a *sancâk* and the division of that income among the *sipâhî*, as opposed to the synoptic defters which give only overviews or the recapitulation of the most important data recorded in the detailed defters.

<sup>9</sup> BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler (MAD) 540, 218-219.

space, the course of demographic and economic recovery, population density, characteristics of the Ottoman tax and land policy and the implications of the policy on the landholding relations and population density in the *nâhiyes* of Medak, Novi and Bilaj Barlete.

The paper aims to contribute to the knowledge of social and demographic history of Lika using Ottoman sources primarily. Naturally, a fuller picture of the population density and landholding structure in Lika during Ottoman rule in the 16<sup>th</sup> century will be created only following the research of demographic and economic characteristics of other *nâhiyes* of Lika (Cvituša, Perušić, Gračac and Zvonigrad) and Krbava.

As it has already been stated, the history of Lika during Ottoman rule has not been sufficiently researched historiographically, and the above mentioned three *nâhiyes* have not been the topic of individual research. Additionally, Ottoman studies are particularly rare. Ottoman studies have incorporated Lika in wider topics such as administrative and social history of the Bosnian *eyâlet*,<sup>10</sup> military history of the *sancâks* of Klis and Krka, or history of the Ottoman frontier zone (*serhad*) in present-day Croatia.<sup>11</sup> Until the publishing of the Ottoman historical materials relevant for the *sancâk* of Klis which began with Fehim Dž. Spaho,<sup>12</sup> it was predominantly western sources published by Radoslav Lopašić,<sup>13</sup> Franjo Rački and Mijo Batinić,<sup>14</sup> as well as Mile Bogović<sup>15</sup> that dominated the studies of the history of Lika under Ottoman rule. Nenad Moaćanin expanded the topic and the

<sup>10</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk. Postanak i upravna podjela* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1982), 59, 73-76, 210-212, 226-227; Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Izabrana djela* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991), 114-121.

<sup>11</sup> Aladin Husić, "Vojne prilike u splitsko-zadarskom zaleđu u 16. stoljeću (osmanski serhat 1530-1573)," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 56 (2006): 125-144; Aladin Husić, "Tvrđave Bosanskog sandžaka i njihove posade 1530. godine," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 49 (1999): 189-230; Kornelija Jurin Starčević, "Vojne snage Kliškog i Krčko-ličkog sandžaka pred Kandijski rat – osmanska vojska plaćenika," in *Zbornik Mire Kolar Dimitrijević*, ed. Damir Agčić (Zagreb: FF press and Odsjek za povijest Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2003), 79-95; Fehim Dž. Spaho, "Organizacija vojne krajine u sandžacima Klis i Krka u XVII. stoljeću," in *Vojne krajine u jugoslavenskim zemljama u novom veku do Karlovačkog mira 1699.godine*, ed. Čubrilović, Vasa (Beograd: SANU, 1989), 101-114.; Fehim Dž. Spaho, "Neke karakteristike razvitka varoških naselja u Kliškom sandžaku u XVI. i XVII. stoljeću," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 38 (1989): 241-251.

<sup>12</sup> Fehim Dž. Spaho et al., *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> Radoslav Lopašić, *Spomenici Hrvatske krajine. Knjiga 1. Od godine 1409. do 1610.* (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium 1884.)

<sup>14</sup> Mijo Batinić, "Njekoliko priloga k bosanskoj crkvenoj povijesti," *Starine JAZU XVII* (1885): 115-145; Franjo Rački "Prilozi za geografsko-statistički opis Bosanskoga pašalika," *Starine JAZU XIV* (1882): 173-195.

<sup>15</sup> Mile Bogović, "Takozvani Glavinićev opis Like i Krbave iz 1696. godine," *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 15, no. 27 (1991): 117 – 128.

continued scientific valorisation of Ottoman sources on the history of Lika.<sup>16</sup> More recently, Marko Šarić gave a significant contribution to the study of the history of Lika in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>17</sup> In spite of valuable individual historiographic contributions which do shed light onto certain segments of Lika's history during Ottoman rule, knowledge about it is still inadequate, and Ottoman sources still insufficiently used. Therefore, lacking contemporary comparative studies which would compare the research of early researchers of Lika's past with the new knowledge from Ottoman sources, the works of the older generation of historians who studied Lika in the Ottoman period from Western sources found in Vienna, Graz and other archives are still indispensable references. We are here primarily referring to the work of Stjepan Pavičić; his study on migration and settlements is still a reference point in the research of historical and demographic issues, specifically the research of the population density and migration in Lika immediately before and during the Ottoman rule.<sup>18</sup> Also, works recording Ottoman cultural heritage in Lika are extremely important.<sup>19</sup> Even though historiographic knowledge on Lika under Ottoman rule to date has been incorporated in the synthesis of the history of Croatia under Ottoman Empire,<sup>20</sup> we can safely say that the history of Ottoman Lika is still waiting for a detailed scientific study.

### **ESTABLISHMENT OF OTTOMAN RULE IN LIKA, MILITARY-ADMINISTRATIVE AND JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION**

The *akıncıs* were present in Lika even before the fall of Bosnia in 1463.<sup>21</sup> Their intrusions were initially sporadic, while following the conquest of Bosnia and organisation of the *sancák* of Bosnia they assumed the characteristics of multiple annual destructive attacks which triggered migration waves and ultimately led to demographic and economic devastation of area. The battle of Krbava in 1493 is in Croatian historiography usually considered the peak of the troubles even though

<sup>16</sup> Moačanin, "Naseljenost Like," 61-65; Moačanin, "Ime Gospić," 51-54.

<sup>17</sup> Marko Šarić, "Društveni odnosi i previranja u sandžaku Lika – Krka u 16. i početkom 17. stoljeća," in *Diplomska radionica prof. dr. Drage Roksandića*, eds. Drago Roksandić et al. (Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, 1999), 67-130; Šarić, "Osmanski korijeni Gospića," 215-248.

<sup>18</sup> Stjepan Pavičić, "Seobe i naselja u Lici," *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena* 41 (1962): 99-139, 151-171.

<sup>19</sup> Milan Kruhek, "Turske utvrde i kule u Lici i Krbavi 1527.-1689. godine," *Senjski zbornik* 40 (2013): 471-508.

<sup>20</sup> Nenad Moačanin, *Turska Hrvatska. Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskoga Carstva do 1791. Preispitivanja* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska 1999), 64-74; Željko Holjevac and Nenad Moačanin, *Hrvatsko-slavonska Vojna krajina u ranome novom vijeku i Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskoga Carstva u ranome novome vijeku* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2007), 108-177.

<sup>21</sup> Ottoman presence around Otočac was recorded in 1445. Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo* (Zagreb: Golden marketing 1998), 29.

severely destructive incursions continued following the Ottoman conquest of Knin and Skradin in 1522.<sup>22</sup> At the time when the Bosnian *sancâkbeyi* Gâzî Hüsrev Bey conquered Udbina, Komić and Mrsinj in 1527, the *akıncı* incursions have already been going on for some sixty years. In that period the population grew scarce and the previous system of counties was dismantled.<sup>23</sup> Out of the ten counties whose existence was recorded in late Middle Ages under the administration of the Kingdom of Croatia, only Gacka and Brinjska counties remained.<sup>24</sup> Other parts of Lika and Krbava came under more or less strict rule of the Ottoman Empire. Although there is no direct confirmation in historical sources, it is presumed that the Ottomans conquered Lika the same year as Krbava.<sup>25</sup> The Ottomans have initially decided to append all newly conquered areas between Una and Velebit, together with the parts between Cetina and Zrmanja which were conquered earlier (Karin, Korlat, Ostrovica, Skradin, Knin, Sinj) to the neighbouring *sancâk* of Bosnia under temporary military administration as *Vilâyet-i Hırvat*<sup>26</sup> governed by *voyvoda* or *subaşı*. Following their conquest of Klis, the last town of the Kingdom of Croatia south of Velebit in 1537, the Ottomans have rounded off the territory and established the *sancâk* of Klis, with Lika and Krbava being its component parts.

The *sancâk* of Klis was territorially wide and it encompassed territories north of Dinara, namely south-western Bosnia. The first *sancâkbeyi* of the *sancâk* of Klis was Murad Bey.<sup>27</sup> Parts of Lika and Krbava remained within the *sancâk* of Klis until 1580, when the territory west of Krka river was militarily and administratively separated from the *sancâk* of Klis and appended to the newly established *sancâk* of

<sup>22</sup> Moačanin, *Turska Hrvatska*, 17; Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 56.

<sup>23</sup> During late Middle Ages there were about ten parishes on the present-day territory of Lika: Lika, Gacka, Krbava, Brinje, Buško, Hotuča, Lapac, Nebljuš, Odorjan and Una. Lika parish stretched along the river of the same name in Ličko polje; Željko Holjevac, "Ličko-krbavska županija u identitetu Like," in *Identitet Like: korijeni i razvitak*, ed. Željko Holjevac (Zagreb – Gospić: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar – Područni centar Gospić, 2009), 429.

<sup>24</sup> For the purpose of organisation of defence against Ottoman attacks until the beginning of 1540s Otočac captaincy was established on the Gacka territory, while the Brinje region was appended to the Senj captaincy established in 1469. Both Senje and Otočac captaincies comprised Primorska Krajina with Senj as its center. Primorska Krajina was, in turn, part of the Karlovac Generalate, a component part of Military Frontier in Croatia and Slavonia. Holjevac, "Ličko-krbavska županija," 430.

<sup>25</sup> For the assumption that the conquest might have happened in 1528 see: Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 73; Šarić, "Osmanski korijen Gospića," 221.

<sup>26</sup> The term was first used in the census of 1528-30 which contains a reference on the presence of Croatian ethnic element in the said area, as well as a reference that the area previously belonged to the Kingdom of Croatia. TD 164, 366-368.

<sup>27</sup> The dominant historiographical belief was that the first *sancâkbeyi* of Klis was Tardić from the Šibenik area, while the most recent research of the Šibenik archival material by Kristijan Juran established that his last name was Gajdić. Kristijan Juran, "O podrijetlu i šibenskoj rodbini prvoga kliškog sandžakbega Murat-bega Gajdića," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 66 (2016): 231-239.

Krka.<sup>28</sup> The new *sancâk* encompassed area west and north-west of the Krka river, including Lika and Krbava all the way to the border with the territory governed by the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as the territory of Bukovica and Ravni Kotari all the way to Dalmatia which was under Venetian rule. This *sancâk* is in the historical sources sometimes referred to as the *sancâk* of Lika, as well, which means that during the Ottoman rule the toponym Lika covered the territory of the entire *sancâk* (and was used interchangeably in administrative sense with the official title the *sancâk* of Krka) which in turn testifies to the importance of the Lika component in the management of the *sancâk*.<sup>29</sup> However, Ottoman documents record the term Lika as also synonymous of Ličko polje (*Lika sabrâsi*) and the surrounding area, namely the territory of the former Lika county now under Ottoman rule (*Lika nâhiyesi*).

Organisation of the new *sancâk* should be interpreted within the context of the government's planned settlement of Lika and Krbava and Ottoman efforts to improve demographic, military and economic potential of the entire western *serhad* for the purpose of establishing Ottoman defence against Croatia and the Slavonian military border, especially after Karlovac was built in 1579. The *sancâk* of Krka/Lika became a part of the *eyâlet* of Bosnia established in 1580 as the highest military and administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire on the territory of Croatia and Bosnia. The first *sancâkbeyi* of Krka was most likely Mehmed Bey, a progenitor of the famous Memibegović family, while Idris Bey was the second.<sup>30</sup> Even though the official seat of the *sancâk* of Krka/Lika was in Knin or Udbina,<sup>31</sup> *sancâkbeyis* often spent time in Ribnik in Lika, especially at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century as they had their *çiftliks* in and around Ribnik. Thus, for example, *sancâkbeyi* Halil Bey stayed in Ribnik during the rebellion of the Ribnik Vlachs in 1609 when the rebels imprisoned the *sancâkbeyi* in the Ribnik fort from which he escaped to Banja Luka.<sup>32</sup> Ottoman tax register from

<sup>28</sup> Although there are some doubts in literature about the year of establishment of the *sancâk* of Krka since there is some evidence showing it was established even before 1580, and then abolished (according to the statements of Ottoman annalist İbrahim Peçevi), following the research of Hazim Šabanović a generally accepted year was given. See: Ibrahim Alajbegović Pečevića. *Historija 1520-1576. Volume 1*, translated by Fehim Nametak (Sarajevo: El Kalem 2000), 173; Stjepan Antoljak, "Kada i koliko puta je osnivan Krčki ili Lički sandžak?," *Zadarska revija* 2 (1957): 160-166; Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 73-76.

<sup>29</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 75; Batinić, "Njekoliko priloga," 142; Rački, "Prilozi za geografsko-statistički opis," 182.

<sup>30</sup> Memibegović family got its last name after a hypochoristic Memi (from Mehmet). Mehmet Bey or Memi Bey was the *sancâkbeyi* of Krka for two years. In October 1582 he was relieved of duty due to Venetian complaints. He was replaced by Idris Bey. Mehmet Bey spent some time as the *sancâkbeyi* of a temporary *sancâk* of Krupa, when he left for Hungary to become the *sancâkbeyi* of Ostrogon. For Mehmet Bey and Halil Bey Memibegović see: Nedim Zahirović, "Tragom jedne karijere: Halil-beg (Halil-paša) Memibegović od Like preko Jegra do Banja Luke," *Historijski zbornik LXX*, no. 2 (2017), 354.

<sup>31</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 76.

<sup>32</sup> Šarić, "Društveni odnosi u sandžaku Krka-Lika," 115-116; Rudolf Horvat, *Lika i Krbava. Povijesne slike, crtice i bilješke* (Zagreb: Izdanje Matice Hrvatske, 1941), 14.

1604 tells us that the Halil Bey's *çiftlik* comprised the *mezraâs* of Budak, Drenovica (or by other name Vukšić), Podkovač, and some other *mezraâs* in the *nâhiye* of Novi, while Mehmed Bey *zaim* (which we identify as the first *sancâkbeyi* of Krka) and Ahmed *zaim* had their *çiftliks* in the village of Lovina and on the Lovinac *mezraâ*. In the *nâhiye* of Novi Ibrahim Bey<sup>33</sup> had his *çiftlik*, while, according to the 1574 and 1585 register, Behlul Bey *zaim*<sup>34</sup> had, among others, his *çiftlik* in the field near the Ribnik fort. The title bey points to the fact that both Ibrahim Bey and Behlul Bey served as *sancâkbeyis*.

Judicially and administratively Lika and Krbava were under the authority of the *kadı* of the *kadılık* of Skradin with a seat in Skradin. Next, Ottoman sources name Krka or the *kadılık* of Knin.<sup>35</sup> The *kadılık* of Krka or the *kadılık* of Knin are two terms for the same judicial seat in Knin competent for all areas west of the Krka river, excepting Ravni kotari which had a separate *kadı* with a seat in Zemunik.<sup>36</sup> In addition to the two documents kept in the State Archives in Venice there is also a direct mention of a *kadı* in Lika who has, concurrently with the *kadı* of Zemunik, signed some documents translated into Italian for the purposes of Venetian authorities.<sup>37</sup> The *kadı* of Lika could be identical with the *kadı* of Krka or Knin since the *sancâk* was termed Krka or Lika, the title potentially referring to *kadılık*, as well.

## LIKA AND KRBAVA IN OTTOMAN REGISTERS FROM THE FIRST HALF OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: MILITARY STATUS, DEMOGRAPHIC AND LANDHOLDING STRUCTURE

Three strategically important forts in Krbava and Lika – Udbina, Novi and Bilaj – were rebuilt by the Ottomans immediately following the conquest and permanent garrisons were placed in them.<sup>38</sup> They have most likely tried to deploy soldiers in the

<sup>33</sup> TD 13/119, 310-313.

<sup>34</sup> TD 533, 646; TD 622, 482/A.

<sup>35</sup> According to H. Šabanović Krka kadiluk was first mentioned in Ottoman sources in 1591, while A. Jakovljević and N. Isailović claim it was in 1583. See: Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 226; Aleksandar Jakovljević – Neven Isailović, *Petrovo polje u vrelima osmanskog razdoblja (1528.-1604.)* (Šibenik: Državni arhiv u Šibeniku, Javna ustanova Nacionalni park Krka, 2019), 172-173.

<sup>36</sup> According to H. Šabanović this *kadılık* was first mentioned in the Ottoman sources in the 1640s, while A. Jakovljevića and N. Isailović claim it was in 1577. This means that there were two *kadis* on the territory west of the Krka river, one for the Kotari, and the other for the remaining part of the *sancâk* of Krka. See: Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 227; Jakovljević – Isailović, *Petrovo polje u vrelima osmanskog razdoblja*, 172-173.

<sup>37</sup> Jakovljević – Isailović, *Petrovo polje u vrelima osmanskog razdoblja*, 173.

<sup>38</sup> Western sources also report on the reconstruction of Udbina, Novi and Bilaj. The destiny of Mrsinj remains unclear. According to western sources it was reconstructed by ruler of the *sancâk* of Hercegovina Ibrahim Bey, however Ottoman sources currently do not confirm that the Ottomans have assigned it a garrison. Horvat, *Lika i Krbava*, 12.

Bunić fort mentioned in a detailed register from 1528-30 as well, but failed.<sup>39</sup> Other towns from the pre-Ottoman period, such as Komić, Vranik, Podlapac, Kukovac, Radavac and Zelengrad remained derelict or were deserted altogether, Gračac including.<sup>40</sup> The first Ottoman source which confirms the presence of Ottoman soldiers (*nefer*) in the towns of Lika and Krbava is the synoptic (*icmâl*) defter from 1528-1530 which gives a list of forts and their garrisons in the *sancâk* of Bosnia.<sup>41</sup> The sources clearly state that the Ottomans have awarded the central military and defence role on the territory of western *serhad* to Udbina. At the time there were 107 *ulûfeciyan*<sup>42</sup> soldiers in Udbina. Those were soldiers paid in cash for their military service. The Imperial Treasury paid the *nefers* of Udbina 473 akçe, which amounted to 170.980 akçe on the annual basis, a considerable sum. The size of the garrisons and a princely sum the state awarded to *nefers* of Udbina testifies not only to the importance of Udbina for the defence of Krbava, but also reveals general military and strategic plans of the Sublime Porte in the western *serhad*. In Novi (or Novigrad as it was occasionally referred to in the Ottoman registers), which protected Lika, there were 73 *ulûfeciyan* whose service was paid for from the Imperial Treasury at 316 akçe per diem, or 111.864 akçe per annum. The Ottomans had fifty-five soldiers in Bilaj at 247 akçe per diem, or 86.436 akçe per annum. In 1530 the Ottomans had the total of 235 paid soldiers in Lika and Krbava whose service cost them 369.280 akçe.<sup>43</sup> All of the *nefers* belonged to the ranks of the *mustahfiz* or fort keepers, while other branches of the military service were not formed as yet. In this early period of the establishment of the Ottoman rule occupying key towns, manning them with guards and fortifying them was of prime importance, because that kept transport routes towards Knin and the Ottoman maritime port of Obrovac well protected. The Ottomans have subsequently placed operational military ranks in those forts (*azaps* and *martoloses* as mobile infantry, and *fârises* as light cavalry) which were necessary for further raids toward Senj and Otočac captaincies and for the successful waging of the “small war” at the border, while they distributed artillery (*topcuyân*) in the forts following frequent attacks which required firmer defence. However, considering that tax registers from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century mention the *harâmibâşı* and the *beşlü* as owners of individual plots of land in Lika and in Krbava this proves that squads of the *harâmîs* and the *beşlüyan* were present in the above mentioned forts before the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> TD 157, 1082. According to western sources Bunić was rebuilt in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Pavičić, *Seobe i naselja*, 131.

<sup>40</sup> TD 284, 23, 231, 402.; Spaho et al., *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 22, 234, 413.

<sup>41</sup> MAD 540, 218.

<sup>42</sup> From *ulûfe* – wages.

<sup>43</sup> MAD 540, 218.

<sup>44</sup> TD 284, 418, 420.

The area which falls within the scope of this research was in the first Ottoman register listed as *Lika nâhiyesi*. The *nâhiye* of Lika then encompassed all conquered territories from the Gračac fort to the Novi fort, that is to say, from the frontier which separated the territory of the Ottoman Empire from the territory of the Kingdom of Croatia. Under the title of the *nâhiye* of Lika some other conquered areas in Krbava were listed as well, which were governed by the Ottomans from Udbina, although the register mentions *Korbava nâhiyesi*. Ottoman rule in Lika was established with great difficulty, primarily due to sparsity of population. Depopulation was massive. The synoptic register (*icmâl*) from 1528-30 reads in one place that “the *nâhiye* of Lika is empty space” (*Nâhiye-i Lika alân hâli dir*).<sup>45</sup> In numerous places in the same source Lika is listed as *nâhiye* which is in *dâr ül-harb*,<sup>46</sup> “in the house of war,” “in war territory” even though forts of Novi and Bilaj were firmly under Ottoman control.<sup>47</sup> The detailed register from 1528-30 describes numerous *mezraâs* in Lika, as horrible places (*mahûfyerler*) related (*mutasil*) to *dâr ül-harb*.<sup>48</sup> Thus it is stressed that the area has become a part of the Empire through conquest and that it borders with a country ruled by non-Muslims. Also stressed was the military and political reality of frequent intrusions of Croatian forces from the Senj and Otočac captaincies, as well as from Bihać as a result of which the Empire could not guarantee the safety of Muslims and *zimmîs*<sup>49</sup> or secure permanent revenue required for the functioning of the Ottoman *sipâhî-timâr* system.

In 1530 about 40 *mezraâs* were recorded in the *nâhiye* of Lika.<sup>50</sup> No settlement was recorded as a village (*karye*). Of the total of about 40 *mezraâs* 17 were inhabited, with the total of 127 tax units (*hâne*) 106 of them held by Christians, 15 held by Muslims, and 6 held by single individuals (*mücerred*).

More densely populated *mezraâs* were Mahovci, Moročani and Mazine (16 Christian households or tax units called *hâne*, 1 single individual and 2 Muslim households), Papračani (16 Christian households or *hâne*, 2 Muslim households), Poljice (2 Muslim households, 13 non-Muslim households), Bukovljani (1 Muslim household, 1 single individual and 14 non-Muslim households), Morovi (13 Christian households, 1 Muslim household), Podstražno (9 Christian households, 1 Muslim household, 1 single individual), Nova Vast (9 Christian households),

<sup>45</sup> TD 164, 47.

<sup>46</sup> TD 164, 367.

<sup>47</sup> TD 164, 2, 47.

<sup>48</sup> TD 157, 1080-1081.

<sup>49</sup> *Zimmî* – subject of the Ottoman empire paying poll tax, non-Muslim.

<sup>50</sup> In Ottoman tax terminology *mezraâ* was an abandoned or depopulated village. Even though they were deserted, *mezraâs* had visible remnants of earlier settlements, such as houses, wells and other infrastructure used by previous inhabitants. Also, those could have been areas that the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages used for agriculture.



while the following *mezra'as* were sparsely populated: Čelopek (8 Christian households), Bisić (4 Muslims, 2 single men), Dugošani (5 Christian households, 1 single, 1 Muslim), Lovine (5 Christian households), Zapujani (1 Christian household, 1 Muslim household), Zabužani (4 Christian households), Četenić (4 Christian households), Kožile (4 Christian households).<sup>51</sup> For certain *mezra'as* such as Kožile, Dugošani, Zapujani, Bukovljani, Nova Vast the records state that they were populated by Vlachs (*Eflâkân*).<sup>52</sup>

The Ottoman authorities have turned large parts of vacant land into agricultural land given up for lease, namely into *çiftliks*, which were leased out to interested individuals for fixed low amounts.<sup>53</sup> In the years 1528-30 there were eight *çiftliks* in Lika and Krbava. The following people appear in registers as *çiftlik* holders: 1) *Voyvoda* Sinân,<sup>54</sup> from the entourage of the former Bosnian *sancâkbeyi* Yûnus paşa;<sup>55</sup> 2) *Voyvoda* Dragoje, Dragiša and *beşlü* Ali;<sup>56</sup> 3) Turahân, son of Karagöz and Petar, son of Vukša;<sup>57</sup> 4) Yahyâ, son of İsmail, Dragić, son of Dragiša and Radoje;<sup>58</sup> 5) *beşlü* Hasan and *beşlü* Temurhân;<sup>59</sup> 6) Hasan and Dâvud;<sup>60</sup> 7) *beşlü* Hasan, *çavuş* Hüseyin, Ferhâd Lugić and a few other interested individuals;<sup>61</sup> 8) Petar Gučić.<sup>62</sup>

From the revenue from the lease of *çiftliks* and the farming of *mezra'as* Ottoman Empire could only partially cover the cost of four military endowments or *timâr*s which had the following registered owners: Ca'fer, son of Udovičić, knez Čulin,

<sup>51</sup> Names of villages and *mezra'as* are herein written without question mark if a toponym has been located or its reading determined beyond doubt irrespective of the fact that it cannot be located today. Question mark is used next to toponyms for which there is any number of possible readings, and it has not been possible to determine which of those is the correct one. In resolving the issues with toponyms I have used the works of Stjepan Pavičić and Ivica Matajic.

<sup>52</sup> TD 157, 1077 – 1078.

<sup>53</sup> For *çiftliks* as *mezra'as* given up for lease for small amounts of money in unsafe frontier areas see: Moačanin, *Turska Hrvatska*, 126.

<sup>54</sup> *Voyvoda* Sinan's *çiftlik* encompassed the territory between the destroyed forts of Vranik and Komić, and villages of Gornji and Donji Smokrići, Podal and Namlina (?). The estimated income from that *çiftlik* was part of the *knez* Čulin's *timâr* and it amounted to 750 *akçe*. The source does not give information on permanent residents of the *çiftlik*. TD 164, 364.

<sup>55</sup> Yûnus-paşa was Bosnian *sancâkbeyi* from 1512 until 1513, and from 1514 until 1515.

<sup>56</sup> Their *çiftlik* encompassed the territory of *mezra'a* around Gračac, near the destroyed forts of Radavac and Zelengrad. TD 157, 1081.

<sup>57</sup> Their *çiftlik* encompassed the territory of *mezra'a* Trnovljani and Mioćani in Lika. TD 157, 1081.

<sup>58</sup> The *çiftlik* encompassed *mezra* Projani (?) and the lands of Juraj Sudac (judge?). TD 157, 1081.

<sup>59</sup> The *çiftlik* encompassed Veliko and Malo Podkrbavje and Pećani near Udbina in *Vilayet-i Hrvat*. TD 157, 1082.

<sup>60</sup> The *çiftlik* encompassed summer pasture Mazine near Udbina. TD 157, 1082.

<sup>61</sup> For their *çiftlik* it was specified that it is situated in the *Vilayet-i Hrvat*, covering numerous *mezra'as* near fort Bunić and fort Komić. TD 157, 1082.

<sup>62</sup> His *çiftlik* encompassed *mezra'as* Gospina Gorica and Jošane in Krbava. TD 157, 1083.

knez Vukašin, son of Sladoje and Petar Preić. In addition to the uncertain revenue from *mezra'as* and *çiftliks* all over Lika and Krbava, some of them had revenue from the estates situated deeper in the *sancâk* of Bosnia, in safer areas. To others yet the Sublime Porte gave a monetary supplement to the basic revenue received from Lika and Krbava endowments which speaks of the level of demographic and economic devastation of that space.

Ca'fer, son of Udovičić was a Bosnian *sipâhî* discharged from service (*mazûl*), or "waiting" for new service. His family also had endowments in the *nâhiyes* of Sinj, Cetina and Vrlika.<sup>63</sup> His *timâr* in Lika encompassed 14 inhabited *mezra'as*: Moročani, Mahovci, Mazine, Poljice, Lovine, Zabužani, Čelopek, Četenić, Nova Vast, Kožile, Bisić, Dugošani, Zapujani and Bukovljani. These *mezra'as* were farmed because the register gives figures of production levels, and the total estimated revenue of these *mezra'as* was 6.475 *akçe*.<sup>64</sup> There were 11 Muslim households, 5 single individuals and 73 non-Muslim households in those *mezra'as*. In addition to these, Ca'fer had a more reliable source of revenue through a levy from military village of Poljanica (or Bilosalić) in the *nâhiye* of the Saraj in Bosnia, with 14 Muslim households, one non-Muslim household and three one-person households.<sup>65</sup>

Revenue from *timâr* of knez Vukašin, son of Sladoje came from *mezra'as* in Papračani, Morova and Podstražno and amounted to 995 *akçe*. Sublime Porte added 1.295 *akçe* to this amount to form a smaller *timâr*. The three *mezra'as* had 33 Christian households or *hâne*, 4 Muslim households and one single individual household.<sup>66</sup> Ottoman policy of granting *timârs* to Vlach *knezes* who were thus incentivised to settle their Vlach communities or *cemâats* in the vacant areas can be traced to the earliest days of control over the said territory.

Another discharged Bosnian *sipâhî* became a holder of *timâr* – Petar Preić. His *timâr* encompassed numerous *mezra'as* and a few *çiftliks* in Lika and Krbava, as well as in the neighbouring *nâhiyes* of Zrmanja, Popina, Ostrovica and Srb. His endowment in Lika included *mezra'a* Morovi assigned to Sladoje and Orthodox priest (*pop*) Vukašin, zemin of the *varoş* of fort Gračac, *mezra'as* Mahori, Purišani, Nadgorica (Jadgodica?) and Zapotočani which were assigned to Ca'afer, "mezra'a of the *nâhiyes* of Lika" assigned to Nikola Bedović, *mezra'a* Podribnica(?) and Mendova (Medova – Medak?) assigned to Pavle and Radivoje, *mezra'a* Zrnić assigned to Ivaniš, *mezra'a* Novosel near the Gračac fort assigned to Vuk Grujac,

<sup>63</sup> Another member of the Udovičić family, Hasan, most likely brother to the above mentioned Ca'fer, had holdings in the *nâhiyes* of Neretva and Visoko. See: Fazileta Hafizović, "Posjedi zvaničnika i njihovih porodica u Kliškom sandžaku u 16. stoljeću," *Znakovi vremena* 13/48- 49 (summer-autumn 2010), 256.

<sup>64</sup> TD 164, 366.

<sup>65</sup> TD 164, 366.

<sup>66</sup> TD 164, 367.

*çiftlik* hold by knez Dragoja and Dragiša, *çiftlik* hold by Turahân, son of Karagöz, and Petar, son of Vukša, *çiftlik* hold by Yâhya, son of İsmail and Dragić, son of Dragiša and Radoje, *mezraâ* Gudušić (Godušić), Gaćepeći and Lišić assigned to tailor Hüseyin, *mezra* Zrninica assigned to Grgur, *mezraâ* Kolunić assigned to Obrad, *mezra* Borslatković assigned to *Koca* Mahmûd, *mezraâ* Gradičina Podvrbcë (Pod Vrebac?) assigned to Dervîş Behrâm and his brother, *mezraâ* Kukovac Varoš assigned to Ca'fer bey Udovičić, *mezraâ* Lovinac assigned to Mehmed Ağa, *mezraâ* Ban Dol assigned to İskender.

Petar Preić's endowment included *çiftlik* of *beşlü* Hasan and *beşlü* Temurhân in the *Hrvat vilâyeti*, *çiftlik* of Hasan and Dâvud near Udbina, *çiftlik* of *beşlü* Hasan, *çavuş* Hüseyin and Ferhâd Lugić in Krbava, *mezraâs* Duga Vas and Korita in Krbava assigned to Blaž Trgočić, and *çiftlik* of Petar Gučić which encompassed *mezraâs* of Gospina Gorica and Jošane.

Landholdings in Lika and Krbava yielded little revenue, the total of 1.725 akçe (*mezraâ* Lovinac yielded the most, 285 akçe). The source does not give information about permanent residents of *mezraâs* and *çiftliks* which were part of Petar Prejić's endowment (it states that they are situated on dangerous territory and that they cannot be farmed, thus fixed low revenue amounts are given).<sup>67</sup> The total amount of revenue from all of his landholdings was 3.908 akçe.<sup>68</sup> The government paid out a monetary supplement to this low *timâr*, undoubtedly to motivate the colonisation of Lika.

Even a glance at the names of the individuals who were assigned *mezraâs* and *çiftliks* in Lika in this earliest period of Ottoman rule, as well as a glance at the names of taxpayers who inhabited the *mezraâs*, reveals that ethnic and religious affiliation was multifarious. There were Muslims and Christians, mostly new immigrants. Yet there were autochthonous inhabitants left as well, which can be deduced from their names such as Ivaniš, Grgur and Blaž which are listed as tenants of *mezraâs*. Additionally, in some *mezraâs* Vlachs were predominant.

The register of 1550 testifies to the fact that the demographic and military situation in the *nâhiyes* of Lika was not stable even twenty years on. Localities marked as *mezraâs* now exceed fifty in number, and much more are now described as dangerous places which cannot be farmed which is the reason for their abandonment. Such examples are *mezraâs* Gudušić (Godušić), Gaćepeći and Lišić<sup>69</sup>,

<sup>67</sup> TD 164, 367-368. In addition to the above mentioned, Petar Preić's endowment comprised of *mezraâ* Hotešić in Zrmanja assigned to knez Lazar, *mezraâ* Obrenić in Popina assigned to Karagöz, *mezraâ* Čutnić in Srb assigned to Kara Ca'fer, as well as five *çiftliks* in the *nâhiyes* of Saraj and Dubrovnik.

<sup>68</sup> TD 164, 367-368.

<sup>69</sup> TD 284, 231; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliskog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 235.

Morovi and Smojčina near Gračac<sup>70</sup>, Zrnić<sup>71</sup>, *mezraás* Trivljani and Misočani<sup>72</sup>, priest (*pop*) Stepan's *mezraá* near Gračac used by Vuk, Cvetko and Radovan<sup>73</sup>, *çiftlik* of Yâhya, son of İsmail, Dragić, son of Dragiša, Radojina, son of Brajko and Vukić, son of Vukosav which comprised *mezraá* Projani (?) near Novi which was previously owned by Juraj Sudac (judge?) and *mezraá* Krbava and the land hold by Juraj, son of Vukša<sup>74</sup>, *mezraá* Gradičina Podvrbče (Pod Vrebac?) hold by Derviş Behrâm and his brother 'Alî<sup>75</sup>, *mezraá* Dubnić hold by Kara Ca'fer and Kurd<sup>76</sup>, *mezraá* Borslatković owned by *Koca* Mahmûd<sup>77</sup>, *çiftlik* of *beşlü* Hasan, Temurhân and İskender which comprised *mezraás* Malo and Veliko Podkrbavje and Pećani<sup>78</sup>, *mezraás* Podribnica (?) and Mendova (Medova – Medak?),<sup>79</sup> *mezraás* Zrnica, Podmijača and Trnova Mala which were owned by a few Christians,<sup>80</sup> etc.

There are numerous references in the register that *reaya*<sup>81</sup> in Lika changed sides or inhabited a different place. Thus for example, *reaya* left *mezraás* Bukovljani,<sup>82</sup> Dugošani,<sup>83</sup> Ravna Popina,<sup>84</sup> *mezraá* Bisić known as the land of Grgur Milaković,<sup>85</sup> Lovina, Lovinac and Podžirje,<sup>86</sup> Kožili,<sup>87</sup> Zapujani,<sup>88</sup> etc. Such notes of the census takers point to the conclusion that, even though population was sparse in the ini-

<sup>70</sup> TD 284, 235; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 234-235.

<sup>71</sup> TD 284, 251; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 257.

<sup>72</sup> Which were *çiftlik* of Temurhân, son of Karagöz, Petar, son of Vukašin, Vukdrag, son of Juraj, Petko and Stepko. TD 284, 392; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 404.

<sup>73</sup> TD 284, 394; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 406.

<sup>74</sup> TD 284, 396; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 407.

<sup>75</sup> TD 284, 401; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 412.

<sup>76</sup> TD 284, 414; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 425.

<sup>77</sup> TD 284, 415; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 425.

<sup>78</sup> TD 284, 420; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 429.

<sup>79</sup> TD 284, 400; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 411.

<sup>80</sup> TD 284, 419; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 429.

<sup>81</sup> Subjects of the Ottoman Empire who paid taxes and primarily farmed the land.

<sup>82</sup> According to the census taker's note this *mezraá* previously had 6 households of *reaya*, but they have left their place of residence and have settled elsewhere. TD 284, 399; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 410.

<sup>83</sup> TD 284, 231; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 235.

<sup>84</sup> There were 3 Christian households recorded there before. Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 370.

<sup>85</sup> TD 284, 379; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 392.

<sup>86</sup> In *mezraás* Lovine, Lovinac and Podžirje at the time of the census there was no one, even though earlier records show 5 inhabitants. TD 284, 396; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 408. TD 284, 396.

<sup>87</sup> Earlier records show 4 inhabitants, but they all ran away. TD 284, 407; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 418.

<sup>88</sup> Earlier records show two persons living there. TD 284,408; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 419.

tial period of the Ottoman rule, Lika still had a larger population in 1530 than in 1550. Migration from the Ottoman to the Habsburg and Venetian territory began already in 1530s and continued for the rest of the 16<sup>th</sup> and throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. There was a number of reasons for it, but the most important was constant insecurity. Devastating invasions of uskoks near Senj which began after 1537 drove away the remaining inhabitants which left their different ways; some to the area controlled by the Habsburgs, other deeper into the Ottoman inland, others yet into the Venetian Dalmatia and Istria. Udbina, Novi and Bilaj forts have also been attacked multiple times.<sup>89</sup>

Plots in Lika that had once been farmed, but were by the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century abandoned were used by transhumance pastoralists (*hâymâneler*) as summer pastures. The government has therefore decided to start collecting fees for grazing on such plots. For example, from the areas of the devastated forts of Komić, Vranik and Podlapac the government collected revenue for grazing in the amount of 1.500 *akçe*.<sup>90</sup> *Mezra'â* Otrić in Popina which became the property of Karagöz and Nasûh, sons of 'Abdullâh and has served as a grazing ground of the stock owned by *cemâ'at* lead by knez Vukosav,<sup>91</sup> etc.

Fertile plots were still occasionally being farmed by lease holders. For some *mezra'as* it was recorded that they are being farmed "from the outside" (such as for example *mezra'as* Poljice<sup>92</sup>, Nova Vast<sup>93</sup>, Lovine<sup>94</sup>, Četečić<sup>95</sup>, Čelopek<sup>96</sup>) with no mention of the actual holders, while in other cases records state who used the land. For example, a few Christians – Radoje, Bože, Vukašin, Pavko, Vuksan, Đurašin, Milun, Radica, Pribila, Dobrica and Dobrila – inhabitants of the village of Bitelić in the Sinj-Cetina region gave permission to be recorded as users of the land and water mills in *mezra'as* of Morovi and Smojčina near the Gračac fort.<sup>97</sup> Inhabitants of the village of Bitelić as holders of *mezra'as* are listed in the records from 1520-30.<sup>98</sup> Also, transhumance pastoralists from the same village,

<sup>89</sup> Western sources report that Udbina was devastated in 1544. Ottoman sources also describe heavy devastation of Udbina in 1570/71. Novi and Bilaj were devastated already in 1530. Pavičić, *Seobe i naselja*, 129, 130; Mühimme defteri (MD) 12, 224; MD 14, 276.

<sup>90</sup> TD 284, 23; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 22. The government collected income by taking a sheep or its counter value depending on the amount of livestock (25 *akçe* for a large herd or flock, 15 for the middle-sized one, and 10 for a small one).

<sup>91</sup> TD 284, 250; Spaho et. al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 256.

<sup>92</sup> TD 284, 386; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 398.

<sup>93</sup> TD 284, 386; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 399.

<sup>94</sup> TD 284, 392; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 404.

<sup>95</sup> TD 284, 396; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 408.

<sup>96</sup> TD 284, 231; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 234.

<sup>97</sup> TT 284, 231; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 234 - 235

<sup>98</sup> TD 157, 1080.

both Christians and Muslims – Ca'fer, son of Murâd, Hızır son of priest, Cvetko, son of Dobrila, Radoje, Radojko, Radivoj, Radosav, Vukoje, Radica, Ivan, son of Radica – used the mills and *mezráas* of Mahori and Purišani near the fort of Novigrad, and Nadgorica (Jadgodica?), Zapotočani, Podstrana, Papračani, Plićani, Tomljani, etc.,<sup>99</sup> while the three “new Muslims” (İskender son of Vukosav, Şâhîn son of Radojko and Ahmed son of Miločić) from the village of Radovina near fort Duvno in the *sancâk* of Herzegovina, used *mezráa* Mahdol.<sup>100</sup> The latter speaks volumes about the origins of migration in the period from 1530s to 1550s, and of the course of Islamization. Listing Eastern Orthodox priest (*pop*, from Greek *papás* – father) reveals that Eastern Orthodox population has immigrated, while listing recently Islamized population immigrating from the *sancâk* of Herzegovina points to Islamization of Vlachs as well.<sup>101</sup>

*Çiftliks* were still owned by Muslim soldiers and eminent people in the *sancâk* who were paying *resm-i tâpu* to the Imperial Treasury. Thus for example *çiftlik* which comprised of *mezráas* Mala and Duga Poljica, Štitar and Mahovci became the property of *sipâhî* Divâne Mustafâ *harâmîbâşı* and Murâd, son of falconer Mustafâ, after the two have paid 400 *akçe* into Imperial Treasury<sup>102</sup>; meadow (*çayır*) Plana near Udbina became a *çiftlik* of saddle maker Mehmed<sup>103</sup>; Voyvoda Sînân, member of entourage of the former Bosnian *sancâkbeyi* Yûnus Paşa remained the owner of *çiftlik* comprising *mezráas* of Donji and Gornji Smokrići, Podalj and Namlina (?) situated between the destroyed forts of Vranik and Komić, and part of the Ričice *mezráa* near Gračac, etc.<sup>104</sup> And while some Muslim soldiers did reside in the forts and did farm the land leased to them together with their families, eminent individuals from the Ottoman administration undoubtedly did not live in the said *çiftliks*, and have instead left other interested individuals to farm their land.

## SETTLEMENT OF LIKA

The Ottoman Empire implemented the policy of settlement of Lika in the period 1550 to 1585 in the time of Malkoç Bey Kara Osmanoğlu, the *sancâkbeyi* of Klis, Ferhâd Bey Sokollu, the *sancâkbeyi* of Klis and Bosnia and Mehmed Bey, the *sancâkbeyi* of Krka. The aim of the settlement process was to strengthen Ottoman military positions toward the Primorje captaincy. In 1560 the sultan ordered Ferhâd Bey Sokollu that 70 destroyed forts in the Lika and Krbava *nâhiyes* near the forts of

<sup>99</sup> TD 284, 392; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 404.

<sup>100</sup> TD 284, 421; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 430.

<sup>101</sup> Šarić, “Osmanski korijeni Gospića,” 230.

<sup>102</sup> TD 284, 418; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 428

<sup>103</sup> TD 284, 430; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 438.

<sup>104</sup> TD 284, 430; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 439.

Gračac and Udbina be settled and revitalized. It was to be executed by giving (not leasing!) the land around the forts suitable for settlement to interested individuals, issuing of the land deed (*tâpu*) and payment of the *tapu resmi* (*resm-i tâpu*) to the state. The order stressed that the agricultural land shall not be given to the stock breeders and *çiftlik* holders (who do not have a permanent residence), but to those who shall farm the land and live there permanently (*reaya*).<sup>105</sup> A wave of colonisation in Lika had to have begun even before 1550 because a Spanish source from 1560 states that Malkoç Bey, the *sancâkbeyi* of Klis had settled 8.000 to 15.000 “Turkish” households in Lika in the past few years.<sup>106</sup> Ivan Lenković, captain from Senj has in 1551 reported to Habsburg king Ferdinand that “the Turks” have populated the border with the Kingdom of Croatia with a few thousand inland Vlachs with over 100.000 sheep and cattle.<sup>107</sup> Even though the central government had a good repopulation and re-agrarisation plan for the area, its implementation did not go as planned. And not only because of the “small war” on the border and invasions of the enemy units from Primorje captaincy, but also because of the conflict between earlier lessees and new immigrants. Disputes over the settlement of Lika were recorded in a document dated 1566 when Hüsrev Bey, the *sancâkbeyi* of Klis, reported to Sublime Porte that some *reaya* appeared in Bilajsko polje in Lika and became its permanent residents.<sup>108</sup> He stressed that the area had been vacant and neglected for thirty years, and the newly settled *reaya* is prevented from farming the land precisely by those who were listed in tax register under fixed amount (namely, previous lease holders). Unquestionably, the aim of the regional government and the Sublime Porte was to repopulate the vacant area with *reaya* that would actually live there and reside in Lika. Therefore, the sultan’s court ordered that the previous owners not mix with the newcomers who wish to revitalize the derelict forts. It was in the interest of the government to repopulate the area and change the legal status of the existing *mezraás* and *çiftliks* from lease holdings into tithe areas from which the *reaya* shall give tithe (*öşr*) and pay usual levies instead of low fixed amounts. However, that was no easy task for regional Ottoman governors as shall become evident from the orders preserved in Mühimme defteri outlined below.

In addition to immigration the government incentivised reconstruction of destroyed forts all over Lika and Krbava. Until mid-16<sup>th</sup> century the Ottomans have reconstructed desolate Gračac because the register of 1550 describes it as a fort (*kale*), with the settlement below it, a *varoş* whose inhabitants, immigrants from the village of Bitelić near Sinj, farmed the surrounding land (vineyards, gardens

<sup>105</sup> MD 3, fol. 338, no. 988 ; Holjevac i Moačanin, Hrvatsko-slavonska, 157.

<sup>106</sup> Mirjana Polić-Bobić, “Dva izvještaja o naseljavanju muslimana u Liku i Krbavu,” *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 24 (1991), 207-210.

<sup>107</sup> Pavičić, *Seobe i naselja*, 131.

<sup>108</sup> MD 5, fol. 666, no. 1869.

and meadows) and worked the mills.<sup>109</sup> Udbina was flooded in 1569/70.<sup>110</sup> Even though an Ottoman source from 1570 states that Lika and the Novi fort belong to the “House of Islam” (*dâr ül-islâm*)<sup>111</sup>, insecurity was still great, forts did not have enough manpower or weapons, and intrusions from enemy lines were frequent.<sup>112</sup>

### **NOVI, MEDAK AND BILAJ BARLETA NÂHIYES IN THE OTTOMAN TAX REGISTER OF 1574: DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, LANDHOLDING RELATIONS**

The efforts of the Ottoman government to revitalise Lika and Krbava demographically and economically did give some results because the register of the *sancâk* of Klis from 1574 lists the total of 12 *nâhiyes*, 7 of which were in Lika (Gračac, forts Novi, Cvituša, Medak, Perušić, fort Zvonigrad, fort Bilaj Barlete), and five in Krbava (fort Udbina, forts Bunić Bilaj, Mazin, Lapac and Nebluh).<sup>113</sup>

The paper shall focus on the three *nâhiyes* in Lika which are the topic of this research: fort Novi, fort Bilaj Barlete and Medak.<sup>114</sup>

The borders of the *nâhiyes* of the Bilaj Barlete and Novi forts stretched between the *nâhiye* of Medak, the derelict Ostrovica fort in Lika, the derelict Smiljan fort, the derelict Stari Grad fort near the Adriatic sea, from the top of the mountain to the derelict Počitelj fort and again down to the border of the *nâhiye* of Medak.<sup>115</sup> The borders of the *nâhiye* of Medak stretched from the Zir mountain along the border of the *nâhiye* of Cvituša to the derelict Trnovac fort, from the top of the mountain to the derelict Počitelj fort, along the border of the *nâhiye* of Novi fort to the Veliki Mogorić fort, and along the border of the derelict Podlapac fort to the border of the *nâhiye* of Cvituša.<sup>116</sup>

In the three *nâhiyes* the total of 37 villages (*karye*) was registered, 18 of which in the *nâhiye* of Novi, 5 in the *nâhiye* of Bilaj Barlete and 14 in the *nâhiye* of Medak. In the three *nâhiyes* the total of 20 *çiftliks* were listed, of which 9 in the *nâhiye* of Novi, 4 in the *nâhiye* of Bilaj Barlete, and 7 in the *nâhiye* of Medak. The *nâhiye* of

<sup>109</sup> TD 284, 405; Spaho et al, *Opširni popis Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine*, 415 – 416.

<sup>110</sup> MD 5, fol. 666, no. 1869. MD 9, fol. 53, no. 140.

<sup>111</sup> MD 14, fol. 553, no. 775

<sup>112</sup> It is an order to *sancâkbeyi* of Klis which describes a coordinated attack of 1.500 enemy soldiers from the direction of Bihać toward Udbina (Bilajsko polje) and about 200 toward Novi. It was that attack that the *sancâkbeyi* notified the Porte that the forts are without soldiers and weapons. MD 14, fol. 553, no. 775.

<sup>113</sup> TD 533.

<sup>114</sup> The register of 1574 also gives the name Medava in few places. Therefore we need to provide for the possibility that this name was used as well although this has not been recorded in the literature so far. TD 533, 367.

<sup>115</sup> TD 533, 818.

<sup>116</sup> TD 533, 790.



Novi was the most extensive, and had the greatest number of villages and *çiftlik*s, while Bilaj Barlete was the smallest with a modest number of villages and *çiftlik*s.

The *nâhiye* of the Novi fort alone according to the register from 1574 was economically and demographically revitalised area when compared to the information from the earlier register.<sup>117</sup> Near the fort three water mills which have been operational for half a year and which earned the government the revenue of 45 *akçe* were registered.<sup>118</sup> In addition to these, the source states that there were two additional water mills in the *nâhiye* which were derelict *ocaklar* on the river Barlete and the census taker gave an assessment of 30 *akçe* that the holding earns the government.<sup>119</sup> There were quite a few mills in *çiftlik*s, but the exact number is not stated.

The government started charging various levies in the *nâhiye*: the amount was estimated to the total of 120 *akçe*. Individual items mentioned were: inland custom tax or market tax on buying and selling of large quantities of goods arriving in horse loads or cart loads (*bâc-i siyâh*), provisional tax collected to take defendants to court (*ihzârîye*), market tax collected for supervision and *mühtesibs* (*ihtisâb*), bride tax (*resm-i arûs*), penal tax for major offences (*cürm-ü cinâyet*), administrative tax (*niyâbet*), fee for agricultural damage (*polaçına*).<sup>120</sup> From the above we can infer the following: a) somewhere on the territory of the *nâhiye*, perhaps in the immediate vicinity of the Novi fort, weekly market activity began (weekly market or market day), b) that the fort was probably a seat of the *kadı*'s assistant (*naib*), c) that there was a court room in the fort, d) that there was market supervision in the *nâhiye* (which was a duty of muhtesib or naib) on market day, that customary fees were collected from the traders and craftsmen, that prices were supervised, as well as the accuracy of measurements, etc. e) fines were introduced for offenders, f) bride tax or a fee to be paid upon the marriage of one's daughter started to be collected, g) agriculture was becoming increasingly important and a fee for protection of crops in the fields, as well as a compensation for the damage to the crops incurred by livestock began to be collected.

As was already mentioned above, there were 9 *çiftlik*s listed in the *nâhiye* of Novi stretching all across the *nâhiye* encompassing parts of arable land in the field under the Novi fort, villages and *mezra'as* near and far, grazing land (*otlâk*), and summer pastures (*yâylâk*), water mills and meadows. Fees levied from the *çiftlik*s were part of *sipâbis' timârs*. Tithe (*öşr*), a tenth of all crops grown, was collected from two *çiftlik*s. From four *çiftlik*s an amount was given without breakdown per product, while for three *çiftlik*s there are no entries at all. Tax collected for the following ag-

<sup>117</sup> TD 533, 642-646.

<sup>118</sup> TD 533, 642.

<sup>119</sup> TD 533, 646.

<sup>120</sup> TD 533, 642.

ricultural products has been recorded: wheat, mix (mix of cereals), oat, vegetables from vegetable gardens, hay, flax, beehives, onion, garlic and cabbage. In addition to these traditional crops, *çiftliks* also grew other cereals (such as buckwheat, rye, etc.), specific climate appropriate fruit and vegetables, but those were not entered in the register by the census taker since the goal was to produce a standardised defter for the *sancâk* of Klis with basic products essential for the functioning of the *sipâhî-timâr* system. The quantity of cereal a *sipâhî* was allowed to collect was expressed in *keyl* a measuring unit approved for the *sancâk* of Klis.<sup>121</sup> In addition to the tithes of the agricultural products, the *sipâhî* had the right to collect feudal bride tax paid on the marriage of a daughter, fee for agricultural damage and half of *bâd-u havâ*.<sup>122</sup> The above testifies that the *çiftliks* were inhabited, even though there is no data on the inhabitants.

The following *çiftlik* holders are listed in the *nâhiye* of Novi: 1) Mehmed, Mustafâ *kethüda* and Hüseyin, children of Zeynihân;<sup>123</sup> 2) Mehmed, Nesûh, the *mustahfizes*, the *beşlüs* and the *martoloses* of the Novi fort;<sup>124</sup> 3) Bekir Ağa, the *beşlüs* and the *martoloses* of the Novi fort;<sup>125</sup> 4) Mehmed leader of the *martolos* and other *martoloses*, the *beşlüs* and the *mustahfizes* of the Novi fort;<sup>126</sup> 5) Bekir Ağa, ‘Ömer, ‘Osman, ‘Ali and Hasan, children of Zeynihân;<sup>127</sup> 6) Bâli *kethüda* of the Novi fort and his children Mehmed, Ramazân, İbrahim and Mustafâ;<sup>128</sup> 7) Bekir Ağa, *beşlü* of the Novi fort<sup>129</sup>; 8) Behlül Zaim, Mehmed Prko, Feridun Ağa and Yüsuf *boca*<sup>130</sup>; 9) Behlül Bey Zaim, Oruç *kethüda*, *vojvoda* Sînân, Velî Blagajlo, Mehmed Prko (?),

<sup>121</sup> *Keyl* measuring unit for cereals in the *sancâk* of Klis was 64 okkas.

<sup>122</sup> *Bâd-u havâ* literally means “wind and air”. It is a fee for keeping order. Includes petty fines and penalties, the most important being blood money.

<sup>123</sup> The *çiftlik* consisted of parts of *zemin* field Novi, Pejačić *mezraâ* (with derelict fort), *mezraâs* Doljani, Gornja and Donja Cvrtina (?), Mahori, Straža, Dalenić with grazing land and summer pasture, water mills and a meadow.

<sup>124</sup> The *çiftlik* consisted of parts of *zemin* field Novi and *mezraâs* Poljice, Brušan, Novosel, Strćan Gornji, Bilišan, Dugošan with grazing land, summer pasture and a meadow.

<sup>125</sup> The *çiftlik* consisted of parts of *zemin* field Novi and *mezraâs* Podhumci, Dugošan, Bilišan, Barećan grazing land, summer pasture and a meadow.

<sup>126</sup> The *çiftlik* consisted of parts of *zemin* field Novi and *mezraâs* Kolić, Donji and Gornji Radučani, Bilišan, Smiljan, Novosel, *zemin* of a derelict church with grazing land, summer pasture and a meadow.

<sup>127</sup> The *çiftlik* consisted of parts of *zemin* field Novi, *mezraâs* Donji and Gornji Trnavac, Vinarina, Dolina, (?) field near the Bag fort, Konjsko with water mills, grazing land, summer pasture and a meadow.

<sup>128</sup> The *çiftlik* consisted of parts of *zemin* field Novi, *mezraâs* Donji and Gornji Zapotoćan, grazing land, summer pasture and a meadow.

<sup>129</sup> The *çiftlik* consisted of parts of *zemin* field of the Novi fort.

<sup>130</sup> The *çiftlik* consisted of parts of *zemin* field Novi and *mezraâs* Donja Banova, *mezra* Podhumac grazing land and summer pasture and a meadow, water mills and fish pond. It yielded 940 akçe, which was the highest amount collected from farming of all *çiftliks* in the *nâhiye* of Novi.

‘Ali Bey, son of Velî, Mehmed and other Mehmed Ağa, Ferhâd *kethüda*, Mustafâ, Ahmed, ‘Ömer, ‘Ali Bey, Yûsuf *hoca*, Mehmed Ağa and Mustafâ.<sup>131</sup>

The sources reveal that the *çiftliks* were mostly assigned to esteemed individuals (their titles are *bey*, *zaim* and *hoca* which indicate persons in high positions in the *sancâk*), as well as soldiers in the Novi fort and their commanders.<sup>132</sup>

In 1574 in the *nâhiye* of Novi 18 villages were recorded. For 15 villages in the defter the amounts of tithe for farm products which the government gave to the *sipâhî* are recorded. This means that *sipâhî-timâr* system has been introduced in those villages. Therefore, we could call them tithe villages. Those were the following: Gospoja – place of the church (*Gospoya –i kilisâ yerleri*)<sup>133</sup>, Komarevo, Račić, Zapotočje, Podstraža, Smiljan, Trnovac, Barečani, Gornji and Donji Ribnić (?), Podhumci, Bilišani, Gornje and Donje Podoštre, Vinari, Stapan. As far as farmsteads and agricultural production is concerned numerous levies on farm products were recorded. It was also done on *çiftliks* (wheat, mix of cereals, oat, vegetables from gardens, hay, flax, beehives, onion, garlic and cabbage). In addition to the tithe, the government gave the *sipâhî* half of *bâd-u havâ*, bride tax and fee for agricultural damage collected in those villages. The largest tithe was recorded near the village of Gospoja; it was 1.000 *akçe*, while the smallest one was paid out near the villages of Gornji and Donji Ribnić (?), and it amounted to 200 *akçe*.<sup>134</sup> The amount from the village of Gospoja would suggest significant farm activity. No inhabitants were recorded in any of the above villages, however, the amount of tithe was broken down by items (agricultural products) which does suggest that they were inhabited after all, at least most of them such as *çiftliks*. However, the data from the register makes us unable to say anything about the density of population. In addition to tithe villages there were villages for which we do have direct evidence about population density: in those villages *baştines* are recorded with the amounts of financial counter value of agrarian production, but without breakdown per item. Thus, for example, the Nekorić

<sup>131</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised parts of *zemin* in the field of the village near the Ribnik fort and peninsula with St. Nicholas church, with water mills, fish pond, grazing land, meadow, and part of the village Pod(?) in the village of Gornja s Gorićem. The fees collected by the Imperial Treasury from this *çiftlik* was 300 *akçe*. TD 533, 646.

<sup>132</sup> *Zaim* was a *sipâhî* of higher rank with endowment valued from 20.000 to 100.000 *akçe*, while the title of the *hoca* was attributed to an educated person who might have been a religious teacher, or any eminent person performing a legal duty, or was even engaged in commerce. *Bey* referred to an influential person in the position of *sancâkbeyi*, namely the military and administrative commander of *sancâk*. The title of *ağa* was given to heads of different army troops in forts, while *kethüda* denoted deputy of different authorities and commanders in the fort. Those were individuals who performed different military duties in the Novi fort.

<sup>133</sup> For relationship between the village of Gospoja and the village of Gospić see: Močanin, “Ime Gospić,” 51-54; Šarić, “Osmanski korijeni Gospića,” 239-242.

<sup>134</sup> Račić 400 *akçe*, Zapotočje 600, Podstraža 524, Smiljan 370, Trnovac 420, Barečani 320, Podhumci 620, Bilišani, Gornja and Donja Podoštre 554, Vinari 420.

village was a place where there was a derelict fort with 4 Christian *baštines* with a duty in the amount of 640 *akçe*, while the Novosel village had three Christian and one Muslim *baštine* and its duty amounted to 640 *akçe*, as well. The Brusnice village did not have a single *baštine* recorded, but it yielded 300 *akçe* to the government in duties. In addition to these villages, about ten other villages marked by a sign *mevkûf* were registered, which meant that their duties were kept, stopped for some reason, most likely were not directed toward the *sipâhî timârs*. This refers to the following villages: Brušan (150 *akçe*), Novasel (200), Donja and Gornja Mahorina (300), Mahori (120), Tatačić (200), the Bag village as a place of a derelict fort (150), Jablanica (220), Ribnik (230), Doljan (200) and Dugošani (220).<sup>135</sup>

Since the *nâhiye* was situated in the mountainous territory, near Velebit, five summer pastures were registered (Vinara, Konjsko, Rudine, Lapac, Drlesić?) which were also taxed by the government.<sup>136</sup> Far smaller *nâhiye* was the Bilaj Barlete fort *nâhiye*. Only four *çiftlik*s were recorded there, and their holders were: 1) Janko (?) and knez Miloš, son of Ugarko<sup>137</sup>; 2) Mehmed, Mustafâ, Hasan, Halil and 'Abdi Murâd's sons<sup>138</sup>; 3) Murâd Ağa *dizdâr* of the Bilaj Barlete fort, Hızır, son of Velî, the leader of the *martoloses* (*sermartolos*) of the Bilaj Barlete fort and other *martoloses* and *mustahfiz*es of the Bilaj Barlete fort<sup>139</sup>; 4) 'Ömer, 'Ali and Osmân, sons of Ahmed.<sup>140</sup> Agrarian production per item was registered only for the *çiftlik* of Murâd Ağa, *dizdâr* of the Novi fort and other members of the fort's garrison. Just as in Novi *nâhiye*, Bilaj Barlete *çiftlik* holders were eminent men in the *nâhiye*, such as fort commander and knez, as well as members of the Bilaj Barlete fort garrison. The *mustahfiz*es and the *martoloses* of the fort were also holders of three water mills on the Barleta river which yielded 45 *akçe* paid to the government.

In the *nâhiye* of Bilaj Barlete five villages were recorded, four without data on inhabitants, and with low duty amounts. Those are: Dupčan (100 *akçe*), Gorica (200), Došlan (? 150), Lika (100).<sup>141</sup> Only for the village of Mogorić near the village of Vrbčić it was recorded that it is inhabited, and has 4 Christian *baštines* which yield the revenue of 640 *akçe* to the government.<sup>142</sup> Also, market day was

<sup>135</sup> TD 533, 646.

<sup>136</sup> TD 533, 646.

<sup>137</sup> The *çiftlik* consisted of a part of the villages Donje and Gornje Barlete with water mills, grazing land, summer pasture and meadow. TD 533, 818.

<sup>138</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised parts of zamin field of the Bilaj Barlete fort, Gorica mezra, part of Srednja Gora mezra, a part of Sveti Petar zemin with grazing land and summer pasture. TD 533, 818.

<sup>139</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised parts of zemin field of the Bilaj Barlete fort, Dubčani mezra, zemin of St. Peter's church, parts of Srednja Gora *mezra* with grazing land, summer pasture and meadow. Income from *çiftlik* amounted to 445 *akçe*. TD 533, 818.

<sup>140</sup> The *çiftlik* consisted of a part of Podrebac (?) *mezra* with grazing land, summer pasture, meadow and water mill. TD 533, 818.

<sup>141</sup> TD 533, 818.

<sup>142</sup> TD 533, 818.

held in the *nâhiye*, so the government collected customs duties or *bac*, as well as other taxes and fees from the people, just as it did in the *nâhiye* of Novi in the total amount of 130 *akçe*.

In the *nâhiye* of Medak 7 *çifliks* were recorded, 14 villages and two *mezra'as* as one independent tax units. The following individuals are registered as *çiflik* holders: 1) *kethüda* Sinân, Mehmed and Ahmed;<sup>143</sup> 2) Knez Nikola son of Damjana and knez Radko, son of Vladošav;<sup>144</sup> 3) Kurd Ağa;<sup>145</sup> 4) Abdullâh;<sup>146</sup> 5) Hüseyin, son of *Hacci* Uveys and Yusûf, son of Kurd;<sup>147</sup> 6) Mustafâ, Mehmed, Mehmed Ağa, Velî and Mehmed, son of Hüseyin;<sup>148</sup> 7) 'Ali, *kethüda* Ca'fer, Ahmed and Musa.<sup>149</sup> The government collected the traditional tithe from three *çifliks*, while for four other *çifliks* only a fixed amount was entered without breakdown per product. *Mezra'as* Došlan with water mills, Velika and Mala Ribnica (?) were recorded as independent tax units. Velika and Mala Ribnica were held by notary (*katib*) Hüseyin.

Fourteen localities were registered as villages (*karye*). No entries for inhabitants were made for three villages: Poljana – place and church of St. Johns, Kupusar and Dubavica. Only the amount of tax debt is recorded for them without any additional explanations. In Počitelj 2 Christian *baštines* are recorded, two of which are indicated as newcomers (*došlak*), Gornja (?) – 4 Christian *baštines*, Ribnić (?) – place and church of St. Lovrinac – 5 Christian *baštines* and 1 Muslim *baštines*, Zavrina (?) near Mout Zir - 4 Christian *baštines*; Namlina (?) Donja – 2 Christian *baštines*, Ogorani – 2 Christian *baštines*, Petrinić – 3 Christian *baštines*, Lapac – 3 Christian *baštines*, Veliki Novak – 2 Christian *baštines*, Mali Novak – one Muslim and one Christian *baštines*, Novak Selište – 2 Christian *baštines*. The total of 30 *baštines* were recorded in the *nâhiye*, 2 of which were Muslim, while 28 were Christian. Even though we do not have information on inhabitants of the remaining villages and *çifliks* we can establish that population was scarce. No village had a large number of taxpayers; villages had but a few *baštines*. Information that the government collected only half of *bâd-u havâ* and “product” or “crop” from the

<sup>143</sup> The *çiflik* consisted of parts of the village below Medak fort and part of Podrebac (?) *mezra'a* with grazing land and summer pasture. TD 533, 790.

<sup>144</sup> The *çiflik* consisted of the village of Dobro and Račevnić *mezra'a* with grazing ground, summer pasture and meadow. TD 533, 790.

<sup>145</sup> The *çiflik* comprised part of the village of Počitelj with summer pasture, grazing land and meadow. TD 533, 791.

<sup>146</sup> The *çiflik* comprised part of the village of Srijani Gornji with grazing land, pasture and meadow. TD 533, 791.

<sup>147</sup> The *çiflik* comprised the village of Srijani Donji between the villages of Medava and Kukelj, with grazing land, meadow and water mills. TD 533, 791.

<sup>148</sup> The *çiflik* comprised part of the village of Žagar with meadow, grazing land and summer pasture. TD 533, 791.

<sup>149</sup> The *çiflik* comprised Komilić *mezra'a* with summer pasture, meadow, grazing land and water mills. TD 533, 792.

so-called nomads (*mahsûl-i hâymane*) expressed in a fixed amount testifies to the fact that those were recent immigrants.

As it has been sparsely populated, planned settlement of Lika continued even after 1574. The order of the Sublime Porte sent to the Bosnian *beylerbeyi* in November 1581 reveals that the fields – of Lika and of Krbava, have long been vacant and uninhabited, infrastructure destroyed (*hâlî ve harâb*), for, supposedly, eighty years. However, as a result of the *istimâlet*<sup>150</sup> policy and under strictly defined conditions (*şart ile*) *reaya* has settled in those areas and has started farming them.<sup>151</sup> These are the years when the Ribnik fort in the *nâhiye* of Novi was reconstructed and garrisoned so that the soldiers could protect the new immigrants as we have learned from the document dated 16 May 1585 (the source gives names of *fârises*, while there is no information about other branches of the military).<sup>152</sup> New immigrants were supposed to, under the conditions of settlement, remain outside the tax *defter*, namely, they were not supposed to be registered in it. Also, new immigrants were free from paying *cizye* for three years.<sup>153</sup> Tax exemption from the main sharia tax was supposed to be an incentive for colonisation to that population which lived in patriarchal family structures with a larger number of adult males (Vlachs), as well as for landless population used to farming. Even if this meant living on an extremely insecure *serhad*, exemption from payment of *cizye* did stimulate colonisation of Lika and incentivise the colonisers to settle on the vacant and abandoned *mezraâs*. Ottoman sources state that the immigrants arrived from enemy territory, namely from the Habsburg side.<sup>154</sup> However, many of the new immigrants did not stay in Lika and the *sancâk* of Krka for a long time, because the Ottoman census taker did distribute the revenue from the population into *timârs* of the *sipâhî* and impose the payment of *cizye* upon colonisation of Lika and as soon as the colonisers began farming which was contrary to the agreement reached with the regional authorities, namely the *sancâkbeyi* of Krka.<sup>155</sup> The communication between the

<sup>150</sup> The policy of *istimalet* implied a political strategy of agreement with the Ottomans and their guarantee of certain conditions with non-Muslim population with the aim of establishing, strengthening and stabilising Ottoman rule.

<sup>151</sup> MD 46, fol. 232, no. 511; MD 46, fol. 287, no. 657.

<sup>152</sup> The order issued by the Sublime Porte to the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia based on a letter the *sancâkbeyi* of Krka sent to the sultan's court informs us that "some time ago" (*bundan akdem*) *reaya* settled in Ličko polje, and that for defense and protection of this *reaya* it would be absolutely necessary to reconstruct the Ribnik fort as it is situated in the important position (*mühimm yer*). MD 58, fol. 148, 388.

<sup>153</sup> *Cizye* was a tax paid by all adult non-Muslim population fit for work in an Islamic state, it was a "guarantee" of a protected status. *Cizye* did not have to be paid by priests who lived off collections, the old, the sick, women and children, and those performing some special duty for the state. The amount of *cizye* changed throughout history.

<sup>154</sup> MD 48, fol. 270, no. 769.

<sup>155</sup> MD 46, fol. 287, no. 657.; MD 48, fol. 75, no. 210.

Sublime Porte and the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia and the *sancâkbeyi* of Krka until late 1581 reveal concern that the new immigrants (*reaya*), which have preserved the area and started farming the field of Lika and other fields in the *sancâk* of Krka, will spread out and move away again. The *sancâkbeyi* of Krka notified the Sublime Porte that, should they leave the immigrants out of the register and not collect *cizye* from them for two to three years, more *reaya* will arrive, even from the enemy side.<sup>156</sup> If, however, they do get registered, and their tithe is directed into *timârs* of the *sipâhî*, Lika shall become vacant again.<sup>157</sup> Ottoman sources from the 1580s suggest that some places in Lika became prosperous and densely populated as a result of the Ottoman policy of repopulation and the above mentioned guarantees. In order to keep the population and secure preconditions for colonisation, in January 1582 the Sublime Porte ordered the notary of the *sancâk* of Klis not to collect *cizye* from the new immigrants.<sup>158</sup> Soon the decision on the separation of the Klis and Krka territory was made, and the *beylerbeyi* of Bosnia was ordered to take a separate census for the *sancâk* of Krka, namely, to re-register those villages, *mezráas* and places in the *sancâk* that now fell in the Imperial has.<sup>159</sup> It should definitely be stressed that the policy of guarantees and tax exemption was not uncommon practice in the Ottoman repopulation policy in border territory. For example, in 1568 the Ottomans have settled two hundred households of “infidels from Istria” or Istrian Vlachs from *dâr ül-harb* near Knin under the provision that each household give the Imperial Treasury 2 *filuris* per annum, and about thirty *akçe* to the beys in taxes. They planned to move additional 700 households from the territory around Bihać which then fell under the Kingdom of Croatia and settle them around Obrovac, in the *nâhiyes* of Podgorje, Karin and Bukovica, and in Lika around Gračac.<sup>160</sup> This was undoubtedly realised, as the tax register from 1574 testifies. Regional Ottoman authorities invested a lot of effort to recolonise Lika, namely Ličko polje, by the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. New immigrants were mostly Vlachs and usually arrived from the *sancâks* of Klis and Herzegovina and from the neighbouring Bosnian territory across the river Una. Some immigration, however, was also seen from the territory of the Kingdom of Croatia which belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy.

<sup>156</sup> MD 48, fol. 82, no. 230.

<sup>157</sup> MD 48, fol. 75, no. 210.

<sup>158</sup> MD 46, fol. 287, no. 657.

<sup>159</sup> MD 48, fol. 163, no. 454.; MD 48, fol. 270, no. 769.

<sup>160</sup> MD 7, fol. 901, no. 2468.

## NOVI, MEDAK AND BILAJ BARLETE NÂHIYES IN THE OTTOMAN TAX REGISTER OF 1585: DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, LAND HOLDING

In 1585 new register was completed.<sup>161</sup> There were still 7 *nâhiyes* registered in Lika (Gračac, Zvonigrad, Cvituša, Novi, Medak, Perušić, Bilaj Barlete), while Krbava had 5 *nâhiyes* (Nebluh, Lapac, Mazin, Udbina, Bilaj Bunić). We shall focus on the changes in the three *nâhiyes* which are the topic of our study.

In 1585 in the Novi *nâhiye* there were 7 *çiftliks* and 18 localities recorded as villages.<sup>162</sup> The following persons were recorded as *çiftlik* holders: 1) brother Mehmed Ağa, Hüseyin Ağa and Mustafa kethüda, sons of Zeynihân Ağa;<sup>163</sup> 2) Keyvan – kethüda of the *mustahfizân* at the Novi fort, Nesûh – leader of the artillerymen of the Novi fort, Bâli kethüda, Memi *dede*,<sup>164</sup> Ramadân – leader of a *bölük* (*serbölük*), Ferhad ‘Ali – *serbölük*, Bali – *mustahfiz* of the Novi fort and other *mustahfizân* of the Novi fort;<sup>165</sup> 3) Bekir Ağa and Ali Ağa children of Zeynihân Ağa and Feridun Ağa, son of Durak Ağa, Gâzî – leader of the *harâmîs*, odabaşı Veli, seroda Hasan, seroda Osmân, Ömer Ağa, son of Ali, *fârisân* and the *martoloses* of the Novi fort;<sup>166</sup> 4) Bekir Ağa, Osman and Ali Ağa, children of Zeynihân Ağa;<sup>167</sup> 5) Sefer, son of Behlül, Feridun Ağa zaim, Nuh and Mehmed, sons of Mustafa Ağa zaim;<sup>168</sup> 6)

<sup>161</sup> TD 622.

<sup>162</sup> Data of the Novi *nâhiye* can be found on pages 479 A, 479B, 481A, 481B, 482 A. In the scanned document pages 480 A and 480 B are missing.

<sup>163</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised of parts of zemin in the field of the Novi fort, of Pejačić *mezraâ* (place with a derelict fort), *mezraâs* Doljani, Gornja and Donja Mahorina, Mahori, Straža, Dalenić with grazing land, summer pasture Rujina (Rudina?) and water mills Doljan. It yielded the income of 500 *akçe*.

Zeynihân Ağa is most likely the progenitor of the Zenkovići or Senkovići, an eminent Muslim family mentioned by Western sources and the folklore. TD 622, 479 A.

<sup>164</sup> Nickname *dede* suggests that this was an elder of a Dervishi Order.

<sup>165</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised of parts of zemin of the field Novi and parts of *mezraâs* Ledenice, Novosel, Podoštre, Bilišan, Dugošan, Gospić (place of derelict church), Zapotočan, Smiljan, Gaćan, Podhumci, Papračan, Šibljan, Dubnić with grazing land, summer pasture, meadow and forest. Mezra Račić possessed by the inhabitants of the Novi fort also belonged to the *çiftlik*. Income from the *çiftlik* amounted to impressive 3.320 *akçe* which means that farming was well developed.

<sup>166</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised parts of zemin in the field of the Novi fort and parts of *mezraâs* Ledenice, Novosel, Podoštre, Bilišan, Dugošan, Gospić (place of derelict church), Račić, Podhumci, Papračan, Šibljan, Dubnić with grazing land, summer pasture, meadow and forest and yielded 300 *akçe*.

<sup>167</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised of zemin field of the Novi fort and *mezraâs* Gornja and Donja Trnava, Oštarije, field near Novi fort, Konjsko, Slanište with water mills, summer pasture, grazing land and meadow. It yielded 300 *akçe*.

<sup>168</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised zemin filed of the Novi fort, *mezraâs* Donja Trnava and Podhumci with summer pasture, grazing land, meadow and it yielded 940 *akçe*.



Mehmed zaim and Ahmed zaim;<sup>169</sup> 7) Behlül Bey zaim, Oruç kethüda, voyvoda Sinân, Veli Ağa Blagajlu, Mehmed Prko (?), 'Ali Bey, son of Veli, Mehmed Ağa and Mustafa.<sup>170</sup>

As the sources reveal, there were no major changes in the landownership and land possession relations in comparison to 1574. Eminent Muslims in the *nâhiye* and members of the Novi fort garrison still remained *çiflik* holders. There are registered tax amounts per item produced for two *çifliks* which means that there indeed were farming activities in those areas, while for five *çifliks* only a fixed amount was registered.

Villages of the *nâhiye* of Novi could now – according to their economic and administrative status and their liabilities to the state, be divided as follows: a) tithe villages – giving a tithe of their farm production to the *sipâhî* which means that those were farming villages. To those we could add villages which gave a fixed amount from their agricultural production which was not given per item produced in the defter, b) *filuri* villages – villages which realised their obligation to the government through *filuri* (*resm-i filori*)<sup>171</sup> and taxes collected from the so called “nomads” (*resm-i hâymane*), and c) villages without clear indication of their status. *Filuri* villages in Lika were immigrant villages which have a specific agreement with the government on the exemption from *cizye* for a number of years and which were supposed to be left out of the *sipâhî-timâr* system. As *filuri* villages we would like to single out the following: Brušane (*filuri* amount 534 *akçe*), Novosel (534 *akçe*) and Lovine (1.500 *akçe*). As tithe villages we selected the following: Račić (belonged to the mustahfiz of the Novi fort, tithe amount was 400 *akçe*), Mahori (1.460), Tatačić (2.136), Komarevo (600), Donje and Gornje Podoštre (554), Vinari (430), Donji Ribnić ? (200), Zapotočje (600). Other villages had no indication registered; examples of those are: Donja and Gornja Mahorina (revenue 300 *akçe*), Bag (150), Jablanica (220), Doljan (200), Dugošani (220) and Ribnik (230). For no village was a number of taxpayers recorded, and thus we cannot assess demographic situation in the *nâhiye* or an approximate number of inhabitants. However, amounts of taxes collected definitely tell us something about the level of development of farming and thus also of the importance (perhaps even size) of the villages. Thus we can say that Lovine stand out among the *filuri* villages, while Tatačić and Mahori stand out among the tithe villages. As far as other duties are concerned, *bac* was still being

<sup>169</sup> The *çiflik* comprised the village of Lovine and *mezraâ* Lovinac. TD 622, 482 /A.

<sup>170</sup> The *çiflik* comprised parts of zemin field of the Ribnik fort, peninsula of St. Nicholas church with water mills, fish pond, grazing land, meadow and part of the village of Lika, as well as winter pasture in the village of Doljan with Gorić. The census taker assessed the income from this *çiflik* to be 300 *akçe* as was put down in the previous register. TD 622, 482 /A.

<sup>171</sup> *Filuri* – so called “ducat tax,” or “florin tax” (Lat. Florenus). Basic tax for the Vlach population, and population of similar status. Each Vlach household (as a tax unit) paid a florin.

collected in the *nâhiye* which means that market day was being held where trading was done. The government also collected all of the above referenced petty fines, bride tax, *tâpu-i zemîn* and fee for agricultural damage.

In 1585 in the *nâhiye* of Medak the total of 19 villages were registered, as well as 7 *çiftliks* and 7 *mezra'as* as independent tax units. Some villages were entered twice, depending on the regulation of tax collection from their inhabitants. The following villages were *filuri*: Srijani (800 *akçe*), Lapac (800), Veliki and Mali Novak, Novak Selište (800), Mali Srčani (1.250), Došlak (404), Kolčić (500), Zavrna (? 1.200), Ogorane (1.000), Ogorani (405), Kupusar (450), Pod (? 2.000), Poljana – place of St. John's church (1.600), Dubavica (600), Mala and Velika Ribnica (? 450). In addition to the *filuri* there were also villages whose duties were so regulated that they were giving “product of nomads” (*mahsûl-i hâymane*) and *bâd-u havâ*, instead of *filuri*. For such villages a number of *baştines* is entered which tells us the movements of the taxpayers. Here we could argue were those villages or parts of villages which were inhabited for a longer time period. Such villages were the following: Počitelj (3 Christian *baştines*), Ribnić (?) place of St. Lovrinac church (5 Christian and 1 Muslim *baştines*), Zavrna (4 Christian *baştines*)<sup>172</sup>, Namlina (?) Donja (2 Christian *baştines*), Hrelić (3 Christian *baştines*). This is a rather small number of *baştines* – only 17 Christian and 1 Muslim *baştines*. A few *mezra'as* were recorded in the *nâhiye* which were also populated by new immigrants because the government collected *filuri* there as well as *resm-i hâymane*: *mezra'as* Dobro (600 *akçe*), Počrnice (540), Radunić (620), Dragavić (700), Vinak (560) and Bunić (620), while *mezra'as* Velika and Mala Ribnica (?) were possessed by notary Hüseyin.

As *çiftlik* holders in the Medak *nâhiye* the following individuals were recorded: 1) Nuh son of Murâd Ağa and Süleyman son of Hasan Ağa;<sup>173</sup> 2) sipâhî Hüseyin serharâmi;<sup>174</sup> 3) Kurd Ağa;<sup>175</sup> 4) Hüseyin, son of *Hacci* Uveys and Yusûf son of Murâd;<sup>176</sup> 5) Mustafâ, Mehmed, Mehmed Ağa Velî and Mehmed, son of Hüseyin;<sup>177</sup> 6) Ali Ağa, Ca'fer *kethüda*, Ahmed and Musa.<sup>178</sup> The revenue from farming in the above *çiftliks* was not entered per item produced, which means that farming in them was

<sup>172</sup> Part of the village was registered under *filuri* as well which would mean that the new immigrants inhabited the previously vacant part of the village.

<sup>173</sup> The *çiftlik* was in the village of Miholić. TD 622, 485B.

<sup>174</sup> The *çiftlik* was in the village of Gornji Srčani. TD 622, 485B.

<sup>175</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised a part of the village of Počitelj, with a meadow, summer pasture and grazing land. TD 622, 486A

<sup>176</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised part of the village of Srijani Donji with grazing land, meadow, summer pasture and water mills. TD 622, 486A.

<sup>177</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised of a part of the village of Žagar with grazing land, summer pasture and meadow. TD 622, 486A.

<sup>178</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised of the Komnić *mezra'a* with grazing land, summer pasture, meadow and water mills. TD 622, 486B.

at low levels. *Çiftlik/mezra'a* Komlić with meadow and water mills was registered in the defter without assigned user, but it can be assumed that the *çiftlik/mezra'a* was inhabited by immigrants because the government collected only *filuri* and *resm-i haymâne* from it, and the amount was quite high – 2.550 *akçe*.<sup>179</sup>

The *nâhiye* of Bilaj Barlete had five villages registered in 1585, as well as two *mezra'as* as one tax unit and 8 *çiftliks*. There were three functioning mills in the *nâhiye* kept by inhabitants of the Barlet Bilaj fort, and the state collected 45 *akçe* from them.

Number of inhabitants is not entered for any village, and tax burden for those villages was regulated with a *filuri* as was the case with the other two *nâhiyes*, which supports a thesis that they were recently colonised, and that they were oriented toward stock breeding and semi-military duty. The village of Vrbčić gave 5.000 *akçe* as *filuri* and *resm-i hâymane*; such a high amount tells us that there were many inhabitants in the village. The village of Gorica was registered twice with the same amount of *filuri* (400 *akçe*). It is not known whether those are two separate localities or two parts of the same village.<sup>180</sup> The village of Dupčan was according to the amount of *filuri* (700 *akçe*) a small village. Toponym which we could deduce from *karye-i Lička* most likely denotes Ličko selo which was paying only 100 *akçe* as *filuri*.<sup>181</sup> The village of Lika was registered in the *nâhiye* of Novi in a *çiftlik* on the Ribnik area and is therefore most likely the same village whose taxes collected were forwarded to different places. *Mezra'as* Dubovac and Miovci had the *martoloses* as inhabitants who also paid *filuri* and *resm-i hâymane* (304 *akçe*).<sup>182</sup>

As far as *çiftliks* are concerned, there were eight. Tax on revenue from farming on *çiftliks* was registered without breakdown per item of farm product, namely, only the total amount in *akçe* is given. The amounts vary between 300 and 1.300 *akçe*.<sup>183</sup> The following persons are registered as *çiftlik* holders: 1) Keepers (*mustahfizân*) of the Barlet Bilaj fort;<sup>184</sup> 2) İbrahim, son of Mustafâ, ağa of *azaps* of the Barlet Bilaj fort and Mustafa, *kethüda* of *azaps* of the Barlet Bilaj fort;<sup>185</sup> 3) Mehmed Ağa, İbrahim Ağa and 'Ali *serharâmi*;<sup>186</sup> 4) the *mustahfizân* of the Barlet Bilaj fort;<sup>187</sup> 5) 'Ali Ağa of the *martoloses* of the Barlet Bilaj fort, Hürrem son of Abdullâh, Yusûf son of

<sup>179</sup> TD 622, 485A

<sup>180</sup> See TD 622, 490A i 490B.

<sup>181</sup> TD 622, 490B

<sup>182</sup> TD 622, 490A

<sup>183</sup> TD 622, 490 A-490B.

<sup>184</sup> The source does not give details on the position of *çiftlik*, most likely it was under the Barlet Bilaj fort.

<sup>185</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised part of zemin field of Barlet Bilaj. TD 622, 490A.

<sup>186</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised Dupčan *mezra'a*. TD 622, 490A.

<sup>187</sup> The source does not give details on the position of *çiftlik*, most likely it was under the Barlet Bilaj fort.

Abdullâh, Hasan son of 'Ali and Recep Abdullah;<sup>188</sup> 6) Janko (?) and knez Miloš, son of Ugarak;<sup>189</sup> 7) Mehmed, Mustafâ, Hasan and Hüseyin, sons of Murâd;<sup>190</sup> 7) Murâd Ağa, dizdar of the Bilaj Barlete fort, Ca'âfer son of Velî *sermartolos*, the martoloses and the mustahfizân of the fort;<sup>191</sup> 8) 'Ömer and Osmân, sons of Ahmed and Ferhâd, son of Abdullâh.<sup>192</sup>

In all three of the above *nâhiyes* in 1585 42 villages, 22 *çiftliks* and 8 *mezra'as* as separate tax units were recorded what is an considerable increase in comparison to 1574 when 37 villages, 20 *çiftliks* and 2 *mezra'as* as separate tax units were recorded.

