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DOCTORAL THESIS

ZAGREB, 2022

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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ZAGREB, 2022

Sveučilište u Zagrebu

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET

Okan Büyüktapu

OSMANSKE VOJNE POSADE U ZAPADNOJ SLAVONIJI (1550. - 1680.)

DOKTORSKI RAD

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ZAGREB, 2022

INFORMATION ABOUT THE MENTOR

Anđelko Vlašić (Slavonski Brod, 1982) graduated History at the Faculty of Croatian Studies and Turkology and French language and literature at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb. He won awards for excellence in undergraduate and graduate studies in Turkology. He received his doctorate in 2010 at the Postgraduate Doctoral Studies in History at the Faculty of Croatian Studies of the University of Zagreb. He was a postdoctoral visiting researcher at Koç University in Istanbul (2014–2015). He worked as a postdoctoral researcher at the Croatian Institute of History – Branch for the History of Slavonia, Syrmia, and Baranya in Slavonski Brod (2016–2018). He is the co-author of the book *Traces of Ottoman Culture in Croatia* (2015) and co-author of the editorial book *The Istanbul Letters of Antun Vrančić*. He regularly participates in local and international scientific conferences. He collaborated on two scientific projects financed by the Croatian Science Foundation. He held a series of scientific and popular lectures on the history and culture of Turkey. He is a member of the Croatian National Committee for Historical Sciences, the Society for Croatian History, the Society for Croatian Economic History and Ecohistory, etc. He has researched in archives in Zagreb, Belgrade, Istanbul, and Ankara. He speaks English and Turkish and uses French and German in his research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I posted a comment one day and my whole life was changed.[1] This dissertation is the result of a naive comment posted on a website in 2008. I am aware of how absurd this sentence sounds, but please allow me to explain it. When I was still a third-grade history student who had no idea what he would do after graduation, I came across an article by my professor, Idris Bostan, on the internet titled "Why We Need an Arsenal Museum". At the end of this article, which discusses the historical significance of the Arsenal in Golden Horn in Istanbul and the necessity to turn it into a museum, I noticed that there were only two comments. I am not sure why but I thought that maybe I should post a comment as well. This comment is still in my memory: I am one of Professor Bostan's students. He is one of those rare people who can express things laconically. His article above also supports this fact. Thank you, Professor, and I hope to meet you at the Arsenal Museum.

At the end of an exam week, at a time when I had already forgotten this comment, I received the word that Prof. Bostan was waiting for me in his office. Since I was never a hard-working student throughout my life, I was quite sure that this could not be related to my exam papers. After briefly assessing my interest in history, which I cannot say I was very interested in at the time, he first asked me if I had ever posted a comment on the internet, and then if I would like to pursue an academic career. This unexpected question both surprised and excited me. As might be expected, I instantly said I do, and in response he just told me to "learn English!" and politely sent me away without any further comment or advice. Even though I had no idea what lay ahead of me on this path, from that day on, my top priority was to learn English. After 14 years, I can now look back and see that all I needed was a little push, and I was fortunate that Professor Bostan gave me that motivation through some series of coincidences or luck. Therefore, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to him, recognizing that he is one of the main reasons why this dissertation exists today.

This study is the product of a long journey that started in 2015 during my language course at Croaticum in Zagreb. I would like to thank Antonia Ordulj, my first Croatian professor, for her patience and assistance in teaching this distinctive language. My first academic year at the University of Zagreb was truly formative in my understanding of the region and its history as a

[1] "I read a book one day and my whole life was changed." Orhan Pamuk, *The New Life*, Vintage; reprint edition, March 31, 1998.

foreign PhD student. I would like to express my gratitude to the professors of the history department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences for the new perspectives and insights they provided me during two semesters. Hrovje Gračanin, academic head of the Ph.D. program, was always there for me from the first day I received acceptance from program, providing me with all kinds of support and assistance. I am very grateful to him.

My first advisor was Nenad Moačanin and it has been a true privilege to be his student. I would like to thank him for his guidance and help before and after his retirement. He has been an inspirational role model to me as a scholar of Ottoman studies, especially in the areas of today's Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina. My second advisor, Anđelko Vlašić, was the person who provided me with the most assistance and support while completing this dissertation. Thanks to not only his academic but also friendly and unfailing support, I was able to finish this dissertation. I thank him wholeheartedly.

Fazileta Hafizović, one of the most prominent representatives of Ottoman socio-economic and cultural researchers today, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, was very helpful throughout the writing process. She graciously answered my questions, and helped me with the correction of the former Ottoman fortifications' names and locations.

I greatly benefited from the knowledge and support of Dino Mujadžević. He helped me avoid making many mistakes with his advices during the final readings of the thesis. Vjeran Kursar and Kornelija Jurin Starčević, professors from the History Department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb, have consistently demonstrated their support via their generosity and kind nature. I owe them a debt of gratitude. The Chair of Turkology of the University of Zagreb has always been like a second home to me because of two warm-hearted and courteous Turkologists, Marta Andrić and Azra Abadžić Navaey. It has always been a pleasure for me to visit Tatjana Paić Vukić in the Oriental Collection of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, who also teaches in the mentioned Chair of Turkology. They made me feel comfortable among friends in a friendly country.

I consider myself fortunate to have been a student of two distinguished professors, Feridun Emecen and Zekai Mete, to whom I am greatly indebted. My warmest thanks go to my *ağabey*s from Istanbul University, Miraç Tosun, Özgür Oral and Özgür Kolçak. For our generation, they have always been the role models we wanted to emulate. I learned a lot from my professors Ahmet

Arslantürk, Selim Karahasanoğlu, and Mert Sunar, during my time at Istanbul Medeniyet University. I would like to express my gratitude to them and to the History Department of Medeniyet University.

I am very grateful to my friends Seyfullah Aslan, Kadir Purde, Sami Arslan, Ali Aslan, Sinan Ceco, Fazıl Ahmet Gültekin, Behçet Loklar, and especially Göksel Baş, for their unwavering support and inspiring conversations, which helped me in developing, formulating, and clarifying my ideas and arguments.

Above all, my heartfelt gratitude must go to my friends Robert and Andreja Milović Bannan, Ahmad Allouch, Davud Beg Mešinović, Ajla and Aziz Muhić, Krenar and Amr ef. Kadriju, Ernad Hodžić Splićo, Hadžija Ekrem Pašanbegović and Sinan Adakaya. Their friendship will be one of the most priceless things I will take back with me from Zagreb. In a foreign country where you do not speak the language, it is a great blessing to know that your friends are just a message away whenever you need them. Thanks to dear Emina Hodžić, I understood this better. I cannot even imagine what difficulties I would have faced without her help. I cannot thank her enough. I also owe my Croatian friends Janja Kovač, Helena Vodopija, Adrian Markotić, and Marko Šapina additional gratitude for their friendship in this beautiful country.

I want to express my sincere thanks to Mufti Dr. Aziz ef. Hasanović, Mevludi ef. Arslani, and Irnis Ibrulj, who opened the doors of the dormitory of the Islamic Community in Croatia to me and allowed me to stay in the comfort of home during my stay in Croatia. Furthermore, this thesis would not be possible without the financial support in the form of scholarship and research grants provided to me by the Ministry of National Education – Directorate General for Higher and Foreign Education.

Last but not least, I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to my dear wife, Emine, for all the love, support, and understanding. She has sacrificed too much time, months and years to support me. On top of all this, she gave me the most precious blessing in the world, our daughter Sare. I sincerely thank her for all the beauty she has brought me.

ABSTRACT AND KEY WORDS

This study tries to examine the Ottoman borders in Western Slavonia in both a comprehensive and comparative way by including military, socio-economic, and financial aspects of the frontier organization. Furthermore, the aim of this study is to reveal the location of the network of Ottoman fortresses and their role in defense organization in the Sancak of Zaçasna.

The Ottoman defensive strategy in Western Slavonia was based on a chain of fortresses running along two long parallel lines. These lines were initially built on fortresses conquered in the region between 1536 and 1552. This strategy, on the other hand, was later reformed through the construction of new fortifications or the demolition of existing ones. The first defense line stretched from the northeast to the southwest, passing through the forts of Zdenci, Krešteloveac, Međurić, Granica, and ending in Kraljeva Velika fortress. The second line, like the first, ran from northeast to southwest, passing through the forts of Stupčanica, Dobra Kuća, Podborje, Sirač, Pakrac, and Bijela Stijena. The sancak's center, Cernik, was well behind these two lines in a secure location.

Garrison troops that were stationed in the Sancak of Zaçasna were divided into *mustahfiz*es (members of the infantry unit in a garrison), *azeb*s (infantry garrison soldiers), *faris*es (cavalry), *topçu*s (artillerymen), and *martolos*es (special infantry units composed mainly of Christians). Apart from *martolos*es, members of the aforementioned military ranks were exclusively Muslim. The number of soldiers serving in the garrisons in the sancak of Zaçasna remained relatively constant, ranging between 1.200 and 1.500 on average. The fortress construction practices, supplying food and ammunition to the garrisons, and the Ottoman financing procedures are discussed in the last chapter of the dissertation.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire/ Habsburg Empire/ Slavonia/ Garrison/ Frontier Organization, Network of Fortresses, / 16th and 17th Century/ Military, Demographic and Economic History

SAŽETAK I KLJUČNE RIJEČI

Ova disertacija pokušava na sveobuhvatan i komparativni način istražiti osmanske granice u zapadnoj Slavoniji, uključujući vojne, socio-ekonomske i financijske aspekte pogranične organizacije. Nadalje, cilj ove disertacije je otkriti položaj mreže osmanskih tvrđava i njihovu ulogu u obrambenoj organizaciji sandžaka Začasna.

Pojam Slavonije, koji se koristi u ovom djelu, ne odnosi se na srednjovjekovno nego na moderno poimanje granica Slavonije. Naime, za područje koje se danas zove Slavonija općenito se može reći da se prostire na području između rijeka Ilove, Drave, Save i Dunava, koje na području donje Drave i Save ne obuhvaća područje Srijema.

Tijekom 15. stoljeća Osmanlije su osvojile istočni dio Balkanskog poluotoka. Nakon osvajanja većeg dijela Bosne i pada Beograda 1521. godine, osmanska ekspanzija bila je orijentirana prema sjeverozapadu i zapadu, odnosno srednjoj Europi kroz Ugarsku. Tako je u trećem desetljeću 16. stoljeća osmanska sjeverna granica stigla do obala rijeke Save i Dunava, a Osmanlije su se počele pripremati za proširenje svojih osvajanja na slavonsko područje koje je bilo u sastavu Ugarske države. Veći dio slavonskog područja osvojile su domaće osmanske snage iz bosanskog sandžaka i, u manjoj mjeri, domaće osmanske snage iz smederevskog sandžaka. Osmanlije su između 1536. i 1552. godine osvojile veći dio Slavonije pod vodstvom sandžakbegova iz Bosne, Smedereva i Hercegovine.

Sandžak Začasna osnovan je 11. travnja 1556. u jugozapadnoj Slavoniji i Posavini. Prvo središte sandžaka bio je grad Čazma, ali kako je hrvatski i habsburški otpor to područje učinio nestabilnim, središte je prebačeno u grad Pakrac, koji je bio bolje zaštićen od habsburškog protunapada. Kasnije je središte sandžaka ponovno premješteno, zapadnije, u grad Cernik. Od 1550-ih do kraja osmanske vladavine, sandžak Začasna predstavljao je "krajnju granicu", tj. *intiha-i serhad*. Sandžak Začasna bio je administrativno podređen Bosanskom ejaletu, koji se prostirao na području današnje Bosne, Dalmacije i Crne Gore.

Osmanska obrambena strategija u zapadnoj Slavoniji temeljila se na lancu tvrđava koji se proteže duž dvije dugačke paralelne crte. Te su linije u početku izgrađene na tvrđavama osvojenim u regiji između 1536. i 1552. godine. Ta je strategija, s druge strane, kasnije reformirana gradnjom novih ili rušenjem postojećih utvrda. Prva obrambena linija protezala se od sjeveroistoka prema

jugozapadu, prolazila je kroz utvrde Zdenci, Kreštelovac, Međurić, Granica i završavala u tvrđavi Kraljeva Velika. Druga linija je, kao i prva, išla od sjeveroistoka prema jugozapadu, prolazeći kroz utvrde Stupčanicu, Dobru Kuću, Podborje, Sirač, Pakrac i Bijelu Stijenu. Središte sandžaka, Cernik, bilo je dosta iza ove dvije linije na sigurnom mjestu.

Garnizonske trupe koje su bile stacionirane u sandžaku Začasna bile su podijeljene na mustahfize (pripadnici pješačke postrojbe u garnizonu), azebe (vojnici pješačkog garnizona), farise (konjanici), topçu (topnici) i martoloze (specijalne pješačke jedinice sastavljene uglavnom kršćana). Osim martoloza, pripadnici navedenih vojnih redova bili su isključivo muslimani. Broj vojnika koji su služili u garnizonima u sandžaku Začasna ostao je relativno konstantan, u prosjeku između 1.200 i 1.500. Praksa izgradnje tvrđava, opskrba garnizonima hranom i streljivom te postupci osmanskog financiranja obrađeni su u posljednjem poglavlju disertacije.

Ključne riječi: Osmansko Carstvo/ Habsburško Carstvo/ Slavonija/ Garnizon/ Pogranična organizacija, Mreža tvrđava, / 16. i 17. stoljeće/ Vojna, demografska i ekonomska povijest

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Ottoman Frontier in Western Slavonia

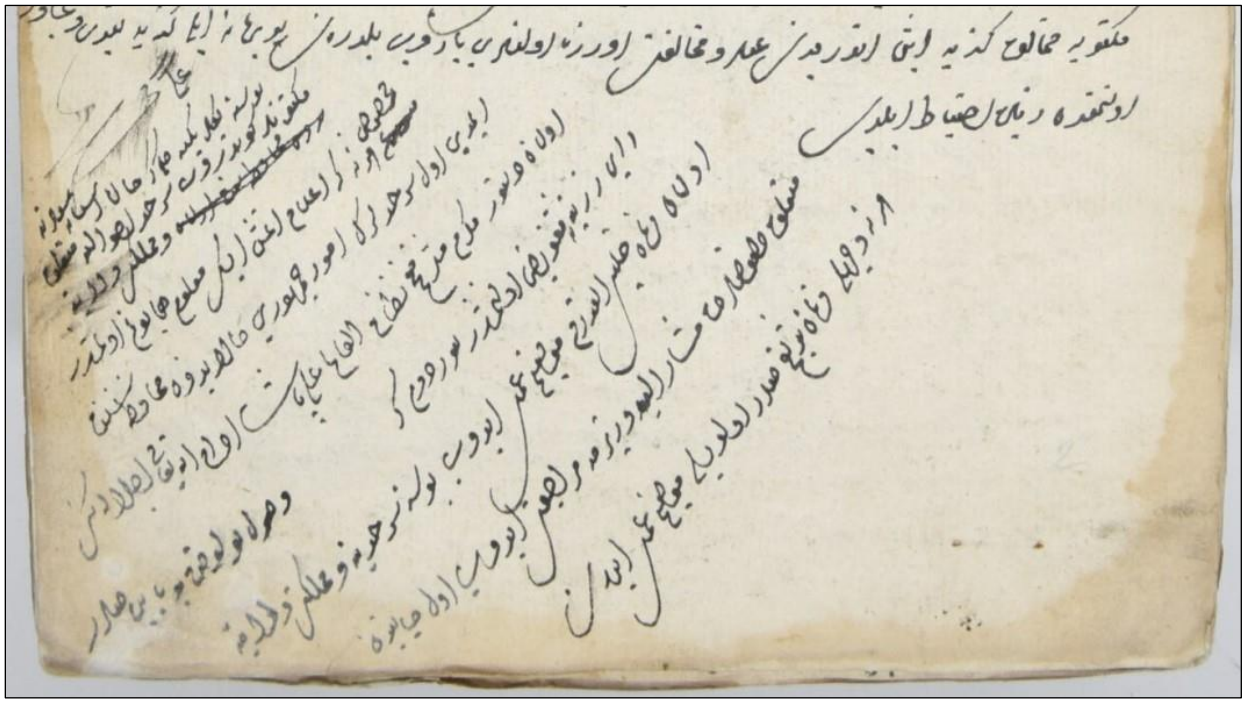
Following the Hungarians' decisive defeat in the Battle of Mohács in 1526, the Ottoman Empire intensified its westward expansion without facing any considerable resistance until the end of the 16th century. Contrary to Hungary, which was mostly conquered as a consequence of the Ottoman imperial campaigns, the conquest of historical Croatian lands was largely planned and executed by local forces from the Sancak of Bosnia and, to a lesser extent, from the Sancak of Smederevo. The Ottomans conquered the eastern interfluve of the Drava and Sava rivers – which nowadays bears the name of Slavonia, and then was part of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom – during the 1540s and 1550s and kept this area up until the 1680s.

In the area of today's western and central Slavonia, the Ottomans established two sancaks: the Sancak of Čazma (Zaçasna), i.e., Pakrac, i.e., Cernik and the Sancak of Požega (Pojega). While the Sancak of Požega was linked to the Eyalet of Rumelia until the conquest of Buda (Budin, Budun) in 1541 and the establishment of the Eyalet of Budin, the Sancak of Zaçasna continued to be part of the Eyalet of Rumelia until the foundation of the Eyalet of Bosnia in 1580.