## CONCLUSION

Ottoman rule in Lika in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was established with difficulties. This vast area was controlled from three forts – Novi, Bilaj and Udbina. The territory was extremely sparsely populated, and depopulation was great. In 1530 in the *nâhiyes* of Lika there were about 40 *mezra'as* registered. No settlement was at that point registered as a village (*karye*). However, it seems that Lika had more inhabitants at the beginning of the Ottoman rule around 1528-30 than in 1550. As a result of great insecurity and inability to farm the land the remaining population moved deeper into the Ottoman inland or fled to the Habsburg side, thus leaving the land in the border area vacant and unfarmed. Large parts of the vacant land were turned into tenant farm land or *çiftliks* assigned to interested individuals for low fixed amounts.

From mid-16<sup>th</sup> century Ottomans have been taking concrete measures for repopulation of Lika and reconstruction of fort infrastructure. Gračac is reconstructed, and in our researched area – the Ribnik and Barlete forts as well. Settlement of Lika, namely of Ličko polje, was an extremely slow process. Regional Ottoman authorities have invested efforts throughout twenty years to repopulate the terri-

<sup>188</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised of part of zemin field of Barlet Bilaj, part of Ribnica (?), part of zemin of St. Peter's church and part of Srednja Gora. TD 622, 490B.

<sup>189</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised of the villages of Gornji and Donji Barlet with water mills, summer pasture, grazing land and meadow. TD 622, 490B. We should stress here that the term Vlach (*Eflâkân*) in reference to the inhabitants of certain villages is here used only in the first register of 1528-30, while the later registers do not employ the term anymore. However, the title of the *knez* in reference to certain Vlach elders is still in use.

<sup>190</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised of a part of zemin field of the Bilaj Barleta fort, *mezra'a* Gorica, part of *mezra'as* Slana, Srednja Gora, part of St. Peter's zemin with grazing land and summer pasture. TD 622, 490B.

<sup>191</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised of parts of zemin field of the Bilaj Barleta fort, *mezra'as* Dupčani, Ribnica (?), part of St. Peter's church zemin, part of Srednja Gora *mezra'a* with grazing land, summer pasture and meadow. TD 622, 490B.

<sup>192</sup> The *çiftlik* comprised part of Podvrebac *mezra'a* with grazing land, summer pasture, meadow and water mills. TD 622, 490B.

tory employing the policy of *istimâlet* and of giving guarantees and tax exemptions. New inhabitants arrived from all directions (*her canibinden*); they were mostly transhumance cattle breeders from the *sancâks* of Klis or Herzegovina but there were also immigrants from the border area with the Habsburg Monarchy. With an increase in the number of inhabitants *nâhiyes* were defined and borders between them outlined. The results of the Ottoman repopulation policy were visible in the census of 1574 when for the said three *nâhiyes* the total of 37 villages was recorded, 18 of which were in the *nâhiye* of Novi, 5 in the *nâhiye* of Bilaj Barlete and 14 in the *nâhiye* of Medak. Also, in the three researched administrative units the total of 20 *çiftliks* was registered, 9 of which in Novi, 4 in Bilaj Barlete and 7 in Medak. The *nâhiye* of Novi was the most extensive and had the greatest number of villages and *çiftliks*, while the *nâhiye* of Bilaj Barlete was the smallest administrative units in area and had a modest number of villages and *çiftliks*. According to their tax and administrative status the villages can be divided into tithe and *filuri* villages. *Çiftliks* encompassed parts of fine land with meadows, grazing land, water mills, summer pastures, even fish ponds which are registered for two places in the *nâhiye* of Novi. *Çiftlik* holders in the *nâhiyes* of interest were mostly members of the fort garrison, military commanders, and their descendants whose families grew in importance to the extent that they became the main landowners in Lika. However, *çiftlik* holders were not members of fort garrisons exclusively; they were held by Ottoman notables from the military and administrative apparatus, such as *sancâkbeyis* and voyodas as well as Vlach *knezes* who were thus incentivised to settle the vacant areas with their communities or *cemâ'ats*. Settlement of Lika continued after 1574, and the next register from 1585 for the three researched *nâhiyes* registered the total of 42 villages, 22 *çiftliks* and 8 *mezra'as* as separate tax units, of which the *nâhiye* of Novi had 18 villages and 7 *çiftliks*, Medak had 19 villages, 7 *çiftliks* and 7 *mezra'as*, while Bilaj Barlete had 5 villages, 8 *çiftliks* and 1 *mezra'a*.

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# OCAKLIK TİMÂR IN THE SANJAK OF SMEDEREVO

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## ABSTRACT

The Sanjak of Smederevo, with Belgrade as its administrative centre, was under the control of Austria for more than two decades before it was re-conquered by the Ottomans in 1739. After the re-conquest, the Sanjak of Smederevo was immediately registered in order to determine the income sources of the sanjak, carry out the distribution of *dirlik* or prebend, and establish the *tîmâr* system, or prebendal system. When it was conquered for the first time, the *tîmâr* system applied was no different from that of any other sanjak in the Ottoman State. In the *tîmâr* system of 1739, however, the one applied resembled that of the Bosnian Eyâlet. According to the system in the Bosnian Eyâlet, *ze'âmet* or *tîmâr* would stay in the household/ hearth circle and, in the case of the holder's death, it would be transferred on from father to son, and to an able-bodied brother, or a relative in case a son did not exist. This study will focus on the transfer of the Sanjak of Smederevo to the *ocaklık tîmâr* system and the related regulations, based on Ottoman archives.

## INTRODUCTION

The Ottomans took control of Smederevo (Semendire) in 1459<sup>1</sup> and after some time, it became an administrative center of the sanjak of the same name. The Sanjaksbegs of Smederevo took on the important task of keeping the borders of Belgrade and Hungary under surveillance while organizing operations towards the north and west.<sup>2</sup> After the conquest of Belgrade, situated 45 km west of Smederevo on the crossroads of Danube and Sava rivers, on 29 August 1521, the center of the Sanjak was relocated from Smederevo to Belgrade, although the Sanjak's name remained the same.<sup>3</sup>

In 1717, the Ottomans lost control of Belgrade, Smederevo and the adjacent regions, and it was ceded to Austria with the Treaty of Požarevac signed on 21 July

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<sup>1</sup> Hazim Šabanović, "O organizaciji turske uprave u Srbiji u XV i XVI vijeku," *Istorijski Glasnik* 3-4 (1955): 61; Olga Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbiji 1459-1683* (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1974), 63; Aleksandar Fotić-Machiel Kiel, "Semendire," *TĐV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 36 (Istanbul, 2009), 468.

<sup>2</sup> Šabanović, "O organizaciji turske uprave u Srbiji u XV i XVI vijeku," 61; Ema Miljković-Bojanić, *Smederevski sandžak 1476-1560. Zemlja-Naselja-Stanovništvo* (Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2004), 42.

<sup>3</sup> Šabanović, "O organizaciji turske uprave u Srbiji u XV i XVI vijeku," 62; Olga Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbiji 1459-1683*, 94; Divna Djurić-Zamolo, "Belgrad," *TĐV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul, 1992), 408.



1718.<sup>4</sup> After remaining in Austrian control for twenty-two years, the region was again conquered by the Ottomans in the Ottoman-Austrian War (1737-1739), in which Ottoman army's primary target was the re-conquest of Belgrade. As a result of the Treaty of Belgrade, signed on 18 September 1739, covering duration of 27 years, Belgrade and Bögürdelen (Šabac) were returned to the Ottomans, and the rivers of Danube and Sava were set as a demarcation line.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the Sanjak of Smederevo was again included within Ottoman borders.<sup>6</sup>

As the Sanjak of Smederevo once again became Ottoman land, it was immediately registered in accordance with the tradition of registering a conquered region in order to determine the income sources of the Sanjak, carry out the distribution of *dirlik* or prebend, and establish the *tîmâr* system, or prebendal system. The land survey of the Sandjak of Smederevo was completed on the fifth day of Rabi I, 1154 AH (5 August 1741 AD) by two registering clerks appointed by the *Defterhâne* (imperial registry). The sources of income of the sanjak were determined and the *dirliks* were distributed accordingly as *hâss*, *ze'âmet* and *tîmâr*.<sup>7</sup>

When Smederevo was conquered (1459) and the sanjak was established for the first time nearly three centuries ago, the region was immediately surveyed<sup>8</sup> and the *tîmâr* system was put into practice. Yet, the *tîmâr* implementations in the sanjak at that time were similar to the other sanjaks with the same status. However, the *tîmâr* system applied to the newly organized sanjak in 1739 was subject to some new regulations. This novelty was, in relation of the documents, application of "the *tîmâr* on the conditions of the Bosnian Eyâlet". According to the system in the Bosnian Eyâlet, *ze'âmet* or *tîmâr* would stay in the family/ hearth circle and, in the case of the holder's death, it would be transferred on from father to son, and to able-bodied brothers in case a son did not exist, and to relatives in case a brother did not exist.

*Ocaklık tîmâr* practice in the Sanjak of Bosnia was not present at the date of the sanjak's establishment in 1463, but was put into effect as late as the end of sixteenth century as a result of political and military developments. The issue of *ocaklık*

<sup>4</sup> M. Cavid Baysun, "Belgrad," *MEB İA*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1979), 479-480; Branislav Đurđev, "Belgrade," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 1164; Đurić-Zamolo, "Belgrad," 408; Olga Zirojević, *Srbija pod turskom vlašću 1459-1804* (Belgrade: Srpski genealoški centar, 2009), 209; Kemal Beydilli, "Avusturya," *DİA*, vol. 4, Istanbul (1991), 175

<sup>5</sup> *Muâhedât Mecmûası*, vol. III (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2008), 120-131.

<sup>6</sup> Baysun, "Belgrad," 480; Zirojević, *Srbija pod turskom vlašću 1459-1804*, 209; Radmila Tričković, *Beogradski pašaluk 1687-1739. godine*, ed. by Nebojša Šuletić (Belgrade: Službeni glasnik, 2013), 442-443. (*Beogradski pašaluk 1687-1739. godine*, Radmila Tričković's (1939-2011) doctoral dissertation, defended in Belgrade University in 1977, first published in 2013).

<sup>7</sup> TKGM.KK, T'Td.18, T'Td.17 and, T'Td.267. (TKGM.KK is an abbreviation of "Ankara Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Kuyûd-ı Kadîme Arşivi").

<sup>8</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Turski izvori za istoriju Beograda, katastarski popisi Beograda i okoline 1476-1566*, knj. I, sv. I (Belgrade, 1964), XII; Miljković-Bojanić, *Smederevski sandžak 1476-1560*, 33.

*tîmâr* in Bosnia has been covered by Nedim Filipović,<sup>9</sup> Avdo Sućeska,<sup>10</sup> and Nenad Moačanin.<sup>11</sup> These historians agree that the *ocaklık tîmâr* system in Bosnia was officially implemented after the Battle of Sisak in 1593. After the loss of a great number of Bosnian soldiers under the command of Hasan Pasha, the governor-general of the Bosnian Eyâlet, the transfer of the *ze'âmet* and *tîmârs* to their sons or brothers was allowed. The aim was to guarantee the maintenance of the *tîmâr* system in the Bosnian Eyâlet and to strengthen the military power in this frontier territory. While it was thought that the *ocaklık tîmâr*<sup>12</sup> was an exclusive procedure specific only to the Sanjak of Bosnia, it was also applied in another frontier sanjak, the Sanjak of Smederevo under similar rules a century and a half later. This has been largely overlooked by scholars and, as a result, there has not been a study specifically focusing on the *ocaklık tîmâr* system in Smederevo.<sup>13</sup> As the first study on this subject, this work will take up the origin and conditions or regulations pertaining to the *ocaklık tîmâr* system in the Sanjak of Smederevo, based on Ottoman archives. The transcription of two of the related documents will be provided at the end of the study.

## ANALYSIS OF THE SOURCES

One of the primary sources regarding the practice of the *ocaklık tîmâr* in Sanjak of Smederevo after 1739 is a *telhîs*<sup>14</sup> dated 22 Rabi II, 1154 AH (7 July, 1741 AD)

<sup>9</sup> Nedim Filipović, "Odžakluk timâri u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* V (1955): 251-274.

<sup>10</sup> Avdo Sućeska, "O nasljeđivanju odžakluk timara u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Godišnjak Pravnog fakulteta u Sarajevu* XV (1967): 503-516; Avdo Sućeska, "Evolucija u nasljeđivanju odžakluk timara u Bosanskom Pašaluku," *Godišnjak društva istoričara BiH* XIX, (1973): 31-43; Avdo Sućeska, "Nasljeđivanje službi bosanskih graničara po sistemu odžakluka," in *Vojne krajine u jugoslovenskim zemljama u novom veku do Karlovačkog mira 1699*, ed. Vasa Čubrulović (Belgrade, 1989), 69-76.

<sup>11</sup> Nenad Moačanin, "The Complex Origin of the Bosnian Ocaklık Timar," in *Halil İnalçık Armağanı I*, ed. Selim Aslantaş (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yay., 2009), 142-167; Nenad Moačanin, "Nastanak muslimanskog plemstva u Bosni i Hercegovini: zanemareni aspekti," *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 529 (2017): 73-94.

<sup>12</sup> In his book, Michael Robert Hickok indicates that "Yugoslavian scholars have further narrowed the flexibility of the term [*ocaklık*] making it into an adjective meaning hereditary or inherited. [...] Yugoslavian scholars have equated *ocaklık* with *tîmâr*, combining the two into a term literally meaning "hereditary feudal fees" and claims that Bosnian historians (Filipović and Sućeska) have interpreted the word 'ocaklık' incorrectly. Michael Robert Hickok, *Ottoman Military Administration in Eighteenth-century Bosnia* (Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1997), 40-53.

<sup>13</sup> This subject is also addressed in this study on tahrîr defters of the Sancak of Semendire, of the year of 1741. See, Hatice Oruç, "18. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Bir Sancak Tahrîri: H.1154/ M.1741 Tarihli Semendire Sancağı Tahrîri", *Osmanlı Coğrafyası Kültürel Arşiv Mirasının Yönetimi ve Tapu Arşivlerinin Rolü Uluslararası Kongresi (21-23 Kasım 2012) Bildiriler*, vol.2 (Ankara, 2013), 681-688.

<sup>14</sup> *Telhîs* is a document in which the most important matters are summed up for presentation to the sultan. The officials who had these papers prepared and presented them to the sultan were the grand

housed in the Kuyûd-ı Kadîme Archive at the General Directorate of the State Cadastre and Land-Ownership Records in Ankara.<sup>15</sup> The *telhîs*, which was recorded after the *başdefterdâr* (provincial treasurer-in-chief) of the time Mustafa Atıf Efendi's notification, includes the status of *hâss*, *ze'âmet*, *tîmâr* and *waqf* villages and lands that existed during the previous Ottoman rule, and decrees on principles to comply for distribution of *dirlik* during the new administration. On the upper part of the *telhîs*, there is a *hatt-ı hümayûn*<sup>16</sup> of Sultan Mahmud I concerning the subject. As understood from *telhîs* records, while the original of the *telhîs* was kept in the *Defterhâne* (the imperial registry), one copy was given to *Divân-ı Hümayûn Tahvîl Kalemi* (the office responsible for appointment of high officials and fief-holders) and another one to *Başmuhâsebe Kalemi* (the central accounting office). After this point, *telhîs* had the characteristics of regulation in Sanjak of Smederevo's *tîmâr* proceedings.

The *tahrîr defters* (survey registers) carried out after the re-conquest were approved on 5 August 1741, only after this *telhîs* was drawn up. The *defters* are held in the Kuyûd-ı Kadîme Archive at the General Directorate of the State Cadastre and Land-Ownership Records in Ankara in three volumes: two *mufassal defters* (detailed registers) - that are not separate, but instead complete each other- with reference numbers TTd.17 and TTd.18, and a *icmâl defter* (summary register) with reference number TTd.267. Sanjak's income sources were recorded in the *mufassal defter*, and their total was calculated according to these records and *dirlik* distribution was made according to the calculation recorded in the *icmâl defter*. The distribution indicated in the *icmâl defter* was approved by a *hatt-ı hümayûn* in the relevant *telhîs* and became valid only after this action.<sup>17</sup> In the preface of the *tahrîr defters* - both *mufassal* and *icmâl* - it was pointed out that no *tîmâr* treatment can be made in contravention of what was written on the *telhîs*.<sup>18</sup> In *icmâl defter*, sul-

vizier, the *şayekh al-Islâm*, *başdefterdâr*, *kâdiasker*, *müftî*. J.H. Kramers, "Telkhîs", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 16 March 2020 [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_SIM\\_7488](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7488); Pál Fodor, "Telhis", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 40 (Istanbul, 2011), 403.

<sup>15</sup> TKGM.KK, Vakf-ı Cedid Katalogu, 00024-00003.

<sup>16</sup> Hatt-ı hümayun is the name that was given to official handwritten notes or statements of the sultans. It contained rejection of matters outlined in a telhis or simple acknowledgment of being informed about the issues mentioned in the document. Hatt-ı hümayûns consisted of three types: unvanına hatt-ı hümayun, telhis üzerine hatt-ı hümayun, and beyaz üzerine hatt-ı hümayun. Telhis üzerine hatt-ı hümayûn, or hatt-ı hümayûn on telhis indicated the sultan's approval or long statements of the ruler's thoughts on the topics in question. (Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Hatt-ı hümayun", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Three, Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson. Consulted online on 19 March 2020 [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_ci3\\_COM\\_32101](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ci3_COM_32101) >

<sup>17</sup> "Mücebince yediyüz kılıç zeâmet ve timârların tertîb ve tasvîb olunduğu üzere icmâlleri bağlanub."

<sup>18</sup> TKGM.KK., TTd 18; TTd.267.

"[...] bâlâ-yı defterde mufassal ve meşrûh şürût ve kuyûdu hâvi bâlâsı hatt-ı hümayûn-ı mevhibet-makrûn ile müzeyyen ve muhalla telhîs-i hazret-i defter-i bi-aynihi defter-hâne-i amireye kayd

tan's handwritten *batt-ı hümayûn* and *buyruldu*<sup>19</sup> on the *telhîs* are presented as it is, while *tîmâr* allocation and conditions are arranged as abridged articles.<sup>20</sup>

In *mühimme defters* (registers of outgoing orders), there is an edict drawn up on the last ten days of Rabi II AH, 1154 (4-14 July, 1741 AD), addressing *muhâfiz* (protector) of Belgrade Mehmed Pasha, *kâdî* (judge) of Belgrade and *alaybeg* of Smederevo Sanjak.<sup>21</sup> In this edict, the aforesaid *telhîs* is mentioned, and the terms and rules recorded in the *telhîs* are repeated; the recording of this edict in Belgrade court registers and conduct in line with the aspects specified within are ordered.

After a while, a renewal of the aforementioned edict was called for. According to this new *fermân* dated the middle ten days of Jumada II, AH 1173 (30 January-8 February 1760 AD), the reason for renewal was that the *fermân* dated between 4 and 14 July 1741 AD was left with previous governors of Belgrade and was not available. The loss of the *fermân* in this manner complicated the implementing of determined requirements. For this reason, a new *fermân* addressed to the *muhâfiz* of Belgrade Vizier Hasan Pasha, *kâdî* of Belgrade, and *alaybeg* of the Sanjak of Smederevo was sent. One copy of this *fermân*, which was a repetition of the previous edict, can be found among the documents later added to the abovementioned *icmâl defter* on the Sanjak of Smederevo dated 1741.<sup>22</sup>

A comparative analysis of all the aforementioned documents shows that despite differences in formats, they all contain the same records-information. The guidelines that were to be effective in the Sanjak of Smederevo as of 1741, were set down in the *telhîs* and were quoted from this *telhîs* to other documents. Accordingly, the guidelines for the operation of the *tîmâr* system in the sanjak are the same in all of the documents, and for this reason, this study will not refer to every document separately. Transcription of the *telhîs* and one of the decrees can be found at the end of this work.

The abovementioned documents reveal the carrying of the *ocaklık tîmâr* into practice and its implementation fundamentals in the Sanjak of Smederevo. An

ve hatt-ı hümayûn-ı mevâhib-meşhûnun mazmûn-ı mutâva'at nümûnî fimâ-ba'd ve mestûrû'l-amel ve mazmûn-ı müe'ddâsî ale'd-devâm mer'î ve mu'teber tutulub bir vaktde hilâfına vaz' ve hâlet sudûr ve zuhûr itmemesine [...]."

<sup>19</sup> "order of an Ottoman grand vizier, vizier, *beglerbegi*, *defterdâr*, or other high official to a subordinate. The term is derived from the word *buyuruldu*, 'it has been ordered', in which the order usually ends and which gradually developed into a conventional sign. *Buyuruldu*s are of two main types: a) decisions written in the margin (*der kenâr*) of an incoming petition or report, often ordering that a *fermân* (or *berât*, etc.) be issued to a certain effect b) orders issued independently." U. Heyd, "Buyuruldu", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 16 March 2020 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_SIM\\_1571](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1571)>

<sup>20</sup> TKGM.KK., TTd.267, 16-2a.

<sup>21</sup> BOA, A\_{DVNSMHM\_00148, p.19, edict 55. (BOA is an abbreviation of "Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi").

<sup>22</sup> TKGM.KK., TTd.267, vassale 1.

archival document, which originated long after these documents, is very important in showing the transformation of these fundamentals that occurred over time. The document, which was inserted in between the 1741 *icmâl defter* of the Sanjak of Smederevo, contains a decree<sup>23</sup> dated to the last ten days of month of Dhu'l-Qi'dah, AH 1228 (15-24 November, 1813 AD). It has been addressed to Vizier Süleyman Pasha, who was the *muhâfiz* of Belgrade and also the sanjakbeg of Smederevo, and the *alaybeg* of Smederevo. The terms in this decree show that the *ocaklık tîmâr* and practices in the sanjak took a new course.

### ESTABLISHMENT OF OCAKLIK TÎMÂR IN SMEDEREVO AND ITS FUNDAMENTALS

The survey of the re-conquered land of Smederevo beginning in the spring of 1740 was completed in a year. The clerks who made the survey then brought the completed *tahrîr defters* to Istanbul. After the calculations made in Istanbul, the sanjak's total revenue was determined to be 7,894,650 *akçes*.<sup>24</sup> Of this total sum, 5,450,000 *akçes* was reserved for *ze'âmet* and *tîmârs*. A total of 700 *ze'âmet*s and *tîmârs* were formed: 25 *ze'âmet*s worth twenty thousand *akçes* each, 75 *tîmârs* worth ten thousand *akçes* each and 600 *tîmârs* worth seven thousand *akçes* each.

The sancakbeg of Smederevo would be appointed from the ranks of vizier or *beglerbegi* and his *hâss* amount was valued at 317,800 *akçes*. The sultan's *hâss* was valued at 2,000,000 *akçes*. During the survey, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's and Bali Beg's *waqfs*, which were within the sanjak prior to the Austrian invasion, were valued at 128,700 *akçes*. However, the villages and lands recorded as Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's and Balı Beg's *waqfs* in the former *defter* (*defter-i atik*) had no relation to them anymore, so incorporation of these lands to the sultan's *hâss* was approved by the sultan with *hatt-ı hümayûn* on the *telhis*.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> TKGM.KK., T'Td.267, vassale 2

<sup>24</sup> In *telhis*, two different sums are recorded: In two places total is recorded as 7,896,500 *akçes*, and in one place as 7,846,500 *akçes*. Above 7,896,500 *akçes*, a "*sahh*" phrase is added to affirm that this is correct. When *hâss*, *ze'âmet*, and *tîmâr* revenues are added, the resulting total is 7,896,500 *akçes*. Probably in other documents no attention was paid to the first figure in the *telhis*, so the sancak's total was recorded as 7,846,500 *akçes*.

<sup>25</sup> After the new conquest, daily expenses and fees of those who will render services in charities like mosques, masjids etc. which will be ameliorated or repaired by descendants and *mutawallis* (trustees) of these waqf's founders or will be covered by *defterdâr* of Belgrade from the treasury of Belgrade.

Table 1: Dirlîk distribution in 1741

Dirlîks	Amount of the dirlîks (Akçe)
25 <i>ze'âmet</i> s (x 20,000 <i>akçes</i> )	500,000
75 <i>tîmârs</i> (x 10,000 <i>akçes</i> )	750,000
600 <i>tîmârs</i> (x 7,000 <i>akçes</i> )	4,200,000
Sanjakbeg's <i>hâss</i>	317,800
Sultan's <i>hâss</i>	2,000,000
Sultan's <i>hâss</i> (Previously belonged to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's and Bali Beg's waqfs, then incorporated into the sultan's <i>hâss</i> )	128,700
Total	7,896,500

As mentioned above, in the year 1741 the sanjak's *ze'âmet* and *tîmâr* numbers consisted of a total of 700 units. As the Belgrade fortress was conquered "by force" (*anveten*), all *ze'âmet*s, *tîmârs*, *hâss*' and *waqfs* in both Belgrade and in the vicinity and in newly conquered lands of the sanjak, recorded in the *tahrîr-i atik* (former *tahrîr*) were canceled, and former records were disregarded during the new survey. Moreover, *ze'âmet*s and *tîmârs* granted after the re-conquest but before the survey were also disregarded. However, by the Treaty of Požarevac of 1718, no action was taken against those who held *ze'âmet*s and *tîmârs* with corresponding *berâts* and *tezkires* within the borders of the sanjak, and their holdings was left as it stands. It was decided that *ze'âmet*s and *tîmârs* in this condition were to be granted as they became vacant (*mablûl*) and were to be incorporated into the new system in this manner.

Orders were issued concerning people and conditions for assignments of *ze'âmet*s and *tîmârs* in the sanjak, and these were issued together with aforementioned documents. These documents clearly expressed that the new *tîmâr* regulations applied in Smederevo do not resemble any *tîmâr* system applied in any Ottoman *eyâlet* (province) and *sanjak* (subprovince) apart from the Bosnian *Eyâlet*. From all of the Ottoman *eyâlets* and *sanjaks*, the *tîmâr* regulation in question has only been applied in these two frontier sanjaks:

[...] sâ'ir eyâlet ve elviye ze'âmet ve tîmârlarına kıyâs olunmayub Bosna eyâleti şürûtu üzere nizâm virilmek muktezâ olmağla eyâlet-i mezbûre şürûtu üzere zikr olunan ze'âmet ve tîmârların tevcihâtı fîmâ-ba'd livâ-i mezbûr mutasarrıflarına tefvîz olunub [...].

[...] as it needs to be organized on the conditions of the *Eyâlet* of Bosnia, and not to be compared to *ze'âmet*s and *tîmârs* of other *eyâlets* and *sanjaks*, the granting of the aforesaid *ze'âmet*s and *tîmârs* on the conditions of the aforementioned *eyâlet* [Bosnia] is henceforth under the responsibilities of the abovesaid [Smederevo] sanjak-begs [...].

The expression “conditions of the Eyâlet of Bosnia” used here points to the *ze’âmet* and *tîmâr* granting conditions-working principles of the *tîmâr* system, which were valid in Bosnia since the end of the sixteenth century. As mentioned earlier, the governor-general of Bosnia Hasan Pasha was defeated by the Habsburg-Croatian forces on 22 June 1593 in front of Sisak, and as a result of this battle, many soldiers from the eyâlet lost their lives. The 1593 defeat at Sisak signaled not only the start of the Ottoman-Habsburg Wars, which lasted until 1606, but it was also a turning point for the *tîmâr* system in the Eyâlet of Bosnia. It was decided that *ze’âmet*s and *tîmâr*s of the ones who were martyred in this war would be granted to their sons and if there were no sons, they would be granted to their brothers in “their hearths”. In case such people were not present, it would once again be granted to eligible *serhâd* (frontier) soldiers. Thus, the *ocaklık tîmâr* practice in Bosnia had begun. The aim was to rescue the *tîmâr* system and to strengthen the military power in Bosnia, which was one of the important frontiers in the state. Through such means, *ocaklık tîmâr* which was first introduced in Bosnia nearly a century and a half ago, and which took shape over time, was put into practice in Smederevo in 1741. The success and victories on the Bosnian front during the 1737-1739 Austro-Ottoman Wars, gained under the rule of Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha, the governor-general of the Bosnian Eyâlet<sup>26</sup> may have inspired the establishment of the Bosnian *tîmâr* system in the Sanjak of Smederevo, which was very important for the Danube defensive line. In this context, it must have been considered that the security of this line would be ensured more effectively.

In the relevant *telhîs* and other documents mentioned above, it is stated that the *ze’âmet*s and *tîmâr*s of the Sanjak of Smederevo will be organized on conditions of the Eyâlet of Bosnia, but this *tîmâr* practice is not qualified as *ocaklık tîmâr*. However, the term *ocaklık* is mentioned in other documents present in the archive. For instance, in an application made by Hasan, *alaybeg* of Smederevo on 10 Jumada II, AH 1154 (23 August 1741 AD), to grant a *tîmâr* worth 7,000 *akçes* in the *nâhiye* (subdistrict) of Rudnik to Osman bin Ali, the expression “*ocaklık* on the conditions of Bosnia” is recorded plainly: “[...] *Semendire sancağında feth-i cedîd olan mahallerinde vâkî’ ze’âmet ve tîmârları bu def’a Bosna şûrûtu ocaklığı üzere müceddeden arz olunmak için südür olan fermân-ı alişân mücebinde* [...]”<sup>27</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the fundamentals of *ocaklık tîmâr* to be implemented in Smederevo on the conditions of Bosnia were specified in a *telhîs* bearing the sul-

<sup>26</sup> The attacks by the Austrians on the Bosnian eyâlet, attitudes, defenses and counterattacks of the Ottoman forces which were under the command of Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha were noted down by Kâdi Omer Efendi in 1741. For the Kâdi Omer Efendi’s work see, Hatice Oruç, “Ahvâl-i Gazâvât der Diyâr-ı Bosna,” *Osmanlı Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi- Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Kurt Armağanı*, vol. 2 (Ankara, 2016), 93-177.

<sup>27</sup> BOA, AE\_SMHD\_I\_\_00223\_17748.

tan's *hatt-ı hümayûn*, edicts sent to the site (Belgrade) and *tahrîr defters*. According to these documents, the regulations relating to the *ocaklık tîmâr* in the Sanjak of Smederevo were as following:

- The *ze'âmet*s and *tîmâr*s were to be given to persons who resided within the Sanjak of Smederevo during the summer and winter, and were not allowed to change their location without permission.  
Since the Danube and Sava rivers became the new Austro-Ottoman borders, Belgrade was the most important and the largest frontier stronghold for guarding the Balkan domain of the Ottoman state. Security-wise, it is crucial that the soldiers that will be stationed here are both numerous and present at all times.
- In the case of the death of the *ze'âmet* or *tîmâr* holder, *ze'âmet* and *tîmâr* would be transferred on to their male children, if no male children exist then it would be granted to able-bodied (who could combat) brothers, if no brother exists it would be granted to relatives, if no relative exists, it would be granted to able-bodied *mülâzims* (candidates) of the Sanjak of Smederevo. *Ze'âmet* or *tîmâr* in this sanjak would not be granted to an "ecnebi" or outsider.
- The reason the *tîmâr* practice in Bosnia and Smederevo was called *ocaklık tîmâr* is the inheritance of *ze'âmet*s and *tîmâr*s within the family/hearth circle. In case there was no one to inherit the late *ze'âmet* or *tîmâr* holder's right, one of the *mülâzims* of the sanjak stepped in. This way, holding of *ze'âmet*s or *tîmâr*s of the Sanjak of Smederevo by outsiders – *ecnebi* – was prevented.
- *Ze'âmet* and *tîmâr* holders would hold their *ze'âmet*s and *tîmâr*s unrestrainedly, and the *vâli* (the governor-general) or *defterdâr* (treasurer) were not allowed to interfere under any circumstances.
- *Ze'âmet* and *tîmâr* would be granted on the premises, through *alaybeg* of the sanjak and by the sanjakbeg of Smederevo.
- A *ze'âmet* would be allocated to the *tîmâr defterdârı* (treasurer dealing with *tîmâr* affairs), the *defter kethüdası* (registry steward) and *tîmâr tezkerecisi* (secretary in charge of issuing memorandum for bestowal of a *tîmâr*). These *ze'âmet*s would be granted to loyal and talented people, on condition that they stand next to the sanjakbeg of Smederevo, in times of peace and war.
- Persons like the *kâtib*, *müteferrika*, and *çavuş*, who served the sultan at the palace, could not be named among the *ze'âmet* and *tîmâr* holders. It was necessary for the *ze'âmet* and *tîmâr* holders to reside within the sanjak borders and safeguard the territory in question.
- The *vâli* of Rumelia was not to interfere with the *ze'âmet* and *tîmâr* holders of the Sanjak of Smederevo, on the ground that he resided in the Eyâlet of Rumelia. All the appointments and other dealings were to be delegated to the sanjakbegs.



- It would not be allowed for two or three *kılıç tîmâr*s (*tîmâr* unit) to be collected by one person. Thus, one *kılıç tîmâr* would not be incorporated into either the *ze'âmet*s or *tîmâr*s in this sanjak, nor to the *ze'âmet*s or *tîmâr*s in other sanjaks as *hisse*, or shares, or integrated into *havâss-ı hümâyûn*, or imperial revenues through certain justifications.<sup>28</sup>

These were the general terms of fundamentals required to abide in the *tîmâr* organisation of the Sanjak of Smederevo, founded on the “conditions of the Bosnian Eyâlet” after the re-conquest of 1739. In the newly established *ocaklık tîmâr* practice, the first of the two most basic aspects was that the *ze'âmet* and *tîmâr* holders were required to reside in Belgrade all year round, and the second one was that, in the case of a *ze'âmet* or *tîmâr* holder's death the disposition of the *dirlik* would be granted to his son, or an able-bodied brother, or a relative. However, in time, the right of granting *dirlik* to a relative hindered functioning of the condition of residing in Belgrade. Relatives in different places became holders of *dirliks* in the Sanjak of Smederevo, but would not move to Belgrade because they had established lives in their places of residence. In this respect, as a result of transfers by inheritance, *ze'âmet*s and *tîmâr*s are scattered apart. Apart from this, as a consequence of the condition of relatives some *dirliks* were transferred on to the hands of those unfit to hold this status. At the beginning of the next century, there were probably not many who held *ze'âmet*s and *tîmâr*s in Belgrade and maintained guard duty. Finally, on the last ten days of the month of Dhu'l-Qi'dah, AH 1228 (15-24 November, 1813 AD), an edict was issued addressing Vizier Süleyman Pasha, the Sanjakbeg of Smederevo and also the *muhâfiz* of Belgrade, and the *alaybeg* of Smederevo.<sup>29</sup> By this edict, former condi-

<sup>28</sup> General tendency in the Ottoman *tîmâr* system all along had been to keep the *tîmâr* unit called *kılıç tîmâr*, and the state took various measures to maintain the territorial and fiscal unity so that the number of *timariots* remained steady. Each *kılıç tîmâr* was registered as a separate item in the *icmâl defter*, and these units were preserved unchanged as much as possible. In order to retain the *tîmâr* system and the *kılıç tîmâr* numbers as settled in the *icmâl defters*, some rules were declared by the state. A *kılıç tîmâr* as registered in the defter could not be portioned and granted as *hisse*, or portions, or annexed in its entirety to another unit. See, Halil İnalcık, “Tîmâr” in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 505.

<sup>29</sup> TKGM.KK., TTD.267, vassale 2. In the edict the situation was expressed as “[...] bunların beher hâl birer mahalde akraba ve müte'allikâtı zuhûruyla nân-pâresi ana virilerek ol dahi nizâmları muktezâsı üzere olduğu mahalden Belgrad'a gelmeyüb her biri birer tarafda müteferrik ve perişân olduklarından gayri ekseri nân-pâre işbu şürûta mebni akrabasıdır diyerek nâ-ehl yedine geçüb lede'l-iktizâ Sancakludan derûn-ı Belgrad'da kimesne bulunamadığı [...]”

[...] in any event, as relatives of these appear somewhere, *dirliks* are given to them. And they do not move to Belgrade from their places of residence because of their established life. Each one is at a different place. Apart from this, most of *dirliks* come into possession of incompetents as a result of “he's relative according to these conditions”, no one from the Sanjak is present in the Belgrade stronghold. [...]”

tions on granting *ze'âmet*s and *tîmâr*s were annulled and new conditions were presented. From then on, when a *dirlik* (*ze'âmet* or *tîmâr*) was escheated, it was to be granted to the holder's own son by the *mutasarrıf* of the Sanjak and the *muhâfiz* of Belgrade. If there was no son, it would not be granted to the relative, but to the able-bodied eligible persons who will reside with their spouses and children in the fortress of Belgrade instead. The *ze'âmet* and *tîmâr* holders would not be permitted to ever set foot outside of the Belgrade fortress without permission. Permits, with the period specified according to the distance of the destination, were to be granted by the *muhâfiz* of Belgrade. If the person did not return within authorized time, his *dirlik* would be taken away on the grounds of being absent and granted to other eligible individuals. The *muhâfiz* of Belgrade was required to inspect the grounds to determine those who are present, and in case absentees had left without permission, their *dirliks* were to be cancelled at once and granted to others who were qualified to take their place. "In short, those who hold *ze'âmet* and *tîmâr* in the Sanjak of Smederevo must always be present in Belgrade."<sup>30</sup>

## CONCLUSION

With the Treaty of Belgrade which was signed as a result of the 1737-1739 Austro-Ottoman Wars, the Danube River was accepted as a border between the two states, and the lands north of the Danube River, including Belgrade, once again became Ottoman territory. Re-conquest of Belgrade secured Ottoman presence in the Balkans, and it became a full frontier stronghold. Special attention was paid to keep numerous soldiers in the Belgrade stronghold and the Sanjak, which was of utmost importance for the security of the Danube defensive line, and to strengthen the *tîmâr* system. An arrangement was made in the Sanjak of Smederevo on conditions of *ocaklık tîmâr*, which was put into practice in the Eyâlet of Bosnia at the end of the sixteenth century. It was decided to grant *ze'âmet*s and *tîmâr*s to those eligible who would reside continuously in the Sanjak of Smederevo. A right was granted so that upon the death of *ze'âmet* or *tîmâr* holders, these *ze'âmet*s and *tîmâr*s were inherited by their sons; if no sons were present it was granted to their able-bodied brother, if no brother was present it was granted to their relatives. However, the right of inheritance of *ze'âmet*s and *tîmâr*s damaged the system. The fact that relatives-holders residing elsewhere and not leaving their residences while inheriting *dirlik* weakened the *timariot* military power in the Belgrade stronghold. Eventually, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, former provisions were annulled and it was decided to grant *ze'âmet*s and *tîmâr*s to those who will continually reside within the sanjak; the article on inheritance by relatives was removed and a regulation was established ac-

<sup>30</sup> TKGM.KK., TTd.267, vassale 2: "Ve'l-hasil Semendire sancağından ze'âmet ve tîmâra mutasarrıf olanlar dâ'ima nefsi Belgrad'da mevcûd olmak [zorundadır]"

according to which in the case of *ze'âmet* or *tîmâr* holder's death, it would be given to his son and if there was no son it would be given to a person who was fit for military service and would permanently reside in Belgrade.

The implementation of the *ocaklık tîmâr* – in lieu of the former practice – in the Sanjak of Smederevo can be evaluated as a military and political “measure” taken by the state. On the other hand, the changes made by choice in the implementation can be considered as the “transformation” and “continuity” of the *tîmâr* system. In other words, this change in the system occurred within and as a transition from one practice to another. However, it is apparent that the system preserved and continued its integrative structure as long as the land maintained its economic value. In this context, as *tîmâr* practice in Smederevo transformed from one state to another, it is clear that the *tîmâr* system, despite systemic failures in later centuries, continued its existence.

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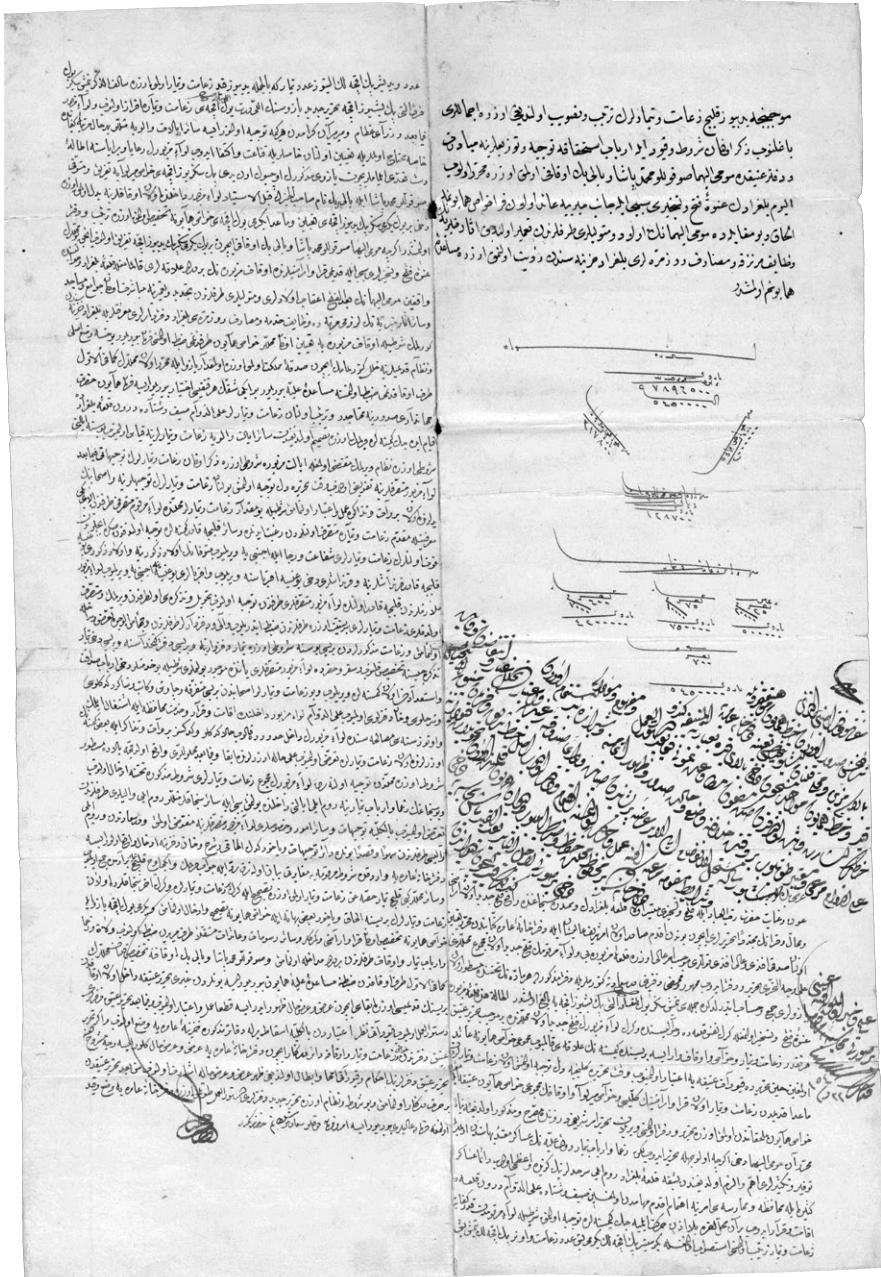
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1



Telhîs dated 22 Rabi II, 1154 AH (7 July, 1741 AD) (TKGM.KK, Vakf-ı Cedid Katalogu, 00024-00003.)

*Mûcebince yedi yüz kılıc ze'âmet ve timârların tertîb ve tasvîb olunduğu üzere icmâlleri bağlanub zikr olunan şürût ve kuyûd ile erbâb-ı istihkâka tevcih ve tevzi'lerine mübâderet ve defter-i atıkde mûmaileyhüma Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Balı Bey evkâfı olmak üzere muharrer olub el-yevm Belgrad'ın anveten feth ve teshîri sebebi ile cânib-i mîrîye âid olan kura havâs-ı hümâyûnuma ilhâk ve bu mukâbelede mûma ileyhûmanın evlâd ve mütevellileri taraflarından ta'mîr olunacak âsâr-ı hayriyyenin vezâyif-i mürtezika ve mesârif-i rûz-merreleri Belgrad hazinesinden rüyet olunmak üzere müsâade-i hümâyûnum olmuştur.*

### *İzzetlü Defter Emini Efendi*

*Şeref-bahş-ı sudûr olan hatt-ı hümâyûn-ı mevhibet-makrûnla bâlâsı müzeyyen ve muhalla kılınan iş bu telhîs üzere defterhâne-i âmireye kayd ve hatt-ı hümâyûn-ı mevâhib-meşhûn dahi bâlâ-yı kayda bi-'ibâretü'l-münîfe kendü hattın işâret ve sebt olunduktan sonra mazmûn-ı mutâvâât-nümûnu fi-mâ-bâ'd düstûrû'l-'amel ve meşhûm u mü'eddâsı ale'd-devam mer'î ve mu'teber tutulub bir vakitte hilâfına vaz' ve hâlet sudûr ve zuhûr etmemesine ve şirâze-bend-i istitmâm olan iş bu risâle müstehîlî'l-înfisâm ile'l-ebed arıza-i perişânîden siyânet ve dâima sanduka-i rağbet ve i'tibârda tahallül-i gubâr ve intikâzdan vikâyet ve şerâyit-i mukavveme-i mer'îyesi üzere 'amel ve hareket olunmasına ihtimâm ve dikkat olunub asl-ı hatt-ı şerîf ve fermân-ı münîfe ile telhîs defterhânedeki bir mahfûz mahalde hıfz ve zabt eyleyüb ve divân-ı hümâyûn kaleminde olan tahvilât kuyûdâtına dahi bir sûreti li-eclî't-te'yîd bâ'de'l-kayd Baş Muhâsebeye dahi kezâlik kayd için divândan 'ilm ü haber olmak üzere 'aynı bir sûreti muhâsebe-i merkûmeye virilmek buyruldu 22 R sene [1]154.*

Livâ-i Semendire

Yazu ber mûceb-i tahrîr-i cedîd

7896500

El-bakiye

5450000

Minhâ havâs-ı hümâyûn yazı 2000000

Minhâ havâs-ı mir-i livâ yazı 317800

Minhâ evkâf-ı Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Balı Beğ yazı 128700

Minhâ berây-ı ze'âmet ve timâr

Ze'âmet nefer 25 fi 20000 yazı 500000

Timâr nefer 75 fi 10.000 yazı 750000

Timâr nefer 600 fi 7000 yazı 4200000

Cemân nefer 700

Yazu 5450000

Arz-ı bendeleridir ki

Avn u inâyet-i hazret-i Rabbü'l-ibâd ile feth ü teshîri müyesser olan kal'a-i Belgrad'ın ve Semendire sancağında vâkı' feth-i cedîd olan arâzi ve mahall ve kurânın müceddeden tahrîrleri için bundan akdem sâdır olan emr-i şerîf-i alîşân ile defter-hâne-i âmire küttâbından muharrir ta'yîn olunan Sıdkı Efendi ve 'Âli Efendi kulları müceb-i emr-i âli üzere kal'a-i mezbûreyi ve livâ-i merkûmun feth-i cedîd olan mecmû' mahallerini alâ vechi't-taharri tahrîr ve defter idüb memhûr ve mümzâ defterini Der-sa'âdete götürmeleriyle defter-i mezkûrda her mâddenin tahtında mastûr olan yazuları cem' ve hesâb itdirildikde cümlesi yetmiş sekiz yük doksan (*sahh*) altı bin beşyüz akçeye bâliğ olmuştur. El-haletu hazîhi kal'a-i mezbûre anveten feth ve teshîr olunmağla gerek nefsi kal'ada ve havâlisinde ve gerek livâ-i mezbûrun feth-i cedîd olan mahallerinde ber müceb-i tahrîr-i atık her ne kadar ze'âmet ve timâr ve havâs ve evkâf var ise birisinde kimesnenin alâkası kalmayub mecmû' havâs-ı hümâyûna â'id olmağın hîn-i tahrîrde kuyûdât-ı atıkaya i'tibâr olunmayub vakt-i tahrîre gelinceye dek tevcîh olunmuş olan ze'âmet ve timârlardan mâ'adâ kadîmden ze'âmet ve timâr olan kura ve arâzinin küllisi ve havâs-ı mîr-i livâ ve evkâfın mecmû' havâs-ı hümâyûn-ı atıka ile ma'an havâs-ı hümâyûn mülhakâtından olmak üzere tahrîr ve defter olunması virilen tahrîr emr-i şerîfi derûnunda musarrah ve mezkûr olduğuna binâen muharrirân-ı mûma-ileyhüma dahi eğerçi ol-vechle tahrîr idüb lakin zü'amâ ve erbâb-ı timâr devlet-i aliyyenin asâkir-i mu'ted bahâsından olmalarıyla tevfir ve teksîrleri ehemm ve elzem olduğundan başka kal'a-i Belgrad Rumili serhadlerinin güzîde ve â'zamı olub dâ'imâ asâkir-i kesîre ile muhâfaza ve muhâresesi emrine ihtimâm akdem-i mehâm-dan olmağın sayf ü şitâda ale'd-devâm derûn-ı kal'ada ikâmet ve karâr idüb bir ân mahall-i ahire bilâ-izn hareket eylemeyecek kimesnelere tevcîh olunmak şartıyla livâ-i merkûmdan kadr-ı kifâyet ze'âmet ve timâr tertîb olunması istisvâb olunmağla yirmişer bin akçelik yirmibeş aded ze'âmet ve onar bin akçelik yetmiş beş aded ve yedişer bin akçelik altıyüz aded timâr ki bi'l-cümle yediyüz kayd-ı ze'âmet ve timâr olmak üzere sâlifü'z-zikr yetmiş sekiz yük kırk altı bin beşyüz akçe tahrîr-i cedîd yazusunun elli dört yük elli bin akçesi ze'âmet ve timâra ifrâz olunub ve livâ-i mezbûr fi-mâ-ba'd vüzerâ-yı izâm ve mîr-i mîrân-ı kirâmdan her kime tevcîh olunur ise sâ'ir eyâlât ve elviye misillü beher hâl mertebe-i kifâyetde hâssa muhtâc olmalarıyla ta'yîn olunan hâslarıyla kanâ'at ve iktifâ idüb livâ-i mezbûrun re'âya ve berâyâsına itâle-i dest-i ta'addi eylememeleriçün yazu-yı mezkûrun üç yük on yedi bin sekiz yüz akçesi havâs-ı mîr-i livâyâ tefrîk ve müteveffâ Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ile Balı Beğ nâm sâhibü'l-hayrın kable'l-istîlâ livâ-i mezbûr dâhilinde olan evkâflarına bedel olmak üzere dahi bir yük yirmi sekiz bin yedi yüz akçesi ta'yîn ve mâ'adâ yirmi yük akçesi havâs-ı hümâyûna tahsîs olmak üzere tertîb ve defter olunmuştur. Eğerçi mûma-ileyhüma Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Balı Beğ evkâfi için bir yük yirmi sekiz bin yedi yüz akçe tefrîk olunub ancak bu mahallerin anveten



feth ü teshîrleri sebebi ile kadîmi kura ve arâzilerinde evkâf-ı mezbûrenin bir dürlü alâkaları kalmamağla kal'a-i Belgrad ve havâlisinde vâkifeyn-i mûma-ileyhümanın ba'de'l-feth a'kâb [ve] evlâdları ve mütevellileri taraflarından tecdîd ve ta'mîrine mübâşeret olunan cevâmî' ve mesâcid ve sâ'ir asâr-ı hayriyyenin lüzûmu mertebede vezâyif-i hademe ve mesârif-i rûz-merresi Belgrad defterdârları ma'arifetleriyle Belgrad hazinesinden görülmek şartıyla evkâf-ı mezbûreye ta'yîn olunan mahaller havâss-ı hümayûn tarafından mı zabt olunması fermân buyurulur yohsa vaz'-ı asli ve nizâm-ı kadîmilerine hâlel getürmemek için sadaka-i memleket olmak üzere ol mikdâr yazı ile muharrer olan mahallerin kemâ-fi'l-evvel taraf-ı evkâfdan mı zabt olunmasına müsâade-i aliyye buyurulur bu iki şıkkın her kangısı ihtiyâr buyurulur ise fermân-ı hümayûn-ı hazret-i cihândâri sudûruna muhtâcdır ve tertîb olunan ze'âmet ve timârlar ale'd-devâm sayf ve şitâda derûn-ı kal'a-i Belgrad'da kıyâm idecek kimesnelere virilmek üzere tasmîm olunduğundan sâ'ir eyâlet ve elviye ze'âmet ve timârlarına kıyâs olunmayub Bosna eyâleti şürûtu üzere nizâm virilmek mukteza olmağla eyâlet-i mezbûre şürûtu üzere zikr olunan ze'âmet ve timârların tevcihâtı fimâ-ba'd livâ-i mezbûr mutasarrıflarına tefvîz olunub vakt-i tahrîre dek tevcîh olunmuş bulunan ze'âmet ve timârların tevcîhlerine ve ashâbının yedlerinde olan berevât ve tezâkire 'amel ve i'tibâr olunmamak şartıyla bu mikdâr ze'âmet ve timârlar mahallinde livâ-i merkûm mutasarrıfı tarafından alay beği ma'arifetiyle mukaddem ze'âmet ve timâra mutasarrıf olanlardan rağbet idenlere ve sâ'ir kılıca kâdir kimesnelere tevcîh olunduktan sonra içlerinden fevt olanların ze'âmet ve timârları şefâat ve ricâ ile ecnebiye virilmeyüb müteveffânın evlâd-ı zükûrına ve evlâd-ı zükûru yoğise kılıca kâdir karındaşlarına ve karındaşları dahi yoğise akrabasına virilüb ve akrabaları yoğise yine ecnebiye virilmeyüb livâ-i mezbûr mülâzımlarından kılıca kâdir olanlara livâ-i mezbûr mutasarrıfları tarafından tevcîh olunub tahvîl ve tezkeresi ol tarafdân virilmek ve mutasarrıf oldukları ze'âmet ve timârları serbestiyet üzere taraflarından zabt itdirilüb vâli ve defterdârlar taraflarından vechen mine'l-vücûh ta'arruz ve müdâhale olunmamak ve ze'âmet-i mezkûrlardan birisi Bosna şürûtu üzere timâr defterdârına ve birisi defter kethüdâsına ve birisi dahi timâr tezkerecisine tahsîs kılınub ve sefer ve hazarda livâ-i mezbûr mutasarrıfları yanında mevcûd bulunmaları şartıyla bu hıdmetler dahi erbâb-ı sadâkat ve isti'dâddan olan kimesnelere virilüb ve bu ze'âmet ve timârlar ashâbından birisi müteferrika ve çavuş ve kâtib ve şâkird gediklûsi ve şerhlûsi ve hân defterlûsi olmayub ale'd-devâm livâ-i mezbûr dâhilinde ikâmet ve karâr ve hıdmet-i muhafaza ile iştigâl eylemek ve otuz senesi musâlahasında livâ-ı mezbûrun dâhil-i hudûdda kalub hala gediklû ve gediksiz berevât ve tezâkir ile ba'zı kimesnenin üzerlerinde olan ze'âmet ve timârlara ta'arruz olunmayub alâ hâlihi üzerlerinde ibkâ ve fi-mâ-ba'd mahlûlleri vâkı' oldukça bâlâda mastûr şürût üzere mahallinden tevcîh olunarak livâ-i mezbûrun mecmû' ze'âmet ve timârları şürût-ı mezkûre tahtına idhâl olunub ve bu sancağın zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı timârına Rumili eyâleti dâhilinde bulun-

mak sebebi ile sâ'ir sancaklar misillü Rumili vâlileri taraflarından ta'arruz olunmayub bi'l-küllîye tevcîhât ve sâ'ir umûr ve husûsları livâ-i mezbûr mutasarrıflarına müfevvez olmak ve Der-sa'âdetden ve Rumili vâlisi taraflarından sehven ve kasden bunlara dâ'ir tevcîhât veyahud gedik ilhâkı ve şerh ve hân defterine idhâl vâkı' olur ise defterhâne-i âmireye vardıkda şürût-ı merkûmeye mugâyereti beyân olunarak redd ile cevâb virilmek ve iki üç kılıc timâr bir adamda cem' olmayub ve sâ'ir mahaller gibi kılıc timâr hisse an ze'âmet ve timâr olmak üzere tashîh ile gerek bu ze'âmet ve timârlara ve gerek aher sancaklarda olan ze'âmet ve timârların birisine ilhâk veyahud ba'zı bahâne ile havâss-ı hümâyûna tashîh ve idhâl olunmamak ve yirmi yük akçe yazı ile havâss-ı hümâyûna tahsîs olunan kurâ ve arâzi ve gümrükler ve sâ'ir rüsûmât ve âidât müstakillen taraf-ı mîrîden zabt olunub vülât ve zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı timâr ve evkâf taraflarından bir dürlü müdâhale olunmamak ve Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Balı Beğ evkâfına tahsîs kılınan mahallerin kemâ-fi'l-evvel taraf-ı evkâfdan zabtına müsâ'ade-i aliyye-i hümâyûn buyurulur ise bunlardan gayri tahrîr-i atîka dâhil olan evkâfdan birisinin kadîmisi üzere ibkâsı için arz ve ar-ı hâl zuhûr ider ise kat'an 'amel ve i'tibâr olunmayub ve fi-mâ-ba'd tahrîr-i atîk defterleri düstûrül-'amel olmayub kuyûdâtı nazar-i i'tibârdan bi'l-küllîye iskât birle defâtir-i mezkûre hazîne-i âmireye vaz' olunub ve eğer tahrîr-i atîk defterinden havâs ve ze'âmet ve timâr ve evkâfa dâ'ir der-kenâr için defter-hâne-i âmireye arz ve arz-ı hâl gelür ise vech-i meşrûh üzere tahrîr-i atîk defterlerinin ahkâm ve kuyûdâtı imhâ ve ibtâl olunduğu zahr-ı arz ve arz-ı hâlê işâret olunub min ba'd tahrîr-i atîkden bir harf der-kenâr olunmamak ve bu şürût ve nizâm üzere tahrîr-i cedîd defterleri düstûrül-'amel tutulmak üzere defter-hâne-i âmireye vaz' ve kayd olunmağa fermân-i âlileri buyurulur ise emr ü fermân devletlü sa'âdetlü sultânım hazretleri-nindir.

Mustafa

APPENDIX 2



*Edict dated the last ten days of Rabi II AH, 1154 (4-14 July, 1741 AD)  
 (BOA, A\_{DVNSMHM\_00148, p. 19, edict 55)*

Ber vech-i arpalık Selanik ve Semendire sancakları ile hala Belgrad muhafızı olan vezir Mehmed Paşa'ya ve Belgrad mollasına ve Semendire sancağı alay beğisine hüküm ki

Avn u inâyet-i hazret-i Rabb'ül-ibâd ile feth ü teshîri müyesser olan kal'a-i Belgrad'ın ve Semendire sancağında vâkı' feth-i cedîd olan arâzi ve mahâll ve kurânın müceddeden tahrîrleri için bundan akdem sâdır olan emr-i şerîf-i âlişân ile defter-hâne-i âbîrem kütübâbindan muharrir ta'yîn olunan Şırdkı ve 'Âli zîde kadruhuma müceb-i emr-i âli üzere kal'a-i mezbûreyi livâ-i merkûmun feth-i cedîd olan mecmû' mahallerini alâ vechi't-taharri tahrîr ve defter idüb memhûr ve mümzâ defterini Der-sâ'âdetime getürmeleriyle defter-i mezkûrda her mâddenin tahtında mastûr olan yazuları cem' ve hesâb itdirildikde cümlesi yetmiş sekiz kırk altı bin beşyüz akçeye bâlîğ olub ve'l-haletu hazîhi kal'a-i mezbûre anveten feth ü teshîr olunmağla gerek nefsi' kal'ada ve havâlisinde ve gerek livâ-i mezbûrun feth-i cedîd olan mahallerinde ber müceb-i tahrîr-i atik her ne kadar ze'âmet ve timâr ve havâs ve evkâf var ise birisinde kimesnenin alâkası kalmayub mecmû'ı havâs-ı hümâyûnuma â'id olmağın hîn-i tahrîrde kuyûdât-i atıkaya i'tibâr olunmayub vakt-i tahrîre gelinceye dek tevçih olunmuş olan ze'âmet ve timârlardan mâ'adâ kadîmden ze'âmet ve

timâr olan kura ve arâzinin küllisi ve havâs-ı mîr-i livâ ve evkâfın mecmû'î havâs-ı hümâyûn-ı atîka ile ma'an havâs-ı hümâyûn mülhakâtından olmak üzere tahrîr ve defter olunması virilen tahrîr emr-i şerîfi derûnunda musarrah ve mezkûr olduğuna binâ'en muharrirân-ı mûma-ileyhüma dahi eğerçi ol-vechle tahrîr idüb lakin zu'amâ ve erbâb-ı timâr devlet-i aliyemin asâkir-i mu'ted bahâsından olmalarıyla tevfir ve teksîrleri ehemm ve elzem olduğundan başka kal'a-i Belgrad Rumili serhadlerinin güzîde ve â'zamı olub dâ'imâ asâkir-i kesîre ile muhâfaza ve muhâsesesi emrine ihtimâm akdem-i mehâmdan olmağın sayf ü şitâda ale'd-devâm derûn-ı kal'ada ikâmet ve karâr idüb bir ân mahall-i ahere bilâ-izn hareket eylemeyecek kimesnelere tevcîh olunmak şartıyla livâ-i merkûmdan kadr-ı kifâye ze'âmet ve timâr tertîb olunması istisvâb olunmağla yirmişer bin akçelik yirmibeş aded ze'âmet ve onar bin akçelik yetmiş beş aded ve yedişer bin akçelik altıyüz aded timâr ki bî'l-cümle yedişüz aded ze'âmet ve timâr olmak üzere sâlifü'z-zikr yetmiş sekiz yük kırk altı bin beşyüz akçe tahrîr-i cedîd yazusunun elli dört yük akçesi ze'âmet ve timâra ifrâz olunub ve livâ-i mezbûr fî-mâ-ba'd vüzerâ-yı izâm ve mîr-i mîrân-ı kirâmımdan her kime tevcîh olunur ise sâ'ir eyâlât ve elviye misillü beher hâl mertebe-i kifâyetde hâssa muhtâc olmalarıyla ta'yîn olunan hâslarıyla kanâat ve iktifâ idüb livâ-i mezbûrun re'âya ve berâyâsına itâle-i dest-i ta'addi eylememeleriçün yazu-yı mezkûrun üç yük on yedi bin sekiz yüz akçesi havâs-ı mîr-i livâyâ tefrîk ve müteveffâ Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ile Balı Beğ nâm sâhibü'l-hayrın kable'l-istilâ livâ-i mezbûr dâhilinde olan evkâflarına bedel olmak üzere bir yük yirmi sekiz bin yedi yüz akçesi ta'yîn ve mâ'adâ yirmi yük akçesi havâs-ı hümâyûna tahsîs olunmak üzere tertîb ve defter ve mûma-ileyhüma Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Balı Beğ evkâfı için eğerçi bir yük yirmi sekiz bin yedi yüz akçe tefrîk olunub ancak bu mahallerin anveten feth ü teshîrleri sebebi ile kadîmi kura ve arâzilerinde evkâf-ı mezbûrenin bir dürlü alâkaları kalmamağla kal'a-i Belgrad ve havâlisinde vâkıfeyn-i mûma-ileyhümanın ba'de'l-feth a'kâb [ve] evlâdları ve mütevellileri taraflarından tecdid ve ta'mîrine mübâşeret olunan cevâmî' ve mesâcid ve sâ'ir asâr-ı hayriyyenin lüzûmu mertebede vezâyif-i hademe ve mesârif-i rûz-merresi Belgrad defterdârları ma'arifetleriyle Belgrad hazinesinden görülmek şartıyla evkâf-ı mezbûra ta'yîn olunan mahaller havâs-ı hümâyûnum tarafından zabt olunmak ve tertîb olunan ze'âmet ve timârlar ale'd-devâm sayf ü şitâda livâ-i Semendire dâhilinde kıyâm idecek kimesnelere virilmek üzere tashîh olduğundan sâ'ir eyâlât ve elviye ze'âmet ve timârlarına kıyâs olunmayub Bosna eyâleti şürûtu üzere nizâm virilmek muktezi olmağla eyâlet-i mezbûre şürûtu üzere zikr olunan ze'âmet ve timârların tevcihâtı fîmâ-ba'd livâ-i mezbûr mutasarrıflarına tefvîz olunub vakt-i tahrîre dek tevcîh olunmuş bulunan ze'âmet ve timârların tevcihlerine ve ashâbının yedlerinde olan berevât ve tezâkire 'amel ve i'tibâr olunmamak şartıyla bu mikdâr ze'âmet ve timârlar mahallinde livâ-i merkûm mutasarrıfı tarafından alay beği ma'arifetiyle mukad-dem ze'âmet ve timâra mutasarrıf olanlardan râğbet idenlere ve sâ'ir kılıca kâdir ki-

mesnelere tevcîh olduktan sonra içlerinden fevt olanların ze‘âmet ve timârları şefâ‘at ve ricâ ile ecnebiye virilmeyüb müteveffânın evlâd-ı zükûrına ve evlâd-ı zükûru yoğise kılıca kâdir karındaşlarına ve karındaşları dahi yoğise akrabasına virilüb ve akrabaları yoğise yine ecnebiye virilmeyüb livâ-i mezbûr mülâzımlarından kılıca kâdir olanlara livâ-i mezbûr mutasarrıfları tarafından tevcîh olunub tahvîl ve tezkeresi ol tarafda virilmek ve mutasarrıf oldukları ze‘âmet ve timârları serbestiyet üzere taraflarından zabt itdirilüb vâli ve defterdârlar taraflarından vechen mine’l-vücûh ta‘arruz ve müdâhale olunmamak ve ze‘âmet-i mezkûrlardan birisi Bosna şürûtü üzere timâr defterdârına ve birisi defter kethüdâsına ve birisi dahi timâr tezkerecisine tahsîs kılınub ve sefer ve hizada livâ-i mezbûr mutasarrıfları yanında bulunmaları şartıyla bu hıdmetler dahi erbâb-ı sadâkat ve isti‘dâddan olan kimesnelere virilüb ve bu ze‘âmet ve timârlar ashâbından birisi müteferrika ve çavuş ve kâtib ve şâkird gediklûsi ve şerhlûsi ve hân defterlûsi olmayub ale’d-devam livâ-i mezbûr dâhilinde ikâmet ve karâr ve hıdmet-i muhafaza ile iştigâl eylemek ve otuz senesi musâlahasında livâ-ı mezbûra dâhil hudûdda kalub hala gediklû ve gediksiz berevât ve tezâkir ile ba‘zı kimesnenin üzerlerinde olan ze‘âmet ve timârlara ta‘arruz olunmayub alâ hâlihi üzerlerinde ibkâ ve fi-mâ-ba‘d mahlûlleri vâkı‘ oldukça bâlâda mastûr şürût üzere mahallinden tevcîh olunarak livâ-i mezbûrun mecmû‘ ze‘âmet ve timârları şürût-ı mezkûre tahtına idhâl olunub ve bu sancağın zu‘amâ ve erbâb-ı timârına Rumili eyâleti dâhilinde bulunmak sebebi ile sâ‘ir sancaklar misillü Rumili vâlileri taraflarından ta‘arruz olunmayub bi’l-küllîye tevcîhât ve sâ‘ir mevâd ve husûsları livâ-i mezbûr mutasarrıfına müfevvez olmak ve Der-sa‘âdetimden ve Rumili vâlisi taraflarından sehven ve kasden bunlara dâ‘ir tevcîhât veyahud gedik ilhâkı ve şerh ve hân defterine idhâl vâkı‘ olur ise defterhâne-i âmireme vardıkda şürût-ı merkûmeye mugâyereti beyân olunarak redd cevâb virilmek ve iki üç kılıc timâr bir adamda cem‘ olmayub ve sâ‘ir mahaller gibi kılıc timâr hisse an ze‘âmet ve timâr olmak üzere tashîh ile gerek bu ze‘âmet ve timârlara ve gerek aher sancaklarda olan ze‘âmet ve timârların birisine ilhâk veyahud ba‘zı bahâne ile havâss-ı hümâyûnuma tashîh ve idhâl olunmamak ve yirmi yük akçe yazı ile havâss-ı hümâyûnuma tahsîs olunan kurâ ve arâzi ve gümrükler ve sâ‘ir rüsûmât ve âidât müstakillen taraf-ı mîrîden zabt olunub vülât ve zu‘amâ ve erbâb-ı timâr ve evkâf taraflarından bir dürlü müdâhale olunmamak ve tahrîr-i atîke dâhil olan evkâfdan birisinin kadîmisi üzere ibkâsîçün arz ve arz-ı hâl zuhûr ider ise kat‘an ‘amel ve i‘tibâr olunmayub ve fi-mâ-ba‘d tahrîr-i atîk defterleri düstûrül-‘amel olunmayub kuyûdâtı nazar ve i‘tibârdan bi’l-küllîye iskât birle defâtir-i mezkûre hazîne-i âmi-reye vaz‘ olunub ve eğer tahrîr-i atîk defterinden havâs ve ze‘âmet ve timâr ve evkâfa dâ‘ir der-kenâr için defter-hâne-i âmireme arz ve arz-ı hâl varır ise vech-i meşrûh üzere tahrîr-i atîk defterlerinin ahkâm ve kuyûdâtı imhâ ve ibtâl olunduğu zahr-ı arz ve arz-ı hâle işâret olunub min ba‘d tahrîr-i atîkden bir harf der-kenâr olunmamak ve bu şürût ve nizâm üzere tahrîr-i cedid defterleri düstûrül-‘amel tutulmak

üzere defter-hâne-i âmireme vaz' ve kayd olunmasıçün iftihârü'l-ümerâ ve'l-ekâbir bi'l-fi'il baş defterdârım olan Mustafa Atıf dâme uluvvuhu i'lâm idüb i'lâm-ı merkûm pâye-i serîr-i inâyet-masîr-i hüsrevâneme arz ve telhîs olundukda mücebince yedi yüz kılıç ze'âmet ve timârların tertîb ve tasvîb olduğu üzere icmalleri bağlanub zikr olunan şürût ve kuyûd ile erbab-ı istihkâka tevcih ve tevzi'lerine mübâderet ve defter-i atıkde mûmaileyhüma Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Balı Beğ evkâfi olmak üzere muharrer olub el-yevm Belgrad'ın anveten feth ü teshîri sebebi ile cânib-i mirîye â'id olan kurâ havâss-ı hümâyûnuma ilhâk ve bu mukâbelede mûma-ileyhümanın evlâd [ve] mütevellileri taraflarından ta'mîr olunacak âsâr-ı hayriyyenin vezâyif-i mürtezika ve mesârif-i rûz-merreleri Belgrad hazinesinden rü'yet olunmak üzere şeref-bahş-i sudûr olan hatt-ı hümâyûn-ı mevâhib-meşhûnumla müsâ'ade-i aliyye-i mülûkânem erzanî kılınmağın sâlifü'z-zikr hatt-ı hümâyûn-ı şevket-makrûnumla başdefterdârım mumâ-ileyhin ilâmı ile mâşâ-allahu te'âlâ düstûrül-'amel tutulub hilâfına bir vakitde vaz' ve hâreket olunmamak ve şürût-ı merkûme ba'd-ezîn ile'l-ebed tatarruk-ı ta'arruz ve halelden vikâyet ü sıyânet olunmak için sâdır olan fermân-ı şerîf-i itâ'at-redîfimle defterhâne-i 'âmireme ve li-ecli't-te'yîd dîvân-ı hümâyûnum kaleminde vâkı' tahvilât kuyûdâtına ve baş muhâsebe kalemine kayd ve sebt olunmağla siz ki vezîr-i müşâr ve sâ'ir mumâ-ileyhimsiz fi-mâ-ba'd şürût-ı mebsûta-i mezkûre mücebince 'amel ve hareket ve hilâfından hazer ve mücânebet olunmak için emr-i şerîfim isdâr ve [boşluk] ile irsâl olunmuşdur. İmdi vusûlünde şerâyit-i mukarrere-i merkûm ve kavânîn-i mukavvime-i mezkûreyi havî şeref-efzâ-yı sudûr olan hatt-ı hümâyûnuma mübtenî işbu fermân-ı vâcibü'l-iz'ân-ı şâhânemi dahi Belgrad mahkemesinde bi-aynihi sicil-i mahfûza kayd ve sebt ve ale'd-devâm mazmûn-ı mütâvâ'at-nümûnu düstûrül-'amel ve mefhûm u mü'eddâsı dâ'imâ mer'î ve mu'teber tutularak muktezâsı üzere 'amel ve hareket ve içinden bir maddesi tekâlib-i evrâk-ı eyyâm ve tekerrür-i dühûr ve a'vâm takrîbi ile pezîrây-inhilâl ve intikâs olmamak vechiyle halefen ba'de selef vikâyet ve sıyânetine bezl-i makderet olunub sen ki vezîr-i müşârün-ileyhsin sana ve mîr-i alay-ı mumâ-ileyhe diğér emr-i şerîfimde mufassalan tavsiye ve tenbîh olduğu üzere salifü'z-zikr yediyüz kaydın bu def'a heyet-i tesviye ve techîzlerine alâ vechi't-taharri mübâderet ve mikdâr-ı zerre hilâfından gâyetü'l-gâye ittikâ ve mübâ'adet olunmak bâbında fermân-ı âlî-şanıım sâdır olmuşdur. Fi evâhir-i Rebîül'l-âhir sene 1154.



# MARGARITI/MARGALIÇ: EMERGENCE, DEVELOPMENT AND DOWNFALL OF A MUSLIM TOWN AT THE EDGE OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD (GREEK EPIRUS)

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## ABSTRACT

Margariti, Margaliç in Ottoman, is today a village situated in the extreme north-west of the district of Chamouria in the North-West of Greek Epirus, 9 km N.E. of the old Venetian stronghold of Parga (but 20 km over the road!) in the district of Chamouria. In Ottoman times (1430 -1913), especially in the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Margariti was a town of considerable size and a centre of Albanian Islam. According to the “Father of Epirot History,” Aravandinos - who largely relied on local oral traditions – Margariti was founded by the Venetians in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The famous Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi, who visited the place in 1081 (1670/71), calls it a conquest of Gedik Ahmed Pasha (d. 1482) in the time of Sultan Bayezid II, which is a nasty anachronism because the castle of Margariti was built almost a century after Gedik’s death (!). Aravandinos states that the inhabitants of Margariti were the first to embrace Islam and the members of the Ottoman cavalry, the Sipahis, were chosen from them. Later on the entire western part of Epirus became property of the Aghas of Margariti. They also transferred the seat of the *eparchie* from Mazaraki to Margariti, thus making their settlement the economic and administrative centre of the district. So far the story as told by Aravandinos. The greater part of his story, however, is legendary, as will be clear if we compare his story with hitherto unknown or unused Ottoman Turkish source materials, first of all the Tahrir Defterleri (afterwards “TD”) kept in the Prime Minister’s Ottoman Archives in Istanbul and partly in Ankara and in the Sofia National Library. It should be added here that this kind of administrative documents are as neutral as telephone directories or timetables of trains.

We dedicate the story of Margariti to Nenad Moaçanin who during his long carrier did so much to unravel the history of another border district of the Ottoman Empire, the fertile lowlands between the two mighty rivers of the northern part of south-eastern Europe, the Sava and the Drava, Syrmia/Srem and Slavonia.

The Ottoman population- and taxation register TD 367 from 1530, but based on the information of the register made under Selim I in 1519-1520 is the first source to mention the focal point of our story.<sup>1</sup> It mentions that the hamlet of “Margarit” had only 8 households, all Christians. (As it is an İcmal Defter the in-

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<sup>1</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul (henceforth: BOA). Tahrir Defteri (henceforth: TD), no. 367, f. 273.



dividual names of the inhabitants are not mentioned in this register). The villages around Margariti also had no Muslims at all. In 1520 the villages of Dobro, Gurya, Karvunar, Kondosari, Kurtas, Mazaraki, Morfi, Smokvine and Turko-Palouko had together 278 households, all Christians and not one single Muslim. It is clear that Islam came much later to these districts, in short: the same as in the case in other comparable settlements in Epirus: Konitsa and Paramythia and the villages depending on them. The possibility that there were other villages with the same name has to be excluded. From the entire group of – mostly small - villages in the area, 357 altogether, there is no other with the name Margarit, or with the Ottoman form of Margaliç. In these 357 villages were 9.471 households of Christians and only two (!) households of Muslims.<sup>2</sup>

In the existing historiography is maintained that in 1572, shortly after the Battle of Lepanto, the inhabitants of the Venetian naval base Parga, together with a force of 6.000 Venetians, Corfiots and Pargiots besieged and captured Margariti and demolished the castle that had been built just before the attack. After the conclusion of peace between the Ottomans and Venice - 7 March 1573 Parga remained Venetian and Margariti Ottoman.<sup>3</sup> The Tsamides / Chams who had escaped came back and rebuilt the castle. This story is also legendary, the more so because already in the year 1883 the Greek scholar Sathas (Documents inédites) had published a document dating from 15 April 1558 where the Signoria is informed that the Turks were busy building two castles in the neighbourhood of Parga, Margariti and Sopot.<sup>4</sup> An Ottoman account about providing food stuffs to the garrison of “Margaliç, belonging to the Sandjak of Delvine,” from the year 958 (9 January - 29 December 1551 shows that the Ottomans were busy with Margariti seven years before the Venetian document. In another Venetian document, dated 27 August 1560, a delegation of citizens of Parga asked the Venetian government to have the “Fortezza di Margariti” destroyed. The Signoria declined because such an action meant a new war with the Ottomans. The 1551 Ottoman document has hitherto remained unknown.<sup>5</sup> The original text of the document, and an English translation, is given as an appendix at the end of this article.

The Ottoman *tahrir* defter TD 293, on p. 231-244 also from the year 956/1551 enumerates the members of the garrison of the “castle of Margaliç” with a castle commander (Dizdar) and 17 soldiers, paid from the tax revenue of a group of villages in the district of Margariti, all mentioned by name.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> BOA. TD, no. 367, fol. 273.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. III (Pest, 1828), 600-602.

<sup>4</sup> C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédites relatives à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, V (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1883; reprint Athens: Grigoriadis, 1972), 212, 333f.

<sup>5</sup> BOA. MAD, no 55, fol. 1v.

<sup>6</sup> BOA. TD, no. 293, on fols. 231-244

The original of the *tabrir* of 991/1583, the last one made for the Sandjak of Delvina, is kept in the Archives of the “Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü” (TKGM) in Ankara, in the section Kuyud-i Kadime (KK) T.D. 56.<sup>7</sup> The working conditions in the Ankara archives had long been very stiff and difficult, for foreign researchers and well as for Turks. A few years ago the entire “lüzumsuz (needless) bürokrasi” (Turgut Özal) was abolished and new equipment and electronics, were installed. A photocopy of a document now takes a minute! Those not willing to go to Ankara can use a rather well-written copy (*suret*) of this register, T.D. 586 written in 1022 (1612/1613) and stored in the Prime Minister’s Ottoman Archives (BOA) in Istanbul.<sup>8</sup> It shows that the garrison of the castle of Margaliç, now slightly bigger than before, was paid with the tax revenue of the great and rich village of Kramonište in the Nahiye Korendos in the district of Yánnina.

The *Mufassal tabrir* from 991 (1583) shows that Margaliç had grown very slow: from 8 households of Christians (or about 40 persons) of 1520 it had grown to 10 households and also 10 unmarried adult males (*mücerred*) pointing to a rather quickly growing population.<sup>9</sup>

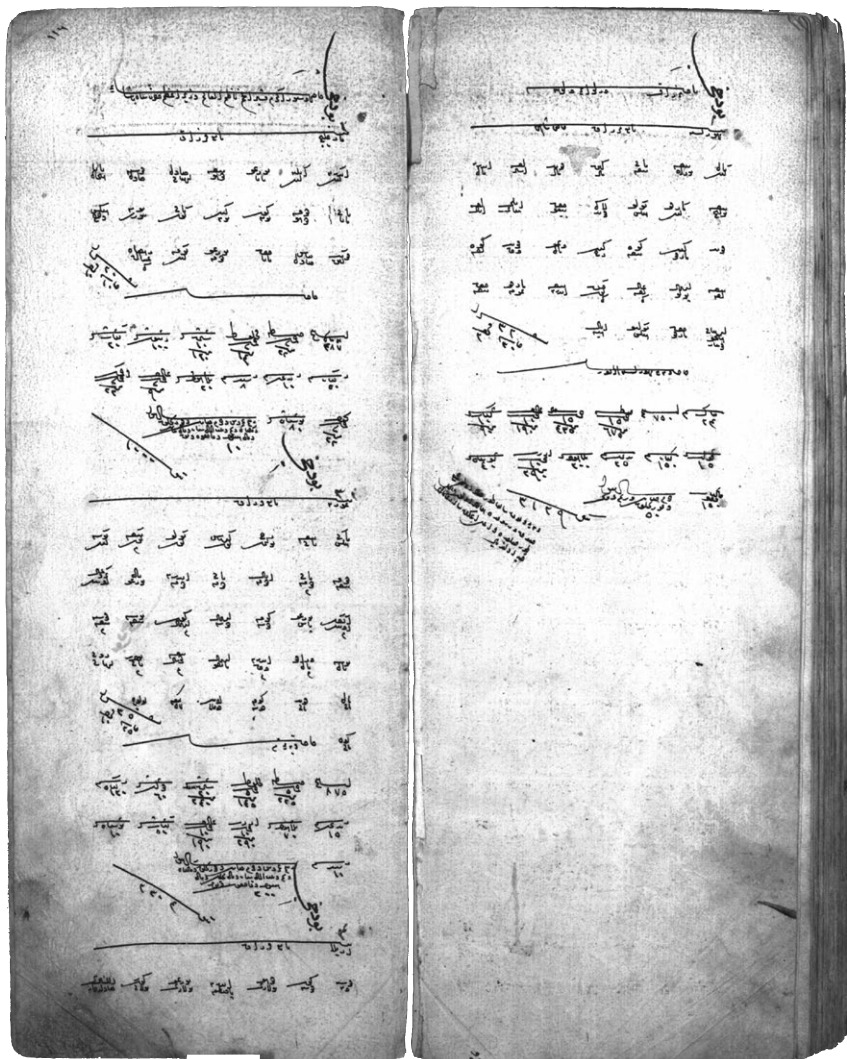
One of the heads of the households was a Muslim: Ramazan bin Abdullah, a recent convert. Behind his name is an indication (“k”) to his social status. Ramazan was “bennak” or a peasant who holds little or no land. Such a man did not pay the poll tax of one gold coin per year. He also rose in status. Both these things are usually seen as very important factors by the decision to convert to Islam.

The 1583 *tabrir* also allows an impression of the village economy and the kind of people who lived there. Remarkable is the presence of no less than three papas with Greek names among the population: Papa Yani, Papa Yorgo and Papa Mihal. One name looks Slavic: Kosta, the others had specific Albanian names, Gjin, Gjon, Duka. The village paid a total tax of 1.000 Akçe per year, or 100 Akçe per household, which is a common average for villages situated on arable land that were not very productive. Besides small amounts of wheat (2 loads, price 22 Akçe) mixed cereals (*mahlut*), also 2 loads but worth only 14 Akçe, followed by lentils, chickpeas and flax, the largest posts were wine 10 medres, worth 120 Akçe and tax on olives, 100 Akçe. Because we do not (yet) know the size of a load (*himl*) of cereals and the local measures for olive oil and wine in this part of Epirus we better abstain from making reconstructions of the total production per household, keeping in mind that here one tenth of the value of the harvest was taken as tax. We give the full original text as illustration.

<sup>7</sup> Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara (henceforth:TKGM). Kuyud-i Kadime (henceforth: KK), 56, fol. 116r.

<sup>8</sup> BOA. TD, no. 586.

<sup>9</sup> TKGM. KK, no. 56, fol. 116r.



*Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü (TKGM), Ankara. Kuyud-i Kadime (KK), 56, folio 116<sup>R</sup>*

In the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, half a century before Aravandinos wrote, William Martin Leake also wrote down the story that the castle of Margariti was built between 1571 and 1575.<sup>10</sup> His source was a local chronicle of Parga, which was most probably also used by Aravandinos and was written long after the events it describes. The Ottoman administrative sources used here give a more reliable picture.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century Margariti developed into a Muslim town of importance, certainly if we take in account the hostile rural environment which could support only

<sup>10</sup> William Martin Leake, *Travels through Northern Greece*, I (London, 1835), 523.

a limited population. Our main source is the account of Evliya Çelebi who visited Margariti in 1081 (1670/71) on his way from Aydonat/Paramythia to Parga and from there via Sayiáda to Delvina in Albania.<sup>11</sup> Evliya's visit coincided with the last years of the Cretan War, when the threat of a Venetian attack or raid was imminent. An Ottoman budget of 1669/70 shows that the small castle of Margariti had eight *topçiyân* (gunners).<sup>12</sup> Next to them was a force of Janissaries, whose numbers are not given in the budget but must have ranged between 40 and 50 men. As comparison the great castles of the inland towns of Yánnina and Arta might be given. The budget has for both castles a force of 72 men, gunners and soldiers of the garrisons. The Venetian threat can be measured by the strength of the garrison of the coastal strongholds: Preveza had 217 men, Aya Mavra (Lefkada) 285 men and Navpaktos/Lepanto 329.<sup>13</sup>

Evliya describes the castle of Margariti as a pentagon of 870 paces in circumference (about 520 m.) which is a massive exaggeration. The castle had a garrison of 200 men, also wildly exaggerated. It was built of cut stone, a fine building containing a hundred houses, a mosque of the Sultan but no public buildings inside. The open town of "Marğaliç" (Varoş) was large, containing 1.200 stone-build houses placed in gardens. The houses were finely built and looked prosperous. The number of houses as given by Evliya would yield a total population of 5-6.000 people. The lower number is more likely, taking into account the generally small size of families known from many parts of Europe, including Greece.

Evliya noted that the Varoş was divided in seven mahalles. The town had two Friday Mosques with stone-built minarets and tile covered roofs (*keremid*) and seven mesdjids divided over the mahalles. Medjids were small oratoria without a *minbar*/pulpit because the Friday Service was not held in this kind of buildings. Evliya furthermore mentions two primary schools (*mektep*), two dervish convents (*tekke*), a hamam, two khans/caravanserais and a number of shops.

Shortly after Evliya's visit Margariti must have received a college for higher Islamic education, a *medrese*. This institution in Margariti is mentioned in an official list of schools of higher education in the administrative Yearbook (*Salnâme*) of the Yanya Vilayeti of 1318 (=1 May 1900-20 April 1901) where is said that it was built by a certain "Piri Pasha."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, vol. VIII, Türk Tarih Külliyyatı 13 (Istanbul 1928), 663-64 (Ottoman script). Also: Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, Robert Dankoff, eds., *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 8 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), 294-95.

<sup>12</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "1079-1080 (1669-70) Mâli Yılına ait bir Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Ekleri," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 17 (1955/56): 278, 280.

<sup>13</sup> Barkan, "1079-1080 (1669-70) Mâli Yılına ait bir Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Ekleri," 278, 280.

<sup>14</sup> *Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Yanya* (Yanya, 1318/1901), 207-208.

In the “Who is Who in the Ottoman Empire” (Mehmed Süreya’s *Sicill-i Osmânî*, 1894) five persons called Pîrî Pasha are mentioned.<sup>15</sup> Four of them are much too early and without any tie with the Balkans. The only possible person as patron of the Margariti medrese must be “*Pîrî Paşa ümeradan olub 1079’de (1668/69) Trbhala Mutesarrıf oldı, ba’de irtihâl eylemişdir.*” In English: “Pîrî Pasha was one of the Sandjak Beys. In 1668/69 he was Governor of (the Sandjak) of Trikala. He died afterwards.”

The medrese of Pîrî Pasha is not mentioned in the official list of medreses in the Ottoman Balkans from 1660 and would have been built in the 1670s.<sup>16</sup> The date concords with Margariti being a town of a 3-4.000 inhabitants as suggested by Evliya Çelebi. With the construction of this college for higher learning the development of Margariti as a Muslim town was completed.

If we can believe Aravandinos the town had in the 18<sup>th</sup> century 8.500 inhabitants. Even if this number is exaggerated the jump Margariti made from 35 or 40 inhabitants in 1520 to 5.000/6.000 in the 1750s is comet-like. The prosperity of Margariti was brought to an end not by the militant Christian inhabitants of Parga but by the powerful ruler of north-western Greece, Ali Pasha of Tepelene. Ali occupied Margariti in 1811 after a stubborn resistance led by Hasan Ağa of Margariti. Two years earlier Leake had visited Margariti and noted that it was divided in two mahalles, containing 800 houses.<sup>17</sup> During the reforms of Tanzimat, 1861, Margariti became the centre of a Kaza in the Sandjak Preveza. In 1880 the “spy report” of Colonel Kokkidis noted that Margariti had 240 Christian inhabitants and 1.100 “Turk-Alvanon.” It was thus for 82% Muslim Albanian. The Kaza of Margariti counted 48 villages with 3.813 Christian inhabitants and 15.202 “Mahomedani,” was thus for 80% Muslim.<sup>18</sup>

The *Salnâme* of the Vilayet of Yanya from 1311 (1894) notes that the “Kasaba of Margaliç,” belonging to the Sandjak of Preveza, had 1.153 male and 1077 female inhabitants living in 546 houses (gives 4 inhabitants per house). The entire Kaza Margaliç contained 73 villages. Town and villages together had 12.576 male and 11.379 female inhabitants living in 5.224 houses. Over the road Margaliç was 16 hours travelling from Preveza.

Around the year 1881, when Arta was ceded to Greece but Preveza remained Ottoman, local notables from the district sent several warnings and protests to the

<sup>15</sup> Mehmed Süreya, *Sicill-i Osmânî*, vol II (Istanbul, Matba’-i Amire, 1311 (1894)), 45.

<sup>16</sup> M. Kemal Özergin, “Eski bir Rûznâme gore Istanbul ve Rumeli Medreseleri,” *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4-5 (1974): 263-290.

<sup>17</sup> Leake, *Travels*, IV, 71.

<sup>18</sup> I. Kokkidis, *Odoiporika Ipeiros kai Thessalias* (Athens, 1880), 36 and 78-80. The writer of these lines would like to thank his Greek colleague Elias Kolovos for making this rare but rich source available for him.

Sultan, that, in case the districts of Preveza, Narda, and Yanya were given to Greece they would rise in revolt to prevent this.<sup>19</sup> In March 1879 telegrams to Yıldız Palace warned that a cessation to Greece would bring disaster for the Albanian (Muslim) population.<sup>20</sup>

In 1316/1898 the *Kâmûsü'l-A'lam* of Sami Bey Frasherî (Şemseddin Sami) describes Margariti as a town with about 3.000 inhabitants, all of which were Muslim Albanians (which is slightly exaggerated).<sup>21</sup> The Kaza of Margariç, together with the nahiyes (subdistrict under a Na'ib) Parga and Fenar included 71 villages with a total of 25.000 inhabitants, all spoke Albanian and the greater part of them was Muslim.

In February 1913 the Greek army took over Margariti and its district, Chamouria. An exodus of Muslim Albanians followed the onslaught of the conquest. According to the Greek census of 1928 (*Plitismos tis Ellados*) the town of Margariti numbered only 1.805 inhabitants of which 200 were Greeks. The Eparchy of Margariti had 14.531 inhabitants of which only 5.000 were Tsamides/Chams. These dry numbers reflect some-thing of what the change of masters meant for this region.

At the end of World War II, the prophecy of the notables of Preveza to Sultan Abdülhamid from 1880 was fulfilled. Albanian Islam in Chamouria was annihilated. Those who could save themselves fled to Albania, mosques, baths, tekkes and other objects remembering on Islam were torn down, blown up or set to fire. The little town and many of its villages became deserted for more than a half. According to the Greek census of 1960 the "town" of Margariti had not more than 982 inhabitants.<sup>22</sup> The town and its 48 villages together had a total population of 6.464, or: two thirds less than mentioned by Kokkidis in 1880. During our visit of the summer of 1977 the formerly great village of Katavothra near Margariti was still wholly deserted, the houses and the village mosque roofless ruins. In May 2015 this village was partly revived with a Greek population, the house ruins gone but the mosque still left to further decay.

Other minarets are (2015) preserved in Margariti and in the village of Kotsika. They are the silent witnesses of the little-known expulsion of a European Muslim community that in the turbulent years of the World War II made the wrong political decision. In the village of Koutsi (now: Polyneri) a tiny Muslim community

<sup>19</sup> BOA. Yıldız Hususi, No165/145, of 15. 2. 1297 (end of November 1880).

<sup>20</sup> BOA, Yıldız 16, 9/2, 15.11.1297 / medio October 1880. İlber Ortaylı, "Ioanina and its port-town Preveza in the late Ottoman period (1864/1895)," in İlber Ortaylı, *Ottoman Studies* (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2004), 143-152.

<sup>21</sup> Şemseddin Sami, *Kâmûsü'l-A'lam*, vol. VI (Istanbul, 1898), 4095.

<sup>22</sup> *Population de la Grèce / Plithismos tis Ellados* (Athens, 1962), 81.

still survives which until recently still had an Imam.<sup>23</sup> In the time of the Colonel's Dictatorship (1967-1974) the mosque of Koutsis was blown up by local fanatics.

At the southern edge of what is now the village of Margariti the overgrown ruins of the castle can still be seen and its plan traced. It was indeed a pentagonal building. The form of the work is largely determined by the shape of the hill on which it stands, its largest wall being 28 m. long, constituting its south-western front, facing the plain below. Two of the five corners are strengthened by a bastion in the characteristic Ottoman way - five-sided, without the sharp pointed form of the saillant, obligatory for Western fortification. On the northern corner is (or better: was) a large bastion of circular form. From these three bastions sufficient flanking fire could be given on the curtain walls. Following the walls inside is a long row of vaulted casemates, all very much ruined. It can be said that Evliya Çelebi described the castle of Margariti in a very accurate manner. The measurements he gave, however, are more than three times the real size! In other descriptions of castles, for example Elbasan, Arkadia in the Peloponnese or Kriva Palanka in the Republic of Skopje-Macedonia Evliya did the same, most probably to make them looking more impressive. In this context should be added that "Çelebi" is not a family name but a title (well-bred, educated, gentleman, man of refinement). Family names were only given to Turks during the great reforms of Kemal Atatürk. "Çelebi wrote that ..." or "Mr. Çelebi noted..." as to many people wrote, and still write, would in Turkish be the equivalent of "Mister - Mister".

In 1977 a sizeable minaret of a totally destroyed mosque stood at the hillside on the eastern edge of Margariti. In 2015 it still stood there in much the same shape, explaining that this relic enjoyed some sort of protection by the Greek Ephoria of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine monuments in Yánnina.

The second mosque of Margariti is gone entirely. In 1977 old inhabitants pointed out to us the place where it had been, in the middle of the Çarşı, the shopping centre. The place where the hamam had been was also remembered locally. The higher parts of the former town are still full of ruined houses in all stages of decay, standing in unkempt gardens.

In May 2015 the mosque of Katavothra had further decayed but was still standing. Elsewhere in Greece exemplary restorations of Ottoman monuments have been carried out, in Athens, Kavala, Konitsa, Larissa, Pylos/Navarino, Serres, Thessaloniki, Trikkala, Verria, Yánnina, etc. In the town of Konitsa in north-eastern Epirus similar things as in Margariti did happen in 1945/48. In spite of this the

<sup>23</sup> L. Baltiotis, "The Muslim Chams of Northwestern Greece: The grounds for the expulsion of a 'non-Existent' Minority Community," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 12 (2011). <https://journals.openedition.org/ejts/4444>.

preservation of the Ottoman monuments of Konitsa, four mausolea (türbe) and one primary school for Muslims (mekteb), were carefully restored and propagated in the website of the Municipality of the town. In the core district of Chamouria next to nothing was done, the bad memories of the expulsion of the Chams are evidently too fresh.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I

Short indication about the provisions of grains for the castles of Tirod (?), Loros and Margalic in the province of Delvina in the year 958 (1551) in the Table of Contents of the register of the repair- and construction work of the State in the years 958 – 964 (= 1551-1557), in total 154 building - or repair projects (castle, mosques, palaces, schools, stables, bridges etc.)

### APPENDIX II

BOA: MAD 55, fol 1b, line 4:

“İnşa’at ve tamirât, fihrist, line 4: Muhâsebe-i erzen ki zahîre-i kale- Tirud (?) ve kale-i Loros (?) ve kale-i Margaliç der Liva-i Delvina be ma’rife-i Ahmed Bey al-mezbûr fi sene 958.”

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver No 55, folio 1b:

Table of contents (fihrist) of building and repair, line four: Account of the millet send as provision of the castle of Tirud (?), the castle of Loros (?) and the castle of Margaliç belonging to the province of Delvina under resposabilty of the afore mentioned Ahmed Bey in the year 958 (1551)

(In the foregoing accounts Ahmed Bey is mentioned together with his rank: “Mir-i Livâ-i Delvina” (Sandjak Bey).

### APPENDIX III

Provisions for the Castle of Margariti 957, A.D. 1551 according to BOA, MAD 55, Fol.27

(MainText):

İcmal-i muhasebe baha-i zahire-i Kal'e Tirud ? ve Louros (22 km due north of Preveza) ve Margaliç be ma’rife-i Ahmed Bey Mir-i Livâ-i Delvine ber müceb-i muhâsebe-i

Mir-i müşâ alehi ve Mevlana Müslihuddin Kadı-i Belgrad-i Arnaud.

Asl Mal

An tahvil-i ...Emin-i mukata'a .....mahsûl-i

Memleha-i ..... el vaki fi 22 Zilka'de sene 957

35000

Vuziya min zalike tamamen

Baha-i erzen bera-yi zahire-i kila'-i mezbure

... 3500 kile fi 10 35000 (Akçe)

Minha ... ...-i kil'a-i mezkûrin ..... 3500 kile

Becihet-i kale-i Temud ?? 1500 kile Becihet-i kale-i Margaliç 1000 kile

becihet-i kale-i Louros 1000 kile

In English:

Summary account of the expenditure for provisions for the castles of Tirud (?), Louros (?) and Margaliç under responsibility of the mentioned Commander and of Master Müslihuddin, Cadi of Albanian Belgrad ((= Berat in Central Albania).

Initial capital:

Turned over by ... Trusty of the revenue of the taxfarm of the salt works (memlâha) of ... taking place on 2 November of the year 1550: 30.000 (Akçe).

Total of all expenditure

Price the purchase of millet /sorghum for the provisions of the mentioned castles 3.500 bushel (kile/keyl) of 10 (Akçe) per bushel is 35.000 (the standart Istanbul keyl measured 25.<sup>656</sup>kilogram).

Intended for the Castle of Tirud: 1.500 keyl, for the Castle of Margaliç 1.000 keyl, and for the Castle of Louros 1.000 keyl.

#### APPENDIX IV

##### *The demographic development of Margariti and its district in numbers*

1520	8 Households	35 à 40 Chr. Inhab.	Christ. inhabitants	(B.O.A. 367, p. 273)
1583	Tahrir Defter: 10 hâne, 10 mücerred, 1 Muslim 40 á 50 Chr. Inh. T.K.G.M. KK.TT d. 56			
1671	1.200 Households	5.160 Inhabitants	No Data	Evliya, VIII
1760 (ca.)		8.500 „	„ „	Aravandinos
1809	800 „ „	3.480 „	„ „	Leake, Travels, IV
1880		1.100 Musl. Inhab.	240 Chr. Inhab.	Kokkidis
1894	546 „ „	2.230 Inhabitants	No Data	Salnâme Yanya
1898		3.000 Musl. Inhab.	(260) Christ. Inhab.	Kâmûsü'l-'Alam
1926		1.605 „ „	200 „ „	Greek census
1960		0 „ „	982 „ „	Greek census

Comment:

The numbers given here suggest that Kokkidis as well as Sami Bey in his Kâmûs “corrected” their numbers slightly, either upward or downward according to their preference. Evliya and Aravandinos certainly exaggerated their total numbers.

Leake and the *Salnâme* of 1898 look more reliable. The most reliable are doubtlessly the *tabrir defters* because they were made by a team of highly trained experts, adding up their numbers of households, unmarried adult males (*mücerred*) and widows village by village, house by house in a process of careful calculation, splitting up the numbers in six categories: heads of households (*hâne*) unmarried adult males, and widows (*bive*) as well as in religious groups, Muslims, Christians and Jews because all groups paid a different amount of taxes.

Widows – as head of an incomplete household – paid by far the least. About nationality and language the compilers of the *tabrirs* were not interested at all.

**ILLUSTRATIONS**

## Illustration 1

*Ex-town of Margariti, mosque ruin, 1977*



Illustration 2  
*Margariti, the village of Katavothra, 1977*



Illustration 3  
*District of Margariti, the village of Katavothra seen from the north, 1977*





# MONKS IN KAFTÂNS. BOSNIAN FRANCISCANS, ROBES OF HONOUR, AND OTTOMAN SUMPTUARY LAWS

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## ABSTRACT

In the Ottoman Empire, bestowing ceremonial robe of honour (*kaftân* or *bil'at*) represented acceptance into state service or promotion. This Ottoman tradition indicated both a sign of loyalty and favour as well as an expression of a hierarchical relationship between a giver and a receiver. *Kaftâns* and *bil'ats* were bestowed on state officials and religious dignitaries, as well as, occasionally, on foreign diplomats, vassals, and other foreign dignitaries. Several examples of bestowing of robe of honour on the Franciscan leaders indicate that they were, at least occasionally, officially treated and recognized as state servants. This was a significant exception to sharia-based sumptuary laws, which ban wearing of luxury and Muslim-style clothing to non-Muslims.

According to the Franciscan tradition, at the time of the conquest of Bosnia in 1463, the head of the Bosnian Franciscans, Fr. Anđeo Zvizdović (d. 1498), was summoned in front of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481), in order to help the Ottoman conqueror pacify the land, establish a *modus vivendi* with the local Catholic population, and prevent further migrations outside the Ottoman borders. During the meeting, the sultan issued the monk an edict called *'ahdnâme*, which secured the rights of the Franciscans and their churches. Later generations understood *'ahdnâme* as the founding document of Catholicism in Ottoman Bosnia and labelled it *pactum regium*. Although the Franciscan tradition tends to exaggerate its importance, and sometimes even compares it to *Magna charta libertatis*, while some scholars question its authenticity, *'ahdnâme* was widely used as one of the basic documents in various official procedures, and it was recognized as authentic by the authorities. Therefore, in addition to the original kept in the Franciscan Monastery of Holy Spirit in Fojnica, almost every monastery in Bosnia possessed one or more copies of *'ahdnâme*, including Fojnica, too.<sup>1</sup> Despite vivid criticism

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<sup>1</sup> Josip Matasović, "Fojnička regesta," *Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije* 67, drugi razred 53, (1930): 62, 89-95; [Hazim Šabanović], "Turski dokumenti u Bosni iz druge polovine XV stoljeća," *Istorisko-pravni zbornik* 2 (1949): 207-208; Vančo Boškov, "Pitanje autentičnosti Fojničke ahd-name Mehmeda II iz 1463. godine," *Godišnjak Društva istoričara BiH* 28-30 (1977-1979): 87-105; Dominik Mandić, "Autentičnost Ahd-name Mehmeda II B.H. franjevcima," *Radovi Hrvatskog Povijesnog Instituta u Rimu*, 3-4 (1971): 61-90; Srećko M. Džaja, "Fojnička ahdnama u zrcalu paleografije, pravne povijesti i politike," *Bosna Franciscana* 17, no. 31 (2009): 103-128; Julijan Jelenić, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci*, vol. 1 (Sarajevo, 1912; reprint: Sarajevo: Svjetlost 1990), 140; Srećko M. Džaja, *Konfesionalnost i nacionalnost Bosne i Hercegovine. Predemancipacijski period 1463-1804*, (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1990), 153-155.



and polemics concerning the authenticity of the document, modern scholarship eventually accepted the authenticity of its content, while the original document, it is assumed, might have been lost, and recreated later.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, a partial authenticity of *‘ahdnâme* was confirmed by hard science in radiocarbon (Carbon 14) dating of its paper conducted in Institute “Ruđer Bošković” in Zagreb in May 2013. The lower part of the document, containing the main text, was dated in the period (the calibrated age span) 1430-1465 with probability 95.4%, while the glued paper of the upper part of the document was dated 1665-1808 with probability 73.8%.<sup>3</sup> Thus, it seems that moderate criticism of *‘ahdnâme* of some authors, above all Vančo Boškov, was partly justified.

Another insignia item that testifies to the encounter between the sultan and the monk, according to the tradition, is an Ottoman ceremonial robe of honour, *kaftân* or *hil’at*, still preserved in the museum of the Monastery of Fojnica, nowadays in a somewhat different shape of a cloak.<sup>4</sup> From the official point of view, this garment further implicated newly established relation between the state and the head of the Franciscan order in Bosnia, as bestowing of robes of honour symbolized acceptance into state service or promotion.<sup>5</sup> Even though some highly critical authors doubt the historicity of the encounter because of the lack of contemporary sources, the existence of *‘ahdnâme* testifies its high probability, as does the appearance of Zvizdović in a contemporary edict (*buyuruldu*) issued by the governor of Bosnia, *Sancakbegi* İskender Pasha, in 1486. The document written in Bosnian Cyrillic script (*bosančica*) addresses Zvizdović as the Bosnian Franciscan custodian and respectable monk, and grants him the right to travel freely inside and outside the Ottoman borders. In addition, it mentions his brothers – *knezes* (Croatian, “chief, headman”) Domša and Milutin as the sultan’s faithful servants.<sup>6</sup> Franciscan chronicles, however, mention Zvizdović relatively late in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Oral folk tradition, nevertheless, narrates in detail that after

<sup>2</sup> Boškov, “Pitanje autentičnosti,” 87-105. Recently on the basis of *fermân* of Sultan Bayazid II (r. 1481-1512) that confirmed *‘ahdnâme* of Mehmed II in 1483, Michael Ursinus suggested that the original *‘ahdnâme* was lost around 1483; see Michael Ursinus, “Ferman sultana Bajazida II. iz 1483. i fojnička ahdnama (izdana u Milodražu),” *Bosna franciscana* 27, no. 51 (2019): 9-26.

<sup>3</sup> Nada Horvatinčić, Andreja Sironić, Jadranka Barešić and Igor Kozjak, “Radiocarbon dating of Ahdname, Mantel, and Armorial from the Fojnica Franciscan Monastery, Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Radiocarbon* 59, no. 5 (2017), 1366-1367.

<sup>4</sup> Matasović, “Fojnička regesta,” 89-91; and Boškov, “Pitanje autentičnosti,” 92. On *kaftân*, see T. Majda, “Libās. IV - Turkey,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Vol. 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 750-752, and Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971), 134 (“*kaftan*”).

<sup>5</sup> Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, Vol. 2, 134 (“*Kaftan giydirmek*”); Amanda Phillips, “Ottoman Hil’at: Between Commodity and Charisma,” in *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination. Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphy*, ed. Marios Hadjianastasis (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015), 111-138.

<sup>6</sup> Archive of the Franciscan Monastery of Holy Spirit, Fojnica, Bosnia and Herzegovina (henceforth: AF). Acta turcica. Rasuto. Bujuntija Skender-paše iz 1486.

*ahdnâme* was handed to him, Zvizdović was donned by the sultan “with a ceremonial cloak covered with little stars, which was reflecting his surname [*Croatian* Zvizda/Zvijezda, “star”].”<sup>7</sup> While Matasović might have been right in dismissing the story as legendary and trivial,<sup>8</sup> it has to be mentioned that the case of bestowing ceremonial robe of honour to the head of the Bosnian Franciscans would not have been an exceptional case, but fitting into a pattern of promoting individuals in official status, entering state service, or paying special recognition, as in the cases of state officials, foreign ambassadors, vassal princess, and top ecclesiastics. Well-known examples from the Balkans and surrounding areas are donning *kaftâns* onto the Ragusan diplomats upon their arrival to Istanbul,<sup>9</sup> the princes and senators of Transylvania, Moldavian *voivodes*, the khans of the Crimea (since the time of Süleymân I (“the Magnificent,” r. 1520–66)),<sup>10</sup> and the Orthodox Christian patriarchs of Constantinople.<sup>11</sup> Ottoman tradition of bestowing *kaftân* or *hil’at* represents a continuation of the practice of earlier Muslim states introduced by the Abbasid caliphate. It indicated both a sign of loyalty and favour as well as an expression of a hierarchical relationship between the giver and the receiver.<sup>12</sup>

Robe of honour, sometimes mentioned under a more modest term *kisve* (Ott. garment, costume), was presented to converts to Islam as well. In this case, donning a new costume represented a visual symbol of the entrance into a new community of faithful.<sup>13</sup> According to Stephan Gerlach, the assistant and clergyman of the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire David Ungnad von Sonnegg, two grooms of the ambassador, named Georg and Benedict, converted to Islam at the Imperial Divan in 1576. During the ceremony, they raised their fingers, pronounced the shahada (the Islamic testimony of faith), threw their hats on the ground and put turbans on their heads. They were given Muslim names; Georg became Mustafa,

<sup>7</sup> [Antun Knežević], *Bosanski prijatelj*, Vol. 4 (Zagreb: Knjižara Svetozara Galca, 1870), 142; Vljako Palavestra, “Historijska narodna predanja i toponomastika u Fojnici i okolini,” *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu (Etnologija)* n.s. 27/28 (1974): 112. On Zvizdović see: Miro Vrgoč, “Fra Andeo Zvizdović (1420./?-1498.)” in *Dubovni stupovi Bosne Srebrene* (Sarajevo - Zagreb: Svjetlo riječi, 2007), 7-40.

<sup>8</sup> Matasović, “Fojnička regesta,” 91.

<sup>9</sup> Vesna Miović, *Dubrovačka diplomacija u Istambulu* (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2003), 71, 77.

<sup>10</sup> János B. Szabó and Péter Erdősi, “Ceremonies Marking the Transfer of Power in the Principality of Transylvania in East European Context,” *Majestas* 11 (2003): 111-160.

<sup>11</sup> Nikolaos Vryzidis, “Textiles and Ceremonial of the Greek Orthodox Church under the Ottomans: New Evidence on *Hil’ats*, *Kaftans*, *Covers*, and *Hangings*,” *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6, no. 1 (2019): 61.

<sup>12</sup> Phillips, “Ottoman *Hil’at*,” 129.

<sup>13</sup> Phillips, “Ottoman *Hil’at*,” 119-121; Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 190, 198-199; Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 127-128.

and Benedict became Mehmed. In addition, they were granted *kaftâns*, and kissed the sultan's hand. Afterwards, Mustafa sold his old cloths in the market for nine golden coins.<sup>14</sup> In the same year, according to the ambassador Ungnad, a Spanish captain named Don Francisco Torellas, who served the king of Spain for many years, received an audience with the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and expressed his wish to enter the service of the sultan. He converted to Islam at the Imperial Divan where he was "made a Turk and by the order of Mehmed Pasha he was named Mehmed Bey after himself." He received various gifts, including *kaftân*, i.e., "a golden dress like the ones given to the embassies on their departure."<sup>15</sup> As a high-level convert, he received a yearly income of 40,000 *akçes* per year from the sultan's *timar* (fief), as well.<sup>16</sup> In these cases, the bestowment of *kaftân* symbolized both the entrance into the sultan's service and the change of the identity.

What makes the Ottoman practice of donning robe of honour to non-Muslim diplomats, vassals, and other secular or religious dignitaries somewhat controversial are sharia-based sumptuary laws. A legal opinion (*fetvâ*) of the *şeyhülislâm* Ebû Su'ûd Efendi (in office 1545-1574), the highest Islamic official in the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Süleymân I and his son Selîm II (r. 1566-1574), confirmed the validity of classical Islamic rulings in an Ottoman context:

*Question:* Is a judge who prohibits the non-Muslim subjects (*zimmîs*) living among the People of Islam (*ehl-i İslâm*) building high and decorated houses, riding horses, and wearing clothes of high value (such as) *kaftâns* with collar, thin muslin, fur, and turbans, and thus, performing self-aggrandising deeds in a manner insulting to the People of Islam, going to be rewarded before God?

*Answer:* Yes, he is.<sup>17</sup>

Some of regulations that infringed on private life of non-Muslims, such as sartorial prescriptions, were aiming at establishing and preserving clear-cut boundaries between confessional communities, as well as a visible social hierarchy. In a wider sense, the aim was to establish the order in society as a whole by preserving differences in social status, following the principle that differences in rank should be visible in dress.<sup>18</sup> Even though types, quality and colours of prescribed non-

<sup>14</sup> Stephan Gerlach, *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, trans. Turkis Noyan, ed. Kemal Beydili, Vol. 1 (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), 348-349.

<sup>15</sup> Tobias P. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades. Christian-European Converts to Islam and the Making of the Ottoman Elite, 1575-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 81.

<sup>16</sup> Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades*, 82.

<sup>17</sup> Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tablilleri*, Vol. 4 (Istanbul: Fey Vakfı, 1992), 44.

<sup>18</sup> Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 29 (1997): 405-406, 419; Suraiya Faroqhi,

Muslim robes indicated inferior social status, as can be seen also in two sultanic orders (*fermâns*) from 976 AH / 1568 CE, which prohibit Christians and Jews dressing “high quality dress” (*âlâ libâs*), the main purpose was to ensure that “non-Muslims should not dress Muslim robes.”<sup>19</sup> Similarly, *fermân* sent to *kâdî* (judge) of Istanbul from 985 AH / 1577 CE affirms that non-Muslims “should not wear Muslim robes and wrap (turban) in a Muslim way.”<sup>20</sup> *Fetvâ* of the *şeyhülislâm* Esad Efendi (d. 1625; in office 1615-1622, 1623-1625) asserts a notion that distinction between confessional communities was the main concern of these prescriptions:

If the predominant dress of the zimmi of a particular region is green, and the zimmi women too wear a green garment called *fîstan*, is the legal authority permitted to forbid the aforementioned from wearing green clothes?

*Answer:* No. But they must be distinguishable from Muslims.<sup>21</sup>

The government’s concern for establishing clear confessional boundaries between non-Muslims is expressed in *fermân* of 988 AH / 1580 CE that prohibits Jews wearing Christian headgear.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, Muslims were prohibited to dress non-Muslim clothes, as well. According to the legal opinion of the *şeyhülislâm* Kemâlpaşazade (d. 1534; in office 1526-1534), dressing of infidel clothes by a new Muslim of Roma origin was a transgression of sharia that has to be corrected by renewal of faith and changing of clothes.<sup>23</sup> The Kemâlpaşazade’s student and later *şeyhülislâm* Ebû Sü’ûd Efendi ruled that a Muslim who puts Jewish hat on his head without a reason has to be punished for unbelief (*küfür*).<sup>24</sup> A century later, the

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“Introduction, or why and how one might want to study Ottoman clothes,” in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: EREN, 2004), 22-23, and passim; Mehmet İpşirli, “Kıyafet. Osmanlı Dönemi,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 25, (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002), 510-512; Aleksandar Fotić, “Između zakona i njegove primene,” in *Privatni život u srpskim zemljama u osvjet modernog doba*, ed. Aleksandar Fotić (Beograd: Clio, 2005), 67.

<sup>19</sup> Ahmet Refik, *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî’de İstanbul Hayatı (On Altıncı Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1553-1591))* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), 47-48.

<sup>20</sup> Refik, *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî’de İstanbul Hayatı*, 51.

<sup>21</sup> *Gayrimüslimlere Dair Fetvâlar. Osmanlı Şeyhülislâmlık Kurumu*, ed. Pehlul Düzenli (Istanbul: Klasik, 2015), 35; English translation from Cornell Fleischer and Amir A. Toft, “Fetvas on Non-Muslims,” in *The Ottoman World. A Cultural History Reader, 1450-1700*, ed. Hakan T. Karateke and Helga Anetshofer (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021), 138.

<sup>22</sup> Refik, *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrî’de İstanbul Hayatı*, 51-52. Cf. Yavuz Ercan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Gayrimüslimlerin Giyim, Mesken ve Davranış Hukuku,” *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 1, 1 (1990): 122.

<sup>23</sup> *Gayrimüslimlere Dair Fetvâlar*, 314.

<sup>24</sup> M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussüüd Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983), 118/530.

*seyhülislâm* Çatalcalı 'Alî Efendi (d. 1692; in office 1674-1686, 1692) prescribed that a Muslim who puts infidel's hat on for fun has to be punished by renewal of faith and marriage.<sup>25</sup> To sum up, it seems that main purpose of Ottoman sumptuary laws was not necessarily discrimination of non-Muslims, but establishment of firm confessional boundaries, and visible social order, even though placing non-Muslims at its bottom can be seen as discrimination. Somewhat paradoxically, as Suraiya Faroqhi noticed, forcing non-Muslims to wear clothes of lower quality actually reduced the difference in dress between them and poor Muslims.<sup>26</sup>

Members of non-Muslim elites, especially those employed in state service, dressed as members of the ruling class (*askerî*) and were exempted from non-Muslim sumptuary laws. While the sultanic order of 976 AH / 1568 CE insisted that Jews and Christians should not be dressed as Muslims, "*sipâhîs* (feudal cavalrymen, fief holders) and other groups,"<sup>27</sup> this ruling was obviously not binding for Christian *sipâhîs*, a relatively numerous group in the Western Balkans up to the sixteenth century. Christian *sipâhîs* and other Christian elites, such as *voyvodas* (headmen), *knezes*, and others, that collaborated with the Ottomans and entered state service, are sometimes portrayed in church paintings and frescos as donors of Christian Orthodox churches. Famous examples of such representations of Christian secular elites, connected to the Serbian Orthodox Church, i.e., the Patriarchate of Peć (İpek), are portrayals of the grand *knez* Vukić Vučetić in the Monastery of Assumption in Morača in Montenegro (1574), *sipâhî* Vojin and the goldsmith Jovan of Foča in the Monastery of Holy Trinity in Pljevlja in Montenegro (1592), *sipâhî* Miloslav Miloradović Hrabren in the Monastery of Annunciation in Žitomislić in Herzegovina (1609) (lost in the nineteenth century), and *župan* (headman) Georgi with his wife Zora and son Manojlo in the Monastery of Assumption in Krepičevac, eastern Serbia (the beginning of the sixteenth century). They were dressed in the style of Ottoman elites, donned with richly embroidered *kaftâns* of lively colours, fur and other precious materials otherwise prohibited to non-Muslims.<sup>28</sup> The privilege to wear dress of the ruling class was also extended to non-Muslim individuals closely connected to the sultan and the grand vizier, such

<sup>25</sup> Çatalcalı 'Alî Efendi, *Fetâvâ-i 'Alî Efendi* (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Âmire, 1272/1892-1893), 166-167/7.

<sup>26</sup> Faroqhi, "Introduction, or why and how," 41.

<sup>27</sup> Refik, *Onuncu Asr-i Hicrî'de İstanbul Hayatı*, 47.

<sup>28</sup> Zoran Rakić, "Svakodnevní život slikara 16. i 17. veka i svakodnevnica u njihovim delima," in *Privatni život u srpskim zemljama u osvit modernog doba*, ed. Aleksandar Fotić (Beograd: Clio, 2005), 411-413; Machiel Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period* (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1985), 91-93; for other examples of portrays of Bulgarian and Macedonian church donors see Kiel, *Art and Society*, 137-142.

as chief physicians, as well as non-Muslim religious dignitaries such as the Orthodox Christian Patriarchs, other highly ranked clergy, and rabbinical authorities.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to elites connected to state, some other non-Muslim groups were allowed to wear “Muslim dress” under special circumstances. Merchants were allowed to don Muslim cloths during travel in dangerous places for safety concerns, as asserted by the *şeyhülislâm* Çatalacalı ‘Alî Efendi.<sup>30</sup> This privilege was enjoyed by the Ragusan envoys and merchants, who were Ottoman vassals, and affirmed numerous times in sultanic orders and other documents. In the *fermân* of 1056 AH / 1646 CE, the Ragusans were allowed to wear Muslim dress such as turbans, *kalpaks* (Ottoman fur caps), *takiyes* (Ottoman skull-caps), *yeleks* (Ottoman waist-coats), and the like. In addition, they were allowed to carry arms, another perceived Muslim preserve.<sup>31</sup>

Another non-Muslim group that enjoyed the right to don Muslim dress on travel were the Bosnian Franciscans. In 1050 AH / 1640 CE, the vizier of Bosnia Şâhin Pasha (in office 1639–42), issued the order following the complaint of the Bosnian monks at the Bosnian court (*divân-i Bosna*), today preserved in the archive of the Franciscan Monastery of Holy Spirit in Fojnica.<sup>32</sup> According to the Franciscan claim and the earlier sultanic orders presented, since the time of the imperial conquest (1463), the monks enjoyed the right to collect alms “according to their void rite” (*âyin-i bâtilleri üzere*) and travel on the back of saddled and bridled horses donned with *dolama* jackets and *kalpaks* and similar items, and armed with swords. Their right was denied by some wrongdoers as improper. In order to prevent such unjust acts against the Franciscans, the pasha issued a letter which confirmed their privileges and warned transgressors not to interfere. The Franciscan privileges of wearing Muslim dress and carrying arms were confirmed again in 1085 AH / 1675 CE by *fermân* of Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687).<sup>33</sup> The sultan affirmed that it is the right of Franciscans to carry swords and don Muslim dress (*müslümân libâsı*) based on Islamic law (*şer‘-i şerîf*), state law (*kânûn*), and sultanic order (*emr-i şerîf*), and confirmed by legally competent witnesses (*şuhûd-i ‘udûl*), and as such it should not be infringed by anyone. In addition, *fetvâ* preserved in the archive of the same monastery, confirmed the Franciscan privileges, and provided them with the authority of sharia:

<sup>29</sup> Madeline C. Zilfi, “Women, Minorities and the Changing Politics of Dress in the Ottoman Empire, 1650-1830,” in *The Right to Dress. Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, c. 1200-1800*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Ulrika Rublack (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2019), 399.

<sup>30</sup> Çatalacalı ‘Alî Efendi, *Fetâvâ-i ‘Alî Efendi* (Istanbul: Matba‘a-i Âmire, 1272/1892-1893), 161.

<sup>31</sup> Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul. Dûvel-i Ecnebiye, Vol. 14, f. 138. See also fols. 194, 224, 307.

<sup>32</sup> AF. Acta turcica, VII, 301.

<sup>33</sup> AF. Acta turcica, VI, 274.

(*Question*) Is it permitted by Islamic law to the infidel community to dress *yelek* (Ottoman waistcoats) and *takiya* (Ottoman skullcap) and carry arms on the road at frightful places?

(*Answer*) It is not forbidden.<sup>34</sup>

It seems that some local Muslims understood that general sharia based sumptuary laws and *zimmi* regulations were transgressed by the Franciscans by donning Muslim dress and carrying arms, and therefore they tried to prevent them from doing so. The provincial and central authorities, however, recognized the Franciscan privileges that were based primarily on special arrangements, imperial edicts, and *kânûn*, and fortified by the authority of an Islamic law scholar in *fetvâ*.

Donning luxurious cloths and carrying expensive arms by the monks, however, was disapproved by the Franciscan authorities as well. According to the Franciscan chronicler Jako Baltić, in 1769, the Franciscan assembly (*definitorium*) held in the Monastery of Kreševo, issued a decree that secular dress of the monks in Bosnia, which was permitted by the Holy See, has to be “simple, humble, and of low price, without any pride and luxury of the seculars.”<sup>35</sup> Ten years later, in 1779, in the assembly in the Monastery of Sutjeska, the monks were urged to dress adequate to their status, while carrying long and curved knives peculiar to the Jannisaries was strictly forbidden.<sup>36</sup> According to the official protocol, the assembly

warns against unacceptable expense of some friars, especially those who live in parishes and carry arms outside of the courtyard. In addition, the venerable assembly warns against glamorous luxury of arms of rich brilliance and decorations carried by the friars. ... The belts for carrying pistols, called *silaije* among people, are embroidered with gold, although seemingly artificial, because these arms are not carried for defence of one’s own life, but more for the sake of pure boasting and showing of frivolous wastefulness. Therefore, for the sake of decency and solving of this dangerous expanse in general, under the threat of removal from all duties and monastic honours, the venerable assembly orders with this letter all present fathers and friars to wear these arms as long as there is need for it, but without same decorations and shiny colours. Likewise, the venerable assembly, under the threat of same punishments, forbids all fathers and friars carrying knives called *jatagani* (*yatagans*), because in that manner the janissaries are bringing death. In addition, the venerable assembly forbids shooting from pistols and rifles, as some fathers

<sup>34</sup> AF. Acta turcica, IX B, 1744.

<sup>35</sup> Jako Baltić, *Godišnjak od događaja crkvenih, svjetskih i promine vremena u Bosni* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991), 35.

<sup>36</sup> Baltić, *Godišnjak*, 54.

and friars used to do, until the moment of approaching a village, or, if they were to stay overnight, to indicate their coming.<sup>37</sup>

Here, the luxuriousness of belts and arms irreconcilable with the monastic call seem to be the target of the ban.

Sumptuary laws in Bosnia in the same period, however, were confirmed in two documents prescribing appropriate dress for non-Muslim subjects of Sarajevo. The museum of the old Serbian Orthodox Church in Sarajevo preserved a church announcement from the year of 1777, which warned the Orthodox Christians of Sarajevo not to transgress Ottoman sumptuary prescriptions following the request of the authorities.<sup>38</sup> Women were urged to cover and not to dress showily; if they did, then they were urged to stay at home. Christians were warned not to embellish their female children with golden coins. They were especially warned not to dress Turkish or *başa's* (local Jannisary) garments, because the lords cannot look at that. In a similar manner, *fermân* of 1794 warned Christians and Jews of Sarajevo to dress clothes and colours prescribed to their communities, or they will face imprisonment.<sup>39</sup> Christians were prescribed to wear blue, black and dark blue broadcloth, while Jews were obliged to wear blue boots and slippers, as well as other cloths like Christians. The main concern of the sultan was the fact that Muslims were not distinguishable by dress from non-Muslim *re'âyâ* any more.

According to the documents issued to the Franciscans that asserted their exemption from sumptuary laws, it seems that they were not regarded as commoners despite being non-Muslims. In general, to surprise of some contemporaries, Ottoman sumptuary laws did not arrange distinction between individuals solely on the basis of religion, but according to their rank in society. Muslim and non-Muslim commoners, *re'âyâ*, were not allowed to dress as *sipâhîs*, while *sipâhîs* were not allowed to dress as religious dignitaries, and so on. Lütfi Pasha (d. 1562), former grand vizier, in his political tractate called *Âsâfnâme*, in the chapter concerning the status of *re'âyâ* quotes a ruling that *re'âyâ* is prohibited from wearing clothes of high quality such as those of *sipâhîs*.<sup>40</sup> In this case, the aim was to establish a strict demarcation between the ruling class, *âskerîs*, and the subject class, *re'âyâ*. An elaborated system of dress and headgear served for precisely establishing the social rank of an individual. In this sartorial system, each professional, social, confessional, and

<sup>37</sup> Archive of the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena, *Protocollum I*, fols. 370-371, according to Mario Šain, "Turska pravda' - osmansko pravo u izvoriga Franjevačke provincije Bosne Srebrene u 18. st.," MA thesis (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, 2017), 86.

<sup>38</sup> Vladimir Skarić, "Jedna naredba o rajinom odijelu iz doba otomanske vladavine," *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 14 (1902): 557.

<sup>39</sup> Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović Muvekkit, *Povijest Bosne*, trans. Abdulah Polimac, Lamija Hadžiosmanović, Fehim Nametak, and Salih Trako, Vol. 2 (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1999), 722-723.

<sup>40</sup> Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, Vol. 4, 275, 290.



ethnic group had its own code.<sup>41</sup> In the later period, in the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the divide line between *‘askerî* and *re‘âyâ* was further strengthened by harsh measures for the offenders of sumptuary decrees.<sup>42</sup>

After receiving official recognition via sultanic decrees and being donned robe of honour, such non-Muslim individuals were regarded as state servants, and, as a consequence, were exempted from discriminating sharia-based regulations.<sup>43</sup> According to the Franciscan chronicles, the ceremony of donning the Franciscans with robe of honour was re-enacted three centuries after the conquest of Bosnia. In 1758, the heads (*guardians*) of the Franciscan monasteries of Fojnica, Kreševo, and Sutjeska, according to the chronicler Bonaventura Beniç, visited the governor of Bosnia, Mehmed Pasha Kukavica (*Kukavičić*, Kovaca el-Hac Mehmed Pasha, the governor of Bosnia 1752-1756, 1757-1760)<sup>44</sup> in Travnik in order to submit *cülûs*, a tax that was paid to newly appointed governors, or given every year. Upon the payment of the tax, they were cloaked with robe of honour called *biniş* (*binjiş*). According to the chronicler Beniç, who was himself an eyewitness as the deputy of the guardian of the Monastery of Sutjeska, *kethüdâ* told us:

“the pasha wants to cloak you with *binişes*.” We pleaded that we are not for that – “we are poor.” *Kethüdâ* sent *selam aga* to the pasha to report our sayings. The pasha told him: “Tell these cowards (*şaskin*) not to be afraid. I am not asking anything in return, nor does any of my people; I want to give to them so that everybody knows that the great Turks love them.” He gave each of us one *biniş* to dress. The ceremony to be conducted while dressing is as follows: the pasha’s skirt has to be kissed, then *biniş*, and after that it has to be dressed. There are the masters of the ceremony who teach and dress; these are, brother, hard accounts. After dressing up, we were sent to *kethüdâ* for a coffee; one year ... we drank it in front of the pasha; it was hard to drink, and one gets sweaty.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Cf. İpşirli, “Kıyafet,” 510-512; Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı’nın Sosyo-Kültürel ve İktisâdî Yapısı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2018), 187-188; Faroqhi, “Introduction, or why and how,” 23.

<sup>42</sup> Zilfie, “Women, Minorities and the Changing Politics of Dress,” 398-399.

<sup>43</sup> Vjeran Kursar, “Some Remarks on the Organization of Ottoman Society in the Early Modern Period: The Question of ‘Legal Dualism’ and Societal Structures,” in *Perspectives on Ottoman Studies. Papers from the 18th Symposium of the International Committee of Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Studies (CIEPO) at the University of Zagreb 2008*, ed. Ekrem Čaušević, Nenad Moačanin and Vjeran Kursar (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2010), 846-847.

<sup>44</sup> On Mehmed Pasha Kukavica see: Alija Bejtić, “Bosanski namjesnik Mehmed paša Kukavica i njegove zadužbine u Bosni (1752-1756 i 1757-1760),” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 6-7 (1956-1957): 77-114; Michael Robert Hickok, *Ottoman Military Administration in Eighteenth-Century Bosnia* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: Brill, 1997), 119-136.

<sup>45</sup> Bono Beniç, *Ljetopis sutjeskoga samostana*, ed. with Latin and Italian sections trans. Ignacije Gavran, (Sarajevo and Zagreb: Synopsis, 2003), 202.

Unaccustomed to favourable treatment and generous reception, the Franciscans were astonished by the ceremony. Beniç wrote that “this was the first pasha who showed such an honour to us friars, which was never heard before.”<sup>46</sup> Upon seeing the Franciscans dressed in robe of honour in the streets of Travnik, local, obviously Muslim, shop keepers were surprised as well, some of them in a negative way. A year later, however, the guardians were honoured with *binışes* again by the pasha.<sup>47</sup> In 1780, another governor of Bosnia, Defterdâr ‘Abdullah Pasha (*Paša Tefterdarović-Sarajlija*, 1780-85), during the reception and following the payment of the *cülûs* tax, presented the *guardians* of the three monasteries with *binışes* yet again, and granted them a favourable edict.<sup>48</sup> *Binışes* were granted to the Franciscan heads by new pashas in 1785 and 1786, as well.<sup>49</sup> The ceremony of donning *binışes* to the heads of Franciscan monasteries continued until 1847, while the last Bosnian governor who performed the ceremony was Mehmed Tahir Pasha.<sup>50</sup> In a letter to the vizier of Bosnia in 1843, for example, the Bosnian bishop Rafo Barišić, who was in conflict with the Bosnian Franciscans, wrote that because of his faithfulness to the authorities, he was cloaked with *binış* by earlier vizier, “which was a favor that was shown to no other bishop from Bosnia.”<sup>51</sup>

Although the value of robe of honour presented to the Franciscans according to Beniç was estimated to amount to 50 *groš* / *kuruş*,<sup>52</sup> which was a significant sum, it is not possible to exactly compare the second half of the eighteenth century *binış* with *hil’at* / *kaftân* given to Anđeo Zvizdović by the sultan Mehmed II three centuries earlier. The fact that the number of *hil’ats* has been inflating since the middle of the sixteenth century,<sup>53</sup> however, might indicate the lower quality of *binışes* of the eighteenth century, as well as lesser exceptionality and, therefore, significance, of the ceremony itself. While *hil’at* as a generic term denotes any type of robe of honour, a more specific *binış* was usually bestowed on medium-to-higher ranked officials and members of ‘*ulemâ*’, and was made of wool (winter versions) or linen (summer version),<sup>54</sup> which might also indicate its inferiority to the silk-made and gold-embroidered item presented to Zvizdović. Finally, the person of the donor (sultan vs. governor) must have determined the significance of the gift itself. In 1783, the Franciscan

<sup>46</sup> Beniç, *Ljetopis*, 202.

<sup>47</sup> Beniç, *Ljetopis*, 203.

<sup>48</sup> Beniç, *Ljetopis*, 318; Marijan Bogdanović, *Ljetopis kreševskog samostana*, trans. Ignacije Gavran, (Sarajevo, Zagreb: Synopsis, 2003), 207.

<sup>49</sup> Bogdanović, *Ljetopis*, 211-212.

<sup>50</sup> Bejtić, “Mehmed paša Kukavica,” 85.

<sup>51</sup> Matasović, “Fojnička regesta,” 269.

<sup>52</sup> Beniç, *Ljetopis*, 202.

<sup>53</sup> Phillips, “Ottoman *Hil’at*,” 117.

<sup>54</sup> On *binış* see: Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1971), 235; Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969), 39.

envoy to Istanbul, Josip Tomić from Kreševo, managed to obtain a very favourable *fermân* from the sultan. During the reception at the court, he was donned *kaftân* (*cavtan*), and had to pay 3 *kuruş* as *bahşış* (“tip”) to the person who performed the donning, as asserted in his account of the expenses of the *fermân*.<sup>55</sup>

Few items belonging to the category of Ottoman robe of honour is preserved in the region today. According to Jelena Ivoš, the author of the text about textile in the catalogue of the exhibition “Franciscans on the Crossroad of Cultures and Civilizations” held in Zagreb, in 1988-1989, only three textile items in the Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be identified as Ottoman in origin.<sup>56</sup> The most famous is the legendary *kaftân* of Anđeo Zvizdović, today reshaped into a cloak, made of dark blue-green atlas silk with motives of flowers and stars embroidered in gold, in dimensions 117 x 140 cm.<sup>57</sup> Despite scepticism of some historians, the radiocarbon (Carbon 14) dating of its textile conducted in Institute “Ruđer Bošković” in 2013 established that the cloak is younger than the alleged time of the encounter of the sultan Mehmed II and Fr. Anđeo Zvizdović, given the calibrated age span is 1492-1641, with probability 95.4 %. However, partial overlapping of the individual measurements of *’ahdnâme* and the cloak, i.e., the lower part of *’ahdnâme* and the outer layer of the cloak, could suggest the cloak belong to the time of the conquest of Bosnia.<sup>58</sup> The lining material of the cloak, however, belongs to the younger age span (1652-1805, with probability 74.7%), which, interestingly enough, agrees with the calibrated age span of the upper, attached part of the paper of *’ahdnâme*, and suggest that the renovation of the two was perhaps conducted at the same time.<sup>59</sup>

The story of the ceremonial robe in its written form appeared for the first time in the chronicle of the Slavonian Franciscan Ivan Stražemanac (Ioannes a Straxemano, d. 1758) in the eighteenth century. In the list of the Franciscans famous for their holiness and wonders, Stražemanac included the Blessed Anđeo, who converted many schismatics and died in Fojnica in 1498:

After the monastery was turned to ashes by the Turks, and only the empty walls remained, the body of Father Anđeo was found. When a Turk saw him so beautiful, preserved, and flexible, he immediately undressed his own robe and covered the body of the Blessed. Later the

<sup>55</sup> Julijan Jelenić, *Izvori za kulturnu povijest bosanskih franjevaca* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1913), 56; Vjeran Kursar, “Bosanski franjevci i njihovi predstavnici na osmanskoj Porti,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 60 (2011): 381-383.

<sup>56</sup> *Katalog izložbe Franjevci Bosne i Hercegovine na vaskršću kultura i civilizacija. Blago franjevačkih samostana Bosne i Hercegovine* (Zagreb: MGC, 1988), 159, 161.

<sup>57</sup> *Katalog izložbe Franjevci*, 161, 230, No. 331.

<sup>58</sup> Horvatinčić, Sironić, Barešić and Kozjak, “Radiocarbon dating of Ahdname,” 1366-1368.

<sup>59</sup> Horvatinčić, Sironić, Barešić and Kozjak, “Radiocarbon dating of Ahdname,” 1367-1368.

brothers made a pretty ceremonial cloak from the robe, which is until today kept in that sacristy.<sup>60</sup>

Although this fantastic story does not fit a narrative of Ottoman practice of bestowing *kaftân* along with granting privileges in the form of imperial edict, it contains several elements which might correlate with the known historical data. The cloak preserved today in the museum of the Monastery of Fojnica is not in the shape of *kaftân*, but is remodelled into a cloak, as Boškov suggested,<sup>61</sup> which corresponds to the Stražemanac's information that the robe of a Turk was used by the friars to make a ceremonial cloak. In addition, if a later dating of the cloak is right, and it does not belong to 1463 or 1464 when the conquest was conducted and the alleged encounter between the sultan and the monk took place, this would correspond with the information from the Stražemanac's chronicle that a Turk used his robe to cover the newly discovered body of Zvizdović following one of the fires of the monastery in the early sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup>

According to the catalogue of the exhibition, another two remaining examples of robe of honour are liturgical vestments from the eighteenth century preserved in the museum of the Monastery in Sutjeska, namely a dalmatic made of red-pink atlas silk embroidered in gold and silver with floral motive, in dimensions 106 x 122 cm, and a chasuble made of ivory-coloured atlas silk embroidered in gold with floral motives, in dimensions 113 x 76 cm.<sup>63</sup> One more chasuble of Ottoman origin from the eighteenth century is preserved in the museum of the Monastery of Sutjeska as well, according to information and a photograph provided to the author by late Fr. Stjepan Duvnjak, the head of the museum.<sup>64</sup> It is made of light green material embroidered in gold with floral motives, in dimensions 105 x 69 cm.

It is possible that more items remained unrecognized in other church textile collections, since, as claimed by Ivoš,

in defining the stylistic features of the textiles in Bosnia and Herzegovina, experts are faced with the problem of identifying those fabrics of European origin and those of Turkish provenance. This area

<sup>60</sup> Ivan Stražemanac, *Povijest Franjevačke provincije Bosne Srebrene 1730*, trans. Stjepan Sršan (Osijek: Pax et bonum, 2010), 55.

<sup>61</sup> Boškov, "Pitanje autentičnosti Fojničke ahd-name," 92.

<sup>62</sup> See Mijo V. Batinić, *Franjevački samostan u Fojnici: od stoljeća XIV.-XX.* (Zagreb, 1913), 130-131; Vrgoč, "Fra Anđeo Zvizdović," 21-22.

<sup>63</sup> *Katalog izložbe Franjevci*, 161, 231, nos. 343 and 344.

<sup>64</sup> Email correspondence with Fr. Stjepan Duvnjak, April 2021. The museum catalogue of textile done by Jelena Ivoš, item no. 61. I am grateful to Fr. Stjepan for this information, as well as for help he provided me two times I visited the monastery's archive and library. He will be remembered as a great and knowledgeable archivist, librarian, scholar, and, above all, a very kind and helpful person.

was abundant in luxurious Oriental fabrics, with the result that ecclesiastical raiment was often made of Turkish, and even Persian, silks.<sup>65</sup>

The problem of identification is further complicated by the fact that many of the fifteenth-to-seventeenth century velvet ceremonial *kaftâns* preserved in the museum of Topkapı Palace, the great Ottoman Seraglio, were imported from Italy, while the design of domestic Ottoman *kaftâns* in general is very similar to the Italian, if not its imitation.<sup>66</sup> One such item of ambiguous identity from the fifteenth century is the so-called cape of Stjepan Tomašević (1461-1463), the last Bosnian king, preserved as the chasuble in the Franciscan Monastery of Zaoštrog in Dalmatia, which was until the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699 part of the Ottoman Empire, and until 1735 inside the borders of the Franciscan Province of Bosnia (Bosna Srebrena). The chasuble is made of "rare silk atlas embroidered with gold with the large stylized carnations characteristic of oriental, especially Turkish, textiles."<sup>67</sup> Recently Ivana Svedružić Šeparović confirmed Ottoman *kaftân* origin of the chasuble. She linked it not with the last Bosnian king, but his step-mother queen Katarina (d. 1478), the wife of his father king Stjepan Tomaš (1443-1461), herself a refugee in the time of the Ottoman conquest.<sup>68</sup> The alleged portray of King Stjepan Tomaš in the painting entitled "Christ and Donor" done by the Ragusan painter Lovro Dobričević around 1460, today preserved in the Strossmayer's Gallery of Old Masters of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, provides an opportunity to see what the robe of the Bosnian king in the mid-fifteenth century might have looked like.<sup>69</sup>

The practice of converting Ottoman robe of honour as a highly appreciated luxurious objects into ecclesiastical textiles and chasubles was widely spread in both Roman Catholic and Christian Orthodox churches. Ragusan diplomats who received *kaftâns* (*veste turcicae dictae kaftani*) during reception at the Ottoman court were obliged to deposit the gifts to the chamberlain of the Republic in Dubrovnik. In this manner over 150 *kaftâns* were obtained. *Kaftâns* were later donated to the

<sup>65</sup> *Katalog izložbe Franjevci*, 161.

<sup>66</sup> Louise W. Mackie, "Ottoman *Kaftans* with an Italian Identity," in *Ottoman Costumes. From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 219-229; Tülay Artan, "Objects of Consumption: Mediterranean Interconnections of the Ottomans and Mamluks," in *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture. Volume II. From the Mongols to Modernism*, ed. Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülrü Necipoğlu (Hoboken: Wiley & Sons, 2017), 908.

<sup>67</sup> *Katalog izložbe*, 161.

<sup>68</sup> Ivana Svedružić Šeparović, "Komplet liturgijskog ruha iz franjevačkog samostana u Zaoštrogu," in *VI. Zbornik Dana Cvita Fiskovića* (Zagreb: FF Press, 2016), 116-126.

<sup>69</sup> Ljerka Dulibić, "Lovro Dobričević (Kotor, oko 1420. – Dubrovnik, 1478), Krist i donator, 1460. (?)," in *Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora – odabrana djela*, ed. Ljerka Dulibić, Iva Pasini Tržec, Borivoj Popovčak (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2013), 56-61; Ivana Prijatelj Pavičić, "Prilog poznavanju sudbine slike uskrslog Krista i kralja Stjepana Tomaša porijeklom iz Kraljeve Sutjeske," in *Stoljeća Kraljeve Sutjeske*, ed. Marko Karamatić (Kraljeva Sutjeska – Sarajevo: Franjevački samostan Kraljeva Sutjeska – Kulturno-povijesni institut Bosne Srebrene, 2010), 105-139.

churches in the territory of the Republic of Dubrovnik, where they were reshaped into chasubles, or, more rarely, into other liturgical textiles.<sup>70</sup> Since 1530, all ceremonial dresses bestowed to the Venetian diplomats in Istanbul were handed over to the treasury of San Marco, likewise.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, Orthodox churches in Wallachia and Moldavia, the Ottoman vassal states whose rulers were receiving *kaftâns* from the sultan on regular basis, profited from these popular luxurious gifts, which were turned into liturgical textiles in return.<sup>72</sup> The Greek Orthodox Church, i.e., the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, applied this practice as well. During the legendary ceremony of appointing the first patriarch in the conquered town in 1454, which resembles a decade later Bosnian encounter with Fr. Andeo Zvizdović, Sultan Mehmed II presented the new patriarch Gennadios Scholarios with *berât* as the document of the appointment, as well as, among other insignia objects, a ceremonial *kaftân*.<sup>73</sup> The Church was ready to accept the extravagant gift. In time it appropriated Ottoman textile culture without reservation, and used and reused Ottoman robes of honour for liturgical and decorative purposes, whether as dress or covers and hangings.<sup>74</sup> In general, it seems that Ottoman fashion and aesthetics was appealing to the Christian taste and was eventually appropriated by the Christian Churches, notwithstanding all differences and rivalries.

*Hil'ats* were granted by state authorities as a sign of recognition to the servants, officers, and diplomats of different ranks on various occasions, sometimes *en masse*. The examples from the mid-seventh century provided by the famous Ottoman traveller Evliyâ Çelebî (d. after 1683) are both overwhelming and insightful. Concerning the region under discussion, Evliyâ provides several illustrative examples. In 1660, the warden of the tower (*kule*) in Prolog near Livno (İhlevne) by the name of Baba Ahmed was granted *hil'at* for his exceptional military service by the governor of Bosnia Melek Ahmed Pasha.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, military commanders that managed to break the enemy siege of the fortified town of Knin in 1654, were given *fabrî hil'ats* by the governor Fazlî Pasha (Fadil Ahmed Pasha).<sup>76</sup> The commanders of the Bosnian *sancaks* during consultation in Kupres (Köprez) received *hil'ats* from

<sup>70</sup> Verena Han, "Turski počasni kaftan u službi hrišćanske liturgije na Balkanu (XVI-XVII vek)," in *Gradska kultura na Balkanu (XV-XIX vek)*, ed. Verena Han (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1984), 279-281.

<sup>71</sup> Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Audiences, Banquets, Garments and Kisses. Encounters with the Ottoman Sultan in the 17th Century," in *The Ceremonial of Audience. Transcultural Approaches*, ed. Eva Orthmann and Anna Kollatz (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2019), 189.

<sup>72</sup> Han, "Turski počasni kaftan," 285.

<sup>73</sup> Vryzidis, "Textiles and Ceremonial," 61.

<sup>74</sup> Vryzidis, "Textiles and Ceremonial," 61-80.

<sup>75</sup> Evliya Çelebi, b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 307 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu – Dizini*, edited by Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, İbrahim Sezgin, Vol. 5 (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), 240.

<sup>76</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 5, 243.

Melek Ahmed Pasha, as did Yûsuf Kethüdâ upon his promotion to the commander over 10,000 soldiers in Vrpoljica.<sup>77</sup> Following the great victory over the enemy, the pasha granted no less than 170 gilded *hil'ats* to commanders of various ranks and servants.<sup>78</sup> Evliyâ Çelebî himself was granted *hil'at* along with 300 golden coins by the sultan in Istanbul, as a recognition for his services in the enemy territory in Croatia, where he managed to negotiate the release of the captain of Bihać (Bihke) from the captivity in Čakovec, and to collect valuable information concerning the forthcoming war in Erdel with Rákóczy.<sup>79</sup>

The Muslim chronicler of Sarajevo, Mollâ Mustafâ Başeski (Başeskija; d. 1809) provides a local information on the donning of robe of honour on several occasions in the second half of the eighteenth century. Upon his arrival in Travnik as the new governor of Bosnia in 1775, Ayvazzade Hâcî Halîl Pasha "granted a lot of *hil'ats*."<sup>80</sup> In 1777, the governor Dagestanlı 'Alî Pasha presented *binişes* to *agas* in Sarajevo. He did not, however, accept the petition of thirty-four *'alemdârs* who asked for *hil'ats* for themselves.<sup>81</sup> In 1778, Silâhdâr Mehmed Pasha, as the new governor of Bosnia, granted a lot of *hil'ats* to *agas* and *'alemdârs* in Sarajevo.<sup>82</sup> A year later, the new governor, Nişâncı Pasha, gave 120 *hil'ats* to the elites gathered in Travnik, which included various dignitaries such as *agas*, *'alemdârs*, *kâdîs*, and *çavuşes*. In addition to *hil'at*, Başeski mentioned other types of robe of honour as well: *kaput*, *kontoş* and *biniş*, including the *binişes* made of Frankish broadcloth.<sup>83</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Bestowing robe of honour on the Franciscan leaders indicate that they were, at least occasionally, officially treated and recognized as state servants. The type of robe of honour ascribed to the Franciscans in the second half of the eighteenth century, *biniş*, allows us to approximately determine the rank they might have had in the Ottoman hierarchy, next to dignitaries such as *agas*, *'alemdârs*, and perhaps *kâdîs* and *çavuşes*. Symbolism of power displayed by the medium of robe of honour was not an empty gesture. In addition to robe of honour, which was preserved for the heads of the monasteries, ordinary friars were exempted from sumptuary laws, unlike ordinary subjects (*re'âyâ*). The above-mentioned examples indicate that the status of the Bosnian Franciscans, especially those in top positions in the order, differed from the status of commoners, and, along with various exemptions from

<sup>77</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 5, 248, 251.

<sup>78</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 5, 258.

<sup>79</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 5, 287.

<sup>80</sup> *XVIII. Yüzyıl Günlük Hayatına Dair Saraybosnalı Molla Mustafa'nın Mecmuası*, ed. Kerima Filan (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2011), 119.

<sup>81</sup> *XVIII. Yüzyıl Günlük*, 132.

<sup>82</sup> *XVIII. Yüzyıl Günlük*, 137.

<sup>83</sup> *XVIII. Yüzyıl Günlük*, 144. For *kaput* and *kontoş* see Koçu, *Türk Giyim*, 146, 158.

sumptuary laws and sartorial privileges, symbolized an existence of a special arrangement with the state, if not direct enrolment in state service or membership in the ruling class.

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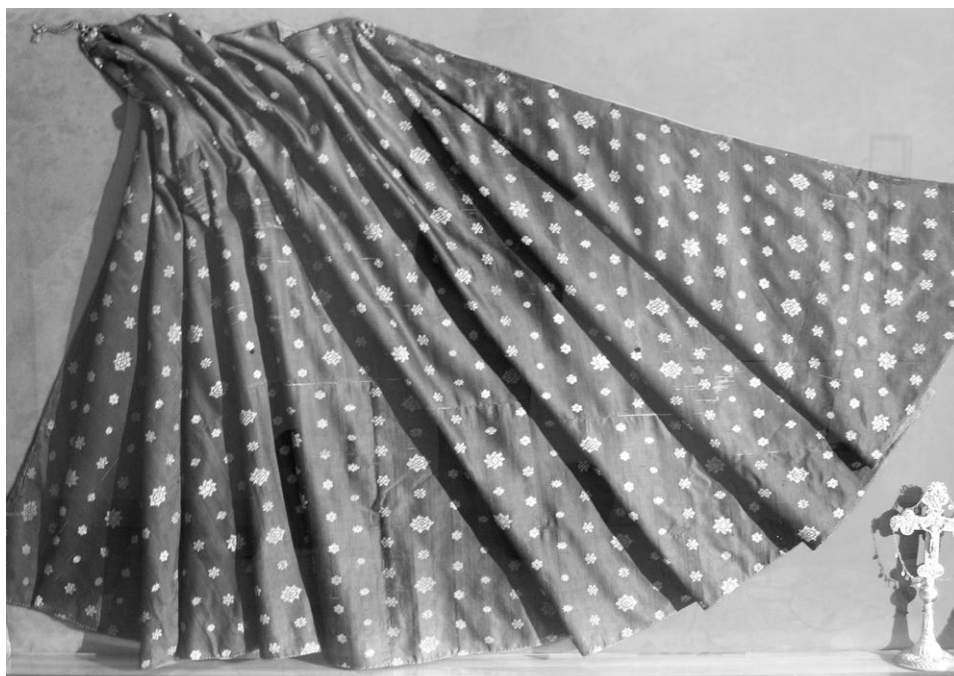


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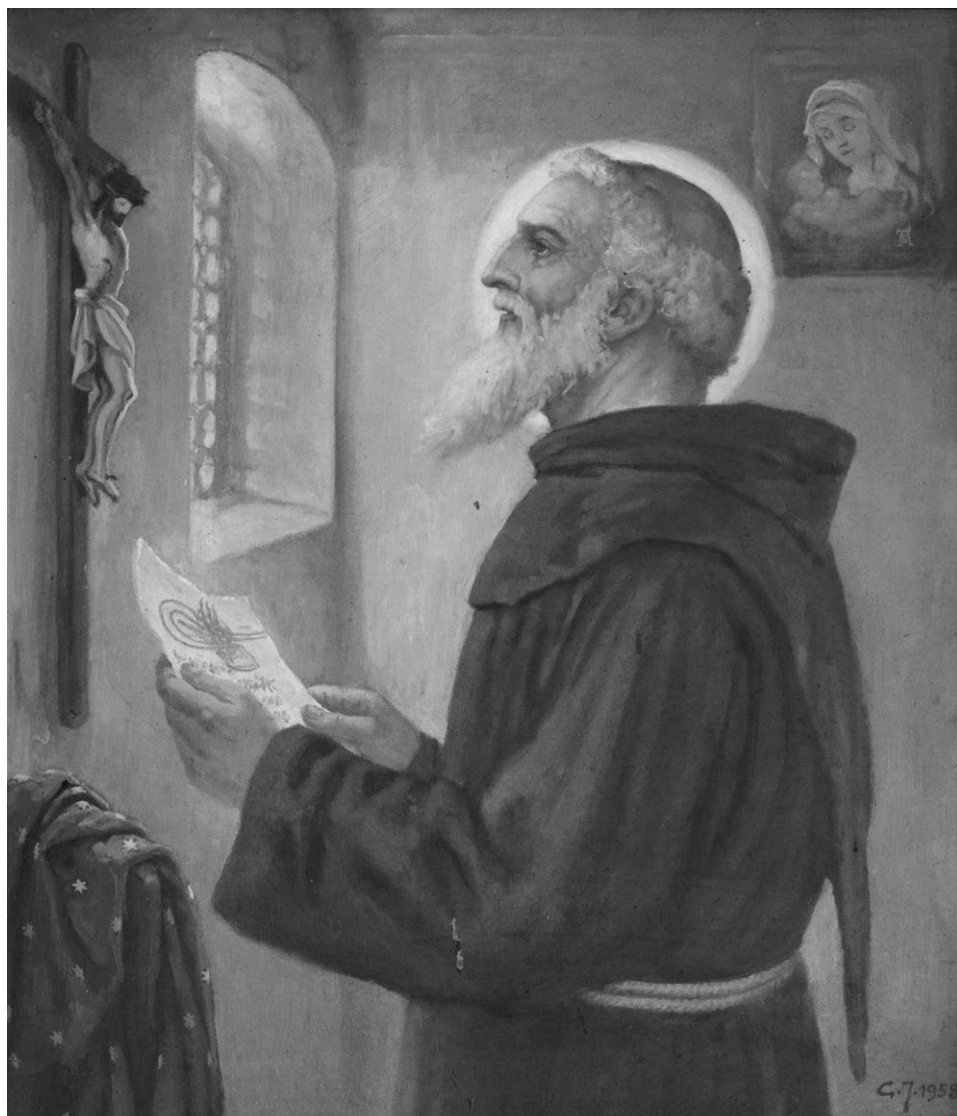
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**APPENDICES****APPENDIX 1**

*Kaftân-cloak given to the head of Bosnian Franciscans Fr. Anđeo Zvizdović by  
Sultan Mehmed II after the conquest of Bosnia (1463)  
Museum of the Franciscan Monastery of Holy Spirit, Fojnica, Bosnia and Herzegovina  
Photo by Vjeran Kursar (2009)*

APPENDIX 2



*Gabrijel Jurkić: Fr. Andeo Zvizdović with abndname and kaftan (1958)  
Franciscan Monastery of Holy Spirit, Fojnica, Bosnia and Herzegovina  
Photo by Vjeran Kursar (2014)*

## APPENDIX 3



*Ottoman official Alay Çavuşu wearing biniş (binjiş), a ceremonial cloak given to the representatives of the Bosnian Franciscans on several occasions in the 18th century*

*Source: Reşat Ekrem Koçu, Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü (Ankara: Sümerbank Kültür Yayınları, 1969), 39.*

# HASAN ESİRÎ'S Mİ'YÂRÜ'D-DÜVEL VE MISBÂRÜ'L-MİLEL AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF CROATIA AND BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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## ABSTRACT

Ottoman soldier, official and writer Hasan Esîrî (1653/1654 – after 1731) in his work, written around 1731 and entitled *Mi'yârü'd-Düvel ve Misbârü'l-Milel* ("The Criterion of States and the Judgement of Nations"), described, among other things, the political, social and economic characteristics of Croatia, Slavonia, Syrmia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Republic of Ragusa at the beginning of the 18th century, i.e. the present-day territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Esîrî's description of the region was probably influenced by the fact that he traversed the Pannonian plain in the 1680s and 1690s during the Great Turkish War (1683-1699), and that he consulted Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Maior*, as well as presumably various Latin and Hungarian books on history and geography of the mentioned area. Esîrî's work was hitherto unknown to history researchers. Hence, this article represents an analysis of Esîrî's numerous insights about the aforementioned lands.

## INTRODUCTION

Almost all information about Ottoman soldier, official and writer Hasan Esîrî derives from his work entitled *Mi'yârü'd-Düvel ve Misbârü'l-Milel* ("The Criterion of States and the Judgement of Nations"). According to the data in this work, Esîrî was born in 1653 or 1654 and died sometime after 1731, the year when his mentioned work was finished.<sup>1</sup> In it Esîrî described, among other things, the political, social and economic characteristics of Croatia, Slavonia, Syrmia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Republic of Ragusa at the beginning of the 18th century, i.e. the present-day territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Esîrî's description of the region was probably influenced by the fact that he traversed the Pannonian plain in the 1680s and 1690s during the Great Turkish War (1683-1699) and that he consulted Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Maior*, as well as presumably various Latin and

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<sup>1</sup> Göker İnan, "Hasan Esîrî'nin Mi'yârü'd-Düvel ve Misbârü'l-Milel İsimli Tarih ve Coğrafya Eseri (İnceleme-Transkripsiyon)" (PhD diss., Marmara University, Istanbul, 2017), 2, 20. The authors would like to thank colleague Göker İnan for allowing us to use his unpublished PhD dissertation.



Hungarian books on history and geography of the mentioned area. Esîrî's work was hitherto unknown to history researchers. Therefore, the Turkish historian Göker İnan's transcription of Esîrî's work, which was defended as a doctoral dissertation in 2017, offers a chance for Esîrî's work to be presented to the scientific public. After the author's short biography follows a general description of his work's contents and a more detailed description and analysis of the information in the chapters about the aforementioned lands.

## ESÎRÎ'S LIFE AND WORK

As described by Esîrî in his work, he joined the Ottoman army in his early twenties and participated in the Russo-Turkish War (1676-1681) and the 1683 Vienna campaign. During the subsequent Great Turkish War (or the War of the Holy League, 1683-1699) Esîrî was captured by the Habsburg forces, most likely during the Second Battle of Mohács (1687), and lived in captivity in Habsburg lands for more than two years, until 1689, as a slave of one Habsburg general ("General İştanodon").<sup>2</sup> In 1689, he managed to pay his ransom and be set free. Afterwards he rejoined the Ottoman army. In 1699, Esîrî was transferred to eastern Ottoman provinces and never returned to the territory of present-day Croatia and Hungary.<sup>3</sup>

Esîrî probably passed through eastern Slavonia along the Danube, on his way together with Ottoman forces engaged in the 1683 Vienna campaign, as well as during his captivity with his Habsburg master. After his liberation, he participated in various Habsburg-Ottoman conflicts in what is today Hungary, and possibly in Slavonia too, since the mentioned conflicts transpired in the 1680s and 1690s throughout the Pannonian plain, as the Ottoman forces were losing ground to the advancing Habsburg forces. Thus, he was possibly able to collect in person his data on the geography and history of the region. Furthermore, Esîrî claims that during his captivity he managed to obtain or read numerous books, for instance, works in Latin and Hungarian – languages he claims to have learned while a Habsburg captive. It seems also that he managed to get hold of or consult the *Atlas Maior*,<sup>4</sup> famous geographical world atlas with a substantial description text, which was published by Dutch cartographer Joan Blaeu (1596-1673) between 1662 and 1672 in a number of languages. From a detailed analysis of the part of Esîrî's work on Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina it seems completely probable that he read the mentioned *Atlas* in one of its original languages, Latin, i.e. its Latin version (*Geographia quae est cosmographiae Blavianae*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 4-8, 15-19; Hasan Esîrî, "Mi'yârü'd-Düvel ve Misbârü'l-Milel", Hekimoğlu 803, Suleymaniye Manuscript Library, Istanbul, 115b.

<sup>3</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 21-22, 46-47.

<sup>4</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 5-8, 17-18, 21-22.

<sup>5</sup> Cornelis Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his grand atlas. Introduction to the facsimile edition of Le grand atlas, 1663* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1970), 48-51.

Apart from the *Atlas Maior*, Esîrî claims to have consulted numerous other sources, some of which are so far unidentified. Even if we treat his claims with caution, Esîrî can be described as an intellectual with a fondness for foreign books. His other sources for the Southeast European part of the Ottoman Empire were scarce, and included works by an unknown geographer whom Esîrî named as “Yovenesk.” His other source for the Southeast European region was the geographer Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100 – c. 170) and his work *Geography*.<sup>6</sup> Bearing in mind that Ptolemy’s work is based on maps and contains only scant information about the region in question,<sup>7</sup> it was probably of not much use to Esîrî, unlike the *Atlas Maior* with its rich textual description and almost contemporary historical and geographical information. Esîrî was supposedly able to read these sources and write notes about their content during his captivity in Habsburg lands (*Nemse*, as he put it; literally “Germany”, but signifying Austrian lands). He mentions “Hungarian, Latin, Italian and Greek” works, as well as accounts by “foreign travelers and traders” he had met during his travel through Habsburg lands. He also used numerous Muslim sources. Bearing in mind that these sources were published a long time before Esîrî’s work was written, one can posit that Esîrî included many of his own observations in order to “refresh” his data.<sup>8</sup>

Esîrî’s work falls within the context of 18th century Ottoman geography. Broadly speaking, Ottoman geographical production from the 14th century onwards was highly influenced by older Islamic geographers’ works, as Ottoman knowledge of geography was improved through translation into Ottoman Turkish and annotation of works originally written by Islamic geographers in Arabic and Persian.<sup>9</sup> The first original work of Ottoman geography, *Acâyibü’l-Mahlûkat*, was written by Ali bin Abdurrahman after the conquest of Edirne (1361).<sup>10</sup> Later, in parallel with the institutionalization seen in all areas of the Empire in the last quarter of the 15th century, Ottoman geographers began to produce more systematic works. The 16th century Ottoman geographical writing was a period in which both the translations of works of Islamic geographers continued, and the materials to meet practical needs were collected, as essential books – such as naval books, travelogues and city monographs – started to be produced.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 5-8, 17-18, 21-22, 47.

<sup>7</sup> Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia Cl. Ptolemaei Alexandrini* (Venice: Vincentius Valgrisius, 1562), 78-79.

<sup>8</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 47-48.

<sup>9</sup> Mahmut Ak, “Osmanlı Coğrafya Çalışmaları,” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 2, no. 4 (2004): 167-168.

<sup>10</sup> Günay Kut, *Acâibü’l-Mahlûkât. Eski Türk Edebiyatı Araştırmaları II* (Istanbul: Simurg, 2010), 1-9.

<sup>11</sup> Ahmet Taşağıl, “Hitâyname,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 17 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1998), 404-405; Mustafa b. Ali el-Muvakkıt, *Tuhfetü’z-zamân ve harîdetü’l-evân*, Nuruosmaniye Library, no. 2993; İhsan Fazlıoğlu, “Mustafa b. Ali el-Muvakkıt,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 31 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2006), 287-288; Svat Soucek,

The 17th century Ottoman geography studies were based on the solid foundation of the 16th century, and original Ottoman works were produced in quick succession. Hajji Khalifa (also known as Kâtip Çelebi, 1609-1657), Evliya Çelebi (1611-1685 or later) and Ebû Bekir b. Behrâm ed-Dîmaşkî (d. 1691) were the most well-known figures of Ottoman geography, with works that marked the 17th century as the peak of Ottoman geography studies. Ed-Dîmaşkî also played an important role in the transfer of Western-origin geography books, and encouraged his successors to do the same. Ed-Dîmaşkî translated the *Atlas Maior* into Ottoman Turkish, thus opening up another way for Esîrî to get hold of one of his most important resources.<sup>12</sup> In 1668, Dutch envoy Justinus Coljer (d. 1682) presented the *Atlas Maior* to Sultan Mehmed IV (1642-1693), and in 1675 ed-Dîmaşkî was chosen as translator. The translation lasted ten years and was finished in 1685, as ed-Dîmaşkî presented it to the palace. This six-volume work is supported by maps and additional information about the Ottoman Empire and other Islamic countries.<sup>13</sup> If Esîrî did indeed use the *Atlas Maior* as one model for his own work – and the available evidence points strongly in this direction – he very probably consulted ed-Dîmaşkî's translation. It would be an extraordinary fact if Esîrî managed to come into possession of the *Atlas Maior*, or at least read it while he was a Habsburg captive, because it was a voluminous and expensive work and the largest book published in the 17th century.<sup>14</sup>

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*Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus. The Khalili Portolan Atlas* (London: The Nour Foundation, 1996); Seydi Ali Reis, *Kitâbü'l-Muhîb*, prepared by Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1997); Nasûhîs-Silâhî [Nasûhî-i Matraki], *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i Irâkeyn-i Sultan Süleyman Han*, prepared by Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976); *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi veya Hadis-i Nev / History Of The West Indies Known As The New Hadith* (Istanbul: TTT Vakfi Yayınları, 1999); Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World. A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990); Aşık Mehmed, *Menazırü'l-avalim (tablil ve dizin)*, prepared by Mahmut Ak (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> “Ma'lum ola ki iklim-i Çin, *Kitâb-ı Atlas Macor* beyânı üzre ki vâsıfı Martinos nâm kimesne ale't-afsil keşide-i silk-i sûtür kılup bu minvâl üzre şerh u beyân eylemişdür ki...”, Esîrî, “Mi'yârü'd-Düvel”, 214b. See also: Katib Çelebi, *Kitab-ı Cihannüma li-Katib Çelebi. Introduction – Index*, edited by Fikret Sarıcaoğlu (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2013); Katib Çelebi, *Levâmi'ün-nur fi Zulmet-i Atlas Minor: Analysis – Facsimile*, edited by Ahmet Üstüner and H. Ahmet Arslantürk (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2017).

<sup>13</sup> Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, “Ebû Bekir b. Behrâm,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994), 110-111. Ed-Dîmaşkî's work is located in the Topkapı Palace Library, Bağdat Köşkü, no. 325-333. The authors would like to thank Ahmet Üstüner for the information on ed-Dîmaşkî and his work. Üstüner is currently working on the transcription of the Turkish translation of the *Atlas Maior* and preparing its critical edition.

<sup>14</sup> Koeman, *Joan Blaeu*, 35.

There are four known copies of Esîrî's *Mi'yârü'd-Düvel ve Misbârü'l-Milel*. Two of those are located in the Suleymaniye Manuscript Library in Istanbul, one in the Library of Rare Works of the Istanbul University, and the last one is located in the National Library of Egypt. One of the two Suleymaniye Library copies, the copy known as the "Hekimoğlu 803" copy, is believed to be the autograph, or the original version of the work written by the author himself.<sup>15</sup> The structure of Esîrî's work strongly hints towards Ottoman role models, for instance Kâtip Çelebi with his insistence on the description of every known region of the world, or Evliya Çelebi, who mentions on numerous occasions in his *Seyahatnâme* as his role model the work which he calls *Papamunta*, and which is obviously a *mappa mundi*, i.e. an unknown European world map.<sup>16</sup> Esîrî's book represents a geographical overview of the entire contemporary known world. After the description of Istanbul and nowadays territories of Bulgaria, Romania and Greece, Esîrî describes the Western Balkan region, and an analysis of this part of the work shows that the *Atlas Maior* was one of Esîrî's greatest sources. First of all, Esîrî's work generally follows the structure of the *Atlas Maior* and its division of the region of *Illyricum* or *Sclavonia* (in Esîrî's case it is called *Soklavon*) into separate lands. However, In Blaeu's case, this region consists of five lands (Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Republic of Ragusa, and Bosnia). In Esîrî's work, on the other hand, *Soklavon* consists of six lands, namely *İslavin* or *İslevin* (more probably it was intended to be read as *İslavin*; Slavonia), *Sirem* (Syrmia – this land is in Blaeu's work described as part of Slavonia), *Bosna* (Bosnia), *Dalmasiya ya'ni Hersek* ("Dalmatia, i.e. Hersek"), *Dobravenik* (Dubrovnik, i.e. Republic of Ragusa), *Hirvat* (Croatia) and *Morlaka* (unknown area, which Esîrî describes as "part of Venice" and "next to Venice", and it could be the Velebit littoral, as will be shown below).

As is the case with the *Atlas Maior*, Esîrî describes each aforementioned land in a separate chapter, which is again divided into the following thematic subchapters, some of which do not appear in every chapter: borders (*el-hudûd*), description (*et-târif*), division (*et-taksîm*), climate (*el-havâ*), cities and towns (*el-bilâd* or *şuhûr ve kasabât*), rivers (*el-enhâr*), mines (*el-me'âdin*), domestic animals (*el-hayvânât*), wildlife (*el-vuhûş*), temperament (*el-ahlâk*), combativeness (*ahvâl-i cenk*), crops (*el-mahsûlât*), religions (*el-edyân*), language (*el-lisân*), commodities (*el-emtâ*), apparel (*el-libâs*), women (*en-nisâ*), soldiers (*el-asker*), harbors (*el-limân*), money (*ahvâl-i sikke*), armory, arsenal and shipyard (*evsâf-ı cebehâne ve tophâne ve tersâne*), customs (*el-âdet*), islands (*ahvâl-i cezâyir*), etc.<sup>17</sup> Esîrî adds supposedly original de-

<sup>15</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 38.

<sup>16</sup> Gottfried Hagen, "Afterword. Ottoman understandings of the world in the seventeenth century," in Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality. The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden; Boston: 2006), 228.

<sup>17</sup> Joan Blaeu, *Atlas maior of 1665* (Köln: Taschen, [2005]), 72-89; İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 50, 51, 174, 185.

scriptions of characteristics for each described land. Sometimes these descriptions border on the outlandish, as will be demonstrated later in the article. Due to the lack of space, the contents of each chapter will be only briefly summarized, but numerous examples from said chapters will be discussed below. Furthermore, it will be indicated in the footnote text whenever the analyzed excerpts from Esîrî's work will have the same information as the *Atlas Maior*.

Esîrî summarily calls the present-day territory of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina *Soklavon*, and states that "no one lived in these lands" before the people of *Soklavon*, being composed of a number of tribes, came there via *Türkistan*, the rivers Volga and *Ten* (probably Don) and the *Tatar* (i.e. Black Sea's north coast) and settled in *Soklavon*. Thus, the *Soklavon* tribes could here be the Slavs in general. He adds that one tribe spread in the region of Transylvania and another in Hungary. Like Turkmens, he continues, "first they made tents from fur" and later built settlements. They divided into six beforenamed lands. Presently, he adds, *Soklavon* is in Ottoman Turkish (*İslâm lisânında*) called the Sanjak of *Pojega* or *Pocega* (Požega) or *İslavin*<sup>18</sup> – thus confusing the notions *Soklavon* and *İslavin*.