The Sancak of Zaçasna, both administratively and militarily, was subordinate to the Eyalet of Rumelia until the Eyalet of Bosnia was established in 1580. However, until 1580, Sancak's territory was mostly under the control of the eyalet of Budin.[2] It is essential to remark that the Eyalet of Budin was given responsibility for the Ottoman Empire's entire western frontiers until its collapse after the Battle of Vienna in 1683. As Šabanović pointed out, the Eyalet of Budin had a higher authority over the other eyalets in the European lands of the Ottoman Empire.[3] According to a royal decree dated 1608: "...Ali Pasha, who defends Budin, is tasked with deciding for and administering all border affairs... Therefore, (the governor of Bosnia should) comply with the above-mentioned person on matters related to Bosnia's borders and land, and act in accordance

[2] *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584*, transleted. and edited. from the Ottoman Turkish by Fazileta Hafizović, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2021, 11.
[3] Hazim Šabanović, "Bosanski Divan", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, 18 (18-19), 1973, 16–17. I would like to thank Dr. Dino Mujadžević for bringing my attention to this article.

with the decision made by him."[4] As a consequence of this, the impact of the Eyalet of Budin on the Eyalet of Bosnia will frequently be reflected in documents, and some archival records pertaining to Bosnia's defense affairs will occasionally appear in the records that were kept by the treasury of Budin.[5]



Picture 1: The copy of the decree, dated 1608, stating Budin's higher authority over the Eyalet of Bosnia

Due to its border location and geostrategic importance, the Ottoman Slavonia, i.e., nowadays area of Slavonia, was organized as a frontier (*serhad*) consisting of two administrative units: the Sancak of Zaçasna and the western part of the Sancak of Požega. Thus, these sancaks represented an important portion of the Ottoman military frontier that stretched from northern Hungary to the Adriatic Sea from the 1550s to the 1680s. In Ottoman sources, this part of the Empire is often mentioned as the farthermost borderland, i.e., *intiha-i serhad*. With time, the Ottoman Empire had built a strong defensive chain along its Slavonian frontier, consisting of numerous forts in which various units served in the garrisons. The strategic importance of the fortified places influenced the size and composition of the garrisons, their weapons and equipment, as well as the daily life

[4] *Kamil Kepeci* 71, 3 (henceforth KK.d.), "... ol serhaddlerin umûr-ı cumhûrı hâlâ Budun muhâfazasında olan ...Ali Paşa edâma'llahü te'âlâ iclâlehûnun rey-i ruyetine tefvîz olunmuşdur... bu bâbda Bosna serhaddine ve memleket-i vilâyete müteallik husûslarda müşaru'n-ileyh vezîrime mürâcaat edüp ol cânibden her ne vechle fermân-ı şerîfim sâdır olursa mûcebince amel edesin."

[5] *Maliyeden Müdevver* 4133 (henceforth MAD.d.).

of the soldiers. Furthermore, the military organization of the border and the proximity of the enemy had a significant impact on the lives of local civilians who were not directly affiliated with the Ottoman military affairs. It can be said that in the Ottoman lands, the military (*askerî*) and the subjects (*reaya*) were not two separate spheres since almost the entire population, regardless of their religion and social status, was involved in various ways in the military system and participated in the defense and control of borders.[6] It should also be emphasized that, as Nenad Moačanin puts it, "the idea of a 'free peasant soldier' could not develop as it later did on the Habsburg side. They were always merely auxiliaries". The Habsburg frontier was heavily militarized, almost wholly freed from civilian settlements while on the Ottoman side the situation was more complex: Ottoman garrison soldiers lived side by side with *sipahi*s and all sorts of civilians, in towns even with craftsmen and merchants. This practice demonstrates that in a given territory, civilians would provide the Ottomans with a more stable situation and ensure the tax revenues necessary for the upkeep of fortresses.[7]

The Ottoman military border has been a subject of historical studies for more than a half-century, and the first studies in this field were done by distinguished historians. Even though they were aware of the importance of this field of study, there has not been a comprehensive work on the Ottoman military border in Slavonia to this date. Therefore, our information on Ottoman defense policies, fortified places, garrison composition of the Slavonian border was scarce. In my dissertation, I tried to understand and make new contributions to Croatian historiography through a study of the military aspects of the Ottoman military organization in Western Slavonia.

1.2. Subject, Concepts, Methodology

The objective of the thesis is to define, describe, and analyze the forms and characteristics of the Ottoman military presence and defensive capabilities of the Ottoman garrisons in Western Slavonia from the mid-16th to the end of the 17th century, as well as to analyze their role in the Ottoman defense system on the western border of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the study also aims to compare the Ottoman and Habsburg military systems in Slavonia and to draw

[6] Kornelija Jurin Starčević, "*Osmanski krajiški prostor: rat i društvo u jadransko-dinarskom zaleđu u 16. i 17. stoljeću", doctoral thesis*", Zagreb University, 2012, 2.
[7] Nenad Močanin, "The Ottoman Conquest and Establishment in Croatia and Slavonia", *The Battle for Central Europe. The Siege of Szigetvár and the Death of Süleyman the Magnificent and Nicholas Zrínyi (1566)*, ed. Pál Fodor, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2019, 246.

conclusions concerning the similarities and dissimilarities between the two empires' defense systems.

Slavonia came under Ottoman rule gradually in the period from the 1530s to 1550, as the Ottomans conquered certain territories that had previously been under the rule of the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom. Although there were some territorial expansions and losses, the Ottoman borders in Slavonia took their final shape after the loss of Moslavina during the Long Turkish War (1593 – 1606). For almost 150 years, Slavonia was part of the Ottoman political, military, economic, and social system and experienced Islamic-Ottoman culture and civilization.

During Ottoman rule, Slavonia was divided into several administrative units. The easternmost section was part of the Sancak of Srijem (Sirem Sancağı). The central and largest part consisted of the Sancak of Požega (Pojega Sancağı), and the southwestern part was the Sancak of Zaçasna, which was also known as the Sancak of Pakrac or Cernik (Zaçesne, Pakraç, Pakriç, Bakriç, Çernik Sancağı). The Sancak of Zaçasna occupied approximately one-third of the Slavonian area, here including Poilovlje and novogradiška Posavina, while in the north it did not extend all the way to the bank of the Drava: Virovitica and its surroundings were the westernmost part of the Sancak of Požega.

The Sancak of Zaçasna was founded on April 11, 1556 in the earlier described area of southwestern Slavonia.[8] The first center of the sancak was the town of Čazma, but since the Croatian and Habsburg resistance made the area unstable, the center was transferred to the town of Pakrac, which was better protected from Habsburg counterattacks. Later, the center of the Sancak was moved again, further west, to the town of Cernik.

The Ottoman military history, and in particular frontier studies, have begun to attract the attention of Turkish and international scholars in the last decade. Although the Habsburg Military Border has been extensively researched in the past, the research on the Ottoman side of the common border has only begun to develop in recent years. It is possible to claim that this particular study is the first of its kind in terms of its scope and the time span on which it is based. Previous studies covered

[8] *Mühimme Defteri*, nr. 2, 240/2135, (henceforth A.DVNS.MHM.d.); Fatih Karabulut, "*1556-1557 (H. 963-964) Tarihli Divân-ı Hümâyûn Ruûs Defteri (126-243) Transkripsiyon-Değerlendirme-Dizin*", master's thesis, Fırat University, 2015, 275.

a very short period (limited with the data in a given roll call book). Moreover, because these were research articles and they did not offer many important details on the nature of the Ottoman border.

In this study, I tried to give a detailed picture of one element of a border sancak – its garrisons – without exceeding the limits required for a dissertation. As might be expected, it would be both insufficient and difficult to describe the characteristics of the Ottoman garrisons without the historical process and socio-economic conditions that created them. Therefore, in the chapter two I decided to focus on the social and economic aspects of the Sancak of Zaçasna. During the writing process, the pioneering works of Nenad Močanin and Fazileta Hafizović paved the way for me towards a better understanding of the region with which I was previously unfamiliar.

Since Zaçasna was a border sancak, it would be difficult to understand Zaçasna's situation without discussing how the Habsburg-Ottoman border was formed in Slavonia. For this reason, in the chapter three, I tried to use a comparative approach focusing on the emergence of the Habsburg-Ottoman border. In addition to the works of the aforementioned Bosnian historians, the writings of Croatian historians Milan Kruhek and Nataša Štefanec helped me understand this subject more thoroughly.

In the chapter four, which forms the backbone of the thesis, I presented the composition, function, and size of the Ottoman garrisons, as well as the historical background of the forts in this region. I gave detailed information on the duties of the Ottoman soldiers and military technicians serving in the garrisons, and the distribution of the soldiers by the units that made up the manpower of garrisons. Only a small number of the archival sources I used had been studied in previous works; I relied mostly on the new sources that I discovered in the Ottoman archives during my research.

In the chapter five, I described the construction activities, logistics, financial resources, and defense costs of the Ottoman garrisons in Western Slavonia. Since the topics in this chapter have never been studied before and the chapter's results might be very useful for future studies, I hope it is fair to say that this chapter will make the considerable contribution to the state of our knowledge on the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier.

Our modern concepts of frontiers and borders are based on relatively new ideas, such as detailed maps and governments on both sides that acknowledge the geographic restrictions of their sovereignty. Although there are many definitions based on time and space, the term "frontier" in

English and its cognates in European languages mean a political barrier between states or nations, which is frequently regarded as a militarized zone. If we take a broad view of this concept within the field of "frontier studies", frontiers are the zones that evolve organically between states or societies, and they often share many characteristics, such as clashes of identity, militarized institutions, or weak political control.[9]

The term *serhad*, which is used as the equivalent of the term frontier in the Turkish language, is the combination of the Persian words *ser* (head) and Arabic word *hadd* (end, edge, border).[10] It should be noted that the concept of *uç* / *uc* (Ottoman word meaning the limit or the furthest extent of a given notion) was the preferred notion for the frontier during the Sultanate of Rum (Anadolu Selçukluları). However, *serhad* began to be used dominantly after the Ottomans began to spread their rule, especially in the Balkans. In the Ottoman perception, where a specific *serhad* began and ended is still an enigma in Ottoman studies. The Ottomans did not see any problem with naming a region in Central Anatolia as a *serhad*, as well as an area around a fortress far from the center, or an area surrounding a town within the borders of the Caucasus.[11]

The most convincing explanation of the area of *serhad* on the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier has been provided by Nenad Moačanin. According to him, the western part of Ottoman Slavonia had a wide variety of characteristics, and therefore, certain borders of this area are difficult to define. The Ottoman term *serhad* is of little use in this context; even the formula *intiha-i serhad* ("the farthest borderland") is insufficient: "The only practical device to delimit the borderland is to consider the territory with garrisons predominantly paid in cash. This zone usually does not exceed a line of some 100 kilometers away from the frontier, inhabited mainly by Vlachs and the Muslim *Soldatenbauer* population."[12] According to my findings from the archive records covering not only

[9] Daniel Power, "Frontiers: Terms, Concepts, and the Historians of Medieval and Early Modern Europe", *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700*, ed. Daniel Power and Naomi Standen New York, St. Martin's Press, 1999, 2.

[10] İlhan Ayverdi, *Kubbealtı Lugati: Asırlar Boyu Tarihi Seyri İçinde Misalli Büyük Türkçe Sözlük*, compiled. Ahmet Topaloğlu, prepared.by Kerim Can Bayar, İstanbul, Kubbealtı Neşriyat, 2005, 2779; Ali Bardakoğlu, "Had", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.14, İstanbul, 1996, 547 (henceforth *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi)*.

[11] Erdem Saka, "Kanunî Devri'nde Bir Serhad Şehri Olarak Bayburt", *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi=Academic Journal of History and Idea*, Vol. VI, nbr. 3, 2019, 1599-1619.

[12] Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*, Leiden-Boston, Brill 2006, 147. Moačanin identifies the troops stationed in the frontier garrison as soldatenbauer as they were involved in various economic activities like agriculture, trading, husbandry, etc.

Slavonia but the entire Eyalet of Bosnia, the areas where the paid garrisons were stationed were considered *serhad* by the Ottoman state, just as Moačanin had stated.[13]

Although the topic of the thesis is limited to a period of 130 years (1550 – 1680), in reality the scope of my thesis covers a period of approximately 200 years, in order to better explain the historical process of the emergence of the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier. In this dissertation, the garrisons and fortified places within the Sancak of Zaçasna are studied in the context of the political and economic conditions that formed them.

The scholarly contribution of the dissertation should be to provide a multi-faceted approach, based on frontier studies concepts, to the military history of Ottoman Slavonia, which has not yet undergone sufficient academic research. Therefore, the dissertation introduces an extensive use of archival sources, which should allow future researchers to have a much-needed insight into the studied Ottoman material on the military matters of Ottoman Slavonia. Furthermore, it should allow for further research on the topic of Habsburg-Ottoman military rivalry, as well as comparisons with the similar military situations on the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier in Hungary, and possibly other frontier regions of the Ottoman Empire, especially the ones in Europe.

1.3. Sources

The examination of the available literature on this topic has shown that the Ottoman sources have not been used sufficiently in the past research. Therefore, this dissertation will contribute to the study of Ottoman military defense system in the border areas of the Ottoman Empire through the extensive use of Ottoman archival materials. The data collected from the Ottoman archives in Istanbul contain information about the Ottoman fortresses and their garrisons in the 16th and 17th centuries. Roll call registers, detailed pay lists, Imperial Councils' orders and cadastral surveys, which include the data on Ottoman soldiers' daily wages, numbers, duties, fortress construction (and destruction) projects, transportation of ammunition, types and locations of fortresses, etc. All of these will be used to define, describe and analyze the Ottoman military capacity in the mentioned territory.

[13] For a similar study covering earlier periods, see: Göksel Baş, "*Ottoman Serhad Organization in the Balkans (1450-1500)*", master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2017.

It should be noted that there are no specific funds for the Sancak of Zaçasna in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul, or anywhere else. The Directorate of State Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı*) is by far the most important archival institution for the study of Ottoman Slavonia and one of the most important archives for a research of Ottoman early modern history in general. The records of garrisons and fortified places are numerous and are scattered among funds such as the Tapu Tahrir, Maliyeden Müdevver, Büyük Kale Kalemi, and Kamil Kepeci. Apart from these, various funds, which will be mentioned below, were also used in the writing process of this dissertation. *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri* (TT.d.) is the fund that contains materials commonly referred to as Ottoman tax and cadastral surveys, which provide information on the tax revenues of the Ottoman state from the beneficiaries of the Ottoman lands. This fund contains some of the most important Ottoman archival material for the history of Slavonia. The fund *Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler*, or MAD ("books handed over from the financial service"), contains various financial documents produced between 1480 and 1923. Because the roll call books (*mevacib defterleri*) were related primarily to payment transactions, which are considered to be part of the field of finance, I was able to find the majority of the first-hand sources on this particular fund. The office of *Büyük Kale Kalemi Defteri* (D.BKL.d.) was usually responsible for the provision, supplies, ammunition, repairment, and salaries of large fortresses outside Peloponnese and Albania. The materials in this fund, which are highly rich in terms of garrison and fortification records, were organized more in the form of summaries, unlike the records in the MAD fund. The *Mühimme Defters* (Registers of Important Affairs) consists of the short versions of the decrees that were issued with the Sultan's permission. These series are for the most part kept in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul. Two hundred and sixty-three registers contain copies of the Sultans' decrees about almost every state issue. The *Kamil Kepeci* (KK.d.) fund, which was created by a committee under the chairmanship of Kamil Kepeci,[14] mostly consists of registers belonging to finance matters. This fund contains 7604 registers from various offices of central Ottoman governing bodies (primarily the Divan). *Ruznamçe Defterleri* (DFE.RZ.d.) fund contains lists of changes in titleholders (*timar*s and *zeamet*s), including the data for Slavonia. *Ali Emiri Tasnifi* (AE.) fund was named "Ali Emiri Classification" because it was carried out by a committee led by Ali Emiri Efendi between 1918

[14] Kamil Kepeci was a military officer, historian, and archivist. Through his contributions to classifying Ottoman archives, which spanned over a period of five years, he gained a respected position in the Turkish archival community.

and 1921. It includes documents from the foundation years of the Ottoman Empire to the time of Sultan Abdülmecid, and the documents were classified on the basis of the sultans' reigns. Under the chairmanship of Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal, a committee called *Ibnül-Emin Tasnifi* (İE.) classified documents according to their subjects. The Ibnülemin fund has been collected under 23 main sections, and each topic follows a rough chronological order within its section. This fund contains a variety of material from the Ottoman central military and civilian organizations, including some documents on Ottoman Slavonia. *Muallim Cevdet* (C.) is the fund where the documents were classified according to their subjects, but they were not included in the catalogs chronologically.