## DESCRIPTION OF SLAVONIA

Esîrî then states that the land of *İslavin* is situated between the rivers Drava (*Tirava*) and Sava (*Sava*) and is "very prosperous and fertile," as it has countless "refreshing (*müferrih*) vineyards and orchards, its fruits are plentiful, and their taste is unique." Apart from all sorts of apples and pears, its "prunes are so good that physicians add them to medicines" and claim that "sick people with high fever should drink the Požega [*Pojega*] prune juice." As for the "Požega pear," it is "so good that when its falls from the tree, only its stalk stays intact and the rest breaks in pieces. Pears are so good that they are stacked onto pirate ships and transferred via the Sava to Belgrade [*Belgrad*] and sold for good money. Their nutshell is so soft that one can break it with bear hands. In short, there are few lands that have fruits and vegetables so beautiful, fertile and diverse, and people so hospitable."<sup>19</sup> The colorful description of the mentioned fruit bears a striking resemblance with numerous similarly vivid and metaphoric descriptions by Evliya Çelebi in his *Seyahatnâme* of extraordinary fruit throughout the territory of present-day Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and the neighboring lands. For instance, Evliya praises in a rather exaggerated fashion the fertility of the grain in Popovo Polje in Herzegovina by saying it gives a hundredfold yield. As is the case with Evliya's, Esîrî's hyperbolic descriptions should also be viewed as a figure of speech.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 174.

<sup>19</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 174-175.

<sup>20</sup> Evliyâ Çelebi bin Derviş Mehmed Zilli, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini*, edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman and

Slavonia borders in the north with *Hungaria* (Hungary; Ottoman writers generally call it *Macar*); to the west is *Üstürya* or *Usturya* (Austria), to the south *Venedik* (Venice), and to the east *Semendire* (obviously the Sanjak of Semendire, or Smederevo). Some parts of Slavonia have “nice weather,” and some are covered with marshes. Its most famous towns are *Desbot*, *Burudi* (in the manuscript: *Desbot-i Brodi*, which was usually mentioned in Ottoman texts as *Despot-i Brod*, i.e. present-day Slavonski Brod), *Raçe* (Rača, today in western Sylvania), *Rehaviçe* (most probably *Rahoviçe*, i.e. Orahovica), *Yakova* (Đakovo), *Valpova* (Valpovo), *Atana* (unknown), *Garabiya* (in the manuscript: *Garabya*, which is probably Zagreb, because Esîrî later calls it the region's capital), *Kopranisa* (Koprivnica), *Pojega* (Požega), *Versedin* (Varaždin) and *Norograd* (in the manuscript: *Novograd*, which is probably present-day Novi Grad/Bosanski Novi).<sup>21</sup>

Esîrî writes that Slavonians are “tall, dry-skinned, and very gluttonous.” Even though they are rough and violent, they are very hospitable, so much so that “if they do not house guests, their neighbors burn their house.” When describing their religion, Esîrî closely emulates the excerpt from the *Atlas Maior* on ancient Slavic religion by stating that Slavonians are pagans, and that their most important god is the “thunder god, for whom they sacrificed cattle. Their woods, rivers, livelihood, good luck, bad luck, and sky, were created by various gods.”<sup>22</sup> He continues by stating that due to their fondness of fighting, “they do not like to die in bed. They say to those who say bad things: ‘Die in bed.’”<sup>23</sup> He proceeds by stating that they started to accept Christianity from 800 onwards, but some are still pagans. As regards their language, Esîrî writes it is called “*İskılavon*, i.e. *Boşnak*,” and it is used in “Slavonia, Bosnia, Croatia, Herzegovina, Austria, Sylvania, Serbia, Bohemia, *Lusaciya*, Bulgaria, Poland, Russia, Muscovy, Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia (*Boğdan*) and Circassia (*Çerkes*),” even in the lands of Islam and at the Ottoman palace.<sup>24</sup> Again, a similar statement is made in the *Atlas Maior*.<sup>25</sup> Esîrî claims that Slavonians use “Arabic alphabet, but in it are Latin and German letters.”<sup>26</sup>

Yücel Dağlı, vol. VI (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 278. Robert Dankoff, *From Mahmud Kaşgari to Evliya Çelebi. Studies in Middle Turkic and Ottoman Literatures* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2008), 249.

<sup>21</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 175; Esîrî, “Mi'yârü'd-Düvel,” 22a.

<sup>22</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 175-176; Blacu, *Atlas maior*, 75.

<sup>23</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 176.

<sup>24</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 176.

<sup>25</sup> Blacu, *Atlas maior*, 76.

<sup>26</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 177.

## DESCRIPTION OF SYRMIA

Esîrî writes that the former capital of Syrmia was *Kerevit* (Čerević), “a big town on the coast of Danube.” He claims that Syrmia extends as far as Osijek. Its famous forts and *kasabas* are *Mermon* (in the manuscript: *Zemun*, i.e. present-day Zemun), *Karlofça* (Sremski Karlovci), *İslankoman* (in the manuscript: *İslankamen*, i.e. Slankamen), *Varadin* (Petrovaradin), *Kerevit* (Čerević), *Banuşdora* (Banoštor), *Aylök* (Ilok), *Sotin*, *İrik* (Irig), *Kırakopofçe* (in the manuscript: *Kırakopofçe*, possibly Hrtkovci), *Mitrofçe* (Sremska Mitrovica), *Raçe* (Rača), *Nemse* (Nijemci), *Volkovar* (more probably *Vulkovar*, i.e. Vukovar), *Dal* (Dalj), *Erdud* (Erdut), *Ösik* (in Ottoman texts usually *Ösek*, i.e. Osijek), *Valpova* (Valpovo),<sup>27</sup> and more than 200 villages. Across Slankamen is *Tetil* (Titel) and the mouth of *Nise* (in the manuscript: *Tise*, i.e. Tisa), and from Osijek to *Tarta* (Darda) across the Drava extends a long bridge. To pass the Drava, Esîrî writes, the Ottomans tied together *tonbaz* (pontoon) vessels. On the road to Darda are marshes, so Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1494-1566) built a second bridge out of wooden stakes across the marshes. This great bridge is one of “world’s wonders.” Esîrî states that Sultan Suleiman exempted 12,000 local *reaya* of all taxes in exchange for the repair and protection of the bridge.<sup>28</sup>

Esîrî praises the land in Syrmia as “very fertile” and abounding in wheat, barley, rye, oat, corn, as well as in sheep, cattle and horses. He claims that one can buy “a fat lamb for 7-8 *para*,<sup>29</sup> a big sheep for 25 *para*.” There are also “countless bees” and one can buy “for two pieces, one oka [*okka*] of honeycomb; and for two pieces, one oka of quality clotted cream [*kaymak*]; and for four pieces, one oka of quality butter.” Furthermore, “on the way from Karlovci to Osijek, in the *kasabas* of Irig, *Karagoyofçe* [unknown] and Ilok, there are numerous vineyards and orchards; more famous than these is sour cherry [*vişne*]; these sour cherries are put into hundreds of barrels and one oka is sold for 2-3 silver pieces [*akçe*] of lesser quality. It is a very prosperous region.” Esîrî continues by praising the hospitality of locals, and states that “in winter months, there is cabbage and different types of pickled vegetables.” He claims that “in Syrmia and Bačka [*Baçka*], some people practiced keeping beehives, and looked for people to do this work. [After the Vienna campaign in 1683,] these people were killed and scattered, and could not find even a piece of bread for themselves.”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Esîrî, “Mi’yârü’d-Düvel”, 22a.

<sup>28</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî”, 178-179.

<sup>29</sup> The word *para* comes from the Persian *pare* (piece), which generally refers to all means of payment. In an arrangement made toward the end of the 17th century, the *para* became the official Ottoman currency instead of the *akçe* (silver coin). Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Tarih ve Hukûk İstılahları Kâmûsu* (Istanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2018), 988-989.

<sup>30</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî”, 179.

## DESCRIPTION OF BOSNIA

Esîrî states that Bosnia's name comes from the name of the river, and explains that erstwhile it had two parts: the "upper" part called Herzegovina, and the "lower" Bosnia – this could mean that he consulted an upside-down map. Bosnia is still an Islamic country, he states, and its capital is *Serây* (Sarajevo), which "earlier was big and prosperous, and was famous for its market," and in it is "a big, loud and live clocktower." Other Bosnian towns are *Vişigrad* (Višegrad), *Burut* (in the manuscript: *Brot*, i.e. Brod), *Dobnisa* (Dubnica?), *Bibka* (Bihać), *Yayıbbisa* (Jajce), *İşvinar* (in the manuscript: *İşvinyar*, i.e. Svinjar), *Banbaloka* (in the manuscript: *Banyaluka*, i.e. Banja Luka), *Giradişka* (Gradiška), *Varsa* (unknown), *İzvornik* (Zvornik), *Permonçiya* (unknown), *Hotonrat* (in the manuscript: *Kamengrad*, i.e. Kamengrad), *Vakıf* (Donji Vakuf?), *Osrovisa* (Ostrovica), *Osnurusa* (unknown), *Koropa* (in the manuscript: *Krupa*, i.e. Bosanska Krupa), *Novi* (Novi) and *Kozarsa* (Kozarac?).<sup>31</sup>

He continues by stating that Bosnia is a mountainous region, and thus does not have much grain, but it has a lot of corn and people make many meals out of it; there are also "various and tasty apples and pears." People raise many horses, cattle, and sheep with much wool, which is being sold in Venice, Kotor and Dubrovnik. There are many wild animals and birds, such as hawks and falcons, and red foxes whose hides they sell. With regard to metals, there are gold, silver, copper, and iron mines, and people make various quality copper pots and pans.<sup>32</sup>

Esîrî states that in the olden day Bosnians used to worship a deity called *Mirrih* and their dead ones, and would burn them. Later they became Christians, and in *Ulabe* (Olovo), half a day's distance from Sarajevo (*Bosnasarayı*), there are churches, and in them a picture of Virgin Mary (*Meryem Ana*) made out of wood and lead, and people bring their sick ones and pray for remedy. Esîrî states that "here still come Christians and ignorant Muslims and practice these superstitious beliefs."<sup>33</sup>

## DESCRIPTION OF "THE LAND OF DALMASIYA, I.E. HERSEK"

Esîrî states that this land is "very developed and populous," with the Venetian town of *Şibenik* (Šibenik) as its capital, whose walls are "two miles long." Other towns and forts are *Tırav* (Trogir), *İspilit* (Split), *Kilis* (Klis, "a steep fort") close to the river *Solone* (Solin), which passes through the valley; Mostar is on the bank of *Nertiva* (Neretva), and over it is "a beautiful bridge with a huge arch 200 *kulaç*<sup>34</sup> long; good

<sup>31</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 180-181; Esîrî, "Mi'yârü'd-Düvel", 22b.

<sup>32</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 181.

<sup>33</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 181.

<sup>34</sup> *Kulaç* is an Ottoman unit of measure equal to the length of two arms. James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon. Shewing in English the significations of the Turkish Terms* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban 1987), 1493.



swimmers jump from the bridge.” There are also Gabela on the Neretva; Venetian Kotor inside a bay; *Karadağ* (Montenegro) at the end of the Bay of Kotor; *Nova* (Herceg Novi) in the south of the bay; *Tetina* (possibly from the Italian *Tenin*) or *Kinin* (Knin) is a steep fort in the north, on the river *Firka* (in the manuscript: *Kirka*, i.e. Krka); *İskiradin* (Skradin) and *Sin* (Senj or Sinj?) are “strong forts on the coast.” *Zadra* (Zadar) is the “biggest fort in Dalmatia, on a semi-peninsula; it is like a protrusion into the sea, and is connected by a bridge with the land. It was seven times besieged by the Hungarians.” Another fort is *Bova* (Čiovo), which “has two bridges, one from the fort to the town, and the other to the land.” Another is *Almiba* or *Umuş* (Omiš), which is located on the mouth of the river *Zitna* or *Çitna* (Cetina). The last two sentences mirror almost word for word two sentences in the *Atlas Maior*.<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore, Esîrî enumerates four “big and famous” rivers: *Tertova* (Neretva), *Çetina* (Cetina), *Korka* (Krka), and *Rama* (probably Rama, tributary of the Neretva), and states that this region’s water is “mild,” air “beautiful,” land fertile, and it abounds in various fruit and numerous sheep, cattle, horses, fish, and wild animals. He stresses that sheep have offspring two times a year, and “*Hersek* horses are sought for.” He claims this region has numerous gold, silver, copper, and iron mines, and that the following goods are sent to Italy, Venice and *Kızıl Elma* (Vienna?) for sale: sheep, goats, cattle, horses, wool, honey, beeswax, lead, tar, candle wax, hides, figs, olive oil, cheese, and dried fruit, and these products make a yearly profit of 47,000 “gold pieces” (*altun*, here probably signifying Venetian ducats).<sup>36</sup>

Esîrî describes locals as having “very white tan that quickly becomes pink” and being “hazel-eyed,” “strong and belligerent,” with clothes similar to Muslims but more tight and in red and blue colors. Men wear fur caps; women have nice tans and “proportional bodies,” wear white clothes and red covers on the heads, and “speak beautiful Turkish.”<sup>37</sup> Here it is unclear whether these Turkish-speaking locals are Muslim or not; what we can say for sure is that Esîrî was describing local Dalmatian/Herzegovinian women when stating that even among the rural population there were many who fluently spoke Turkish.

The region can muster 30,000 – 40,000 soldiers (this data is possibly copied from the *Atlas Maior*),<sup>38</sup> and Venetian forts on the coast house 4,000 salaried soldiers. Moreover, 400 horsemen and a few thousand footmen go to war for Venice if needed, and another few thousand soldiers from Montenegro represent Venice’s total fighting force in this region (this data is also very similar to the information in the *Atlas Maior*).<sup>39</sup> To this data Esîrî adds his judgement, declaring that “if the

<sup>35</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 183; Blacu, *Atlas maior*, 80.

<sup>36</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 183-184.

<sup>37</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 184.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Blacu, *Atlas maior*, 82.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Blacu, *Atlas maior*, 82.

whole of Dalmatia were to be conquered, Venice's force would be broken," because its manpower comes from Dalmatia. He adds that "most of Dalmatia is in the hands of the Ottoman state," and this is possibly the description of the Dalmatian hinterland and Herzegovina, as the author considers the two regions one and the same, and later claims that Venice's manpower comes from Herzegovina, Montenegro and Albania (*Arnevid*).<sup>40</sup>

### DESCRIPTION OF "DOBRAVENİK [I.E. DUBROVNIK,] [OTTOMAN] PEOPLE INCORRECTLY SAY DOBRA-VENEDİK"

Esîrî states that the Republic of Ragusa (or Dubrovnik) has two parts, first of which is "Old Dubrovnik," i.e. *Apidaros* (evidently the ancient Greek colony Epidauros at the location of present-day Cavtat), which he describes as "a strong walled city beneath a huge mountain." Its people are merchants, and merchants come here from many lands, Muslim too. "At night, [its inhabitants] stretch a chain across the harbor."<sup>41</sup> This sentence is very probably copied from the *Atlas Maior*.<sup>42</sup> In the vicinity of Dubrovnik is a strong Venetian fort called *İskopo* or *Kiroma* (*Chiroma* in the *Atlas Maior* – very probably the island of Lokrum). Esîrî describes how Ragusa offered money for this fort but Venice refused to sell, as it has a strategic influence on Dubrovnik. If Ragusa had this fort, he adds, "not a single Venetian ship would be able to pass."<sup>43</sup> This description of *Kiroma* was also most probably copied from the *Atlas Maior*.<sup>44</sup>

Esîrî lists other Ragusan forts as follows: *Agosta*, *Milida*, *Mizo*, *Dendarin* (later in the text: *Sen Andirya*) and *Sentapiri* (later in the text: *San Petriya*). The latter is stony but cultivated, and has vineyards and orchards and various fruit. These islands are enumerated in the exact same order in the *Atlas Maior*: *Agosta* (Lastovo), *Meleda* (Mljet), *Mezzo* (Lopud), *S. Andrea* (Sveti Andrija) and *S. Pietro* (Sveti Petar).<sup>45</sup> Other Ragusan islands mentioned by Esîrî are: *Langoza* or *Lagosta* (*Lagosta* in the *Atlas Maior*, present-day Lastovo) and *Korşol* (later in the text: *Korçoli*, i.e. present-day Korčula). The latter abounds in olives, grapes, fish and various fruit. Malidar (*Melita* in the *Atlas Maior*, present-day Mljet) is east of Korčula. Another island is *Volobana* (most probably a misreading of "ve Luppana", as it is written in the *Atlas Maior*, i.e. present-day Šipan).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 184.

<sup>41</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 185.

<sup>42</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 83.

<sup>43</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 185-186.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 83.

<sup>45</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 83.

<sup>46</sup> İnan, "Hasan Esîrî," 189.

The other part of the Republic of Ragusa is *Ragoza*, and one of its forts is *Apidarosk* (here the author confused the Epidaurus from a few sentences before), a strong fort that is also called “New Dubrovnik” (this information is also stated in the *Atlas Maior*).<sup>47</sup> Esîrî states that another fort (Ottoman Turkish *kal'a* could also be a “town”) is on an island called *İstanyo* (*Stagno* in the *Atlas Maior*, present-day Ston – which, however, is not an island).<sup>48</sup> Another fort is called *Loronciya* (obviously the Lovrijenac Fortress). Esîrî states that one of the Ragusan nobles is named commander of the fort, and the commander is changed every 24 hours (this claim is repeated in the *Atlas Maior*).<sup>49</sup> Other forts are *Tiripina*, *Sabyon* and *Çilo*; these forts are mentioned as *Tribigna* and *Sabioncelo* in the *Atlas Maior*, which are present-day Trebinje and Orebić.<sup>50</sup>

Esîrî proceeds by stating that Dubrovnik has five harbors; “three of those are big and galleys can enter in them,” as well as 800 small boats.<sup>51</sup> The first part of this sentence was probably copied from the *Atlas Maior*.<sup>52</sup> Dubrovnik’s weather is heavy and sultry, and it “causes all diseases among people.” In the vicinity are many lakes, and in them many “tasty fish.” Although the land is stony, inhabitants can “harvest two times a year” and diligently turn bad land into vineyards and orchards. They raise various fruit, especially lemons, bergamot oranges, quinces, pomegranates, grapes, figs, apples, pears, roses and other flowers.<sup>53</sup>

Esîrî claims that people in Dubrovnik live short, and writes that there is “no person living longer than 80; if they do, it is a surprise.”<sup>54</sup> The exact same claim is put forward in the *Atlas Maior*.<sup>55</sup> He states that the inhabitants are stingy and do not like guests, as guests have to pay in order to stay there (*sic!*). Locals are “mostly traders,” and their “seamanship is on an advanced level.” With regard to women, they are very skillful and very beautiful, and dress boldly. There are many brothels, he claims, and adds that inhabitants marry their daughters after 25 years of age.<sup>56</sup> By this latter statement he repeated a claim from the *Atlas Maior*.<sup>57</sup> The locals speak the same language spoken in Croatia and Bosnia – but their nobles speak Italian. Esîrî describes Ragusa’s political system by stating that they choose 12 nobles among 100

<sup>47</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 83.

<sup>48</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 186; Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 83.

<sup>49</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 188; Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 84.

<sup>50</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 84.

<sup>51</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 186.

<sup>52</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 84.

<sup>53</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 186.

<sup>54</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 186.

<sup>55</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 84.

<sup>56</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 186-187.

<sup>57</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 84.

nobles in total, who have to be at least 25 years old, and each of those 12 nobles rules for one month. The chosen 12 nobles use a glass box called *balota*, in which they put a gold-covered ball. Every month, the 12 nobles stand around the box, put the hand in it and try to catch the ball. The one who catches it becomes the duke (*duka*). The winner is responsible for all the affairs of the state, and he does not exit the palace; “if he does, they kill him.”<sup>58</sup> This claim is repeated in the *Atlas Maior*.<sup>59</sup>

When compared to Evliya Çelebi's portrayal of Dubrovnik in his *Seyahatnâme*,<sup>60</sup> Esîrî's description seems less authentic – especially when we take into account numerous borrowings from the *Atlas Maior*. The only Ragusan characteristics mentioned by both authors are the strength of the Ragusan walls, the existence of numerous Muslim merchants in the city (Evliya, however, describes the merchants in a more detailed manner), and the collective rule of twelve nobles (here probably referring to the Ragusan Minor Council). Other information on Dubrovnik in these two works is completely different, and it thus becomes obvious that Esîrî had not used the *Seyahatnâme* as his source or model for his own work. Moreover, Evliya provided us with a more thorough, direct and detailed description of Ragusan customs and public events – in other words, with an authentic Ottoman view of the city. Esîrî's account, on the other hand, seems more “encyclopedic”, as if collected from various sources rather than from his own experience.

## DESCRIPTION OF CROATIA (HIRVAT)

In the olden times, it was conquered by king *Leyborina* (probably a distorted form of Liburnia, the name of an ancient region along the northeastern Adriatic coast). In the north, this region is separated by the Sava from Slavonia, in the west is *Vender Markıya* (probably *Windische Mark*, as it is named in the *Atlas Maior*; it was a medieval frontier march of the Holy Roman Empire, generally located on the territory of Lower Carniola, or Dolenjska region in present-day Slovenia).<sup>61</sup> Its old capital was *Feyomi* (Fiume, present-day Rijeka) on the river *Feyomi* (Fiumara, present-day Rječina). Esîrî claims that the inhabitants chose the *kasaba* of *Çeçihun* as their new capital, “a strong and steep fort.”<sup>62</sup> The initially undecipherable *Çeçihun* becomes obvious when the *Atlas Maior* is consulted: it is *Bigihon* (as in the *Atlas*), i.e. Bihac.<sup>63</sup> The most important fort is *Petrina* (Petrinja), and others are *Kostaniça* (Kostajnica), *Dobniya* (Dubica?), *Kolostad*, and *Karlıştad* (Karlovac); if this a

<sup>58</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 187-188.

<sup>59</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 84.

<sup>60</sup> Evliyâ Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. VI, 259-263.

<sup>61</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 77.

<sup>62</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 189.

<sup>63</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 77.

mistake of doubling the name of the same fort, it was also done in the *Atlas Maior*.<sup>64</sup> There are many rivers, among them Sava, *Koleb* (Kupa), *Dona* or *Ona* (Una), *Maris* (Mrežnica?), *Dobra-galina* (Dobra and Glina), *Soklos* (unknown), and *Donan* (unknown). The land is fertile, and its people raise wheat, barley, rye, oat, sheep, cattle, horses, pigs, grapes, various fruit, olives, olive oil, butter, honey, candle wax, and wool, and export them to Italy and Austria. Esîrî states that Croats are “arrogant and vulgar” and “do not like anyone or themselves.” They also constantly criticize and blame three nations, and say “Germans are drunkards, Slavonians [*Iskalavon*] are ruthless, and Hungarians are stubborn.”<sup>65</sup> The same description of Germans and Slavonians is mentioned in the *Atlas Maior*.<sup>66</sup>

### **DESCRIPTION OF KORLAKA (IN THE MANUSCRIPT: MORLAKA, I.E. MORLACCHIA), “WHICH IS UNDER VENICE BUT PART OF HIRVAT”**

It is difficult to discern which land is hidden under this name, as Esîrî states that its inhabitants “tried to be a separate kingdom but failed,” that they behaved as “thieves and bandits, and still do the same. When the Hungarians and Germans fought against each other, they plundered the territory like rabid dogs.” He claims that in 1592, “a huge Islamic army came and destroyed them, burned them and killed 40,000, and enslaved 30,000 people and brought them to Istanbul, and collected a huge booty.” Some of them are Muslim but “some are unbelievers and they fled to Venice. These Muslims are useless and live like unbelievers.”<sup>67</sup> The region in question could be Morlacchia, i.e. the Velebit littoral, which was under the control of Uskoks, who continuously harassed Ottoman territory in the 16th and at the beginning of the 17th century, thus justifying Esîrî’s negative characterization of them which, judging by the manuscript, was Esîrî’s original contribution to the work.

### **CONCLUSION**

With respect to the totality of Esîrî’s work, it is certainly a valuable geographical book of its time, as it contains numerous interesting insights that offer a glimpse into the worldview of an early 18th-century Ottoman geographer. However, in light of the fact that it borrows heavily from at least one other geographical work of the period, it offers a limited amount of information for researchers of contemporary Croatian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian history. Our search for the non-*Atlas Maior* sources for Esîrî’s work was hitherto unsuccessful, which does not mean that

<sup>64</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 78.

<sup>65</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 190.

<sup>66</sup> Blaeu, *Atlas maior*, 78.

<sup>67</sup> İnan, “Hasan Esîrî,” 190-191.

in time other sources will not be identified upon the pages of Esîrî's voluminous work. Owing to his abundant borrowings from the *Atlas Maior*, in some places in his work it is almost impossible to discern his own contributions from those of the author of the *Atlas*. However, it seems that his observations about the northern part of Croatian littoral (Morlacchia) are his individual remarks. It is unknown whether he had collected these data through personal visit to this region. Contrary to Evliya, Esîrî does not boast of his travels, and as can be discerned from Esîrî's biography and his work, he did not travel extensively through the territory of present-day Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, so as to give us richer and more "personal" comments – as Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme* does. Thus, the latter still remains a peerless Ottoman source for the history of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina at the turn of the 18th century.

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# FRA MATE MIKIĆ-KOSTRČANAC AND THE TURKISH LANGUAGE: MANUSCRIPTS, COPYISTS, AND THE TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY\*

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## ABSTRACT

This article discusses manuscripts about the Turkish language, their copyists, and the transfer of knowledge in Bosnia during the second half of the nineteenth century. It takes as an excellent example of these practices the life and work of Fra Mate Mikić, who was a model of the Bosnian Friar, eager for knowledge and dedicated to the spreading of that knowledge. Mikić completed his Turkological manuscripts by the age of 21, and during his short life, he finished his studies in philosophy and theology and served as a friar in several Bosnian monasteries. Through his activity in the Franciscan order and his manuscripts, which were obviously copied and used even after his death, Mikić avoided complete oblivion thanks primarily to Babić's (1988) article about his work. Although Babić addresses Mikić and his written legacy from an altogether different point of view and approach, Babić's evaluation of Mikić's work coincides to a great degree with the opinions of the author of this article. Babić summarizes the extent of Mikić's work as a copyist in the following way: "It can be reliably stated that Mikić did not accomplish a superb range of works. However, his work, as observed in the continuity of the events and great changes in the middle of the past [i.e., nineteenth] century, sheds light on the cultural work of the Franciscans on the territory of Ottoman Bosnia" (Babić, "Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica," p. 126). To all of this we can also add his humanistic activities. Besides his service as a priest, Mikić was also a naturalist, a poet, a historian, a lexicographer, a geographer, and a translator from Turkish. In short, Mate Mikić was a student and follower of the humanistic ideas of Fra Martin Nedić, from whom he learned the Turkish language.

*Keywords:* Bosnian Franciscans, Turkish texts in Latin transcription, knowledge transfer in the 19th century.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In the mid-nineteenth century, unfavorable political circumstances which resulted in a ban on the education of Bosnia's prospective friars in Italy, and subsequently in Austria as well, accelerated the realization of the idea that Catholic seminaries should be established in Bosnia. In 1851 the first such educational institutions were opened in Fojnica and in Kraljeva Sutjeska.<sup>1</sup> By the early 1880s, the Franciscans had

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<sup>\*</sup> To Nenad Moačanin, conceptual founder of the Section for Turkology and professor whose teaching and research has contributed greatly to the education of generations of Croatian Turkologists and Ottoman scholars.

<sup>1</sup> Conditions in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. were more liberal with regard to the opening of religious and educational institutions thanks to the Tanzimat reforms, when



seminaries in Livno, Fojnica, Plehan, Kraljeva Sutjeska, Kreševo, Tolisa, Guča Gora, and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

In the nineteenth century, marked by the Muslim population's noticeable intolerance towards the Sultan and the Tanzimat reforms, interest in the Turkish language quickly rose among the Franciscans of Bosnia. The reasons for this were pragmatic, as Fra Petar Bakula states indirectly when listing the languages that Franciscans in Bosnia must know: (1) *Latin* for the Holy Mass; (2) *local Slavic* for sermons, the singing of the Gospel, festivals, processions, formal blessings, and public prayers; (3) *Italian* for services in "Italian regions" (i.e., neighboring Dalmatia); (4) *Turkish*, because everyone considers it the language of the state; and (5) often *German* and *French* as well.<sup>3</sup>

Considering direct communication with the Ottoman authorities to be very important for defending Franciscan interests before government authorities, in sharia court, or even at the Sublime Porte, the Franciscans introduced Turkish as a mandatory subject in the curricula of their colleges. Leading this trend was the Monastery of the Holy Spirit in Fojnica, where, for the purposes of teaching, the most copies were made of Turkish dictionaries and grammars published in Europe.<sup>4</sup> That these works were used specifically for the purpose of teaching is clear from their titles: *Compendiosum Lexicon Latino-Turcicum, pro Studiosa Iuventute Conventus Fojniciensis Concinnatum*. Studio et Opera P. Francisci Sitnich // Iis Magistri Novitiorum 1833;<sup>5</sup> *Compendium Syntaxeas Linguae Turcaicae ex Grammatica*

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non-Muslims were given the right and the incentive to build churches and open new schools as well as the right to elect their own representatives in government (local councils and the like). Bringing to life the Tanzimat regulations led to intensive contact between Ottoman authorities and representatives of Christian communities, which accelerated the building of new churches. According to Staka Skenderova, *Ljetopis Bosne, 1825–1856* [The Bosnian Chronicle, 1825–1856], writes that Huršid-Paša issued a ferman for ten [Orthodox] churches, and even more for Catholic churches. For more detailed accounts, cf. H. J. Kornrumpf, "Einige osmanische Dokumente zum Neubau von Kirchen in Bosnien," *Südost-Forschungen* 53 (1994), 151–152; Prokopije Čokorilo, Joanikije Pamučina, and Staka Skenderova, *Ljetopisi* [Chronicles] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1976), 227; Zafer Gölen, *Tanzimat Döneminde Bosna Hersek Siyasî, İdarî, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Durum* (Ankara: TTK, 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Marko Karamatić, *Franjevci Bosne Srebrene u vrijeme austrougarske uprave 1878–1914* [The Franciscans of Bosna Srebrena during the Austro-Hungarian administration 1878–1914] (Sarajevo: Svjetlo riječi, 1992), 101.

<sup>3</sup> Petar Bakula, *Hercegovina prije sto godina ili šematizam fra Petra Bakule* [Hercegovina one hundred years ago, or the schematism of Fra Petar Bakula; translated from Latin into Croatian by V. Kosir] (Mostar: Provincijalat hercegovačkih franjevaca, 1970), 26–27.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ekrem Čaušević, "Latin-script Turkish manuscripts from Bosnia and Hercegovina, 19th century" in *Spoken Ottoman in Mediator Texts*, ed. É. Á. Csató, A. Menz and F. Turan, *Turcologica* 106, ed. Lars Johanson (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016), 77–88.

<sup>5</sup> "Short Latin–Turkish dictionary for use by students at the Monastery in Fojnica, compiled by the diligence and work of Franjo Sitnić, teacher of students enrolled in 1833."

*Meninskiana. Extractum. In usum Auditorum L. L. Orientalium 1847*;<sup>6</sup> *Compendium Grammaticae Turcicae pro non Auditorum Linguae Turcicae concinatum. Ternio secundus. Anni 1847*.<sup>7</sup> Although it is not clear exactly what the latter title refers to,<sup>8</sup> the educational purpose of that manuscript cannot be doubted for a second.

## II. FRA MATE MIKIĆ-KOSTRČANAC

We know about the Franciscan manuscripts thanks to Professor Vančo Boškov of Sarajevo (1934–1984), author of a catalog of Turkish manuscripts held at various Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>9</sup> For unknown reasons, however, Boškov did not visit all the Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that even after his catalog was published, there were still some Franciscan manuscripts in Bosnia that remained unknown. Boškov was probably unaware that the archives of the Franciscan Monastery in Tolisa in Bosanska Posavina (northern Bosnia) housed an autograph entitled *Vocabula Latino-Turcica et alia nonnulla usui et utilitati Auditorum Linguarum Orientalium plurimum necessaria*<sup>10</sup> (hereinafter: *Vocabula Latino-Turcica*), whose author was Fra Mate Mikić-Kostrčanac (1826–1862).

The only article on the autograph dictionary *Vocabula Latino-Turcica* was published by Marko Babić,<sup>11</sup> but even after its publication in 1988, no Turcologist has studied the philological material contained in that manuscript. From Babić's exhaustive and excellent article, we learn that Ivo (his given name) Mikić was born in Kostrč, near Tolisa, on 19 April 1826. He attended primary school in Tolisa. Since he was a gifted pupil, after completing primary school, the Franciscans of Tolisa sent him for further education in Kraljeva Sutjeska. It was there that, on 31 January 1842, he joined the Franciscan order, on which occasion he chose Mate as his mo-

<sup>6</sup> "Compendium of syntax of the Turkish language from the Grammar of F. M. Meninski. Extract. For use by students of Oriental languages in 1847."

<sup>7</sup> "Compendium of Turkish grammar for non-students of Turkish." This is also an extract from the well-known grammar of F. M. Meninski.

<sup>8</sup> Does this perhaps refer to different programs of study then offered at the seminary in Fojnica? Was the former grammar intended for students who took Oriental languages as a mandatory subject, and the latter for those who attended the class as an optional course? Or could the phrase "pro non Auditorum Linguae Turcicae" perhaps refer generally to non-students?

<sup>9</sup> Vančo Boškov, *Katalog turskih rukopisa franjevačkih samostana u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Catalogue of Turkish manuscripts in the Franciscan monasteries of Bosnia and Herzegovina] (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1988).

<sup>10</sup> "Latin-Turkish dictionary and other useful things necessary for those who study Oriental languages."

<sup>11</sup> Marko Babić, "Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica et alia nonnulla usui et utilitati Auditorum Linguarum Orientalium plurimum necessaria fratris Matthaei Mikić et eiusdem curriculum vitae," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 37 (1988): 119–130.

nastic name. Because of the constellation of relations within the order, as well as the political situation in the Ottoman Empire, he was not able to go abroad for further studies (at the time, Italy and Hungary were the usual destinations), for which reason he was quite disappointed. In 1848, however, he was sent to Italy after all, to study in Ancona, but there he was disappointed with the quality of the lectures. Upon completion of his studies, he returned to the monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska, where he performed various religious and administrative services. He then served as parish priest in Tuzla (1858–1861) and Ulice in northeastern Bosnia (1861–1862), where he fell ill and died on 13 December 1862. He was buried in the cemetery of that town, where his grave can still be found today.<sup>12</sup>

Mikić's personal papers, containing four volumes of manuscripts, are held at the Archives of the Monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska. Except for a copied grammar of the Turkish language and an extensive Latin-Turkish dictionary, these papers contain approximately one hundred pages of natural science, poetry, and geographic texts, translations of documents from Turkish, and a three-volume manuscript entitled "Kronika Bosne Srebrene" [Chronicle of (the Franciscan Province of) Bosna Argentina]. Mikić's chronicle is the result of his compilation and transcription of other Franciscan chronicles with the addition of his own personal reports. In spite of this, the chronicle provides valuable material documenting the history of the province and the biographies of Bosnian Franciscans (vols. I–III), as well as the history of the monastery in Sutjeska (volume IV).<sup>13</sup>

### III. MANUSCRIPTS, COPYISTS, AND THE TRANSFER OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH C.

Mikić's papers are held in the archives of the Franciscan monasteries in Tolisa and Kraljeva Sutjeska, as well as, Babić assumes, "in other Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina."<sup>14</sup> While researching archival material, we<sup>15</sup> confirmed that Mikić's grammar is indeed kept in the library of the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Kraljeva Sutjeska. It is filed under reference number IV. Rk 41, and the title of the autograph (*Gramatica turcica pro usu fratris Matthaei Mikić, anno 1847. Ex prelectionibus professoris M. P. Martini Nedić*<sup>16</sup>) clearly tells us that it was origi-

<sup>12</sup> Babić, "Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica," 123.

<sup>13</sup> "Samostanska knjižnica – Kraljeva Sutjeska" [Monastery library – Kraljeva Sutjeska], Franjevačka provincija sv. Križa – Bosna Srebrena, accessed 21 October 2019, <https://www.bosnasrebrena.ba/node/608>.

<sup>14</sup> Babić, "Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica," 124.

<sup>15</sup> Ekrem Čaušević and Marta Andrić, "Novootkriveni rukopisi bosanskih franjevaca na turskome jeziku" [Newly discovered manuscripts of Bosnian Franciscans written in Turkish], *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 58 (2009): 167–178.

<sup>16</sup> "Turkish grammar written by Fra Mate Mikić, 1847. Notes from the lectures of Professor (and) Most Respected Father Martin Nedić."

nally based upon the lectures of Mikić's professor, Fra Martin Nedić. The physical dimensions of the manuscript are 22 cm x17 cm. It is bound in a hard cardboard binding, the pages are unnumbered, and there are empty sheets. On the first page of the autograph is a remark stating that the grammar was completed in 1847.

Who was this professor of Mikić's – Fra Martin Nedić (1810–1895)? Nedić was one of the most famous Bosnian Franciscans, renowned not only for his religious work but for his writing as well. He finished primary school in Tolisa and secondary school at the Monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska. He studied philosophy and theology in Hungary and was ordained as a priest in 1833. From 1836 to 1839, he served in Ovčarevo (near Travnik) as chaplain of Fra Marijan Šunjić. Nedić was allegedly sent there to learn Turkish from Šunjić (who had studied Oriental languages in Vienna) and subsequently perfected his knowledge of the language in Bologna. Various sources state that Nedić learned Turkish so well from Šunjić that his contemporaries called him *turkuša u habitu*.<sup>17</sup> According to Jelenić, while in Tuzla, Nedić's knowledge of the Turkish language improved even more, and because of this, he was favored by the pasha and other Ottoman officials. After Tuzla, Nedić taught Turkish in Kraljeva Sutjeska until 1848. For his merits he received a commendation from the Sublime Porte. In addition, he translated Ottoman documents kept in the archives of the monastery in Kraljeva Sutjeska and on two occasions represented the interests of the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena (Lat. *Bosna Argentina*) in Istanbul.<sup>18</sup>

Nedić originally learned Turkish from Fra Marijan Šunjić (1798-1860), one of the most prominent Bosnian friars of that time. In 1821, Šunjić and two other Bosnian friars had been sent by the Franciscan Province of Bosnia Srebrena to the Oriental Academy in Vienna, where they studied Oriental languages for three years. They returned to Bosnia in 1824 "as the first educated Bosnian Orientalists." During his studies, Šunjić had perfected his language skills so well that, not long after returning to Bosnia, he was offered the opportunity to perfect his Turkish language skills under the tutelage of Giuseppe Mezzofanti, the renowned university librarian, professor, and later cardinal who allegedly knew 52 languages. Šunjić spent eight months with Mezzofanti, and after his return from Bologna, "he compiled the Turkish grammar and dictionary that are kept in Guča Gora, near Travnik."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> i.e., "Turkuša in a habit." Bosnians usually referred to ethnic Turks as "Turkuše" or "Osmanlije," but their name for Bosnian (i.e., Slavic-speaking) Muslims was *Turci*, which simply means "Turks."

<sup>18</sup> Julian Jelenić, *Kultura i bosanski franjevci* [Culture and Bosnian Franciscans], vol. 2 (Sarajevo: Prva hrvatska tiskara Kramarić and M. Raguz, 1915), 442, 483, 507; Andrija Zirdum, *Pisma bosanskih franjevacā 1850–1870* [Letters of Bosnian Franciscans 1850–1870] (Plehan: Slovoznak, 1996), 314.

<sup>19</sup> Jelenić, *Kultura*, 492. Since the library and archives of that monastery were damaged in a fire in 1945 and again in 1993, during the Bosnian war, the fate of this manuscript is unknown. I assume that no one ever paid any attention to it, since we were not able to find out when the monastery actually lost track of it.

All of this clearly indicates that the Franciscans had a solid knowledge of Turkish and that they gained this knowledge in Fojnica, the “first school of Oriental languages in Bosnia.”<sup>20</sup> At the end of their philosophical-theological studies, they would go out to serve in other monasteries within the jurisdiction of the Franciscan Province of Bosna Srebrena. Since they took their manuscripts (notes, dictionaries, grammars, etc.) with them, a large number of these papers are kept today in the archives of monasteries other than where they were written. For example, Mikić’s Turkish grammar is kept in the library of the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Kraljeva Sutjeska, where Mikić was in service for a period of time; similarly, the Turkish grammar of Fra Mate Oršolić, completed in Đakovo (Croatia) in 1859,<sup>21</sup> is kept in the library of the same monastery. *Gramatica latino-turcica cum vocabulario*, written by Bonaventura Mihačević and completed in 1856 at the monastery in Đakovo, is now at the Franciscan monastery in Kreševo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), while the undated Turkish grammar (*Turcica Gramatica*, sic!) of Dobroslav Drežnjak, the place of origin of which is unknown, is kept today at the Monastery of St. Anthony in Ljubuški (today Bosnia and Herzegovina). Even Mikić’s manuscript, entitled *Vocabula latino-turcica et alia nonnulla usui et utilitati auditorum linguarum orientalium plurimum necessaria*, completed in 1847 at the Monastery of the Holy Spirit in Kraljeva Sutjeska, is now kept at the Franciscan monastery in Tolisa, where Mikić subsequently took it. This leads us to the conclusion that Turkish was taught not only at the monastery in Fojnica, and that these transcriptions and/or manuscripts played a major role in the transfer of knowledge.

Thus, knowledge about the Turkish language was transferred from professor to student (as in the case of Šunjić → Nedić → Mikić), and the students’ notes were probably written down by means of their professor’s dictations. We know this because the manuscript Turkish grammars in question are all quite similar to each other in terms of their organization, examples, and methodology. Of course, this similarity could also have been influenced by the fact that the Franciscans copied

<sup>20</sup> Jelenić, *Kultura*, 490. Jelenić explicitly states that these friars attended the Viennese (diplomatic, E. Č) academy for three years, that in the end of 1824 they returned to Bosnia “as the first educated Bosnian Orientalists,” and that during their studies there, “they excelled so much in Eastern languages that in Bosnia they opened the first school of Eastern languages.” Since schools for dragomans in the Ottoman Empire were for Europeans who were sent to be educated as official translators of their countries, the “schools” at Fojnica and other Bosnian Franciscan Monasteries were, as far as the author of this article knows, the first educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire where Turkish as a non-native language was studied “at home.”

<sup>21</sup> Thanks to Croatian politician and bishop of Đakovo Josip Juraj Strossmayer, from December 1852 to September 1876, Franciscan students of philosophy and theology were educated in Đakovo (today part of Croatia). See Marko Karamatić, “Biskup Strossmayer i školovanje bosanskih franjevacu u Đakovu 1853–1876” [Bishop Strossmayer and the education of Bosnian Franciscans 1853–1876], *Diacovensia* 1 (1995): 200–209.

from a limited number of original printed grammars of the Turkish language written in Latin and Italian, and most frequently from the grammar of the renowned philologist and lexicographer F. M. Meninski.<sup>22</sup>

However, because there is a lack of data about the authors, it is not possible to reconstruct who the mediators in the transfer of knowledge about the Turkish language were in the period before the mid-nineteenth century. In the library of the Monastery of the Holy Spirit in Fojnica, for example, we found the oldest known manuscript Turkish grammar with vocabulary, which is filed under reference number V. Rk. 71.<sup>23</sup> This manuscript by an unknown author (probably an autograph) was completed in 1815. It is bound in 14.5 x 10 cm leather bindings, which are damaged in places, as are the leaves. The manuscript is written in a relatively legible hand and contains some blank, unnumbered pages. It consists of two parts: (1) a Turkish-Latin vocabulary in two columns and (2) a grammar of the Turkish language in Italian, indicating that it is probably a transcription. The grammar ends with a reader, several analyses of Ottoman texts, and shorter texts of varying content. It is possible that Mikić's professor, Martin Nedić, used this Turkish grammar as well.

#### IV. MIKIĆ'S PERSONAL PAPERS IN TURKISH

Babić divides Mikić's personal papers held in the Franciscan monastery at Tolisa into four groups: (1) lexicographical, (2) historical, (3) literary, and (4) miscellaneous writings. Although he died in his 37th year, the young friar, who was also a naturalist, a poet, a historian, a lexicographer, a chronicler, and a geographer, left behind hundreds of handwritten pages.

Mikić's autograph *Vocabula Latino-Turcica* is preserved as a hardcover book, 21 x 17 cm in size. It has 444 pages and is in very good condition. It was written in Kraljeva Sutjeska in 1847, as can be seen on the title page. The autograph's pages were not numbered (although Mikić did sporadically mark quire numbers), but each page was marked with the first two letters of the first and last Latin words on that page. In 1985, Babić paginated the manuscript himself.

<sup>22</sup> Francisci à Mesgnien-Meninski, *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium*, (Vienna, 1660; 2nd ed. 1780); Mesgnien-Meninski, *Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae, institutiones seu Grammatica Turcica* (Vienna, 1680; 2nd ed. 1756). In the libraries of Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a small number of printed dictionaries and grammars of the Turkish language have survived. Besides Meninski's, these also include the following: J. Th. Zenker, *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch*, I-II (Leipzig, 1866); C. C. de Carbognano, *Primi principi della Grammatica Turca ad uso dei missionari apostolici di Constantinopoli* (Rome, 1794). After finishing their education abroad, Franciscan friars would often receive such books as presents, since they were indispensable handbooks for working in the "Turkish provinces."

<sup>23</sup> Čaušević and Andrić, "Novootkriveni rukopisi," 175.

The autograph *Vocabula Latino-Turcica* can be divided into four chapters, of which only one has a title:

A Latin-Turkish vocabulary, pp. 3–209;  
 Turkish loanwords commonly used in everyday speech, pp. 210–213,  
 followed by blank pages from 214 to 262;  
 Grammar, pp. 263–327, followed by blank pages from 328 to 372;  
 A Turkish–Latin vocabulary of words that are used most frequently  
 (*Vocabula Turcica quorum maximus et frequentissimus usus est in scriptis  
 eorumdem*), pp. 373–437.

The most voluminous chapter of the manuscript is the Latin–Turkish vocabulary. The first column from the left is a list of Latin words: nouns in nominative singular (without the usual genitive ending or indication of gender), adjectives in their nominative masculine singular forms, and verbs in the infinitive. No accents are indicated for the Latin words. The second column contains Turkish equivalents of the Latin words, written in Ottoman script, and in the third column one finds Latin transliterations of the Turkish words, often in a form typically used in the Bosnian variety of the Turkish language. Given that there are roughly thirty Latin words on each page, Babić estimates that the entire dictionary contains more than six thousand headwords.<sup>24</sup>

The chapter containing common Turkish loanwords in everyday speech has no title at all, and one could even say that it was never even completed. Here, Mikić lists only 59 words on four pages (210–213), while leaving pages 214 to 262 blank, as mentioned earlier. Babić assumes that, chronologically speaking, this part is youngest – that it was written after all work on the Grammar and the Turkish-Latin dictionary had been completed, since it “differs in the color of the ink and in the handwriting” from the rest.<sup>25</sup>

Even the Turkish grammar, the third chapter in Mikić’s autograph, has no specific title. It is also written in Latin, in very legible, beautiful Latin and Ottoman handwriting. The philological material and examples indicate that this text contains excerpts taken from the aforementioned grammar of F. M. Meninski.

Mikić titled the fourth chapter “*Vocabula Turcica quorum maximus et frequentissimus usus est in scriptis eorumdem*” (pp. 373–437). It was completed in 1848, and in total, it contains about two hundred Turkish words and expressions that, in terms of their vocalism and grammatical errors, are typical of the Bosnian

<sup>24</sup> Babić, “Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica,” 120.

<sup>25</sup> Babić, “Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica,” 120. After comparing the handwriting from the chapter “Most common Turkish loanwords used in everyday speech” with the handwriting from the “*Vocabula Latino-Turcica*,” Babić concludes that this chapter was written by the same person as the other chapters.

variety of Turkish,<sup>26</sup> while its half-empty and blank pages were probably reserved for additional entries. Thus, like the second chapter, this one remained unfinished as well.

It seems unbelievable that Mikić was able to complete several hundred pages of Turkological manuscripts by the age of 21. According to Babić, Mikić perfected his Turkish by translating as well as through his contacts with Turkish officials. This is supported by a quote from the manuscript of Fra Bono Nedić (Archives of the Franciscan monastery at Tolisa), in which Nedić wrote the following about Mate Mikić: “In the Turkish language, he spoke, read, and translated quite correctly. He also translated many different Turkish documents into Croatian (...).” Babić also mentions a letter by Fra Ilija Čavarović (Kraljeva Sutjeska, 31 Dec. 1869) to Fra Martin Nedić, in which he asks Nedić to see to it that Mikić’s manuscript is preserved and points out that there is another manuscript of his grammar, “which somehow got into the hands of the students in Fojnica.”<sup>27</sup>

## V. CONCLUSION

This study of Turkological material kept in the libraries and archives of Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia and Herzegovina provides interesting information about how knowledge of the Turkish language was transferred from professors to students at Franciscan seminaries founded in the second half of the nineteenth century. That transfer of knowledge took place not only within the seminaries but outside of those institutions, as well. One example of extra-institutional teaching was the informal language instruction that Fra Marijan Šunjić gave to Fra Martin Nedić in Ovčarevo, while Nedić was serving as Šunjić’s chaplain from 1836 to 1839. From articles on the history of Franciscan seminaries as well as surviving documentation which includes autoreferential texts, a high level of motivation was noted among professors, who, continuing the tradition of their own teachers, copied or (less often) compiled dictionaries and grammars of the Turkish language for teaching purposes and the needs of students. Their success in the transfer of knowledge of not only spoken Turkish but also the Ottoman language for higher-level written and spoken communication, even without sufficient knowledge about methods of teaching foreign languages or the necessary literature – which had existed as far back as the seventeenth century in European schools for dragomans (i.e., interpreters) – speaks to the knowledge, skill, and efforts of professors to pass on such specific knowledge to their students. In addition, there were some friars who, on several occasions, copied grammars and dictionaries that were hundreds

<sup>26</sup> Examples: *Alaisi versi* ‘za ljubav Boga’ [for the love of God]; *Baka beri* ‘pazi ovde’ [take note!; listen!]; *Čik mejdane* ‘izadi na dvor’ [go outside!]; *Jarali oldum* ‘bih izranjen’ [I was wounded]; *Šujle buyle* ‘amo tamo’ [here and there], *Tamašan* ‘čudan’ [strange], *Ulmis* ‘mrtav’ [dead], etc.

<sup>27</sup> Babić, “Autographum Vocabula Latino-Turcica,” 121.



of pages long (!) because, when departing for a new post, they would leave their manuscripts in the libraries of the monasteries where they had just served. Therefore, even their manuscripts dedicated to the Turkish language, which made up for the lack of published foreign grammars, lesson books, and dictionaries, had a significant role in the process of teaching the Turkish language and the transfer of knowledge. The practice of copying foreign printed books<sup>28</sup> continued up until the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, as evidenced by Mikić's massive manuscript legacy. Why this lasted so long is not entirely clear. Perhaps it was because of Ottoman censorship, as the government, fearing enemy propaganda, forbade the importation of foreign books and monitored the mails coming in from abroad; on the other hand, it could have been due to the desperate economic circumstances, which would have prevented them from ordering books from abroad.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> One exception is the grammar *Kavâid-i Osmaniye ili Pravila otomanskoga jezika* [Kavâid-i Osmaniye, or Rules of the Ottoman language], which was translated by Josip Dragomanović and published in 1873 in Sarajevo.

<sup>29</sup> These problems were even discussed by Bosnian Franciscans in their private letters. See Andrija Zirdum, *Pisma bosanskih franjevaca 1850–1870* [Letters of Bosnian Franciscans 1850–1870] (Plehan: Slovoznak, 1996).

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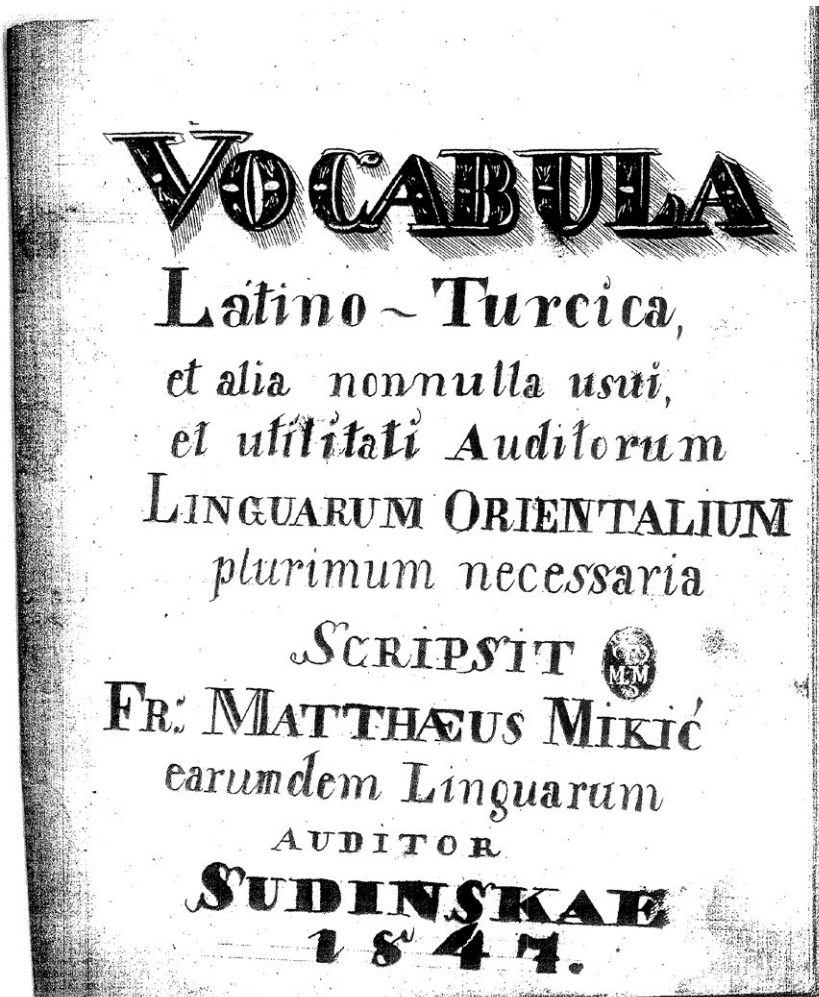
## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1



*Map. The Apostolic Vicariate in Bosnia at the Turn of the 18th and 19th Centuries*  
 Source: Srećko M. Džaja: *Katolici u Bosni i zapadnoj Hercegovini na prijelazu iz 18. u 19. stoljeće* [Catholics in Bosnia and Western Herzegovina at the Turn of the 18th and 19th Centuries], Kršćanska sadašnjost, Zagreb 1971.)

APPENDIX 2



*Latin-Turkish vocabulary*



## APPENDIX 5

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Adak - običaj.  
 Akar - štala.  
 Ala'i-i vevsi - za gulaš boga.  
 As'ik - zabavljen, zabavljen.  
 Baka beri - pazi ovde.  
 Basaka - na stranu.  
 Benden giti - ubegloje od mene.  
 Benden gitmiş - propao je.  
 Bonum nehum - naly duh.  
 Bonum zanunum - moja duša.  
 Capdak - govoja soba.  
 Cafir - nevjera.  
 Celbia - Gospodar.  
 Çik m'ydane - k'ođi na dvor.  
 Coban - prosvir.  
 Çorb - juha.  
 Çul - pokrivač od kožane.

Feris - turski pop.  
 Delio - junak.  
 Djaur nevjernik, čovik kojice kralj.  
 Djel - oči.  
 Zanunum - duša.  
 Džigier - pluća.  
 Džurekuk - ljepota.  
 Džurek - lič.  
 Džure solum - hvrimose.  
 Hain Muhammedu - odmatnik.  
 Hamalg - Gubotni Lis.  
 Horamis - ugrabitelj - bijava.  
 Hosap - račun.  
 Hic - vala - nimala noga na.  
 Hodav - učitelj.  
 Jorali oldum - bih isranjen.  
 Jasad - uskerburgje, zabranio od.

Turkish loanwords commonly used in everyday speech

## APPENDIX 6

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Bokunije  
 Kaduna - gospođa  
 Kadun - sudan.  
 Kas - mnog košni  
 Kaplan - bigeršini - Egipci  
 Kan'ar - kolniti  
 Kuvetli'ün - oslobodis samac.  
 Kurban - posvetiliste - alder  
 Mahamud - ostruga.  
 Medci - mitosnje.  
 Melek - angje, duh, nobeski.  
 Medicmo - sudionica, - Magistral  
 oğlan džukel - lič bex brade.  
 Soimago - Pipelo.  
 Samazan post turali; my'ccini.  
 Sijle bujle - ama tam.

Samazan - ćudan.  
 Saman - ni'clashu manje, olovniče  
 Seia - Samostan (Manastir) sam  
 Seferi - kućica u vrtu (kuvetli)  
 Septis - Muveto idvidjanje.  
 Ubrisi - vrtar.  
 Vala - boga mi  
 Zain ol di - zaludny, bedava.  
 Zulum - nasilje, sila, ~~vala~~ (Coac)

Turkish loanwords commonly used in everyday speech



# 'ABDÜ 'L-MECÎD B. FIRIŞTE (D. 1459/60) AND THE EARLY TURKISH READING OF HURUFI CORPUS CANONICUM

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## ABSTRACT

After the notorious persecution of its Khurasani protagonists, profiting from the political and ideological vacuum of the interregnum and the upsurge of the Shiite propaganda of the late 15th century, the Hurufi teaching penetrated Eastern and Central Anatolia, partly disguised under the tenets of different Batini indoctrinated groups, making these regions by the end of the century, its new stronghold. The main stage of the events became the Ottoman lands. Particularly in the years after the Ankara disaster of 1402, Asia Minor and the Balkans became a fertile soil for all unorthodox doctrines, especially those, like Hurufi one, nurturing apocalyptic or messianic expectations. Simultaneously, Persian and the Gurgani vernacular retreated before the Anatolian Turkish as its written medium. The paper concentrates on the exegetical attempts of the second generation of Fażl Allāh Astarābādī (d. 1394)'s disciples, in particular the first Turkish translations and commentaries on his seminal works.

On the very eve of his arrest and the eventual execution at the fort of Alanjaq near Nakhchivan on September 2, 1394, anticipating his martyrdom, Fażl Allāh Astarābādī writes his last will, *Vaşiyyat-nāme*, forewarning his family and adherents, notably his son Salām Allāh and his preferred disciple Mīr 'Alī al-'Alā of the upcoming persecutions, and ordering them to make themselves inconspicuous, disperse to different locations and wait for the Apocalypse and his second coming as Messiah. After an attempted assassination of the Timurid ruler Shāhrukh (d. 1447) in Herat 1427, the revenging authorities executed an uncertain, but allegedly large number of Khurasani Hurufis including some members of Master's family. A few years later, in 1431, a second significant Hurufi instigated insurrection was suppressed in Isfahan. The last such attempt, stirred by the ubiquitous apocalyptic expectations of the time occurred in Tabriz under Jahān Shāh of Qara Qoyun (d. 1467), whose aftermath brought the execution of some five hundred prominent members of the movement, including Fażl Allāh's daughter Kalimat Allāh, and put an end to Hurufism in Khurasan and Azarbaijan.

Apart from the Messiah's own offspring, perished in the subsequent persecutions, and leaving behind virtually no written records, the Hurufi tradition distinguishes three prominent personalities as his immediate successors, responsible for further expansion and survival of the order: 1) Khawaja Sayyid Ishāq, who after Fażl Allāh's death remained in Khurasan, in his writings being more radical



and militant than the other two, and very probably belonged to the fraction led by the above mentioned Fażl Allāh's daughter; 2) Sayyid 'Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī (d. 1404/5), being of Turkic origin, and less personally but more through popularity of his Turkish *divān* heavily contributed to the spread of Hurufi teachings among Anatolian Turks, particularly in the later times; 3) Amīr Sayyid 'Alīyy al-A'ālā (d. 1419), being the most prolific writer among the three, the major propagator of Fażl Allāh's teachings and beliefs in his messianic mission. If we disregard the birth of Nuqtawiyya movement of an alleged disciple of Fażl Allāh, Maḥmūd Pasikhānī (d. 1427) in Iran and India, the Iranian era of Hurufism was closed. The main stage of the events moved to the Ottoman lands. Particularly in the years after Ankara disaster, and due to the ideological vacuum it created, Asia Minor and the Balkans became a fertile soil for all unorthodox religious doctrines, especially those, like Ḥurūfī one, nurturing apocalyptic or messianic expectations.

Considering the appearance and the further development of Hurufism in the Ottoman Empire, I found it convenient to tentatively distinguish three not sharply divided periods regarding the form and extent of their propaganda activities: 1) the missionary period, covering roughly 15th century; 2) the *ısrık* period with its peak towards the end of the 16th century; 3) the multifaceted Hurufi-Bektaşī period, from the 16th century on. As for the implantation of Hurufism in Anatolia, it is hard to discern the truth from the legend. What is sure is that Fażl Allāh's *khalīfas* started their propaganda in Anatolia from the beginning of the 15th century via Tabriz and Aleppo. According to a Bektaşī tradition, the person responsible for the spread of the Hurufi teachings in the Turkish speaking lands was Fażl Allāh's *khalīfa* 'Alī al-A'ālā, who, after escaped from persecutions in Khurasan and Azarbaijan took shelter in a Bektaşī convent, and according to, for Hurufis less favorable version of the same story, disguised as a Bektaşī dervish, passed *Jāvidān-nāme* off as a work of Hacı Bektaş. On this legend insists also an once extremely popular anti-Hurufi propaganda pamphlet of a certain İshāk Efendi from 1893, *Kāshif al-Asrār wa Dāfi' al-Ashrār*. However, the story is not supported by any historical document, save that 'Alī al-A'ālā was rather actively travelling westward to Syria and further, and among the places he visited mentions also Aladağ near Adana, and I assume it to be a Bektaşī legend. If ever being active in Anatolia, we know for sure that he has eventually returned to Khurasan where died and buried next to his *murshid* in Alıncaq. Another possible channel of communication between the Khurasani Hurufis and the Anatolian Bektaşīs was the proselytizing activity of another *khalīfa* of Fażl Allāh, Mīr Sharīf, who in his *Khajj-nāme* describes his and his brother's travels in Asia Minor, bringing some Fażl Allāh's books with them. The third channel could be Nesīmī's Turkish poetry. Indeed, Bektaşīs believed that Nesīmī was a companion of Hacı Bektaş, indulging in long conversations with him, but, as mentioned before, all legends about direct contacts and conversations between early Hurufi protagonists and Bektaşīs have to be taken with an utmost caution.

The first well documented account on the Hurufi activities in the Ottoman domains is a report of the Ottoman 16th century chronicler Taşköprü-zâde, who in his *Şhaqâ'iq al- Nu'māniyya* relates a well-known event, when, kindled by the religious zeal of Fahu 'd-Dîn 'Acemî (d. 1460) and grandvizier Mahmûd Paşa (d. 1474), a Hurufi teacher having considerable influence on Mehmed II was executed together with his associates. From the report it is not completely clear when the event actually occurred. The modern researchers<sup>1</sup> tend to place it in Mehmed's first sultanate (1444-1446); I dare, however, to date it to his second reign. If not to an extent suggested by Kuçek Abdal in the *Otmân Baba Vilâyetnâmesi*, it was not a secret that Mehmed II was intellectually inquisitive and heavily inclined to un-orthodox doctrines of the time. His ambitions of conquering Constantinople were not concealed, and were particularly appealing to those, who, like Hurufis, believed that the conquest of Constantinople by Muslims will be the final evidence of Messiah's coming, so they naturally hurried to reveal themselves to him. We, of course, cannot be sure to which extent the Sultan was close to the Hurufi ideas, but we also cannot fail to notice that his dreams of making himself the universal ruler are not without a messianic flavor. In any case, Hurufi presence in the half of the 15th century in a place as distant as Edirne, let alone having access to a ruler, shows that the teaching spread through Anatolia in a very short time.

The clandestine chapter of the Hurufi history opened with the Edirne affair continued for almost a century. From the Ottoman *mühimme defterleri* we learn about a sudden revival of Hurufi groups in the second half of the 16th century, in Anatolia usually connected with Bektâşis or Kızılbaş, in the western Balkans mostly independent, and generally referred as *İşıks*. As centers of their activities were mentioned tekkes in Plovdiv, Varna, and Tatarpazarı.<sup>2</sup> The six notes from *mühimme defterleri* were dated between 1573 and 1577. 1573 is the year when the notorious persecution of the Bosnian Hamzevîs started, so it is impossible not to bring two events together. Indeed, a contemporary religious treatise of the Bosnian provenance warns of Hurufis and Hamzevis, who united threaten to overthrow the Sultan and the 'ulemâ' and establish a state based on immorality and unbelief.<sup>3</sup> Similarly tempered, and probably referring to the same dervish groups is a letter written by the Halveti sheikh Bâlî Efendi of Sofia to the grandvizier Rustem Paşa.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Franz Babinger, "Von Amurath zu Amurath. Vor- und Nachspiel der Schlacht bei Varna," *Oriens* 3, no 2 (1950): 244-245; Colin Imber, "A Note on 'Christian' Preachers in the Ottoman Empire," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 10 (1990): 59-60.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmet Refik, *Onaltıncı Asırda Râfızîlik Ve Bektâşîlik* (Istanbul, 1932), 41-42, 44-46, 49-50, 59-60, 63, 90, 101-102.

<sup>3</sup> Ibrahim Mehinagić, "Četiri neobjavljena izvora o hamzevijama iz sredine XVI vijeka," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 18-19 (1973): 217-266.

<sup>4</sup> Andreas Tietze, "Sheykh Bâlî Efendi's Report on the Followers of Sheykh Bedreddin," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 7-8 (1988): 115-122.

The sheikh reports on “apostates and atheists” (*melâhide ve zenâdka*), who declare that “...the wine they promise to be offered in paradise is none other than this exhilarating, mirth imparting wine. What they call Kevser, the sweet river in paradise, is none other than lips of the beloved, sheikh’s soothing words and healing breath. And the promised paradise virgins are none others than these earthly maids and brides...”<sup>5</sup> Simultaneously with the Hurufî penetration westwards, Persian and Gurgani vernacular retreated before the Anatolian Turkish as its written medium. The original Hurufî ritual books needed to be translated and commented in order to accommodate new adherents.

Which were the books Mîr Sharîf brought with him from Khurasan? Or, in other words, what is the essential corpus of the Hurufî literature which needed to be translated and commented? At first, the works of Fazl Allah himself. His opus is considerably smaller than of many of his disciples. The four prose works are: 1) *Jâvidân-nâme*, the magnum opus, written in Gurgani dialect of Astarabad; 2) *Navm-nâme*, a short work, commonly attached to the previous book, deals with the interpretations of dreams, obviously pertaining to the early period of Fazl Allâh’s prophetic career; 3) *Maḥabbet-nâme*; 4) *Vaṣiyet-nâme*, his last will. Actually, there are two versions, the larger one was published by Abdülbâkî Gölpinarlı.<sup>6</sup> 5) *‘Arsh-nâme*, also known as *‘Arsh-nâme-i Ilâhî*, a *mathnawî* in 1220 distichs, is Fazl Allâh’s most important work after *Jâvidân-nâme*. The name was taken from the Quranic term meaning “God’s Throne”<sup>7</sup> For Fazl Allâh, “the Throne of God” is, naturally, the human face. The book is sometimes called also *Jâvidân-i Şağîr*, a denomination which deserves the further explanation below. Fazl Allâh left behind also a *dîvân* in Persian under a nom de plume (*makhlâs*) Na‘îmî. In different manuscript collections I have found some more titles attributed to him, which could not be confirmed in any biobibliographical work. The titles are: *Kitâb-i Rûḥiyye*, *Shaa al-Qamar*, *Vaḥdat al-Vujûd*, *Nûr-nâme*.

Highly esteemed were also the works of his *khalîfas*: ‘Alî al-A‘lâ’s *Tavḥîd-nâme*, *Qiyâmat-nâme*, *Akḥîrat-nâme*, and *Sa‘âdat-nâme*; Sayyid Ishâq’s *Maḥram-nâme*, *Taḥqîq-nâme*, *Khâb-nâme*, *Ishârat-nâme*, and *Turâb-nâme*; Mîr Sharîf’s *Khajj-nâme*, *Maḥshar-nâme*, *Risâle-i Ism u Musammâ*, *Bayân al-Vâqî‘*; Amîr Ghiyâs al-Dîn’s *Istivâ-nâme*; Nasîmî’s *Dîvân* and *Muqaddimat al-Ḥaqâ’iq*; and Mîr Fazîlî’s *Risâle* and *Sharḥ-i Taqṣîmât*.

Even though the late Bektaşî propaganda prefers to ascribe such a role to one of Fazl Allâh’s immediate successors, ‘Alî al-A‘lâ, it seems that the personality

<sup>5</sup> “...cennetde şarâb gelür dedikleri şarâb bu şarâb-ı gam-zidâ ve ferâh-bahşâdır. Ve Kevser dedikleri leb-i dilber ve şeybin kelîmât-i tayyîbesi enfâs-i kudsiyyesidir. Ve hûrî dedikleri işbu gelinler ve dubterleri...” Tietze, “Sheykh Bâlî,” 116.

<sup>6</sup> Abdülbâkî Gölpinarlı, “Fazlullah-ı Hurufî’nin Vasiyyat-Nâme’si veya Vesâyâsi,” *Şarkîyat Mecmuası* 2 (1958): 53-62.

<sup>7</sup> Qur’an 20:5.

mainly responsible for distribution of Hurufî ideas, and their exposition among the Anatolian Turks was 'Abdü 'l- Mecîd b. Firişte, born in Tire near Izmir, and according to Taşköprü-zâde<sup>8</sup> also a younger brother of the much more famous 'Abdü 'l-Latîf b. Firişte, known also as İbn-i Melek. İshâk Efendi in *Kāshif al-Asrār* asserts, without reference to the source that he died in 1459/60. The author of a recent work on the, allegedly his, dictionary of Quranic terms, Cemal Muhtar complicates things even further, claiming that the former could not be his elder brother but his father, finding forty years between the dates of their deaths too much, assuming somehow that both died in the same age and were born from the same mother.<sup>9</sup> I guess that Taşköprü-zâde and Mecdî<sup>10</sup> were right asserting that they were brothers. Mecdî claims that there was one more writer in the family, bearing the same name, and being the real author of the well known lexicographical work *Luğat-i Kânûn-i İlahî*, a work generally wrongly attributed to 'Abdü 'l-Mecîd the Hurufî by modern Turkish researchers. 'Abdü 'l-Mecîd has left behind four written works: *Ashq-nâme*, *Akhiret-nâme*, *Hidāyet-nâme*, and a translation of Fazl Allāh's *Khāb-nâme*. The seminal work of Firişte-zâde, *Ashq-nâme* was extremely popular and influential in the Hurufî circles, so much that it deserved the honorary title: *Jāvidān-i Şağîr* (The Small *Jāvidān*). Here we need to make a small digression and address some common mistakes regarding this second title and the İbn-i Firişte's work itself. In the introduction to his book, the author says: "Now, this humble servant Firişte-zâde translated *Cāvidān-nâme*, the Book of Eternity, written by the exalted Fazlullāh, from Persian to Turkish, so that it could be used by those who do not know Persian."<sup>11</sup> Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı in his article in Brill's *Encyclopedia of Islam*, asserts in footsteps of Sâdiq Qiyā<sup>12</sup> that İbn Firişte's work was a Turkish translation of *Jāvidān-nâme*, or more precisely, of its shorter version written by Fazl Allāh himself in standard Persian, generally known as *Jāvidān-i Şağîr*. However, no contemporary source mentions such a book of Fazl Allāh. Infallibly well informed Amîr Ghiyās al-Dîn in *Istivānâme*, the main source for Fazl Allāh's biography, also does not mention such work, so I have enough reasons to believe that it has never existed. Gölpınarlı indirectly accepted his mistake in the introduction to his later work *Hurûfî Metinleri Kataloğu* admitting that he has never found a sole mentioning of the work<sup>13</sup>, however later researchers including authors like

<sup>8</sup> Taşköprü-zâde, *Al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fî 'Ulamā al-Dawlat al-Uthmāniyya* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabî, 1975), 45.

<sup>9</sup> Cemal Muhtar, *İki Kur'an Sözlüğü Luğat-i Feriştioğlu Ve Luğat-i Kanuni İlahi* (Ankara, 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Mehmed Mecdî, *Şakâ'ik Tercümesi* (İstanbul, 1269 H), 67.

<sup>11</sup> *İmdi bu fakîr Firişte-zâde, Hazret-i Fazl-i Yezdân'ın Cāvidān-nâme'sinin lisân-i Fârsî'den Fârsî bilmeyenlere nefî olmak için lisân-i Türkî'ye terceme eyledüm.*

<sup>12</sup> Şâdiq Kiyā, *Vāzbe-nâme-yi Gurgānî* (Tahrân: Intishārât-i Dānishgāh-i Tahrân, 1330 H).

<sup>13</sup> Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı, *Hurûfî Metinleri Kataloğu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1973).

Hüsamettin Aksu<sup>14</sup>, Shahzad Bashir<sup>15</sup>, and Rüşhan Khiyāvi<sup>16</sup> meticulously transmitted Gölpınarlı's error, adding also some of their owns. Fazl Allāh's *Jāvidān-nāme* is a voluminous book of some 600 folios (631 in Ankara Milli Ktp. manuscript I used) while *'Ashq-nāme* has 164 pages in the lithographic edition of 1871, less than 100 in the manuscript from Türk Tarih Kurumu I used. Also the comparison between two works assured me that *'Ashq-nāme* is neither translation of *Jāvidān-nāme* nor its précis or summary. It is an independent original work elaborating Hurufi doctrine even in a better organised way than Fazl Allāh's own works. The Arabic root *t-r-j-m* comprises but does not denote specifically a literary translation, it could mean also commentary, explanation, even approach. As far as the *Jāvidān-i Şağîr* is concerned, I assume that such work of Fazl Allāh was an invention of the modern researchers. Such honorary title I found attributed to: 1) İbn-i Firişte's *'Ashq-nāme*; 2) Dervîş Murtazâ's 17th century abbreviated translation of *Jāvidān-i Kabîr* named *Dürr-i Yetîm*; 3) Gölpınarlı<sup>17</sup> thinks that *Jāvidān-i Şağîr* could be Fazl Allāh's second-by-importance work *'Arsh-nāme*. It sounds reasonable. 4) A manuscript from the National Library in Ankara contains a rather extensive (131 folios) Hurufi work in standard Persian beginning with: "*Dhāt-i nutq ki vujūd-i 32 kalima Hazrat-i F H [Fazl-i Haqq] ast J H [jalla jalālu-hu] majmū' i mavjūd va mukavvanāt-rā az ān 32 kalima-yi aşl dar vujūd āvurde ki hama mavjūdāt-i ān-ast. Bā ān 32 kalima-yi aşl ki vujūd-i mutlaq Hazrat F Q [Fazl-i Haqq] ast J H [jalla jalālu-hu]...*"<sup>18</sup> On folio 1a there is a colophon informing that the title of the work is *Jāvidān-i Şağîr*, and that its author is 'Alī al-A'lā. So I dare to claim that: a) such a work of Fazl Allāh has never existed; b) any exegetic works related to *Jāvidān-i Kabîr*, or elaborating main tenets of the Hurufi belief, and enjoying highest respect had chance to be called *Jāvidān-i Şağîr*.

Firişte-zâde's book is symbolically divided into twenty eight chapters corresponding to the twenty eight letters of the Arabic alphabet. The author expounds the essential postulates of the Islamic creed, like prayer, pilgrimage, or *tawhid*, explains meanings of certain Koranic verses, naturally in the light of the Hurufi exegesis. The book enjoyed a considerable popularity, judging by the huge number

<sup>14</sup> Hüsamettin Aksu, "Câvidānnâme," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 7 (Istanbul: TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1993), 178.

<sup>15</sup> Shahzad Bashir, *Fazlallah Astarabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> Rüşhan Khiyāvi, *Hurūfiyya Tārīkh 'Aqā'id Ve 'Arā'* (Tahrān: Nashr-i Ātiya, 1379 H).

<sup>17</sup> Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı, "Faḍl Allāh Hurūfî," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., Vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 733-735; Gölpınarlı, *Hurūfîlik Metinleri*, 24-26.

<sup>18</sup> "The essence of the faculty of speech which exists through 32 primordial letters in the possession of the sublime Fazl Allāh, the Grace of God, may His glory be exalted, from which all existing and called into being were brought into existence. These 32 letters are the absolute existence of the Grace of God, may His glory be exalted..." MS Ankara, Milli Ktp., Adnan Ötügen 139.

of its copies in different manuscript collections. The work was printed in 1871, some popular modern editions full of mistakes and virtually useless were produced by tiny publishing houses, or Alevite cultural institutions. The other Firişte-zâde's works are his Turkish translation of Fazl Allâh's *Maḥabbat-nāme* entitled *Hidāyet-nāme*, a Turkish translation of Sayyid Ishāq's *Khāb-nāme*, and an original work *Ākhirat-nāme*.

As a conclusion, I offer a simple categorization of the Turkish Hurufi literature of the later period: 1) exegetic works; 2) linguistic auxiliary works; 3) original prose works; 4) poetry. The exegetic works could be subdivided into three categories: 1) translations; 2) abbreviated translations; 3) commentaries. Linguistic auxiliary works could be subdivided into: 1) dictionaries of the Gurgani dialect; 2) lists of sigla and symbols.

As an important translation we should mention *Dürr-i Yetîm* of Dervîş Murtazâ, as a commentary Kemâl Hâşimî's commentary on *Jāvidān-nāme*. Original Hurufi treatises were written by İškurt Muhammed Dede (*Şalāt-nāme*), Yemînî (*Fazîlat-nāme*), Misâlî (*Miftāḥ al-Ghayb*, *Fayz-nāme*, *Kavthar-nāme*), Muhîtî (*Vahdat-nāme*, *Kashf-nāme*, *Qismat-nāme*), Virânî (*Risāle*). Among Hurufi *dīvān* poets the most prominent were: Refî'î (mathnawis *Bashārat-nāme* and *Ganj-nāme*), Misâlî, Rümûzî, Bosnalî Vahdetî, Temennâyi, Muhîtî, Penâhî, Usûlî, Rûhî-yi Bagdâdî, 'Arşî. *Jāvidān-nāme* was written in the Astarabadi (Gurgani) dialect, so there were many, more or less complete dictionaries, usually at the end of a book. Even more common are lists of sigla and abbreviations typical for Hurufi scriptures. Combining different manuscript sources I composed a list of more than 200 such symbols. Such small dictionaries were referred as "key" (*miftāḥ*) in the title: *Miftāḥ*, *Miftāḥ-i Kutub-i Hurūfiyān*, *Miftāḥ-i Hurūf-i Jāvidān*, *Kashf-i Rumūzāt-i Jāvidān-i Şağîr*, *Bayān-i Rumūzāt-i Jāvidān-nāme ve Maḥabbat-nāme ve 'Arsh-nāme-yi Ilāhî*. I should also add hundreds of anonymous Hurufî treatises, scattered in libraries throughout the world. I would in particular like to draw attention to three rich and virtually untouched Hurufi collections to be found in the Library of Albanian Academy of Sciences in Tirana, Hacı Bektaş Museum Archive in Nevşehir, and Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi in İstanbul.

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# THE ANNULAR ECLIPSE OF THE SUN OF 7 SEPTEMBER 1820 – A REPORT IN *TĀRĪḤ-I CEVDET*

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## ABSTRACT

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1823-1895), in the 6<sup>th</sup> section of the appendix to the 11<sup>th</sup> volume of his *Tārīḥ (Tārīḥ. Veḳāyir-i Devlet-i ʿAlīye* (Istanbul, s.a.), 11, 311-312), under the heading of *Zāyīce-i kūsūf-i 1235 sene* “The horoscope of the solar eclipse of the year 1235 (1820)” describes the occurrence of the annular solar eclipse of 7 September 1820, which was visible in Istanbul as a partial eclipse of an obscuration rate of about 80%. Cevdet copied this chapter nearly literally from the third volume of the *Tārīḥ* of Meḥmed ʿAṭāullāh Ṣānīzāde (1770/71-1826; Meḥmed ʿAṭāullāh Ṣānīzāde, *Tārīḥ*. (Istanbul: Ceride-i Havadis Matbaası), vol. 3, 1290 (1873), 126-127), where an astronomically fairly accurate account of the eclipse alongside an astrological comment is given under the heading of *vukūʿ-i kūsūf* “The occurrence of an eclipse”. The article will first present the astronomical details of this eclipse as they are known today and compare them to the way Cevdet/Ṣānīzāde describe the progress and the main characteristics of the eclipse. Subsequently, their astrological discussion of this event will briefly be commented upon, also taking into account the combined astronomical and astrological interest in a celestial phenomenon like an eclipse in Ottoman writings of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As an appendix, a transliteration and a translation of this section of Cevdet/Ṣānīzāde will be added with variants and other comments in the footnotes.

On 29 March 2006, Nenad Bey was in Vienna, visiting our institute. As we were going to have lunch, the sun was well visible. I had previously noted the details of the total solar eclipse to be observable in Turkey that day, which only was a partial eclipse in Vienna, and had taken eclipse glasses with me. Through them, we took turns looking at the eclipsed sun.

This eclipse belongs to the Saros series 139, which began on 17 May 1501 and which will end on 3 July 2763. It comprises a total of 71 eclipses, 16 partial eclipses, 43 total eclipses, and 12 hybrid ones.<sup>1</sup> In Vienna, the eclipse started at 09:43:48.5 UTC (11:43:48.5 CEST) and ended at 11:53:46.9 UTC (13:53:46.9 CEST) with

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<sup>1</sup> A hybrid solar eclipse can be annular in some places and total in others, depending on whether the Moon is near enough to the Earth for its umbral shadow to touch its surface (total) or only the antumbral shadow passes its surface (annular). When neither the Moon’s umbral nor the antumbral shadow hits the Earth, but its penumbral shadow, we see a partial eclipse (Five Millenium Catalog of Hybrid Solar Eclipses; <https://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEcat5/SEhybrid5.html>). On the details of this eclipse, see <https://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEmono/TSE2006/TSE2006.html>; Eclipse Predictions by Fred Espenak, NASA/GSFC Emeritus. A Saros series consists of eclipses with similar properties that recur roughly every eighteen years.



the maximum at 10:48:38.1 UTC (12:48:38.1 CEST).<sup>2</sup> Thus, we had the best opportunity to see it at lunchtime. Taking this memorable event we shared as a starting point, I would like to discuss the way *Tārīḥ-i Cevdet* describes an earlier eclipse, which was annular, but only partial in Istanbul.

The annular eclipse of 7 September 1820 has the following astronomical details: It belongs to the Saros series 122, which started on 17 April 991 and will end on 17 May 2235. Saros 122 comprises 70 eclipses, 28 of which are partial, 37 are annular, three total, and two hybrid.<sup>3</sup> Its obscuration rate for Istanbul was about 80%. In Istanbul, it started at 13.19.04.0 UTC (15.19.04.0 EET and ended at 15.48.58.8 UTC (17.48.58.8 EET) with its maximum at 14.38.03.4 UTC (16.38.03.4 EET).<sup>4</sup>

Aḥmed Cevdet Paşa (1823-1895)<sup>5</sup>, in the 6<sup>th</sup> section of the appendix to the 11<sup>th</sup> volume of his *Tārīḥ*<sup>6</sup> relates the occurrence of the solar eclipse of 7 September 1820, copying it nearly literally from the third volume of the *Tārīḥ* of Meḥmed °Aṭāullāh Şānizāde (1770/71-1826)<sup>7</sup>. Cevdet often cites, among other authors, from Şānizāde, a fact that he inconsistently acknowledges.<sup>8</sup>

Whereas Şānizāde tells the story of the eclipse as an event of the year 1235 within the chronological order of years, Aḥmed Cevdet has it as an appendix, and adds another purely astrological discussion for the following year, without mentioning any eclipse.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>2</sup> <https://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/5MCSEmap/1801-1900/1820-09-07.gif>. UTC = Universal Time, equals GMT = Greenwich Mean Time; CEST = Central European Summer Time.

<sup>3</sup> <https://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEsaros/SEsaros122.html>.

<sup>4</sup> For the details for Istanbul, including a sketch of its maximum occultation rate there, as well as for a chart of the path of the eclipse, see <https://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEsearch/SEsearchmap.php?Ecl=18200907> and <https://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/5MCSEmap/1801-1900/1820-09-07.gif>. When one clicks on Istanbul, a window pops up giving the detailed hours. Javascript has to be activated.

<sup>5</sup> For an exhaustive evaluation of his work, see Christoph K. Neumann, *Das indirekte Argument. Ein Plädoyer für die Tanẓimāt vermittels der Historie. Die geschichtliche Bedeutung von Aḥmed Cevdet Paşas Tārīḥ*. Periplus Parerga I. (Münster – Hamburg: Lit, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> Aḥmed Cevdet, *Tārīḥ. Vekāyī°-i Devlet-i °Alīye*, vol. 11 (Istanbul, s.a.), 311-312 (pdf available at <https://tarihvedenediyet.org/2014/05/tarih-i-cevdet-ahmed-cevdet-pasa.html>).

<sup>7</sup> Meḥmed °Aṭāullāh Şānizāde, *Tārīḥ*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: Ceride-i Havadis Matbaası, 1290 (1873)), 126-127. All four volumes are accessible at [https://books.google.at/books/about/%C5%9Eanizade\\_tarihi.html?id=WEFbAAAAQAAJ&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.at/books/about/%C5%9Eanizade_tarihi.html?id=WEFbAAAAQAAJ&redir_esc=y). on Şānizāde, see, e.g., Şānizāde Mehmed Atāullah Efendi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/sanizade-mehmed-ataullah-efendi>. – I would like to thank Dr Sabri Özmen for having drawn my attention to this chapter of the *Tārīḥ-i Cevdet*.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Christoph K. Neumann, *Das indirekte Argument*, 134, note 17, et passim for quotations from him as well as other authors. The fifth chapter of the appendix is the *Muḳaddime* of Şānizāde's *Tārīḥ*, which has a heading indicating the source.

<sup>9</sup> For Aḥmed Cevdet's endeavour to free himself from traditional annalistic history writing, see Christoph K. Neumann, *Das indirekte Argument*, Chapter "Methode und Praxis der Tārīḥ-i Cevdet".