Ottoman historiographers of the classical age does not give detailed information regarding the area between Drava and Sava, as well as the coast of the Adriatic in the first half of the 16th century. Events in this area are registered relatively rarely and without any depth by the Ottoman chroniclers. [15] Nevertheless, the Ottoman chronicles (*tevârih*s) enrich our knowledge concerning the conquests, wars, and other events during the Ottoman expansion towards the West. Among them, especially Celalzâde Mustafa Çelebi's chronicle *Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik ve Derecâtü'l-Mesâlik*[16] and Celalzâde Salih Çelebi's *Târîh-i Sefer-i Zafer-Rehber-i Alaman*[17] give detailed and first-hand information on the German Campaign (Ottoman Turkish: Alaman Seferi) in 1532, which was the first steps of the conquest of Central and Western Slavonia. Furthermore, Matrakçı Nasuh's *Süleyman-nâme*[18] is one of the most important chronicles of its period and allows us to obtain details of the conquests during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. The renowned Evliya Çelebi (1611 – 1685?), Ottoman traveller and travel writer, provided the most detailed information we have today on the Sancak of Zaçasna. Visiting the forts of Cernik, Velika Kraljeva, Bijela Stijena, Pakrac, Stupčanica, and Dobra Kuća, the traveler gives very valuable first-hand

[15] Dino Mujadžević, "The Other Ottoman Serhat in Europe: Ottoman Territorial Expansion in Bosnia and Croatia in First Half of 16th Century", *Ankara Üniversitesi Güneydoğu Avrupa Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi (GAMER)*, I, 2012, 105-106.
[16] Funda Demirtaş, "*Celâl-zâde Mustafa Çelebi, Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik ve Derecâtü'l-Mesâlik*", doctoral thesis, Kayseri University, 2009.
[17] Celalzâde Salih Çelebi, *Târîh-i Sefer-i Zafer-Rehber-i Alaman*, prep. by Fatma Kaytaz, İstanbul, Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2016.
[18] Davut Erkan, "*Matrakçı Nasuh'un Süleyman-namesi (1520-1537)*", master's thesis, Marmara University, 2005.

information about the situation in the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier during the second decade of the 17th century.[19]

As Turkish historians began to learn the essential foreign languages needed for a study of Ottoman military history, the number of comparative studies in Turkish historiography began to increase. Two young historians from Hacettepe University in Ankara, Ömer Gezer and Mehmet Solak, have recently defended their dissertations on Ottoman military borders in today's Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia. Solak's work is of particular importance as it is the first study done in Turkish on the mentioned military borders. His dissertation focuses on the military border of the Habsburg Empire in Croatia and Slavonia.[20] In his doctoral dissertation, Gezer deals with the Ottoman frontier in Bosnia, which was reorganized after 1699, with its strategic, financial, socio-economic, and socio-military dimensions.[21] Another young historian, Göksel Baş, from Bilkent University finished his master's thesis in which he focused on the Ottoman *serhad* in the Balkans. The objective of his thesis is to analyze the process of Ottoman frontier organization in the Balkans from the mid-15th to the early 16th centuries. In particular, the network of fortresses and their military personnel, the Ottoman financing policy of the fortresses in the frontiers in today's Serbia and Bosnia.[22]

In addition, the topic of the Habsburg-Ottoman border is researched by Hungarian researchers, such as Klára Hegyi,[23] Géza Pálffy,[24] and Gábor Ágoston,[25] and American historian Mark L.

[19] Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.5, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini, prep. by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001.
[20] Mehmet Solak, "*Sınırların Hapsettiği Tarih-Hırvat Askeri Sınır Bölgesinin Örgütlenmesi (1553-1664)*", doctoral thesis, Hacettepe University, 2018.
[21] For the book version of the thesis see: Ömer Gezer, *Kale ve Nefer: Habsburg Serhaddinde Osmanlı Askeri Gücü (1699-1715)*, İstanbul, Kitap Yayınevi, 2020.
[22] Göksel Baş, "*Ottoman Serhad Organization in the Balkans (1450-1500)*" master's thesis, Bilkent Univeritys, 2017.
[23] Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018.
[24] Géza Pálffy, "The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century)", *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, ed. Géza Dávid, Pál Fodor, Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 2000, 3-69; Géza Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Thomas and Helen D. DeKornfeld, CHSP Hungarian Studies Series 18. Boulder, Colorado, Social Science Monographs, 2009; Géza Pálffy, "The Border Defense System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. B. K. László Veszprémy, New York, Social Science Monographs-Brooklyn College Press 2002; Géza Pálffy, "The Habsburg Defense System in Hungary Against the Ottoman in the Sixteenth Century: a Catalyst of Military Development in Central Europe", *Warfare in Eastern Europe, 1500-1800* ed. B.L. Davies, Leiden Boston, Brill 2012.
[25] Gábor Ágoston, "*Osmanlı'da Savaş ve Serhad*", trans. and prep. by Kahraman Şakul, İstanbul, Timaş Yayınları, 2013; Gábor Ágoston, "*Osmanlı'da Strateji ve Askeri Güç*", trans. M. Fatih Çalışır, İstanbul, Timaş Yayınları, 2012;

Stein.[26] Although they focus on the Hungarian part of the Habsburg-Ottoman border, extensive and accurate use of Ottoman archives is one of the most valuable features of their work, and their conclusions were instructive for the Slavonian theater as well.

It should be noted that this study would not have been possible without the classical works and regional studies of many distinguished historians from Bosnia and Croatia. Apart from the pioneering work done by Hazim Šabanović,[27] Adem Handžić,[28] and Hamdija Kreševljaković,[29] I also should metion works done by Aladin Husić.[30] Thanks to these researchers' works, I was able to better understand and provide convincing remarks on this topic. On the other hand, this study would be marred by significant deficiencies if it were not for the works of another two eminent historians, Nenad Moačanin[31] and Fazileta Hafizović,[32] who are both still active in their fields and continue to make important contributions.

Gábor Ágoston, "*Barut, Top ve Tüfek. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Askeri Gücü ve Silah Sanayisi*", trans. by Tanju Akad, İstanbul, Kitap Yayınevi, 2006.

[26] Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier, Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe*, London, I. B. Tauris & Company Limited, 2007.

[27] Hazim Sabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk, postanak i upravna podjela*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, Oour Izdavačka Djetlatnost, 1959; Hazim Šabanović, "Vojno uređenje Bosne od 1463. godine do kraja 16. stoljeća", *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, XI/1960, 1961; *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića. Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, prijevod na bosanski jezik i komentari Hazim Šabanović, Sarajevo, Monumenta Turcica Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium Illustrantia, Tomus Secundus, Serija II, Defteri, knjiga 1, Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, 1964.

[28] Adem Handžić, "Prilog istoriji starih gradova u bosanskoj i slavonskoj krajini pred kraj XVI vijeka", *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, 13, 1962; Adem Handžić, "O organizaciji krajine Bosanskog ejaleta u XVIII stoleću-sjeverna i sjeverozapadna granica", *Vojne krajine u jugoslovenskim zemljama u novom veku do Karlovačkog mira 1699 Zbornik radova se naučnog skupa održanog 24. i 25. aprila 1986*", SANU naučni skupovi XLVIII, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka knjiga 12, 1989.

[29] Hamdija Kreševljaković, Kapetanije u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1980.

[30] Aladin Husić, "Tvrđave Bosanskog sandžaka i njihove posade 1530. godine", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, 49, 2000, 189-229; Aladin Husić, "Vojne Prilike u Splitsko-Zadarskom zaleđu u 16. stoljeću (Osmanski Serhat 1530-1573)", *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, 56, Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu, 2006, 125-144.

[31] *Nenad* Moačanin, *Požega i Požeština u sklopu Osmanlijskog carstva (1537-1691)*, Jastrebarsko, 1997; Nenad Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*, Slavonski Brod, Hrvatski institut za povijest-podružnica za povijest Slavonije, 2001; Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*, Leiden-Boston, Brill 2006; *Nenad* Moačanin, *Hrvatsko-slavonska Vojna Krajina i Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskoga Carstva u Ranome Novom vijeku*, Zagreb, Leikam, 2007, 108-176; 180-186 (together with Željko Holjevac); Nenad Moačanin, "Exposing Existing Fallacies Regarding the Captaincies in the Bosnian Frontier Area between the 16th – 18th Centuries", *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*, ed. Drago Roksandić and Nataša Štefanec, Budapest, CEU History Department, 2000, 75-90; Nenad Moačanin, "Pristup ekohistoriji Podravine prema osmanskim izvorima", *Ekonomska i ekohistorija*, 1/1, 2005, 139-146; Nenad Moačanin, "Turska vojna krajina u hrvatskim zemljama: prolegomena za 16. i 17. stoljeće", *Hereditas rervm Croaticarvm ad honorem Mirko Valentić*, ed. Alexander Buczynski, Milan Kruhek i Stjepan Matković, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2003, 85-91; Nenad Moačanin, "Zaçasna", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 44, Ankara, 2013.

[32] *Popis sandžaka Požega 1579. godine/Defter-i mufassal-i liva-i Pojega 987*, trans. by. Fazileta Hafizović, ed. Stjepan Sršan, topography made by Ive Mažuran, Osijek, Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 2001; Fazileta Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak i osmanska Slavonija. Sabrane rasprave* Zagreb; Slavonski Brod, Hrvatski institut za povijest - Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2016; *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584*, trans. and edit. from the Ottoman Turkish

The majority of the information for the chapter three of my dissertation came from the published works of Ive Mažuran,[33] Milan Kruhek[34] and Nataša Štefanec,[35] three of the most well-known researchers in the field of military border studies in Croatia. Dino Mujadžević's studies on Slavonia were a significant help to me as well, particularly in terms of understanding and explaining the process of Ottoman conquest that occurred in Slavonia, as well as the idea of *serhad* itself.[36] Finally, Kornelija Jurin Starčević's Ph.D. thesis "Osmanski krajiški prostor: rat i društvo u jadransko-dinarskom zaleđu u 16. i 17. stoljeću" was very useful for me to see the theoretical framework and methodology of frontier studies in relation to the Ottoman part of Dalmatia, although this work is not directly related to Slavonia.[37]

by Fazileta Hafizović, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2021; Fazileta Hafizović, "Nahiyes of the Sancak of Pakrac: The Unknown Nahiye of Kontovac", *Life on the Ottoman Border. Essays in Honour of Nenad Moačanin*, ed. Vjeran Kursar Zagreb, FF Press, 2022.

[33] Ive Mažuran, "Turska osvajanja u Slavoniji (1526.-1552.)", *Osječki Zbornik*, 6, 1958, 93-133; Ive Mažuran, "Požega i Požeška kotlina za turske vladavine", *Požega 1227-1977*, ed. Marijan Strbašić, Požega, Skupština Općine Slavonska Požega, 1977; Ive Mažuran, "Turske provale i osvajanja u Slavoniji od kraja 14. do sredine 16. Stoljeća", *Zborniku radova peti znanstveni sabor Slavonije i Baranje*, ed. Dušan Čalić and Đuro Berber, Vol. 1, Osijek, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni rad, 1991, 17-66; Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, Zagreb, Golden Marketing, 1998.

[34] Milan Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, Zagreb, Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1995; Milan Kruhek, "Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća", *Povijesni prilozi*, Vol. 11, No. 11, 1992, 3-38.

[35] Štefanec, Nataša. *Država ili ne. Ustroj Vojne krajine 1578. godine i hrvatsko-slavonski staleži u regionalnoj obrani i politici*, Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 2011; Štefanec, Nataša. "Vojnokrajiške institucije u praksi", *Podravina* Vol. 10, nr. 19, 2011, 5-44.

[36] Dino Mujadžević, "Osmanska osvajanja u Slavoniji 1552. u svjetlu osmanskih arhivskih izvora", *Povijesni Prilozi*, 36, 2009, 89-108; Dino Mujadžević, "The other Ottoman Serhat in Europe: Ottoman Territorial Expansion in Bosnia and Croatia in First Half of 16th Century", *Ankara Üniversitesi Güneydoğu Avrupa Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi (GAMER), I*, Ankara, 2012, 99-111.

[37] Kornelija Jurin Starčević, "*Osmanski krajiški prostor: rat i društvo u jadransko-dinarskom zaleđu u 16. i 17. stoljeću*", doctoral thesis, Zagreb University, 2012.

2. WESTERN SLAVONIA UNDER OTTOMAN RULE

2.1. Ottoman Conquest of Western Slavonia

During the late Middle Ages, the territory between the rivers Drava and northern slopes of Dinarid mountains was called Kingdom of Slavonia. At that time, it did not include most of the region which we call today, Slavonia, which largely belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary proper. Both the Kingdom of Slavonia and the Kingdom of Croatia, situated to the south, were ruled by the same ruler as their neighbor to the north, the Kingdom of Hungary. Following the Ottoman victory against the Hungarian and Croatian forces at the Battle of Mohács in 1526, the mentioned union of kingdoms fell apart, and the Austrian Habsburgs were elected as kings of Croatia. The Ottoman conquest of the territory of the Kingdom of Slavonia halted in the 1550s and the river Ilova had become the unofficial border between the Ottoman and Habsburg parts of Slavonia. This border was officialized with the Habsburg-Ottoman Peace of Zsitvatörök in 1606 and was changed only with the Ottoman retreat from the territory between the rivers Drava and Sava in the 1680s. As time passed, during the 18th century, the terms "Ottoman Slavonia" (and later on only "Slavonia") began to signify the territory between the rivers Ilova, Drava, Sava, and Danube, and they designate the same territory today.[38] This latter territory is the main topic of this study, and the term Slavonia will be applied to it throughout this study.

During the Ottoman rule in Slavonia, i.e., from the first conquests of parts of eastern Slavonia along the Danube during the Ottoman invasion into Hungary in 1526, until the dissolution of Ottoman rule and their withdrawal from Slavonia in the 1680s, this area was divided into several administrative units. The easternmost of Slavonia was part of the Sancak of Syrmia, the central part was the Sancak of Požega, and the southwestern section was part of the Sancak of Zaçasna. Whereas the first two sancaks were named after the region of Syrmia and the town of Požega, the name of the third sancak is derived from a local Croatian place name (Začesma, Začesamlje, etc.)

[38]Anđelko Vlašić, "Changes in the Size and Use of Forests of Slavonia During Ottoman Rule", *Klasik'ten Moderne Osmanlı Ekonomisi Kurumlar-Uygulamalar,* İstanbul, Kronik Kitap, 2019, 199. For more detailed information on Medieval Croatia, please see, Neven Budak, *Hrvatska povijest od 550. do 1100.*, Zagreb, Leykam International, 2018.

indicating the town of Čazma and the area immediately beyond the Česma river, and the names of two smaller towns of that period, i.e., Pakrac and Cernik.[39]

Since the 14th century, Slavonia was a frequent passing route of the Ottoman *akıncı*s on their plunder raids towards what is today Slovenia. In time, Ottoman incursions became more frequent and more severe. Namely, Slavonia had its first direct contact with the Ottomans at the end of the 14th century: in 1396, the Ottoman *akıncı*s reached the Slovenian town of Ptuj, crossing Slavonia through the Požega Valley. Thereafter, the *akıncı* incursions were repeated occasionally: in 1401, 1422, 1450, 1470, 1494, and 1501, and caused material damage, taking of captives and spread terror among its population. An extremely strong Ottoman incursion hit Slavonia during 1472 and 1473, as the Ottomans ravaged the area between the Sava and the Drava twice. The area of present-day northwestern Croatia was also hit, as Zagorje and the area around Varaždin, Koprivnica, Križevci, as well as Gorica in Turopolje also heavily suffered.[40]

After the conquest of most of Rumelia and parts of Bosnia until 1463, the new direction of Ottoman expansion was the Hungarian and Croatian territory. With the loss of the Knin and Skradin forts in 1522, almost half of the medieval Kingdom of Croatia came under Ottoman rule. The Ottoman victory at Mohács was crucial at this point: after the death of his brother-in-law Louis II (1506 – 1526; King of Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia 1516 – 1526) on August 29, 1526, Ferdinand of Habsburg (1503 – 1564) pretended to the Hungarian and Croatian throne. This was in accordance with the mutual inheritance agreement with Louis II's Jagiellonian dynasty. However, the Voivode of Transylvania, John Zápolya (Ivan Zapolja; 1490/1491 – 1540), was also seeking the Hungarian and Croatian throne for himself, and immediately a dynastic dispute erupted between them. Since these two pretenders to the throne were supported by different noble factions

[39] Stanko Andrić, "Šuma Garavica i „ničija zemlja" na slavonsko- turskom pograničju u 16. i 17. stoljeću", *Slavonske šume kroz povijest: Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa s međunarodnim sudjelovanjem održanog u Slavonskom 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, 76.

[40] Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povjest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. stoljeća*, Vol. 3, Zagreb, L. Hartman, 1899, 190; Ive Mažuran, "Požega i Požeška kotlina za turske vladavine", in *Požega 1227-1977*, ed. Marijan Strbašić, Požega, Skupština Općine Slavonska Požega, 1977, 162; Fazileta Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak i osmanska Slavonija. Sabrane rasprave* Zagreb; Slavonski Brod, Hrvatski institut za povijest - Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2016, 97; Nenad Moačanin, "Hrvatsko-turski odnosi - pregled povijesne interakcije", *Hrvatska i Turska Povijesno-kulturni pregled*, ed. Katica Jurčević, Ozana Ramljak and Zlatko Hasanbegović, Zagreb, Srednja Europa, Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 2016, 2-3; Vijoleta Herman Kaurić, *Krhotine povijesti Pakraca: povijest naselja od prapovijesti do 1918. godine*, Slavonski Brod, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2004, 69.

within the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia, no compromise was reached between them. Ferdinand, who was elected King of Croatia in 1527, defeated Zápolya at the Battle of Tarcal in September 1527 and again in the Battle of Szina in March 1528. Zápolya fled the country and sought the support of the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1494 – 1566; reigned 1520 – 1566). Eventually, this led to Hungary becoming an Ottoman vassal state under Zápolya's rule.[41]

After the Battle of Mohács, Sultan Suleiman conquered central Hungary and its capital, Buda (Ottoman Turkish: *Budin* or *Budun*; Croatian: Budim). He then placed a janissary unit in the Buda fortress as guards and left the city while recognizing Zápolya's sovereignty over Hungary, in order to keep the region as a buffer zone against the Habsburg possessions in Austria and western Hungary. However, Zápolya's difficult situation in Hungary forced Suleiman the Magnificent, who pursued a long-term policy of comprehensive conquests in Central Europe, to act decisively against the Habsburgs. They in the meantime captured numerous western and northern Hungarian towns. Suleiman launched a military campaign against Hungary in 1529 and was assisted by Zápolya as his vassal. The Ottomans took back all the cities (including Buda) that were formerly occupied by the Habsburgs. After the coronation of Zápolya as King of Hungary, Suleiman advanced into the Habsburg territories. Following an unsuccessful siege of Vienna, Ferdinand's capital, Ottoman forces withdrew towards the central Ottoman provinces. With the support of the Ottomans, Zápolya continued to dominate two-thirds of the Hungarian territory, while Ferdinand held the territory in the west of the country. Despite the loss of Buda, Ferdinand continued to pressure Zápolya's cities in Hungary, which compelled Suleiman to carry out a new campaign against the Habsburgs in 1532. In Ottoman historiography this campaign is called the German Campaign (Ottoman Turkish: *Alaman Seferi*), and its primary and official goal was to defeat Ferdinand and his brother, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500 – 1558). Its secondary goal was to consolidate and strengthen Ottoman dominance in Hungarian territory. However, the success of the Habsburg defense of Köszeg in 1532 halted the Ottoman advance on Vienna.[42] As the Ottoman army was withdrawing,

[41] Géza Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Thomas and Helen D. DeKornfeld, CHSP Hungarian Studies Series 18. Boulder, Colorado, Social Science Monographs, 2009, 37-41.

[42] Ottoman forces besieged the fortress of Köszeg (German: Güns) in order to compel the Habsburg ruler to confront them in an open battle. For more than twenty-five days, the garrison of Nikola Jurišić and eight hundred Croats held out against nineteen Ottoman attacks and constant bombardment of the fortress. For further information, see: Celalzâde Salih Çelebi. *Târîh-i Sefer-i Zafer-Rehber-i Alaman*, prep. by Fatma Kaytaz, İstanbul, Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2016.

it first attacked the southern Austrian town of Graz. Afterwards, it entered Croatian lands and caused serious damage to some towns between rivers Sava and Drava.[43]

As mentioned earlier, this campaign was, at its beginning, announced as a great war against the Holy Roman Empire. The fact that the war was not crowned with a brilliant victory influenced the works of Ottoman chroniclers who wrote about the campaign: they tended to exaggerate the small or temporary achievements during the Sultan's campaign. Namely, small forts on the campaign route, which surrendered without fighting, or fortresses and towns that were captured in several days of sieges, were used to create great conquest narratives in these chronicles. For instance, Ottoman chroniclers wrote in their works that most of areas between Sava and Drava, including Požega, Čazma (in Ottoman sources: *Zaçasna*), and even Zagreb, were conquered during the campaign. However, for the real conquest of this territory the Ottomans had to wait ten more years – of course, excluding the town of Zagreb, which they never conquered at all.[44]

Later Ottoman penetration and consolidation in central Slavonia in the years 1536–1540 was related to the activities of the members of the Yahyapaşaoğlu family[45] and of the Sancakbey of the Sancak of Bosnia, Husrev Bey. The Sancakbey of the central Serbian Sancak of Smederevo (Ottoman Turskish: *Semendire*), Mehmed Bey Yahyapaşaoğlu, commanded an army that occupied Ivankovo, Đakovo, Gorjan and some other Slavonian forts in 1536, as well as Požega and the Požega Valley in January 1537. He also led an army that defeated the Habsburg forces near Gorjani in September 1537, after the Habsburg army under the leadership of General Johann (Hans) Katzianer attempted to recapture Slavonia. Mehmed Bey's son, Arslan Bey, who accompanied his father on the Slavonian campaigns of 1536 and 1537, was the nominal governor of the temporary Ottoman administration in central Slavonia in the years 1537–1540 under the supervision of Mehmed Bey. Arslan Bey, after the establishment of a regular Ottoman military-administrative system in central Slavonia in the form of the Sancak of Požega, was also the first Sancakbey of Požega in 1540–1541.[46]

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[43] Feridun M. Emecen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş ve Yükseliş Tarihi 1300-1600*, İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015, 246-255.
[44] Funda Demirtaş, "*Celâl-zâde Mustafa Çelebi, Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik ve Derecâtü'l-Mesâlik*", doctoral thesis, Kayseri University, 2009, 323-327; Mehmet Akif Erdoğru, "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın 1532 Tarihli Alman Seferi Ruznâmesi", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 24, 2019, 183; Davut Erkan, "*Matrakçı Nasuh'un Süleyman-namesi (1520-1537)*" master's thesis, Marmara University, 2005, 183-184.
[45] On Yahyapaşaoğlus in Croatia see: https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=123
[46] Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, Zagreb, Golden Marketing, 1998, 80-91.

New Ottoman attacks began in Western Slavonia in September 1540. Habsburg and Croatian defense of the Western Slavonian settlements that were under direct Ottoman threat required a great deal of effort, especially when a local noble named Krsto Svetački in October 1540 surrendered his estates Novska, Subocka, Britvičina and a few others to the Ottomans. Fortresses on the Slavonian border, namely Kraljeva Velika, Međurić, Bijela Stijena and Pakrac, were directly exposed to Ottoman attacks after Svetački's surrender. The territory of western and central Slavonia still under Habsburg control consisted of the following forts: Ustilonja, Kraljeva Velika, Međurić, Kreštelovac, Stupčanica, Pakrac, Podborje (later to be renamed Daruvar), Bijela Stijena, Našice, Orahovica, Mikleuš, Drenovac, Voćin, Virovitica, Zdenci, Šandrovac, Đurđevac and Valpovo, with 346 permanent soldiers in total.[47]

The Ottoman conquest of Slavonia in the 1540s was mostly led by the Sancakbey of the Sancak of Klis, Murad Bey Gajdić (Tardić)[48], former deputy (Ottoman Turkish: *kahya*, *kethüda*) of the Bosnian Sancakbey Husrev Bey. At the beginning of 1541, King Ferdinand I sent financial aid to the local noblemen, Ivan and Nikola Zrinski, for the defense of Pakrac and other fortresses under their rule. However, the Zrinski brothers offered the King to take over the defense of these strategically important fortifications himself, as they believed they could not defend them with their insufficient means. The Ottoman conquest continued in 1541 with the occupation of the fort of Našice, during which a part of the Ottoman army that had previously conquered Buda participated in the conquest. At the end of February 1542, Murad Bey suddenly attacked Orahovica, which was abandoned by its defender, Ladislav More. With the fall of Orahovica, the defense of the Slavonian border suffered another heavy loss. Murad Bey seems to have taken other forts on this occasion, namely Mikleuš, Slatina, and Drenovac.[49]

Another important Ottoman army commander of that time was Ulama Bey, who, before playing a significant role in the conquest of Slavonia, was a talented commander who performed important duties in both the Safavid and the Ottoman Empires. He was Sancakbey of the Sancak of Bosnia in the years 1540–1547, and then of Požega for the first time in 1547. After a number of

[47] Milan Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, Zagreb, Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1995, 104-108.
[48] Kristijan Juran, "O podrijetlu i šibenskoj rodbini prvoga kliškog sandžakbega Murat-beg Gajdića ", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*", 66, 2016, 231-239.
[49] Dino Mujadžević, "Osmanska osvajanja u Slavoniji 1552. u svjetlu osmanskih arhivskih izvora", *Povijesni Prilozi*, 36, 2009, 90-91; Ive Mažuran, "Turska osvajanja u Slavoniji (1526.-1552.)", *Osječki zbornik* 6, 1958, 114-122.

different assignments, he returned to Požega in 1552, where he would begin a comprehensive military offensive against the hitherto unconquered parts of Slavonia.[50] In April 1543, Ulama first attacked the Voćin fort, which was defended by Stjepan Papratović. After the latter's unexpected death, the fort's crew surrendered to the Ottomans on the condition that they could leave the town freely. After this conquest, between May and June 1543, Ulama Bey captured Dobra Kuća, Stupčanica, Bijela Stijena, Sirač and Valpovo as well, and without significant resistance. In November 1543, Murat Bey also seized the fort of Brezovica, and in June 1544, Ulama Bey and Malkoç Bey (Sancakbey of the Sancak of Herzegovina) conquered the fortress of Kraljeva Velika. Ulama Bey and Murad Bey continued to lead the Ottoman forces in Western Slavonia in the capturing of Međurić, Čaklovac, Pakrac, Kreštelovac, Podborje and Rača without significant resistance. These three Sancakbeys conducted a successful joint Ottoman offensive on Varaždin and Hrvatsko Zagorje, whereby they defeated the ban of Croatia, Nikola Zrinski, near Konjščina. Due to Murad Bey's illness, Ottoman forces returned to Požega after this battle, where Murad Bey soon died. In August 1545, Ulama Bey conquered the area of Moslavina, assisted by Sancakbeys Mehmed Bey and Malkoç Bey. Yet, they did not conquer the wooden fort of Ustilonja, which was located east of Sisak. Further conflicts were suspended after the Habsburg-Ottoman five-year ceasefire in June 1547, and the truce lasted until 1552.[51]

The Ottoman conquests of Slavonia in 1552 were a major setback for the defense of Habsburg Slavonia. Although the Habsburgs expected that the Ottoman attacks would continue in the direction of Koprivnica and Đurđevac, the Sublime Porte was unwilling or unable to facilitate the arrival of enough new forces and resources to continue conquering Slavonia in late 1552 and early 1553. Already during summer and fall of 1552, it became clear that Ulama Bey could count on the help of the Sancakbeys of Bosnia, Klis, and Herzegovina, but not on the forces from other areas, including the army under the sultan's direct command. The lack of necessary support and the strengthening of resistance on the Habsburg side of the border resulted in the stalling of the Ottoman advance in Slavonia. In the territory of then-Croatia, however, it continued for some time and ended with the temporary occupation of Sisak in 1594. The Ottomans lost Čazma before the Long Turkish War (1593 – 1606) and Moslavina in 1590.The latter was their second largest fort in

[50] Géza Dávid. "Macar Serhatlerinin Doğudan Gelen Bir İdarecisi: Ulama Bey", *VIII. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi 30 Eylül-04 Ekim 2012*, prep. by Mustfa Özkan, Enfel Doğan, Vol. 4, İstanbul, Edebiyat Fakültesi, 2014, 393-414.
[51] Ive Mažuran, "Turska osvajanja u Slavoniji (1526.-1552.)", Osječki zbornik 6, 1958, 114-122; Dino Mujadžević, "Osmanska osvajanja u Slavoniji 1552. u svjetlu osmanskih arhivskih izvora", 90-91.

Western Slavonia. As a result, the Habsburg-Ottoman border between the Drava and the Sava, created in 1552, did not change significantly until the final retreat of Ottoman forces from Slavonia at the end of the 17th century.[52]

2.2. The Sancak of Zaçasna: Its Establishment, Boundaries and Organization

The administrative division of the Ottoman Empire consisted of the following: *beylerbeyilik*/ *eyalet*/ *vilayet* (province or governorate; Croatian: *beglerbegluk, ejalet*), *sancak*/ *liva* (subdivision of *beylerbeyiliks*; Croatian: *sandžak*; "banner", or "district"), *kaza* (canton, jurisdiction; Croatian: *kadiluk*), *nahiye* (sub-district; Croatian: *nahija*), *karye* (village) and *mezraa* (hamlet), respectively. Sancak was an Ottoman administrative unit commanded by a sancakbey (Croatian: sandžakbeg) who received a standard as a symbol of his authority from the sultan. Sancaks consist of several smaller administrative units called *kaza*s and *nahiye*s. The sancak was the main Ottoman military-administrative unit and had precise geographical borders. Several sancaks formed an eyalet, which was governed by a beylerbey (Croatian: beglerbeg). Because of the rapid expansion of the borders in the first centuries the Ottomans needed a higher level of authority above the sancaks, and in this sense, the first eyalet emerged after the 1360s. In the late 16th century, there were more than thirty eyalets and about 500 sancaks throughout the Ottoman Empire.[53] Ottoman sultans always appointed two officials to control the basic provincial administrative units of their realm: a bey (sancakbey) and a kadi (*kadı*; Croatian: *kadija*). While the *bey* was of military origin and represented the sultan's executive authority, the kadi was part of the *ilmiye*[54] class and represented the sultan's legal governance. One has to bear in mind that the Ottoman Empire was an Islamic theocratic state, so sharia law was the basis of the state's legal and judicial system, and the kadi administered both judicial and religious affairs. A kadi presided over an administrative unit called a *kaza* (judicial district). The mentioned sharing of authority in the provinces was seen as essential to a just administration because the bey could not impose any punishment without the kadi's judgment, and the kadi could not personally execute any of his own judicial sentences. The kadi

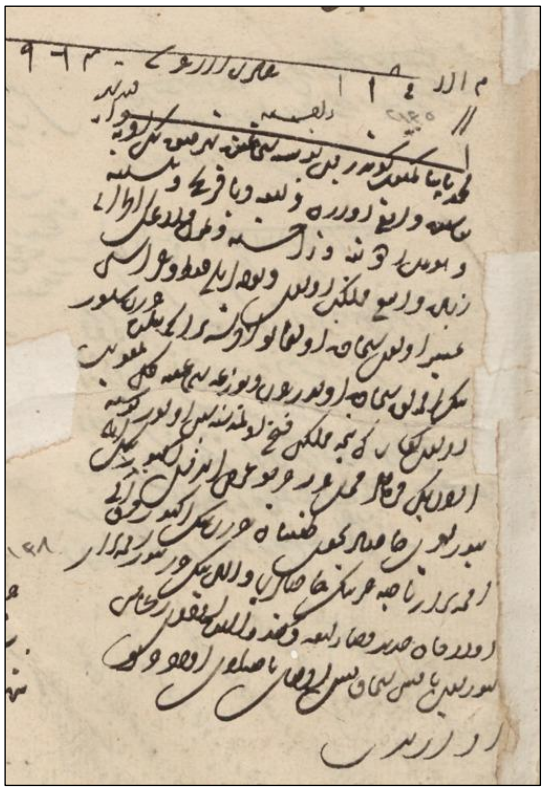
[52] Ive Mažuran, "Turske provale i osvajanja u Slavoniji od kraja 14. do sredine 16. Stoljeća", *Zborniku radova peti znanstveni sabor Slavonije i Baranje*, ed. Dušan Čalić and Đuro Berber, Vol. 1, Osijek, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni rad, 1991, 59.

[53] Halil İnalcık, "Eyalet", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 11, Ankara, 1995, 548-550; İlhan Şahin, "Sancak", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 36, Ankara, 2009, 97-99.

[54] The ilmiye class was one of the main occupational groups in the Ottoman state organization. After completing classical Islamic education in a medrese, its members served in areas such as law, provincial organization, education, and religious services. For further information, see Mehmet İpşirli, Os*manlı İlmiyesi*, İstanbul, Kronik Kitap, 2021.

was independent of the bey and received his commands directly from the sultan, whom he could also petition directly.[55]

The Sancak of Zaçasna was established on April 11th, 1557, after the Ottoman conquest of the strategic Croatian fort of Čazma. The purpose of this sancak, which was established at the suggestion of Mehmed Bey, the Beylerbey of Buda, was "to help the Sancak of Požega and to create a bridgehead for further conquests" toward present-day central Croatia. According to the information that we obtained from the imperial decree cited in the footnote, Mehmed Bey of Buda suggested that there was a broad area around Kraljeva Velika (Velika), Pakrac (Bakriç), Bijela Stijena (Bilastina), Moslavina (Moslavina) and Čazma (Zaçasna) forts that could have been incorporated into a new sancak, from which its sancakbey could collect a 400,000 – 500,000 Ottoman *akçe* salary annually.[56]



Picture 2: The copy of the decree, dated April 11th, 1557, on the establishment of the Sancak of Zaçasna.

[55] Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, trans. by Norman Itzkowitz, Colin Imber, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973, 105.
[56] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 2, 240/2135; Fatih Karabulut, "*1556-1557 (H. 963-964) Tarihli Divân-ı Hümâyûn Ruûs Defteri (126-243) Transkripsiyon-Değerlendirme-Dizin*", master's thesis, Fırat University, 2015, 275.

Following its establishment, Čazma immediately became the seat of the sancakbey. Nevertheless, this town did not remain the center of this sancak for a long period of time. Since its location was open to frequent attacks by Croatian/Habsburg forces, the Ottomans doubted that they would be able to keep Čazma permanently in their possession. On the other hand, the local sancakbeys did not have the necessary minimum of 15,000 troops for new conquests, which could ultimately make the area more secure from enemy incursions. Therefore, in 1559, the Čazma fortress was destroyed fearing that the enemy would take it back and turn it into a stronghold against them. As a result of the increasing tension in Slavonia, Habsburg attacks grew even stronger and before the Long Turkish War (1593 – 1606), the Ottomans moved the center of the sancak to Pakrac (Ottoman Turkish: Bakriç) before 1587. The Ottomans' large-scale repair of the fortifications in the Pakrac, along with the recruitment of new forces for its garrison and its growth from 85 to 191 soldiers in total during this period, is the indirect proof of this assumption.[57] However, the seat had to be moved for the third time, to Cernik (Ottoman Turkish: Çernik) between 1618 and 1626, and thereafter, the Ilova river remained the unofficial Habsburg-Ottoman border in Slavonia until the end of Ottoman rule in that region.[58]

With every transfer of the seat of the sancakbey, the name of the sancak changed in Ottoman official documents, i.e., from Zaçasna to Bakriç and from Bakriç to Çernik. However, when we examine the documents chronologically, it is clearly visible that the Ottomans did not see any problem with using these three names interchangeably. Even long after the first relocation of the sancak's seat, they continued to use the name of Zaçasna in their official records and correspondence, and the same was true for the Ottoman equivalents of Pakrac and Cernik.