In both texts, we can discern two parts. First the astronomical facts are given and subsequently an astrological explanation is added, without any apparent connection between the two parts. However, Şānīzāde only has as a heading *vukū<sup>c</sup>-i kūsūf* “The occurrence of an eclipse”, whereas Aḥmed Cevdet’s heading reads *Zāyīçe-i kūsūf fi 1235 sene* “The horoscope of the solar eclipse of the year 1235 (1820).”<sup>10</sup> In both instances, astronomy and astrology are mixed together, albeit in two more or less distinct parts. Nevertheless, it seems that Aḥmed Cevdet’s objective is more to bring the astrological aspects to the fore, whereas Şānīzāde includes the story into the course of events of the year 1235. Şānīzāde’s text is more interspersed with poetry, whereas Cevdet only cites the final verse of Şānīzāde’s text (see below). This is in line with Cevdet’s idea of reforming history writing by getting rid of the old literary forms.<sup>11</sup>

Both authors put a reference to God’s will and almightiness at the end of each part, the astronomical and the astrological one.

Şānīzāde apparently calculated the exact dates and other properties of the eclipse, using the astronomical tables of the great French astronomer Cassini (1677 – 1756).<sup>12</sup> These tables contain not only detailed descriptions of the ephemerides of celestial objects, but also concise explanations on how to calculate the details of eclipses. One may assume that especially Chapters II–XI of this work, with the exception of Chapter VIII on lunar eclipses, will have been helpful to Şānīzāde:

Chap. II. De l’Équation des Jours.

Chap. III. Des époques des moyens mouvements du Soleil et de la Lune.

Chap. IV. Des moyens mouvements du Soleil et de la Lune.

Chap. V. Du vrai lieu du Soleil.

Chap. VI. Du vrai lieu de la Lune.

Chap. VII. Préparation au Calcul des Éclipses du Soleil et de la Lune.

Chap. IX. Détermination de l’Éclipse du Soleil et de ses Phases.

Chap. X. Déterminer la différence des Méridiens par les Observations des Éclipses du Soleil.

<sup>10</sup> The way of expressing the date is somewhat unusual, with *sene* coming after the number of the year. A *zāyīçe* comprised the astrological calculations that established the “felicitous hours” for various enterprises. It was based on tables (*zic*, see below) that gave the details of the revolutions of the planets (Gül Şen, “Das Ereignis von Edirne (1703). Astrologie als Strategie zur Herrschaftslegitimation und Kontingenzbewältigung”, *Das Mittelalter* 20.1 (2015): 136, citing Salim Aydıöz, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Müneccimbaşılık”, *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları* 1 (1995): 176–177).

<sup>11</sup> Christoph K. Neumann, *Das indirekte Argument*, Chapter “Methode und Praxis der Târîh-i Cevdet”.

<sup>12</sup> Jacques Cassini, *Tables astronomiques du soleil, de la lune, des planètes, des étoiles fixes et des satellites de Jupiter et de Saturne. Avec l’explication et l’usage de ces mêmes tables* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1740).

Chap. XI. Déterminer les Lieux de la Terre qui verront une Éclipse du Soleil proposée ; et quels sont les endroits où elle paroîtra centrale ou partielle.<sup>13</sup>

Şānizāde could not use the French original version of Cassini's work, but there was an Ottoman translation of it made in 1770 by Çınarî Ḥalifezāde İsmā'îl Efendi under the title of *Tuhfe-i behîc-i raşîni*<sup>14</sup> *tercüme-i Zîc-i Kâsînî*. "The cheerful and stable gift, the translation of the Tables of Cassini." Çınarî Ḥalifezāde İsmā'îl Efendi added Logarithm Tables at the beginning.<sup>15</sup> This book, however, only started to be used as late as 1800.<sup>16</sup> The Cassini tables had been brought to Istanbul by Yirmisekiz Meḥmed Çelebi when he returned from his embassy to Paris (1720/21). Yirmisekiz Meḥmed Çelebi had visited the observatory of Paris and was shown a number of instruments as well as the telescope, through which he could see Saturn, Jupiter, and the Moon. For our topic here, what he says about the machine for simulating eclipses is interesting:

... Ce sont plusieurs cercles autour desquels on a marqué des chiffres et gravé le soleil et la lune . Lorsque ces cercles viennent à tourner une petite aiguille semblable à celle d'une montre et dont le bout est rond comme un aspre s'étend tantôt sur le soleil et tantôt sur la lune et, suivant qu'il couvre la lune totalement ou en partie on juge qu'un tel mois il doit y avoir une éclipse de lune de tant de pouces. Il en est de même pour le soleil. Un cercle donne à connaître qu'une telle année, qu'un tel mois, qu'un tel jour, il y aura une eclipse de soleil de tant de pouces.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Jacques Cassini, *Tables astronomiques*, Titres des chapitres Contenus dans l'Explication des Tables, partie non paginée (<https://www.e-rara.ch/zut/doi/10.3931/e-rara-2518>).

<sup>14</sup> Nowhere in the secondary literature this title is given with diacritics nor is it translated into any other language. Therefore, my transliteration and translation of it base themselves on the entry *raşîn* in *Yeni Redhouse*.

<sup>15</sup> Aykut Kazancigil, *Osmanlılarda Bilim ve Teknoloji*, (Istanbul: Etkileşim, 2007), 241.

<sup>16</sup> Aykut Kazancigil, *Osmanlılarda Bilim ve Teknoloji*, 89.

<sup>17</sup> Gilles Veinstein, *Le Paradis des infidèles: un ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la régence* (Paris: Maspero, 1981), 149. This must be the machine invented by Ole Rømer (1644-1710), an earlier variant of which had been constructed by Philippe de la Hire (1640-1718), cf. *ibid.* note 222. This information was communicated to Gilles Veinstein by Jean-Pierre Verdet of the Paris observatory. It can also be found in Godin des Odonais, *Histoire de l'Académie royale des sciences, Tome I. Depuis son établissement en 1666 jusqu'à 1686*. (Paris: Gabriel Martin, Jean-Baptiste Coignard, Hippolyte-Louis Guerin, 1733), 317.

See also Marlene Kurz, *Ein osmanischer Almanach für das Jahr 1239/1249 (1824/1825)*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 276 (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2007), 14-15.

Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi also made acquaintance with Jacques Cassini. There are thirteen copies of Çınarî Halîfezâde İsmâ'îl Efendi's work.<sup>18</sup>

The word *zîc* (see above) relates to

the numerical tables and accompanying explanation sufficient to enable the practicing astronomer, or astrologer, to solve all the standard problems of his profession, i.e. to measure time and to compute planetary and stellar positions, appearance, and eclipses.<sup>19</sup>

It comes from Persian and was probably already in use in Pahlavî. It is derived from the similarity of the lines of the tables with the warp of a loom, which was its first meaning.<sup>20</sup> Today, about 200 *zîces* are known.<sup>21</sup>

Şânîzâde/Cevdet discuss in detail the times when the different phases of the eclipse were visible from Istanbul, basing themselves on the amount of hours and minutes elapsed since sunrise. This seems to have been a typical way to define the exact times of the phases of eclipses, as this is also the method in an almanac of the same period edited by Marlene Kurz.<sup>22</sup>

Sunrise on the 7 September 1820 occurred at 5:43 local time<sup>23</sup>. However, all dates on the website given in note 23 are according to the Julian calendar. Therefore, we must look for the Julian date corresponding to the date of the eclipse. 7 September 1820 (Gregorian) corresponds to 26 August 1820 (Julian)<sup>24</sup>. On that day, sunrise occurred in Istanbul at 5:31.<sup>25</sup> The hour Şânîzâde/Cevdet give for the beginning of the eclipse is quite accurate, namely 9 hours and 42 minutes after sunrise. If we add this amount to 5:31, we get 15:13. From this, we have to deduct roughly five minutes (see note 23), which makes 15:08 as compared to 15.19.04.0 EET (see above). Their calculation for the maximum, however, does not seem to be

<sup>18</sup> Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Ramazan Şeşen, Cevat İzgi, Cemil Akpınar, and İhsan Fazlıoğlu (eds.), *Osmanlı Astronomi Lîteatürü Tarihi. History of Astronomy Literature During the Ottoman Period* (Istanbul : IRCICA, 1997), CLXXIII and CXCII, no. 82. See also Abdülhak Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim, İkinci tabı* (Istanbul: Maarif, 1943), 179-180.

<sup>19</sup> Edward Stewart Kennedy, "A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 46, no. 2 (1956): 123.

<sup>20</sup> Edward Stewart Kennedy, "A Survey of Islamic Astronomical Tables", 123.

<sup>21</sup> David A. King, "Islamic Astronomy", in: Christopher Walker (ed.), *Astronomy before the Telescope* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 150.

<sup>22</sup> Marlene Kurz, *Ein osmanischer Almanach*, 126.

<sup>23</sup> Local time of Istanbul in this period was UTC +1:55:52; cf. <https://www.timeanddate.com/sun/turkey/istanbul?month=9&year=1820>, last accessed 28 February 2020.

<sup>24</sup> [http://web.archive.org/web/20160719032828/http://www.ortelius.de/kalender/form\\_de2.php](http://web.archive.org/web/20160719032828/http://www.ortelius.de/kalender/form_de2.php), last accessed 28 February 2020.

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.timeanddate.com/sun/turkey/istanbul?month=8&year=1820>, last accessed 28 February 2020.

correct, as it occurred at 16:38 EET, which was 16:33 local time. According to the authors it was 5 hours and 58 minutes after sunrise, which equals 16:06 local time. The end of the eclipse is being given correctly – it occurred twelve hours and thirteen minutes after sunrise, that is 17:44 local time – if we add roughly 5 minutes, it makes 17:49 EET, which corresponds to the true end of the eclipse.

At maximum, the sun must have looked roughly as in fig. 1, if we follow the description the authors give, “Then, with the convex side of the Sun that was not covered turning towards the North-East, and its concave part turning to the South-West, it looked like the three or four-day crescent of the Moon.” This is in line with its real aspect (see above note 4).



*Fig. 1*

I will only briefly discuss the astrological part. Due to the precession of the Earth's axis, the Sun in its apparent movement through the Ecliptic during the year does not appear in the ancient constellations any more, but has moved one constellation further along the Ecliptic during the past 2000 years. In astronomy, this gradual change today has been taken into account by adapting star charts and tables every 50 years. Astrology, however, just as it continued to adhere to Ptolemy's geocentric system,<sup>26</sup> still worked (and has been doing so to this day) with the old dates of when the sun apparently enters the signs of the Zodiac. Thus, in 2020, e.g., the sun enters the constellation of Leo on 10 August, whereas it transits into the sign of Virgo on 22 August, and it enters the constellation of Virgo on 16 September, whereas it transits into the sign of Libra on 22 September.<sup>27</sup>

The original scientific discipline called *ʿilm an-nucūm* split into two branches as early as the 3<sup>rd</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century, with *ʿilm al-hayʾa*, astronomy proper, and *ʿilm aḥkām*

<sup>26</sup> Marlene Kurz, *Ein osmanischer Almanach*, 54. However, there were also independent non-ptolemaic geocentric approaches to explain the movement of the planets, see David A. King, “Islamic Astronomy”, 149–150.

<sup>27</sup> For these dates, see Hans-Ulrich Keller, *Kosmos Himmels-Jahr 2020. Sonne, Mond und Sterne im Jahreslauf* (Stuttgart: Franck-Kosmos, 2019), 174 and 194. For a mention of the sun passing through Virgo, see below.

<sup>28</sup> George Saliba, “Islamic Astronomy in Context: Attacks on Astrology and the Rise of the *Hayʾa* Tradition,” *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies*, 4/1 (2002): 25–46.

*an-nucūm*, astrology.<sup>28</sup> Astrology, based on concepts coming from outside the Islamic world, was regarded skeptically, but nevertheless was used by everyone.<sup>29</sup>

The *zīces* served both astronomy and astrology:

Although the *zījes* are amongst the most important sources for our knowledge of Islamic mathematical astronomy, it is important to observe that they generally contain extensive tables and explanatory text relating to mathematical astrology as well. Islamic astrological texts form an independent corpus of literature, mainly untouched by modern scholarship.<sup>30</sup>

However, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, some almanacs and the *sālnāmes* lack a prognostics section, especially the ones that were written for Ottoman Egypt. This deliberate omission may indicate an endeavour of propagating mere modern science in its own right.<sup>31</sup>

Below, I will give the text in its form in *Tārīḫ-i Cevdet*, with notes on some words and technical terms, including the poetical parts Cevdet left out. In the translation, the poems left out by Cevdet will appear in brackets.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Nümero 6

#### *Zāyiçe-i küsüf fi 1235 sene* (sic)

*‘abd-i ḳalilü l-bizā‘a zīc-i Ḳassīniden üç def‘a takvīm-i neyyireyn aḫz ederek bi-l-istivā‘<sup>32</sup> besābım muḳtezāsınca māh-i Zi l-ḥiccenin yigirmi tokuzuncı pençsenbe günü tülü‘-i āfitābdan tokuz sā‘at kırk iki dakīka mürürında ḳurş-i ḳamer küre-i erz ile cirm-i şems beynine ğarbdan şarka toĝrı ḫaylūlete başlayub kamerin zilli küsüf-i mezbürda saḫ-i zeminden isti‘āb edebilecegi erāziden erz-i Ḳoşantiniyede şems-i münir ‘uḳde-i zenbde inkisāfa āĝāz ya‘ni<sup>33</sup> zıyā‘-i münirden ḳıṭ‘a-i mezküre-i erz mahrüm olmaĝa başlayarak bidā‘-i küsüf oldu. Ve tülü‘-i şemsden on sā‘at elli sekiz dakīka mürürında on iki uşbu‘ farz olunur cirm-i şemsiñ on uşbu‘ ve altı cüz‘ uşbu‘ı münkesif olmaĝla vasaṭ-i küsüf oldu. Olvaḳt şemsiñ mestür olmayan ḳıṭ‘ası ṭaraf-i muḫ addebi şark ve şimāl ve muḳa‘‘arı ğarb ve cenüb beynine müteveccih olarak üç dört*

<sup>29</sup> Marlene Kurz, *Ein osmanischer Almanach*, 52; David A. King, “Islamic Astronomy”, 152. On Bayezid II’s interest in astronomy and especially astrology, see Ahmet Tunç Şen, “Reading the Stars at the Ottoman Court”, *Arabica* 64 (2017): 557-608.

<sup>30</sup> David A. King, “Islamic Astronomy”, 152.

<sup>31</sup> Marlene Kurz, *Ein osmanischer Almanach*, 22–25.

<sup>32</sup> Mehmed ‘Aṭāullāh Şānizāde, *Tārīḫ* 3, 126: *istikrā*, which makes more sense.

<sup>33</sup> Mehmed ‘Aṭāullāh Şānizāde, *Tārīḫ*, 126: [*mıṣrā‘*] *ez-zanbu fi ṭ-ṭarf lā n-necmü fi ş-şāĝar*

<sup>34</sup> Mehmed ‘Aṭāullāh Şānizāde, *Tārīḫ*, 126: *cihān-i tārik mī-binem ne-dānem \* siyeh şüd rüz veyā şeb-rā şehar nist.*

*günlük hilâl mişâli görünür idi. Ve zülmet-i havâ dahî<sup>34</sup> henüz şemsin ğurûbı °aķibinde olduđı mertebelerde idi. Ve der °aķab incilāya bařlayub yine řulū°dan on iki sâ°at on üç dakıķa mürürında tamāmen müncelî oldu ve-hüve °alā külli şey'in kadir. Çünki ķā°ide-i muhāsibin üzere řali°-i vasa°-i küsüf delv burcınıñ dört derece ve üç dakıķası olmađla bi-t-tesviye beyt-i sālīsde rāci°an muķābele-i bebrāmda bulunan zuhal müdebbir-i küsüf olub cüz°-i ictimā°-i hāķikî sünbülenün on dört derece ve kırk yedi dakıķası olmađdan nāřı müdebbiriñ řeriki hāne-i sābi°da bulunan °uťarid ve kamer dahı müddebir-i mevzi°-i küsüf olmuřdur. Binā°en °aleyh erbāb-i ahķām-i nücum küsüf-i mezbūruñ bürc-i ķirān-i intikālīde vukū°ı sebebiyle eřeri küsüfāt-i °ādīyeden akvā ve cümle ahķāmından eřcār ve eřmār nām te'lif-i muhtārın řecere-i řālīsisi řu°be-i hāmisesiniñ semere-i rābri°asından bu maķüle küsüfuñ evāyil-i ķirānda vukū°ına dā'ir bahş u temhīd pek ma°ķül ve mücerreb ve ğāyetde ra°nādur va-llāhu ya°lamu ahķāyā (beyt) dü-rüze gerdiři yokdur bi-vafķ-i hātır-h°āh<sup>35</sup> // řabi°at-i felek-i nā-bekārı biz biliyoruz.<sup>36</sup>*

## No. 6

The horoscope of the solar eclipse of the year 1235 (1820)

This slave of little knowledge, taking from Cassini's tables the calendar of the two bright objects three times, and according to my own firm calculations,<sup>37</sup> on Thursday, the 29<sup>th</sup> of the month of Zī l-ħicce,<sup>38</sup> the disk of the Moon started to come in between the globe of the Earth and the body of the Sun from West to East<sup>39</sup> nine hours

<sup>35</sup> *hātır-cü*: Redhouse, James W., *A Turkish and English lexicon: shewing in English the significations of the Turkish terms* (Constantinople: A.H.Boyajian, 1890), 822a: who seeks to captivate, affable, courteous.

<sup>36</sup> This verse could be identified as part of a ğhazel by Yūsuf Nābī (1642-1712) by a search via Google. There is a version in modern Turkish transliteration without any diacritics, which has a partly mutilated text. This same version is repeated on several websites Mehmet Kurtođlu, *Urfalı Nabi (řair Nabi)* (řanlıurfa: řanlıurfa Valiliđi İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüđü, 2008), 49.

<https://edebiyatvesanatakademisi.com/nabi-siirleri/senincun-ettigimiz-ah-u-zari-biz-biluruz/58430>. On Yūsuf Nābī, see Abdülkadir Karahan, "Nābī", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İřlam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 32 (Istanbul: TDV, 2006), 258-260.

<sup>37</sup> Mehmed °Aťāullāh řānizāde, *Tārīh*, 126: "by my calculation inferred by induction", which is surely what is meant here.

<sup>38</sup> The date is erroneous. 29 Zī l-ħicce 1235 corresponds to Saturday, 7 October 1820 (<https://www.aoi.uzh.ch/de/islamwissenschaft/hilfsmittel/tools/kalenderumrechnung/hegira.html>). We must assume that the month should be Zī l-ķā°de. We are confronted here with one of the numerous inconsistencies with dates in Cevdet's work (cf. Christoph K. Neumann, *Das indirekte Argument*, 79, note 32), which, in this case goes back to řānizāde without Cevdet having been aware of the mistake.

<sup>39</sup> This is a correct statement, which is explained in Ahmad S. Dallal, *An Islamic Response to Greek Astronomy. Kitāb ta°dil Hay'at al-Aflāk of řadr al-řarī°a. Edited with Translation and Commentary*. (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995), 217: "Note that the beginnings of immersion and of clearance in a lunar eclipse are from the east side (of the moon), whereas in a solar eclipse they are from the west side (of the sun), because they (i.e. the immersion and clearance) result from the movement of the moon".

and 42 minutes after sunrise. In Constantinople, one of the places where, during the aforementioned eclipse, the Moon's shadow was liable to occupy a part of the Earth's surface, the resplendent Sun started to be eclipsed at the descending node.<sup>40</sup> This means [– verse: the descending node is in the ninth mansion of the Moon,<sup>41</sup> not the star in the smallness (?) –] that the eclipse began as the abovementioned region of the Earth started to be deprived of the resplendent rays. Ten hours and fifty-eight minutes after sunrise, twelve digits<sup>42</sup> were cut off. The middle of the eclipse occurred when ten and one sixth digits were eclipsed. Then, with its convex side of the Sun that was not covered turning towards the North-East, and its concave part turning to the South-West, it looked like the three or four-day crescent of the Moon. The darkness of the air [I see the dark world and I do not know \* if the day has become black or if there is no morning to the evening] was to the same degree as after sunset.<sup>43</sup> Afterwards it started to be bright, and twelve hours and thirteen minutes after sunrise it was completely bright. And He has might over everything.

According to the rule of the calculators, the ascendent<sup>44</sup> of the middle of the eclipse was four degrees and three minutes of the sign of Aquarius, and Saturn, which was retrograde in the third smoothed mansion<sup>45</sup> at the opposition of Mars, was the regent<sup>46</sup> of the eclipse. Therefore, the part of the true meeting was at four degrees and forty-seven minutes of the sign of Virgo.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, the companion of the regent, Mercury, which was in the seventh mansion, as well as the Moon were ascendants of the place of the eclipse. Based on this, the masters of astrology [said that] its effect was stronger than [that of] normal eclipses, because the afore-

<sup>40</sup> I.e., when the Moon crossed the Ecliptic from North to South.

<sup>41</sup> Alterf is also the star  $\lambda$  Leonis (Storm Dunlop, Will Tirion and Antonín Růkl, *Der Kosmos-Atlas Sterne und Planeten. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Richard Vogel* (Stuttgart: Frankh-Kosmos, 2005), 107; or, according to Paul Kunitzsch, *Arabische Sternnamen in Europa* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1959), 55  $\kappa$  Cancri +  $\lambda$  Leonis.

<sup>42</sup> *uṣbu*<sup>c</sup>, “Finger”, “inch”, “Zoll”. Marlene Kurz uses Zoll (*Ein osmanischer Almanach*, 126).

<sup>43</sup> This clearly is a reference to the phase of a solar eclipse when the light diminishes to a degree that resembles dusk, which is probable to have occurred at an occultation of 80%.

<sup>44</sup> “*Al-ṭāli*<sup>c</sup> is that point of the ecliptic which is rising over the horizon at a given moment, called the ascendent or horoscopus” (David A. King and T. Fahd, “*al-Ṭāli*<sup>c</sup>”, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs. [http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_COM\\_1161](http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1161)).

<sup>45</sup> “Various mathematical procedures were available for smoothing the lengths of the houses around the ecliptic (*taswīyat al-buyūt*)”, see David A. King and T. Fahd, “*al-Ṭāli*<sup>c</sup>”, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs. [http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_COM\\_1161](http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1161).

<sup>46</sup> The regent is “a planet whose ascendent is in one of the signs of the Zodiac”. (“*al-Ṭāli*<sup>c</sup>”, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition David A. King and T. Fahd, “*al-Ṭāli*<sup>c</sup>”, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, [http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_COM\\_1161](http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1161)).

<sup>47</sup> At this time of the year, the Sun passes through Virgo, see above.



mentioned eclipse took place in the sign of the moving conjunction. Of all decrees, talking about and corroborating the occurrence of such an eclipse at the beginning of the conjunction<sup>48</sup> in the fourth fruit of the fifth chapter of the third tree of the exceptional composition called “The Trees and Fruits”<sup>49</sup> is very reasonable, proved and most exquisite. And God knows what is most concealed. (Verse) In accordance with him who is courteous, there is no change to this life // We know the nature of the useless fortune.

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<sup>48</sup> Due to their unequal velocities in orbit, the planets may be at various angles with respect to one another. In astrology, the three important angles or aspects are the conjunction at 0°, the opposition at 180°, and the square at 90° (Gül Şen, “Das Ereignis von Edirne (1703)”, 128, citing Marlene Kurz, *Ein osmanischer Almanach*, 55-58). These meanings of the words opposition and conjunction are of course quite different from the ones current in astronomy.

<sup>49</sup> Şabḥizāde <sup>c</sup>Abdul<sup>c</sup>aziz wrote *Terceme-i eşcār u esmār* in 1863. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu et al., *Osmanlı Astronomi Literatürü Tarihi*. vol 1, CXCI, no. 72. The original astrological work of the same title is by <sup>c</sup>Ali Şāh al-Ḥ<sup>w</sup>ārizmi (1226-1300), who lived in Bukhara (Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and Boris A. Rosenfeld, *Mathematicians, astronomers and other scholars of Islamic civilization and their works (7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.)*, (İstanbul, 2003, 239-240).

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# PRESENTING THE OTTOMAN HERITAGE: AN EXHIBITION OF ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS IN ZAGREB

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## ABSTRACT

The paper proposes specific considerations in the presentation of the Ottoman heritage, using the example of an exhibition of Islamic manuscripts held in Zagreb, Croatia, in 2014, including the representativeness of certain exhibits, the importance of taking the vague notions of Ottoman history and culture among the wider public in Croatia into account, and the cultural-educational functions of such an event. In addressing these issues, I draw upon my experience as the author of the aforementioned exhibition and accompanying catalog.<sup>1</sup>

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In May 2014, an exhibition of Islamic manuscripts from the holdings of the Oriental Collection of the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, jointly organized by the Academy and the Yunus Emre Institute from the Republic of Turkey, was held in Zagreb.<sup>2</sup> While devising the conceptual framework, selecting the exhibits and writing the catalog, I considered various approaches to the presentation of the Ottoman cultural heritage, frequently reconsidering my choices and decisions. This paper summarizes my experience and addresses a set of questions that arose.

The Oriental Collection of the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts was founded in Zagreb in 1927, following years of efforts by Croatian academicians to initiate the collecting of Ottoman sources for the history of South-east Europe. The materials were mostly gathered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to a lesser extent in Kosovo, Sandžak and Macedonia. Today, with 2,109 codices comprising around 3,300 complete works and fragments in Arabic, Turkish and

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<sup>1</sup> Although the topic of this paper does not fall within the scope of the main scholarly interests of Prof. Nenad Moačanin, I gladly submit it as a contribution to the volume to be published in his honor, knowing his curiosity about all fields of Oriental studies, be it economic history, demography, Persian poetry or visual arts.

<sup>2</sup> “Riječ, pismo, slika. Iz riznice Orijentalne zbirke Arhiva Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti” [Text, Calligraphy and Painting. Treasures of the Oriental Collection of the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts], 12<sup>th</sup> – 31<sup>st</sup> May 2014. The Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb.

Persian, it is the largest collection of Arabic-script manuscripts in Croatia, and one of the largest collections of its kind in Southeast Europe. In addition to the manuscript books, mainly originating from the Ottoman Empire, it has 760 Ottoman documents dating from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries.

Since the founding of the Collection, the manuscripts could only be viewed by researchers in the reading room of the Academy's Archives. Individual manuscripts and documents have occasionally been displayed at various thematic exhibitions in Croatian museums and galleries. In 1986, Muhamed Ždralović, then the curator of the Collection, prepared an exhibition of 36 manuscripts from its holdings in the Atrium of the Palace of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and wrote a catalog.<sup>3</sup> Almost three decades later, I decided to organize a new exhibition.

## 2. ASSESSING THE PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF THE VISITORS

While preparing the exhibition I was in contact with several Turkish colleagues from the Yunus Emre Institute, informing them of my manuscript selections and the progress of my work. In our collaboration, we occasionally disagreed on certain points and discussed some parts of my introductory text in the catalog, which they found superfluous, while I considered them necessary. These disagreements probably resulted from our living in different cultural environments, the one where local visitors to such exhibitions are familiar with Islamic culture and Ottoman history, and the other where the Islamic heritage is only vaguely familiar and mostly perceived as cultural otherness. In my view, exhibiting Islamic manuscripts in Croatia requires insight into the prevailing perceptions of Islamic culture among the wider public and a thoughtful approach to the informative, didactic and educational aspects. As Kratz puts it, "exhibition experience is inherently double-sided, based on the mediating role of exhibitions: it relies both on what visitors bring to exhibitions as well as what exhibitions bring to visitors, which is already the outcome of complex processes and decisions that shaped the exhibition."<sup>4</sup>

I started from the assumption that the general public in Croatia knows very little about Islamic civilization, and even less about the Islamic book culture. What schoolbooks taught us and still teach our children is mostly limited to some basic facts about the religion, Muhammad as a prophet and statesman, the expansion of the Islamic state and the Crusades,<sup>5</sup> with almost no mention of great scientific and

<sup>3</sup> Muhamed Ždralović, *Arabički rukopisi Orijentalne zbirke Arhiva Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Katalog izložbe povodom 120. obljetnice osnutka Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Corinne A. Kratz, "Rhetorics of Value: Constituting Worth and Meaning through Cultural Display," *Visual Anthropology Review* 27, Issue 1 (2011): 29. DOI: 10.1111/j.1548-7458.2011.01077.x.

<sup>5</sup> Even these essential facts are sometimes erroneously presented in schoolbooks. However, this subject falls outside the scope of the present paper.

cultural achievements. The history of the Ottoman Empire is predominantly presented as conquests and destruction, the tragedy of *devşirme* and the sufferings of Christians, in short, the notorious Turkish yoke. One could also add an awareness of the presence of Turkish loan words in the Croatian language and the influences of Turkish cuisine. The Ottomans are rarely acknowledged for their refined written culture and arts, with the exception of architecture.

However, several years before the exhibition, these perceptions were beginning to change slightly, mostly owing to two Turkish TV series. The first one, *Binbir Gece* (Thousand and One Nights), which takes place in contemporary Istanbul, was a primetime hit in Croatia in 2010–2011, generating interest in many aspects of life in Turkey and considerably increasing tourism to Istanbul, affording travelers the opportunity to become somewhat familiar with the Ottoman cultural heritage. In 2012–2014, a historical fiction series about Süleyman the Magnificent, *Mühteşem Yüzyıl* (Magnificent Century), which even caught the attention of viewers otherwise reluctant to watch popular series, sparked interest in Ottoman history. Admittedly, some perceived it almost as a documentary, erroneously considering it to be a reliable source of information about the Ottoman Empire. Articles were published in newspapers and magazines about the era of Sultan Süleyman. Ottoman historians in Croatia were occasionally asked to talk about the authenticity of such presentations of the history, life and intrigues in the Ottoman court, the imperial harem, costumes etc. To this I should also add the strong but unfortunately very limited influence, confined to an already sadly small circle of book readers in Croatia, of Orhan Pamuk's novel *Benim Adım Kırmızı* (My Name is Red), which prompted some readers to look for more information about Islamic miniature painting.<sup>6</sup> For several years after its release in the Croatian translation in 2004, the novel was one of the most widely read books in Croatia.<sup>7</sup> In the following period, numerous translations from Turkish literature were published, some dealing with historical issues, which also acquainted readers with facets of Turkish and Ottoman culture.

### 3. SELECTION AND PRESENTATION

All these circumstances—sketchy knowledge of Ottoman history and culture among the wider public with several events that temporarily aroused interest in these topics—were on my mind while I was considering the selection of manuscripts and modes of their presentation. In the implementation of my ideas, I was

<sup>6</sup> Orhan Pamuk, *Zovem se Crvena*, trans. by Ekrem Čaušević and Marta Andrić (Vuković & Runjić: Zagreb, 2004).

<sup>7</sup> Neven Ušumović and Ekrem Čaušević, "Turska književnost u hrvatskim prijevodima (1990-2013)," *Književna smotra* 46, no. 173 (3) (2014): 158-159.



limited by finances, the size of the space, and the number and dimensions of showcases available, resulting in a compromise between the desired and the possible.

My aim was to display manuscripts of works in Arabic, Turkish and Persian from a wide range of disciplines and topics, representative of diverse aspects of the multilingual Ottoman written culture. Selecting them was not an easy task. My original list comprised more than two hundred manuscripts, which I reduced to thirty-one with great difficulty. These included copies of the Quran and texts from religious sciences, Arabic language books, Turkish and Persian poetry, natural sciences, astrology, divination and history. Among them were several manuscripts produced in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian lands that were formerly under Ottoman rule, representing local variants of the Ottoman culture. In addition, illuminated manuscripts were exhibited as representative examples of the refined book art. The most appealing was a sixteenth-century copy of the Quran of Persian or Mamluk origin, executed in the finest calligraphy, with all the pages lavishly illuminated. Along with manuscript books, an ornate four-meter-long talismanic scroll and wooden triptych with descriptions of the Prophet Muhammad (*Hilye-i Şerif*) were also selected.

The manuscripts were grouped in showcases according to the subject matter of the texts. The last showcase contained manuscripts related to Bosnia, composed by local authors, bound by local bookbinders or written in the Bosnian language using Arabic script. Each section had a label and each exhibit had a small label in Croatian, English and Turkish with basic information, such as the author's name, title and language of the work, and the dates when it was composed and copied, if available. In addition, photographic enlargements of selected pages or details from the manuscripts were mounted on the walls, along with several panels with information about the Oriental Collection, the Arabic-script manuscripts, and the sciences and disciplines represented by the exhibits.

The presentation of miniatures was problematic. At the time they were painted, they were intended to be viewed and admired in privacy, by one or several persons, an experience the exhibition could not provide. The sixteenth century illustrated Persian manuscript of Hatifi's *Timur-name*<sup>8</sup> was displayed in a separate showcase, so that one of its miniatures could be viewed. The remaining five were exhibited as three-times magnified reproductions and mounted on the wall. I was cautious regarding the dimensions of the enlargements, bearing in mind my dismay when I had attended an exhibition where reproductions of miniatures were greatly magnified, stretching from the floor to the ceiling of the showroom, which I consider

<sup>8</sup> Tatjana Paić-Vukić, *Text, Calligraphy and Painting: Treasures of the Oriental Collection, The Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts* (Zagreb: HAZU - Ankara: Yunus Emre Institute, 2014), 44-51.

inconsistent with the very nature of these paintings. By enlarging tiny details barely visible to the naked eye, we reveal what was meant to remain vague or to be noticed only by a patient, devoted viewer. Furthermore, by placing the enlargement on a wall, we strip the miniature (no longer a miniature!) of its context, detach it from the text it illustrates and the book it belongs in, thereby exhibiting it as if it were an oil painting or print. Admittedly, we cannot recreate the original cultural environment in which the miniatures were conceived, nor can we make it possible for each visitor to establish an intimate relationship with these paintings, scrutinizing them painstakingly and contemplating them in seclusion. Therefore, we resort to the means at our disposal, be it a magnifying glass for the viewing of miniatures displayed in showcases or photographic enlargements for the presentation of those hidden in books, while avoiding exaggeration of the dimensions.

By displaying manuscripts originating from different parts of the Muslim world, mostly from the Ottoman realm, comprising texts covering a wide range of disciplines and topics, copied in diverse styles of Arabic script, with several examples of superb calligraphy, illumination and miniature painting, I attempted to achieve a substantial degree of representativeness. The same idea of representativeness prevented me from predominantly exhibiting visually attractive manuscripts. Only one of the 2,109 codices of the Academy's Oriental Collection, the above-mentioned copy of *Timur-name*, contains refined, artistically executed miniatures, and several dozen others have non-figural illuminations. The majority of the holdings are simple and unpretentious codices produced to convey knowledge, not to amuse or amaze with their beauty. A preponderance of decorated manuscripts would have been unrepresentative of the Oriental Collection, of which they form only a small part, but also unrepresentative of Islamic book culture, running the risk of reinforcing an Orientalist stereotype of Islamic manuscripts as ornate works of art, decorative objects rather than products of a complex cultural, intellectual and educational history.

The considerations that guided me in the selection process also influenced the catalog concept. In accordance with the educational aspect of the exhibition, I attempted to clarify certain historical and cultural issues in the introductory text. Starting from the assumption that prior to the announcement of the exhibition in the media, most of the visitors had never heard of the Academy's Oriental Collection, I composed a brief text on its history and holdings. In order to provide a general context for the description of individual exhibits, I also wrote about books in the Islamic world and different fields of knowledge represented by the manuscripts. Furthermore, knowing that for everyone familiar with the history of books in European culture the encounter with manuscripts from the late nineteenth century, long after printed books in Europe had almost entirely replaced those written by hand, would be surprising, I briefly explained the late

introduction of printing in the Ottoman Empire. Then there was the question of miniatures. The widespread notion of Islamic art among non-specialists is that a religious ban on figural representation prohibited artists from depicting humans. Visitors could have been perplexed by the battle scene in the beautiful miniature from *Timur-name*, reproduced on the banner displayed on the Academy façade. Therefore, I provided a brief overview of the development of miniature painting as a part of Islamic book culture. The catalog was more than a collection of photographs and legends, or a memento of the exhibition; it was also intended as a handbook with concise information about Arabic-script manuscripts and the holdings of the Academy's Oriental Collection.

#### 4. VISITORS

Conducting guided tours afforded me the opportunity to view familiar objects through the eyes of non-specialists. The most common reactions were amazement and surprise that such a valuable collection is housed in Zagreb. A group of librarians asked questions regarding writing materials, types of Arabic script, bindings, contents of the marginal notes frequently encountered in these codices etc. Teachers from the Department of Classical Languages had the opportunity to compare certain features of the displayed manuscripts with the Latin codices used in their research. Students of Turkology expanded their knowledge of Ottoman cultural history and viewed centuries-old manuscripts, reproductions of which they had seen at lectures. Some visitors asked me to read *ayets* from the Quran or several lines of Ottoman poetry aloud, or translate God's beautiful names inscribed in the talismanic scroll, which added a new dimension to their experience. All the questions and discussions during the guided tours, as well as comments and recommendations posted by some visitors on social networks, were in line with Kratz's description of the possible outcomes of an exhibition: "As people visit an exhibition, they might take off from any number of details, devise their own questions and answers, focus on particular portions, skip labels, and see an exhibition through interests and experiences not anticipated by exhibition developers. Exhibition responses and interpretations are never entirely predictable because exhibitions contain many communicative possibilities and because visitors bring their own backgrounds and interests to them."<sup>9</sup>

#### 5. CONCLUSION

This exhibition taught me that such a project is never a one-way process. As expected, it affected the visitors. Many told me that everything was completely

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<sup>9</sup> Kratz, "Rhetorics," 29.

new to them, thereby confirming my initial assumption that they had almost no previous knowledge of the displayed items and justifying the cultural-educational concept of the exhibition. On the other hand, their questions and reactions to the manuscripts prompted me to reconsider how to present the Ottoman written heritage in Croatia in future exhibitions. For example, aside from basic data about each exhibit, such as the title of the text, author, dimensions of the codex, number of pages, language of the text, type of script etc., which are not particularly interesting to non-specialists, further information about the contents of the texts and their significance in the Ottoman cultural world should be provided in both the exhibition hall and catalog. Additional contents could also be offered, such as PowerPoint presentations on individual exhibits and the culture within which they originated, lessons in Arabic script and the opportunity to observe a calligrapher at work. However, such a project requires substantial financial resources to provide suitable space, architectural devices, special lighting, showcases with microclimate control and interactive installations, as well as teamwork among the exhibition designers, curator and other specialists in Ottoman studies, Arabic calligraphy and Islamic miniature painting.

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## **DISTANT BORDERS AND REGIONS**



# AMCENITATES TAURIDICÆ LA CRIMÉE OU LA DOUCEUR DE VIVRE SELON EVLIYÂ ÇELEBÎ\*

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Au long des dix volumes relatant les pérégrinations qu'il accomplit en plus de quatre décennies de Vienne à Tabriz et d'Azov à la Corne de l'Afrique,<sup>1</sup> il est bien rare qu'on voie Evliyâ Çelebî (1611-1684), voyageur ottoman enthousiaste, exprimer des impressions négatives sur ce qui se présentait à ses sens ou à son esprit dans les pays traversés. Peut-être, parfois le spectacle de croyances ou de mœurs heurtant celles du citadin musulman assez tolérant qu'il était. Toutefois, parmi les contrées qui, à l'évidence, semblent lui être les plus chères, il faut noter la Crimée<sup>2</sup> dont il fit le tour de novembre 1665 au mois d'avril de l'année suivante<sup>3</sup> avec « plaisir et

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<sup>1</sup> J.-H. Mordtmann – H. W. Duda, « Ewliyâ Çelebi », *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2e éd., I (Leyde: Brill, 1986), 717-720 ; [OM] Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality. The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leyde-Boston: Brill, 2004). On trouvera les itinéraires de tous les voyages décrits dans les dix volumes de la relation dans Robert Dankoff et Klaus Kreiser, *Materialen zu Evliya Çelebi. A Guide to the Seyahat-name of Evliya Çelebi. Bibliographie raisonnée* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1992). Quant au texte de l'ouvrage, nous référerons ici à [EÇS] Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Muhammed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* [Relation de voyage d'Evliya Çelebi], éd. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman et Yücel Dağlı, 10 volumes (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1994-2007), VII, p. 233-235 ; [EÇST] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatname*. Endeksli ve Tıpkıbasım [Relation de voyage d'Evliyâ Çelebî. Index et fac-similé], éd. Seyit Ali Kahraman, 4 vol. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> Sur la Crimée à l'époque ottomane, voir Joseph de Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Chane der Krim unter osmanischer Herrschaft* (...) (Vienne, 1856) ; Alan W. Fisher, « The Ottoman Crimea in mid-seventeenth century. Some problems and preliminary considerations », *Eucharisterion Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his sixtieth birthday by his colleagues and students* (= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* III-IV (1979-1980)) (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 215-226 ; Caspar Hillebrand, *Evliya Çelebi auf die Krim. Evliya als Berichtstatter, Unterhalter und Salariker*, Diplomarbeit, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität, 2010, du même auteur « Evliya Celebis Krim Bericht. Hintergrund, Sprache und Erzählweise », *Krimtataren, Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichts- wissenschaften*, 28, 1 (2017) : 41-64.

<sup>3</sup> Le récit du voyage en Crimée s'y trouve dans *EÇST*, VII, f. 117b-144a. Nous en préparons une traduction française annotée. Evliyâ parvint dans ce pays fort longtemps après avoir parcouru la Hongrie, assisté à la bataille de Saint-Gothard et accompagné une ambassade ottomane à Vienne. Voir notamment Faruk Bilici, *Evliya Tchélébi. La guerre des Turcs : récits de batailles* (Arles : Actes Sud-Sindbad, 2000) ; Richard Kreutel, *Im Reiche des goldenen Apfels. Des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliyâ Çelebi denkwürdige Reise in das Giaurenland und in die Stadt und Festung Wien anno 1665* (Graz, 1957).



tranquillité d'esprit » (*zevķ ü şafâ*), comme il le note à mainte reprise. Il y fut d'ailleurs généreusement et chaleureusement accueilli par le khan Meħmed IV Giray (v. 1606-1672), qui vivait alors les derniers mois de son second règne (1654-1666), par sa famille et l'ensemble de la classe dirigeante locale.

Ce sont quelques aspects de cet heureux séjour que nous proposons d'examiner ici.

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Ce fut en pénétrant en Crimée, en traversant les premiers villages au sud d'Ôr<sup>4</sup> qu'Evliyâ ressentit sa première et dernière impression désagréable du pays, aussitôt compensée par une constatation rassurante :

Tous les villages susdits vivent dans la saleté, sans aucun arbre ni verger ni jardin. Les gens y brûlent la bouse des bœufs, la crotte des chameaux et le crottin des chevaux, et ils répandent eux-mêmes en permanence une odeur de bouse, mais leurs récoltes sont extrêmement abondantes : un *kîle* [de grain] en donne soixante.

En effet, ce pays apparaît partout et en tout point comme celui de l'abondance :

Il y a de toutes parts des roses et des parterres fleuris, des jacinthes et des touffes de basilic ainsi que des jardins paradisiaques, dons de la Providence et semblables à celui de Rıdvan,<sup>5</sup> de même que des vergers entourés de grilles, en tel nombre que seul le Jardinier du Seigneur de Gloire le sait. Car le terrain de cette ville est vaste et peu coûteux à l'achat, au point que les habitants de la surface de la terre n'en connaissent pas l'équivalent, sinon peut-être ceux des plaines du Havran,<sup>6</sup> dans le pays de Syrie. Car la province est vaste et prospère et les gens y sont toujours joyeux de tirer vengeance de l'ennemi. D'autre part, le coût de la vie y est bon et la terre aux senteurs d'ambre y est appréciée entre toutes, les champs dépendant des fondations pieuses sont nombreux, de même que d'opulentes œuvres de bienfaisance. (...) C'est une province où le gibier est partout d'une abondance sans limite. (...) Tout d'abord, il y a six sortes de blé aux épis abondants en grains gros comme des dents de chameau. Il y a une sorte d'orge noir dont un cheval ne parviendrait pas à manger quatre vuķıyye.<sup>7</sup> Un

<sup>4</sup> L'actuel Perekop, sur l'isthme auquel il a donné son nom et qui relie la Crimée au continent.

<sup>5</sup> Jardinier du paradis dans la tradition musulmane.

<sup>6</sup> Le Hauran ou Djebel Druze, au sud de la Syrie actuelle.

<sup>7</sup> La *vuķıyye* ou ocque (*oķķa*) valait 1,2828 kg dans l'usage ottoman, voir [IMG] Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System* (Leyde : E. J. Brill, 1955), 24.

kîle<sup>8</sup> de leur blé donne cinquante kîle. Quant au millet pour la boza,<sup>9</sup> les sujets en sèment, en mangent beaucoup et en font de la boza. Un kîle [semé] en donne le centuple.

Dans cet heureux pays, les animaux eux-mêmes bénéficient d'une même générosité de la nature :

Tout d'abord, dans les vallées, il y a nombre de plantes de toutes sortes comme le trèfle, la luzerne, le chiendent et le chaume. Il y a un herbage couvert d'une herbe appelée *karalı ot* qui est semblable aux chevelures de ravissantes personnes. Si un cheval en mange pendant une semaine, sa viande et sa graisse l'empêchent de marcher.

Cette générosité est telle qu'elle offre même à la vue et au goût des gallinacées jusqu'alors inconnues de l'auteur. D'après la description que celui-ci en donne ici, il ne peut s'agir que du dindon qu'il semble rencontrer ici pour la première fois. On en déduira sans grand risque que l'animal, importé d'Amérique et introduit en Europe dans les premières années du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, était encore inconnu à Istanbul au temps de notre voyageur. Des marchands anglais l'y découvrirent et, pour eux, la « poule de Pologne » devint ainsi celle de Turquie : *turkey*.

Sur les grands dons de la Providence quant aux aliments. Tout ce qu'ils ont reçu de la Providence est digne d'éloges, mais la grillade [de l'animal] appelé « poule de Pologne », qui a un morceau de chair rouge se dressant sur son nez et qui pend comme la trompe d'un éléphant, [cette viande] grillée au feu sur une roue de charrette et mise en morceaux sur des brochettes est digne de louanges.

Enfin, les produits issus de cette abondance apparaissent tous accessibles à bas prix. Ainsi, parmi nombre d'autres exemples :

Les cerises, les griottes, les prunes et les pommes y sont bonnes. Une *vukıyye* et demie de pain blanc y coûte une aspre. La *vukıyye* de viande de mouton est à deux aspres ; celle de bœuf, à une aspre, mais les Tatars disent que la viande d'agneau, quant à elle, n'est pas parfaite et ils n'en mangent pas. Quant à la viande de cheval, ils se battent pour en acheter et il y a des morts. Car la viande de cheval est à la fois fortifiante et modératrice.

<sup>8</sup> 25,656 kg à Istanbul selon *IMG*, 41.

<sup>9</sup> Boisson turque à base de millet fermenté, comparable au kvas russe.

Consommer de la viande de cheval ! au temps d'Evliyâ, il y avait là de quoi scandaliser un lecteur hanéfite qui, de sa vie, ne serait jamais aventuré hors d'Istanbul et aurait ignoré les particularités du rite chaféite de l'Islam. Mais notre voyageur s'empresse de minimiser l'ampleur de ce qui inévitablement, lui serait apparu comme une transgression des plus choquantes des interdits alimentaires islamiques. L'occasion en est fournie par l'évocation d'un banquet à la table du Khan, personnage dont le respect des interdits islamiques ne pouvait être mis en doute :

Après la séance du Conseil, on se retira pour le banquet au cours duquel il est établi que, parmi des plats délicieux, il doit y avoir de la viande de poulain, car les Tatars sont du rite chaféite et, chez eux, la viande de cheval est tout à fait licite.

D'ailleurs, en Crimée, les usages locaux apparaissent étonnamment tolérants quant la consommation de boissons plus ou moins alcoolisées :

Tout d'abord, outre plusieurs centaines [de sortes] d'eaux de jouvence, il y a de la *boza* tatare passée au tamis fin, tendre comme de la moëlle, du *kımız*<sup>10</sup> de jument de quatre ou cinq jours, du *yazma*<sup>11</sup> de yaourt non écrémé, du *talğan*<sup>12</sup> et de la *boza maksima*<sup>13</sup> que les cheiks peuvent boire. Tout cela est digne de louanges.

Mais à quoi pouvaient donc ressembler des gens aux usages si étranges et vivant dans un pays aussi merveilleux ? La première indication qu'en donne Evliyâ ne serait guère rassurante :

D'après ce que disent 'Alî Kūşçî<sup>14</sup> et Mengli Geray Han<sup>15</sup>, personnalités rares dans la science de l'astronomie et bons connaisseurs des signes de l'astrolabe, comme le début de la fondation de cette ville eut lieu alors que le signe du Cancer se trouvait dans la Maison de Mars, [ses habitants en] sont de guerriers meurtriers et sans merci, ainsi que des combattants de la Foi sanguinaires.

<sup>10</sup> Lait de jument fermenté, boisson usuelle en Haute-Asie.

<sup>11</sup> Boisson à base de lait. Voir [EÇSOS] Robert Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi Okuma Sözlüğü* (Istanbul : YKY, 2008), 241.

<sup>12</sup> Boisson à base de grains de millet torréfiés. Voir *op. cit.*, 219.

<sup>13</sup> Boisson alcoolisée à base de miel. Voir *op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>14</sup> Fameux astronome de Samarcande, disciple d'Uluğ Beg et directeur de son observatoire, puis établi à Istanbul où il enseigna à la *medrese* de Sainte-Sophie jusqu'à sa mort en 1474. Voir l'article de A. Adnan Adivar, « 'Alî B. Muḥammad Al-Ḳūshdjî ». *The Encyclopaedia Of Islam, Second Edition (EF)* I (Leyde : Brill, 1986), 393.

<sup>15</sup> Khan de Crimée à trois reprises : en 1466, de 1469 à 1475 et de 1478 à sa mort en 1515. Il établit le statut du khanat vis-à-vis des Ottomans et fut le beau-père de Selîm I<sup>er</sup>. Voir l'article de B. Kellner-Heinkele, « Mengli Girây I », *The Encyclopaedia Of Islam, Second Edition*, VI (Leyde : Brill, 1991), 1016.

Cela laisse, en tout cas, deviner que ces terribles combattants jouissent de qualités physiques exceptionnelles :

Description de la couleur des visages des gens âgés et des jeunes gens. Même lorsqu'ils sont âgés et dotés d'une extrême longévité, que leurs forces s'en sont allées, que leurs corps sont épuisés et que le précieux capital de leur existence atteint la cent septantaine ou qu'ils sont devenus des vieillards et des barbons impotents, totalement incapables de converser, la couleur des visages des hommes demeure rose et ce sont des preux pleins de vie qui peuvent en remonter à de jeunes preux.

En outre,

Comme les eaux et les airs sont extrêmement agréables, les aimables jeunes gens et jeunes filles sont vigoureux, leurs membres bien découpés ont la tendreté du cérumen.<sup>16</sup> La plupart des femmes et des esclaves mâles beaux comme des quartiers de lune sont circassiens ou abazas ou polonais ou russes ou moscovites. Quant aux Géorgiens, ils sont peu nombreux.

Plus encore :

L'eau et l'air y sont bons, les esclaves mâles grecs et les aimables jeunes filles y sont désirables. Ce sont les lieux de plaisir et de bien-être que la moitié de la [presque-]île de Crimée qui est de ce côté-ci et qui, par l'ordre de Dieu Vivificateur et Puissant, est celui des côtes.

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Les cent folios qu'Evliyâ consacre au récit de son séjour en Crimée confirment par mainte notation le plaisir qu'il y prit, mais aussi celui qu'il prend à le raconter en l'agrémentant, comme il en est coutumier, d'observations qui, à l'examen, se révèlent exactes et d'un intérêt certain pour les historiens d'aujourd'hui, mais aussi de nombre d'anecdotes plaisantes, mais invraisemblables, dont celle de la conversion de Gengis Khan à l'Islam par un envoyé du Prophète Muḥammad en personne apparaît comme l'une des plus étonnantes.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Sans doute pour l'arabe *ṣahm* qui, selon James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Istanbul, H. Mateossian, 1921), 1117, peut prendre le sens de « partie tendre d'un légume ou d'un fruit ».

<sup>17</sup> On en trouvera la traduction dans Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*, 73-75.

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# RESOURCE EXTRACTION IN A NEWLY CONQUERED PROVINCE: OTTOMAN SYRIA IN THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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## ABSTRACT

This paper examines Ottoman governance in Syria in the decades after its conquest through the *mühimme defterleri* (registers of “important affairs”) from 1544 to 1572. It catalogues the issues addressed in these registers and discusses how the Ottoman state dealt with them. Studies of tax registers produce the impression that the Ottoman Empire’s relationship to its provinces was one of unmitigated exploitation, but other kinds of sources can be expected to reveal different aspects of Ottoman provincial administration. The issues addressed by the orders in these registers fall into three broad categories: money (including taxes and their collection, arrears, fiscal oppression, expenditures, and money transfers); men, that is, the military (*timar*-holders, Janissaries, the Yemen and Cyprus campaigns); and administration (appointments, promotions, registers, inspections). They provide a view of resource extraction from the provinces more complex than mere exploitation.

Honoring Nenad Moaçanin would appear to demand a focus on the Balkans, but this paper instead deals with Syria, newly conquered in 1516. It contributes to the goal of eventually bringing together the provinces of the Ottoman Empire in a comparative framework to highlight the similarities and differences within this multinational empire. Syria’s comparability with the Balkan provinces is not initially obvious, but long after its conquest, administrators still considered it a frontier province.<sup>1</sup> Studies of taxation registers paint the Empire’s relationship to its provinces as one of sheer exploitation, but other sources reveal different aspects of Ottoman provincial administration. This paper examines Ottoman governance in Syria in the decades after the conquest through the lens of the *mühimme defterleri* (registers of “important affairs”) from the years 1544 to 1572.<sup>2</sup> It catalogues the

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<sup>1</sup> Kathryn A. Ebel, “Representations of the Frontier in Ottoman Town Views of the Sixteenth Century,” *Imago Mundi* 60.1 (2008): 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H.951-952 Tarimli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*, ed. Halil Sahillioğlu (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2002), hereafter *E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*; 3 *Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (966-968/1558-1560), Özet ve Transkripsiyon* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1993); 5 *Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973/1565-1566), Özet ve İndeks* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1994); 6 *Numaralı Mühimme*

issues addressed in these registers and discusses how the Ottoman state dealt with them. The *mühimme* registers refer frequently to the administration of the Syrian provinces (for much of the sixteenth century these were Şam/Damascus, Haleb/Aleppo, and Trablus/Tripoli).<sup>3</sup> The issues generating the orders in these registers fall into three broad categories: money (including taxation, arrears, fiscal oppression, expenditures, and money transfers); men, that is, the military (*timar*-holders, Janissaries, the Yemen and Cyprus campaigns), and administration (appointments, promotions, registers, inspections). They provide a view of resource extraction from the provinces that proves more complex than mere exploitation.

No records on Syria exist from immediately after the conquest. Within a decade or so, however, tahrir survey registers begin to appear, as well as legal court records (*kadi sicilleri*) and *waqf* documents. These records provide data on the region's population, production, revenue, and *waqf* establishment and operation.<sup>4</sup> The general consensus of scholars is that Syria prospered after becoming part of the Ottoman Empire; population and production grew, and the opening of borders to the north and east enhanced commerce and urbanization.<sup>5</sup> Increased wealth was thus available to satisfy any increases in exploitation.

Ottoman chronicles, on the other hand, represented Syria primarily as a site for the appointment and recruitment of soldiers and administrators. In the period from 1560 to 1640 covered by Selaniki, Peçevi, and Solakzade, the provinces of

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*Defteri (972/1564-1565), Özet – Transkripsiyon ve İndeks* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1995); 7 *Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976/1567-1569), Özet – Transkripsiyon - İndeks* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1998); 12 *Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978-979/1570-1572), Özet – Transkripsiyon ve İndeks* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1998). Register entries are cited by register number and entry number.

<sup>3</sup> This paper is drawn from a larger study of Ottoman provincial fiscal administration and paperwork, Linda T. Darling, "Investigating the Fiscal Administration of the Arab Provinces after the Ottoman Conquest of 1516," in *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilad al-Sham in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R, Bonn University Press, 2016), 147-76; here see 158.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1982); Enver Çakar, *XVI. Yüzyılda Haleb Sancağı (1516-1566)* (Elazığ: Fırat Üniversitesi Basımevi, 2003); Amnon Cohen, *Jewish Life under Islam: Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); Amnon Cohen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> Linda T. Darling, "From Border Province to Imperial Hub: The Geopolitical Shift of Syria from Mamluk to Ottoman Rule," in *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilad al-Sham in the Sixteenth Century, Volume II*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R, Bonn University Press, forthcoming), summarizing the existing scholarship on post-conquest Syria.

Şam, Haleb, and Trablus were mentioned mainly to note appointments and dismissals or to refer to offices formerly held in those provinces.<sup>6</sup> The *mühimme* registers reflect the same priorities: orders for official appointments and dismissals significantly outnumber those on resource extraction, and when it came to resources, men were more important than money, at least in the sixteenth century.

## MONEY

Since the best-known aspect of provincial administration is tax collection, let us begin there. Taxation orders in the *mühimme* registers do not address the collection of revenue directly from the taxpayers; for that we need other sources, such as *kadi sicilleri*.<sup>7</sup> Most collection issues in the *mühimme* registers relate to the deposit of funds in the empire's provincial and central treasuries. These orders frequently commanded officials to obtain revenues from tax collectors who had not yet deposited the money they had either collected and not remitted, or were unable to collect. For example, an entry states that the *kadıs* (judges) of Trablus and Sermin had been ordered to inspect the accounts of the *mültezim* of a tax farm, but nothing had been heard from them; the order commanded the governor to investigate this affair in person, inspect the account registers, and send the registers to the Porte.<sup>8</sup> In another case, the villages of the sultanic *has* in Sayda and Beirut had their silk taxes cancelled and replaced with the *deymos* (tithe), a widespread tax in Anatolia; however, the surveyor reported that the Syrians refused to pay this unfamiliar tax, so the *deymos* was cancelled and the silk tax restored.<sup>9</sup> It was important for the treasury to receive what was due, from both taxpayers and tax collectors, so officials were required to mediate between the treasury and the taxpayers.

Other orders raise problems that occurred less frequently. One was discrepancies between the amounts that officials were to collect and the capacity of the taxpayers to pay. It was a constant problem to keep track of taxpayers and their conditions. An example is the complaint from Trablus that in some 80 villages the population had left the area; the order in the register commanded the governor to find out the reason for their departure, how long ago it had occurred, and where

<sup>6</sup> Linda T. Darling, "The Syrian Provinces in Ottoman Eyes: Three Historians' Representations of Bilad al-Sham," *ARAM: The Mamluks and the Early Ottoman Period in Bilad al-Sham: History and Archaeology* 9-10 (1997-1998): 348-52.

<sup>7</sup> The vexed issue of the marriage tax does not appear in these registers, but in the court records it was this tax that caused the most distress; see Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "Relations between the Syrian 'Ulama' and the Ottoman State in the Eighteenth Century," *Oriente Moderno* 79 (1999): 67-95.

<sup>8</sup> *Mühimme* 3, #1209; Darling, "Investigating," 159. On the punishment of a tax farmer who had not turned in his receipts see Halil Sahillioğlu, "Bir Mültezim Zimem Defterine göre XV. Yüzyıl Sonunda Osmanlı Darphane Mukataaları," *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23 (1962-3): 145-218.

<sup>9</sup> *Mühimme* 7, #2684.



they had gone.<sup>10</sup> In a case in Safed, a tax collector reported that the *avarız* (occasional taxes) could not be collected from four neighborhoods because the population had decreased and the remaining inhabitants could not afford the assessed sum.<sup>11</sup> Another reason for non-payment was the incorrect recording of taxpayers and taxes; for example, villagers and townspeople complained about the fact that although they had an agreement to pay their *cizye* in a lump sum or *maktu'*, recent survey registers assessed them as separate individuals.<sup>12</sup> Troubled conditions also inhibited smooth revenue collection; the *kadı* of Baalbek reported in 1571 that he could not collect taxes in the region between Jerusalem and Trablus because the inhabitants were feuding, killing each other and stealing their money.<sup>13</sup> The government firmly demanded the revenue due, but it also tried to reconcile disaffected taxpayers and control misbehaving officials.

One of the very important affairs, judging by how often it appeared, was oppression of the *reaya* by tax collectors. It was significant because it struck not only at the sultan's budget but at the legitimacy of his rule, since he and his officials were responsible for providing justice to their subjects.<sup>14</sup> The existence of these complaints in registers from the height of Süleyman's reign suggests that such oppression was neither a product nor a cause of the empire's decline. Officials and tax collectors had many opportunities to commit oppression, and it is remarkable how often they were uncovered and punished. Offending officials in these registers include the *sancakbey* of Safed, who took personal possession of all income sources not recorded in the tax registers; *subaşı*s who entered *serbest has* lands for exploitative reasons; translators and Samaritan scribes who worked with the *subaşı*s; the *emin* of the sultan's *has* in Haleb; the *emin* of Sermin; the *emin* of Kisrawan with the nephew of the Beirut *zaim* Qaytbay; the *mütevelli* of the soup kitchen of Jerusalem; and the *naib* of the Hanbali *kadı* of Damascus.<sup>15</sup> The sultan had to entrust distant provinces to his officials, but he was harsh to those who proved untrustworthy.

<sup>10</sup> *Mühimme* 7, #420; Darling, "Investigating the Fiscal Administration," 160.

<sup>11</sup> *Mühimme* 6, #78.

<sup>12</sup> *Mühimme* E-12321, #547, #548.

<sup>13</sup> *Mühimme* 12, #821; *isyan ve tuğyanlarında musırr olan müfsidler*. For another one like this, see *Mühimme* 3, #1395; Darling, "Investigating," 160-61.

<sup>14</sup> Linda T. Darling, *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East: The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization* (London: Routledge Press, 2013; Darling, "Investigating the Fiscal Administration," 161.

<sup>15</sup> For the *sancakbey*, *Mühimme* E-12321, #227, #484, #502; the *subaşı*s, *Mühimme* 3, #355, *Mühimme* 5, #1039, *Mühimme* 7, #1663, *Mühimme* 12, #917; the translators, *Mühimme* 3, #1198; the Samaritans, *Mühimme* 5, #470, *Mühimme* 7, #1537; the *emin* of the sultan's *has*, *Mühimme* E-12321, #471; the *emin* of Sermin, *Mühimme* 5, #721; the *emin* of Kisrawan and Qaytbay, *Mühimm* 6e, #732, #1194; *Mühimm* 12e, #911; the *mütevelli*, *Mühimme* 5, #1017; the Hanbali *naib*, *Mühimme* 7, #2087; Darling, "Investigating," 162.

One case of oppression is worth recounting in more detail for what it reveals about provincial administration and its relationship to the subject population.<sup>16</sup> The governor of Şam, Lala Mustafa Paşa, was appointed to lead the Ottoman campaign to Yemen in 1568, but he only went as far as Egypt. After he spent eight or nine months vacillating in Cairo, the sultan recalled him. On his return to Şam, the *reaya* petitioned against him, stating that he had taken their properties and those of the *evkaf* and had committed oppression. The Porte ordered a general inspection of the province and of the complaints against Mustafa Paşa. Officials had to re-survey the province, collect the revenues of the governor's *bas*, and investigate Mustafa's financial dealings. The edict warned the judges not to allow witnesses to withdraw from the case on the pretext that they had either retired or been reconciled to the former governor.<sup>17</sup> The government clearly wanted Lala Mustafa to be convicted and the problems in provincial finance that he had created to be resolved. Subsequent register entries concern remedies for the injustices uncovered by the investigation.<sup>18</sup> Several entries addressed new issues arising from the survey.<sup>19</sup> The government worked to ensure not only that it received its funds but that the population had no cause for complaint. The central finance registers present a fuller picture of provincial finances, but the *mühimmes*, like court records, bring this picture alive, showing how the system worked and how central and provincial officials negotiated with each other and the subjects to resolve problems of resource extraction.

The disbursement of money from the provincial treasury was another important affair. Normally each province paid its own expenses out of its tax receipts, which can be tracked through finance summaries sent to the Porte.<sup>20</sup> Entries in the *mühimme* registers were only made when something went wrong, as when two fortresses on the pilgrimage road in Syria failed to receive the salaries for their garrisons and notified the Porte.<sup>21</sup> The provincial treasury paid for expenses that benefited the state, but also for expenses that benefited the people of the province. Most entries on expenditures concerned the purchase of supplies or the repair of fortifications, such as purchases of gunpowder and repairs to the Payas fortress in

<sup>16</sup> *Mühimme* 7, #1959, #960, #1965, #1979, #2011, #2012, #2013, #2014, #2045, #2198, and #2286 all concern this case, summarized from Darling, "Investigating," 163.

<sup>17</sup> *Mühimme* 7, #2034, #2035.

<sup>18</sup> *Mühimme* 7, #2036, #2038, #2039, #2044, #2046.

<sup>19</sup> *Mühimme* 7, #2256, #2267, #2512, #2521 (this entry ended the investigation).

<sup>20</sup> Darling, "Investigating the Fiscal Administration," 163-64. On these summaries see Halil Sahillioğlu, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Kıbrıs'ın İlk Yılı Bütçesi," *Belgeler* 4.7/8 (1967): 1-33; idem, "Yemen'in 1599-1600 Yılı Bütçesi," in *Yusuf Hikmet Bayur'a Armağan* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1985), 287-319; Linda T. Darling, "Ottoman Provincial Treasuries: The Case of Syria," *Mélanges Halil Sahillioğlu, Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies* 15-16 (1997): 103-9.

<sup>21</sup> *Mühimme* 7, #552.

Aleppo province, but revenues were also spent on a bathhouse in Hama owned by the state and a cistern in Aclun.<sup>22</sup> Such expenditures were reported more fully in the financial summaries, but the *mühimme* entries detail the difficulties they caused and the responsibility for handling them. In the case of repairs, the *mühimmes* indicate the use of local labor and the resulting wage payments or tax exemptions.

A tricky aspect of money-handling was the transfer of funds to the imperial treasury or to other treasures and enterprises. These fund transfers were made in bullion, heavily guarded against the risks and dangers of carrying cash over roads infested with robbers, tribesmen, and rebels. The *mühimme* registers show transfers from the treasuries of Şam, Haleb and Egypt to the central treasury, which distributed surpluses from wealthy provinces to poorer ones.<sup>23</sup> They also show transfers from the treasury of Haleb to the Ottoman forces at Basra, Baghdad, Erzurum, Egypt, and Yemen;<sup>24</sup> and from the treasury of Şam to Medina for the salaries of Qur'an readers and to Hims for fortifications on the pilgrimage road.<sup>25</sup> These entries highlight the specialization of the Haleb treasury on military affairs and of Şam's treasury on religious affairs. They also show how the government transported and protected its financial resources without modern means of communication and transportation.

## MEN

A major aspect of resource extraction dealt with the military. Judging by the descriptions of Syria in the Ottoman chronicles, the recruitment of men was even more important than the collection of taxes. Numerous studies have been made of the great families of Syria, but scholars have paid little attention to lower-level military forces.<sup>26</sup> The replacement of the Mamluk system by the Ottomans' diversified military groups significantly altered military recruitment in Syria. In the mid-sixteenth century, some of Syria's troops came from the empire's central regions, but

<sup>22</sup> For gunpowder, *Mühimme* 3, #785; *Mühimme* 7, #2091; fortress repairs, *Mühimme* 7, #372, #1375, #1429, #2272; bathhouse, *Mühimme* 3, #794; cistern, *Mühimme* 7, #2317, #2588; other repairs, *Mühimme* 12, #113, #413, #431, #978.

<sup>23</sup> For Şam: *Mühimme* 7, #2387, profits on *evkaf*; *Mühimme* 12, #12, #359, *avarız*; Haleb: *Mühimme* 3, #377, #378; Egypt: *Mühimme* 3, #547, #548, *Mühimme* 7, #1438; Darling, "Investigating," 164.

<sup>24</sup> For Basra, *Mühimme* 3, #765, #766; Baghdad, *Mühimme* 5, #1966, 1968; Erzurum, *Mühimme* 3, #531, #739, and *Mühimme* 6, #436, #532, #533; for Egypt, *Mühimme* 7e, #2269; Yemen, *Mühimme* 7, #1253, #1254. *Mühimme* 7, #1248, specified that the Damascus treasury did not have funds to send to Yemen.

<sup>25</sup> For Medina, *Mühimme* 7, #401; Hims, *Mühimme* 12, #552.

<sup>26</sup> Darling, "Investigating," 165-66. See Kamal S. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965; Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1993); Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn, *Provincial Leaderships in Syria, 1575-1650* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1985).

a large number were recruited locally. The *timar*-holding cavalry included not only sons of previous *timar*-holders but also sons of local elites, even Mamluks, as well as Janissaries and men from other military forces.<sup>27</sup> The *timars* of the Syrian provinces were surveyed several times in the sixteenth century.<sup>28</sup> In the late 1550s, the problems reported in the *mühimmes* were receiving *timars* made out of ruined or unsurveyed land, or having *timars* taken away for reasons including absence from service and false documentation.<sup>29</sup>

Another of Syria's important military groups was the Janissaries, stationed in Damascus and throughout the province. Their primary function was as a mobile fighting force; thus, the Porte mobilized 1,000 Janissaries of Damascus to go with the governor and a force of cavalry and volunteers on the campaign to Yemen in 1568.<sup>30</sup> In 1571 it sent Damascus Janissaries to Cyprus for its conquest, although the initial orders to the governor of Şam only commanded grain for the invading troops.<sup>31</sup> Janissaries from Şam were also sent to Van, Bitlis, Safed, and Aclun, and they transported *waqf* revenues to Istanbul and garrisoned fortresses on the pilgrimage road.<sup>32</sup> Multiple orders insisting on the appointment of men from Rumeli and Anatolia rather than Arabs and Kurds inform us that Arabs and Kurds were entering the corps, contrary to the wishes of the central government.<sup>33</sup> Most Janissary duties do not appear as orders in the *mühimme* registers, since the provincial governor commanded them in person, but there are exceptions, such as orders to

<sup>27</sup> For an empire-wide analysis of the *icmal defterleri* in terms of the number of *timars* in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and the identities of their holders, see Linda T. Darling, "Nasihatnâmeler, İcmal Defterleri, and the Ottoman *Timar*-Holding Elite in the Late Sixteenth Century," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 43 (2013): 193-226; eadem, "Nasihatnâmeler, İcmal Defterleri, and the Ottoman *Timar*-Holding Elite in the Late Sixteenth Century: Part II, Including the Seventeenth Century," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 45 (2015): 13-35.

<sup>28</sup> Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus*, 297-98; he did not attempt to track the composition of the military forces. See also Dror Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century: The District of Jerusalem in the 1600s* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

<sup>29</sup> For the Syrian provinces see *Mühimme* 3, #397, #756, #1094, #1398; *Mühimme* 7, #363, #2085.

<sup>30</sup> The following is summarized from Darling, "Investigating," 166-68. See *Mühimme* 7, #614, and many other orders in that register. On the mobilization see Caesar E. Farah, "Organizing for the Second Conquest of Yemen," in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, 22-26 Eylül 1986: Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, 6 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1990-94), 4: 1457-72; Linda T. Darling, "The Janissaries of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century, or, How Conquering a Province Changed the Ottoman Empire," *Otto Spies Memorial Series*, v. 6 (Bonn: V&R Press, 2019); J. Richard Blackburn, "The Collapse of Ottoman Authority in Yemen, 968/1560-976/1568," *Die Welt des Islams*, n.s. 18 (1979): 119-76.

<sup>31</sup> *Mühimme* 12, for Janissaries: #508, #509; other troops, #195, *nüzül*: #c.44, #397.

<sup>32</sup> *Mühimme* 7, #791, #1983; *Mühimme* 12, #88, #423; *waqf*, *Mühimme* 7, #2385, #2387; pilgrimage road *Mühimme* 7, #553, #2328, #2621; *Mühimme* 12, #597.

<sup>33</sup> *Mühimme* 5, #991, #1121; *Mühimme* 12, #1008. The reason may simply have been that they knew neither Turkish nor the Balkan languages spoken by many of the Janissaries.

collect the revenues of the imperial *imaret* in Damascus and to help with a *tab-rir*.<sup>34</sup> Some entries mention Damascus Janissaries serving the provincial treasury of Haleb.<sup>35</sup> Through these registers we see how the empire's military manpower implemented fiscal administration and observe their contributions not only to the war machine but to the communication, transportation, fundraising, and policing functions of the state.

## ADMINISTRATION

The registers of outgoing orders also reveal the structures of provincial administration. The opening statements of orders provide the names of the governors, *kadis*, and *defterdars* to whom they were addressed. The orders mention the *sancakbeys*, as well as provincial military and finance officials. We see who was obedient and who was disobedient, and we sometimes learn about their salaries or their households. The names and titles of individuals who received the written orders and delivered them in the provinces provide information about subordinates of governors and great men. For example, orders were handed for delivery to Murad, the steward or *kethüda* of the governor of Haleb; Hasan, the steward of the governor of Şam; Hurrem, the steward of the *defterdar* of Haleb; and Derviş, the steward of the governor of Egypt. In general, this information shows that one of the responsibilities of a *kethüda* was to present letters and petitions to the Porte in person and return the answers to their employers.<sup>36</sup> Infrequently mentioned in the orders were the *çavuşes* or messengers who carried petitions and letters to Istanbul and back. *Çavuşes* were mostly recruited by the same means as Janissaries, through the *devşirme*, and one reason for the growth in numbers of "Janissaries" that Ottoman advice writers described as corruption may have been the empire's growing demand for messengers and agents as the empire expanded and the provinces grew more tightly knit together and more closely bound to the center. The expansion of the empire also increased the demand for troops both to campaign and to fill the provincial garrisons along the empire's extended frontiers and in the newly conquered cities. Syria itself had 29 fortresses, all with Janissary contingents; Janissaries were also assigned to the fortresses along the pilgrimage route.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Mühimme* 7, #1638, #2012.

<sup>35</sup> *Mühimme* 7, #33; *Mühimme* 3i, #190.

<sup>36</sup> *Mühimme* 3, #728, #1395, #355, #547; Darling, "Investigating," 168-69.

<sup>37</sup> Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus*, 94-99; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans, 1517-1683* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994); Andrew Petersen, *The Medieval and Ottoman Hajj Route in Jordan: An Archaeological and Historical Study* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2012); BOA.MAD.3723. Other provinces, such as Budin and Mısır, also received Janissary contingents.

A mark of the growing closeness among the empire's different parts was the central administration's dependence on the information in the provincial registers. Entries in the *mühimme* register of 1544 notified the *defterdar* of "Arabistan" that the detailed registers of the Şam treasury for the previous year had not reached the Porte, nor had the *avarız*, *muhasebe*, and *mukataa* registers for Arabistan and the registers for the Ekrad *sancak*.<sup>38</sup> The central government needed these registers to make up its own accounts of income and expenditures for the year.<sup>39</sup> A few years later, the *mütevelli* of the Sultan Süleyman *evkaf* in Şam went off to serve in Egypt without turning in his registers. This became an "important affair" because he left a school unbuilt, reporting that construction of the water fountain had used up all the money; stone, lead, and other building materials had been ordered but only partially used and possibly not paid for. The entry commanded the governor and *kadı* to confront the *mütevelli* in person, obtain his registers, investigate the problems he left, and notify the Porte of their findings.<sup>40</sup> Governing the empire depended more and more on receiving reports and registers from the provinces. Istanbul could conquer on its own initiative, but it could only govern on the basis of reports and petitions from the provinces.<sup>41</sup> Submitting a petition was thus a political act, and the same could be said for submitting a register. Their absence represented a flaw in the state of peace and a problem for administrators. Orders reiterated that submitting one's registers was one of the "important affairs" of the empire; archives then represent both the act and the evidence of obedience.

## CONCLUSION

The story told of Ottoman rule in the Arab provinces has usually been one of oppression and extortion, but a more detailed look at provincial resources in the *mühimme* registers modifies this picture by revealing not only the problems faced by the new administrators but the efforts and negotiations employed in addressing them, not only the taxes raised from the population but the infrastructure and accomplishments they funded, not only oppression by officials but their pursuit

<sup>38</sup> *Mühimme E-12321*, #390, #520, #546, #336; Darling, "Investigating," 169-70.

<sup>39</sup> On accounting registers see Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "H. 933-934 (M. 1527-1528) Mali Yılına ait bir Bütçe Örneği," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15 (1953/54): 251-329; idem, "954-955 (1547-1548) Mali Yılına ait bir Osmanlı Bütçesi," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 19 (1957/58): 219-76; idem, "H. 974-975 (M. 1567-1568) Mali Yılına ait bir Osmanlı Bütçesi," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 19 (1957/58): 277-332; on procedures, Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 213-45.

<sup>40</sup> *Mühimme 7*, #1643.

<sup>41</sup> Linda T. Darling, "The Finance Scribes and Ottoman Politics," in *Decision Making in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Caesar E. Farah (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press and University Press of America, 1993), 89-100; eadem, "Investigating," 173.

of justice as well. The extensive process of interaction due to Ottoman conquest emerges vividly. Far from a top-down imposition of power, ruling a conquered province was a constant balancing act between the authority and the impotence of the distant state, the impulses to obedience or self-aggrandizement of its officials, and the conquered people's level of tolerance and their ability to intervene in the process. Much of this negotiation took place in the arena of fiscal administration, an ideal site for investigating its procedures and contingencies.

We should not think only of resource extraction, however. Money and materials also came *into* the province with the Ottoman troops and were employed not only in palaces and fortifications for the elite but fountains, schools, markets, cisterns, and bathhouses for ordinary people, as well as for protecting the pilgrimage. The Ottoman elites sent to govern their new conquests settled in and localized, becoming new and well-connected members of their communities and linking them to a larger imperial society.<sup>42</sup> The first half of the sixteenth century saw a tightening of the bonds between provinces and center that is reflected in the *mühimme defterleri*. Through its demands for provincial registers and reports, inspections of officials, and appointments of agents, the government sought to centralize provincial affairs on Istanbul, if that word is not too strong, or at least to keep the center informed of conditions in the provinces. In the debate over whether the Ottoman Empire was governed by the sultan's absolute rule or by negotiation, the *mühimme* registers answer, both.<sup>43</sup> These registers span the gap between ideology and implementation and allow us to investigate the relationship between absolutism and negotiation in the premodern conditions of the Ottoman Empire.

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<sup>42</sup> Z'evi, *An Ottoman Century*; Darling, "Investigating the Fiscal Administration of the Arab Provinces," 173. In later periods, we know the local elites sponsored commercial and cultural activity; where were their resources invested in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century?

<sup>43</sup> See Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1994), which favors negotiation, and the various reviews and critiques of this book.

5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973/1565-1566), *Özet ve İndeks*. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1994.

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# PENETRATION OF URBAN CAPITAL INTO THE PALESTINIAN COUNTRYSIDE: THE BEGINNINGS, JAFFA IN THE 1830S

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## ABSTRACT

Jaffa, a Palestinian port city on the eastern Mediterranean, emerged from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as Palestine's vibrant economic and cultural center. It attracted migrants from different Palestinian areas and from elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, especially from Egypt, Lebanon and Syria. Capital owners in Jaffa invested heavily in citrus groves, especially the well-known "Jaffa oranges." Also soap factories and sesame presses attracted many merchants to invest heavily in these branches. These factories depended entirely on raw material, olives and sesame, heavily produced in the country side. Big merchants and entrepreneurs (capital owners) who invested in these branches built wide and complicated economic networks in the country side to ensure steady flow of raw materials to their factories. The need for raw materials of Jaffa's capital owners pushed them to penetrate into economy of the country side making it part of the city's economic orbit. However, Jaffa's rapid development continued un-interrupted and became at the eve of Palestine's Nakba in 1948, Palestine's most important economic and cultural city. As global markets approached the Palestinian countryside through the city's merchants, the olive tree has transformed from being a source of self-sufficiency and local consumption into a marketing commodity and a source of investment, and a means of using urban capital to control the embryonic economic structure of the Palestinian countryside. The results of this transformation will be further clarified in the coming decades when large rural properties would be appropriated by the city's merchants. As a result, a new class of peasants emerged with no agricultural means of production and turned into low-skilled laborers outside the village boundaries and on the outskirts of the city.

The economic importance of Jaffa, as well as of other coastal towns in Palestine, increased rapidly from the beginning of the nineteenth century. This brought about more opportunities for investment for urban capital owners, mainly the big merchants. The penetration of urban capital into the countryside was one opportunity.

In the Jaffa hinterland, the primary mechanism for that penetration was money lending system which offered immediate cash to peasants (*fellabin*), against future delivery of agricultural produce. This arrangement benefitted both parties as the urban merchants accumulated considerable capital and were in need of agricultural surpluses for their factories and marketing activities, while the countryside was in constant need for cash. The merchants' capital invested or borrowed by the *fellabin* was guaranteed through legal contracts. As elsewhere, Jaffa's merchants preferred to

lend money through two systems: the *salam* (advance purchases or deferred credits) and the *bay' wafa'* (ensured sales). It was through the contracts of these two money-lending systems that much of the agricultural surpluses was appropriated by merchants from both individual peasants and entire villages. This paper discusses how the borrowing system worked and who used it and how it facilitated the penetration of urban capital into Palestine's countryside.

\* \* \*

The expansion of commercial capital into Palestine's rural areas began long before the nineteenth century, but its effects manifested themselves most clearly after the Egyptian invasion to Bilad al-Sham (1830).<sup>1</sup> Note that during the Egyptian rule in Palestine (1831-1840), there appeared in Jaffa's *shari'a* court records (*sijills*) new financial transactions and commercial relations that had not been seen in the Jaffa *sijills* before. The most important of these transactions is the *salam* contracts.<sup>2</sup>

The *salam* contracts became common when the big urban merchants found it necessary to secure certain quantities of agricultural produce before the harvest season. At the same time, the *fellahin* needed cash. The principle of the *salam* contract was that the first party (the merchant) paid cash immediately upon the conclusion of the contract, against the promise of the second party (the *fellah*) to deliver the sold commodity on a later date and at the agreed price. The *salam* contract required that the commodity – usually crops – be delivered to the first party in kind regardless of its market price in the harvest season. According to the balance of power between the two contracting parties, it is believed that the *salam* contracts involved a significant proportion of (then illegal) concealed interest that guaranteed profit to the lender even if market prices fell below the expected level.<sup>3</sup>

Apparently, the merchants of Jaffa registered several *salam* contracts in the *shari'a* court records after contracting the terms of the *salam* contract somewhere outside the court, usually at the merchants' office, as follows:

*Al-Khawaja* [honorary title of prominent merchants] Elias Al-'Asaily, the legal agent of *Khawaja* Qusta Israfim paid Muhammad bin Ali, from the village of Dayr Ghassanah, from the Mt. Nablus region, a sum of one thousand and five hundred *qurush* [cents], as *salam* against providing him with fifty jars of fine olive oil. The agreed-upon price of

<sup>1</sup> Beshara B. Doumani, "Merchants, Socioeconomic Change and the State in Ottoman Palestine: The Nablus Region, 1800-1860" (Ph.D. Thesis, Washington, D.C., 1990), 254.

<sup>2</sup> Beshara Doumani, *'Adat iKtishaf Filastin, Ahali Jabal Nablus, 1700-1900* (Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine), (Beirut, 1988), 159-216.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 166; Mahmoud Yazbak, *Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period, 1864-1914: A Muslim Town in Transition* (Leiden, 1998), 185.

each jar is thirty *qurush*...., deferred for four months, [to be] transported to the Wahbiyya soap factory in Jaffa. The transportation fee is to be paid by the borrower and nothing by the lender... The terms of the *salam* become invalidated after four months from the date of signing. Jumada al-Awwal 1252/August 27, 1836. Witnesses: Haj Mahmoud Al-Azouni, Sheikh Daoud Al-Azzouni, Sheikh Amin Marrar, Mohammed Al-Qutob, Court Clerk.<sup>4</sup>

The price changes with the length of the *salam* period. The longer the period between the signing and the delivery of oil (in this case), the lower the price of the oil jar. This is what happened with Abdul-Razzaq, the son of the late Abdul-Dayem, the head of the village of Dayr Sudan in the *al-Quds* (Jerusalem) area. Abdul-Razzaq represented a group of peasants from his village and signed a *salam* contract with *Khawaja* Qustandi Israfim for 250 oil jars for 6,450 *qurush* to be delivered six months later. In other words, the owner paid only about 25 *qurush* for an oil jar.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the owner of the soap factory saved 1050 *qurush*, equivalent to 16%, thanks to the two-month delay, compared to the previous contract. It is possible to say that the 16% was the interest rate that the capital owner (the merchant) obtained from the loan to the farmer for the extension of the *salam* period. In order to guarantee his rights against the rest of the peasants represented by Abdul-Razzaq, the *salam* contract included a declaration by the peasants "that each of them personally guarantees the financial warranty for the others, and even if all missed except one, he is obliged to pay for all the others."

On several occasions, the *salam* contract included a statement that this is a "righteous and legitimate *salam* contract free of interest and meets all legal conditions."<sup>6</sup> In fact, this statement was disingenuous, as proved by the *salam* contracts in which the price of oil changed according to the deferral period. It is clear that oil prices usually rose at the beginning of the harvest. In order to prevent competition between owners of soap factories in the high olive-picking season, they sought to secure a large amount of oil to the soap factories several months before the season. It seems that the *salam* contracts have become a common phenomenon in Jaffa during the Egyptian rule, designed to increase the quantities of soap exported to Egypt due to the increased demand for this commodity. However, the farmers in Jabal (Mt.) Nablus and the Jerusalem hills had long been accustomed to the *salam* system, before Jaffa's merchants and soap factory owners penetrated these areas.<sup>7</sup>

The prices of olive oil in the *salam* contracts depended on several factors, the

<sup>4</sup> *Sijill of Jaffa*, volume 9, p. 202.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 158.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 215.

<sup>7</sup> Doumani, *I'adat iKtishaf Filastin*, 167.

most important of which was the intensity of competition among merchants to secure their oil, which led to the improvement of the farmers' bargaining terms. The farmers' demand for cash and their available network with urban merchants also played an important role in determining the price of the oil jar. While *Khawaja* Antoine Kassar signed a six-month *salam* contract with the farmers of al-Mazra'a near Jerusalem, and paid 30 *qurush* per jar, he paid only 22 when contracting for nine months in 1836. In the latter case, the farmers of Qarawah Bani Zayd were in need for cash immediately after the end of the harvest season. The merchant lent them the money against provision at the beginning of the next season. The farmers also agreed to deliver the produce to Jaffa. This was the lowest price we have ever seen in our documents. It seems, that the merchant was familiar with the cash crises of the village and their need for cash, which allowed him to impose such a low price.<sup>8</sup>

In the same year, *Khawaja* Israfim recorded a series of *salam* contracts, deferred for varying periods ranging from four to nine months. Interestingly, the prices of the oil jar varied from one contract to other, although the duration was similar. On the same day that Israfim signed a contract with Ahmad al-Muslih and paid 22 *qurush* a jar for nine months as mentioned above, he signed another contract with Hussayn al-Salakh of Dayr Ghassanah near Jerusalem and paid 25 for the same duration.<sup>9</sup> He also contracted with other farmers from the same and neighboring villages. While he paid a certain farmer 28 *qurush* for seven months, he paid another 27 and sometimes even 30 for the same duration.<sup>10</sup> It is clear from these contracts that the prices of the oil jar differed not only according to the length of the term but also according to the intensity of the competition between the urban merchants, and the farmers' need for cash.

It is worth noting that all the *salam* contracts for olive oil contracted by *Khawaja* Israfim and other merchants from Jaffa during the period of the Egyptian rule were signed only with farmers from the villages of the mountains of Jerusalem. No *salam* contracts between merchants from Jaffa and farmers in Mt. Nablus appeared in the Jaffa *sijill* during the Egyptian rule, perhaps because of the social alliances in the area. The Nablus elite controlled the surrounding countryside, preventing Jaffa's merchants from penetrate this area. Conversely, the villages of the Western Jerusalem mountains located nearer Jaffa appeared to be less controlled by the interests of Jerusalem's elite. This fact has facilitated the economic penetration of Palestine's coastal merchants to those villages, linking them to a new economic system based on cash flow from Jaffa to convert olives, the most valuable product in the Palestinian mountains, into soap for domestic consumption and export.

<sup>8</sup> *Sijill of Jaffa*, vol. 11, p. 137.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 147, 153.

The *salam* contracts in this period refer to two important issues. First, the economic base of the city of Jaffa, which has grown steadily since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and has become in the 1830s an important productive and investment power that transcended the city limits. Second, the big merchants and capitalists, especially the owners of the soap factories and sesame presses, succeeded to penetrate rural, coastal and mountainous areas to invest in it and develop direct economic networks, as we have seen in the above examples of *salam* contracts. During the 1830s, the Egyptian government bought large quantities of soap, especially from the merchants of Jaffa, to supply its military requirements, which led traders to secure ample quantities of oil to provide the Egyptian army.<sup>11</sup>

\* \* \*

The court records during that period also include *salam* contracts for agricultural crops other than olive oil, namely sesame and cotton. It seems that in this period the demand for sesame oil in the Egyptian market in particular increased, pushing owners of sesame presses in Jaffa to seek more *salam* contracts. Just as before the period of the Egyptian rule, we did not find any olive oil *salam* contracts in Jaffa *shari'a* court records, this record did not contain any *salam* contracts for sesame. The first of these contracts appeared in 1836 and was initiated by Mohammad Abdel Fattah Damiyat, owner of a sesame oil press in Jaffa. As his name indicates, he was originally from the Egyptian port city of Damietta. In 1836, he signed four *salam* contracts related to sesame. These contracts included farmers from different villages in the vicinity of Jaffa and Bedouin farmers from 'Arab al-Nafi' at near Gaza.<sup>12</sup> We also found another *salam* contract for sesame between *Khawaja* Antoine Kassar of Jaffa and farmers from the village of Qastina, near Isdud, on the coastal plain stretching from Jaffa to Gaza, an area famous for rain fed crops. Finally, a single cotton contract was signed between *Khawaja* Hanna Mitri and a farmer from the village of Tulkarm, northeast of Jaffa.

The terms of the *salam* contracts for these commodities are not different from the *salam* contracts relating to olive oil. The period of sesame *salam* contracts ranged between four to five months, usually starting in mid-May, and the commodity was delivered in September, at the end of the harvest season. All *salam* contracts stipulated that the agricultural product should be delivered to Jaffa at the merchant's place. Usually, transportation costs were paid by the merchant or factory owner. Owners of soap factories and sesame presses also contracted with the

<sup>11</sup> Asad Rustum, *al-Usul al-Arabiyya LiTarikh Suriyya fi Abd Muhammad Ali Pasha*, 5 vols. (Beirut, 1934), vol. 3-4, 263.

<sup>12</sup> *Sijill of Jaffa*, vol. 11, pp. 148, 153, 160.



owners of transport animals in order not to give the peasant an excuse to delay the transfer of their produce to Jaffa.



Figure 1: A Salam Olive Oil Contract

Source: *Sijill of Jaffa*, vol. 11, p. 148 (1836).

## MONEY LENDING: THE PAPERS OF KHAWAJA QUSTANDI (QUSTA) ISRAFIM

Interest was no stranger to the Jaffa community even in simple financial transactions. A debt contract referred clearly to usury, despite the fact that everyone was aware of its illegitimacy. A case in the *shari'a* law dealt with a loan of 700 *qurush* borrowed by Hussein al-Liddi from a woman called Amna al-Masri. She detailed in her lawsuit that "he owes her the amount of eight hundred *qurush*. Of these, seven hundred *qurush* are the legal debt and the eighth hundred is the interest. She asked the court to order the debtor to pay her all the amount of the loan". The defendant admitted that "she has added an extra hundred *qurush* on the loan for the duration, as agreed and signed to his satisfaction". Eventually, the judge ruled: "The lawsuit is unlawful and should not be heard in the court because of the plaintiff's admission that she has added to the loan pure interest [which] is illegal, and must be annulled".<sup>13</sup> In order not to lose the interest included in *salam* or other forms of credit contracts, merchants sought to conceal it under different names.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., vol. 9, p. 145.

In fact, the *salam* contracts was one of the ways of contracting between farmers and merchants of the city, which facilitated urban capital penetration in rural areas and linked their economy with that of the merchants in coastal cities. Since the 1830s, the big merchants contracted with world trade markets and met growing European and regional demand for Palestinian agricultural products such as olive oil, sesame, barley, wheat and oranges. These commodities were affected by price fluctuations due to supply and demand changes imposed by the city market, especially in Jaffa, whose economy became gradually linked to the global economy. This trade transformation produced a new class of merchants with relations to the European consuls, ensuring foreign protection. Christian merchants in particular occupied a powerful position by developing a complex network of sociopolitical and financial relations. During the period of the Egyptian rule, a certain Mikh'il Israfim became a big merchant in Jaffa. His career represents a model of social and economic change in Jaffa, especially the penetration to the Palestinian countryside.

Israfim's name was accompanied with the title *Khawaja* whenever it appeared on *shari'a* court records. *Khawaja* is a title of respect and appreciation accompanying the names of major merchants in official documents. Khawaja Qustandi Son of Mikha'il Israfim was a Catholic who came from Jerusalem and settled in Jaffa in the 1820s. He appeared to have been a wealthy man before coming to Jaffa, and to have invested his capital in various commercial ventures, and was under the protection of the consuls of Sardinia and France. Qustandi and his brother Bishara quickly managed build a wide socioeconomic network in Jaffa and its surroundings. Because of their high social status, wealth and commercial interests, each received titles of honor such as *Zain 'Ashiratuhu* (Pride of his Community), given to only the most senior members of the Christian community.

They had a good relationship with the Governor of Jaffa *sanjaq* (district), Mahmoud 'Abd al-Hadi,<sup>14</sup> brother of Husayn 'Abd al-Hadi, the Governor of Acre *wilaya* (province), the strongest man in Palestine during the Egyptian rule. The leadership of the 'Abd al-Hadi family was prominent in Palestine and in Mt. Nablus in particular. The Israfims' relationship with the 'Abd al-Hadis developed into a commercial and investment partnership in several fields in Jaffa, including the establishment of new stores on the beach near the port and the Sea Mosque.<sup>15</sup> This relationship with Mahmoud 'Abd al-Hadi provided an important safety net for the investments of the Israfims, particularly in the rural areas of Jerusalem and Nablus, enabling them to secure continuous supply of olive oil to their soap factories to meet the growing Egyptian demand.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, p. 176, 270. Mahmud 'Abd al-Hadi was the *mutasallim* of Jaffa (1832-1834).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, p. 176.

The *salam* contracts was not the only way through in which Qustandi Israfim penetrated the countryside. In his commercial dealings with the *fellabin*, he also used the direct lending method, with contracts imposing hidden and high interest, ensuring control over the price of olive oil and linking a large group of farmers to his economic networks. From March 15, 1837 (8 Dhu al-Hijjah 1252) and for a whole month, the registrar of the *shari'a* court in Jaffa was occupied documenting and editing more than seventy legal loan contracts by Israfim. These documented the amounts lent, the interest rate, the names and villages of the farmers, and the witnesses. The following is the text of one of these loan contracts, as an example of the rest of the contracts concluded by the *Khawaja* with the peasants:

To the *shari'a* council came Saleh Al-Abed from the village of 'Atara [near Jerusalem]. He recognized and acknowledged that he was legally indebted to *Khawaja* Israfim the Catholic an amount of 480 *qurush* as a legal debt. Four hundred *qurush* of it is a cash debt, and the other 80 *qurush* is against an amber narghile, deferred to ten months from the date below. All this is ratified by *Khawaja* Bishara [Israfim] the legitimate agent of his brother *Khawaja* Qusta. The period of debt begins on mid-Dhu al-Hijja 1252 [March 22, 1837].

All of the loan contracts concluded by *Khawaja* Israfim expired in January or December, the season of olive picking and pressing. Although olive oil was not mentioned in these contracts and nothing was mortgaged against the loan, as was the case in the *salam* contracts, it was clear that the date of repayment was tied to the olive pressing season when the farmers sold their products to merchants from Jaffa, perhaps also Israfim himself.

The above loan contract poses a set of questions. How did Israfim ensure repayment? Where was the benefit hidden in this "legal loan"? Is this really a legitimate loan? What is the role of the witnesses in this contract? Usually, seven witnesses signed each of these loan contracts. In one day, ten such contracts were registered in the Jaffa court. For each of these, contractors and witnesses attended in the courtroom, meaning that the courtroom was filled with people from different social backgrounds who came to register the loan contracts of *Khawaja* Israfim. We can imagine a crowd of more than 100 men standing in front of the court and how this affected a small city like Jaffa in the 1830s. This crowd testified to Israfim's socio-economic power. It is also important to imagine the logistics involved in bringing these crowds from different places to Jaffa and pay the farmers in cash. This process could not have been organized on the same day had Israfim not had agents spread in the various villages to contact the peasants and network them with the *Khawaja* himself. Some of the loan documents refer clearly to village elders or to sheikhs (heads) of the *nahiya* (subdistrict) as a borrower or as selling his products to Israfim.

In fact, Israfim succeeded to build up his network with Palestine's rural areas through the influential rural leadership, and through them also he "secured" his loans in full and ensured its payment on time including the interest. In addition to the village dignitaries, the names of the witnesses included many of the influential religious and social personalities in Jaffa itself, attesting to Israfim's influence among the town's social elite as well.

Studying the pattern of financial lending at this period through 70 lending operations by Israfim shows that the hidden interest rate was 20% on the total amount for a period of ten months, and that the loan and the interest were paid together in one payment at the end of the loan period.<sup>16</sup> The abovementioned loan document includes the loan details and terms, the most important of which is that the hidden interest is an integral part of the amount that the debtor undertakes to repay. The amount of the actual loan received by the debtor is referred to as "cash money" (*darabim nuqud*) and the interest is hidden in "the price of the amber narghile," here, or in other goods such as cloth and soap. In other words, the contractors state that the debtor bought from the lender some goods added to the amount of the loan and the borrower became indebted to the lender and repaid accordingly. The percentage of the price of goods, i.e. the interest, was 20% for ten months in all contracts concluded by Israfim, or 24% annually. Thanks to this thinly disguised ruse, the contract could be registered as legitimate, since it did not contain the explicit terms "interest" or "usury," illegal in Islamic law. The amounts in Israfim's contracts ranged between 100 and 8500 *qurush*, averaging 800 *qurush* for an average term of 9-10 months. The total capital in the seventy documents mentioned above amounted to 72,185 *qurush*.

The record includes 13 documents that did not specify the amount of cash loan and interest, i.e., the goods hiding the interest, as in the following example:

To the council of the *shari'a* court came Muhammad al-Umar, from the people of the village of Bani Zayd of the *nahiya* of *al-Quds al-Sharif*. He acknowledged and confessed that he is rightfully indebted to *Khawaja Qusta* Israfim the Catholic an amount of 2,200 *qurush* against two *qintars* (quantity) of soap deferred to ten months from the date below. All of this was confirmed by *Khawaja Elias al-Usaily*, the legal agent of *Khawaja Qusta*. The period of delay begins on the sixteenth of Dhi-Al-Hijja of the year 1252.<sup>17</sup>

We do not know why this debt contract and twelve similar others were made this way, contrary to previous contracts that contained detailed information about

<sup>16</sup> The lending documents are documented in the *sijill* of Jaffa, vol. 11, pp. 280-297.

<sup>17</sup> *Sijil* of Jaffa, vol. 11, p. 290.

the amount of cash and the goods, i.e., interest. Interestingly enough, all these twelve contracts stipulated that the amount of debt against the soap quantity was also deferred for ten months. Whatever the case, all the debt contracts we found in the *sijill* involved farmers who came to Jaffa from their villages and borrowed cash from merchants in Jaffa. In other words, these farmers were no longer confined to their villages, but the city became an important part of their livelihood. This process of growing contacts between the city and countryside would have important socioeconomic and political implications in subsequent decades.

\* \* \*

Reading other lending contracts of Qusta Israfim clarifies that he expanded his investments in the Palestinian countryside not only by money lending and crediting, as in the previous examples. Since 1838, he began purchasing agricultural lands, olive plantations and oil presses in the countryside. These last investments were done through a lending system known as *bay' wafa'*, whereby the debtor "sold" a piece of property to the lender equal in value to the sum borrowed plus "interest" for an agreed period of time after which the loan was repaid. This mechanism was also designed to circumvent the *shari'a* prohibition on taking interest. In fact, the full ownership of the property was transferred to the lender and he had the right to use it fully until repayment. The *bay' wafa'* contract was the most profitable contract for the lender and the most damaging to the seller, i.e., debtor. In many cases, the borrower lost what he had sold or mortgaged against the loan, because the mortgage or *bay' wafa'* included the source of production for the borrower.<sup>18</sup>

According to the following document, for example, the borrower sold or mortgaged all that he owned in the village's olive press, and also planted land with olive trees:

*Khawaja* Bishara son of *Khawaja* Mikha'il Israfim the Catholic, the legal agent of his brother *Khawaja* Qusta Israfim, bought with the money of his principal for his principal from the sellers Sulayman bin Muhammad Al-'Ais and Abdul Hamid bin Abdul Majid Al-Rawwas. Both are from the village of Kafr 'Ayn in the Bani Zayd *nahiya* of *al-Quds al-Sharif*. They came to the *shari'a* court in Jaffa together with *Khawaja* Bishara, the aforementioned agent. They sold him, for his principal, *Khawaja* Qusta, eleven *qirat* [karat, a fraction] of twenty-fourth of the whole, of all the [olive press] in the abovementioned village...

<sup>18</sup> For more information about the "*bay' wafa'*" system and its social and economic effects on Palestine, see, Mahmoud Yazbak, *Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period*, 185, 203-204, 217.

They also sold him the *musba'* (common share) of eight *qirats* of all the olive press located in the western side of the abovementioned village... and a piece of land in the [nearby] village of Farta which contains 160 olive trees... The price for all these is 3000 *qurush*... The price is paid by *Khawaja* Bishara, the agent of his brother with the money of his brother, to the sellers as they legally acknowledged the receipt of said amount.

Then, after the completion and conclusion of this, the buyer, *Khawaja* Bishara, acknowledged on behalf of his principal *Khawaja* Qusta that he promised the aforementioned pledgees that when they pay him or his brother the price of the abovementioned, he will return to them the sale mentioned above, as legally promised. The two sellers allowed *Khawaja* Qusta to use the two oil presses and olive plantations as long as the loan was not repaid in full. This is a legal permission.<sup>19</sup>

The *bay' wafa'* system entailed that the debtor would sell a piece of property to the lender equal in value to the amount borrowed for an agreed period of time after which the loan was discharged. The debtor became the renter of the property (usually a house or a piece of land, or both), of which the lender was now temporarily the owner, for an annual payment to latter, the rent in fact being the interest. Again, the system was designed to circumvent the religious legal prohibition on taking interest. It also entailed that debtors who proved unable to repay simply forfeited their property to the lender.<sup>20</sup>

The *bay' wafa'* document quoted above confirms that Jaffa's capital owners and merchants, after penetrating the rural economic structure, moved on to a new stage: effectively controlling the means of agricultural production, to become part of their wealth. As a result of the *bay' wafa'* contracts, many of the rural means of production moved to *Khawaja* Qusta's ownership and to similar other merchants in Jaffa. In this case, the judge did not hesitate, when the validity of the contract was proved, to enforce the sale.<sup>21</sup> This shift in urban investment reflected the enormous economic changes that the Palestinian society was subjected to during the Egyptian rule.

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The injection of urban capital into the countryside through credit and debt and the accompanying interest and accumulation of debt, the year-on-year transfer of this debt and the imposition of fines on arrears necessarily led to the loss of many

<sup>19</sup> *Sijill* of Jaffa, vol. 11, p. 285.

<sup>20</sup> Mahmoud Yazbak, *Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period*, 185.

<sup>21</sup> See examples in the *sijill* of Jaffa, vol. 9, pp. 180, 182.

farmers' means of production and livelihood even in this period preceding the Ottoman legal transformations, or *Tanzimat*, which were responsive to changes in the local market and world trade, such as the Land Law of 1858 and the Vilayets Law of 1864, and many other legal changes until the end of the Ottoman Empire. In the final analysis, during the reform period, the Ottoman legal system facilitated the transfer of agricultural land, i.e., the means of rural production, to the hands of local and foreign investors who turned it into a commercial commodity, sold and bought like any other. This was not permitted before the Land Law.

As we have seen above, through the *bay' wafa'* system, capital forces were stronger than the prevailing law. The transfer of rural property actually began during the period of Egyptian rule, i.e., twenty years before it was legally approved. The following example clarifies that for the *fellahin*, such contracts created a vicious circle of indebtedness:

The Shari'a council was attended by Abdul Rasul... of the people of the village of Yabrud in the vicinity of *al-Quds al-Sharif* and acknowledged... that he had contracted with the *khawaja* Bishara Israfim the Catholic, the legal agent on behalf of his brother *Khawaja* Qusta... and it is agreed that he is indebted the amount of 6155 *qurush*, and hundred jars of olive oil... And after that he bought from *Khawaja* Bishara the agent of his brother fifty pieces of Egyptian cloth at the price of 2025 *qurush*, [...] So his total debt to the *Khawaja* became 7388 *qurush* and a hundred oil jars. [...] All this debt is deferred for nine months from the date below [...]. Then came to the *shari'a* court the honorable sheikh Samhan and guaranteed the amount of the debt...<sup>22</sup>

The contents of the above document clearly indicate that the debtor has not been able to repay his debts from previous years. What the debtor had to do now was renew his debt with the interest included and add compounded 20% interest on the whole amount. But the document above does not explain about the hundred oil jar pledged by the debtor. Was this part of the fine on previous debt? Or was it part of the new debt? In any case, the hundred jars of oil constituted a considerable sum, as one jar was sold in the market for 30-35 *qurush*.

What is important in this case is the appearance of the financial guarantor, the sheikh of the *nahiya* himself. As mentioned above, *Khawaja* Qusta's networking with powerful leaders in the Palestinian countryside facilitated the injection of his capital and secured a safety net to collect debts and later, to effectively control the means of rural production.<sup>23</sup> In his research about Nablus, Doumani also men-

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., vol. 11, p. 289.

<sup>23</sup> The activities of *khawaja* Qustandi in Palestine's rural areas and its results are similar to the conclusions which Doumani have reached in Jabal Nablus. See, Doumani, *Iadat iKtishaf Filastin*, 192-194.

tioned that in the same period, most of the merchants were not interested in owning much of the land that they could have acquired due to debtors' default. Their main concern was to keep the farmer or village under debt so that they could ensure steady supply of cheap agricultural goods.<sup>24</sup>

However, opening the doors of Palestine to the Western religious, economic and political interests during the Egyptian rule led to radical changes in Palestine's social structure and created new social elite, especially Christians, who depended on trade, money and foreign protection.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 194.





**GLIMPSES BEYOND THE OTTOMAN BORDER:  
HABSBURG CROATIA AND THE REPUBLIC  
OF DUBROVNIK**



# THE OTTOMAN-CROATIAN BORDER AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES\*

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## ABSTRACT

In this paper the attempt is made to analyze the Croatian-Ottoman relations in the period from 1458 to 1527, from the points of view of armed conflicts, negotiations, processes of migration, exchange of goods and ideas and various forms of symbolic self-representation and images of the heathen Other.

It is often the case that historical research reflects preoccupations, questions, dilemmas and uncertainties of our own time. The 2015 wave of refugees from the Syrian conflict and the intensification of terrorist attacks in Europe, inspired by radical Islamism, profoundly shook many European countries and brought once again onto surface old prejudices, stereotypes and fears of the unknown. Once again the troubled historical relations between Europe and the Middle East, between the world of Christianity and the world of Islam, became the political agenda of the day, the same like after the great commotion created by the 9/11 attacks. On the other hand, the political agenda that is shaping the political landscape in today's Turkey has its reflections even in this region of Europe. In this context, even the role of autochthonous Balkan Muslim population is being reevaluated and reexamined from various sides, aspects and perspectives, both on the regional and on the European level.

In this context, the Ottoman conquest of Southeastern and parts of Central Europe during the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period inevitably attracts the renewed interest of scholars, as well as of the wider public, particularly in this part of the world. The questions how, why, with which consequences etc. the abovementioned conquest happened, once again attract attention. Therefore, following this path, the attempt will be made here to cast light on a small, but important part of territories between the Christian and the Muslim worlds in the Late Middle Ages, the Croatian-Ottoman border. I will try to analyze several questions. In which context did the Ottoman-Croatian border emerge and how it changed through time till 1527? What kind of border it was? Was it an impenetrable barrier

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or a fluid and only occasionally sealed obstacle? Did it prevent the transfer of people, ideas, goods and information from one side to the other? Besides this, I would like to raise the question of symbolical significance of the border in question. For the contemporaries on both sides, was this border primarily perceived as border between states, religions, ethnical or national groups, or civilizations?

The analysis covers the period between 1458 and 1527 and it focuses on medieval Croatia, south of the Kupa and Sava rivers. This is the territory that experienced significant demographic and economic losses during the period in question. Usually it was, and mainly still is, perceived in Croatian historiography as a period of collapse of all medieval social and economic structures, coupled with demographic catastrophe. This overall evaluation was to a certain degree strengthened through research done in the last few decades.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, some younger Croatian experts of Ottoman studies put these assumptions partly under the question mark.<sup>2</sup>

Although the first Ottoman incursions into medieval Croatian lands occurred already in the second decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century during the reign of King Sigismund (1387-1437), only after the conquest of medieval Bosnia, in 1463, the Ottomans became Croatian immediate neighbors. This fact significantly altered the strategic position of medieval Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia. The Ottomans started with their regular plundering and pillaging of neighboring regions, from 1465 onwards, on an almost yearly basis. After the formation of the Captaincy of Senj, in 1469, the Hungarian and Croatian border defense system, initiated already by King Sigismund, finally became fully operational in its Croatian part. In this area, from Jajce in Bosnia it stretched till Klis, in the immediate hinterland of Split in the south, and till Senj on the Adriatic coast in the west. This system consisted of two parallel lines of fortresses.<sup>3</sup> Later even the Ottomans gradually started to build an analogue system of fortresses on their side of the border. Despite the constant skirmishes and

<sup>1</sup> See primarily Ivan Jurković, "Migracije. Raseljenička kriza za osmanske ugroze: "U baščini mojoj ne dadu mi priti«, in *Vrijeme sazrijevanja, vrijeme razaranja: Hrvatske zemlje u kasnome srednjem vijeku*, ed. Marija Karbić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska. 2019), 99-100; *idem*, "Šesnaestostoljetna hrvatska raseljenička kriza i moderna sociološka terminologija," *Društvena istraživanja* 14, nos. 4-5 (2005): 762-764.; *idem*, "Klasifikacija hrvatskih raseljenika za trajanja osmanske ugroze (od 1463. do 1593.)," *Migracijske i etničke teme* 19, nos. 2-3 (2003): 147-149, 165-166.

<sup>2</sup> Kornelija Jurin Starčević, "Osmanski krajiški prostor: rat i društvo u jadransko-dinarskom zaleđu u 16. i 17. stoljeću" (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2012), *passim*; *idem*, "Srednjodalmatinsko zaleđe za vrijeme osmanske vladavine u 16. i 17. stoljeću" (MrSc diss., University of Zagreb, 2005), *passim*; *idem*, "Demografska kretanja u selima srednjodalmatinskog zaleđa u 16. i početkom 17. stoljeća prema osmanskim detaljnim poreznim popisima (mufassal defterima)," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 54 (2005): 139.

<sup>3</sup> Ferenc Szakály, "The Hungarian-Croatian Border Defense System and its Collapse," in *War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary (War and Society in Eastern Central Europe, Vol. 3)*, eds. János M. Bak and Béla K. Király (Brooklyn: Brooklyn College Press. 1982), 141-143.

devastating raids, occasional fighting and real wars, and even several real pitched battles, the balance of power on this segment of the frontier remained mainly unaltered until the second decade of the sixteenth century. However, already during the reign of Sultan Selim (1512-1520), before Suleyman's great conquests during the 1520's, the Croatian part of the border defense system started to collapse, due to poor maintenance, lack of resources or substantial help from the central authorities or abroad, from the neighboring Christian powers - Venice, papacy and the Empire. During the last years preceding the Mohács battle, all that was left of medieval Croatia was mainly the territory around the vital communication between Senj and Zagreb and the surrounded and isolated outpost of Klis in the south. On the other hand, till 1527 the Venetians mainly managed to preserve the Dalmatian coastal towns with their narrow districts in the hinterland, while the Ottomans conquered the bulk of former medieval Croatian territories there, too. Therefore in the long run, taking the whole analyzed period into account, the Ottomans significantly altered the political map of the whole region, coupled with radical changes in political, social, judicial and economic structures in the conquered regions.

One should not, however, imagine the Croatian-Ottoman volatile and changeable border of that time as something even remotely close to our contemporary notion of state borders. It is well known fact that pre-modern states in general were not able to exercise territorial and border control to an extent that the modern and contemporary states can. This was true even in our case, when the border was divided between two worlds in permanent conflict of low intensity. The Hungarian and Croatian border defense system relied on fortresses, located on strategically chosen places, and on natural obstacles, great rivers, mountains and like. However, wide areas in between those regions were practically defenseless, where both sides exercised very little or no control at all. These huge portions *terrae nullius* were, in fact, offering to both sides on the frontier a good chance to launch skirmishes, raids, pillaging and plundering, occasionally deep into the enemy's hinterland and causing significant damage, particularly from the Ottomans to the Christian side. However, at least during Matthias's reign (1458-1490), even the Christian side still occasionally had the power to retaliate.

The Croatian defense system was, of course, still typically medieval, essentially static, and in the long run it was no match for the advancing Ottomans. Even in Croatian case the Ottomans applied, like in many cases before and after that on the territories of their adversaries, their proven and successful military doctrine of raising everything down to the ground via repeated raiding campaigns throughout a prolonged period of time. Therefore, the defense potentials of their Christian adversaries were constantly being weakened. The resources for the upkeep and maintenance of the fortresses, local magnates, nobility and peasant population were gradually diminishing, year by year. This, in turn, led to ever increased emigration

from the endangered zones that, in turn, further weakened the defensive potentials of the Christian side. Such *circulus vitiosus* showed its devastating effects only after a longer period of time. In Croatian case, as it was stated above, only during the second and third decades of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the serious negative consequences were noticeable in central Croatia already at the end of Matthias's reign. For example, the famous *urbarium* of Modruš, estate of the most important branch of the Frankapani counts at that time, reflects already in 1486 a significant degree of depopulation and various economic and other problems of upkeep of the estate as a functioning unit, caused by the Ottomans up till then.<sup>4</sup>

However fragmentary and in many cases one-sided, relevant sources both on Croatian and on the Ottoman side of the border indicate that the border in question did not mean an impenetrable obstacle to various forms of exchange. This is valid most of all for the exchange of information and political contacts even on a higher level. Sources of that time, particularly on the Christian side, mention various instances of negotiations with the Ottomans about possible switching sides and acceptance of sultan's suzerainty. The accusations of such nature were not rare among Croatian and Slavonian magnates at the time. We know now that some of the last Kurjakovići counts of Krbava (Corbavia) seemingly accepted to switch sides, while at the same time keeping their ties with the Venetians.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the same request that the Ottomans addressed to Count Bernardin Frankapan, in 1494, did not have any success; although these requests were coupled with concrete menaces against Bernardin's vital interests in the case of refusal.<sup>6</sup> It has to be emphasized that this topic has not been thoroughly researched up till now. One of the possible reasons for that was the reluctance of traditional historians in Croatia to deal with such typical pre-modern phenomena. Namely, the attitude of the Kurjakovići did not fit into the national grand narrative of *antemurale Christianitatis* that was an important element of the ever growing nationalist ideology. Therefore, such behavior was usually too easily dismissed as mutual slender campaign among the Christian potentates, with the scope to weaken the adversaries and rivals among the fellow magnates and nobles. On the other hand, taken their historical context into consideration, such agreements with the Ottomans were more than probable. On the other hand, it does not mean that at this period such agreements were irrevocable or permanent, and they did not resemble the conditions the Christian *sipahis* in the other Balkan countries had to accept after the Ottoman conquest.

<sup>4</sup> Radoslav Lopašić, ed., *Hrvatski urbari [=Urbaria lingua Croatica conscripta], Monumenta historico-iuridica Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 5 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1894), 27–81.

<sup>5</sup> Ferdo Šišić, "Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima" in *Starine JAZU* 38 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1937), 165, doc. 112.

<sup>6</sup> Šišić, "Rukovet", 245–246, doc. 188.

It is much harder to claim anything concrete about the exchange of ideas and goods between the two sides on the border, due to paucity of relevant sources. One can only suppose that such exchanges could have happened. However, their intensity and extent was most probably not very significant, at least during the analyzed period. The trade between the two sides is, for example, much better documented for the later period of the sixteenth century, after the stabilization of borders in the 1540's, particularly the trade between the Ottomans and Venetian Dalmatia.<sup>7</sup> The exchange of ideas between the two sides was most probably limited, as the armed conflict was the main feature of mutual relations during the analyzed period.

Contrary to all this, the migrations of population on both sides of the fluid border were very important in this and the following period. The research done for example by Ferdo Gestrin, and more recently by Lovorka Čoralić and Ivan Jurković, showed the large extent and wide geographical scope of forced migrations from Dalmatia, Croatia and Bosnia to the neighboring countries and regions, such as the Italian Adriatic coast, Istria, Austrian provinces (particularly today's Slovenia and Burgenland), etc.<sup>8</sup> A significant number of Croatian migrants from the south populated the territories of medieval Slavonia and neighboring southern Hungarian counties in today's Croatia, among them numerous nobility, contributing to the process of gradual spreading and strengthening of Croatian ethnical, political and symbolical identity and institutions throughout these regions, too. The extent of the migration of Croatian population to safe havens, coupled with casualties in armed conflicts from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, led many Croatian historians and demographers to conclude that the demographic loss in medieval Croatia during the 16<sup>th</sup> century was almost catastrophic. On the other hand, recent research of younger Ottoman Studies scholars in Croatia, for example Kornelija Jurin Starčević, shed new light on this process from the viewpoint of the other side of the border.<sup>9</sup> She emphasized that one must not neglect the migrations of mobile Croatian Vlach population that, during the century from the Krbava battle in 1493 and the battle of Sisak, in 1593, frequently changed sides and migrated in many occasions from the Christian territories back to the Ottoman ones. Moreover, she warned about the Ottoman sources that do not corroborate an

<sup>7</sup> Tomislav Raukar, "Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XV st. i u prvoj polovini XVI stoljeća," *Historijski zbornik* 35 (1982): 75-76; *idem*, "Venecija i ekonomski razvoj Dalmacije u XV i XVI stoljeću," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 10 (1977): 221 – 223.

<sup>8</sup> Ferdo Gestrin, "Migracije iz Dalmacije u Marke u XV i XVI stoljeću," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 10, n. 1: (1977): 399-400, 404; Lovorka Čoralić, "S one bane mora" – hrvatske prekojadranske migracije (XV.-XVIII. stoljeće)," *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 21 (2003): 185, 197-198. See also footnote n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> See footnote n.2.



impression about the conquered Croatian territories after 1526 as *terrae deserta*, how they were usually portrayed in Croatian historiography, suggesting that the repopulation of these areas started only later in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Namely, Ottoman *defters* from the beginning of the Ottoman conquest show continued presence of more or less numerous groups of autochthonous Catholic population in conquered parts of Dalmatia and Croatia.

The Ottoman-Croatian late medieval border even had its symbolic significance. How did the contemporaries on both sides primarily perceive it? The Croatian-Ottoman relations at that time are well researched even from the imagological point of view, particularly during the last few decades. Sources on both sides of the border provide a whole repertoire of images of the heathen Other, ranging from the literary *topoi* and negative stereotypes, including true demonization of the adversaries, till the positive stereotypes, particularly on the Christian side, praising the values of the adversaries as compared to the alleged sinfulness and moral deficiencies of the Christian defenders.

In the Croatian national imagery and in the wider public the notion *antemurale christianitatis* for Croatia and Croats is present even today. The centuries-long warfare on the Hungarian, Habsburg and Venetian borders with the Ottoman Empire has everything to do with that. On the other hand, during the Late Middle Ages and later this was in fact a gloomy and harsh reality for the Croatian lands and people, coupled with all possible kinds of existential threats. The *antemurale* metaphor in Croatian sources during that period either emphasized religious or wider cultural differences, or both at the same time. This was usually coupled with warnings to Croatia's western neighbors that they could eventually share the fate of Croatian lands if they do not assist in the common anti-Ottoman defense.<sup>10</sup> For late medieval and early modern Croatian and Hungarian nobility the *antemurale* slogan became an important element of their ideological and political unity.<sup>11</sup> However, the Hungarians and the Croats were not enjoying any exclusive position. The popes frequently used flattering titles such as *antemurale* in correspondence with various Christian rulers and peoples on the Ottoman borders, from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Adriatic.

According to Ivo Žanić, from the fifteenth century onwards the *antemurale* motif started to be ever more present in medieval Croatian lands on three levels.<sup>12</sup> In the narrower sense late medieval Slavonia started to be referred to as a "shield of Hungary" already from the very end of the fifteenth century. In the wider sense,

<sup>10</sup> Davor Dukić, *Sultanova djeca. Predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja* (Zadar: Thema i.d., 2004), 236.

<sup>11</sup> Ivo Žanić, "Simbolični identitet Hrvatske u trokutu "raskrižje" - "predzide" - "most", in *Historijski mitovi na Balkanu*, ed. Husnija Kamberović (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2003), 163-164.

<sup>12</sup> Žanić, "Simbolični identitet", 165-66.

Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia were also a part of East Central and South East Europe, the actual forefront of Christendom. And last but not least, members of the Croatian social elites started to identify themselves ever more as *antemurale Christianitatis*. Ivan Jurković, after careful analysis of relevant sources, supposed that the Croatian estates started to name themselves *antemurale* after the disastrous Battle of Krbava Field, in 1493.<sup>13</sup> However, as already known, the first one who explicitly stated it in his speech in September 1522, at the Reichstag in Nuremberg, was Count Bernardin Frankapan who petitioned for help, reminding his hosts that "Croatia is a shield of Christianity" (*Croatiam ipsam christianorum scutum*).<sup>14</sup> A year later, in 1523, Bernardin's son Count Krsto (Christopher) in his letter to Pope Hadrian VI (1522-1523) emphasized that Croatia is a *murus ante murale* of Christianity, particularly of Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, Friuli and Italy.<sup>15</sup>

The Ottoman sources of this period regarding Croatia portray events and people in terms of global holy war against the infidels, *jihad*, out of which this border conflict is just a small part. This can be particularly well observed in the Ottoman sources regarding the battle of Krbava Field.<sup>16</sup> Taking all said into account, it is clear that both sides on the border still perceived their mutual conflict in essentially medieval terms of clash of religions. Ethnical and linguistic differences were of secondary importance and they were occasionally emphasized in the function of the main conflict, but they were not of primary importance. This does not mean, particularly in the Croatian case, that the conflict could not and indeed did not serve even as a catalyst of political, ethnical and linguistic homogenization among the medieval Croatian lands and people. We indeed have ample evidence of this exactly in the connection with the Ottoman menace, particularly in the texts of Dalmatian and Croatian humanists such as Marko Marulić, Juraj Šižgorić, Šimun Kožičić Benja and many others.

The paper presented here is just a brief general sketch of certain important features and processes that significantly shaped the history of this country and Southeast Europe as a whole. The border character of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia remained their essential feature throughout the entire early modern period, for the following three centuries. This status and position, in turn, had their

<sup>13</sup> Ivan Jurković, "Turska opasnost i hrvatski velikaši - knez Bernardin Frankopan i njegovo doba," *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 17, (1999): 74.

<sup>14</sup> Bernardin Frankapan Modruški, *Oratio pro Croatia/ Govor za Hrvatsku (1522.)*, eds. Ivan Jurković and Violeta Moretti (Modruš: Katedra Čakavskog sabora Modruše, 2010), 102-109.

<sup>15</sup> Vedran Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka* (Split: Logos, 1983), 356.

<sup>16</sup> Nenad Močanin, "Život Jakub-paše, pobjednika na Krbavi 1493.," in *Krbavska bitka i njezine posljedice*, ed. Dragutin Pavličević (Zagreb: Hrvatska matica iseljenika, 1997), 176; Aleksije A. Olesnicki, "Krbavski razboj po Sa'd-ud-dinu," *Nastavni vjesnik* 43, (1935): 185-208, 198-99.

profound impact as a reservoir of ideas, images, stereotypes, myths, clichés and collective (mis)representations that later became integral constituents of Croatian nationalist ideology. Is it to be expected that in today's circumstances this *antemurale* self-image will rise on the surface once again? Unfortunately, the recent political developments on the global, European and regional levels, point exactly to that direction.

## CONCLUSION

In this paper we analyzed the period between 1458 and 1527, focused on medieval Croatia south of the Kupa and Sava rivers. This territory experienced significant demographic and economic losses during that period. Usually it is mainly perceived in Croatian historiography as a period of collapse of medieval social and economic structures, coupled with demographic catastrophe. This overall evaluation was to a certain degree strengthened through research done in the last few decades. On the other hand, several younger Croatian scholars of Ottoman studies, i. e. Kornelija Jurin Starčević, put these assumptions partly under the question mark. This analysis confirmed that in the long run, taking the whole period into account, the Ottomans significantly altered the political map of the region, coupled with radical changes in political, social, judicial and economic structures. The Ottoman-Croatian border was the one between the two worlds in permanent conflict of low intensity. The defense potentials of the Croats were constantly being weakened. Serious negative consequences were noticeable in central Croatia already at the end of King Matthias's reign (1490). Despite that, The Ottoman-Croatian border did not present an impenetrable obstacle to various forms of exchange of information and political negotiations. However, much less is known about the exchange of ideas and goods between the two sides, due to paucity of relevant sources. On the other hand, sources on both sides provide a whole repertoire of images of the heathen Other, ranging from the literary *topoi* and negative stereotypes till the positive stereotypes, particularly on the Christian side about the Ottomans. During this period the notion of *antemurale christianitatis* became an important element of ideological and political unity of the Croatian elites. The Ottoman sources of this period regarding Croatia portray events and people in terms of global holy war against the infidels, *jihad*, out of which this border conflict was just a small part. Both sides still perceived their mutual conflict in essentially medieval terms of clash of religions.

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# FROM TEARS TO POISON: RAGUSAN DEALINGS WITH THE ENEMIES FROM THE OTTOMAN NEIGHBOURHOOD\*

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## ABSTRACT

It was in the mid-fifteenth century that the Ragusans started paying tribute to the Ottoman sultan, which, by the early 1480s, stabilised at an annual sum of 12,500 gold ducats. In return the Ottoman Empire was to act as protector of the Dubrovnik Republic. Ragusan merchants could trade safely throughout Ottoman territory. Twice underlined in the terms of the so-called Ragusan *abdname* is that no person from the Ottoman Empire may act to the harm of the Dubrovnik Republic. However, the Republic was threatened by many, from Bosnian beylerbeys to the brigands raiding the Empire territory, while the Ottoman authorities remained reluctant and fairly inefficient in the implementation of the promised protection. This paper aims to elucidate the methods of self-protection developed by the Dubrovnik authorities in the given circumstances.

Abaza Mehmed Pasha assumed the position of Bosnian beylerbey in 1629. To mark this occasion, Dubrovnik Republic sent its ambassadors to Sarajevo to express their best wishes and present him with the gifts, during which he left an impression of being a cordial, gentle and pleasant dignitary. However, things soon proved contrary, as the pasha sided with Venice. He blocked the caravan route to Dubrovnik and channelled it towards Split. By giving priority to Venice, he took all the possible steps to ban the Ragusans from selling salt to Ottoman subjects in Gabela. Among other things, he ordered the imprisonment of the Ragusan nobleman appointed to oversee the sale of salt there.<sup>1</sup> An even bigger blow followed in 1631. The Venetians

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<sup>1</sup> From the 1520s onwards, in Gabela the Ragusans had a monopoly on the sale of salt to Ottoman subjects. In the beginning, they split the profit by half with the Ottomans, only to change it later to two thirds in their favour, justifying the reduction by large transport costs. When the Ottoman subjects arrived to purchase salt, they would bring various goods for sale with them. In fact, Gabela was an entrepôt under Ragusan control, overseen by a Ragusan nobleman, the so-called *venditore di sale*. From the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century the Venetians began to undermine Ragusan salt monopoly in Gabela. On several occasions they obtained *fermans* authorising them to sell salt together with the Ragusans. Ragusan ambassadors, however, managed to annul Ottoman *fermans* and obtain their own, which they would promptly deliver to Bosnian administrators with their own request for intervention (State Archive in Dubrovnik /hereafter cited as SAD/, *Diplomata et Acta* /hereafter cited as DA/, 7/2.1, *Sultans' documents*,

landed on Lokrum, island in the immediate vicinity of Dubrovnik,<sup>2</sup> of which the pasha refused to inform the Porte. At the same time, he set off for Herceg Novi via the Ragusan territory of Konavle, and made no effort to prevent his soldiers from plundering the villages along the way. He seized two noblemen, ambassadors who greeted him on the border, took them to Herceg Novi, threatening to behead them unless they paid ransom. He freed them upon receiving 10,000 thalers. The ambassadors returned to Dubrovnik in a severely exhausted state.<sup>3</sup>

Dubrovnik authorities thus decided to take all possible actions to remove Abaza Mehmed Pasha from their neighbourhood. Luka Menze and Marin Cerva, ambassadors who delivered tribute to the sultan in Istanbul, were ordered to intervene with all ten viziers of the imperial divan and other influential persons at the Porte. Menze and Cerva acted as instructed, and complained bitterly about the violent conduct of Abaza Mehmed Pasha and his allies the Venetians, claiming that if the Porte failed to take immediate actions, Dubrovnik state would inevitably collapse. While writing to the government about their actions, the ambassadors particularly emphasised that, “as is customary in such difficult situations”, they sobbed and cried.<sup>4</sup> The Bosnian-born kaymakam of the grand vizier consoled them in their mother tongue by saying that Abaza Mehmed Pasha would pay for everything he had done to them. Equal consolation worded in the native Bosnian language the Ragusans received from grand defterdar: “Fear not, we shall have him removed”. The viziers listened patiently to the complaints submitted by Menze and Cerva, sympathising with them as they wept. They promised prompt resolution of the Ragusan problems with Abaza Mehmed and the Venetians, determined in their intent to protect the sultan’s loyal tributaries from further harassment.<sup>5</sup>

The news that Murat Pasha, born in Čajniče in Bosnia and kaymakam’s favourite, would be appointed new beylerbey of Bosnia soon reached Dubrovnik. Murat Pasha looked for Menze and Cerva, sat between them, took them by the hand, and uttered joyfully: “We are neighbours, we speak the same language”. He warned them that Abaza Mehmed had powerful allies at the Porte, and that they should continue with their tearful presentations of his ill actions. The ambassadors responded that the Ragusans always prayed God for Bosnia to be governed by

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vol. 8, no. 354; vol. 11, no. 543; vol. 12, no. 579, 588, 589; vol. 13, no. 603, 604, 606, 610, 621; vol. 14, no. 657, 658; vol. 16, no. 756, 757; vol. 18, no. 878, 881; vol. sv. 19, br. 936, 947; vol. 22, no. 1034, 1036; vol. 30, no. 1234).

<sup>2</sup> For a more extensive account on Venetian pretensions to the island of Lokrum see: Antun Vučetić, *Lokrum i odnošaji Dubrovnika sa Mletcima u XVII veku iz izvještaja poslanika M. Sorga* (Split: Štamparija A. Zannoni, M. Snidarčić, 1889).

<sup>3</sup> Radovan Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1983), 86-91, 94. SAD, *Lettere di Levante* (hereafter cited as: *Let. Lev.*), series 27.1, vol. 45, ff. 188, 188v, 191v-194v.

<sup>4</sup> *...in somma cominciam a singultare, e piangere come si conveniva in questi frangenti...* (*DA*, 17<sup>th</sup> century, vol. 1823, no. 1).

<sup>5</sup> *DA*, 17<sup>th</sup> century, vol. 1823, no. 1.

prudent local men.<sup>6</sup> Abaza Mehmed Pasha was soon instructed by the Porte to leave Bosnia. The new Bosnian beylerbey, Ragusan friend Murat Pasha, set out for Sarajevo in the middle of October 1631.<sup>7</sup>

The exact amounts of money that the Ragusans gave to Ottoman dignitaries in order to bend them against Abaza Mehmed Pasha and in their favour are not known. In addition, the mentioned pasha was the reason why they abandoned a very convenient method of calculating tribute. Apparently, at that time they did not pay tribute in gold ducats, but in silver coins. The real exchange rate in the Empire was two silver coins to one gold ducat, while the Ragusans kept to the exchange rate of one and a half silver coin for a gold ducat, as regulated by the Ottoman state. The Porte viziers were not happy to receive tribute in silver, which the Ragusans successfully accounted for by the deficit of gold ducats. In 1631 the defterdar was literally furious when they delivered 18,750 thalers instead of 12,500 ducats. Kaymakam warned the tribute ambassadors that they might have to disburse 25,000 unless they wished to lose defterdar's favour. As the deposition of Abaza Mehmed Pasha was of essential importance for the Dubrovnik Republic, the ambassadors wasted no time and started collecting the necessary sum by borrowing money from various sources.<sup>8</sup>

Judging by the advice given by Murat Pasha, the tears shed by Ragusan ambassadors played a crucial role in the dismissal of Abaza Mehmed Pasha. Apparently, everyone was aware of how efficient tears could be. As professionals in their duty, Ragusan ambassadors would resort to this act whenever instructed by the government, whereby the instructions were known to be most detailed at times.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Questo Signore il primo ci truovo nel anticamara di Sua Eccellenza e sedette in mezzo di Ser Luca, e a me, ci piglio per le mani, e cominci a ralegrarsi con noi, dicendoci noi tutto siamo vicini consie, parliam una lingua, L'Abas Pasa ci perseguito, sicome fa da per tutto, sono venute molte querele, e di Herzegovina, e di Bosnia contro lui, ma perche tiene potenti amici in questa corte, se voi non attenderete, e piangerete da per tutto difficilmente sara mutato, e pero io come amico vostro, vi esorto che hormai vi risolvete di dir al aperta li sua misfati, e le sua scagare, perche se voi attenderete di levarlo io attendero di succedergli al suo loco, e sarò vostro amico (DA, 17<sup>th</sup> century, vol. 1823, no. 1).*

<sup>7</sup> DA, 17<sup>th</sup> century, vol. 1823, no. 3.

<sup>8</sup> American silver caused quite a stir on the financial market. A generally steady ratio between silver and gold in both Dubrovnik and the Ottoman Empire (1:1.5) began to change. Due to the deficiency in gold coins, in the period between 1615 and 1635 the value of sequin increased by 91% in the Empire, and by only 18% in Dubrovnik. The Ragusans took advantage of this ideal opportunity. Since the 1620s, tribute ambassadors secretly carried gold ducats with them, and en route to Istanbul exchanged them into silver coins according to real exchange rate. Thus the tribute they delivered in Istanbul was disbursed at an artificially maintained exchange rate. As the defterdar's pressure discouraged them from making further payments in thalers, from 1632 the tribute was paid in gold ducats (Vesna Miović, *Dubrovačka diplomacija u Istambul* (Zagreb - Dubrovnik: HAZU Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2003), 180-182).

<sup>9</sup> *E necessario, che in questo colloquio vi comporriate in maniera tale che la lingua realmente esprima quell'affanno che sente il cuore, e che gli occhi non manchino di attestare con copiose lacrime la verita di cuore, e della lingua. Onde fra l'insistenza delle vostre umiliazioni, e ragioni, e nel fervore delle preghiere vi buttarate un dietro l'altro a piedi di Sua Altezza con pianto, e singhiozzi implorarate il suo patrocinio, nel quale, direte, esser unicamente riposta tutta la nostra maggior speranza ... (an*



It appears that Bosnian beylerbeys rarely went to Herceg Novi, unlike the sancakbeys of the Herzegovinian sancak. Upon installation, every new sancakbey would inspect his province, and the route to Herceg Novi led through the Dubrovnik territory of Konavle. This was an extremely awkward situation for the Ragusans, as they always dreaded potential skirmishes and conflicts between sancakbey's soldiers and the locals of Konavle. For this reason they introduced a protocol which was to keep the situation under control, to a certain extent at least. Upon the news that the sancakbey, usually accompanied by one to two hundred soldiers, was approaching the border, two noblemen were dispatched to greet him. The noblemen would escort the sancakbey through Konavle, treated him to a luncheon at the monastery of St Blaise in Pridvorje, and presented him with some gifts. In Herceg Novi they remained with him for eight days, during which they flattered him excessively and recommended Ragusan merchants, subjects and Ragusan business affairs in general.<sup>10</sup>

Following the disaster with Abaza Mehmed Pasha, Ragusan ambassadors at the Porte managed to obtain a ferman by which Bosnian beylerbeys en route to Herceg Novi were not allowed to set foot in Konavle,<sup>11</sup> the same ban being requested with regard to the sancakbeys of Herzegovina. Contrarily, Konavle was plundered again in 1641. Herzegovinian sancakbey Şahin Pasha, like Abaza Mehmed, first ordered the seizure of the Ragusan nobleman responsible for the sale of salt in Gabela. He threatened to have him impaled only to be remembered as a person who punished a Ragusan nobleman in such a horrific way. In June 1641 he set off for Herceg Novi. Defence of the most vulnerable villages in Konavle was soon organised. Although the soldiers of Şahin Pasha plundered and destroyed the villages on the way, harassing their inhabitants who had not been duly evacuated, an open conflict never took place.<sup>12</sup>

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example from 1721. *Let. Lev.* vol. 71, f. 17). On emotions in diplomatic dealings of Dubrovnik and elsewhere in Europe: Filippo de Vivo, "Archives of Speech: Recording Diplomats Negotiation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy," *European History Quarterly* 46/3 (2016): 519-544. Isabella Lazzarini, "Argument and Emotion in Italian Diplomacy in the Early Fifteenth Century: the Case of Rinaldo degli Albizzi (Florence, 1399-1439)," in: *The Languages of Political Society*, ed. A. Gamberini, J.-P. Genet (Roma: Viella, 2011), 339-369. Vesna Miović, "Diplomatic Relations Between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Dubrovnik," in: *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Gábor Kármán, Lovro Kunčević (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013), 205-198. Valentina Zovko, "The First Ambassadors from Dubrovnik at the Sublime Porte (1430/31)," in: *Turkey & Romania; A History of Partnership and Collaboration in the Balkans*, ed. Florentina Nitu, Cosmin Ionita, Metin Ünver, Özgür Kolçak, Hacer Topaktaş (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası Belediyeler Birliği, 2016), 43-47.

<sup>10</sup> Vesna Miović, "Beylerbey of Bosnia and Sancakbey of Herzegovina in the Diplomacy of the Dubrovnik Republic," *Dubrovnik Annals* 9 (2005): 46-48.

<sup>11</sup> *DA*, 7/2.1, *Sultans' documents*, vol. 18, no. 884.

<sup>12</sup> *Let. Lev.* vol. 48, ff. 23-24, 26, 26v, 28, 28v, 38v-41, 45v-47, 49v, 50v-52v, 66v-80v, 83, 84v. Vuk Vinaver, "Bosna i Dubrovnik 1595-1645," *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 13 (1962): 218-220.

This time it was not necessary for the ambassadors to resort to tears in order to request the removal of Şahin Pasha from the viziers at the Porte. The Ragusans had another solution at their disposal, compatriot Frano Crasso, physician who treated the Grand Vizier Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha.<sup>13</sup> Crasso claimed that his master was very fond of him and was therefore certain that the dismissal of Şahin Pasha would be a trifle matter.<sup>14</sup> In September he already reported that the raving tyrant Şahin Pasha had been removed from the post of the Herzegovinian sancakbey, to be replaced by Ahmed Pasha, a man worthy, reasonable and inclined towards the Republic of Dubrovnik.<sup>15</sup>

The Vlachs from the Herzegovinian neighbourhood and the Montenegrins constantly raided the villages along the Republic border. From the 1640s onwards, young aghas of Herceg Novi also represented great threat. Some of the prominent men of Herceg Novi were appalled by the misdeeds committed by their fellow-citizens in the rural areas of Dubrovnik. Yet, these peaceful aghas did not have the power to protect Ragusans whom they considered friends. Thus from the Ragusan standpoint it seemed as though the whole of Herceg Novi conspired against the Republic. The situation deteriorated considerably in the early days of the War of Candia in 1645. Alaga (Ali Agha) Šabanović, Omer Agha Begzadić, Ali Agha Kurdagić, Ishak Čehajić and many others, along with the brigands of Risan and Trebinje, and the Vlachs and Montenegrins all left their own stamp on the war era.<sup>16</sup>

Alaga Šabanović and Omer Agha Begzadić, outlaws and brigands from Herceg Novi, were the worst nightmare of the Ragusans in the 1650s. They attacked merchant caravans, raided and pillaged the villages along the border, killed, raped and abducted people to slavery.<sup>17</sup> They claimed that in this way they revenged on the Ragusans, because the haiducs on their way to Herzegovina were not prevented from passing through Dubrovnik territory and because Ragusan subjects collaborated with them. In true fact, Dubrovnik villages were also raided by haiducs in the service of Venice. The Ragusans confronted haiducs as much as they could,

<sup>13</sup> *DA, 17<sup>th</sup> century*, vol. 1861, no. 1-8. *Let. Lev.* vol. 48, ff. 49v, 90-91v, 98-99v.

<sup>14</sup> *Let. Lev.* vol. 48, ff. 101v, 102.

<sup>15</sup> ... *finalmente Scab Pascia sabbato ali 21 di questo fu deposto dal governo di Herzegovina et investito di qualla carica Ahmet Pascia, che fu suo predecessore. Onde in un istesso tempo se' rimosso da quella vicinanza un' inquieto, furioso, e mall' affetto tirano, e messosi in cambio un merituito, prudente et assai ben inchinato a ogni sodisfattione di Vostre Eccellenze...* (*DA, 17<sup>th</sup> century*, vol. 1861, no. 9).

<sup>16</sup> On the relations between Dubrovnik and Herceg Novi in the seventeenth century see: Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*, 126-198. Radovan Samardžić, "Odnosi Bosne i Dubrovnika od 1656 do 1662," *Godišnjak Istoriskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 8 (1956): 87-173. Bogumil Hrabak, "'Zličić' iz Herceg-Novog i zulumčarenje na uštrb dubrovačke trgovine 1600-1667. godine," *Boka* 12 (1980): 81-119.

<sup>17</sup> Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*, 128, 129, 136-147, 153, 156, 160, 161, 165, 173, 182-185.

and always punished the local villagers, in Konavle mainly, for collaborating with haiducs.<sup>18</sup> In sum, during the entire War of Candia the Republic of Dubrovnik paid a very high price for its neutrality. Through haiducs they were actually attacked by Venice. On the other hand, Dubrovnik also suffered the attacks of Herceg Novi outlaws under the pretext of the revenge for the haiduc pillages of Herzegovina.<sup>19</sup>

Seeking Ottoman help against Begzadić and Šabanović, the Ragusans resorted to a well-devised strategy. First, they would report the crimes to the kadı, in this case that of Herceg Novi, followed by a request for the kadı to write a report according to their suggestions, and it was not rare that they even provided him with a draft of the court report they themselves had composed.<sup>20</sup> In lieu of a customary monetary gift,<sup>21</sup> the kadı would write down a report on the brigand misdeeds according to the Ragusan wording, and sealed it with his own seal. On the basis of these kadı reports, Ragusan ambassadors at the Porte would petition for particular fermans.

Five fermans issued in the period 1651-8 have been preserved, by which the sultan demanded from the Bosnian beylerbey to bring Alaga Šabanović and Omer Agha Begzadić to justice.<sup>22</sup> Shortly upon the ferman's issue, Ragusan authorities would dispatch their envoys to the beylerbey with an instruction to overstate in their descriptions the scale of the criminal actions of Šabanović and Begzadić<sup>23</sup> after which they would offer money for their heads. In 1657 Ragusans were willing to offer 4,000 thalers for Begzadić's head and 2,000 thalers for that of Šabanović. In the early days of 1659, they ordered the state treasurers to disburse 4,000 thalers to a certain Jusuf-efendi, which he would keep with him and deliver to Seidi Ahmed Pasha if he had Šabanović eliminated.<sup>24</sup>

However, to many Herzegovinians, and especially to the people of Herceg Novi, Šabanović and Begzadić were Candian War heroes, and they offered them help and hiding place. Thus the efforts of some Bosnian beylerbeys to capture them remained fruitless. Other beylerbeys, however, did not even show the slightest interest in bringing them to justice, among whom Seidi Ahmed Pasha may be singled out, a tyrant of the Dubrovnik Republic and the Bosnian eyalet alike.

<sup>18</sup> Vesna Miović-Perić, *Na razmeđu; osmansko-dubrovačka granica 1667-1806* (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1997), 191-197.

<sup>19</sup> *DA* 17<sup>th</sup> century, vol. 1823, no. 3. Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*, 117-125.

<sup>20</sup> The drafts of *kadis'* reports composed by Dubrovnik dragomans: SAD, *Acta Turcarum* (hereafter cited as: *Acta Turc.*), series 75, no. 1389, 1406, 1417, 1419, 1420, 1430, 1431, 1433, 1442, 1448, 1453, 1454.

<sup>21</sup> *Let. Lev.* vol. 48, f. 185; vol. 56, ff. 38v-39; vol. 60, ff. 37, 37v; vol. 70, f. 15v; vol. 88, f. 7; vol. 106, ff. 27-28v; vol. 110, f. 107-108.

<sup>22</sup> *DA*, 7/2.1, *Sultans' documents*, vol. 24, no. 1080, 1099, 1100, 1129; vol. 27, no. 1162.

<sup>23</sup> *Let. Lev.* vol. 56, f. 143.

<sup>24</sup> SAD, *Secreta Rogatorum* (hereafter cited as: *Secr. Rog.*), series 4, vol. 4, ff. 241, 271; vol. 5, f. 1.

In the summer of 1657 a ferman was issued for the attack on Kotor, with an aim to destroy Venetian rule in Boka, along with the Boka-based haiduc nest. Seydi Ahmed Pasha showed reluctance with regard to this attack, and at the same time did not wish to express openly his insubordination to the sultan. He still headed the army towards Boka, though at a very slow pace. Ragusan envoys intersected him twice and exhibited the ferman by which Bosnian beylerbeys and Herzegovinian sancakbeys were not allowed to pass through Konavle en route to Herceg Novi, offered him money, presents and bags of food for the army. In any case, the pasha penetrated the territory with 1,500 soldiers who pillaged and raided the area for three days. One year later, the pasha spread a rumour that the Ragusans were collaborating with haiducs and incited his men to revenge attacks against Dubrovnik, Alaga Šabanović being among them. They raided the villages of Župa dubrovačka, leaving only “stones unturned”.<sup>25</sup>

Although he had a handful of fermans on the basis of which he could bring Alaga Šabanović to justice, Ahmed Pasha drank wine with him in Sarajevo in 1659, organised him a grand tour of the city, and appointed him as sancakbey of Krka. The pasha was on good terms with all Herceg Novi outlaws, except for Omer Agha Begzadić, because the former deposed him from the commanding position of the Herceg Novi military guard. Begzadić was killed in 1658 in a conflict with pasha’s soldiers. Although his death had no connection with the misdeeds he had committed on Dubrovnik territory, the pasha managed to cash a price for his head from the Ragusans amounting to 2,000 thalers.<sup>26</sup>

The complaints against Seydi Ahmed Pasha’s violent conduct on behalf of the representatives of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Ragusan ambassadors tended to intensify. He was removed in March 1659, thanks largely to the Ragusan actions at the Porte.<sup>27</sup> A clear illustration of this is a short dialogue between two *kapıcıbaşı*s from Istanbul and the inhabitants of Prijepolje. When the *kapıcıbaşı*s commented that Seydi Ahmed Pasha’s future was at stake on account of his ill terms with the Ragusans, the people of Prijepolje concluded: “If the gentlemen of Dubrovnik do not put an end to him, no one will”.<sup>28</sup> Ragusan success in eliminating Abaza Mehmed Pasha, Şahin Pasha and Seidi Ahmed Pasha was possibly only the tip of the iceberg, because in 1631, in a quarrel with the Ragusan dragoman Vicko Bratutti regarding the calculation of tribute and Seidi Ahmed Pasha’s allegations that the Ragusans collaborated with the *uskoks*, kaymakam of

<sup>25</sup> *Let. Lev.* vol. 57, ff. 135v, 136.

<sup>26</sup> *Let. Lev.* vol. 57, f. 135.

<sup>27</sup> For more details on Seidi Ahmed Pasha see: Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*, 147-174.

<sup>28</sup> Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*, 166, 167.

the grand vizier reproached him: "Don't you see how much we have done for you, so many viziers we have dismissed..."<sup>29</sup>

Prompted by a Ragusan monetary reward, Alaga Šabanović was finally seized by Melek Ahmed Pasha, Seidi Ahmed Pasha's successor. He had doubts about Alaga's execution, mostly because his apprehension resulted in a protest among the inhabitants of Herceg Novi, who even offered to pay for his freedom. Yet, Melek Ahmed decided to submit to sultan's order, and by the end of 1659 he had Alaga strangled in prison.<sup>30</sup>

For years the Ragusans worked hard to urge the Ottoman authorities to eliminate Šabanović and Begzadić, yet at the same time they secretly deliberated on how to do it themselves. The names of these *rei di mille morti*<sup>31</sup> were mentioned on several occasions during the secret sessions of the Senate. In 1653 it was decided that Šabanović would be liquidated by poisoning or in some other way at the cost of up to 300 Ragusan ducats. In 1655 the Senate decided to reward the person who would murder Omer Agha Begzadić with 1,000 gold ducats, or even more if necessary. In all likelihood they had poisoning in mind, because one month later surgeon Pavao, son of Andrija, was offered 500 ducats for the preparation of "the said water", that is, poison, and at their disposal they already had the poison they commissioned from Florence. In May 1656, nobleman Marojica Caboga was entrusted with the organisation of Begzadić's liquidation. Elimination of Begzadić together with his entire company by poisoning was mentioned again a month later.<sup>32</sup> These plans never came to fruition mainly because of the great risk of being disclosed and the eventual revenge on behalf of Herceg Novi.

Mentioned in the minutes of the Senate's secret sessions are also other men from Herceg Novi whom the Ragusans wished to eliminate. In 1641 the senators sentenced to death the Ereizović brothers, ten years later Murat Omerović, Ishak Čehajić and Mehmed Muho Mirmilović, and they also launched an enquiry about the crimes committed by Glavović and two Kurdagićs, doubtless, with an aim to establish whether they would be liquidated or not. In 1654 they authorised the rector and the Minor Council to organise the liquidations of the men of Herceg Novi

<sup>29</sup> ... non vedete quanto facciamo noi per voi altri, habbiamo fatto masul tanti vesieri, e a Venetiani si ha comandato piu volte, e nel havenire se impara al Signor Ambassador Veneto, che scriva alla Sua Serenita, che sotto l'disgratia di Sua Maesta non si dia travagli a Signori Ragusei ne per l'ada di Lacroma, ne per le mercantie... (DA, 17<sup>th</sup> century, vol. 1823, no. 3).

<sup>30</sup> *Let. Lev.* vol. 57, ff. 214v-219. Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*, 182-185.

<sup>31</sup> *Let. Lev.* vol. 56, f. 143v; vol. 57, f. 216.

<sup>32</sup> *Secr. Rog.* vol. 4, ff. 241, 254, 254v, 255v, 260v, 261. Zdravko Šundrica, "Tajanstvena kutija iz arhiva Dubrovačke Republike," *Dubrovački vjesnik*, April 11, 1958, 7; April 18, 1958, 7; May 9, 1958, 5; May 17, 1958, 5; May 24, 1958, 7. Zdravko Šundrica, "Poisons and Poisoning in the Republic of Dubrovnik," *Dubrovnik Annals* 4 (2000): 35. Paolo Preto, *I servizi segreti di Venezia* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1994), 362.

who on Dubrovnik territory had committed murder or who robbed Ragusan merchants. They suggested liquidation by poisoning, “in some other way” or price on the head of up to 2,000 ducats.<sup>33</sup>

Ali Agha Kurdagić, Ishak Ćehajić and a couple of their men of Herceg Novi in 1655 raided Duba, border village in Konavle, slashed two villagers and threw their bodies to the dogs. In the village of Bani they seized Ivan Karakaš, dragged him off to Herceg Novi and there, together with Alaga Šabanović, had him impaled. Kurdagić pillaged and killed in the village of Stravča. Three archival documents suggest that the punishment for these crimes came from the Ragusan hand. Namely, in February 1655 the senators secretly decided to pardon all the inhabitants of Konavle and Cavtat regardless of the sentence, including that of death, if within the term of six months kill or act as accomplice in the murder of any “Turks” officially enlisted to be eliminated. Two months later Ali Agha Kurdagić was murdered. Many Ottoman subjects claimed that it had taken place on Dubrovnik territory. The Ragusans, however, turned to the kadı of Herceg Novi, who established that Kurdagić’s body was found on the territory of Herceg Novi, and in this way made it quite clear that the Ragusans had nothing to do with his murder.<sup>34</sup>

In order to eliminate undesirable persons, the Ragusans formed alliances even with haiducs, with whom they had to cope during the War of Candia.<sup>35</sup> In the 1660s Ragusan ambassadors persisted on offering money to the sancakbey of Herzegovina for the head of Grujica Vuković, Vlach from Zubci, a robber and outlaw matching the criminal file of Šabanović and Begzadić.<sup>36</sup> Finally, the count of Konavle met with haiducs and hired them to kill him.<sup>37</sup>

Omer Palikuća from Orahovica near Risan ended his life in 1643 on the gallows in Ploče, eastern suburb of Dubrovnik. He raided the villages in Konavle, but also in the Ottoman Herzegovina, which the Ragusans used as the grounds for their petition for his elimination. The envoy of the Herzegovinian sancakbey captured him in Risan, brought him to Ploče, where he was hanged.<sup>38</sup> Dubrovnik gallows were located at Danče, in the western suburb of Pile, and the reason why the Ragusans

<sup>33</sup> *Secr. Rog.* vol. 4, ff. 127, 202v, 246v, 247, 251, 257, 264. Šundrica, “Poisons and Poisoning in the Republic of Dubrovnik,” 34.

<sup>34</sup> *Acta Turc.* no. 4344, 4349, 4478, 4481. *Secr. Rog.* vol. 4, f. 251, 251v.

<sup>35</sup> For more details on haiduc raids of the Dubrovnik border areas during the War of Candia see: *Antun Vučetić, Dubrovnik za Kandijskog rata 1645-1669 iz dopisivanja Republike s M. Sorgom-Bobalijem* (Dubrovnik: published by author, 1896).

<sup>36</sup> In 1666 Ragusan ambassador offered to the Herzegovinian sancakbey 200 thalers per head of Grujica Vuković, his brother and another six Vlachs from Herzegovina (*Let. Lev.* vol. 60, ff. 50, 50v). On the prices set on outlaws’ heads see also: *DA, 17<sup>th</sup> century*, vol. 1805 a, no. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*: 379. Miović-Perić, *Na razmeđu*, 167-177.

<sup>38</sup> *Let. Lev.* sv. 48, f. 148v-149v, 151-152, 176v-180v. SAD, *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, series 3, vol. 97, ff. 169v-173v. *Acta Turc.* vol. B 50, no. 49.

decided to execute Palikuća at Ploče is quite clear. This suburb was frequented by many Ottoman travellers and merchants, from Bosnia mainly, who kept quarantine in the Lazaretto and traded in Tabor. They witnessed the hanging of Palikuća, because the Ragusan authorities wished to send a message to all those arriving from Bosnia of the fate they awaited should they decide to plunder the villages on the Dubrovnik territory.

Ten years later the Ragusans wished to do the same. In 1656 they seized Mehmed Mirmilović, outlaw from Herceg Novi, threw him into prison and offered 400 ducats to the Herzegovinian sancakbey to have him executed at Ploče.<sup>39</sup> The proposal obviously failed, as on the next secret session of the Senate an order was issued for a controlled poisoning of Mirmilović, so that he remained on the verge of death when the Ragusans hand him over to the Heceg Novi authorities. The third day of the poisoning operation was crucial. If the physicians established that Mirmilović would not die in prison, a new dose of poison would be administered to him, after which he would be handed over to the authorities of Herceg Novi. Should he be in a feverish state, a sign signifying the oncoming death, an additional dosage of poison would not be necessary.<sup>40</sup>

Much of the mentioned data may be traced in the minutes of the secret sessions of the Senate (*Secreta Rogatorum*), which contain the most delicate decisions of the Dubrovnik state. Prior to the entry of French troops into the Republic of Dubrovnik, a part of these minutes was destroyed by the Ragusans themselves.<sup>41</sup> No data from the eighteenth century have survived, and we may only speculate about the secret decisions passed regarding the Montenegrins, who, at the time, represented the greatest threat to the border villages in Konavle. Such decisions must have been brought, because the Ragusans could not rely on the help of the Ottoman authorities. Ottoman army on several occasions launched sporadic attacks on Montenegro, after which it would withdraw. The Vlachs from Zubci and Kruševica in eastern Herzegovina often collaborated with the Montenegrins, while the local Ottoman authorities in Trebinje made no effort whatsoever to inspect these territories. When in 1770 the Ragusans wrote to Hasan Bey in Trebinje to capture Jovan the Vlach who had stoled a couple of oxen in Konavle, the bey replied that it would not be possible because Jovan lived in "the terrifying territory".<sup>42</sup> On the basis of Ragusan complaints supported by numerous kadi reports,<sup>43</sup> the Porte

<sup>38</sup> *Secr. Rog.* vol. 4, f. 263.

<sup>40</sup> *Secr. Rog.* vol. 4, ff. 263-265. Šundrica, "Poisons and Poisoning in the Republic of Dubrovnik," 36, 37.

<sup>41</sup> Extant in six registers from 1497/1537, 1555/1569, 1604/1606, 1624/1698.

<sup>42</sup> *Acta Turc.* vol. B 131, no. 41.

<sup>43</sup> *Acta Turc.* no. 4015, 4311, 4393-4395, 4404, 4408, 4423-4425, 4584, 4588.

on several occasions issued *fermans* against the Montenegrins,<sup>44</sup> but they proved utterly useless. Therefore, the Ragusans turned to their own resources, dispatched spies to find out what the Montenegrins were plotting, and organised the defence of Konavle.<sup>45</sup>

In 1703, at the Porte Ragusan ambassadors presented a drastic solution to the Montenegrin issue. They hardly mentioned the Montenegrin raids in the Dubrovnik territory, yet placed emphasis on the recent attack of a group of 700 Montenegrins on the villages of eastern Herzegovina. Avenging themselves on the Vlachs who refused to collaborate with them in the attacks on the Dubrovnik area, the Montenegrins burnt down their houses and stole 4,000 head of cattle. The ambassadors petitioned for a *ferman* to the sancakbey of Skadar to harness Montenegrin violence and to relocate them, for as long as they remained in the neighbourhood, no one would be safe.<sup>46</sup>

Perhaps under Ragusan influence, the Porte decided to take certain measures three years later. A *ferman* was issued to the sancakbeys of Herzegovina and Skadar to muster the army, attack the Montenegrins and have them relocated, so that the areas in their vicinity, constantly threatened by them, could finally live in peace. The troops mustered, but Montenegrin representatives managed to persuade the sancakbey of Herzegovina that they would cease the raids and violence, this being officially registered in the *kadı* register. A couple of Montenegrins surrendered in Skadar as hostages, that is, acting as warrants for their compatriots not to breach the given promise. Yet, only a few days later, the hostages vanished and some one hundred Montenegrins stole 700 head of cattle in the Dubrovnik territory, killed one and abducted four persons. The pasha of Trebinje was preparing for the meeting with the Bosnian beylerbey, and proposed to the Ragusans to send him a letter describing the high price they paid on account of the ill judgement of the Herzegovinian sancakbey.<sup>47</sup> The harnessing of the Montenegrins seemed an impossible task. From the 1670s on they constantly raided Dubrovnik territory, plunders tended to escalate, and finally peaked in the devastating pillage of the Republic in 1806.<sup>48</sup>

Good relations with *emins*, Ottoman customs officials posted near Dubrovnik border and in Dubrovnik itself, were essential for Ragusan trade. According to the hitherto traced data, Cafer, *emin* in Herceg Novi, was the first to fall victim of the Ragusan resolute policy. In 1523 Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566) increased

<sup>44</sup> *DA*, 7/2.1, *Sultans' documents*, vol. 35, no. 1387; vol. 53, no. 1784; vol. 59, no. 1962; vol. 60, no. 1989.

<sup>45</sup> Miović-Perić, *Na razmeđu*, 209-265.

<sup>46</sup> *Let. Lev.* vol. 67, ff. 94, 94v.

<sup>47</sup> *SAD, Miscellanea, 18<sup>th</sup> century*, vol. F XII/1, no. 5. *DA, 18<sup>th</sup> century*, vol. 3346, no. 48, 50; vol. 3402, no. 35e. *Acta Turc.* vol. B 130, no. 73.

<sup>48</sup> Vesna Čučić, *Republic of Dubrovnik: Final Crisis* (Chicago: CroLibertas Publishers, 2014), 133-164.



the customs duty for the Ragusans, while the Porte sent emin Cafer to Herceg Novi to make sure that the sultan's order was being carried out. By the end of the same year the sultan had already withdrawn his decision on the customs increment, but it had little impact on the deteriorated relations between Cafer and the Ragusans. According to Ragusan testimonies, his conduct towards merchants was harsh and offensive, their clothes were most thoroughly checked, they were delayed, their goods confiscated, and they were even detained. Thus in August 1525, at a secret session of the Senate, it was decided to "take steps against the life of emin Cafer". In the summer of 1526 "the post of the late emin Cafer" was filled by emin Korkut.<sup>49</sup>

Ragusan trade was also impeded by Mahmud, emin in Ledenice. As some Ragusan merchants were his debtors, late in 1558 he stopped a Ragusan caravan and confiscated all money. He acted contrary to the Ragusan *ahdname*, which clearly stated that the debts of the Ragusan merchants may not be collected from their fellow-citizens.<sup>50</sup> Although at the Porte Mahmud was masterly defended by his son Mehmed, Ragusan ambassadors managed to petition a ferman to the sancakbey of Herzegovina and kadı of Herceg Novi to have Mahmud punished and make him return the money. However, they refused to do so. In their petitions against Mahmud, the Ragusans then turned to the kadıs of Novi Pazar, Foča and Istanbul. In the meantime, as Mahmud's witness the notorious blind Pavao, Ragusan enemy, appeared at the Porte. Pavao was a Ragusan whom Dubrovnik court accused of theft and rape and sentenced to blinding. Upon the execution of punishment, Pavao left the Republic, and in the Ottoman Empire claimed to be an Ottoman subject, which placed him beyond the jurisdiction of the Dubrovnik court of law. He testified before the Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha. The latter was inclined towards the Republic of Dubrovnik, Ragusan ambassadors gave him 1,500 ducats, and introduced him to the truth about Pavao and Mahmud. That is why he paid little attention to the testimony of the blind Pavao, and ordered that Mahmud emin be called to testify in Istanbul.

As might have been expected, Ragusans plotted their own actions aimed at the elimination of Pavao and Mahmud. They engaged an expert in poisoning from Verona, dispatched him to Istanbul to poison Pavao, and at the same time offered 300 ducats and poison to the dizdar of Blagaj to wipe Mahmud out from "the book of the living". By the autumn of 1560 there was no trace of Pavao, which could mean that the poisoner had done his job as agreed. Mahmud, however, was arrested in Istanbul. He was sentenced, and then transferred to Cairo.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Toma Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1973), 132. Šundrica, "Poisons and Poisoning in the Republic of Dubrovnik," 27.

<sup>50</sup> Ivan Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku* (Beograd: SAN, 1952), 229. Nicolaas Hendrik Biegan, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship* (The Hague - Paris: Mouton, 1967), 58.

<sup>51</sup> *Acta Turc.* no. 4181, 4299, 4483, 4510, 4512, 4546, 4567. Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*, 227-232. Šundrica, "Poisons and Poisoning in the Republic of Dubrovnik," 27.

The so-called “emin of the Ragusan *scala*” was an Ottoman official who in the Dubrovnik suburb of Ploče collected customs from the Ottoman and foreign merchants. From the 1640s he lived in the tenth lazaretto of the newly-constructed Lazaretto at Ploče. Ragusan authorities liked to stress that the emins at Ploče were unofficial Ottoman consuls, as it was truly the case. Ottoman subjects arrived in the Dubrovnik area daily, to trade and do business with the Ragusans, they acted as debtors and creditors, or sought medical aid. Whatever was the purpose of their visit, they needed various documents, certificates, reports to be issued by emin. Emin also acted as an investigator and witness against Ottoman offenders, assaulters and robbers of Ragusan property. He was authorised to apprehend an Ottoman offender and detain him in his lazaretto, interrogate him and write a report, after which Ottoman soldiers would escort the culprit to be trialed before the kadı. Emin was versed in settling thorny issues between Ottoman and Ragusan subjects, and by doing so reduced potential danger of the escalation of conflict and revenge. The Ragusans found it of utmost significance for the emin to supervise and keep under control the Ottoman subjects arriving at Ploče, and particularly in the Lazaretto.

Emins were most commonly recruited among the local men of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who were familiar with Dubrovnik and who could easily communicate with its citizens. From the early eighteenth century on, two emins were usually based at Ploče, in addition to a scribe and servant.<sup>52</sup>

Emin's term of office varied between six months and a year, which implies that Ploče witnessed great many of them. Some of them represented a serious threat to the Republic. Emin Süleyman Agha from 1643 was reputed for his scandals which made the merchants' life very difficult. Apparently, he crossed the line when he incited a group of Vlachs, some two to three hundred according to Ragusan testimonies, to throw stones at Ragusan soldiers at the city gates, whereby their commander was injured to death. Ragusan authorities amassed an impressive number of kadı reports,<sup>53</sup> while the Herzegovnian sancakbey had Süleyman Agha immediately dismissed,<sup>54</sup> and thus, most probably, saved his life.

Posted at the Ploče Lazaretto in 1649 was emin Mehmed Agha, for whom the Ragusans claimed collaborated with the Venetians over daily meals. Their goal was to destroy the trade via Dubrovnik port, in which the mentioned emin played such a prominent role that the Venetian captain of the Gulf presented him personally

<sup>52</sup> Vesna Miović, “Life in the Quarantine: Lazaretto at Ploče During the Republic,” in *Lazaretto in Dubrovnik. Beginning of the Quarantine Regulation in Europe*, ed. Ante Milošević (Dubrovnik: Institute for Restoration of Dubrovnik, 2018), 23-27.

<sup>53</sup> *Acta Turc.* vol. C 6, no. 56, 57; vol. C 8, no. 1, 4, 6, 8, 10. Miović, “Life in the Quarantine,” 25.

<sup>54</sup> *DA*, 7/2.2, *Buyuruldus*, no. 2. For the deposition of emin to be fully legal, both the sancakbey and the Ragusans needed a ferman, which was issued one month later (*DA*, 7/2.1, *Sultans' documents*, vol. 20, no. 984, 985. Miović, “Life in the Quarantine,” 35, 36).

with a horse. One day, Ragusans claimed, Mehmed Agha simply took off from the Lazaretto, fled from the Republic, left the merchants without supervision and started spreading “diabolic fabrications” about his departure, apparently, he was to be murdered by the Dubrovnik authorities. “Diabolic fabrications” turned out to be true, because on the agenda of the secret session of the Senate held some time around his flight was a proposal “to eliminate Mehmed Agha, emin at Ploče”. The proposal was denied,<sup>55</sup> yet it may have easily reached emin’s ears, intentionally and with forethought.

Ragusan authorities were particularly vigilant when Ottoman subjects employed in Dubrovnik were concerned. They included the so-called hocas, teachers hired to teach the basics of Ottoman language to future dragomans, recruited among young Ragusans.

In early June 1644, the Ragusans delivered the body of hoca Mustafa to emin Fazli Agha Šabanović. According to one document, he was a scribe, which could easily mean that he had been in Dubrovnik before and worked as emin’s assistant. A part of the funeral rite was performed at Ploče, where Mustafa’s body was washed, and where the imam and muezzin said the usual prayers. Eight men carried Mustafa to the Ottoman Carina (Ledenice), where a grave was dug. The poor were given money for his soul, prayers were said and halva distributed according to custom. All this was paid by the Ragusan authorities, while emin Fazli Agha issued them a certificate which, among other things, stated that Mustafa died by God’s will. The fact that the Ragusans covered the funeral costs may be interpreted as a decent and human gesture towards a man they knew well. Yet, it proved otherwise. Fine manners were actually a guise for a dark story of which emin Fazli Agha did not even dream. Mustafa was poisoned as decided on a secret session of the Senate, “on the grounds presented against him in the process conducted at the Minor Council”. Poison was prepared by surgeon Pavao, son of Andrija, for a fee of 50 perpers.<sup>56</sup> As to why Mustafa was poisoned has not been established, his spying activity remains among the likely assumptions.

## CONCLUSION

Ottoman sultans pledged to protect the Republic of Dubrovnik and its subjects from any kind of threat or violence on behalf of Ottoman dignitaries, officials or any other person of the Empire. In practice, however, due mostly to the crumbling hierarchy of the Ottoman government, the situation did not develop as agreed. Given the circumstances, Ragusans developed methods of legal and secret actions.

<sup>55</sup> *Let. Lev.* sv. 50, f. 23. *Secr. Rog.* vol. 4, f. 194.

<sup>56</sup> *Acta Turc.* vol. 143, no. 4. *Secr. Rog.* vol. 4, ff. 142, 143, 143v. Šundrica, “Poisons and Poisoning in the Republic of Dubrovnik,” 31.

They obtained favourable kadı reports and documents, *buyuruldus* of Bosnian beylerbeys and Herzegovinian sancakbeys, as well as sultan's fermans. They paid for the issue of these reports and documents, just as much as they were prepared to pay for their implementation. The process was time-consuming and costly with an unknown result. To have things under closer control, the Ragusans at the same time deliberated secretly on how to eliminate undesirable individuals, poisoning being one of the commonest methods. It is not known whether they ever deliberated on poisoning any of the Bosnian beylerbeys or Herzegovinian sancakbeys, leaving us to believe that such radical steps remained beyond their consideration. Undesirable imperial dignitaries they removed by lobbying at the Porte, always together with the traditionally inclined dignitaries of Bosnian descent, and also by giving money and other gifts, all within a carefully orchestrated "performance". Discreet gifts of hundreds and thousands of ducats over the centuries were to remind the Ottomans of how loyal, helpless and harmless their Ragusan tributaries were. Ottoman protective instincts towards such a fragile tributary were further roused by a convincing performance spiced with tears. Behind a masque of helplessness, through bribe, poison and good connections at the Ottoman courts from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Istanbul, lay the power of this tiny state.

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# **INTER SPEM ET DESPERATIONEM: DIPLOMATIC EMOTIONS OF THE HABSBURG ENVOYS AT THE OTTOMAN COURT (1553–1557)**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This paper will focus on the emotionological analysis of selected Latin diplomatic reports written by Antun Vrančić (1551–1617) and Franciscus Zay (1498–1570), Habsburg envoys who negotiated a peace-treaty with Sultan Süleyman I and his Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha between 1553 and 1557. Besides narrative representations of various emotional styles and states of diplomatic actors on both sides which range from hope and pride to anger and frustration, due analytical attention will also be paid to manifestations, functions and meanings of *simulatio*, *dissimulatio* and *amicitia* as typical features of early modern diplomatic practice. The paper will in this way provide an outline of a new diplomatic emotionology as a potentially useful heuristic model for the new actor-centred diplomatic history.