From its establishment in 1557 until the end of Ottoman rule in Slavonia, the Sancak of Zaçasna represented the "ultimate frontier" (*intiha-i serhad*) of the Ottoman Empire. The Sancak covered roughly one third of present-day Slavonia and, administratively, was linked to the Ottoman Eyalet of Rumelia (covering Ottoman Southeast Europe) until 1580. The new military border organization that was being set up by the Habsburgs along the Habsburg-Ottoman border in the remains of the Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Hungary was carefully and closely observed by the Ottomans. On their side of the border, the Ottomans also began to form a defense system based

[57] MAD.d. 826, 256-277.
[58] MAD.d. 681, 125-126; MAD.d. 1942, 162-165.

on their practical needs for border security. Following the renewal of Habsburg military activities and mutually limited cross-border campaigns in 1578–1580, especially in the Slavonian territory, in September 1580, the Ottomans felt the need to respond to the Habsburg pressure by transforming the westernmost part of their Empire into a new eyalet, the Eyalet of Bosnia, which was directly opposite the emerging Croatian Military Frontier.[59]

Thus, the western border of the Sancak of Zaçasna was the northwesternmost border of the Ottoman Empire in the Bosnian Eyalet: it stretched along the course of the Ilova river and southwards to the Sava. There, the Sancak's border passed westwards and included the fort of Moslavina; this bulk was part of the Sancak and of the Empire until 1591, when the Long Turkish War of 1591 (or 1593) – 1606 erupted. The border then passed downstream along the Sava to the village of Kobaš (today Slavonski Kobaš). From there it passed northwards and included the Sava valley up to the southern slopes of the Požeška Gora, and passed westwards towards Pakrac. It then stretched northwards almost up to Virovitica, which was part of the Sancak of Požega, and southwards in the direction of the Ilova river. In 1606, the Habsburg-Ottoman Treaty of Zsitvatorok officially delineated a border in Slavonia that passed from the village of Vízvár on the left bank of the Drava southwards east of Đurđevac, Kloštar (today Kloštar Podravski) and Veliki Zdenci, thence by Ilova towards the mouth of the river Lonja into the Sava and along the Sava up to the Ottoman settlement of Jasenovac. In front of the Ottoman forts was a wide no man's land, and across it the Croatian/Habsburg forts of Ivanić (today Ivanić Grad), Križevci, Koprivnica and Đurđevac. This border did not change until the end of Ottoman rule, although it was frequently crossed by Habsburg and Ottoman forces during their border raids.[60]

2.3. The *Kaza*s of the Sancak of Zaçasna

In the earlier studies on the Sancak of Zaçasna, the question of how many *kaza*s existed and how many kadis served on the territory of the Sancak remained ambiguous. Most probably, the reason for such a situation is that the mentioned sancak had three different names during its existence, as was explained above. Besides, expressions such as *Velika Kadısına* ("to the Kadi of

[59] Hatice Oruç, "15. Yüzyılda Bosna Sancağı ve İdari Dağılımı", *OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi/ Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies - Ankara University*, 18, 2005, 253.

[60] Ive Mažuran, "Turska osvajanja u Slavoniji (1526.-1552.)", Osječki zbornik 6, 1958, 127-128; Mirela Slukan-Altić, *Povijesna kartografija: kartografski izvori u povijesnim znanostima,* Samobor, Meridijani, 2003, 212.

Velika") or *Zaçasna Kadısına* ("to the Kadi of Zaçasna") found in the orders sent from Istanbul to the Sancak's ruling elites made the situation even more complex. However, as regards the archival records of judicial appointments (*Kadıasker Ruznamçeleri*), where the records of the appointments of kadis are kept, it is certain that there was only one *kaza* throughout the territory of the Sancak, and therefore only one kadi served at a certain time in the entire Sancak of Zaçasna. Therefore, the *kaza* of Velika was the only place that a kadi served. According to the data acquired from the mentioned kadi appointment records, the Nahiye of Slatina (originally part of the Sancak of Požega) became part of the Sancak of Zaçasna between December 31, 1663 and October 30, 1666 as a separate kaza. In this short period, the territory of the Sancak of Zaçasna included two *kaza*s, namely the Kaza of Velika and the Kaza of Slatina (*İslatina Kazası*). The *Kadıasker Ruznamçeleri* offer us no additional data on the existence of another *kaza* within the territory of the Sancak of Zaçasna throughout the Ottoman rule in this sancak.[61]

Picture 3: The *Nahiye*s of the Sancak of Zaçasna.

[61] Meşihat Arşivi, Rumeli Kadıaskerliği Ruznamçesi, 216/39, 6a (henceforth MA.RKR.d.); Ercan Alan, "*Kadıasker Ruznamçelerine Göre XVIII. Yüzyılda Rumeli'de Kadılık Müessesi*", doctoral thesis, Istanbul University, 2015, 230.

2.4. *Yurdluk-Ocaklık* Status

Due to its special status, Zaçasna had a distinct position in the Eyalet of Bosnia. Despite the fact that this special situation, *yurdluk-ocaklık* status, was indicated by Ottoman bureaucrats who had served at the state level, we did not have conclusive archival data on the subject until today.[62] During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Ottoman ruling elites made very pragmatic decisions based on the circumstances, and thus accepted the formation of numerous administrative units with special status known as *yurdluk* and *ocaklık* (family property and family estate) sancaks on their eastern and western borders.[63] To gain a better understanding of these Ottoman administrative notions, I here present an excerpt from a *kanunname-i humayun* (the lawbook of sultan) compiled during Suleyman the Magnificent's reign, in which the *yurdluk-ocaklık* sancaks are described as follows:

"And one of endowments is *ocaklık* (family property), which was given to beys in perpetuity in return for their service and obedience during the conquests by means of appanage and fief. These types are known as *yurdluk* and *ocaklık* in the imperial council and in legal terminology. They are considered sancaks and have drums and banners like the other beys. They cannot be dismissed under any circumstances in accordance with the authorization endowed to them by the previous sultans. Like in the other provinces, the yields of their villages and hamlets were registered, therefore these sancaks possess *timar* and *zeamet*. If there are royal expeditions, like in the case of sancakbeyis, they join their beylerbeyis of whichever eyalet they are affiliated with, and together with the *zaim*s and timariots, they pay their expeditionary service debt. When one of these beys dies, or when they leave their posts during their participation in campaign service, his offspring and relatives inherit his sancak and *ocak*. It cannot be given to anyone but them. If there are no

[62] Ayn-ı Ali Efendi, *Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân der-Hülasa-i Mezâmîn-i Defter-i Dîvân*, prepared by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, İstanbul, Enderun Kitabevi, 1979, 140; *Sofyalı Ali Çavuş Kanunnamesi: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Toprak Tasarruf Sistemi'nin Hukuki ve Mali Müeyyede ve Mükellefiyetleri*, prep. by Midhat Sertoğlu, İstanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1992, 154; Nenad Moačanin, "Zaçasna", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 44, Ankara, 2013, 62-63.

[63] Gábor Ágoston, "A Flexible Empire: Authority and its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers." *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 9, no. 1/2, 2003, 18. For the Turkish translation: Gabor Agoston, *Osmanlı'da Savaş ve Serhad*, trans. and prep. by Kahraman Şakul, İstanbul, Timaş Yayınları, 2013.

children or relatives left, then it is given to a capable person who had formerly governed a sancak."[64]

Yurdluk-ocaklık sancaks were mostly founded on the borders of the Empire, and the main purpose of this was to benefit from the local beys' influence in these areas and establish the central authority to some extent through these local elites. These sancaks are seen in the eyalets of Bosnia, Anatolia, Diyarbekir, Van, Kars, Çıldır, Damascus, Raqqa, and Baghdad. However, the number of *yurdluk-ocaklık* sancaks in these provinces differs depending on the period. The Ottoman Empire anticipated a perpetual state of conflict along its boundaries, and thus established these types of sancaks to encourage local beys to serve the empire more diligently.[65]

According to available sources, Zaçasna was the only *yurdluk-ocaklık* sancak not only in the Bosnian Eyalet but also in the European lands of the Ottoman Empire.[66] From a record in the *timar ruznamçe defter* number 586 (daily records book), we learn more about this sancak's exceptional status and its historical background. According to this record, the Sancak of Zaçasna was allocated to ancestors of Ali Bey in return for their services during the reign of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. While this family had been the governors of this sancak from generation to generation, it was given to a foreigner at an unknown time by the Beylerbeyi of Buda. However, when it was reported to Sultan Ibrahim that the sancak had been taken from this family unrightfully, the mentioned sancak was reallocated to them on 2 November 1641 (28 Receb 1051). The income of the sancakbey was rather modest: 180.000 *akçe*s. It consisted of the *çiftlik*s (farms) in the villages in the *nahiye* of Bijela Stijena, the pasture taxes, the taxes paid by the Vlachs in the *nahiye* of Pakrac, and the tithe on hives in the entire sancak.[67] On the other hand, according to another *ruznamçe defter* form an earlier period, in July 1576, the annual wage of Ahmed Bey, the sancakbey of Zaçasna, was 312,617 *akçe*s. Considering the devaluation of the Ottoman currency in the 17th

[64] Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri: Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri Kanunnameleri: I. Kısım Merkezi ve Umumi Kanunnameler*, İstanbul, Fey Vakfı, 1992, 476-477.
[65] Nejat Göyünç, "Yurtluk-Ocaklık Deyimleri Hakkında", *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan*, İstanbul, 1991, 269-277. Orhan Kılıç, "Yurtluk-Ocaklık ve Hükümet Sancakları Üzerine Bazı Tespitler", *OTAM:Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi/ Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies - Ankara University,* 10, 1999, 119-137.
[66] Moačanin states that Krka also had this status. However, I have not come across any archival records or modern literature that confirm this fact. Nenad Moačanin,. "Krka", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 25, Ankara, 2002, 475.
[67] Timar Ruznamçe Defteri 586, 242 (henceforth DFE.RZ.d.).

century, it can be posited that, not only in terms of amount but also in terms of purchasing power, Ali Bey's income was significantly low.[68]

Picture 4: *The archival record, dated November 2nd, 1641, shows that Zaçasna was reallocated as a yurdluk-ocaklık sancak.*

2.5. *Tahrir Defters* (Tax and Cadastral Surveys) of the Sancak of Zaçasna

Until recently, the Sancak of Zaçasna was one of the least studied Ottoman administrative units among all the other sancaks that were part of the Bosnian Eyalet. Because of its location and *yurdluk-ocaklık* status, this sancak used to arouse less interest from the central Ottoman administration as well. Considering that most of the documents produced by the Ottoman state apparatus on this sancak were related to military affairs or defense strategy, we have a clear insight

[68] DFE.RZ.d., 44, 13. It can be argued that one of the reasons the Ottomans established hereditary sancaks was that it was a bonus for members of the elite to actually take over the governorship of such an unruly and poor area with modest income. At least they were guaranteed position, modest it maybe, for a life and then for their family.

into the state center's primary concerns. Since the military records will be discussed in depth in the chapters two and three, here I will only focus on the *tahrir defter*s which provide the most useful data regarding socio-economic conditions in the sancak of Zaçasna.

Tahrir derives from an Arabic verb تحرير meaning "writing" and was widely used by the Ottoman bureaucracy as a technical term. However, in the Ottoman terminology it refers to censuses conducted at various times and in various locations to identify taxes and the individuals who pay them. The most comprehensive form of census was the *mufassal tahrir*s (detailed surveys), which contained an enumeration of taxpayers, listed by settlement. The *icmal defter*s, on the other hand, were summaries of *mufassal tahrir*s. In particular, *icmal*s consisted of names of the owners of *dirlik*s (livelihoods) and contained information about the totals of their revenues. Following the first tahrir, a new survey was conducted every 20-30 years with the goal of revealing new surpluses in state revenue and correcting any wrongs that had occurred over time and since the last survey.[69]

As far as the cadastral surveys for the Sancak of Zaçasna are concerned, I have found 11 tahrir *defter*s that contain information on this sancak's territories. Putting aside those *defter*s which only provide partial information, our main sources will be the detailed tax surveys catalogued as Tapu Tahrir Defteri 355 and Tapu Tahrir Defteri 612 (henceforth: TT.d. 355 and 612). The first defter, TT.d. 355, is dated 1565 and has a total of 112 pages, while the second defter, TT.d. 612, is dated 1584 and has a total of 115 pages.

Since the handwriting in both *defter*s, and especially in the 1584 defter, was extremely difficult to read, these primary sources were of little interest to scholars. In this regard, apart from the works of two historians, Nenad Moačanin and Fazileta Hafizović, very little has actually been done on the history of these areas. For more than 30 years, Nenad Moačanin has been studying the history of the entire area of Slavonia and beyond on the basis of Ottoman sources. The most complete overview of this area is given in his book *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske*

[69] Halil İnalcık, "Timar", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 41, Ankara, 2012, 168-173; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Taḥrīr", *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edit. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, Vol. 10, Leiden, Brill, 2000, 112-113.
Mehmet Öz, "Tahrir", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 39, Ankara, 2012, 425-429.

vladavine, along with a number of other articles by this author.[70] On the other hand, Fazileta Hafizović, well-known for her publications on the same topics, made a great contribution to the researches about this sancak by publishing the two mentioned tahrir defters.[71]

According to Hafizović, these two *defter*s were not complete censuses of the Sancak of Zaçasna, but rather surveys of only a part of the total population, some of which were agriculturalists, but the majority was of Vlach status and descent. Because this type of surveying was common in the 16th century, different components of the population were surveyed separately based on their status.[72]

As mentioned earlier, the Sancak of Zaçasna's territories were surveyed several times immediately after the Ottoman conquest and were integrated into the traditional Ottoman system via these censuses. The first archival source in which these lands can be determined is the tahrir defter TT.d. 201. This defter was an *icmal tahrir* of the sancak of Bosnia, in which 75 *hane*s (house) were recorded in six villages in the *nahiye* of Cernik. This territory had the status of *hâric ez-defter* (when a new survey was being conducted, this term was used to refer to the new population and land that was not included in the previous survey.).[73] This defter depicts certain villages and hamlets in the *nahiye* of Cernik, which was then a subordinate of the *kaza* of Kobaš in the Sancak of Bosnia. Velika is also recorded in this defter, as a village.[74] In the tahrir defter TT.d. 212, which is our second source, we see some hamlets and meadows belonging to Cernik, which are registered among the incomes of Ali Ağa, the *dizdar* of the Cernik fort.[75]

Originally, the tahrir defter TT.d. 285 was a *mufassal tahrir* of the sancak of Klis. However, because it had gone unnoticed at the time the Bosnian survey was inscribed, a tax source from the *nahiye* of Drenovac was registered in this survey, with a brief comment. These defter records a portion of the income of Hasan bin Bali Aga, who received a salary increase in return for his service in the repair of the Nova fortress. This income consisted of taxes collected from the Vlach

[70] Nenad Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest-podružnica za povijest Slavonije, 2001; Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*, Leiden-Boston, Brill 2006.
[71] *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584*, trans. and edit. from the Ottoman Turkish by Fazileta Hafizović, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2021. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Stanko Andrić for sending me a copy of this book.
[72] *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584*, trans. and edit. from the Ottoman Turkish by Fazileta Hafizović, 2021,11.
[73] TT.d. 201, (1540/1541), 28.
[74] TT.d. 211, (1541/1542), 516-518.
[75] TT.d. 212, (1541/1542), 190.

population in the *nahiye* of Drenovac and other agricultural products like wheat, barley, flax, cabbage, etc., which were harvested there.[76]

The defter TT.d. 348, the *icmal tahrir* of Zaçasna, records the *has*ses (appanage) of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent, which were located in the *nahiye*s of Cernik and Drenovac. The total of Sultan's revenues was 126,037 akçes. Apart from this, the sancakbey of Zaçasna Ferhad Bey's *has*ses were located in the *nahiye*s of Cernik and Bijela Stijena and produced an income of 166,000 *akçe*s yearly. Other than these, the *zeamet* of Hasan, *alaybey* (head of regiment) of the sancak of Klis produced an income of 30,336 *akçe*s; and other medium and large allocations (*zeamet*s, *timar*s and *çiftlik*s) in the *nahiye*s of Cernik, Drenovac, Bijela Stijena and Pakrac were registered in this defter. The timar allocations of the garrison of the Gradiška fortress are found on the last pages of this defter as well.[77]

Although it is an early survey of the Sancak of Bosnia, TT.d. 432 also provides detailed information on the lands of the later Sancak of Zaçasna. According to Fazileta Hafizović, a rather large territory which would later become part of the Sancak of Zaçasna was surveyed in this tahrir.[78] The *nahiye*s of Cernik and Drenovac, and some other villages that later became part of Sancak of Zaçasna and Gradiška were registered in this period as part of the Bosnian Sancak. Because of the damage done by humidity, the digital copy of this defter is hard to read. Therefore, I could not read the records in this defter in detail. However, I can say that most of the allocation records, apart from the *timar* allocations, belong to the household of Hüsrev Bey and the *dizdar*s and *kethüda*s[79] of the strongholds that are located in the Sancak of Bosnia.[80]

In the icmal defter TT.d. 728, six *zeamet*s and 28 *timar*s are registered in the *nahiye*s of Cernik, Drenovac, Pakrac, and Bijela Stijena. These allocations provided a rather modest income to their owners and no high-ranking officer is found among these timar-holders.[81]

The undated *icmal tahirir* TT.d. 1009, which belongs to the Sancak of Bosnia, contains numerous records for the *nahiye*s of Cernik, Drenovac, Bijela Stijena, and Pakrac. As far as I

[76] TT.d. 285, (1552/1553), 285.
[77] TT.d. 348 (1563).
[78] Fazileta Hafizović, "Nahiyes of the Sancak of Pakrac: The Unknown Nahiye of Kontovac", 63.
[79] For detail, please see the chapter four.
[80] TT.d. 432 (1540), 1015-1029.
[81] TT.d. 728 (1616/7), 472-480.