Soon after the ambitious Sultan Süleyman I came to the throne (he reigned from 1520–1566), the Kingdom of Hungary became the new target of Ottoman territorial expansions in Southeastern Europe. Ottoman military success was sealed in the famous battle near the Hungarian town of Mohács in 1526 where the Ottomans defeated the Hungarian army led by King Louis II Jagiellon (1506–1526), who died fleeing the field after the battle. Both Süleyman's victory and King Louis's death without an heir caused the Habsburgs to intervene: they wished to establish their rule in Hungary due to their family ties with the Jagiellonian dynasty. This was the beginning of the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict over the rule in South Eastern Europe which was to last for the subsequent four centuries. Although in 1526 the majority of Hungarian aristocrats chose John Zápolya (1516-1540) as the new King of Hungary under the Ottoman auspice, his election was immediately opposed by Ferdinand I Habsburg (1503-1564), who was proclaimed King of Hungary by the remaining Hungarian nobility in 1527. The conflict between two Hungarian kings, Ferdinand and Zápolya, ended in 1540 with Zápolya's death which prompted Ottomans to capture Buda and extend their conquests in central Hungary. Thus the former Hungarian Kingdom was divided into three parts: western and northern parts were under the Habsburg rule, eastern part of the former state was reshaped into the Principality of Transylvania which was in a vassal relationship with the Ottoman Empire, while the central part of the former Hungarian state became an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Despite the fact that the



Ottomans handed over the power in Transylvania to Zápolya's son John Sigismund, Habsburg forces gradually conquered eastern Hungary and Transylvania. The Habsburg rule over Transylvania was supposed to be finally established by the settlement of Alba Iulia, which was concluded in 1551 between the Transylvanian Estates and Ferdinand I, but that instantly caused a new Ottoman campaign into Transylvania.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, in the spring of 1553, Ferdinand I decided to send a Habsburg delegation led by two learned humanists and diplomats Antun Vrančić (1504-1573) and Franciscus Zay (1489-1570) to Istanbul to obtain peace with the Ottoman Empire and to secure, through a new agreement and the payment of the annual "gift", that Transylvania remain under Habsburg rule.<sup>2</sup>

During their stay in Istanbul Vrančić and Zay kept almost daily diplomatic correspondence with the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand I, informing him in minute detail of their negotiations with the Ottoman officials. Owing to the fact that all Vrančić's works in Latin, including his diplomatic reports, were preserved and published in 12 volumes by the Hungarian Academy of Science in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they can be used as an excellent source for scrutinizing early modern diplomatic practice.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the present paper will focus on two diplomatic reports of Habsburg envoys to Ferdinand I written at the beginning (in September 1553) and at the end (in August 1557) of their first Istanbul mission.<sup>4</sup>

Following the interest of the new actor-centred diplomatic history for diplomats' personal thoughts and experiences,<sup>5</sup> the main emphasis of this article will thus

<sup>1</sup> For a profound analysis of Ottoman politics towards Hungary in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century cf. Pál Fodor, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire. The Ottomans in Central Europe – A Failed Attempt at Universal Monarchy (1390-1566)* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016), 162-176.

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of Vrančić's and Zay's diplomatic mission in Istanbul cf. Anđelko Vlašić, "Introductory study," in *Carigradska pisma Antuna Vrančića. Hrvatski i engleski prijevod odabranih latinskih pisama/The Istanbul Letters of Antun Vrančić, Croatian and English Translation of Selected Latin Letters*, ed. by Zrinka Blažević and Anđelko Vlašić (Istanbul-Zagreb: Bilnet, 2018), 24-65. The bilingual Croatian-English translation of four diplomatic letters by Antun Vrančić was generously sponsored by Turkish philanthropist Mr. Oğuz Aydemir and meticulously reviewed by Prof. Nenad Moačanin, to whom I express my deepest gratitude.

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. Verancsics Antal, *Összes munkái*, ed. László Szalay and Gusztáv Wenzel, vols. I-XII, (Budapest: Eggenberger Ferdinand, 1857-1885).

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. "XXX. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand, September 1, 1553", in *The Istanbul Letters*, 66-104; "LXXXVI. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand" in *The Istanbul Letters*, 109-147.

<sup>5</sup> As Tracey A. Sowerby recently observed, new diplomatic history tends to abandon narrow bureaucratic state-centric focus characteristic for traditional diplomatic history and prioritise the study of individual diplomats and monarchs, personal information networks and princely courts. Moreover, it has reinterpreted the chronology and geography of the introduction of resident ambassadors in Europe and has broadened its field of analysis to include diplomatic gifts, diplomatic ceremonies, diplomatic hospitality and other aspects of diplomatic culture. Cfr. Tracey A. Sowerby, "Early Modern Diplomatic History," *History Compass* vol. 14, no. 9 (2016): 441-456.

be laid on representations of emotions as well as on various diplomatic strategies and tactics employed by the Habsburg emissaries faced with the quite rigid diplomatic stance of Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (1544-1553 and 1555-1561) and other Ottoman ministers. Emotional textuality, i.e. representations of various and multiple affect-eliciting experiences of Habsburg envoys articulated in their diplomatic reports provide an excellent insight into their strategic assessments of the world which oriented their political decisions and actions. This is in complete accordance with the presumptions of the political emotionology, a rapidly expanding field within contemporary political science. Drawing upon the theory of the practical consciousness and the concept of “structures of feelings” elaborated by Raymond Williams, political emotionology thus claims that political actions, which merely rest upon unreflective mental processes and habitual activities, can be regarded as an “acting out” of feelings that cannot be fully worked through and symbolized.<sup>6</sup>

Hence, following the incentives of new diplomatic history whose analytical interest is primarily focused on diplomats’ own experiences and thoughts, a new intriguing research field for both diplomatic historians and International Relations scholars might be found in diplomatic emotionology. In order to scrutinize more thoroughly attitudes, behaviours and emotional styles of persons engaged in the diplomatic activities, the inspiring theoretical framework and methodological protocols for the new diplomatic emotionology could be provided by Affective Intelligence Theory (AIT). Critically distanced from the Rational Choice Model which has dominated the political science for decades, Affective Intelligence Theory rests on the assumption that affects and conscious reasoning are interdependent and complementary. For these reasons, its analytical focus is put on the interactive and highly functional dynamic balance between cognition and emotions. They govern political judgements and orient political practice. Presupposing that emotion-led judgements occur at the subconscious level, Affective Intelligence Theory is concerned with three ongoing preconscious appraisals responsible for distinct strategic tasks. The first appraisal uses the affective range that goes from depression to elation by monitoring and managing the progress of and adjustments to the actions meant to secure rewards by means previously learned. As reward-seeking actions unfold successfully, this process generates greater levels of enthusiasm or, if the contrary is the case, it leads to the frustration and even depression. The second appraisal process uses the affective range of aversion to monitor and manage the progress and adjustments of actions meant to protect and minimize punishments by means previously learned. While the mentioned two appraisal processes are con-

<sup>6</sup> For a more detailed account cfr. Simon Clarke, Paul Hoggett, Simon Thomas, “Moving Forward in the Study of Emotions: Some Conclusions,” in *Emotion, Politics and Society*, ed. by Simon Clarke, Paul Hoggett, Simon Thomas (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 162-188.

cerned with the swift assessment and control of actions that implement familiar goal seeking routines, the third uses the affective range of the emotions of anxiety and fear to scan for the unexpected. As anxiety arises, the interest in and attention to new information goes up along with a willingness to find a mode that will resolve the anxiety-producing uncertainty. For these reasons, it enables thoughtful deliberation so that learning can take place. Since described systems continually compare sensory information about the world, they are the main generators of the adaptive flexibility of human beings.<sup>7</sup>

Although Affective Intelligence Theory is mostly used in political science for the examination of voting behaviour and political communication in general, it may provide inspiring theoretical and methodological impulses for diplomatic emotionology as well.

As it has been previously argued, the primary diplomatic task of Vrančić and Zay after their arrival to Istanbul in September 1553 was to obtain the Sultan's recognition of the Habsburg's right to rule in Transylvania in exchange for the yearly tribute. However, due to the obstinate attitude of the Ottoman government, their stay in the Ottoman capital was prolonged to four years and ended with a modest success. As a matter of fact, Habsburg envoys who were in 1555 joined by a famous Flemish humanist and diplomat Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522-1592), managed to arrange a peace treaty with the Sultan Süleyman with the obligation of payment of a yearly tribute in the amount of 30,000 golden coins, but without a definite decision on the future fate of the strategically important fortress of Szegedvár which ought to be ceased to the Ottomans.<sup>8</sup>

Although Habsburg diplomats were taken to the Divan and even paid a visit to the Sultan himself, their main interlocutor was Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha who decisively declined all their requests. From his first meeting with the Habsburg diplomats, Rüstem Pasha's diplomatic strategy merely rested on the strict refusal to negotiate on Transylvania and to explicitly menace with war.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, in their diplomatic reports addressed to the Emperor, Vrančić and Zay depicted him as a

<sup>7</sup> For a more detailed account see: George E. Marcus, "How Affective Intelligence Theory Can Help US Understand Politics," <https://emotionresearcher.com/how-affective-intelligence-theory-can-help-us-understand-politics/>

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. Vlašić, "Introductory Study," 45-55.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., "Afterwards, being barely able to listen to the beginning of the speech, he immediately gestured with his outstretched hand, signalling to us to stop speaking and said that, if we wanted peace, we should not say anything about Transylvania. If, on the other hand, we were instructed to ask for Transylvania, it would be better not to even mention our mission. In that case, he said, we had come in vain." "XXX. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand, September 1, 1553," 73. "Therefore, if again your King does not take into consideration the power of our Sultan and scorns his demands, let him take heed not to lose much more than what he had lost so far because we will take Vienna too." "XXX. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand, September 1, 1553," 97.

cruel and rude man who often ironized their attempts to accomplish their diplomatic duties. Although Grand Vizier's behaviour really distressed the Habsburg emissaries, they nevertheless relentlessly strove to find a successful way to carry out their diplomatic tasks.

In accordance with the best traditions of the early modern Western diplomacy, Habsburg envoys founded their diplomatic strategy on the political and juridical concept of *amicitia*. It presupposed a mutual favourable attitude of two equally dignified political partners who express their political will to sustain peaceful relations and restrain themselves from causing any damage to each other. As such, it was the starting point of any relationship between two independent political entities and a precondition to all interstate, peaceful and juridical relations.<sup>10</sup> For these reasons, Habsburg emissaries constantly appealed to the Sultan's trust and benevolence towards the Emperor who claimed to be "Sultan's most faithful friend and ally".<sup>11</sup> Consequently, he was offering to the Sultan "just", "fair" and "honourable" conditions of peace that would bring calm and rest to the subjects of both rulers.<sup>12</sup> In opposition to this, Rüstem Pasha and other appointed Ottoman dignitaries steadily appealed to the Sultan's right of the sword, his obligation to the Prophet's word and tutelage towards those who claimed Sultan's mercy as main justifications for the rejection of all Habsburg diplomatic claims.<sup>13</sup> At the heart of this diplomatic and cultural clash lay in fact the Western misunderstanding of the Ottoman policy which, calling upon the universal rule and regarding itself as a self-sufficient entity, could conduct only unilateral politics. Although early modern Ottoman diplomatic practice was established on the principle of mutual reciprocity and hospitality towards foreign envoys, it did not recognize the principle of equality with diplomatic partners which essentially excluded any possibility of concluding bilateral treaties.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, in analogy to the *ahdnâmes* which were granted to the non-Muslim communities within their own world, the peace treaty with the Habsburg Emperor was from the Ottoman perspective regarded as a unilateral truce, i.e. the expression of the ruler's autonomous will.

Faced with the mentioned obstacles and obstinate rejections from the Ottoman part, Habsburg emissaries experienced a wide range of emotions which they depicted in their diplomatic reports to the Emperor in the smallest detail. Describing

<sup>10</sup> For a more detailed account cf. Randall Lesaffer, „*Amicitia* in Renaissance Peace and Alliance Treaties (1450-1530)”, *Journal of the History of International Law*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2002): 77-99.

<sup>11</sup> Cfr. Vrančić, "XXX. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand", 82-83.

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. Vrančić, "XXX. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand, September 1, 1553", 73.

<sup>13</sup> Cfr. Vrančić, "XXX. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand", 88-89.

<sup>14</sup> For an overview of the basic principles of Ottoman diplomacy cf. A. Nuri Yurdusev, "The Ottoman Attitude toward Diplomacy", in *Ottoman Diplomacy. Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. by A. Nuri Yurdusev, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 5-35.

their meetings with the usually ill-tempered and menacing Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha, they often referred to their fear, even despair:

He did not listen too carefully to this, unless he had feigned it. He added that he did not understand anything else from our words than that we were pleading for a permission to return. He declared that he intended to discuss this with us in detail later. After saying this, he showed us the exit with his hand. We returned to our home full of doubt in the outcome of this entire matter. A few days later, while idly sitting, we succumbed to despair because we did not know what to do.<sup>15</sup>

However, these emotions did not prevent them from conceiving various diplomatic strategies and testing diverse negotiating tactics. Alongside the notorious practice of gift-giving and offering bribe to the Sultan and Ottoman viziers, Habsburg diplomats regularly relied on the practices of *simulatio* and *dissimulatio* as well.<sup>16</sup> Above all, these consisted of tempering emotions and hiding emotional reactions during diplomatic negotiations with Ottoman officials. As a matter of fact, they were trying to conceal their fear and anger, which were regarded as the most undesirable diplomatic emotions, in the every possible way.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, in their diplomatic practice Habsburg envoys usually adopted a modest and peaceful emotional approach with deliberate but relentless verbal insistence on the issues concerning their diplomatic tasks.<sup>18</sup> The emotional style of the Habsburg diplomats also included non-verbal language, i.e. facial expressions and bodily gestures.<sup>19</sup> In the course of exhausting negotiations with the Ottoman dignitaries, they were

<sup>15</sup> Vrančić, "LXXXVI. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand," 112.

<sup>16</sup> The intertwined practices of simulation (i.e., actively feigning or pretending) and dissimulation (withdrawing into silence permitting a false impression to stand) were the most advisable performative practices of the early modern diplomacy and the key features of the normative diplomatic ceremony. For a more detailed account see: J. R. Woodhouse, "Honourable dissimulation: some Italian advice for the Renaissance diplomat," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, no. 84 (1994): 25–50.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. "In order for him [i.e. Rüstem Pasha] not to think that we had lost courage due to such an awful status of our task, and that we were still keeping secret what we were allowed to accept in case of emergency, we replied to him more energetically, as people who are arrogant due to their power, and who must not give up until the very end, out of any hope or shrewdness." Vrančić, "LXXXVI. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand," 122.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. "Demonstrating modesty with the expression of our faces and with the manner of our speech, we declared to him that we do not wish to do anything that could offend the almighty Sultan or His Exalted Lordship. However, we cannot keep silent and not mention what we had been instructed to say, because the orators are the means by which absent rulers talk to each other about their affairs of state." Vrančić, "XXX. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand," 73.

<sup>19</sup> On the importance of non-verbal language in the early modern diplomacy cfr. William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A System's Approach," *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 52, no. 3 (Sept. 1980): 452–476.

usually used for expressing inappropriate and potentially offensive diplomatic emotions such as dissatisfaction and resentment.<sup>20</sup> Only in rare occasions, such as during discussions on the conditions of serfs, Habsburg emissaries relied on the emotionally heightened rhetorical performance whose main function was to incite compassion and, by happy chance, to ensure easier acceptance of the Habsburg requirements on the Ottoman side:

In the moment when we were discussing the condition of serfs, we rose up from our chairs and asked him to listen to our pleas, whereat we, apart from our oratory skills, demonstrated our emotions too. And this was not in vain. Therefore, after we had finished our conversation and when we were finally instructed to sit down, we requested him to allow for the serfs – as we had asked for – to be liberated from taxes on both sides, as it had previously been discussed.<sup>21</sup>

Judging from the emotional discourse of their diplomatic reports, the most prevailing emotion of the Habsburg emissaries on the court of the Sultan Süleyman was certainly frustration, caused by their incapability to persuade Ottoman officials and carry out their diplomatic duties successfully. The clearest illustration of their helplessness is offered in the concluding sentence of the first letter to the Emperor Ferdinand written in Istanbul in September 1553: “We had tried really everything, but we did not find anything other among Turks but stubborn assiduity.”<sup>22</sup> Hence, there is no wonder that this unpleasant emotion profoundly modelled their hetero-image of the Ottomans who were characterized as “the people who have no sincere feelings for the Christians and do not know to rule or to live differently than to always have someone around to rob and to take prisoners from.”<sup>23</sup> Together with its concomitant side-effects of desperation and anger, the frustration of the Habsburg envoys in the face of innumerable obstacles from the Ottoman part, was accompa-

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<sup>20</sup> E.g. “Then he [i.e. Rüstem Pasha] added, repeating twice: Your King cannot be trusted, your King cannot be trusted” and fell silent. Then Zay replied: ‘Our King, Your Lordship the Pasha, can be trusted and I am amazed that Your Serene Lordship has such an opinion of our King, when a king can never utter a lie. Even more so it cannot be done by our King, who is the greatest of all Christian kings.’ Afterwards he asked the Pasha what was the thing he did not believe Our Majesty. Then the Pasha said: ‘Why did he not respect the armistice?’ Zay responded: ‘The King respected the armistice and it was not disturbed nor infringed by his will, but out of malice of those who did not want in any way for the most powerful Sultan and my King to live in harmony.’ The Pasha then said: ‘You believe this?’ ‘Not only do I believe this’, replied Zay, ‘but I know it for a fact.’ Then he hung his face in sign of grief and disappointment for being forced to patiently listen to such things about his ruler, so the Pasha passed to another topic.” Vrančić, “XXX. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand,” 87-88.

<sup>21</sup> Vrančić, “LXXXVI. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand,” 101.

<sup>22</sup> Vrančić, “LXXXVI. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand,” 104.

<sup>23</sup> Vrančić, “LXXXVI. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand,” 92.

nied by the feeling of disgust as well. As a consequence, putting aside all diplomatic etiquette and rhetorical politeness, in the official letter addressed to the Emperor, Ferdinand Vrančić and Zay even referred to the Ottoman capital as to “the stinking swamp.”<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, their constant experience of frustration made the Habsburg envoys more receptive to the slightest signs of hope when it seemed that the Ottoman dignitaries could meet their requests. This was especially noticeable during the negotiation on Szegedvár at the end of their Istanbul mission when they put all their efforts to encode Rusted Pasha’s puzzling message on the possibilities of rendering Szegedvár intact:

Thereupon Rüstem Pasha declared: ‘If your King,’ he said, ‘will have difficult time destroying and completely razing Szegedvár, which is a small fortress which produces much bigger expenses than is its use, warn your King to try and find a way and means by which to persuade our ruler to allow for Szegedvár to remain intact.’ After hearing this from the interpreter, we were seized by great joy, the more because it was unexpected. But because we doubted the Pasha had uttered precisely these words, before we had answered the Pasha, we asked the interpreter how we should understand this Pasha’s statement. ‘As a bribe,’ he replied, which we liked very much.<sup>25</sup>

Following the propositions of Affective Intelligence Theory of three stages of affect-eliciting appraisals, it seems that diplomatic activities described in Istanbul letters by Vrančić and Zay are mostly driven by a second and a third appraisals. As a matter of fact, faced with various kinds of normative violations and uncertainty, Habsburg diplomatic envoys predominately sense emotions of aversion, anger and fear. These emotions increase solidarity among them to affirm and enable collective action, raise attention to new information on the target event on options and incite willingness to compromise in order to secure a more effective collective response. When they find their goal seeking routine working, it increases a level of their enthusiasm or, if their efforts prove less successful, they feel greater frustration or even depression. Therefore, if read through the lens of diplomatic emotionology, this constant “oscillation between hope and despair” that marked the dominant emotional state of Vrančić and Zay’s Istanbul mission might render a valuable insight into political judgements, decisions and practices of the diplomatic actors involved in accordance with the recent research aims of the new diplomatic history. Moreover, it can also throw a different light on the intricate structure of the intercultural relations between European and non-European polities during the early modern “first globalization.”

<sup>24</sup> Vrančić, “LXXXVI. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand,” 96.

<sup>25</sup> Vrančić, “LXXXVI. Vrančić and Zay to King Ferdinand,” 122.

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# ON THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ZAGREB IN THE 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

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## ABSTRACT

The paper provides general information on the 17th century Zagreb and its economic activities, as the key player in Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. The author presents its basic demography, trade and commerce, crafts, mining and other economic activities.

Seventeenth-century Zagreb was the main and the most important town of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (hereinafter, the Kingdom), with its two main administrative units: the free royal borough (also known as Gradec) and the seat of the bishops - Kaptol. The importance of such administrative division resulted from the fact that this diocese covered almost the entire Kingdom. Majority of the 17th century parliament sessions was held in Zagreb, and this showed its importance. During that period, 155 out of 217 parliament sessions were held in Zagreb (71%), and only 49 (23%) in the second most important town, Varaždin.<sup>1</sup> Additional relevance of the 17th century Zagreb was given by settlement of the viceroy Nikola Frankopan in Zagreb in 1621, thus making Zagreb the official seat of the most important political figure in the Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Beside these indications, the 17th century Zagreb was the leading economic center of the Kingdom. Being just a few dozen kilometers away from the Ottoman border, Zagreb was well fortified against Ottoman incursion, with a buffer zone known as the Military Border region. Taking into account importance of all factors relevant to the economy of the Kingdom, safety and security were paramount. Security of Zagreb was helped and solidified by fact that, despite proximity of the Ottoman border, no major combat activities were reported between 1606 and the end of the 17th century.

As the guilds' manufactures developed, crafts in Zagreb and master artisans started supplying a greater area with their products. Several trade fairs held in Zagreb also helped its importance – both Gradec and Kaptol equally. Landlords held multiple authorities – economic, administrative and judicial powers over

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<sup>1</sup> *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, ed. Ferdo Šišić, no. 5 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1918) (henceforth HSS), 4, 5; *Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora*, ed. Josip Butorac et al., no. 1 (Zagreb: Arhiv SR Hrvatske, 1958) (henceforth ZHS).

<sup>2</sup> Rudolf Horvat, *Prošlost grada Zagreba* (Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1992), 18.

church-owned estates and estates owned by the free royal borough<sup>3</sup> thus making both the lay Zagreb's Gradec and the archbishop-ruled Kaptol ruling settlements against the serfdom settlements in the greater area.

Many obstacles threatened the two Zagreb nuclei settlements and their inhabitants: growing royal powers over towns and settlements, as part of centralization that the Habsburgs intentionally organized and conducted. At the same time, citizens, especially those in trades, were burdened with re-feudalization, the nobility getting involved in the trade. Also, Gradec's traders were endangered with Kaptol's official politics, successfully attracting foreign traders. Finally, Gradec was, like all major towns in a wider region, in the 17th century facing oligarchy rule.<sup>4</sup> Control of power was even more important as the most important features in administrative and economic rule were taxes and excises from citizens; collection and payments into the royal treasury; public law and order; allocation of citizenship status; care for churches and schools, township institutions and trust funds.<sup>5</sup> An important privilege of the free royal borough of Gradec and its citizens was that they had the right to choose their own magistrate, and a right to free trade.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, in Kaptol all power was in the hands of bishops and clergymen. However, municipalities like Vlaška Ves, Opatovina and Nova Ves had their own magistrates and statutes, for administration and regulation of economy.<sup>7</sup>

Precise records on the 17th century population of Zagreb's urban areas are scarce. One of the rare records, that of Paulist monk Ivan Benković, provides insight into the population of Zagreb of 1668: "The town of Zagreb, Croatia, is situated on a hill, a small settlement of some 400 houses and 2.000 believers in Christ, residing there. I know it for a fact, being frequently in this town." Ivan Babić, a priest from Samobor, describes it like this: "The town of Zagreb is up on the hill, and the air is fresh there; it is medium-sized, not small, not big either; roughly, it holds some 400 homes, inhabited by some 2.000 Catholics." Martin Štetari, the dean from Križevci, witnesses the same.<sup>8</sup> During the 16th century, the population of Gradec had decreased in numbers. Around 1600, population number hit the

<sup>3</sup> Josip Adamček, *Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj od sredine XV do kraja XVII stoljeća* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1980), 427.

<sup>4</sup> Nevan Budak, "Gradske oligarhije u 17. stoljeću u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj" in *Međunarodni kulturnopovijesni simpozij Mogersdorf 1988*, ed. Ivan Kampuš (Zagreb: Kratis, 1995), 90-91.

<sup>5</sup> Ivan Beuc, *Povijest institucija državne vlasti u Hrvatskoj (1527-1945)* (Zagreb: Arhiv Hrvatske, 1969), 93.

<sup>6</sup> Nada Klaić, "Pogled na razvitak srednjovjekovne Slavonije," in *Arheološka istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, 1978), 225.

<sup>7</sup> Franjo Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1996), 278.

<sup>8</sup> Janko Borković, "Prilog povijesti biskupa Martina Borkovića i zagrebačke biskupije u drugoj polovici XVII. vijeka", *Starine* 35 (1916): 375-395; Emilij Laszowski, *Stari i novi Zagreb. Historičke i kulturno-historičke crtice o Zagrebu* (Zagreb, 1925), 69.

bottom. Decline of the town was illustrated by the fact that in late 16th century it had more than 125 deserted *funduši* (serfs' plots of land).<sup>9</sup>

We can assume that in the early 17th century, the royal borough of Gradec and the bishops' part of Zagreb, Kaptol, had at least 2.700 inhabitants, and some 3.600 by the end of the century. From these numbers, the Gradec's greater area contributed with over 2.000 inhabitants, majority residing in the town itself; the Zagreb of the bishops, Kaptol, had around 1.600 people.<sup>10</sup>

Revival of economy in towns, near the Ottoman border, began right after the war with Ottoman Empire had ended (1593-1606). These trends were first seen in growth of guilds and trades; towns were rebuilt and extended, becoming more Baroque-like in appearance, owing to the town traders and craftsmen becoming richer, return of the clergy that had fled, or arrival of the new ones, and the settlement of nobility. In addition, although the Ottomans throughout the 17th century were not as threatening as before, still the towns were investing a lot of resources into fortification and bulwark of the town walls.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the fact that the 17th century economy was poised to high taxes, the townspeople could not pay regular taxes and contributions to the king. The free royal borough of Gradec had, in the period between 1593 and 1625, a debt in delayed taxes of 4.368 Rheine forint (1 Rheine forint was worth 80 denari), and 66 (and one-third) of denari, or, at average level, an annual tax debt of 136,5 forint.<sup>12</sup> For example, in 1609 the town was taxed 600 Rheine forint of taxes.<sup>13</sup> A comparison with the prices is needed, to fully appreciate the vastness of the tax debt; in 1620, a standard Varaždin portion of wheat was worth 20 denari; in 1622, 10 castrated and fattened roosters were 20 denari worth; a goose 28 denari; in 1666, 12 denari was paid for half a pound of oil.<sup>14</sup>

There are no royal tax records after 1614. In 1636, Gradec was freed and exempted from royal taxation for the period of 10 years; from 1647 to 1675, the town was in tax debt of some 2.400 Rheine forint. The non-payment was due to money spent on rebuilding the walls, the town itself and the churches. In 1640, the

<sup>9</sup> Emilije Laszowski, *Povijesni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba* (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 1937, 1941, 1949, 1952) (henceforth PSZ), 16, 12.

<sup>10</sup> Stjepan Krivošić, *Zagreb i njegovo stanovništvo od najstarijih vremena do sredine XIX. stoljeća* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1981), 70, 80-81.

<sup>11</sup> Neven Budak, "Pogranična gradska naselja sjeverne Hrvatske u 17. stoljeću," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta* 25, no. 1 (1992): 37-38.

<sup>12</sup> HDA, Popis dimnice, Prot. 2 – V/b, br. 28. Izvatci o zaostacima u isplati taksi (poreza) kod hrvatskih gradova od 28. siječnja 1628. (Hearth taxes, Extracts from tax debts in Croatian towns dated 28 January, 1628)

<sup>13</sup> PSZ, 17, 213-214.

<sup>14</sup> Rudolf Horvat, *Povijest trgovine, obrta i industije u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: AGM, 1994), 118, 147, 149.

town senators concluded that all citizens and inhabitants, particularly the nobility and landlords, should pay taxes into the town treasury.

Townfolk were paying a third of their regular taxes, and the rest had to pay full amount of taxes, collected by the town captain. As “collections” were slim, in 1676 the re-imposed decree for property tax was forced upon townspeople, nobility and the rest of owners of house, homestead or a land plot. Tax evaders faced a property seizure after 3 years of non-payment of taxes if properties were within town limits.<sup>15</sup>

Only the town revenue records of the free royal borough for the years 1614, 1639, 1650, 1656 and 1669 were salvaged and kept to the present day. From them, we have learned that the average revenue was 711 Rheine forint. At first glance, it seems sufficient to pay the 600 forint tax. However, an average expenditure was in exceeding amount of 748 Rheine forint. Anyway, during four out of the five audited years (!) the town budget seemed in deficit; the only surplus year was in 1614. That year, the free royal borough had extremely high revenues, with pretty high expenditure as well; the remaining surplus minimum was obviously kept for the “dried budget” years.

Economic processes of the greater area influenced trades of Zagreb a great deal.<sup>16</sup> Both Gradec and Kaptol from the early 17th century tried to lure and attract new traders and entrepreneurs with various tax relief - exemptions, concessions and benefits – in efforts to revive economic activities.<sup>17</sup> Trades were mainly based on purchase and sale, but other legal transactions were optional too, like barter. These trades were not only for traders, but other entrepreneurs too. Domestic and foreign trading in Zagreb also included domestic and foreign craftsmen, nobility and local peasants, even resellers and distributors, peddlers of bread and foods.<sup>18</sup>

The Gradec town administration prevented outside circle of town entrepreneurs from appointment to various administrative posts, yet making rules to prevent competition from other traders, especially travelling peddlers. The statutes from the year 1609 have strict prohibitive restrictions against foreign traders. Furthermore, foreign traders with stores in Gradec in 1676 were forbidden to sell outside local fair events, either to townfolk or foreigners like themselves. Such measures

<sup>15</sup> Ivan Kampuš, *Prilog poznavanju gospodarskog položaja Gradeca kraj Zagreba u 17. st. na osnovi varoških računa prihoda i rashoda, Zagrebački Gradec 1242-1850.* (Zagreb, 1994), 203.

<sup>16</sup> *Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herman Kollenbenz, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 1986), 1137-1140; *Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte von der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ilja Mieck, vol. 4 (Stuttgart, 1993), 1042-1044; Rainer Gömmel, *Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft im Zeitalter des Merkantilismus 1620-1800* (Munich, 1998).

<sup>17</sup> Igor Karaman, “Zagrebački trgovci u 17. i 18. stoljeću,” *Historijski zbornik* 29-30 (1976-1977): 251-252.

<sup>18</sup> Zlatko Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1987), 1.

virtually forced the foreign traders from Gradec to the other part of the town, to Kaptol, thus increasing their presence in the Kaptol's market.<sup>19</sup>

The trader named Lucius Calcinelli owed his trade success to Kaptol at first; later, he moved to Gradec; however, he managed to keep his trade in Kaptol still, through a partner. He made his initial capital as an army supplier during the Long Turkish War (1593-1606). Afterwards, he enjoyed the king's support – for example, in 1609 the king Mathias II of Austria decreed that Lucius is exempted from taxes while providing war supplies to the Military Border regiments. Besides trading, Lucius engaged in other activities: for example, accompanied by a Gradec senator and a judge Matija Posarello, in 1617 he leased a copper mine outside Samobor from the mine owner Tomo Erdödy for a period of six years.<sup>20</sup>

Local traders in the free royal borough of Zagreb (Gradec) were mainly lacking great ambitions. However, the senator and one-time judge Martin Kovačić differed. He owned a store next to the St. Mark Church (and a leased storage in Dverci) and was selling cloth, hardware tools, spices and other mercantile products. He got rich, accumulating substantial wealth, as there are records of his 100 gold coin-loan to the Jesuits, and they borrowed to help build a monastery. The well-known noble family of Zrinski had its stores in the Zagreb area, too.<sup>21</sup>

Petar Zrinski kept an inn just outside of town walls (south of Gradec), selling his own wine; he also had a store in Zagreb's Ilica Street, selling metal ware made on his own estates. After his execution by the state, the entire inventory, worth 1.400 gold coins, was taken out from these stores.<sup>22</sup> His surviving wife, Katarina, kept a store with overseas goods in Zagreb; she also traded in Sicilian salt. Gradec municipality objected these trading practices, as Zrinski never paid any taxes or other town levies. Their exemption from taxes was granted by the king Leopold I in 1668, allowing them free trade of overseas goods across entire kingdom, without any taxation.<sup>23</sup>

A main competitor to the Zagreb twin towns of Gradec and Kaptol was Varaždin, the town that in 1629 already had a trader's guild.<sup>24</sup> Following the Varaždin's example, in 1698, Gradec traders joined forces and formed their own guild.<sup>25</sup> However,

<sup>19</sup> Vjekoslav Klaić, *Statut grada Zagreba od god. 1609. i reforma njegova god. 1618.* (Zagreb: Tiskara i litografija C. Albrechta, 1912.), 77; PSZ, no. 18, 237; Karaman, "Zagrebački trgovci": 252-253, 255.

<sup>20</sup> PSZ, no. 17, 378-380; Karaman, "Zagrebački trgovci", 257; Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 51.

<sup>21</sup> Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 419-420.

<sup>22</sup> Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 293, 414; Rajka Modrić, *Povijesni spomenici obitelji Zrinskih i Frankopana. Popisi i procjena dobara, (1672-1673)*, no. 1 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1974), 244.

<sup>23</sup> *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. II, 714, 716.

<sup>24</sup> Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 128.

<sup>25</sup> Horvat, *Prošlost grada Zagreba*, 367.

their union was protested by the craftsmen guild under accusation of disloyal competition. Namely, they manufactured, made and sold their own products (i.e. footwear, bread, etc.), while traders only engaged in the sale. The town administration, greatly influenced by small businesses, partially recognized this complaint. The Magistrate decreed that traders should keep sufficient stock of goods at all times, to alleviate shortage. If local traders would not have sufficient stock, then foreign traders would be allowed to import such goods for unrestricted sale.<sup>26</sup>

The second half of the 17th century saw Kaptol attracting more and more traders, especially foreign. Outstanding figures among them were Josephus Hyroldi (around the year 1660), Blasius Schnedic (in 1670-ies), and especially Hans Leonhard Mülbacher, better known as the duke Lenard. With his main market store and storage facility in the southwest part of the Kaptol's main square (corner of the main square and Dolac market), he nevertheless owned properties in Gradec as well. He entered the business as an assistant to Schnedic; after becoming independent in 1684, he started supplying nobility and wealthy town families with manufacture and colonial goods, and engaged in banking business, too. During the Great Vienna War (1683-1699), he managed to substantially multiply his wealth. Lenard also held public offices, like, for example, an assistant to the royal treasurer Juraj Plemić.<sup>27</sup>

In 1610, the Croato-Slavonian parliament decreed that special, export-import squares (*loca depositionis*) are to be established; all exporters had to bring their goods (honey, pigs, cattle, grains, etc.), while other traders had to buy or export these goods. This is how the parliament intended to resolve dispute between Croatian nobility with Styrian and Carniolan nobility on customs duties, levies and toll-collection in Styria and Carniola.<sup>28</sup> This square was one of the most important ones in this sense in the area of Zagreb.

Trade fairs were of great importance to economy of early medieval towns.<sup>29</sup> A regular daily fair and two special week-fairs (on Mondays and Thursdays) were granted in 1242 by the Golden Bull decree of King Bela IV. Daily fair was restricting trade to groceries and daily provisions; weekly fair was more important, as local traders and craftsmen were selling all their products, not just the one for daily use. The biggest role in strengthening trade had annual fairs, as foreign traders were allowed to participate without paying taxes. The Kaptol's annual fair was held on

<sup>26</sup> Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 132-135.

<sup>27</sup> Josip Matasović, "Knez Lenard kaptola zagrebačkoga kramar," *Narodna starina* 11, nos. 28-29 (1932): 99-114, 169-204; 12, no. 32 (1933): 187-252; 13, nos. 33-34 (1934): 15-32, 125-138; 14, no. 35 (1935): 59-64.

<sup>28</sup> HSS, no. 5, 36-37, 56.

<sup>29</sup> On trade fairs in Europe and Habsburg lands cf. Heinz Stoob, Peter Johaneck, eds., *Europäische Messen und Märktesysteme in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1996).

St. Stephen the King's Day, so-called King's Day (August 20), while the Gradec's oldest annual fair was held around St. Mark's Day (April 25), lasting 15 days. Since medieval times, Gradec had an annual fair on St. Margaret's day (July 13/20); in 1569, Gradec was given its proper fair during the festivities of Blessed Virgin Mary of Immaculate Conception.<sup>30</sup>

In the first half of the 17th century, a tradition of Christmas fair was initiated; the King's Day fair in 1633 became the joint annual fair of both Zagreb towns – Kaptol and Gradec.<sup>31</sup> In 1650, the records show that Zagreb held five fairs.<sup>32</sup> In 1655, king Ferdinand III approved two more fairs: on Tuesdays, during the Pentecost catholic holiday (trade fair), and on Sundays before St. Jude the Apostle and Simon the Zealot (October 28).<sup>33</sup> The growth of annual fairs from four to seven per year, is one of the indicators that trading in Zagreb grew throughout the 17th century.

The main market squares in Gradec were located around St. Mark church; in Kaptol, it was in front of the cathedral. The square of St. Mark had wooden shacks and booths for lease to local traders. In 1639, it was decreed that the booths have to be removed. After 1674, they were re-built on the ground floor of the new Kaptol town hall. During these annual fairs, travelling peddlers and traders used the space outside town walls, near the Manduševac well. During St. Margaret's Day, the fair was set up around the church of the saint. The Gradec town administration tried to expand marketplace around the Manduševac well, so in 1641 it expropriated parts of private gardens and house plots. As the same market square held a toll-house for tax and toll collection, called the Thirtieth-bit Toll-house (part of taxation), in Hungarian "Harminc," the square was named Harmica.<sup>34</sup>

The authorities of Gradec issued municipal ordinances to regulate trades, but also to protect local trades from competition. So, in 1640 the authorities decreed that market supervisors have to strictly weigh food, groceries and control the prices, especially those of meat and bread. In 1660, the population of Gradec was under threat of 4 forint fine in order to prevent purchase of wheat outside the local market. On the other side, the authorities of Kaptol, banned their own townfolk from visiting daily and annual fairs in Gradec.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> PSZ, knj. 15, 59; Emilij Laszowski, "Prilog za povijest sajmova u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji," *Vjestnik kr. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog Zemaljskog arhiva*, 4 (1902): 79.

<sup>31</sup> Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 24.

<sup>32</sup> PSZ, knj. 19, 162-163.

<sup>33</sup> Laszowski, "Prilog za povijest sajmova," 79.

<sup>34</sup> Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 24; Karaman, "Zagrebački trgovci u 17. i 18. stoljeću," 258-259.

<sup>35</sup> Horvat, *Prošlost Zagreba*, 425; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 420-421.



Thirtieth-bit toll-houses in the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom were located not only along border crossings and main roads, but also in the towns that had large trade fairs; the same applied to Gradec, which in the year 1600 was granted the right to collect 'Thirtieth-bit' tax.<sup>36</sup> Along with locally made products, markets of Zagreb sometimes offered foreign goods from Western Europe and overseas as well. This included iron and other metal ware, various sorts of leather, cloth, spices, resin and rubber, tobacco, pottery, flint etc.<sup>37</sup>

Although the 17th century trade in Zagreb was still oriented toward west and north, trading roads to other destinations like North Adriatic seaports, were established too. Most of these alternative trading routes were cut off, or taken over, by the Ottomans in 16th century, or otherwise made insecure for travel. North Adriatic seaports were used for export of wheat, cattle and fur, and import of salt and other marine products. Links between Hungary and the Adriatic Sea, via Zagreb, were revived, also due to weakened traffic of the so-called Ljubljana road. However, Zagreb close commercial ties with Carniola and Styria remained, especially with towns like Ljubljana, Ptuj and Graz. Ljubljana was also an intermediary in Zagreb trading with Rome, Venice, Trieste, but also with Rijeka too (despite direct trading route to Rijeka, this travel was difficult until modern roads were built in the 18th century); Ljubljana merchants were also establishing their affiliates in Zagreb. As for the opposite direction of commerce, the goods were transported by Sava River and by land routes, too. Mostly, it was wheat, fur, honey, wine and cattle that got exported. Ptuj was one of the most important cattle export points, while Graz was well-known for its trade fairs. Merchants of Zagreb revived their old trading connections with Italy (Venice, Rome, etc.), and traded with more distant parts of the Holy Roman Empire – Vienna, Nürnberg, Augsburg, etc. The imported goods from the Ottoman Empire included multi-colored shirts, boots, blankets, belts and harnesses, etc.). The records of Ottoman furrier and merchant from Sarajevo, Petar Franić and his membership in Gradec guild of furriers, dating to 1692, speak of this importance.<sup>38</sup>

Sava River in the 17th century had a particular importance to Zagreb trade and commerce, as the river was navigable and as such was an important traffic route, especially in commercial exports to the west. In those times, the goods were ferried downstream on boats and rafts; in the opposite direction, upstream, it was carried in sacks on horseback, along both banks of Sava River – via Samobor or Susedgrad. In heavy rain, the roads were difficult to thread, especially via Susedgrad.

River transport was safer, as road bandits would often hijack the cargo. In order to protect the caravan, traders and merchants would gang up in convoys, carried guns, but also paid holly masses before the voyage.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 48-50.

<sup>37</sup> Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 423-424.

<sup>38</sup> PSZ, 18, 313; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 422-423; Karaman, "Zagrebački trgovci", 260.

<sup>39</sup> Matasović, "Knez Lenard", Karaman, "Zagrebački trgovci", 259.

Sava River had an important role as a “boat route,” organized transport of people and goods across the river, or, further south of Zagreb. However, the river often flooded the villages under jurisdiction of Gradec, hence weakening its economic strength and drop in the town’s revenue. The area of Zagreb was also flooded by Mt. Medvednica creeks, causing grave damage. Frequent meandering of Sava River also endangered arable lands.<sup>40</sup>

There is a record of a great flood from July 1651 – a big rainstorm caused Medveščak Creek to flood the valley between Kaptol and Gradec. The flood stream rolled rocks and broken trees. A mill, owned by St. Xavier Jesuits was ruined, and 80 of Jesuits’ haystacks were swept by the flooding into the river. Potok Street (today’s Tkalčićeva Street) has all houses damaged and 18 homes demolished to the ground. Since the flooding occurred overnight, saving lives from flooded houses was extremely difficult. As a result, 52 people drowned.<sup>41</sup>

In the 17th century, the neighboring suburban residents tried to protect from flooding by building up embankments and causeways and protective wooden barriers along Medveščak Creek. In general, anti-flooding was organized by peasant-built palisade and bulwarks from Jarun to Ščitarjevo. Sometimes the parliament prescribed protective measures; for example in 1630, serfs in Sava valley were ordered to build a bulwark near Ščitarjevo, as Sava River previously had flooded the neighboring villages.<sup>42</sup>

In the 17th century, the riverbed of Sava had several main streams and many sleeves. Some of them contained water at all times, others only in flood high stage. In the area of Zagreb, toponymy preserved then-riverbed routes (Savica, Stara Savica, Savišče); dry grounds that never flooded (Gredice); river islets (Siget, Sigečica, Otočec, Otok). Some of the toponymy indicate what the riverbanks’ flora looked like (Vrbani, Vrbik, Savski gaj, Trnsko, Trstik, Trnje), or what panoramic features the river landscape had (Peščenica, Zaprude, Struge), etc. The places where the river had wide stream, had boat crossings, and the carts were taken across by rafts. People could wade shallow and narrow parts of the river, during low water.<sup>43</sup> In the 16th century, there was some kind of bridge to the other side of Sava in the greater zone of Prečko; by the 17th century it was already gone.<sup>44</sup> This is why Sava River was being crossed on rafts, which had a main rope stretched across the river and a second, auxiliary rope used to anchor the rafts. One of the oldest Sava River rafts in the greater Zagreb area was near the place called Kraljev brod, managed

<sup>40</sup> PSZ, 17, 210; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 408.

<sup>41</sup> Horvat, *Prošlost grada Zagreba*, 24.

<sup>42</sup> HSS, 5, 467.

<sup>43</sup> Branko Vujanović, “Uloga rijeke Save u povijesnom razvoju grada Zagreba,” *Ekonomska i ekohistorija* 3, no. 1 (2007): 127-128.

<sup>44</sup> PSZ, 17, 210.

by the Medvedgrad nobility. Due to the river meandering, river docks (“brodišča” piers) changed often. However, it seems piers were mostly close to Sava Bridge, where today Savska Street ends. From the border with Carniola to Zagreb there were several „brodišča” piers – Tentas (Tintas), Susedgrad, Resnik etc.<sup>45</sup> In 1664, there was a raft crossing near Orešje (Susedgrad was across Sava, on the other side); this was a direct competition to Susedgrad raft crossing. This is why the owner had a permit to operate it for personal needs, forbidding a commercial transport of other people’s goods and carts, and/or passengers.<sup>46</sup>

By the end of the 17th century, the free royal borough of Zagreb (Gradec) had no own piers or Sava crossings. The city authorities were interested in establishing control of river traffic – not only for its own commercial trade, but because of loss of import levies and taxes due to transit that avoided the city. Sava River was used for transit of lumber from Carniola and Styria, so Gradec tried to impose inspection at the Kraljev brod crossing pier.

When lumber from Sava River got to Zagreb, taxes like thirtieth bit and toll were collected before it was fished out of the water and delivered to city lot. Then, lumber was set aside for the Gradec’s heating and building, and the rest was left for sale to general population.<sup>47</sup>

In the 17th century, Sava River was used for transport of mercantile goods, lumber and wooden building material from Carniola and Styria,<sup>48</sup> including even artwork. For example, Celje sculptor Wilhelm Meder pledged in 1653 to deliver his artwork, the great St. Catherine altar, by the river route from Celje to Zagreb. It is obvious that by the end of 17th century Sava was navigable, probably to all types of river boats. Later on, the riverbed and the banks with piers were neglected.<sup>49</sup>

Sava River was used for ferrying the salt. Even in the medieval times, Gradec was an important distribution center for salt. The authorities imposed special levies on sea salt, charging salt weighing, that was done in trade and sale of salt. It was an import tax. Town authorities even provided a special warehouse for salt and stores where it was sold. The town extracted revenues and immediate income from these transactions. Kaptol also got involved in sea salt commerce, ferrying it from Dubovec or from Carniola. Beside sea salt, rock salt was also merchandized, being imported from Austrian lands and from Hungary.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 86.

<sup>46</sup> ZHS, 1, 152.

<sup>47</sup> Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 86; PSZ, 20, 20.

<sup>48</sup> DAZ, Regestrum tricesimae liberae et regiae civitatis Zagrabiensis, anno 1645.

<sup>49</sup> Tadija Smičiklas, *Povijest hrvatska*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1879), 383; Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 92.

<sup>50</sup> PSZ, 19, 57, 61, 72, 246, 248, 265 and passim.; Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 94.

Even though wheat and grains were usually transported by road from the Kingdom of Slavonia to Zagreb, sometimes shipping rout was Sava River, too.<sup>51</sup> Wheat was further transported to Brežice and Krško; then, it was even ferried by Krka River to Kostanjevica, where it got swapped for salt. In the mid-17th century, Slavonian wheat export to Carniola was increased, and at a certain point even dominated on the market and defeated the competition from Lower Styria.<sup>52</sup>

At that time downstream Sava was navigable only to Sisak, near the border with the Ottoman Empire. In general, the 17th century commercial relations of Croatia with the Ottomans were somewhat difficult. Nevertheless, for example, the Winckler's map from 1639 marked five routes from Croatia to the Ottoman Empire in the vicinity of Zagreb, which could have also been used for cross-border trade. These were the roads: Petrinja-Kostajnica, Čazma-Kutina, Severin-Pakrac, Severin-Stupčanica and Đurđevac-Virovitica.<sup>53</sup>

In the greater area of Zagreb, payment transactions were usually in currencies like denari, groschen, silver škude, talir and krajczár; yet, the market was familiar with German, Venetian and Polish money, too. Exchange rates were calculated in Rheine and Hungarian forint. The Croato-Slavonian parliament was deciding on payments in foreign currency. It seems there was lack of trust in some foreign currencies, so the parliament in 1611 decreed that the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom would recognize the currency of Polish Kingdom; in 1621, it decreed that all German currencies, used in Carniola, Styria and Carinthia would be used as official money. In later years similar decisions were made – i.e., Vienna and old German currencies had to be used in payments to hussar and haramija soldiers; taxes ought to be paid in talir and gold coin. In 1633, the parliament again approved use of Venetian škuda, old groschen still in use in the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom, regardless of the fact that many people would not accept it for payment.<sup>54</sup>

Autarky of a self-sufficient economy and different foreign influences helped create several measurement systems, which made commerce difficult, and tax collection even more. The parliament often discussed measurement and brought decrees on the subject, e.g., in 1629, when it decreed that measurement for wine and wheat should be uniform for the entire country, those that were already in use in Gradec, were now approved by the kingdom seal. The parliament also decreed that the

<sup>51</sup> Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 96.

<sup>52</sup> Vlado Valenčić, "Žitna trgovina na Kranjskem in Ljubljanske žitne cene od srede 17. stoletja do prve svetovne vojne," *Razprave SAZU X/4* (Ljubljana, 1977), 288-289.

<sup>53</sup> Hrvatski državni arhiv, Ujedinjena Bansko-Varaždinsko-Karlovačka generalkomanda, Uvezeni spisi Varaždinskog generalata, 1578-1848.

<sup>54</sup> Rudolf Horvat, "Hrvatski sabori u 17. vijeku," *Hrvatsko kolo* 19 (1938): 264-265; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 425.

measurement must be verified by the same kingdom seal. Previously, it was a custom that free royal boroughs used their own seals. In any case, imposing measurement norms was a necessary precondition for strengthening of commercial trade in all towns, Zagreb urban settlements included.<sup>55</sup>

However, the parliament's decrees on measurement norms were not enforced in practice, so the parliament in 1640 charged a clerk with a task to establish measurements for wine and wheat in each county of the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom; in 1641, it concluded that weight measurement for wheat must be publicly displayed in Zagreb, Varaždin and Križevci. The problem was that Gradec used measurements different from those of Kaptol, so the parliament in 1649 decreed that both Zagreb settlements must use a uniform set of measurements for wheat, and a special panel for setting up such measurements was formed.<sup>56</sup>

Throughout the 17th century, Zagreb's merchants developed post office services as well. Lucius Calcinelli in 1598, took over the post office in Gradec, running it all the way until 1632, when he was replaced by the Gradec's senator and magistrate Abraham Fröchlich. By the end of the century, several distinguished men from Gradec served as postmasters. There is little information on actual postal carriers; usually, they were carriage drivers, commercial coachmen (*Fuhrmans*), like merchant Jakob in 1695. Postal connections and regular routes led to Styria via Brežice to Carniola – arriving to Metlika, Novo Mesto and Ljubljana, etc. However, the Zagreb area postal service grew stronger in the mid-18th century.<sup>57</sup>

Crafts and guilds played an important role in the economy of Zagreb. For instance, in 1605 all jurors and senators in Gradec were artisans and craftsmen, which proved that the free royal borough of Zagreb (Gradec) was predominantly a town of crafts and trades, run by them, too.<sup>58</sup>

Since the beginning of the 17th century, the two Zagreb settlements were continuously settled by skilled workmen of different crafts: in Gradec, they were given civic rights (unlike in Kaptol, as it did not have the status of a town). Gradec and Kaptol were attractive because these two settlements became the most important economic centers in the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom. Arrival and settlement of new craftsmen since the 15th and 16th centuries led to establishment of guilds,<sup>59</sup> which continued in 17th century as well. Some skilled workers abandoned their

<sup>55</sup> *Enciklopedija hrvatske povijesti i culture* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1980), 374.

<sup>56</sup> ZHS, 1, str. 89, 149-150; Neven Budak, "Društveni i privredni razvoj Križevaca, do sredine 19. stoljeća," in *Umjetnička topografija hrvatske, križevci grad i okolica*, ed. Žarko Domljan (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1993), 422-423.

<sup>57</sup> Velimir Sokol, *450 godina pošte u Zagrebu 1529-1979* (Zagreb: PTT, 1979), 78-81; Matasović, "Knez Lenard": 194-196; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 425-426.

<sup>58</sup> Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 20.

<sup>59</sup> *Enciklopedija hrvatske povijesti i kulture*, 55-56.

workshops in other towns or marketplaces to come to Zagreb; others were vassals or tenants with nobility, who had workshops in villages. However, they needed to be set free of their feudal obligations prior to becoming citizens.<sup>60</sup>

Before the 17<sup>th</sup> century Gradec had six guilds with the following craftsmen: tailors, shoemakers, furriers, belts and harness makers, saddlers, goldsmiths, spur makers, locksmiths, blacksmiths sword makers and butchers.<sup>61</sup>

In 1617, a new guild of boot makers, barbers, pharmacists and glaziers was established. However, barbers managed to split up from the guild in a peaceful manner and formed their own guild in 1642. Goldsmith guild ceased to exist somewhere between 1621 and 1635, and the guild members joined the guild of blacksmiths, locksmiths and sword makers instead. Button makers, for example, until 1644 were the members of tailors' guild, but in 1644 they separated and established their own guild; two years later, their guild privileges were confirmed by King Ferdinand III. A guild of loom weavers was first mentioned in 1698; its original statutes, however, were not kept, while the first records date back to year 1758. Beside the guilds of craftsmen and artisans, after 1698 we find records of guilds for traders and merchants.<sup>62</sup>

By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, guilds of Gradec increased to ten: the first were belt and harness makers, furriers and saddle makers; the second guild included blacksmiths, locksmiths' sword makers and goldsmiths; the following eight guilds were: tailors, shoemakers, butchers, boot makers, barbers, button makers, weavers and of traders and merchants.<sup>63</sup>

Unlike Gradec, Kaptol did not have any organized guilds before the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Shoemakers from Kaptol in 1609 organized themselves in a religious and charitable association; in 1627, shoemakers with residence in Potok, Nova Ves and the Kaptol fort received their first rules of the shoemakers' guild. This was the oldest guild in Kaptol. A great guild, that initially had road menders, grinders and sharpeners, furriers, rein and harness makers, saddlers, locksmiths, pike and spear makers, was established in 1632. At later stage, other guilds like boot makers, tailors and button makers, were formed too.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Ivan Kampuš, Igor Karaman, *Tisučletni Zagreb*, (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994), 121.

<sup>61</sup> Šercer, *Stari zagrebački obrti*, 25-34.

<sup>62</sup> DAZ, Acta cehalia, Zbirka čizmarskog ceha, Cehovska pravila gradskog suca Jakoba Gasparinija izdana čizmarima, brijačima, ljekarnicima i staklarima od 3. veljače 1617 (Boot makers guild compilation; Town magistrate Jakob Gasparini's Guild Rules for boot makers, barbers, pharmacists and glaziers of 3 February 1617); DAZ, Acta cehalia, Cehovske knjige, br. 9 (Guild books, vol. 9); Šercer, *Stari zagrebački obrti*, , 30, 36-39.

<sup>63</sup> Šercer, *Stari zagrebački obrti*, 25-39.

<sup>64</sup> NAZ, Acta capituli antiqua, fasc. 83, br. 52; Horvat, *Spomenica na kaptolske obrtne cehove*, 1-2, 23, 55; Šercer, *Stari zagrebački obrti*, 50-52; Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 8-9; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 427.

Guilds were not accepting members from unlawful marriage, and a new craftsman applying for guild membership had to submit proof of his skills. After his acceptance to a guild, he had to pay a membership fee and a luncheon for all guild members. Guild members were not subject to town magistrate ruling, or to physical punishment. Strict rules prohibited others outside a guild, to run a business. Each guild had its own patron saint, and on the saint's day they would hold its guild annual meeting. In the 17th century Zagreb, only Roman Catholics could apply to and become members of a guild. The guild was run by its superior, usually an experienced craftsman who oversaw the quality of guild products. Guild master was in charge of work supervision (assistants and novices), and provision of board and housing to young apprentices during their *vandranje* (apprenticeship). However, this obligation existed only for guilds in Gradec. A young guild member as the youngest in experience would watch over the order of business at meetings and trade fairs. A supervisor, called *bijarmeštar* would also supervise the apprentices and novices. In a meeting, guild members would round up by the guild's chest (*ladica*), where the official guild signet, made of silver or brass, with engraved logo of the craft was kept. The guild signet is first mentioned in 1646 privileges to the guild of button makers in Gradec. Guilds also had their protocols, business books and ledgers, recording all revenues and expenses; they also kept minutes of the guild meetings.

Guild novices and apprentices (locally known as *navučalniki*, *inaši*, *sluge*) were taken up for 3–5-year schooling at their guild masters. Kaptol's guilds required that all novices younger than 20 take a 3 year schooling; older "students" would need a 2,5 year training. Novices were trained "for service" by apprentices, and in return they had to make their beds every night and wash their feet every Saturday.<sup>65</sup>

Apprentices were given a strict set of duties within a guild and all guilds had their "youth guilds" (made of apprentices). They had their own rules (aimed to protect them; instead, masters benefited from them); they also had their own chest (*ladica*), and a wine cup to ceremonially drink to brotherhood. Among themselves, they voted up a dean who served as a judge and referee; they also voted on the guild master protector ("guild father").

A formal acceptance of novices into the rank of apprentices required a special ceremony. In 1699, the town administration of Gradec decreed that a prerequisite for a craftsman was a minimum of 2-3-year residence in the Kingdom (or, in apprenticeship abroad), and a submitted proof for that. Apprentices had to lead exemplary life of obedience; being the main workforce in the guild manufacture,

<sup>65</sup> DAZ, Cehovske knjige, br. 9 (Guild records, vol.9), MGZ, Zapisnik gradečkoga postolarskog ceha 1663-1876 (Minutes of the meeting of the Gradec's shoemakers guild); Rudolf Horvat, *Kako su nekada živjeli hrvatski obrtnici* (Zagreb, 1929); Rudolf Horvat, *Spomenica na kaptolske obrtne cehove u Zagrebu* (Zagreb, 1936); Šercer, *Stari zagrebački obrti*, 6-19.

their work would start up early (3 or 4 A.M.) and end late (9 P.M.). The Kaptol's guild rules from 1674, for example, regulated that in case of an urgent order, apprentices had to work by midnight, and even longer into the night. Their pay depended on their knowledge, skills, and hard work. In the 17th-century Gradec, apprentices would earn anything from 16 denari (apprentices in belts and harnesses crafts) to 25 denari (road menders and blacksmiths) per week; they also were entitled to "drink money" (*zapitek*).<sup>66</sup>

An apprentice could become a guild craftsman in Gradec only after passing a professional test and making a model product from his line of work (no such obligation existed in Kaptol). After the examination, the guild master would provide him with his master certificate, charging a fee that went to guild treasury. Guilds used high fees and strict, rigid testing to prevent becoming flooded with too many master craftsmen.<sup>67</sup>

Meanwhile, in the 17th century, the mountain Medvednica, just north of Zagreb, had signs of mining activity. The administration of the free royal borough of Zagreb (Gradec) in 1608 allowed the magistrates Juraj Matija Cinaberski and Jakob Gasparini to excavate - dig gold and silver ore on Medvedgrad nobility estates on Medvednica. However, soon after the permit had been issued, Ana Marija Ainkern, the widow of late Nikola Gregorijanac, sued them. Yet a year later, the mining business of Cinaberski and Gasparini expanded, as they got partners in the Zrinski brothers - Juraj (V) and Nikola (VI) Zrinski. The contract of 1622 was confirmed by King Ferdinand II. The mining expanded to iron, lead and zinc ore. It had high percentage of galena, the lead sulfide natural mineral that also contained other ingredients, like silver. At that time, the mine had some thirty miners in total. After 1671, the estate with the mines was taken over by the Royal Chamber, trying expropriation and relief from the authority of the Croato-Slavonian-Dalmatian parliament. This attempt failed, and in 1695 the parliament sovereignty over this land was reconfirmed.<sup>68</sup>

## CONCLUSION

From the beginning of the early modern times, changes in economic trends in Central-East Europe took place that did not bypass Zagreb. There was an economic downturn in Croatia at the beginning of the 17th century, followed by a temporary recovery from around 1610 to around 1620. During the Thirty Years' War,

<sup>66</sup> Marija Šercer, "Cehovska pravila gradečkih i kaptolskih djetića (kalfi) 17. stoljeća," in *Zagrebački Gradec 1242-1850*. (Zagreb, 1994), 149-166.

<sup>67</sup> Kampuš, Karaman, *Tisućljetni Zagreb*, 122.

<sup>68</sup> PSZ, 17, 294-295, 349-352; Kampuš, Karaman, *Tisućljetni Zagreb*, 114; Nada Klaić, *Medvedgrad i njegovi gospodari*, (Zagreb: Globus, 1987), 280.



the economy gradually declined. The agrarian boom stopped, and from 1620 there was a huge drop in prices of cereals and cattle. In addition to international developments, economic developments have been affected by internal instabilities, too. Economic development of the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom during the 17th century was dependent on the neighboring Inner Austrian provinces and northern Italy. Therefore, some merchants from these areas immigrated and settled permanently in Zagreb. Zagreb sought to attract new traders and other entrepreneurs with various facilities, in order to strengthen or revive economic activities. Commercial transactions were most often based on sales, but included other legal transactions like exchange, which included not only traders but other entrepreneurs, as well. Participants in the trade were local and foreign merchants, craftsmen (domestic and foreign), nobles and nobles (and in principle every landowner), peasants from the area, and resellers and sellers of bread and food in the square.

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# ARMS RACE ON THE HABSBURG-OTTOMAN BORDER IN THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: ARSENALS, SMALL FIREARMS, ARTILLERY AND AMMUNITION ON THE CROATIAN AND SLAVONIAN MILITARY BORDER

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## ABSTRACT

The paper reconstructs the development of the system of storage, distribution and management of arms and ammunition on the Croatian and Slavonian Border, systematically presents and comments data from the register made in Vienna at the end of 1577, and analyses proposed changes in the context of the military history of the region.

In the 1540s the Habsburgs started to significantly improve the organization and functioning of the Military Border / Military Frontier on the Croatian, Slavonian and Hungarian soil. The establishment of the Aulic War Council in Vienna followed in 1556. Intense negotiation of Habsburgs and their (mainly Austrian) Estates over the finances and organization of the defence started in the 1570s. Debates culminated during the Viennese Assembly in 1577 and the general diet of Inner-Austrian estates in Bruck an der Mur in 1578. The first discussed an entire Military Border, while the latter focused on the Croatian and Slavonian Border.

The highest court dignitaries and military experts led by Lazarus von Schwendy (imperial councillor and *Obristfeldhauptmann*) and representatives of the Austrian and Czech estates assembled in Vienna in 1577 with one goal – to thoroughly reform and improve the defence system that stretched from the Adriatic Sea to Transylvanian border. In order to prepare the participants and warrant meaningful and focused discussion, the commanders of six border sections were appointed to collect, systematize and deliver information on infrastructure, logistics and finances of their respective sections and Ottoman military infrastructure facing them. The commanders were also required to suggest improvements in quantitative and qualitative terms. Thus, unprecedented serial data on the Military Border was gathered. These materials, along with important discussions on strategy and tactics were collected in one volume (c. 730 p).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Haupt Beratschlagung vber Bestellung der Hungrischen, Windischen vnd Crabatiscchen Granitzen vnd deren zuegehörigen Notturfftten, Wie die auf beuelich der Rom. Kay. Mtt. etc. vnsers aller-*

Valuable part of this volume is the register of existing weaponry and ammunition on an entire Military Border made in final quarter of 1577. Part of this register discusses Croatian and Slavonian Borders. The register also includes detailed proposals on how to improve quantity and quality of arms and armament in each border section. Proposals were based on everyday needs, battle experience and intelligence reports on the Ottoman weaponry.<sup>2</sup>

## 1. ARMOURIES ON THE CROATIAN AND SLAVONIAN MILITARY BORDER

The 16<sup>th</sup> century arsenals (*Zeughaus*) were a major improvement in comparison to medieval armouries (*Rüstammer*). In step with technological development and expansion of firearms, arsenals stored and even produced new types of small arms, artillery and ammunition, employed an entire spectrum of experienced professionals and supervised and supplied arsenals/armouries and storages in border fortresses. Due to the long-lasting war against the Ottomans, their importance and responsibilities grew.

As part of its military reforms in 1503 Emperor Maximilian I (1493-1519) created the office of the Chief Arsenal Officer (*Oberstzeugmeister*) who was stationed in Vienna and was responsible for the logistics of an entire Hungarian military frontier. After 1577/1578 his authorities were reduced to four Hungarian generalcies.<sup>3</sup>

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*gnedigisten Herrn zu Wien im August vnd September des 1577 Javes gehalten, durch Irer Mt. etc. Kriegs Secretarien Berhnardten Reisacher verfasst vnd dan im October, Nouember vnd tails Decem-ber Irer Mt. auf dise Form fürbracht worden.* Vienna, Kriegsarchiv, Alte Feldakten (further KA, AFA), 1577-13-2, 367 fol. See also: István Geöcze. "Hadi tanácskozások az 1577-ik évben." in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*. Year 7, No 1 (1894), 502-537.

<sup>2</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 232v-245v. The Croatian-Slavonian part of the Viennese register was made on the basis of the inventory sent to Archduke Ernest by Archduke Charles on August 30, 1577 (published in: Radoslav Lopašić. *Spomenici Hrvatske krajine*. Vol 1. Zagreb, 1884, 41-44). The published inventory contains half of the data presented in the Viennese one. Also, the numbers do not match up completely (both due to transcription errors and due to subsequent changes made by the Viennese councillors). Fleeting and partial summaries of Viennese and Charles's registers in: Milan Kruhek. *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog Kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća (Military Border Fortresses and the defence of the Croatian Kingdom in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century)*. Zagreb, 1995, 259-265, 274-275.

The register was partially used in: Nataša Štefanec. *Država ili ne: ustroj Vojne krajine 1578. godine i hrvatsko-slavonski staleži u regionalnoj obrani i politici (State or Not. Organization of the Military Border in 1578 and Croatian-Slavonian Estates in Regional Defence and Politics)*. Zagreb, 2011, 243-244, 378-380 et passim. Štefanec also analysed in detail the Inner-Austrian Diet in Bruck an der Mur (1578).

<sup>3</sup> General information on the development of arsenals on Austrian territory and on the Military Border in: Géza Pálffy. "The Habsburg Defense System in Hungary Against the Ottomans in the Sixteenth Century: A Catalyst of Military Development in Central Europe." in Brian J. Davies, ed. *Warfare in Eastern Europe, 1500-1800*. Brill. Leiden-Boston, 2012, 35-61, here 53-56. Prior to 1503, the officer was called *Hauszeugmeister*. Vasko Simoniti. *Vojaška organizacija na Sloven-skem v 16. stoletju (Military Organization in Slovenia in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century)*. Ljubljana, 1991, 188.

In December 1578 the office of the *Innerösterreichischer Oberstzeugmeister*, responsible for the Croatian and Slavonian borders started to function. Namely, Archduke Charles discharged his personal Chief Arsenal Officer (*Oberstzeugmeister*) and Styrian estates readily transferred this office into the *Hofkriegsstaat*, which was financed from the Military Border treasury.<sup>4</sup> Chief Arsenal Office and the main arsenal (*Zeughaus*) were located in Graz, the capital of Styria. The office supervised subordinate offices on the Slavonian and partly on the Croatian Border. Another crucial Inner-Austrian arsenal was situated in Ljubljana.<sup>5</sup>

Largest arsenals in Habsburg defensive system, financed jointly by the emperor and the estates, were located in Vienna, Graz, Ljubljana, Gorizia, Linz, Innsbruck, Prague, Brünn and Wiener Neustadt. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, arsenals were established on the frontier from the Adriatic Sea to border of Transylvania, in Karlovac, Varaždin, Kanizsa, Győr, Kassa, Érsekújvár and Szatmár. Among them, the arsenal in Kassa was comparable to largest imperial arsenals in Innsbruck, Vienna and Graz: "it was a military workshop with a gun foundry, gunpowder mill, various workshops and even a boat-building facility." In charge of the Kassa arsenal was the Upper Hungary Deputy Chief Arsenal Officer (*Oberstzeugmeisterleutenant in Oberungarn*) appointed from 1567, on the advice of Lazarus von Schwendy.<sup>6</sup>

The functioning of the office of Inner-Austrian Chief Arsenal Officer (*Obristen Zeugmeister*) responsible for the Croatian and Slavonian Military Border was discussed at length in January and February of 1578, at the general diet of Inner-Austrian estates in Bruck an der Mur. The improvement of artillery affairs was one of the focal points of discussion in Bruck:

*Zu Nothwendiger fürsöchung der gränizen, auch erhaltung Landt, vnd Leuth, ist hoch vonnöth[en], das man das Artiglerie weßen zum Bösten Befürdere.*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Viktor Thiel. "Zur Geschichte der innerösterreichischen Kriegsverwaltung im 16. Jahrhunderte." in *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, Jahrgang 12 (1914), 159-170, here 169. See also: Viktor Thiel. *Die innerösterreichische Zentralverwaltung 1564-1749. I. Die Hof und Zentralbehörden Innerösterreichs 1564-1625*. Vienna, 1916, 58.

<sup>5</sup> The organization of the arsenal in Ljubljana: Simoniti, 1991, 180-199; Vasko Simoniti. "Cesar-ska (deželnoknežja) orožarna v Ljubljani." in *Kronika. Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*. No. 36 (1988), 159-168.

<sup>6</sup> Citation from: Pálffy, 2012, 54. On the arsenal (*Zeughaus*) in Kassa (Košice, Kaschau): Géza Pálffy. "Kriegswirtschaftliche Beziehungen zwischen der Habsburgermonarchie und der ungarischen Grenze gegen die Osmanen in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des königlichen Zeughauses in Kaschau." in *Ungarn Jahrbuch*. No. 27 (2004), 17-40, here 28-31.

<sup>7</sup> *Uniuersäl Landtag So Ihr Fürstl: Durchl: Erzhörzog Carl mit Steyer, Kärnten, Crain, vnd Görz, zu Prugg an der Muehr gehalten im 1578 Jahr* (265 fol). Graz, Universitäts Bibliothek, Manuscripten Sammlung, Graz, MS 432. (further: Graz, UB, MS 432), 35r.

At the diet, Michael Rindsmaul was confirmed as the Chief Arsenal Officer. Rindsmaul was running the artillery affairs already in 1565.<sup>8</sup> Thiel states that the Archduke Charles appointed Rindsmaul as *obersten Zeugmeister in allen fürstentumben und landen* in 1565, without the arrangement with the estates. The Archduke preferred Rindsmaul. He appointed him as an *Oberstfeldzeugmeister* when he took over the command of Inner-Austrian troops after the failed anti-Ottoman campaign in the mid 1560s. Rindsmaul wanted to resign in 1574 but eventually remained in office. In 1578 he was again asking to be released from service, but there was apparently no adequate substitution. The Inner-Austrian Estates urgently decided to convince him to stay a little longer and the Archduke agreed. He remained until 1580 when he was replaced by Christoph von Teuffenpach as *Hofkriegsrat* and *Oberstzeugmeister* (the two offices were thus connected). In 1584, the finances of the Aulic War Council (*Hofkriegsstaat*) were reduced and a yearly sum of 300 rhenish guilders (further f)<sup>9</sup> was reserved for the office. In July 1585 Julius von Sara succeeded Teuffenpach but Sara was not an Aulic War Councillor. From that point on, The *Oberstzeugmeister* was subordinated to the Aulic War Council in Graz only in matters of Military Border arsenals (*Zeughäuser*), but in all other affairs he was responsible to the Archduke's Aulic Chamber, as before. The Chief Arsenal Office had a treasury in the 1560s – from 1567 it was directed by Joachim von Trautmanstorff. After he died the treasury was run by the Chief Arsenal Officer himself.<sup>10</sup> This development shows the intermittent nature of the system which is typical of early modern period – the functioning of the office strongly depended on individual capability, influence and charisma. However, it also shows that the basic structure of the office existed for decades.

At the diet in Bruck, the estates declared that the Chief Arsenal Officer needs to be better supported in his work. They proposed the introduction of three arsenal assistants or officials (*Zeugdiener*) that should be recruited among qualified and experienced Inner-Austrian noblemen (*von Adl, Landt-Leuth-Khünder*). Promotion of Inner-Austrian noblemen through military offices was a standard strategy that was supposed to reimburse part of huge defence expenses to Inner-Austrian estates. The novelty was the introduction of three instead of one assistant (*Zeugdiener*) to the Chief Arsenal Officer. The Estates also proposed that 15 gunmasters (*Pixen Meister*) with the yearly pension of 32 f should be accommodated in cloisters (*Clöster*) and instructed how to behave appropriately.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> KA, AFA, 1565-7-ad11-Litt:a.

<sup>9</sup> Rheinischer Gulden, florenus Rheni, abbrev. f. One guilder was valued at 60 Kreuzer (*Kreutzer, kr*) in the 16<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>10</sup> More in: Thiel, 1914, 159, 168-170, citation 169.

<sup>11</sup> Graz, UB, MS 432, 35r-35v, 99v, 150r.

Archduke Charles supported the reorganization of the office, employment of additional officials from the ranks of the Austrian nobility and negotiations with Rindsmaul. He confirmed that initial 50.000 f should be instantly delivered for the purchase of arms and ammunition. He agreed that one should increase spendings on the arsenal in the future. The Archduke requested from the Chief Arsenal Officer to be present in Graz as much as possible and to keep the arsenal in good order.<sup>12</sup> In December 1578 it was decided that one of the newly employed three assistants should function as the treasurer of the office. However, in spring 1584 the personnel was reduced – of the three one remained as *Zeugdiener* in the Chief Arsenal Office and one as secretary (*Zeugschreiber*).<sup>13</sup>

Subordinated to the Chief Arsenal Office in Graz were the border armourers (*Zeugwart*) and gun-masters (*Püchsenmeister*).<sup>14</sup> They were distributed in fortresses on the Military Border and sometimes joined by random officials called *Zeugverwalter*. Both positions were well paid in comparison to elite units as harquebusiers (8 f), *Deutsche Knechte* (5-6 f) and hussars (4-6 f).

On the so called Styrian and Slavonian Border (from the 1560s Slavonian Border), the office of border armourer (*Zeugwart*) and his men (*Püchsenmeister*) could be traced already from the mid 1550s, while the first trace of similar structure on the so called Old and New Carniolan and Croatian Border (from the 1560s Croatian Border) was discernible only in the mid 1570s.

In 1556 the arsenal of the Styrian and Slavonian Border had one armourer (*Zeugwardt*) Bartlmee Weiss, paid 12 rhenish guilders (f) per month, and 12 gun-masters (*Pixenmeister*). Michel Paumgartner (10 f) and Paull Peödl (10 f) were located in Đurđevac, Hannsen Mor (10 f) and Thoman Friess (10 f) in Koprivnica, Hanns Chrafft (10 f) in Križevci, Hanns Stainmez (10 f), Jeörg Rächighk (8 f), Hanns Püchshaimer (8 f) and Banngrätz Posch (8 f) in Varaždin, Hannsen Schwertferber in Hrastovica (8 f), Lucaß Fux (8 f) in Sisak, while Jurco Chrainer (8 f) was not allocated. Monthly spending on all of them was 120 f.<sup>15</sup>

One of the largest armories was in Varaždin. In 1559, the armourer in Varaždin and his men responsible for the Styrian and Slavonian Border were paid 142 guilders per month.<sup>16</sup> In 1565 there was one armourer and 12 gun-masters on the Slavonian

<sup>12</sup> Graz, UB, MS 432, 35r-35v, 99v, 150r. Štefanec, 2011, 378-380. *Landeszeughaus* in Graz is amongst the largest early modern armouries/museums in the world (<https://www.museum-joanneum.at/landeszeughaus/historische-waffenkammer>).

<sup>13</sup> Thiel, 1914, 159, 169-170.

<sup>14</sup> Thiel, 1916, 58; Kruhek, 1995, 288; Štefanec, 2011, 243.

<sup>15</sup> Graz, StLA, Laa. A., Antiquum, XIV, Militaria, Sch. 22, 1556/4, 1556-X, sd - 1556-XI-sd. Valuable data on the Varaždin armoury and Dominico Conduto collected in: Mira Ilijanić. "Varaždinska oružana i njen inventar." in *Godišnjak Gradskog muzeja Varaždin* 2-3 (1962-1963), 31-44.

<sup>16</sup> KA, AFA, 1559-7-ad7.



Border that costed 128 f per month.<sup>17</sup> In 1573, the arsenal of the Slavonian Border had one main armourer located in Varaždin and 13 gun-masters paid altogether 120 f per month.<sup>18</sup> In August 1577 we find similar distribution registered in the muster list, which further confirms the principle. *Zeugwart* was Dominico Conduto (Condata), located in Varaždin and paid 16 guilders per month. Gun-masters in Đurđevac were Georg Enlich (11 f) and Daidt Khemetter (10 f), in Koprivnica Michell Schmidtperger (11 f) and Anndre Khlueg (10 f), in Križevci Marttin Ytsch (10 f) and Michall Selnitsch (8 f), in Varaždin Hannß Rodenstokh (8 f), Leonhardt Moßplaser (8 f), Christoff Hörman (8 f) and Georg Rohnikh/Rahnikh (4 f), in Ivanić Hanns Pannzermaher (8 f) and in Sisak Lucas Fux (8f). Expenses per month remained the same, 120 f.<sup>19</sup> At the end of 1577, the situation was the same and it was suggested not to change it.<sup>20</sup> At the beginning of March 1578 it was decided to maintain one Slavonian armourer in Varaždin and 13 gun-masters (*Püchßenmaister*). They should be paid 120 guilders per month as before, but distributed somewhat differently than before: *Zeugwart* and two *Püksenmeistern* in Križevci, one *Püksenmeister* in Cirkvena, two in Ivanić, three in Koprivnica, two in Varaždin, two in Đurđevac and one in Zagreb.<sup>21</sup> The changes reflected slight tactical alterations on the border but the principle remained the same.

On the Croatian Border, the development of the similar structure was rather late. Croatian Border was supplied from the arsenal (*Zeughaus*) in Ljubljana. It was run by the Carniolan armourer (*Zeugwart*) who also supplied entire Carniola. He was appointed by the Carniolan estates and the Archduke, and was responsible to the Chief Arsenal Officer in Vienna, later in Graz. The armourer from Ljubljana supplied weaponry to the border at the behest of the emperor, the archduke and the Carniolan estates (see appendix 1). The heavy and more valuable pieces of artillery used to be borrowed to the border and, afterwards, returned to Ljubljana.<sup>22</sup> Transfers were executed in direct agreement with the commander of the Croatian Border. Interestingly, the Chapter of Zagreb which defended narrow territories between the Croatian and Slavonian Border was purchasing weaponry for Sisak in Ljubljana throughout the century. When Karlovac was built later on, it was partly supplied from Ljubljana, but mainly from Graz.<sup>23</sup>

Although commanders of the Croatian part of the border attempted, from the 1520s, to improve their arsenals and the network of arsenal officers, the development

<sup>17</sup> KA, AFA, 1565-1-ad2-Litt:c

<sup>18</sup> KA, AFA, 1573-6-1, 5v.

<sup>19</sup> Graz, Steiermärkisches Landesarchiv, Laa A., Antiquum, XIV, Militaria, Sch. 48, 1577/2, 1577-VIII-24; Štefanec, 2011, 380.

<sup>20</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 64v-65r, 71r.

<sup>21</sup> Graz, UB, MS 432, 76r; KA, AFA, 1578-3-1-1/2.

<sup>22</sup> Simoniti, 1991, 187. List of 16th century armourers in Ljubljana in: Simoniti, 1991, 189.

<sup>23</sup> Simoniti, 1991, 186-187.

was slow. In 1527, imperial commander in Croatia Nikola Jurišić proposed the appointment of arsenal officer (*Zeugmeister*) and one gun-master (*Püchsenmeister*) for maintenance and repairs of firearms to Bihać, which was the most important and protruded fortress on the border. Jurišić also proposed to provide Bihać with 3 falkonets, 100 hook-guns, gun-powder and ammunition. Neighbouring Ripač should have been provided with one canon and 30 *Hackenpuchsen*.<sup>24</sup>

Eventually, in Bihać, as well as in other main fortresses on the border like Rijeka, Senj, Otočac, Ogulin and Hrastovica, storages and even small armouries were built. Armoury in Bihać was even repaired, by the commander of the Croatian Border Jobst Thurn in 1584.<sup>25</sup> In border fortresses supplied directly from Ljubljana mostly gun-masters (*Püchsenmeisters*) were appointed to take care of the weaponry. In absence of specific armourer for the Croatian Border, they were responsible directly to the border commander. Still, it was difficult to find a proper, experienced and knowledgeable gun-master. In the 1560s, the commissioners on the Croatian border recommended to the Archduke to replace some of them who were too old to work, and to provide them with provision and accommodation in imperial asylum in Ljubljana.<sup>26</sup>

From the 1570s, there was an obvious effort to improve the storage and distribution of firearms on the Croatian Border too. We find one main *Zeugwart* included into the headquarters of the Croatian Border in 1576 (*Auf ein Zeugwarch Monatlich 24 f*).<sup>27</sup> In the payroll from 1577 there is again no such officer in Croatia, but the advice was given to include one into the headquarters (24 f monthly).<sup>28</sup> Finally, in March 1578, it was ordered to introduce one armourer (*Zeugwart*) to *stadt* Senj for 12 f per month and to locate three gun-masters (10 f monthly each) into Senj city and new fortress Nehaj. One armourer and gun-master in the same person (12 f) was assigned to Bihać, as well as two more gun-masters (10 f).<sup>29</sup>

For a long time, the main armourer (*Zaugwart, Zuighardt*) on the Slavonian Border was Dominico Conduto, a rather famous Italian, who was employed from the 1560s and stationed in Varaždin. Already in 1568 he was compiling inventories of received and issued arms and ammunition in poor German.<sup>30</sup> His duties included distribution of tools, arms and ammunition across the border section, organization of arduous transport, mainly by horses, of heavier pieces of artillery and equipment to individual fortresses, repairs of artillery, carriages, wheels etc.

<sup>24</sup> Kruhek, 1995, 83.

<sup>25</sup> Kruhek, 1995, 325.

<sup>26</sup> Simoniti, 1991, 186, 190, 192.

<sup>27</sup> KA, AFA, 1576-12-2, 1r-13v, here 1r-1v; Štefanec, 2011, 205.

<sup>28</sup> KA, AFA, 1576-12-2, 73r-86r, here 80r.

<sup>29</sup> KA, AFA, 1578-3-2.

<sup>30</sup> For example: KA, AFA, 1578-7-ad6-d.

Armourers (*Zeugwart*) of border sections, from Kassa to Karlovac (from 1579) and Varaždin had to supply and supervise a number of fortresses in their domain. Transparent hierarchy was devised in 1577. Main fortresses on the Slavonian Border were Varaždin, Križevci, Ivanić, Zagreb (and Sisak). Paraphrasing the register, from Varaždin, which is the headquarters of the Slavonian Border, one should support following places and castles (*heusser vnnnd Castl*): Remetinec, (Varaždinske) Toplice, Ludbreg, Rasinja. From Koprivnica five places (*heusser*): Đurđevac, Prodavić, Drnje, Novigrad, Đelekovac. From Križevci 11 places (*Ort*), Grabovac, Gradac, Sv. Peter, Cirkvena, Church of St. George prior to Križevci, fortress (*Schloß*) in Kamnik mountain, Glogovnica, Apatovac, Topolovac, Sv. Ivan and Tram. From Ivanić five castles (*Castellen*): Kloštar Ivanić, Lupoglav, Božjakovina, Gofnic and Sveti Križ. Zagreb - “which is also the capital city and border city is situated at a place that has good correspondence with Slavonia and Croatia” – should support following seven fortresses (*heusser*): Bisag, Novigrad na Savi, Hrastilnica, Rakovec, Lovrečina, Čejnova and Hum.<sup>31</sup>

Main storages of arms on the Croatian Border in 1577 were Hrastovica, Bihać, Senj and Ogulin. In words of the register, Hrastovica, which actually had two fortresses, is situated towards Slavonija, on the river Sava. It should supply 12 places (*Ort*): Blinja, Vinadol, Bojna, Gora, Ajtić, Mašin ili Dugišiman castle, Greda, Mutnica, Srednji Gradac, Gornji Gradac, Zrin, Gvozdansko. Bihać is situated on an island on the river Una, in the centre of the Croatian Border but protruded towards the enemy. It should provision 25 fortresses: Repić, Sokol, Drežnik, Tržac, Slunj fortress and town (*Schloß vnnnd Marckt*), Cetin, Izačić, Toplički Turanj, Brekovic, Ostrožac, Kremen, Hojsića most, Kaštel Blagajski, Hresno, Gornja Kladuša, Donja Kladuša, Sv. Juraj in Ostrožac forest, Podzvizd, Peć, Šturlić, Vranograč, Perna, Kneja. Senj is located on the Adriatic coast. It should supply Ledenice, Brinje, Brlog, Otočac, Prozor, Dabar, Jesenice and Bag. Ogulin is located in the hinterland, towards Carniola. It should provision six fortresses (*heusser*): Modruš, Plaški, Svetice, Sv. Juraj, Tounjska Peć, Ključ.<sup>32</sup>

Relation of main arsenals towards filial fortresses changed with years, in accordance with the modification of captaincies. From 1579, Karlovac became the headquarters of the Croatian Border. It accommodated the largest arsenal supplied mainly from the main arsenal in Graz.

Arms and ammunition, especially gunpowder, had to be stored in dry place, in rooms covered with roof, which was not an easy task to accomplish for border officers. Reports on the abysmal state of fortresses and their storages are numerous.<sup>33</sup> Due to insufficient organization of the artillery affairs on the Croatian Border and

<sup>31</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 232v-245v.

<sup>32</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 232v-245v.