understand from the records, the defter belongs to the period between 1540 and 1550, i.e., before the establishment of the Sancak of Zaçasna. According to the data in this defter, large numbers of the Vlach population, namely 434 *hane*s, had migrated to the nahiye of Cernik prior to this survey. Their description from the defter gives some information on their status, as they are described as "new Vlachs that were not found in the old defter" (*eflakân-ı cedid hâric ez-defter-i atik*). Broadly, this defter primarily contains new allocation records, most of which were in *haric ez-defter* status, as well as revenues allocated to the garrisons of the forts Stupčanica, Dobra Kuća and Pakrac, among others.[82]

As the Sancak of Zaçasna had been established only eight years earlier, we can strongly assume that the TT.d.355 was the first complete tahrir of this sancak ever. In this tahrir the *nahiye*s of the Sancak of Zaçasna are listed as follows: Cernik (Çernik), Drenovci (Direnofeç), Pakrac (Bakriç), Bijela Stijena (Bela İstina), Kutinovci (Kutinofeç), Šagovina (Şagovina), Podbučje (Podbuçye), Sirač (Sirçe), Dobra Kuća (Dobro Kuga), Čaklovci (Çaklovec), Stupčanica (İstupçaniç), Pakarski Sredel (Pakarska Sredel), Kontovac (Kontovac) and Podvrški (Podvirşki). Some of these *nahiye*s, Cernik, Drenovci, Pakrac, Šagovina, Pakarska Sredel and Kontovac, were shaped around the old medieval forts. The Nahiye of Cernik was formed around the Cernik fort, which was located in the southeast of the sancak. The settlement of Drenovci, formerly known as Dornoch, has historical documents dating back to the 1300s.[83] Here the Ottomans abandoned a fort of the same name, which later became dilapidated. Pakrac, Dobra Kuća, Sirač, Stupčanica, Bijela Stijena, and Čaklovac were defended by the same-named forts located within the boundaries of these *nahiye*s.[84]

2.6. The Population of the Sancak of Zaçasna

Due to the nature of Ottoman sources, it is difficult to determine the size of the population of the Sancak of Zaçasna during Ottoman rule. Most of the deserted villages were no longer recorded as empty in the second survey, and some settlements recorded as hamlets were transformed into villages during the second survey, TT.d. 612, indicating that the sancak experienced development

[82] TT.d. 1009 (undated), 6-18, 23, 77-81, 83-87.
[83] Kristina Rupert, "*Topografija Požeške županije do 1526. godine.*" graduate thesis, University of Zagreb, 2013, 65.
[84] For detailed information, please see the second chapter.

in terms of population after the first decades. Furthermore, the fact that the number of Vlach houses grew from 386 to 407 in the second census reveals that the population had expanded.[85]

According to Hafizović, these two tahrirs are not presenting urban and military centers of the Sancak of Zaçasna, where the majority of the population, both civilians and soldiers, resided. Because there was no settled Vlach population in the *kasaba*s, these surveys only indicate a fraction of the total number of *hane*s in the sancak. When a *tahrir emini* (scribe or surveyor) refused to travel the land, or when local *knez*es and *primićurs* failed to appear, certain settlements were not even recorded in the tahrirs. Especially in mountainous and remote locations, this phenomenon was not something extraordinary.[86]

The largest Ottoman nahiye in the Sancak of Zaçasna was the nahiye of Cernik. The *nahiye*s of Drenovci and Pakrac had slightly smaller populations than Cernik, while all the other *nahiye*s were quite small. In the *nahiye*s located the closest to the Habsburg-Ottoman border, there were quite a few deserted villages without population. In 1565, the nahiye of Stupčanica had only one populated village and 14 deserted villages, while the nahiye of Kontovac had five deserted villages. Pakarska Sredel had only three populated villages, and the nahiye of Podvrški had only one populated village; thus, these *nahiye*s were in a very poor condition in terms of population.[87]

The sancak of Zaçasna consisted of numerous small villages and only of small urban communities, in which both Muslim and non-Muslim population lived together. As it is understood from the *tahrir*s, sancak consisted of two parts with completely different regimes. One was the lowland part along the Sava, i.e., the present-day Novogradiška Posavina with ordinary population without special status and responsibilities. The other part of the Sancak was the hilly and forested area in the north and northeast, mostly inhabited by Vlachs. The Ottoman bureaucracy used the term Vlach (Eflak) as an administrative fiscal term for semi-nomadic people performing certain services for the state in exchange for tax exemptions or reductions.[88] Vlachs were especially used for military services on both sides of the border at Bosnia. The Ottoman authorities colonized the Sancak of Zaçasna by relocating there the Vlach population from Bosnia and the Dalmatian

[85] TT.d. 612.
[86] Fazileta Hafizović, "Nahiyes of the Sancak of Pakrac: The Unknown Nahiye of Kontovac", 62.
[87] TT.d. 355.
[88] Vjeran Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach: On Vlach Identity(ies), Role and Status in Western Parts of the Ottoman Balkans (15th-18th Centuries), *OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi/ Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies - Ankara University*, 34, 2013, 253.

hinterland. The Vlachs were predominantly engaged in livestock farming throughout the Balkan Mountains. The reason for the relocation of new inhabitants from Bosnia and Dalmatia was the depopulation of the area of Zaçasna, which was caused by warring activities explained above, especially in the mid-16th century. The east-central area of the Sancak was heavily colonized by Vlach population, and with time this territory began to be called Little Wallachia. The new population had a privileged status, as they were exempt from many of the taxes. The Vlachs consisted a large part of the population of the hilly parts of the Sancak of Zaçasna, in which they lived in the form of extended families.[89]

The settling of the Vlachs in the areas located on the Ottoman border helped to stabilize the hitherto unstable region. The Vlachs made up auxiliary Ottoman military units, which, by all accounts, were twice as numerous as regular Ottoman troops. The Ottomans used this settlement strategy earlier in other regions, as they motivated the Vlach population to live in deprived areas by exempting them from certain tax obligations. The *mufassal tahrir* registers give the information that these villages were very sparsely populated because many of the villages had only one inhabitant.[90] It can be assumed that the Vlachs lived in extended families with one head of family and many male relatives in the same household, with only the head of the family being recorded in the register. According to the tax register of 1584, many of these villages had been abandoned and the number of villages with only one head of the family listed increased. It is possible that they were moving out of the area due to increase in warring activities, and probably decided to settle across the border.[91]

Moačanin assumes that around 1625 between 2000 and 3000 Vlach families lived in the hilly parts of the Sancak of Zaçasna.[92] In this sancak, the Vlachs served both as Ottoman auxiliary units and as military crews in some fortified places as *martolos*es[93]. This is evidenced by a report from 1598 that claims that the Vlach crews of the forts of Pakrac and Kraljeva Velika offered the Habsburg army, led by General Herberstein, to hand over the Ottoman fortified places to them. The Ottoman crew in Kraljeva Velika was indeed very unstable, which can be explained by the

[89] Nenad Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*, 137.
[90] TT.d. 355; TT.d. 612.
[91] Fazileta Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak i osmanska Slavonija,* 89.
[92] Nenad Moačanin, "Turska vojna krajina u hrvatskim zemljama: prolegomena za 16. i 17. stoljeće", 87; Nenad Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine,* 137; Radoslav Lopašić, "*Spomenici hrvatske Krajine*, Vol. 1, Zagreb, L. Hartman, 1884, 44-45.
[93] For further information see, chapter four.

fact that they received their wages from the proceeds of trade in the port of Gabela, in the Sancak of Herzegovina, which was subject to frequent enemy attacks. Because of this, the money for wages irregularly arrived in the fort of Kraljeva Velika, and the crew complained repeatedly (but also in vain) to the Ottoman state leadership. In the 17th century, the Vlachs were less engaged as auxiliary military units and more as security guards in their area.[94]

In Western Slavonia, there was no mass conversion of the population to Islam because there was insufficient motivation. Moačanin claims that 1/4 to 1/3 of the population in Slavonia were Muslims, and in Western Slavonia, that would definitely be lower. The reasons for the lack of Islamization were a result of different factors such as political situation, strength of Christian organization, legal and economic position of Christian *reaya* (Vlachs with full privileges were probably less inclined to convert), presence of Islamic religious infrastructure and Sufi orders as well as the development of mainly Muslim towns (with no *reaya* burdens, sometimes fully *muaf* as is the case *serhad kasaba*s). These last three factors were weak in Western Slavonia. Furthermore, a significant part of the Muslim population in the former Kingdom of Hungary came from South Slavic areas. Except for military garrisons, there was nothing to attract them to colonize: no significant urban centers, little arable land and constant warfare even in official peacetime.[95] The Ottoman authorities did not insist on this at all, and the conversion to Islam brought only a small reduction in tax liabilities, i.e., the exemption from paying the jizya (Ottoman Turkish: *cizye*), a tax paid by the nonmuslim population.[96]

2.7. The Sancak's Economy

It can generally be said that the Ottoman tax policy was governed by the principle that the taxpayers of each province pay as much tax as they are able to pay, i.e., in accordance with their production capacities. If there were changes in the fortunes of a province, the government increased or reduced their tax obligations, with the aim of inducing them to give as much as they can and

[94] Nenad Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*, 132-136; Nenad Moačanin, 2006, 156-175; Radoslav Lopašić, "*Spomenici hrvatske Krajine*, Vol. 1, Zagreb: L. Hartman, 1884, 266.
[95] I would like to thank Dr. Dino Mujadžević for the courtesy of sharing these observations with me.
[96] Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*, 25.

continue to function normally. Therefore, it can be said that the Ottoman taxes were moderate and their payment feasible.[97]

As for the Sancak of Zaçasna, the land in Slavonia in general was very fertile and the peasantry managed to pay all their taxes. Since the Zaçasna was a border sancak throughout the Ottoman rule, Ottoman authorities paid particular attention to its military situation and organization. The tax policy applied by the Ottoman administrators for the civilian population in the border region was different from the one applied in the inner parts of the empire, i.e., the tax burden in the border regions was somewhat lower. The establishment of Ottoman rule did not entail, as is often mistakenly assumed, higher taxes and a more difficult position for the subdued Christian peasantry. Ottoman civilian Muslim and Christian subjects' economic situation tended to remain roughly the same, although with somewhat altered ratios of different benefits.[98]

Ottoman tax registers indicate that over time the number of taxes increased, but there was also an increase in population with regard to the number of members of individual tax units, so the tax pressure would necessarily be higher in a given sancak. There were some reports about senior military officials and other *askerî*s exploiting the civilian population on certain occasions.[99] They forced civilians to do jobs for their own benefit, extorted money, and did various other violations. In times of war, for instance, extraordinary war taxes and the illegal exploitation of the peasantry could bring the people to the brink of famine. The central Ottoman government prevented these violations only with partial success.[100] With the start of the Long Turkish War (1593-1606), the amount and number of Ottoman taxes increased, along with the arbitrary demands of the local military elites in the sancak of Zaçasna. The resulting pressure on the civilians' subsistence increased immigration from the area. The increase in taxes indicates that the Vlachs gradually switched to farming and sedentary lifestyles, but their cultivation of cereals was on average less than that of the rest of the population.[101]

According to detailed surveys, we can say that the Sancak of Zaçasna's economy was based on agriculture, livestock, beekeeping, a small amount of fishing, and a considerable amount of

[97] Nenad Moačanin, "Pristup ekohistoriji Podravine prema osmanskim izvorima", *Ekonomska i ekohistorija*, 1/1, 2005, 144.
[98] Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*, 16-25, 283.
[99] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 3, 311/911; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 5, 128/296.
[100] Fazileta Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak i osmanska Slavonija*, 43, 157.
[101] Nenad Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*, 135; 2006, 100-101, 124-127,154-156.

cross-border looting activities. Sancak's economy was poorly developed because of constant warring activities on the border and Croatian/Habsburg raids that impeded normal civilian life. The population of the Nahiye of Cernik cultivated mostly wheat, rye, wine, oats, hay, cabbage, various fruits. Their meat consumption included pigs, sheep and fish. According to Evliya, hunting was an important source of food as well. The population of the Nahiye of Drenovac produced mostly wine. After wine, the most widespread economic activity was the cultivation of wheat, oats, fruit and tobacco. Most of the livestock were pigs, then sheep and fish. We can say that, unlike the two previous *nahiye*s, in Pakrac, meslin production occupied the first place. We can also conclude that the second place in terms of production is occupied by oats, followed by wheat production and everything else. If we study the economic situation in *nahiye* of Bijela Stijena, we can conclude that, in terms of meslin production, it resembles the situation in the earlier mentioned *nahiye*s. It should be emphasized that the Nahiye of Bijela Stijena was very poor in cattle breeding and that production there relied solely on fishing. In addition to agriculture and animal husbandry, another source of income, namely, milling, is attracting attention. In the entire territory of the Sancak of Zaçasna there were 239 water mills, which represented an important income.[102]

In the lowland part of the Sancak, the population practiced cattle breeding, mostly along the Sava with its many flooded pastures. In addition, these villages probably farmed poultry and other small animals. Cattle and horses were scarce, so it was difficult to cultivate land, which was still so fertile that even with limited work in the fields, sufficient food could be grown. Pig production was of average size, whereas sheep farming was very limited. The population of the Sancak produced small amounts of food compared to the average production of Ottoman Slavonia. Such discrepancy was caused by highly developed viticulture, as large quantities of wine were probably exported to the neighboring sancaks.[103]

The other reason for a modest food production was probably the abovementioned frequent Habsburg attacks along the border and a general insecurity in this border province. Furthermore, especially the hilly and forested areas of the Sancak were an unsafe area due to local banditry, which was dominated by the pro-Habsburg *hajduk*s. Thus, the Ottomans rarely gained full control of this and another border sancaks. In particular, the first half of the 17th century was a turbulent

[102] TT.d. 355, TT.d. 612.
[103] Nenad Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*, 56-58.

period, during which rebels and bandits caused disarray. The area of the Sancak of Zaçasna was sparsely populated, although the Ottoman administration tried to colonize depopulated areas when there were no war activities. According to the existing sources, the second half of the 17th century was a more stable period without rebellions – at least until the 1680s.[104]

Even in the years when there was no war on the Habsburg-Ottoman border, both Habsburg and Ottoman local military units on the frontier neglected interstate peace agreements and crossed the border in smaller military incursions and raided through enemy territory. Throughout the area, they attacked enemy forts and villages, destroying property, burning fields, looting livestock (especially horses and pigs) and taking slaves. These frontier activities are called "small war". The reason for such action was the fact that military crews were paid irregularly. In addition, part of the frontier units did not receive pay for their service and had to "collect pay" for their services by looting on enemy land. Thus, ensued mutual destruction or removal of property, people and livestock. One other motive for Croatian/Habsburg peacetime incursions into Ottoman territory was the habit of periodically forcing the civilian population to be subjected to a tax collection, with the justification that these inhabitants were still subjects of the Croatian Kingdom, although currently under Ottoman occupation. Habsburg military detachments from the Podravinian forts of Koprivnica, Žabjak[105] and other forts in the area periodically invaded the Ottoman part of Podravina and pillaged villages, killing peasants, taking away slaves and cattle, and burning down villages. One of these devastating incursions occurred in 1578, when Habsburg detachments from the fortresses of Žabjak, Koprivnica, Topolovac, Varaždin and a number of other forts invaded the Ottoman territory. According to an Ottoman source from that year, the mentioned Habsburg forces attacked Ottoman settlements in the vicinity of Požega three times in one month. Ottoman forces

[104] According to Moačanin, "the rebellions of the local Christian population should not be hastily named as national and anti-Ottoman uprisings, because there is a thin line between such actions and brigandage." Only the rebel activities of the local population during the Long Turkish War (1593-1606) and during the Great Turkish War (1683-1999) were comprehensive, concentrated and aligned with the activities of the Habsburg forces. Other revolts were simply rebellious acts or the work of hajduk groups, which were in part armed by the Ottoman authorities in order to defend their territories from the Habsburg invasions. Moačanin believes that the latter may have rebelled in cases when the Ottomans wanted to return them to the status of ordinary subjects, without preferential tax status, and would then use firearms that the Ottomans armed them with to fight the Habsburg forces. Such *hajduk* groups were numerous and caused many problems for the Ottoman authorities. They knew how to invade the Habsburg area and take away livestock and slaves, and in some cases even extort taxes from Christians. For the most part, there were very few differences between ordinary thugs and "liberationist" locals who cooperated with and spied for the Habsburg forces. Nenad Moačanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine*, 142-143.

[105] The village of Žabjak did not have a fort, but 10 kilometers to the east of it was the Sveti Ivan fort (today Sveti Ivan Žabno).

tried to prevent them from, but were unsuccessful. The attackers burned a number of forts, which needed to be rebuilt. According to information from another source, in 1568 in his letter to Istanbul the Sancakbey of Požega complained about the attacks of the Habsburg forces through Podravina from the Žabjak fort.[106]

The Sancak of Zaçasna did not have a highly developed trade economy. This was mostly influenced by war insecurity and the proximity of the troubled border, so that wartime economic activities were more profitable for the local Ottoman population. Pakrac seemed to be the biggest town (Ottoman Turkish: *kasaba*) with over 600 houses, and the inhabitants of Pakrac – mostly Muslims – were engaged in farming around the town. It is possible that the local authorities tolerated the illegal cross-border cattle trade and only charged a fine[107] for such activities, thus adding to their revenue. Such trade certainly existed and took place semi-legally and with the knowledge of the authorities on both sides of the border, whereby both sides collected customs duties on that trade. Livestock, grain and salt were exported to the Habsburg part. The exporters were lower Ottoman commanders, i.e., *ağa*s. Both Christian and Muslim population of the Sancak along the border was allowed to trade across the border. For the most part, they sold grain, salt and livestock and bought corn. As for the Vlachs, they raised cattle and horses – the latter for military purposes, kept watermills, and also engaged in theft of livestock from the Habsburg side.[108]

The state of the sancak's economy probably took a turn for the worse during the 17th century, because in his travelogue Evliya Çelebi states that in the 1660s the Sancak of Zaçasna was an "unprofitable sancak with low income and high expenditures" and that in the fields "wheat and barley fail, and in the places where they succeed, the enemy destroys them."[109]

[106] Mislav Gregl, Neven Kovačev, and Nataša Štefanec, "Prilozi za povijest diplomacije i vojnokrajiškog ratovanja u 16. stoljeću", *Historijski zbornik*, LXIII, 2010, 170-172, 176-177, 184, 186.
[107] The fees or tax *cürm ü cinayet* was the penalty paid to landowners for crimes committed by the inhabitants of timar lands.
[108] Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube*, 156; Radoslav Lopašić, "*Spomenici hrvatske Krajine*, 314, 364-365.
[109] Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.5, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini, prep. by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, 256.

2.8. The Settlements of the Sancak of Zaçasna[110]

Table 1: The Settlements located in the nahiye of Cernik in 1565

Kasaba (Town)	**Mahalle (Quarter of a Town**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
Çernik (Cernik)	Şabanovik (Šâbâtović/Šabanović)	İsfinar (Isfinar)	Tıpoloviç (Topolovci)
	İsveti Vladisav (Isveti Vladisav)	Durugoviç (Dorugovci/Durugovci)	Selçe (Selce)
	Câmi'-i hazret-i pâdişâh-ı âlem-penâh (The mosques of His Excellency the Padishah, protector of the World)	Osiçani Mala and Velika (Osičani/Osječani Mala i Velika)	Markoviç (Markovci)
		İmen (Imin/Imen?)	Şuşanye (Šušanje)
		Yablaniç (Jablanič/Jablanica)	Orahovaç (Orahovac)
		Bakin Dol (Baćin Dol)	Bosada? near Gradçaç (Bosada)
		Şumekliç (Šumeđica/Šumeđinci)	Velika Brestoviçe near the village of Mala Brestoviçe (Velika Brestovica)
		Banilofiç (Banićovci)	Tırgovişte, near the village of Mala Brestoviçe (Trgovište)
		Duboçaç (Dubočac)	Gorna Duboçaç (Gorna Dubočac)
		Selnataç also known as Siçiç (Selnatac?, Sičice)	Mali Duboçaç (Mali Dubočac)
		Lupina (Lupina)	Serşenofçe (Sršenovci)

[110] In this table I have tried to introduce a new approach to the Turkish pronunciation of toponyms. The Croatian orthographies are taken from: *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584.*, iz osmanskoturskog izvornika prevela i priredila Fazileta Hafizović, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2021, *passim*.

		Brboçaç Brbočica/Brbočinci)	Yosevaç near the Podvrški Fort (Joševac)
		Petrovik (Petrović)	Dvorişte near the Podvrški Fort (Dvorište/Dvorišje?)
		Gletinçi (Giletinci)	Podgayci near the Podvučje Fort (Podgajci)
		Petrovik Vırh (Petrović Vrh)	Mala Orlaviçe near the Podvrški Fort (Mala Orlavica)
		Tisofiç (Tisovče/Tisovci)	Pleşevarci? (Plešević?)
		Mukinove also known as Mutnik (Mućinova/Mođinova?, Mutnik/Mutnić?)	Seredna Vas and Zagulan and Boyanci and Gloçan near Gradçaç (Sredna Vas i mezra Zagulan i mezra Bojanci i Galočan?)
		Direjnik (D/i/reznik)	Kuzminci ve Meyidsan? also known as Direkovci (Kuzminci i .....?, also known as Vid/e/kovci)
		Bodvalci (Budvalci/Bodvalci)	Guçanroman Dol (Gučan Ruman? Dol)
		Çernogorçi (Černogorči)	Rana Boryak, and Bohdivilek? (Rana Borjak and .....??)
		Oştrvriçe? (Oštrovrh)	Odolin (Odolin/Udolin)
		Farkaşev Vırh (Farkašev Vrh)	... (illegible), and İşpanovik, and Jelençik,

			and Zelnuzjak and Lukoş (.....? i Išpanović i Jeličić/Jelenčić i Železnak i Lukoš)
		Oseş? (Otes)	Mezra which is a pasture Dolna and Gorna Bunla? (pasture Dolna i Gorna Pusta?)
		Çermoşnik (Čremošnik)	Biloşevik (Bilošević)
		Bançino (Bančino)	
		Ladni (Lazi)	
		Vrbova (Vrbova)	
		Komarniç (Komarnica)	
		Yablanovaç (Jablanovac)	
		Reşetar (Rešetar)	
		Vırbiye (Vrbje)	
		Ustuborye (Ustuborje)	
		Dolaç (Dolac)	
		Podgay (Podgaj)	
		Mala Brestoviç (Mala Brestovica)	
		Obreşin Dol (Obrešin? Dol)	
		İsveti İvaniye	

		(Isveti Ivanje)	
		Zapolye known as Zapolyska's land (Zapol'je/Zapolje)	
		Suveniçe? (Subodnica)	
		Other Lupina (Lupina)	
		Guna near Gradçaç (Guna)	
		Herliniç near Gradçaç (Hrelinci)	
		Rebnak (Ribnak)	
		Podvrşje near the Podvrşki fort (Podvršje)	
		Pridvorye next to the Podvrşki fort (Pridvorje)	
		İsvarkofçe and Lurkakovik Vrh and İskurnik Dol and …mirci? and Diyakofiç ve Modrofiç near the Subodska fort (Isvarkovci, Đurđaković Vrh, Iskrunić? Dol, Kre/č/mirci?, Dijakovci, Modrovica)	
		Tırnava (Trnava)	
		Mişoselo known as Plemerik (Miševselo, Pleterić)	
		Osiçan (Osičan)	
		Dolna Podgay (Dolna Podgaj	
		Bukula/ Bokola (Bukula/Bukola)	
Kasaba in total	Mahalle in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total

1	3	51	24
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Drenovci in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Mahalle (Quarter of a Town**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
1	Virhovic (Vrhovci)	Direnofçe (Drenovci)	
	Selec (Selce)	Dubovac (Dubovac)	
	Dolan (Dolan)	Lujan (Lužan)	
	Gorna Gradko Potok (Gorna Gradkov Potok)	Dolna ve Korna Orahovic also known as Orahovac (Selo Dolna i Gorna Orahovica, Orahovac)	Malenova (Malinova)
	Diragofiç (Dragovci)	Ustubnik (Ustubnik)	Ustubnik (Ustubnik)
	Seredna Vas (Sredna Vas)	Malkova/Malinova (Malinova)	Unucevic (Uničevica)
	İslatnik (Islatinić)	Gorna Gradko Potok (Gorna Gradkov Potok)	Duboçe (Dubovče)
	Dobrorika (Dobrorîka)	Betrina (Betrina)	İskrabunik (Iškrabutnik)
	Zavirşe (Završ/j/e)	Selec (Selce)	Grabarye (Grabarje)
	Y/Bagovic (Bagovci/Jagovci)	Bukodol (Bukovdol)	Hrastoviç (Hrastovci)
	Lovcik (Lovčić/Lučić)	(Buçye) (Bučje)	
	Lipovaç (Lipovac)	Korenitaç (Korenitac)	
		Dol (Dol)	
		İskrabutnik (Iskrabotnić)	
		Orjaviç (Orjavič/Orjavica)	
		Komoriç (Komorica)	

		Biç (Bič)	
		Kuminik (Kuminić/Kominić)	
		Çiglenik (Čiglenik/Čiglenić)	
		Divçaç (Dubočac)	
		Pavlofiç (Pavlovci)	
		Podberse also known as Brejan (Podbrežje, Brežan/Brezan)	
		Banoçi (Banovci)	
		Pepelik (Pepelić)	
Kasaba in total	Mahalle in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
1	12	25	10
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Pakrac in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Varoş (District outside a fort)**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
1	Varoş-ı Megüriçka also known as Jelezno Megüriçki Varoš Međurička, Železno Međurički	Grabarye (Gabarje)	Vedna (Vidina)
		Uziçevac (Užičevac?/Oričevac?/Orihovac?)	Blagay Petrovna (Blagaj Petrovina)
		Luşka Dolaç (Luška Dolac)	Obreçac (Obrečinci?)
		Dolna Vas (Dolna Vas)	Kalimovci? (Milikovci/Milenkovci,)
		Dolna Dubic) (Dolna Dub/n/ica)	Uniçovci (Uničovci?)
		Dobrovrh (Dobrovrh)	Dukleşnic (Duklešinci?)
		Vinarovic (Vinarovci)	Sadlarvac (Sedlarevac)
		Toplic	İvladkofic

		(Toplica)	(I/Vladkovci)
		Luşka (Luška)	Tomaşenovic (Tomašenovci)
		Modrovnik (Modrovinić/Mudrovitić)	Omaneva (Obaneva/Ujaneva?)
		(Vukşinic) Vukšinci	Half mezraa Duga Vas (Duga Vas)
		Jelekni? Grad	Çernac (Černač/Crnac)
		Melas (Milas/Jelas)	Ortunofiç (Ortunovci)
		İskrabutnik (Iskrabutnik/Škrabutnik)	Podvorci and Kavçik and Direnofiç (Podvorci, Kavčić, Drenovci)
		Dukleşnic (Duklešinci)	Popolov Voda (Popovlu? Voda?)
		Orşka (Ivrška/Oriška)	Grabarye and Saranovic and Pavkovic and Dujofiç and Yuryanic and Farkayvic?, Meliçevic and Suderik and Bucik, Sefelovic (Grabarje, Siranovci, Pavkovci, Dužovci Jurjanjci/Borjanci?, Farkašavci, Jeličevci, Suderić, Bučić, Sefelovci)
		Vas (Vas)	Raçinik and Pakarsa Vrh and Lisina and Çavlak and Gorna Bodegray (Račinić, …….? Vrh, Lisina, Čavlak, Gornja Bodegraj)
		Vasniç	Arin

		(Vas/i/nič)	(G/a/rbun)
		Bersenas also known as İstokonac (Brstan/Brštan, Istokunac/Ispokojac)	
		Vrhovic (Vrhovci)	
		Poriçye (Poričje)	
		Zadarik Mala and Velika (Zadarić Mala i Velika)	
		Radenovic (Radenovci)	
Kasaba in total	Varoş in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
1	1	23	18
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Bijela Stijena in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Varoş (District outside a fort)**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
1	Varoş-ı Kal'a-i Bela İstina Varoš tvrđave Bijela Stijena	Vişinci (Višinci)	Half mezraa Juberkovaç (Žuberkovac)
		Direnovic (Drenov/in/ci)	Sveça (Sveča?)
		Cerkovic-i Bâlâ (Č/e/rkovinci Gornji)	Opatvina near Sveça (Opatovina)
		Bertvactine (B/e/travična)	Oraniş (Orašn/j/aš)
		Dragaliç (Dragalica/Dragalinci)	Macarovic near Varoş-ı İdvorişte (Madžarovci, in the vicinity of varoši Dvorište)
		Dragalinç (Dragalinci)	Basyan (Basijan/Pasban?)
		Çerkoviniç (Čerkovinci)	Dolac (Dolac)
		Varoş İdvorişte (varoš Dvorište)	Beraykovic and Zubaniç

			(Brajkovci/Brajkovica and Zubanci/Zobanci)
		Blagay (Blagaj)	Hutlovik Grgur? (Dimoševića Grgura)
		Radakoviç (Radankovci)	Vladkovna and Bakani (Vladkovina and Baćani /Paćani)
		Çernik (Černik/Černić)	Çernic (Černič/Cernica (Crnica)
		Dolna Vas also known as Podvirci and Brnjakovic and Isveti Mihal and Nedelkovic and Bana and Leşnan and Kopovina (Dolna Vas, Podv/i/rci, Brnjakovci i selo Isveti Mihal i selo Nedelkovci? i selo Ban/j/a i selo Ličtan/Lišnan? mezra Jasenan i selo Kopovina?)	Pustelic and Yeralbertovine? Deyakovna and Gorna Vas and Plodvina, Bançik (Pustelica, ... Trbovina?, Dijakovina?, Gorna Vas and Plodovina?, Jančić/Bančić)
		Matişovic (Matišovci,)	İsveti Dimitri (Isveti Dimitri/j/)
		İşkovaniç (/I/Skovarč)	Sekovci? and Yakovci (Sikovci/Sijekovci i Jakovci/Bakovci)
		Viranovic (Vranovci)	Velika ve Mala Brena (Velika and Mala Brez/n/a)
		Çerkovniç (Čerkovnica/Čerkvenica)	Mogvaştina and Kramerci (Mogoreština i Kramerče/Kramerci)
		Virşofiç (Vršovci)	Omreşka Selişte and Polic ve İsveti Kuzmadmiyan Lozi (Obreska? Selište i Police and Isveti

			Kuzmademijan and Podluzi)
		Pustosel (Pustosel)	Çevaçki Balaş (Černovački Balaš/Milaša)
		Pavlovik (Pavlović)	Vasnic (Vasinci)
		Tominova (Tominova?)	Podamle and Ustrugovina (Podamlje? and Ostrugovina)
		Bagdalovci and Goryanski and Vuckovic and Pasi Dol and Çinula (Bagdalovci i Gorjanski i Vučkovci i Pasji Dol i Činula?/Čibola?.)	Novaci and Velika İsloboştina and İkrane (Novaci i Velika Isloboština, Ikrapje)
		İstojanofiç and Babreş and Çernovic and Ferkaşik and Dolna and Gorna Draşin? and Harastovac and Dolna Podresna (Istojanovci, Batreš?, Č/a/rnovci i Ferkašić i Dolna i Gorna Vranetin? i Hr/a/stovac i Dolna Podresna?)	Rujik and İvercik and Bocanin Ružić and Iverčić and Budenin?
		Dolna and Gorna Hrastina and Belevac and Badinic? Vrh and Kokol (Gorna i Dolna Hrastina i Bilevac i Jagdinič? Vrh i Kukol/j/?,)	Rozanşik and Velşinci and Dragaliva (Rozačnik i Velšinci/Višinci i Dragal/j/eva)
		İvladişavaç (Ivladislavče)	Otiçevac (Otičevac/Uničevac)
		Velika Tivanofiç (Velika Tivanovica/Tivanovci)	Druganovac (D/o/ruganovac)
		Oreşye Selovik and Habjanic? (Orešje i Jelović/Bilović? i Fabijanci)	Mihotin and Radavin Ribarik

			(Mihovila/Mihotina Radavina Ribarića)
		Makhovic and Lukaçevic (Mačkovci i Lukačevci i Luka)	Dukovina (Dukovina)
		Gregorviç and Sine (Gr/e/gurovci i Sine/Sjene)	Yasenan (Jasenan)
		İvanovic and Boratlik and Osloboçna and Lukavac and Lublenik (Ivanovci i Boratlić?? i Oslobočna? i Lukavac i Lubinić/Lubletić?)	Mihalovic (Mihalovci)
		Juberkovac (Žuberkovac)	
		Racusye (Rasušje?)	
		Yakobanic (Jakobanci)	
		Kovaşevac (Kovačevac)	
		Benedinic (Benedinci)	
		Mokhonovac (Mok/a/čunovac)	
		Bilanovac (Bilanovac)	
		Pavlenovic (Pavlenovci)	
		Turzunofic Sirebernar (Dorzunovci/Turzunovci Srebrenar)	
		Veliçka Glava (Veli/č/ka Glava,)	
		Nedelkofic (Nedelkovci)	
		Vişaniç (Višanci/Vješanci)	

		Trnakovic (Trnakovci)	
		Kondanovic (Kondanovci/Fundanovci,)	
		Half village Gorna Relvika (Gorna Živika,)	
		Bor also known as Podbor (Bor, Podbor,)	
		Miliçani (Miličani)	
		Velika Isloboçina (Velika Islobočina)	
		Virbye (Vrbje)	
		Şuşnefaç (Šušnevac)	
		Klokoçevaç (Klokočevac)	
		Dolna Jivika (Živika)	
		Varoş-ı İsveti Vladisav (Isveti Vladisav)	
		Zelişniç (Zelišnica)	
		Varoş-ı İsveti Katarina (varoš Isveta Katarina)	
		Ustokanac (U/stokanac)	
		Mali Vişanci (Mali Višanci)	
		Blajekovac (Blaž/e/kovac)	
		Dolac with Yakobancima (Dolac s Jakobancima)	
		Virhovci (Vrhovci)	
		Vrançevac	

		(Vran/e/čevac)	
		Nedelkovik Istokos (Nedelković Istokosa)	
		Mali Dolac (Mali Dolac)	
		Vaşkovajice (Vaškovažiče)	
		Berivaç (Brivča)	
		Gorna i Dolna Brestanic Galetik (Gorna i Dolna Br/e/staninci Galetić?)	
		Half village Jivike Gorna (Živike Gorne)	
		Serebranik Vrh (Srebrenarić Vrh)	
		Tirnoviç (Trnovica)	
		Yelas (Jelas)	
		İstarça (Istarča)	
		Çernovac (Černovac)	
		Marlic (Jazbinci?)	
		Jupanic (Županci)	
		Praşenic (Petračinci? Prašnica/Prašinci)	
		Şibenik (Šibenik)	
		Brajkovic(Brajkovci)	
		Sikirik (Sikirić)	
		Taberniş (Taberniš/Daberniš)	