<sup>33</sup> Štefanec, 2011, 392-450.

higher frequency of Ottoman attacks, problems with arms, storages, moisture and explosions were more imminent in Croatia than Slavonia. For example, in a petition to the Emperor in 1530, citizens of Bihać, which was the central fortress in Croatia mention that Bihać is supplied only by 3 smaller artillery pieces and three mortars for signalling.<sup>34</sup> In summer 1577, wheels on artillery carriages in Bihać were rotten and one could hardly transport the artillery to surrounding fortresses.<sup>35</sup>

Transport of arms through wild and deserted border terrain led to agonising difficulties magnified by the absence of roads, high costs and Ottoman threat. For example, on October 26, 1552 Jacob von Lamberg zum Stein wrote to Maximilian from the meeting of delegates of three hereditary lands with border commanders (*Obrister Hauptleut und Leutenandt*) in Zagreb. Lamberg received unsettling news on the Ottoman advance and was calling on the emperor to order Carniolan *Vizedom* to deliver the arms and ammunition from the arsenal in Ljubljana, where large amounts were stored and unused, to the chief commander Lukas Székely.<sup>36</sup> In November 1552, Styrian councillors, prompted by the emperor, ordered 5 pieces of *puchsen* to deliver them to Lukas Székely. Three had to be delivered to Varaždin and two to Sisak, but eventually it could not happen. Herberstein reported that the land from Varaždin to Sisak was:

... scourged and desolated, without roads. Consequently, it is not possible to transport weapons to those parts. Instead, one transported them to Zagreb. I have just been at the Diet in Zagreb when the news came that the enemy intends to attack Koprivnica and Đurđevac, so sir Székely took three pieces, concretely two double Falkonets and one small Falkonet, and ordered their transport to Đurđevac and Koprivnica. If Your Majesty so wishes one more Falkon and one Falkonet could be sent to me. I am humbly waiting for the merciful decision.<sup>37</sup>

Simoniti presented some data on the transport of artillery by horse-drawn carriages: *Kartaune* had to be pulled by 16 horses, *Singerin* by 12, *Notschlange* by 8 to 12 horses, *Falkon* by 4 to 6 and *Falkonet* by 2 to 3 horses. It was a huge and expensive effort. Rivers were used as much as possible. For the transport of artillery during the Croatian expedition against the Ottomans in 1578 one had to summon 378 horses and 73 carriages in Carniola.<sup>38</sup> To transport two *Singerin*

<sup>34</sup> Kruhek, 1995, 88.

<sup>35</sup> On arms and ammunition in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Bihać and surrounding: Damir Stanić. *Bihać kao sjedište Bihacke kapetanije i slobodni kraljevski grad (Bihać as Seat of Bihać Captaincy and Free Royal City)*. PhD dissertation, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, 2019, 237-251.

<sup>36</sup> Lukas Zäckel (Zaggl, Zekel, Szekely) of Ormož, chief commander of the Croatian-Slavonian Border (1546-1552).

<sup>37</sup> KA, AFA, 1552-11-2

<sup>38</sup> Simoniti, 1991, 196, 221. On transport problems see also: Štefanec, 2011, 294-300, 308, 432-451 et passim.

and respective ammunition and necessities from Varaždin to southern Croatia it required 33 carriages and 276 horses (usually 6 per each carriage), as can be seen from the transcript provided in appendix 6. Reports as cited above are archetypal regarding the transport and distribution of arms and ammunition on the border. As a result, border arsenals were poorly equipped, the ammunition and powder were missing and weaponry was often timeworn and broken.

## 2. ARMS AND AMMUNITION ON CROATIAN AND SLAVONIAN BORDER IN THE 1577 REGISTER<sup>39</sup>

Studies on small arms, artillery and ammunition on the Croatian and Slavonian Border are still scarce and inadequate.<sup>40</sup> Hungarian sections of the Military Border are much better researched. Studies of József Kelenik, Gábor Ágoston and Géza Pálffy were both instructive and helpful.<sup>41</sup> Following tables systematize data from the register made in 1577 starting with the state of the arms and ammunition on the Slavonian and Croatian Border in 1577.

<sup>39</sup> Data in this chapter are extracted from the 1577 register: KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 232v-245v.

<sup>40</sup> Valuable are two studies: Ilijanić, 1962-1963; Miroslav Klemm. "Prilog istraživanju oružja na Slavonskoj granici u 16. i 17. stoljeću." in *Godišnjak gradskog muzeja Varaždin* 6 (1981), 35-47 (based partly on Ilijanić)

<sup>41</sup> József Kelenik. "Szakállas puskák XVI. századi magyarországi inventáriumokban. A terminológia problémái (Harquebuses in the Arms' Inventories of the Sixteenth Century Hungary. A problem of terminology)." in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, Year 35, No. 3 (1988), 484-520; József Kelenik. "A hadügyi forradalom és hatása Magyarországon a tizenöt éves háború időszakában. Tények és megfigyzések a császári-királyi hadsereg valós katonai értékéről (The Military Revolution and its Influence in Hungary During the Fifteen Years War. Facts and Notes on the Real Military Value of the Imperial-Royal Army)." in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, Year 103, No. 3 (1990), 85-95; József Kelenik. "A kézi lőfegyverek jelentősége a hadügyi forradalom kibontakozásában: A császári-királyi hadsereg fegyverzetének jellege Magyarországon a tizenöt éves háború éveiben (The Significance of Small Firearms in the Ascendancy of the Military Revolution. Imperial-Royal Army's Armament in Hungary During the Fifteen Years War)." in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, Year 104, No. 3. (Sep. 1991), 80-122; József Kelenik. "A kézi lőfegyverek jelentősége a hadügyi forradalom kibontakozásában. A magyar egységek fegyverzete a tizenöt éves háború időszakában (The Significance of Small Firearms in the Ascendancy of the Military Revolution. The Armament of the Hungarian Units During the Fifteen Years War)." in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, Year 104, No. 4 (Dec. 1991), 1-50; József Kelenik. "The Military Revolution in Hungary." in Géza Dávid – Pál Fodor (eds.). *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*. Leiden – Boston – Köln, 2000, 117-159; Gábor Ágoston. "Az európai hadügyi forradalom és az oszmánok (The European Military Revolution and the Ottomans)." in *Történelmi szemle*, Year 37, No 4 (1995), 465-485; Gábor Ágoston. "Empires and warfare in east-central Europe, 1550–1750: the Ottoman–Habsburg rivalry and military transformation." in Frank Tallett - D. J. B. Trim (eds.). *European Warfare 1350-1750*. Cambridge University Press, 2010, 110-134; Gábor Ágoston. "Firearms and Military Adaptation: The Ottomans and the European Military Revolution, 1450–1800." in *Journal of World History*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (March 2014), 85-124; Caroline Finkel. *The Administration of Warfare: the Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593-1606*. Wien, 1988.

Table 1: *Arms and Ammunition on the Slavonian Border in 1577*

Arms/Ammunition	Total	Varaždin HQ	Koprivnica HQ	Križevci HQ	Ivanić HQ	Zagreb HQ	Sisak <sup>42</sup>
<i>Kartaune</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Notschlange</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Singerin</i>	2	2 (1 poor)	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Falkon</i>	9	5	2 (1 poor)	-	-	2	-
<i>Falkonet</i>	20	5	5	4	2	4	-
<i>Scharffatindl</i>	8	2	3	1	2	-	-
<i>Eisene Camerstuck</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Eisene Stück (l)</i>	57	4	20	17 <sup>43</sup>	5	11	-
<i>Verzerte<sup>44</sup> Stücklein</i>	3	-	-	-	-	3	-
<i>Eisene Mörser</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Doppelbaken</i>	488	122	118	96	28 good&poor	124	-
<i>Handrohr</i>	74	-	20	-	17	37	-
<i>Spieß</i>	988	760	28	-	-	200 (long)	-
<i>Pulfer in Nürn. c/pf</i>	229 c	114 c	50 c	15 c	10 c	40 c	-
<i>Bley in Nürn. c/pf</i>	13 c 11 pf	-	12 c	-	-	1 c 11 pf	-

Table 2: *Arms and Ammunition on the Croatian Border in 1577*

Arms/Ammunition	Total	Hrastovica	Bihać	Senj	Ogulin
<i>Kartaune</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Notschlange</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Singerin</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Falkon</i>	4	-	1	3	-
<i>Falkonet</i>	13	-	7	4	2
<i>Scharffatindl</i>	3	-	3	-	-
<i>Eisene Camerstück</i>	2	2	-	-	-
<i>Eisene Stückl(ein)</i>	2	2	-	-	-
<i>Verzerte Stücklein</i>	6	-	-	6	-
<i>Eisene Mörser<sup>45</sup></i>	17	4	6	2	5
<i>Doppelbaken</i>	367	85 mostly broken	152 mostly broken	99 all broken	31 good & poor
<i>Handrohr</i>	26	16	-	-	10
<i>Spieß</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Pulfer in Nürn. c/pf</i>	115 c	35 c	40 c	30 c	10 c
<i>Bley in Nürn. c/pf</i>	-	-	-	-	-

<sup>42</sup> The source states that Sisak is situated at the place where river Sava enters into Kupa. If enemy conquers Sisak, the entire Croatia and Slavonia will be lost. The emperor does not keep his own weaponry in Sisak because Sisak is maintained by the Chapter of Zagreb. The Chapter should be ordered to provide Sisak with weaponry (*Geschütz*) but since there are only some double and simple *Falkonets* and *Doplbagen* there it would not be unreasonable to help them with some of the weaponry ordered for the Croatian and Slavonian Border. KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 236r-236v.

<sup>43</sup> *Eisen vnnnd Camerstuck*

<sup>44</sup> Distorted, deformed.

<sup>45</sup> For firing signal shots (*Kreudschüssen*).

Arms, small firearms and artillery mentioned in the 1577 register are known in specialized literature.<sup>46</sup> However, there are still ambiguities in terms of terminology, weight, price and calibre of weapons/ammunition.

The register lists *Hakenbüchse* or hook-guns<sup>47</sup> on both sections of the border and proposes the acquisition of a number of guns termed *Handrohr*. Regarding the first, the register lists a type of *Hakenbüchse* called *Doppelhaken*. *Doppelhake* is one variation of the hook-gun often used in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>48</sup> At the Imperial Assembly in Speyer in 1570, it was determined that each 400-men infantry unit (*Fähnlein*, *zastava*, *zászlóban*) should be equipped with certain amount of *Doppelhaken* (in 1573 Fronsperger mentions 10 to each *Fähnlein*). In an extensive study of Hungarian material Kelenik concluded that most of military border inventories written in German, including the one from 1577, consistently mention *Doppelhaken* as generic term for *Hakenbüchse* or *Haken*, irrespectively of the weapon's structure, calibre or shape.<sup>49</sup> Addressing inventories in Latin that mention this type of weapon (*Barbatae dupplae*) Kelenik pointed out that there are only some that distinguish the *Doppelhaken* according to their size and weight (*Barbatae maiores sive double*, 1564.). In sum, following Kelenik, we can safely consider *Doppelhaken* as proper hook-guns that sometimes, but not always, used heavier bullets and were a bit heavier than ordinary *Hakenbüchsen*.<sup>50</sup>

A hook-gun on the border was mainly used to defend castles and fortresses and it was the most widespread among smaller firearms on the border. It could be manned by a single soldier. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries it fired lead balls 20-25 mm in diameter, although it could use lighter stone and iron bullets. The bullets weighed around 4 lots (58g): 8 bullets (*Kugel*) were made from one pound of lead. In cases of proper *Doppelhaken* the bullets could weigh 8 lots (116g). The length of the hook-gun was 1.2 - 2 meters and its weight ranged from 7 to 14 kg. The hook served to stabilize the gun. The hook-gun was superior to other small arms due to its long range of up to 400-500 meters. It could successfully thwart sieges because combat activities took place in much lesser distances to the wall. In addition, the hook-gun could be easily relocated and it could be used from a trench or behind a porthole. One should only be aware of its kicking force.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See for example Klemm, 1981, 35-47.

<sup>47</sup> Haken, harquebus, bradatica, szakállas puska, arquebus, arquebuse, archibugio, arcabuz, harkbus, hagbut, etc.

<sup>48</sup> Known are also *Halbhaken*, lighter infantry weapon different to heavier *Hakenbüchsen* or *Doppelhaken*.

<sup>49</sup> Kelenik, 1988, 486, 489, 498 et passim.

<sup>50</sup> Kelenik, 1988, 498; Georg Ortenburg. *Waffen der Landsknechte, 1500-1650*. Bechtermünz. 2002 (1984), 55.

<sup>51</sup> Ortenburg, 2002, 54-55; Kelenik, 2000, 124-125; Simoniti, 1991, 196.

The 1577 register also lists two types of handgonne or hand-guns (*Handrohr*). Some simpler examples of this weapon, still used in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, could be classified as precursors to matchlocks (*Luntenschloss*, *fitaljača*) or muskets because they required direct manual external ignition without an elaborate firing mechanism. However, one type of *Handrohr* listed in the register was furnished with the *Schwammschloss* and the other with the *Feuerschloss*. Both featured standardly attached powder flasks (*sambt gutten pulfer flaschen*). *Schwammschloß* was related to standard matchlock (*Luntenschloss*) where the ignition was provided by a slow match (match cord, twine fuse, *die Lunte*). Only, instead of a burning slow match one put a piece of burning 'sponge' (*Feuerschwamm*) on top of the swan neck hammer (cock) or in a small tube/cylinder on top of a cock. Often, a Tinder Conk (*Fomes fomentarius*, *Poliporus Ignarius*), also known as Hoof Fungus, was used to make punk which ignited the gunpowder. This mechanism was still used in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>52</sup>

As for the *Feuerschloss*, an expert in Styrian 16<sup>th</sup> century weaponry explains that *Feuerschloss* was *Radschloss*. The ignition was provided by iron pyrite inserted into the cock (*in den Lippen des Hahnes befestigten Schwefelkies Funken, die das Zündkraut auf der Pfanne entflamnten*).<sup>53</sup> It was the friction-wheel mechanism where the rotation of spring-loaded steel wheel against a piece of pyrite generated spark and ignited the gunpowder placed in a pan. The wheel-lock (*Radschloss*), which preceded the flintlock, was an advanced phase in the development of small firearms in comparison to matchlock. The prices of *Schwammschloss Handrohr* (3 f) and *Feuerschloss Handrohr* (4 f 30 kr) also suggest that the latter was more technically advanced. Therefore, we could conclude that one batch of handgonne

<sup>52</sup> "Schwammschloss war dem Luntenschloss ähnlich. Statt der Lunte wurde am Ende des schwanenhalsförmigen Hahnes ein Stück Feuerschwamm eingesetzt, der nach dem Anzünden weiterglimmte. Bei Betätigung des Abzuges fiel der Hahn auf das Pfannenpulver und brachte es zur Entzündung." Josef Ofner. "Die Gesellschaft der Rohr- und Büchsenhandlung in Steyr. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steyrer Waffenindustrie." in *Veröffentlichungen des Kulturamtes der Stadt Steyr*, Heft 22 (Dec. 1961), 30-44, here 40. See also: Erich Haenel. *Alte Wafen. Mit 88 Abbildungen, Zweite Auflage*. Richard Carl Schmidt & Co., Berlin, 1920, 89-93; Peter H. Kunz. *Technische Entwicklung der Feuerwaffen 1200 bis 1900: eine Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten historischen und technischen Daten in Texten, Zeichnungen und Bildern*. Zürich, 2008, 194; Ortenburg, 2002, 57-59.

<sup>53</sup> Ofner, 1961, 38-40. "Feuer-Schloß, ist dasjenige Stück an einer Buchse, Flinte, Pistole und anderen dergleichen Hand-Gewehr, wodurch das Feuer angeschlagen, und sie also gelöset werden. Es bestehet aus vielen Theilen, davon die vornehmsten sind, der Hahn, welcher der Feuer-Stein fasset, die Pfanne, worinne das Pulver ist. Beyde können durch die innwendige Feder und Nuß ausgespannet, und durch den Abzug oder Schneller wieder abgelassen werden. Solche Feuer-Schlösser sollen vor ungefehr zweyhundert Jahren zu Augspurg zu erst erfunden seyn, und sind nachgehends auf sehr verschiedene Arten gemachet und verbessert worden." Johann Heinrich Zedler. *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*. Bd 9 (F), Halle-Leipzig, 1731-1754, 767 (<https://www.zedler-lexikon.de/index.html?c=startseite&l=de>); Ortenburg, 2002, 60-61.



requested for the Croatian and Slavonian Border was furnished by older type of mechanism where the ignition was provided by a slow match, maybe even literally a type of traditionally used fungi or mushroom (*Schwamm, guba*), while the other batch of handgonne was furnished by wheel-lock.

In general, *Handrohr* was a type of hand-gun intended for open fight and field-battles. It could pierce an armour. Its reach was around 150 meters. It weighed around 6,1 kg (12 pounds or pfund<sup>54</sup>) and it fired 2 lot lead bullets (29g): 16-18 bullets were made from one pound of lead.<sup>55</sup>

The 1577 register mentions a number of artillery pieces: *Quartaune, Notschlange, Singerin, Falcon, Falconet, Scharffatindl, Eisene Camerstück, Eisene Stück(ein), Eisenen Mörser*. Size and weight of mentioned artillery and ammunition does not completely relate to the 16<sup>th</sup> century models described in early modern lexicons and specialized studies that I present for comparison. This is not surprising because the weaponry was not nearly standardized in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>56</sup> For example, Ortenburg systematized information from two basic military manuals from the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century, those of Leonhard Fronsperger and Reinhard von Solms. Even they differed regarding the choice of artillery pieces and weight of iron/lead cannonballs.<sup>57</sup>

These differences should not bother us too much, because exactly the primary military sources like the 1577 register could help us to refine our knowledge and bring forward precise contemporary data on weight and prices of arms and

<sup>54</sup> 1 Nürnberger Centner (50,95 kg) = 100 pounds (Pfund, pf). 1 Nürnberger Pfund (509,5 g) = 32 lots (Loth, lth)

<sup>55</sup> Ortenburg, 2002, 52-56.

<sup>56</sup> Important military lexicon provides Italian and German taxonomy of early modern artillery: "Die deutschen Büchsenmeister dagegen theilten die Kanonen in Mauerbrecher, wozu man das ganze Belagerungsgeschütz rechnete, und in Feldgeschütze. Erstere bestanden aus folgenden Arten: die **Scharffe Meße** schoß 100 pf Eisen; die **Kanone (Basilisk, Notbüchse)** schoß 75 pf Eisen; die **Singerin** (von welcher sich die **Nachtigall** nur durch die größere Länge unterschied) schoß 50 pf Eisen; die **Quartana (Karthaune, Viertelsbüchse)** schoß 25 pf Eisen. Zu den Feldgeschützen gehörte dagegen: die **Notschlange (Drache)** schoß 16 bis 18 pf Eisen; die **Schlange** schoß 8 pf Eisen; die **Falkone (Falkhorn, halbe Schlange)** schoß 4 bis 5 pf Eisen; das **Falkonet** schoß gewöhnlich 2 pf Eisen oder Blei. Hierzu kam noch etwas später das **scharfe Tindlein** (Scharpentin, Serpentinlein), welches nur 16 Lth Blei schoß. Damals rechnete man durchgängig bei den Geschützröhren auf jedes Pfund der Kugel 2 bis 2 ¼ Centner Metall, und bei den Geschützen, welche über 50 Centner wogen, auf 2 Centner, bei den leichten auf 3 Centner des Rohrgewichtes 1 Pferd zum Transport. ... **Igel-** oder **Orgelgeschütze** bestanden damals aus einer bedeutenden Anzahl eiserner Röhre, welche 8 bis 16 Centner Blei schossen," *Militair-Conversations-Lexicon bearbeitet von mehreren deutschen Officieren redigirt und herausgegeben von Hanns Eggert Willibald von der Lübe, Königl. Sächs. Officier*. Vol. 3 (F,G und H). Wigand Verlag, Leipzig, 1834, 391-392.

<sup>57</sup> "**L. Fronsperger**: Scharfe Metze 100 pf, Basilisk 70 pf, Nachtigall 50 pf, Singerin, 20 pf, Große Quartanschlange 16 pf, Notschlange 15 pf, Quartanschlange 10 pf, halbe Notschlange 7 pf, Falkaune/Falkana 5 pf, Falkonett 2 pf, Scharfentlein ½ pf Blei; **R. von Solms**: Scharfe Metze 85 pf, Nachtigall 70 pf, Kartaune 45 pf, Halbkartaune 25 pf, Notschlange 16 pf, Feldschlange 12 pf, Halbschlange 7 pf, Viertelschlange 2 pf." Data from Ortenburg, 2002, 74.

ammunition used in one European theatre of war. The register from 1577 offers valuable information. Following tables systematize types of new weapon requested for fortresses on the Slavonian and Croatian Border.

*Table 3: Proposed Improvements of the Arsenal on the Slavonian Border (1577)*

Artillery/Small Arms	Total	Varaždin HQ	Koprivnica	Križevci	Ivanić	Zagreb HQ	Sisak
<i>Kartaune</i>	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Notschlange</i>	10	2	2	2	2	2	-
<i>Singerin</i>	2	2	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Falkon</i>	22	5	8	3	3	3	-
<i>Falkonet</i>	32	10	-	10	8	4	-
<i>Scharffatindl</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Eisene Stückl</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Eisene Mörser</i>	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Doppelhaken</i>	1500	300	300	300	300	300	-

*Table 4: Proposed Improvements of the Arsenal on the Croatian Border (1577)*

Artillery/Small Arms	Total	Hrastovica	Bihać	Senj	Ogulin
<i>Kartaune</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Notschlange</i>	5	-	2	3	-
<i>Singerin</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Falkon</i>	16	5	4	5	2
<i>Falkonet</i>	43	-	23	16	4
<i>Scharffatindl</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Eisene Stückl</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Eisene Mörser</i>	38	10	20	8	-
<i>Dopplhaken</i>	1000	250	250	250	250

*Kartaune* (*Quartaune*), *Kartouwe* or *Viertelbüchse* was the largest piece of artillery. It was only requested for the better equipped Slavonian Border. Kurrelmeyer, based on the texts from the 16th century, which are highly relevant for this paper, says: “German Lexicographers are practically unanimous in deriving *Kartaune*, together with its variant *Kartauwe*, from an Italian word *quartana*, interpreted to mean either ‘a gun of the fourth magnitude’ or one ‘which fires a ball of 25 pounds.’”<sup>58</sup> Data from Kurrelmeyer do not match with our register. Data from Ortenburg do not match either. According to them *Kartaune* used cannonballs weighing from 42

<sup>58</sup> W. Kurrelmeyer. “Kartaune, Kartauwe.” in *PMLA* 35/1 (1920), 63–75, here 63–64 ([www.jstor.org/stable/457239](http://www.jstor.org/stable/457239)). “Kartaune f. Ital. *cortana* 'kurze Kanone' (zu ital. *corto*, unserm kurz) gelangt um 1475 als Curtan in die Schweiz, 1489 als Kartune nach Oberdeutschland; nnl. ist *kartouwe*. Scheidung von dem seither untergegangenen *Quartana* 'Viertelbüchse (die Kugeln zu 25 Pfund schießt)' ist nicht immer möglich.” Friedrich Kluge. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, Berlin, 1957<sup>17</sup>, 354; Ortenburg, 2002, 67–69, 72.

to 48 pounds.<sup>59</sup> However, in the exact words of the 1577 register the two requested *Quartaune* fired iron cannonballs of 40 pounds (pf).

With regard to *Notschlange* or *Schlange*, contemporaries knew several types of *Schlangen*: *Basilisk*, *lange Schlange*, *Notschlange*, *Mittelschlange* and *Falconet*. *Schlangen* had long barrels (20-40 calibre<sup>60</sup>), firing relatively small iron cannonballs.<sup>61</sup> *Notschlange* apparently fired 16 to 18 pf iron projectiles (see footnotes 56-57 for example). In the case of 1577 register, terms *Notschlange* and *Schlange* interchange. (*Not*)*schlange* weighed 45 c, costed 1000 f and used iron cannonballs of 15 pf, which corresponds to Fronsperger's data cited by Ortenburg.

*Singerin* is part of the family of canons but there appear large ambiguities.<sup>62</sup> Based on the data from the 1577 register it could be calculated that two *Singerin* from the Slavonian Border fired iron cannonballs that weighed 250 pounds or 2,5 centner (127,4 kg) each, which is much heavier than stated in literature. The handwriting in the register is clear: *Zu den 2 Singerin 600 kugl die wegen 1500 Centner, thuet 3750 f*). This information seems correct because the numbers add up, but one still has to leave a possibility of misspelling on behalf of the secretary.

*Falkon* was a regular piece of artillery on the border. The 1577 register mentions that one piece weighs 25 c and costs 600 f. It consistently states that *Falkon* fires 6 pf iron cannonballs.

Term *Falkonet* appears often in the 1577 register and *Doplfalconet* only once. The register states that *Falkonet* weighs 10 c, costs 250 f and fires 2 pf iron cannonballs

<sup>59</sup> Ortenburg, 2002, 74.

<sup>60</sup> In 1540, Georg Hartman invented the calibre gauge to determine the weights of cannonballs (*Kaliberstab nach Nürnberger Maas*) from the muzzle sizes of cannon. He also invented gunner's sights and levels. See also: Franz Karl Schleicher. *Handbuch der Artillerie: Erster Theil. Mit Kupfern*. Marburg, 1799, 103 et passim.

<sup>61</sup> Ortenburg, 2002, 69, 75. "(Feld-)Schlange, Coulevrine, ist ein Geschuß, welches eben also gebraucht wird, wie die Stücke. Nur darinnen ist ein Unterschied, daß sie länger ist, und folglich auch weiter schieset. Man pfeget sie in Festungen auff einen Cavalier zu setzen. Der Diameter einer ganzen Feld-Schlange hat 4 Daumen und 12 Linien, schiesset ungefehr eine 16 biß 18 pfundige Kugel, wieget nach dem Nürnberger Gewicht 45 biß 50 Centner, und treibet ihr Kern-Schuß etwan 600 gemeine Schritte weit. Eine halbe Feld-Schlange schiesset eine Kugel von 9 biß 10 Pfund Eisen, wieget an metall 30 Centner und drüber, und thut ihr Kern-Schuß etwan 450 Schritte. Die Viertel- oder Quarter- Feld-Schlange, sonsten auch Falcaune genannt, schieset eine Kugel von 5 Pfund Eisen, wieget an Metall ungefehr 25 Centner, und ist ihr Kern-Schuß etwan 350 Schritte." *Reales Staats- und Zeitungs-Lexicon*, foreword by Johann Hübner. Gleditsch Verlag. Leipzig, 1706<sup>2</sup>, 543.

<sup>62</sup> According to some studies "Singerin is Halbe Kartaune": Manfred Rauchensteiner - Manfred Litscher, eds. *Das Heeresgeschichtliche Museum in Wien*. Styria Verlag. Graz-Wien, 2000, 95. In some studies *Singerin* is *tripplicana*: "... kana (it. *canna*), die wir nennen basilisken, die schiessen 75 pfund eisen; dupplicana oder nachtgal, tripplicana oder singerin, quartana (*kartaune*) u. s. w.; bis auf letztere sind sie also ital. alle von canna benannt und erhielten nachher den gesamtamen cannone, canon, engl. cannon, span. cañon, port. canhaõ, nnl. dän. schwed. kanon." *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, 16 Bde. in 32 Teilbänden. Leipzig, 1971, 1854-1961 (Online-Version: 06.11.2019).

(*Falconet ... aine 10 Cent. wigt vnnd 2 pf Eisen scheusst Cost ains 250 f*<sup>63</sup>). These data concur with available manuals.<sup>64</sup> The 1577 register also states that *Doplfalconet* weighs 10 c, costs 250 f and uses 2 pf iron cannonballs.<sup>65</sup> It could be due to a mistake from the secretary that introduces the word *Doplfalconet* only once in the register.

*Scharffatindl* or *Scharfentlein* was amongst the lightest artillery pieces, almost similar to *Doppelbaken*. Ofner, Ortenburg (Fronsperger) and *Militair-Conversations-Lexicon* agree on the fact that *Scharfentlein* fired lead balls 0,5 pf. However, data from the 1577 register testify to the fact that *Scharffatindl* on the border fired *Vierdings*, balls weighing 0,25 pf or 8 lot.<sup>66</sup>

There is also a category of *Eisene stuckl* or *Eisene Stücklein* (setting aside pieces registered as *Verzerte Stücklein* or deformed pieces). In the inventory of the Slavonian border from December 1578 (see appendix 5) *Eisene Stückl(ein)* mostly appear on wheeled carriages. They used iron cannonballs or bullets of 2 pf, similarly to *falkonet*. Great quantities of these bullets were requested in 1577. *Kammerstück* was usually a weapon with special chamber (*Camer, Kammer*) in the rear part of the barrel which could be replaced. One could prepare more chambers in advance and accelerate the gunfire.<sup>67</sup> *Kammerstück* is not mentioned in the lists of requested weapons. It is rather rare in the 1577 register of existing weapons, but there are numerous pieces called *kleine Camerstück* or *klein khamer stykhl* in the inventory of the Slavonian border from December 1578. They were dominantly used for signalling purposes.<sup>68</sup>

*Igelgeschütz* or *Orgelgeschütz* (see footnote 56) was not declared in 1577, but there were four pieces of *Argl* with 16 barrels each in Križevci (*Item ist verhanden für Argl, Mit sehssehen Rör Alle für, Idest 4 Argl*) and some pieces with three barrels on the Slavonian Border in December of 1578 (see appendix 5). Finally, there were iron mortars (*Eisene Mörser*). European mortars used stone balls, both for firing and

<sup>63</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 242v, similar 237r.

<sup>64</sup> "Falconet is eine Art Stücke Geschüßes 6 bis 7 Fuß lang, welches 2 Daumen im Diameter hat, und dessen Kugel 2 Pfund wieget. Man brauchet sie insgemein im Felde, weil sie leichtlich fortzubringen seynd. Ein Falconet wieget an Metall 10 bis 12 Centner, und ist sein Kern-Schuß etwan 280 Schritte. Ein halbes Falconet schiesset eine Kugel von 1 Pfund Eisen, wieget an Metall 6 biß 7 Centner, und ist sein Kern-Schuß etwan 206 Schritte." Hübner, 1706<sup>2</sup>, 536.

<sup>65</sup> *Doplfalconet ... ains 10 Cent. wigt ... 2 pf Eisen scheusst ... ains ... auf 250 f*. KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 242v.

<sup>66</sup> "Scharfentiendl (Scharfentintlein, Scharfentle). Ein leichtes Geschütz im Gewicht von ein bis einenhalb Zentner, die Bleigeschoße wogen ½ Pfund und (25 bis 28 dkg). Die Preis richtete sich nach der Größe, doch konnten sie in Steyr unter 13 f 2 ß nicht hergestellt werden." Ofner, 1961, 38. See also Ortenburg, 2002, 74.

<sup>67</sup> Moritz Meyer. *Handbuch der Geschichte der Feuerwaffen-Technik*. Berlin, 1835, 33; Ortenburg, 2002, 65-66.

<sup>68</sup> See numerous references in the appendix 5: KA, AFA, 1578-12-4.

throwing. Calibres were not standardized for a long time.<sup>69</sup> Mortars on the border were mainly used for signalling (they usually used gunpowder, not projectiles).

The gunpowder (*Puluer, Pulfer*) in the 1577 register is not divided into sorts, although border inventories usually distinguish two sorts, often referring to granulation: *Kernpulfer* for small weapons and *Zeugpulfer* for the artillery. The division is clearly visible in the inventories of the Slavonian armourer Dominico Conduto provided in the appendix to this paper.<sup>70</sup> The gunpowder in the 1577 register mostly costs 12 f per centner. The exception is the gunpowder intended for *Singerin, Eisene Mörser* and *Eisene stücklein*, which could be due to misspelling. The secretary could mistakenly write 8000 f instead of 9000 f, 5 c instead of 6 c and 140 f instead of 240 f. These would be rather small mistakes considering the number of items in the register.

Following two tables are also based on the data from the 1577 register. They bring further information on the artillery used on the Croatian and Slavonian border: type, number and weight of urgently ordered weapons in Nürnberger Centners and Pounds<sup>71</sup>; number, weight and price of requested projectiles (*Kugel, Kugl* = cannonball) for old and new weaponry, amount and price of requested powder and lead, etc. These data enable us to define the weaponry in more detail.

<sup>69</sup> On *Steinmörser*: Johann Gottfried von Hoyer. *Allgemeines Wörterbuch der Artillerie: welches die Erklärung aller verschiedenen Kunstwörter, Begriffe und Lehrsätze der Geschützkunst in theoretischer und praktischer Hinsicht, nebst der Geschichte der wichtigsten Erfindungen in derselben, enthält*. Cotta. Tübingen, 1804, 200-201 et passim. See also: Ortenburg, 2002, 68, 71, 74.

<sup>70</sup> Excellent study on gunpowder and artillery used on the Military Border in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in: Béla Iványi. "A tüzérség története Magyarországon kezdetétől 1711-ig. (The history of artillery in Hungary from the beginning to 1711)." in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, Year 29, No 1 (1928), 152-176.

<sup>71</sup> 1 Nürnberger Centner (50,95 kg) = 100 pounds (Pfund, pf). 1 Nürnberger Pfund (509,5 g) = 32 lots (Loth, lth).

*Table 5: Powder and Ammunition Urgently Requested for New and Old Weapons on the Slavonian Border in 1577 (NB: urgent requests are lower than proposals)<sup>72</sup>*

FOR NEW WEAPONS									
Weapon type	Kartaune	Schlange	Falkon	Falkonet	Doppelhaken	Eisene Mörser	Handrohr Schwamm. <sup>73</sup>	Handrohr Feuer. <sup>74</sup>	Feuerwerk
Number of requested weapons	2	6	6	20	1000	10	250	250	-
Price of 1 weapon in rhen. guilders (f)	1500 f	1000f	600 f	250 f	<u>4 f</u>	15 f	3 f	4 f 30 kr	-
Price of all weapons	3000 f	6000 f	3600 f	5000 f	4000 f	150 f	750 f	1125 f	-
Weight of 1 weapon in Nür. centner	60 c	-	-	10 c	-	-	-	-	-
Weight of 1 iron projectile in pounds	40 pf	<u>15 pf</u>	<u>6 pf</u>	2 pf	-	-	-	-	-
Requested projectiles per 1 weapon	<u>150</u>	<u>300</u>	<u>300</u>	<u>300</u>	25 pf	-	-	-	-
Total number of requested projectiles	300	1800	1800	6000	-	-	-	-	-
Total weight of all requested projectiles	120 c	270 c	108 c	<u>120 c</u> <sup>75</sup>	250 c	-	-	-	-
Price of 1 centner of projectiles	2 f 30 kr	<u>2 f 30 kr</u>	5 f	<u>5 f</u>	<u>5 f</u>	-	-	-	-
Total price of requested projectiles	300 f	675 f	540 f	600 f	1250 f	-	-	-	-
Powder in centners	60 c	135 c <sup>76</sup>	54 c	60 c	125 c	5 c	50 c		50 c
Price of one centner of powder	<u>12 f</u>	<u>12 f</u>	<u>12 f</u>	-	<u>12 f</u>	-	<u>12 f</u>		<u>12 f</u>
Total price of powder	720 f	1620 f	648 f	700 f	1500 f	72 f	600 f		600 f
Lead ( <i>Pley</i> )	-	-	-	-	-	-	100 c for 400 f		-
FOR OLD WEAPONS									
Weapon type	Singerin		Falkon	Falkonet	Eisene Stücklein		Doppelhaken		
Existing weapons	2		9 or 15 <sup>77</sup>	20	57		488		
Weight of 1 iron projectile in pounds	<u>2,5 c</u>		<u>6 pf</u>	<u>2 pf</u>	<u>2 pf</u>		-		

<sup>72</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 232v-245v. Numbers are from the source. Calculations made by N. Štefanec are underlined.

<sup>73</sup> *Handtrör 250 mit Iren schwammen schlössern, sambt Iren gutten Pulfer flaschen.*

<sup>74</sup> *Handtrör mit Feurschlössen 250.*

<sup>75</sup> The secretary wrote 240 c (*Falconet 20 deren aine 10 Cent. wigt vnnd 2 pf Eisen Schusst Cost ains 250 f thuet 5000 f. Kugln darzue 6000 wegen 240 Cent. thuet 600 f.* KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 237r) but it is clearly a mistake. It should have been written 120 c as in the page 243v because numbers than add up consistently (*Zu den Falconeten vnnd verIrrten stücken deren 20 sein, Scheust ains in das And(ere) bei 2 pf Eisen, 6000 kugln die wegen 120 Cent. thuet 600 f.* KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 243v).

<sup>76</sup> The written amount (435 Cent, 236r) is probably misspelled, because the total amount of guilders adds up.

<sup>77</sup> It was stated that one should order 300 pieces of projectiles per one weapon. However, the secretary, maybe mistakenly, pens: *Zu den 9 Falconen 4500 kugln die wegen 270 Centen thuet 1350 f.*

Table 5 (continued)

Requested projectiles per 1 weapon	300	-	300	-	25 pf
Total number of requested projectiles	600	4500	6000	2000	-
Total weight of all requested projectiles	1500 c	270 c	120 c	40 c	122 c
Price of 1 centner of projectiles	<u>2,5 f</u>	<u>5 f</u>	<u>5 f</u>	<u>20 f</u>	<u>5 f</u>
Total price of requested projectiles	3750 f	1350 f	600 f	800 f	610 f
Powder in centners	750 c	135 c	60 c	20 c	15 c
Price of one centner of powder	-	<u>12 f</u>	<u>12 f</u>	<u>7 f</u>	<u>12 f</u>
Total price of powder	8000 f	1620 f	720 f	140 f	180 f

According to the 1577 register, in addition to requested supplies of powder and ammunition, the Slavonian Border should have been urgently furnished with the ingredients for the concoction of black powder<sup>78</sup>: 50 c of saltpetre for 500 f, 25 c of sulphur for 100 f and 25 c of pitch (*Poch/Pöch*<sup>79</sup>) for 75 f. Furthermore, 2000 long pikes for 508 f 20 kr were requested as well as 250 halberds for 250 f, 500 *darda* for 250 f, 250 blades/swords (*Seitenweer*) for 375 f, 250 belts (*Gürtel*) for 125 f, ropes or fuses (*Sailwerch*) for 1500 f, 500 protective hats / helmets (*Schützenbüet*) for 750 f, 500 armours (*Harnisch*) for 4000 f, iron nails and similar for 1000 f.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Traditional black powder is a mixture of saltpetre (potassium nitrate, KNO<sub>3</sub>, 75%), charcoal (C, 15%) and sulphur (S, 10%). Due to relative stability it has to be ignited by heat or flame. It produces a lot of smoke. Charcoal powder is sometimes listed as *kholl* in registers made by the Military Border armourers (*Feuerwerch. Schwebl Cenniten*<sup>10</sup>, *kholl Cenniten 1*, *Pöch Cenniten 5*, *dartzue auch Allerley Pindstrickh vmd Pindtschmer*. KA, AFA, 1578-10-7, 2r). Charcoal powder could be purchased or produced by burning the trees and grinding the charcoal to powder.

<sup>79</sup> *Poch* also signifies a traditional machine for the shredding of ore which was installed in smelteries or ironworks. Here, *Pöch* is probably pitch or resin, which was also used (with petroleum/*naphtha*, sulphur, maybe saltpetre etc.) for the production of Greek fire, a precursor to black powder, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire.

<sup>80</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 232v-245v.

Table 6: *Powder and Ammunition Urgently Requested for New and Old Weapons on the Croatian Border in 1577 (NB: urgent requests are similar to proposals)*<sup>81</sup>

FOR NEW WEAPONS								
Weapon type	Schlange	Falkon	Doppel-falkonet	Doppel-haken	Eisene Mörser	Handrohr Schwamm. <sup>82</sup>	Handrohr Feuer. <sup>83</sup>	Feuerwerk
Number of requested weapons	5	16	20	1000	38	500	500	-
Price of 1 weapon in rhen. g. (f)	1000 f	600 f	250 f	4 f	15 f	3 f	4 f 30 kr	-
Price of all weapons	5000 f	9600 f	5000 f	4000 f	570 f	1500 f	2250 f	-
Weight of weapon in Nürnbr. c.	45 c	25 c	10 c	-	-			-
Weight of 1 iron projectile in pounds	15 pf	6 pf	2 pf	-	-			-
Requested projectiles per 1 weapon	300	300	300	25 pf	-			-
Total number of requested projectiles	1500	4800	6000	-	-			-
Total weight of all requested projectiles	225 c	288 c	120 c	250 c	-			-
Price of 1 centner of projectiles	2 f 30 kr	5 f	5 f	5 f	-			-
Total price of requested projectiles	562 f 30 kr	1440 f	600 f	1250 f	-			-
Powder in centners	112,5 c	144 c	60 c	125 c	50 pf x 38=19 c	50 c		50 c
Price of one centner of powder	12 f	12 f	<u>12 f</u>	<u>12 f</u>	-	<u>12 f</u>		<u>12 f</u>
Total price of powder	1350 f	1728 f	720 f	1500 f	500 f	600 f		600 f
Lead ( <i>Pley</i> )	-	-	-	-	-	100 c for 400 f		-
FOR OLD WEAPONS								
Weapon type	Falkon	Falkonet & deformed pieces	Scharffatindl			Doppelhaken		
Existing weapons	4	20	8			367		
Weight of 1 iron projectile	<u>6 pf</u>	2 pf	0,25 pf ( <i>Vierding Eisen</i> )			-		
Requested projectiles per 1 weapon	<u>300</u>	<u>300</u>	300			-		
Total number of requested projectiles	<u>1200</u>	6000	2400			-		
Total weight of all requested projectiles	72 c	120 c	6 c			91 c		
Price of 1 centner of projectiles	-	5 f	12 f			5 f		
Total price of requested projectiles	150 f	600 f	72 f			455 f		
Powder in centners	31 c	60 c	3c			45 c		
Price of one centner of powder	<u>12 f</u>	<u>12 f</u>	<u>12 f</u>			<u>12 f</u>		
Total price of powder	372 f	720 f	36 f			540 f		

<sup>81</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 232v-245v. Numbers are from the source. Calculations made by N. Štefanec are underlined.

<sup>82</sup> *Hanntrör mit schwammen schlössern 500 sambt seinen guten pulfer flaschen.* KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 243r.

<sup>83</sup> *Handror mit Feurschlössen sampt iren guten flaschen 500.* KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 243r.



Furthermore, for the Croatian Border one urgently requested ingredients for the production of black powder as well as a number of other necessities, as follows: 50 c of saltpetre for 500 f, 25 c of sulphur for 100 f and 25 c of pitch (*Poch*) for 75 f, 4000 long pikes for 1016 f 40 kr, 500 halberds for 500 f, 500 *darda* for 250 f, 500 blades/swords (*Seitenweer*) for 750 f, 500 belts for 250 f, ropes or fuse (*Sailwerch*) for 1500 f, 500 protective hats or helmets (*Schützenhuet*) for 4000 f<sup>84</sup>, iron nails and similar necessities for 1000 f.<sup>85</sup>

The authorities concluded that this amount of new arms and ammunition is urgently needed due to utter hardship and instant needs. Once the fortresses were improved and better constructed, one should order more of the same. Councillors in Vienna transferred the financing of these needs to Archduke Charles, who obtained the imperial dotation, and to Inner-Austrian Lands. However, they promised some extra help from the emperor due to dangerous circumstances, especially on the Croatian Border, namely, 1000 c of copper, 100 c of tin (*Zin*) and 500 c of saltpetre, for the casting of new weapons and production of powder.<sup>86</sup>

*Table 7: Planned spending on Arms and Ammunition on the Slavonian and Croatian Border in 1577 in rhenish guilders (f)*<sup>87</sup>

	Slavonian Border	Croatian Border	Total
Ammunition for existing /old weapons	17.770 f	15.236 f 40 kr	33.006 f 40 kr
Newly requested arms, ammunition and necessities	43.283 f 20 kr	37.570 f 30 kr	80.853 f 50 kr
<b>Total</b>	<b>61.053 f 20 kr</b>	<b>52.807 f 10 kr</b>	<b>113.860 f 30 kr</b>

The artillery pieces were hugely expensive with regard to the fact that ordinary footman was paid 3 f per month and cavalryman around 5-8 f per month – if paid at all. According to the 1577 register one *Kartaune* costed 1500 f, *Schlange* 1000 f, *Falkon* 600 f, *Falkonet* 250 f, *Doppelhaken* 4 f, and *Handrohr* between 3 f and 4 f 30 kr, depending on the firing mechanism. In fact, prices rapidly grew. According to one register of arms, ammunition and equipment made by Inner-Austrian lands in the mid 1580s, *Kartaune* costed 3450 f, *Singerin* 1593 f, *Notschlange* 1775 f, *Falkon* 980 f, *Falkonet* 388 f, mortar 475 f, *Doppelhaken* 10 f and *Handrohr* around 3 f.<sup>88</sup>

However, the first step was made. One knew exactly the state of arms and ammunition on the Military Border and what would it cost to improve it in order to match the Ottoman potential. This amount of planned investment into the

<sup>84</sup> The secretary probably wanted to write 500 protective hats for 750 f and 500 armours for 4000 f as in the case of Slavonian Border.

<sup>85</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 232v-245v.

<sup>86</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 245r-245v.

<sup>87</sup> KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 232v-245v.

<sup>88</sup> Simoniti, 1991, 196; Simoniti, 1988, 165-166.

military border armament and ammunition was unprecedented in the history of the Military Border. Of course, the border garrisons were eventually not equipped as desired in 1577, but Military Border arsenals eventually improved as well as the entire system of maintenance of arms and armament.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions could be drawn using the presented material and available studies. Although the weaponry on the Croatian and Slavonian border was generally highly insufficient and often in dismal state prior to reforms in 1577/78, the Slavonian Border was still better equipped with small firearms and artillery than the Croatian Border. Also, there was more powder and ammunition in Slavonia and firearms were in somewhat better condition. It was partly due to lesser extent of military operations in Slavonia and greatly due to the office of the Slavonian armourer (Bartlmee Weiss, Dominico Conduto) appointed by the Styrians to take care of the arms from the 1550s, while similar care on the Croatian border lacked until the late 1570s.

The 1577 register lists all arms and armament stored on the Croatian and Slavonian Border in summer 1577. However, in absence of previous such lists, we may ask ourselves how old, approximately, were the assets listed in 1577. Some other documents can provide part of response. Dominico Conduto, armourer of the Slavonian Border, made a list of items that entered Varaždin arsenal from 1568 until 1578.<sup>89</sup> This list, available in the appendix 3 to this paper, illustrates that Slavonian arsenal was only sporadically supplied from 1568, mostly with powder and lead and only exceptionally with new pieces of artillery. It clearly shows that the majority of weapons stored on the Slavonian Border in 1577 were at least 10 or more years old.

Moreover, Conduto's detailed register of Slavonian armoury from 1578, presented in the appendix 5 of this paper, often mentions foul and rotten wheels, decayed wooden parts and inoperative weapons.<sup>90</sup> State of the artillery on the Croatian border in 1577 was even worse, especially the state of the *Doppelhaken* which was abysmal, as visible from the tables above (85 mostly broken in Hrastovica, 152 mostly broken in Bihać, 99 all broken in Senj and 31 good and poor in Ogulin). In general, weaponry was rusted, of poor quality, overused, perforated and prone to shatter. Often, it was due to its improper usage. For example, weaponry was used to celebrate Christenings and other festive occasions. In the absence of mortars, *Doppelhaken* were used for frequent signalling, even *Falkons*. Small *Camerstück* pieces often served this purpose too.<sup>91</sup> From similar documents and innumerable grievances written by

<sup>89</sup> KA, AFA, 1578-10-ad1-b. On Conduto's registers see also Ilijanić, 1962-1963, 35-36 et passim.

<sup>90</sup> KA, AFA, 1578-12-4

<sup>91</sup> Štefanec, 2011, 210; Simoniti, 1991, 196. Numerous references in the appendix 5: KA, AFA, 1578-12-4.

border commanders, we can rather safely assume that large parts of Slavonian and Croatian weaponry in 1577 was old several decades or even more.

Arsenals in Ljubljana (responsible mainly for the Croatian border) and Graz (responsible mainly for the Slavonian border and later Karlovac) were well equipped. However, every attempt to distribute the arms and ammunition to the border ran into many obstacles due to absence of roads, insecurity and high costs of transport. One could see that by the end of the 1570s it was fully recognized by the military authorities in Vienna and Graz how important the organization of the network of arsenals, armouries, storages and trained personnel was. Entire sections of two large military assemblies were devoted to discussions on arms and armament. Major sums were channelled into improvement of quality and quantity of firearms on the border, and clear hierarchy was developed in the office of Chief Arsenal Treasurer that reached every border fortress in Croatia and Slavonia. It was a step forward, especially in view of the fact that in 1578 numerous fortresses that were previously neglected and inoperative, started to function on regular basis, which required significant money for building purposes.<sup>92</sup> Hence, the improvements were not immediate, but they gave results until the start of the Long War or Fifteen Years War.

Discussions on the strategy of war against the Ottomans from the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century until the 1570s usually finished with one far-reaching conclusion, which was prompted by Lazarus von Schwendy. Habsburg forces were still not potent enough to lead offensive war against the Ottomans so one should lead defensive war and always strive to maintain peace or restore the truce. All tactical decisions from the 1570s follow this assessment.<sup>93</sup> Long and dense line of fortresses was created from the Adriatic to Transylvania in order to thwart Ottoman attacks. There were no big field battles in the Croatian and Slavonian theatre of war nor training of pike and shot formations. There prevailed short Ottoman sieges of border fortresses, skirmishes and the so called 'small war'. Subsequently, the perfect weapons for such type of warfare were defence weapons such as hook-guns and some pieces of artillery. These were insufficient and often damaged. The solution of highest military councillors was to improve the logistics, to significantly increase the number of selected weapons (hook-guns, chosen pieces of artillery) and to support it with enough powder and ammunition. While there was planned in the near future to order more hook-guns for the Slavonian Border (1500:1000), it was eventually decided that the same amount (1000) will be urgently ordered for each section. The list of small firearms and artillery requested for the Croatian and Slavonian Border illustrates the intent to optimize the functioning of the defensive line against the Ottomans.

<sup>92</sup> See maps in: Štefanec, 2011, 495-501.

<sup>93</sup> Discussions on strategy and tactics of Habsburg defence against the Ottomans on imperial, regional and local level are elaborated in: Štefanec, 2011, 139-169, 273-322 et passim.

Furthermore, due to frequent skirmishes and hand-to-hand combats one had to improve overall armament of salaried border units, especially through lighter hand-guns, explosives and a significant quantity of cold weapons and other necessities (pikes, halberds, blades/swords, armours, helmets). The Croatian Border was planned to be equipped with twice as pieces of cold weapons than the Croatian Border, as shown in chapter 2. Moreover, the councillors urgently requested additional 500 hand-guns for the Slavonian and 1000 for the Croatian border. It was due to several aspects: there were more salaried units on the Croatian border,<sup>94</sup> Croatian salaried troops were much worse equipped with cold weapons and hand-guns than their Slavonian counterparts; the Croatian border suffered from incessant Ottoman attacks in the 1570s and it was estimated that such weaponry was acutely needed.

Finally, there is the issue of arms race raised in the title of this paper. In this instance, I will focus solely on armament and set aside researches and debates on general development of Habsburg and Ottoman logistics which, eventually, became the determining factor in the arms race between the two powers during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Studies of Gábor Ágoston clearly exemplified that the Ottomans were acquainted with gunpowder weapons from the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century, using cannons in numerous 15<sup>th</sup> century sieges simultaneously to their European counterparts. Ágoston points out that the quality of Ottoman weaponry decreased during the 17<sup>th</sup> century due to higher productivity and standards of the competitive European war industry.<sup>95</sup> However, he also presents a convincing set of numbers that justify his conclusions that the Ottomans well preceded Europeans in establishing salaried corps of artillery gunners, cannoners, bombardiers and gun-carriage drivers (from the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century), that janissaries started to use hand-guns from the time of Murad II and that, in quantitative and qualitative terms, the usage of fire-arms in the Ottoman army skyrocketed during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, the Ottomans were able to support these developments by self-sufficient manufacturing of arms and ammunition. It allowed him to make following statements: "...the advantages of a European Military Revolution against the Ottomans remain highly questionable, at least until the late seventeenth century. ... Instead of focusing on the putative military superiority of European arms, future studies must consider the reverse proposition: the impact of Ottoman military strength and prowess on developments among the Ottoman's rivals and contemporaries."<sup>96</sup> Moreover: "...

<sup>94</sup> Registers of salaried units on Croatian and Slavonian Border from the 1550s until the 1580s in: Štefanec, 2011, 465-494 et passim. See also conscriptions from later periods in: Sanja Lazanin – Nataša Štefanec. "Habsburg Military Conscription and Changing Realities of the Triplex Confinium (16th-18th Centuries)." in Drago Roksančić – Nataša Štefanec, eds. *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*. CEU History Department. Budapest, 2000, 91-116.

<sup>95</sup> Ágoston, 1995, 465-485.

<sup>96</sup> Ágoston, 2014, 85-124 et passim, citation 123-124.

Ottoman expansion and military superiority in the sixteenth century played an important role in Habsburg military, fiscal, and bureaucratic modernization ...”<sup>97</sup>

József Kelenik carefully traced various facets of development of firearms on the Hungarian Border in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>98</sup> He exemplified how “the ‘trace italienne’, together with the military tactics relying fundamentally on the mass fire of small arms, namely the two criteria of the military revolution, were not only features of certain West European regions but became everyday routine in warring in the Hungarian war theatre by the end of the sixteenth century.” Moreover: “in Hungarian territory between 1593 and 1606 the Habsburg forces had proportionally greater fire power than those of the Low Countries after the tactical reforms of the princes of Orange. ... It is perhaps no exaggeration to claim that the Hungarian theatre of war at that time was among the regions where the military revolution originated or first appeared.”<sup>99</sup>

Such reflections are well supported by the development on the Croatian and Slavonian Border. Although better weaponry was in larger quantities still stored in Inner-Austrian arsenals and the Inner-Austrian Estates were reluctant to send it to the Border, there were obvious and significant changes in quantity and quality of weapons requested for the border from the late 1570s. An entire system was optimised to support and promote the usage of firearms. Conduto’s register of arms and ammunition on the Slavonian Border made in December 1578 (appendix 5) shows significant improvements in comparison to the register of existing armament made in late summer of 1577. In sum, the importance given to small firearms and artillery resulted with better equipment of Habsburg salaried units and fortresses towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

However, what promoted this development were not only reports on low quality and inadequate quantity of firearms on the border, but, as Ágoston rightly suggests, the Ottoman advantages in this domain. Councillors in Vienna and Bruck in 1577/1578 had on their disposal full insight into the Ottoman military potentials, based on numerous intelligence reports.<sup>100</sup> One was fully aware what needs to be strengthened. Aside from general improvement in logistics, these were the number of fortresses, the number of salaried troops, the proportion of cavalymen

<sup>97</sup> Ágoston, 2010, 110.

<sup>98</sup> Kelenik, 1988, 484-520; Kelenik, Sep. 1991, 80-122; Kelenik, Dec. 1991, 1-50; Kelenik, 1990, 85-95.

<sup>99</sup> Kelenik, 2000, 118, 158.

<sup>100</sup> Summaries of intelligence reports in: KA, AFA, 1577-13-2, 356r-365v; Lopašić, 1884, 44-48. Article based on separate, detailed reports of the Chief Commander of the Croatian Border: Nataša Štefanec. “Osmanski zapovjednici i struktura osmanske i habsburške vojske na hrvatskom dijelu krajišta: prema špijunskim izvještajima iz 1570-ih (Ottoman Military Commanders and the Structure of the Ottoman and Habsburg Military on the Croatian Military Border: Based on Intelligence Reports from the 1570s).” in Marija Karbić - Hrvoje Kekez – Ana Novak – Zorislav Horvat, eds. *Ascendere historiam. Zbornik u čast Milana Kružeka*. HIP. Zagreb, 2014, 209-227.

in salaried units and proper armament of these units with cold weapons, small firearms and artillery. Habsburgs improved in each and every one of those aspects. As in a proper arms race, the register from 1577 shows clear intention to hugely increase the quantity and quality of arms and ammunition on the Military Border, which will prove beneficial in the near future.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: ITEMS THAT OUGHT TO BE TAKEN FROM THE ARSENAL IN LJUBLJANA AND COLLECTED FOR THE TRANSFER TO THE CROATIAN BORDER (VIENNA, KRIEGSARCHIV, ALTE FELDAKTEN, 1578-10-7)

**Verzaichnus**, Was aus Ihrer Fr. Dr. etc. zeughauß zu Laybach, genumen vnnd zusammen gelegt werden solle, wie volgt etc.

Ersstlichen Toplhäggen 100. Dartzue khugl 3000. Flaschen darzue 20. Vnnd die darzue gehörige Pöckh 32. Hanndrör sambt Iren flaschen p. 150. Falckhonen khugl 1200. Toppellt Falckhanöt kugl 1800. Karthaunen kugl 600. Pulluer sockh 27. Pley in platten Cennten 60. Pley in Zain 20 c. Zintstrickh Zennten 2. Ain Pockh oder höbzug Idest 1. Ain waag oder schmirstockh Idest 1. Winden 3. Mospruggen 6. Schlosser Zeug sambt Schraubstockh vnnd seiner Notturfft 1. Zimmermans Werchzeug, sambt vorrath, holz, vnnd Annder Notturfft 1. (1r) Wagner Zeug, sambt Allerley gemachten Rödern zu Falckhonen, vnnd Falckhonöten Spaichen Naben, felchen, Ax, Lannghwidt, vnnd drixlholtz. Ain Schmidzeug sambt ainer veldschmitten vnnd Plaß Palch, auch etlichem übrigem Eisenwerch, Alß schin, Ax, Legeisen, vnnd etlichen übrigen Protznögl, vnnd Protzn khötten. Mehr etlich Kupferne Plech, zu ladschaufln auch etlichen salzkalben. Huefeisen 1000. Huefnögl 10000. Feuer Pfannen vnnd Lattnen 10. Khummet 50. Windliecht 50. Wagen vnnd Zugscheitten hinder vnnd forder 30.

**Schannzzeug**. Spitzkrampen 200. Esyen schaufl 300. Allerley Eisen, Prechzeug, stanngen, Kheill, Plätl, hämer, schrötl, schlägl, Ringeisen, vnnd Anders, Cennten 5. Reithauen 150. (1v) Praithauen 150. Maiß oder holtzhagkhen 200. Hanndhagkhen 50. Trag Muelterl zum Schutten, oder an derer Statt souil geflochtner Khörbl 200.

**Feuerwerch**. Schwebl Cennten 10. Kholl Cennten 1. Pöch Cennten 5. Dartzue auch Allerley Pindstrickh vnnd Pindtschmer.

**Überig Sailberch**. Zu denn Falckhonen Anhab sail 3. Zu denn Falckhonötn Anhab sail 4. Übrig Pämstranng Zu denn Falckhonen Par 20. Zugstranng Par 60. Sunst auch Allerley Pindstrickh vnnd Pintschmer.

Auf das Fueßvolgkh Lanndtsknechtisch spieß 400. Schmer vnnd Inßlitt Cennten 2. Etliche Poller, Springer vnnd gefenngkhnus Eisen. (2r)

*APPENDIX 2: INVENTORY OF GUNPOWDER AND LEAD KEPT IN THE VARAŽDIN ARMOURY AND THE AMOUNT ISSUED FROM THE ARMOURY ON OCTOBER 5, 1578, PROBABLY BY DOMINICO CONDUTO, FOR THE CROATIAN ATTACK AGAINST THE OTTOMANS (VIENNA, KRIEGSARCHIV, ALTE FELDAKTEN, 1578-10-AD1-A)*

5. octobris 1578. **Verzeichnus** Was Fur Zeugvnd Khernpulffer, auch Bley, noch im Zeughauss zw Warassdin verhanden ist, vnd auch was ich aus dem Zeughauss zu dem Crabatischen Zug, Nemblich c. 20 khernpulffer vnd Zwainzig Centn Bley, genumen ist worden, wie hernach volgt,

Erstlichen im Zeughauss zu Warassdin ist noch verhanden Zeugpulffer Zwenvndzwainzig Centn, Idest c 22 pf -. Item ist verhanden kern handtrohr Pulffer Ainvnddreissig Centn, Idest c 31 pf -. Item Bley ist verhanden Funff Centn, Idest c 5 pf -. Item ist auch verhandnten Selyter zwen Startin, Idest 2. (1r) Item die Zwainzig Centn kernpulffer, vnd die Zwainzig Centn Bley, so aus dem Zeughauss zu Warassdin zu dem Crabatischen zug genomen ist worden, Ist zu Agramb gelassen worden, Idest c 20 pf -. Item Bley zu Agramb auch Zwainzig Centn, Idest c 20 pf -. Nota. Ist auch verhandnten vnd zu Agramb ligent die Funffzig Centn Zeugpulffer, so ir Fr. Dr. Erzhörzog Carl zu Österreich zu dem Crabatischen Zug herein verorndt hat, Die gehört irer Höchstgedachter Fr. Dr. zue, Idest c 50 pf -. (1v) Item von den hundertten Handtrhörn, so ich den 14. Marci im 74isten Iar Emphanngen hab Ist noch verhanden zwainzig mit aller irer Zuegehörung, vnd sindt im Zeughauss zu Warassdin. Idest 20. (2r)

APPENDIX 3: ITEMS RECEIVED TO THE VARAŽDIN ARMOURY BY DOMINICO CONDUTO, ARMOURER OF THE SLAVONIAN BORDER, FROM 1568 UNTIL 1578 (VIENNA, KRIEGSARCHIV, ALTE FELDAKTEN, 1578-10-AD1-B)

5 Octobris 1578. **Verzaichnus**, Was Ich Dominico Contudo, Rom. Kay. Mt. etc. Zeugwart an der Windischen Gränizen fur Municion des 1568isten bis auf dato dits 1578isten Iars Emphanngen hab, Wie hernach volgt.

**1568.** Erstlichen, hab ich im Namen des Herrn Frannzen von Poppendorf den 13. February von Maister Iobst Puluermacher von Pleyberg Syben Lagl grob Khern Pulffer Emphanngen, Die haben gewegen lauter Pulffer Acht Centn Sybenzig Pfundt, Idest c 8 pf 70.

**1570.** Item den 5. Augusty hab ich im Namen obnermelts herrn von Poppendorff von Maister Jobsten Khern Pulffer Emphanngen Ainvnndzwainzig Centn, Idest c 21 pf -.

**1574.** Item den 14. Marci, Hab ich zu Petau Emphanngen daß von Wien herein ist verorndt worden Zeug Puluer hundert Centn, Idest c 100 pf -. Item dito Emphanngen Khern pulfer vierzig Centn, Idest c 4 pf -.

Bley betreffendt,

Erstlichen den 14 October im 68 Iars hab ich Emphanngen Sechs Platen Plei welchs der her Oberist Lucass Zäckhl von Petau her lassen bringen, die haben gewegen Siben Centn, dreyvndneunzig pfundt, Idest, c 7 pf 93. (3r)

Item den 16 Nouember im 68isten Iar hab ich im Namen des Herren Poppendorffer vom Iacob Hoffman Flesser Ainvnnddreissig Platen Pley Emphanngen die haben gewegen zwen vnnd vierzig Centn, Sechs Phundt, Idest c 42 pf 6. Item Zuuor im 74isten den 14 Marci Emphanngen Bley hundert Centn, Idest c 100 pf -.

Item dito Emphanngen Funffzig Doppelhackhen, Idest 50. Item Emphanngen Handtrhor mit aller irer Zuegehörung hundert, Idest 100. Item klaine Camerstückhlein zehen, Idest 10. Mer Emphanngen Salyter zwen Startin, Idest 2. (3v) Nota. Die Municion Alss uil vber den Emphanng ist aussgedailt worden, hab ich im Zeughauss zu Warassdin gefunden, vnnd hat einer Ersamen Lanndtschafft in Steyr zuegehört. (4r)

*APPENDIX 4: ITEMS ISSUED FROM THE VARAŽDIN ARMOURY BY DOMINICO CONDUTO, ARMOURER OF THE SLAVONIAN BORDER, FROM 1568 UNTIL 1578 (VIENNA, KRIEGSARCHIV, ALTE FELDAKTEN, 1578-10-AD1-C)*

**Verzaichnus**, Was Ich Dominico Contuda Rom. Kay. Mt. etc. Zeugwart der windischen Gränizen für Municion, aus dem Zeughaus Waraßdin ausgetheilt, Daß ich im 1568isten Emphanngen hab, biß auf daß 1578isten Iars, Nach laut des Herrn Oberisten Leytenandt Radtschlag, vnnnd der Hauptleuten gegebenen Quittungen. Ist auch des herrn Bischoffen von Agram Quittungen neben miteinkhomen, vermog dessen Irer Mt. etc. genedigisten gegeben beuelch. Wie hernach volgt, vnnnd ein yedes Hackhenpulffer ist für Zeugpulffer gerait worden.

Erstlichen Zeugpulffer, ist aussgethailt worden, Hundert vnnnd Acht vnd Neunzig Centn, Dreyvndsibenzig Phundt, Idest c 198 pf 73. Item Kernpulffer, ist ausgethailt worden ainvnnndneunzig Centn vnd drey phundt, Idest c 91 pf 3. (5r) Item Bley ist aussgetheilt worden Hundert viervnnndzwainzig Centn Ainlff phundt, Idest c 124 pf 11. Toppelhackhen, sindt aussgethailt worden Hundert vnd zwaintzig, Idest 120. Hanndtrhor sindt ausgethailt worden Achzig, Idest 80. Item klaine Camerstuckh sindt ausgethailt worden Sechs, Idest 6. V o n disn Municion Ist auß Beuelh den Ro. khey. kh. etc. Hohsselligste gdechnis im 73 Iar den herrn Bischef von Aagramb alß denselben Zeit Baan, außthailt warden, Zeugpulfn Centten 30, Kherndpulfn Centten 10, Topplhaggen 20, Hanndrör 20, Pley Centten 20 (5v)

**1576.** Item den 12 Iuni, hab ich von dem Merth Hamerl, Rom. Kay. Mt. etc. Feldtzeug dienner zue Pethau Emphanngen Zeugpulffer Dreissig Centn, Idest c 30 pf -. Item dito von Mert Hämerl Emphanngen Kernpulffer zwainzig Cenntn, Idest c 20 pf -.

**Emphanng**, Alles obermeltes Pulffers Thuet in Summa Zeug Pulffer c 130 pf -. Kern pulffer c 89 pf 70. Bley, Betreffendt, c 149 pf 99 (6r)

APPENDIX 5: INVENTORY OF ALL ARMS AND AMMUNITION STORED ON THE SLAVONIAN BORDER, MADE BY ARMOURER IN VARAŽDIN, DOMINICO CONDUTO, DECEMBER 6, 1578 (VIENNA, KRIEGSARCHIV, ALTE FELDAKTEN, 1578-12-4)<sup>101</sup>

Verzeihnuß Allerley Geschuz, An der Windischen Greinizen, Klein Vnnd Groß, Zeug Pulffer Khern Pulffer Kugel vnnd Pley, vnnd Annders Wie hernach volgt. Geschech den 6. December 1578isten.

**Erstlich Warasyn** ist verhanden gewest Zwo Singerin Auff Reder, mit Aller Ir Zugehörung Als Naimblich 50 Zenten Zeug Pulffel, das ir Furstlich Durchleucht, herain von Granz Verordnet hat zu der Krabatischen Zug. Vnd Sechs hundert Kugl, Zug Sail, vnd Ander Zuegehörung, Des obenbemelt geschuz vnd Manizion ist zu Agram beliben, Idest 2. Khugl Sechs hundert, Idest 600. Item Zeug Pulffer funffzig Zenten, Idest 50 c. Item ist verhanden funff gegosnen falkhan Auff Reder Darzue nihts mer. Als Prutzenwagen, Ladschafft, vnd Wischer. Kein Zug sayl, vnd khain Ketten, Idest 5. Item ist verhanden Funff gegosner falkhanetl, darzue nihts Anderst Als Ladschafft vnd Wischer, Idest 5. (2r) Item ist verhanden Ain gosnen scharfettydl Auff Reder, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Ain gros Eisen Stainpigksen Auff Reder, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Zway Eysene stuckh Auff Reder daran draier genannt, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden Ain gegosner Paller Auff Reder zum feur Werkh, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden, dreyzehen Toplhacken mit schwarzen schafft, Idest 13. Item ist verhanden, ganzen Eysen Toplhacken mit khumpen schwanz fuer, Idest 4. Item ist verhanden, Lantskhneht Rör sambt ir Zugehör, drey Vnd dreisig, Idest 33. Item ist verhanden, hairamya handt Rör fuer vnd fürzig, Idest 44.

Zeug Pulffer. Erstlich Zeug Pulffer ist verhanden Zwayvndzwainzig Zenten, Idest 22 c. Item ist Verhanden khern Pulffer Achtvndzwainzig Zenten, Idest 28 c. (2v) Item ist verhanden Zway Startyttin Sallitter, Noch sain Numer ist Sechzehen Zenten, Idest 16 c. Item ist verhanden funff Zenten Pley, Idest 5 c. Item Khugl für die funff Falkhaner ist verhanden, Siben hundert, Idest 700. Item Für die Fünff Falkhanetl ist verhanden dray hundert, Idest 300. Item scharffatindl Khugl saint verhandenn für hündert, Idest 400. Item ist verhanden für die Zway darndrayer sechs hundert, Idest 600. Item ist verhanden Alle faitterisch Toplhacken, die nihts fil besonders Zu Prauhen, Idest 50. Item ist verhanden Sechs hundert Lantskhnecht Schpies, Idest 600. Item ist verhanden Etlih Alte sahen die ich niht Aufzeihen wil, die nihts Zuprauhen ist. (3r)

<sup>101</sup> Inventories of arms and ammunition in arsenals (*Zeughaus*) in Gorica/Gorizia, Neustadt and Vienna: Vienna, Kriegsarchiv, Alte Feldakten, 1557-2-11, 1557-2-12, 1557-2-14. Inventory of arms and ammunition in arsenal (*Zeughaus*) in Trieste/Trst: Vienna, Kriegsarchiv, Alte Feldakten, 1563-11-ad10. See also report of Wolf Schneitsperger, Zeugwartt in Trieste/Trst: Vienna, Kriegsarchiv, Alte Feldakten, 1563-11-10).

**Khaprainiz Manizion.** Erstlich ist verhanden, Ain gegosne Falkhan Auff Reder, niht mer darzue Als Ladschaifl, vnd Wischer. Vnd das bemelt falkhan man hat so vil braucht Zum Kraitt schisen das man hat das Zing loch faintlich Ausprent, vnd hat noh Ander mer schaden, das die Pygsn Mayster nimer Verthraun mit khugl daraus schisenn, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Ain Eysen stuckh Auff Reder daran draier genandt in Wendig Vvll mit schiffer, in Zait der not megen niht lang prauhen, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden zway Topelt falkhanetl, Idest 2. Item ist Verhanden Ainfahrt falkhanetl goßne Auff Reder, Idest 2. Item ist Verhanden drey gosne scharfath Auff Reder, Idest 3. Item ist verhanden Ain Eysne scharfatindl Auff Reder niht besonders zu Prauhen, Idest 1. (3v) Item ist verhanden, füervndfünffzig Toplhackhen, Ain Thail ist finnten Zupesern, Idest 54. Item ist verhanden Lantskhneht Rör Zway vnd fürszig, Idest 42.

Zeug Pulffer. Item Zeug Pulffer Zwayvndzwainzig Zentn, Idest 22 c. Item ist verhanden khern handtror Pulfer dray Zenten, Idest 3 c. Item ist verhanden Toplhackhen Pulffer drey Zenten, Idest 3 c. Item ist verhanden Funff Zenten Pley, Idest 5 c. Item ist verhanden Falkhane Kugl Zway hundert, Idest 200. Item ist verhanden Toplt fakhanetl kugl dray hundert, Idest 300. Item ist verhanden Ainfahrt falkhanetl kugl fürhundert, Idest 400. (4r) Item ist verhanden scharffatindl khugl Zwayhundert, Idest 200. Item ist verhanden Toplhakhen khugl Zwaythausent, Idest 2000. Item ist verhanden Alt faiterisch sahen, die ich niht Aufzaihnen Will die niht Zu Prauhen sint.

**Iuainnitscher Manizion.** Erstlich ist Verhanden für gegosner falkhanetl, Zway sint mit gueten schafft perschlagne vnd Reder, vnnnd die Zway sint khierzer Aber schiesen Als mit Ain Pley, es sint Reder vnd schafft nihts wert, Idest 4. Item ist verhanden Ain gosne scharfatindl Auff Reder, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Ain Eysne Messer zum Khrait schiesen Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Zway klain khamer stickl Auch Zum Khrait schiessen, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden Zway vnd draysyg Toplhackhen, Idest 32. Darunter saint Acht Vngeschiff. (4v) Item ist verhanden fier vnd draizig Teütsch Handt Rör, Idest 34. Item ist verhanden Zeug Pulffer Zehen Zenten, Idest 10 c. Item ist verhanden khern Pulffel drey Zenten, Idest 3 c. Item ist verhanden Toplhacken Pulfer Zwo Zenten, Idest 2 c. Item ist verhanden fünff Zentn Pley, Idest 5 c. Item ist verhanden falkhanetl Kugl fierhundert, Idest 400. Item ist verhanden Zway tausent khugl zum Toplhacken, Idest 2000.

**Khrauz Mannizion.** Erstlich ist verhanden fier gosne falkhanedl Auff Reder, vnd Ain gosne scharffatindl Auh Auff Reder, Thuet gegosne stickl finff, Idest 5. Item ist verhanden Zway Eysen scharfatindl Auf Reder die niht vil besonders Zubrauhen saint, Idest 2. (5r) Item ist verhanden Zway khlain Khamer stickl, zum Creit schiesen, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden dray ganze Eysen Toplhacken mit khruppen schwanz, Idest 3. Item ist verhanden fürzig Toplhackhen, die guet zu prauchen sint in Zait der Not, Idest 40. Item ist verhanden Teutsch Rör mit Ir Zuegeherung Aht

vnd Zwainzig, Idest 28. Item ist verhanden für Argl, Mit sehsehen Rör Alle für, Idest 4 Argl.

Pulffer Betreffendt. Erstlich Zeug Pulffer ist verhanden Neun Zenten, Idest 9 c. Item ist verhanden khern Hanndt Rör Pulffer fier Zenten, Idest 4 c. Item ist verhanden für Zenten Pley, Idest 4 c. Item ist verhanden khugl fier die falkhanetl Sibenhundert, Idest 700. (5v) Item ist verhanden scharfatindl khugl hundert vnd fünffzig, halbe thail mit Eisen schrat vnd Pley Iber gosen, Idest 150. Item ist verhanden Toplhackhen khugl Zway Tausent, Idest 2000. Item ist verhanden fallkhaner khugl hundert vnd fünffzig, der stuckh ist zerschprengt, ist Ain Eysen stuckh gwest, Idest 150 K. Item ist verhanden Lantsknecht schpies sechs vnd Neunzig, Idest 96.

**Aggram Mannizion.** Erstlich ist verhanden Zway gegosne falkhaner mit All ir zugehörung, Aber die Zugseil sint in Khrabatischen Zug Alls zu Risen vnd Zu Prochern, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden fierzehen Saum falkhaner khugl, vngefairlich sechs hundert, Idest 600. Item ist verhanden Achtzehen Zentn Zeug Pulfer, daß der her Obrister Zeug Meister hat zu den Zway Falkhan verordnet, Idest 18 zu den Krabatischen Zug. (6r) Item ist verhanden Ain Eysne Falkhan Auff Reder, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Zway New Thopelte falkhanetl gegosne, gar Ibel geschiff vnd Noh kindisch beschlagen, vnd niht Wol ausbart, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden fier falkhanetl Auff Reder, gegosne seine schafft nihts wert, Idest 4. Item ist verhanden Drey gegosne khamer stickhl Auff Reder, Idest 3. Item ist verhanden fier Eysne scharffatindl Auf Reder die niht vil besonders sint, Idest 4. Item ist verhanden Zwo grose vnd Zway klain Meser, Idest 4. Item ist verhanden Zway vnd sehzig Toplhackhen guet vnd Peß, Idest 62. Item ist verhanden Zehen Teutsch handt Rör, Idest 10. Item ist verhanden Zeug Pulffer fierzehen Zenten, Da vier Etlich Iar Erlegt ist worden, Idest 14 c. (6v) Item ist verhanden Zwainzig Zenten Khern handt Rör Pulffer, daß ih hab mit mier von Warasin genumen vnd in Khrabaten gefiert, vnd darnach zu Agram gelasen, Neben Andern Manazion, Idest 20 c. Item ist verhanden Zwainzig Zenten Pley die ih von Warasin Auff Khrabatischen Zug gefiert hab, vnd darnach zu Agram gelasen, Idest 20 c. Item ist verhanden, fier hundert falkhanetl kgugl, Idest 400. Item ist verhanden fier Toplt falkhanetl kgugl -, Idest 0. Item ist verhanden Topl hackhen khugl fünffzehen hundert, Idest 1500. Item ist verhanden Lantskhneht schpies fierzig, Idest 40. Item ist verhanden fierzig Alt faiterisch Toplhackhen Rör, die nihts wert sint, Idest 40. Das obbemelt Manazion die Purger vermaint es kert Inen Zue. Alle. (7r)

**Sant Iergen Geschloß.** Erstlich ist verhanden Ain gegoßne falkhan Auff Reder ist gar khrump, ist vnmiglich das die Pixsnmaister khan gar khain Reht schuß daraus Thain, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Zway Thoplt gegosne falkhanetl, Auff Reder, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden Ain Eysen stuckh wie Ain Toplt fakanedl, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Ain Aysen scharffatindl Auff Reder, Idest 1. Item ist



verhanden Ain Eysen Poller Auff Reder Zum khrait schiesen, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Topl hacken guet vnd Pes dreisig, Idest 30. Item ist verhanden Teutsch handt Rör fierzehen, Idest 14. Item ist verhanden Zeug Pulffer Zehen Zenten, Idest 10 c. Item ist verhanden khern hanndt Rör Pulffer Sechs Zenten, Idest 6 c. Item ist verhanden siben Zenten Pley, Idest 7 c. (7v) Item ist verhanden gkugl zu den falkhana hundert vnd fünfzig, Idest 150. Item ist verhanden fuer die Zway Toplt fakhanetl khugl Zway hundert, Idest 200. Item ist verhanden fier die Zwen Eysen Stykl khugl Achtzig, Idest 80. Item ist verhanden Toplhaken khugl fuer hundert, Idest 400.

**Schhardt Eysser Petreffendt.** Erstlich Zu der draw Auf derna ist verhanden Topl hakhen sehzechen die maist die saint Zu bessern, Idest 16. Item ist verhanden Zway khlain khamer stykhl zum Creit schiesen, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden Zway Eysen Toplhackhen mit khrumpen schwanz, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden Ain Argll mit drein Rör saint niht fill besonders, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Zeug Puluer Ein Zenten, Idest 1 c. Item ist verhanden khern Puluer finfvndzwainzig pfundt, Idest 25 pf. (8r) Item ist verhanden Zum Toplhackhen khugl Zway hundert, Idest 200.

**Zu Lagkh An der Dra.** Erstlich ist verhanden Aindlaff Toplhacken, Idest 11. Item ist verhanden Ain khamer stykhl zum krait schisen, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Zeug Puluer Ain Zentn, Idest 1 c. Item ist verhanden Zum Toplhackhen khugl Zway hundert, Idest 200. Item fier die Zway schkhart Eysen man gibt allweg manazion, Von Kaprainiz wans fanaten ist hinaus 1.

**Thopelhoffets.** Erstlich ist verhanden sehzechen Toplhakhen, Idest 16. Item ist verhanden Zway khlain khamer stykl zum Crait schiessen, Idest 2. Item Zeug Puluer Ein Zenten, Idest 1 c. Item khern Puluer Ein halbe Thuna, Idest 1 Thuna. Item Pley finfvndzwainzig Pfundt, Idest 25 pf. (8v) Item Zum Toplhackhen khugl zway hundert, Idest 200.

**Sannt Petter.** Erstlich ist verhanden Zehen Toplhakhen, Idest 10. Item ist verhanden Zway khlain khamer styckhl zum Creit schiessen, Idest 2. Item Zeug Puluer ist verhanden Ain halben Zenten, Idest 0,5 c. Item ist verhanden khern Puluer Ain halben Zenten, Idest 0,5 c. Item ist verhanden Ain Zenten Pley, Idest 1 c.

**Zyrkhwena.** Erstlich ist verhanden Toplhackhen fierzehen, Idest 14. Item ist verhanden dray khamer stykl zum Creyt schiesen, Idest 3. Item Zeug Puluer ist verhanden Anderthalb Zenten, Idest 1,5 c. Item khern handt Rör Puluer ist verhanden Ain Zentn, Idest 1 c. Item ist verhanden Pley Ain Zentn, Idest 1 c. (9r) Item Zu Zyrkhwena ist fenoten (vonnöten, N.Š.) Zway Toplt fakhanetl, Idest 2.

**Graydetz.** Erstlich ist verhanden Zway fakhanetl Auff die Reder, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden Aindloff Toplhakhen, Idest 11. Item ist verhanden Zway khamer stykhl zum Creyt schiessen, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden Zeug Puluer Zway khleine Thuna, Idest 2 Thuna. Item ist verhanden khern Puluer Eine Zenten, Idest 1 c.

Item ist verhanden Pley Anderthalben Zentn, Idest 1,5 c. Item ist verhanden khugl zu den Zwen falkhanetl Zway hundert vnd funfzig, Idest 250. Item ist verhanden Toplhackhen khugl fierhundert, Idest 400. **Nota** Fur Die Obmelte schkhart Eyser gibt man Alwegen Manazion Von Creuz hinaus wans faneten ist. (9v)

**Iuannytscher Khasster.** Erstlich ist verhanden Zwelff Toplhakhen, Idest 12. Item ist verhanden Zway Eysen Stykhlin Auff Reder die niht fill bsunder zubrauchen sindt, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden Ein gklain gegosne schtiklin Auff Reder schafft vnd die Reder nihts vill besonders, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden Zeug Puluer Ein Thuna, Idest 1. Item ist verhanden khern Puluer 0. Item dreyzig Pfunt Pley, Idest 30.

**Heyllig Khreyz.** Erstlich ist verhanden Toplhackhen Achte, Idest 8. Item ist verhanden Ain klein stykhlin Auf Reder die niht vill besonders ist, Idest 1. Item Zway klein khamer stykhl ist verhanden zum Creyt schiesen, Idest 2. Item ist verhanden Ain Thuna Zeug Puluer, Idest 1 Th. Item ist verhanden Pley Zwainzig Pfunt, Idest 20 pf. **Natto** Von den schkhart Eyser gibt man Alwegen Manazion von Iuannytsch hinaus, wans Alwegen fanoten ist.

**Dominico Condata, Zuigbordtt mano pp** (10r)

Alles geschuz vnnd Munition, was Allenthalben, Auf der gannz Windischen gräniz vorhanden ist, so mir der Zeugwarth zu Waraßin Dominico Conduto, zu den 14 December zuegeschickht (10v)

*APPENDIX 6: ITEMS REQUIRED FOR TRANSPORT OF 2 SINGERIN FROM VARAŽDIN TO THE CROATIAN MILITARY EXPEDITION (VIENNA, KRIEGSARCHIV, ALTE FELDAKTEN, 1578-13-8)<sup>102</sup>*

**Verzeichnus, der Zwayer Singerin** Sambt Irer Munitiōn, So von Warasdin auf die Crabattische Expedition fueret. Erstlich die zway Stukh, auf Iren Plochwägen, vnndt Nach dem die Roß Schwach vnndt Khlain sind, mueß für Yede gespannt werden 30 Roß, thuet Roß 60. Zu fuerung der zwayer gefäß für Yedes 10 Roß, thuet Roß 20. Zu fuerung der 600 khugln Yede 46 khugl auf ain wagen für Yedes Sechs Roß, thuet dreyzehen wagen vnndt Roß 78, Wagen 13. Zue fuerung der funffzig Centen Zeugpuluers fünff wägen, thuet Roß 30, Wagen 5. Zu Fuerung zwainzig Cennten gekhürnts Puluer zwen wagen, thuet Roß 12, Wagen 2. (5r) Zu fuerung zwainzig Cennten Plei zwen wägen, thuet Roß 12, Wagen 2. Zu fuerung der Moßbruggen zwen wagen, thuet Roß 12, Wagen 2. Zu fuerung deß Schanz zeug, zwen wägen, thuet Roß 12, Wagen 2. Zu fuerung der wagner, Zimmerleüth vnndt dergleichen werchzeug ain wagen, thuet Roß 6, Wagen 1. Zu Fuerung übriger Räder vnndt Äx, vnndt dergleichen holzwerch zwen wägen, thuet Roß 12, Wagen 2. Zu fuerung dikher Pretter oder laden zum Bruggnen zwen wägen, thuet Roß 12, Wagen 2. Zu fuerung des hebzugs ain wagen, thuet Roß 6, Wagen 1. Zu fuerung der Zelten ain wagen, thuet Roß 6, Wagen 1.

Summa der Roß 276, vnndt was an den Rossen abgeet Solle mit Oxen erstattet warden.

Summa 33 Wägen. (5v)

Nach dem aber der herr Baan den Warasdinern nit mer alß dreissig Wägen auferlegt, Solle der zeugwart bedacht sein ettliche Sachen einzuspikhen, vnndt auf ain Wagen den andern zu hilff, biß in die Aindleff Cennten laden. Dan Seind auh 6 Scheff vnd vier wägen zue disen geschuz zue Warasdin gewesen, die ziehen auch mit etc. (6r)

<sup>102</sup> See also: Register of all arms and ammunition used in the so called Croatian Expedition against the Ottomans, made on October 25, 1578, KA, AFA, 1578-10-6, 1r-16r; Register of Styrian, Carniolan and Carinthian cavalry for the Croatian military expedition against the Ottomans, KA, AFA, 1578-13-7.

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