		Gire (Gire/Đire)	
		Lublan (Lub/e/lan)	
		Kmarina (Timarina)	
		... Vas (.....? Vas)	
		Grgovic (Grđenovci)	
		Grdavac (Grdavac)	
		Bareşoviç (Barešovci/Jarešovci)	
Kasaba in total	Varoş in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
1	1	85	29
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Kutinovci in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Mahalle (Quarter of a Town**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
–	–	Raduckunovic? (Očkunovci/Učkunovci)	–
		İsveti Görgi (Isveti Đorđi)	
		Gorna Vas (Gorna Vas)	
		Yakovina (Jakovina/Latkovina)	
		Plodovina (Plodovina)	
		Marjuvic (Par/u/žovci)	
		İdvorişte (Idvorište)	
		Vukşina (Vukšina)	
		Orişani (Orišani)	
		Gorna Povirşna	

		(Gorna Površna)	
		Dolani (Dolani)	
		Yablanic (Biletinci)	
		Kırtunya (Krtunya)	
		İvladişavik (Ivladišavić)	
		Hardenic? (Mrzenica? in Petrovina	
		Meraklık? (Mrak)	
Kasaba in total	Varoş in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
1	1	16	1
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Šagovina in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Mahalle (Quarter of a Town**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
1	1	İstarça (Istarča)	Çirleni Borik (C/i/rleni Veliki)
		Krayanci (Krajanci)	Yakov Vojvode (Jakov Vojvode)
		İzgon Hrabac Lakoşki (izgon Hrabač Bakoški)	Yorakovik (Jurković/Boraković)
		Velika Vas (Velika Vas)	Poyi Jeyalis? (…….?)
		Rakovac (Rakovac)	Sermed? (Širmerda)
		Gorna Icvak (Gorna Ičvac/Ičvad)	Andriye Lonçarik (Andrije Lončarića)
		Bela Vuhovic (Bila Vučevica?)	Dragonovac (Dragunovac)
		Benedic (Benedinci)	İrlatar (Izlatar/Zlata)
		Ruşenic (Ručenci)	Rosenik (Rosenić/Rusanić)
		Meni Moticik (Mig Motičić)	

		Dolna Vırşnic (Dolna Vašnica/Vašinci)	
		Blajenovic (Blaženovci)	
		Kovaçevaç (Kovačevac)	
		İstarça (Istarča)	
		Dolna Goriç (Dolna Gorica)	
		Gorna Goriç (Gorna Gorica)	
		Dolna İçvak (Dolna Ičvađ/Čovac)	
		Podgradye (Podgradje)	
		Gurvo İçvanik (Đurka Ičvanišića?)	
		Vukovinovic (Vukovinovci)	
		Gradişki (Gradiški/Gradišak?)	
Kasaba in total	Mahalle in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
1	1	21	9
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Podbučje in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Mahalle (Quarter of a Town**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
		Orlava (Orlava)	
		Virhovic (Vrhovci)	
		Koyanic (Kujanci/Kopanci)	
		Bodvanic (Bud/o/vanci)	
		Gorna and Dolna Koprivna (Gorna i Dolna Koprivna)	
		Selaniç	

		(Selanci)	
		Jivike (Živke)	
		Benakovic (Benakovica)	
		Harganovic (Darganovci)	
		Beratunci (Bratunci)	
		Potuvorfic (Poturovci/ Potuvoroci)	
		Boraçovic (Boračovci/Juračovci)	
		Yakuşofic (Jakušovci)	
		Gorna i Dolna Selno (Gorna i Dolna Sel/i/no)	
		Yavrena? (Jav/o/vrina)	
		Gorne Şumkic (Gorne Šumeđinci)	
		Dolne Şumkic (Dolne Šumeđinci)	
		Ozrenofic (Ozrenovci)	
		Belgrad (Belgrad)	
		Zid (Zid)	
		Grdenovic (Grdenovci)	
		Tesovic (Be/ne/šovci)	
		Beryofic (Ber/e/jovci)	
		İzmetna (Izmetena?)	

		İstenoviç (Istenovci)	
		B/Yaştrebnik (Jaštrebnik)	
		Drakçevçe (Drakčevče)	
		Berçelay (Brčelani)	
		DolneKobilyan (Dolne Kobil'jak)	
		Yakovişte (Jakovište)	
		Lena (Lipa)	
		Gorne Kobilyan (Gorne Kobil'jak)	
		Petriglav (Petriglav)	
		Çerşinic (Čerečnica/Cerišinci)	
		Marko Dol (Marko/v/dol)	
		Tirinik (Trnik?)	
		Yako Dol (Jakovdol)	
		Çırnko Vrh (Crnkov Vrh)	
		Vuhi Selavci? (Vučislavci)	
		Cukovac (Dukovac)	
		Janofic (Janovic)	
Kasaba in total	Mahalle in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
I	I	41	I
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Sirač in 1565			

Kasaba (Town)	Mahalle (Quarter of a Town	Karye (Village)	Mezraa (Hamlet)
		Gorne Dubiçe (Gorne Dubiča / Gornja Dubica)	Milinovic (Mil/in/ovci)
		Odoryanovic (Odorjanovci)	
		Selanci (Selanci)	
		Venazarec? Mihal (Vinazarec? Mihal)	
		Dolanic (Dol/j/anci)	
		İzdençan (Izdenčan/Izdenčak)	
		Grizyak (Grizjak)	
		Poberezye (Pobrezje)	
		Half village Duga Vas (Duga Vas)	
		Toreşinic (Tor/e/šinci)	
		Povec? Vir (……..? Vir)	
		Veskovac (Veskovac/Viskovac)	
		Ohridak (Ohridak/Osridak?)	
		Baçkovic (Bačkovci/Mačkovci?)	
		Goryak (Grizjak?)	
		Tokovi Gay (Bukovi Gaj)	
		Antun Torkulan (Antuna Porkulaba)	
		Beşkovic (Beškovci)	

		Vinovic (Vinovci)	
		Milinovic (Milinovci)	
Kasaba in total	Mahalle in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
I	I	20	I
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Dobra Kuća in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Mahalle (Quarter of a Town**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
I	I	Varoş Bila (Varoš Bila)	I
		Podgrade (Podgradje)	
		Virnetiçka (Vrnetička)	
		İstaniçofic (Istaničovci)	
		Bilanska İsloboçtina (Bilanska Islobočtina)	
		Ranozoşanac? (Ranorosanac?)	
		Borka (Borka)	
		Suletic (Suletinci/Soletinci)	
		Velika Vas (Velika Vas)	
		Markovik (Marković)	
		Sohaca (Suhača)	
		Deyakovic (Dijakovci)	
		İsveti Marija (Isveta Marija)	
		Gorçak (Gor/i/čak)	
		İstekovic	

		(Istepkovci)	
		Puklic (Puklica/Buklinci?)	
		Mala Borka (Mala Borka)	
		Beniko? İslovçka (…? Islobočka)	
		…? (Za Ile)	
		Rusnik (Rusenić/Rošetić)	
		Kamenski Islobočka (Kamenska Islobočka)	
		Çetvrkovişka (Četvrtkoviška)	
		Mervac Dol (Mr/a/vac Dol)	
		Şebenovic (Sebešovci/Senešovci)	
		Punic Vrh(Punič? Vrh)	
		Dolani (Dolani)	
		Koşifçe (Košovica/Kušovica)	
		Rikofic (/R/Ikovci)	
		Podnovilic (Podovinci/Budnovinci)	
		Podborye (Podborje)	
		Mala and Velıka Koritac (Mala i Velika Koritac/Kozinac)	
		Dimiçkovina (Dimičkovina)	
		Topla Voda (Topla Voda)	
		Topla Kuga	

		(Topla Kuća)	
		Gorna i Dolna Kratina (Gorna i Dolna Kratina)	
		Brestovaç (Brestovac)	
		Husenic (Petkušinci)	
		Çepniya (Čikina)	
		İsveti Yuray (Isveti Juraj)	
		Oçanyo Mala and Velika (Učajno Mala i Velika)	
		Brezançi (Brezanci)	
		Kupolina (Kupinova)	
		Bilobrezye (Bilobrezje)	
		Tuşkovic (Boškovci/Tuškovci)	
		Bukoni (Bukovje/Bukovina)	
		Half village Markovik (Marković)	
		Şimonyofic (Šimojnovci)	
		Gruşibnic (Grubišnica)	
		Dozaci (Dužaci/Dozaci)	
		Pavleşovic and Miloş (Pavlišovci i Miloš)	
		İsveti Margarita (Isveta Margarita)	
		İsveti …? (Isve Sveti?)	

		İsveti Ana (Isveta Ana)	
		Remetinci (Remetinci?)	
		İneçko Vinic (……?)	
		Direnov Dol (Drenov Dol)	
		Margaleta (Bargaleta?/Margaleta?)	
		İsveti Petri (Isveti Petri)	
		Pavlişofic (Pavlišovci)	
Kasaba in total	Mahalle in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
1	1	59	1
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Čaklovci in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Varoş (District outside a fort**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
1	Varoş-ı Çaklovec Varoš Čaklovci	Kravarina (Kravarina)	1
		Şimunofic (Šimunovci)	
		Fodorovic (Fodorovci/Kodurovci)	
		Brusnik with Brayişnic (Brusnik Brajšincima)	
		Dolna Pokrayci (Dolna Pokrajci)	
		Bornovac (Bor/e/novci / Jurnovci)	
		Isloboçtina (Islobočtina)	
		Senkova (Senkova)	
		Bakinofic (Baćinovci)	
Kasaba in total	Varoš in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total

–	1	9	–
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Istubcanica in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Mahalle (Quarter of a Town**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
–	–	Velika İslobo...? (Velika Islobočko)	–
		Poydinci (Pordinci)	
		Prifor Dol (Prijorov? Dol)	
		İsveti Mihal (Isveti Mihal)	
		Bogdin Dol (Bogdin Dol)	
		İvaniş Hiyan? (Ivaniš Dijak)	
		Borya? (Turija/Borija)	
		Kokorik (Kokorić)	
		Poriçne (Poričje/Boričje)	
		Dokotor (Dokotur)	
		İlova (I/se/lova)	
		Kukovic (Kućovci)	
		Duga Vas (Duga Vas)	
		İstanic (Istanič/Stanica?)	
		Payelgan? (Papel'jan)	
Kasaba in total	Mahalle in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
–	–	15	–
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Pakarska Sredel in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Mahalle (Quarter of a Town**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**

–	–	Varoş-ı Pakarska (Varoš Pakarska)	–
		Hrasne (Hrastije)	
		Diyakovic (Dijakovci)	
Kasaba in total	Mahalle in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
–	–	3	–
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Kontovac in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Mahalle (Quarter of a Town**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
–	–	Gorne Pola (Gorne Pola)	–
		Dolne Pola (Dolne Pola)	
		Seyano Hrasta (Sejano Hrastije)	
		Varoş-ı Kontovac (Varoš Kontovac)	
		Lena (Lipa)	
Kasaba in total	Mahalle in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
–	–	5	–
The Settlements located in the nahiye of Podvrški in 1565			
Kasaba (Town)	**Mahalle (Quarter of a Town**	**Karye (Village)**	**Mezraa (Hamlet)**
		Hrgodol (Hrgodol)	
Kasaba in total	Mahalle in total	Karye in total	Mezraa in total
–	–	1	–
In Total			
Kasaba	Mahalle	Varoš	Karye	Mezra
1	15	3	374	91

3. THE EMERGENCE OF THE CROATIAN-OTTOMAN FRONTIER IN SLAVONIA

Except for important Bosnian and Croatian historians Ottoman historiography of the Classical Age paid little attention to the relatively significant successes of Bosnian local forces in the area between Drava and the Adriatic in the first half of the 16th century.[111] The Ottoman military involvement in the region between the Drava River (the border of Hungary proper) and the Adriatic Sea during the 16th century remains largely unknown to Ottoman scholars outside this region to this day. During the Ottoman expansion in todays Bosnia and Croatia large portions of local population either left or were relocated by their feudal lords, resulting in profound political, ethnoreligious, cultural, and linguistic changes. That resulted in a mixture of different ethnic identities in a relatively small area. Probably, nowhere in Europe did so many ethnic and religious groups co-existed, as in Western parts of the Balkans during Ottoman rule. "Ottoman conquests in the early 16th century led to the diminishing, territorially and otherwise, of the Catholic Christian kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, but this also had resulted in the ending of political fragmentation in this area. Western parts of medieval Croatia and Slavonia never came under the Ottoman rule but became the nucleus for future Croatian statehood and nationalism precisely because of Ottoman pressure."[112]

3.1. The Formation of the Ottoman *Serhad* in the Early Period

Ottoman frontier i.e., *serhad* opposite the historically Croatian lands in Bosnia were not organized into districts similar to the captaincies of the Habsburgs.[113] At the beginning, the military

[111] I would like to express my gratitude to dear Filip Šimunjak for reading the chapter and recommending the necessary changes.
For a comprehensive work on this topic, see: Elma Korić, "Stepen izučenosti rubnog pojasa osmanskog serhata u Bosni naspram habsburških vojnih krajina Hrvatske i Slavonske na temelju osmanskih izvora do kraja 16. stoljeća u dosadašnjoj bosansko-hercegovačkoj historiografiji", *Franz Vaniček i vojnokrajiška historiografija*, ed. Stanko Andrić and Robert Skenderović, Slavonski Brod, 2017, 103-120.

[112] Dino Mujadžević, "The other Ottoman Serhat in Europe: Ottoman Territorial Expansion in Bosnia and Croatia in First Half of 16th Century", *Ankara Üniversitesi Güneydoğu Avrupa Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi (GAMER)*, I, 1, Ankara, 2012 s. 99-111.

[113] For more concise information on the captaincies on the Habsburg side, see: Filip Šimunjak, "*Običajno-pravne prakse na Vojnoj krajini u 16. Stoljeću*", master's thesis, University of Zagreb 2022, 29-31.

force of the Bosnian frontier was divided according to the sancaks' boundaries, while the sancakbeyis had supreme authority over military personnel. However, starting in the early 1600s, the fortresses of Bihać, on the Habsburg border, and Nova (today Herceg Novi), on the Venetian border, were separated from sancak-based defense policies by being organized into *kapudanlıks*, or captaincies (Croatian: *kapetanije*). It should be noted that, although their titles were *kapudanlıks*, these military establishments would correspond to the captainships on the Habsburg side of the border only after the Treaty of Karlowitz (Srijemski Karlovci) in 1699. Before Karlowitz, the two largest *kapudanlıks* in the Bosnian eyalet were Bihać and Herceg Novi (Nova), which were enormous fortification complexes surrounded by auxiliary fortified places. However, until now, no conclusive evidence has yet been found to demonstrate that these large complexes had absolute authority over a specific region. From this perspective, it is more accurate to state that, these *kapudanlıks* were based on a foundation that was akin to the system established by the Ottomans in Hungary, which was represented by fortresses like Esztergom (Ostrogon) [114] and Székesfehérvár (İstolni Belgrad; Stolni Biograd).[115]

Ottoman defense policies in Bosnia were determined as the result of pragmatist planning that was updated according to existing conditions. Geographic locations, defensive priorities, taxation opportunities, and most importantly, the suitability for further expansion were the main factors that were calculated by the Ottomans while establishing a border.

The development of the Ottoman *serhad* in Bosnia can be divided into 3 phases:

1. The introduction of the first regular border troops to Bosnia after 1526 was turning point. These new forces consisted of paid fortress units such as *mustahfizes, azebs*, *beşli*s, *farises*, *gönüllü*s, and *martolos*es, and were deployed mainly on the borderlines.[116]

2. Following the Long Turkish War, it had been seen by the Ottomans that the balance of power was now equal to the Habsburgs', and even in some places, had shifted in favor of them. With the capture of Bihać, the final significant victory in Bosnia, the Ottomans recognized that they had reached the limits of their strength. Following this last conquest in Bosnia, they were

[114] Most likely the most important fortress in Ottoman Hungary was Esztergom during the 16th century. It stood on the military road leading to Vienna as a border fortress of the Ottoman part of the country. Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018, 373.

[115] This was the town where Hungarian kings were crowned before to the Ottoman rule. As an Ottoman stronghold, it was crucial in the protection of the north Transdanubian frontier, and military victories extending westwards. Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, 391.

[116] For further information on these units please see chapter four.

forced to abandon their policies of further territorial expansion and adopted a new strategy aimed at protecting the existing status quo, that is, the borders. During this period, the considerable rise in the number of soldiers serving in garrisons is visible at the border fortified places, and the new captaincy-based border organization mentioned above is strong proof of this fact.

3. After the rise of defense concerns, the protection of fortified places was increasingly entrusted to fortress *kapudan*s[117] in the first quarter of the 16th century, resulting in a large growth in the number of these military officials. As the *kapudans*' role in defense grew, they began to command their own special azeb units, which were used mainly for operational duties. For example, while there are no records of fortress *kapudans* serving on the border prior to 1590, a roll call book (*mevacib defteri*) from the first quarter of the 17th century contains 13 records of fortress *kapudans* serving in Bosnian border fortifications.[118] On the other hand, despite major territorial losses, this number increased to 66 in 1734, covering the entire Bosnian eyalet.[119] Therefore, it can be said that after 1699, these fortress kapudans became the most fundamental organizational structure upon which border defenses were built.[120]

The historical development of the formation of the Slavonia-Ottoman borders will be discussed in detail below, presenting a general picture for a better understanding.

3.2. The First Phase: The Ottoman-Hungarian Borders from 1365 to 1526

Apart from Ottoman Turkish invasions and occupations, permanent Ottoman conquest in the Balkans, began in 1352, half a century after the establishment of the Ottoman principality, when Crown Prince Suleiman Pasha occupied the Tzympe (Çimpe) castle on the Gallipoli peninsula.[121]

By 1365, the Ottoman expansion had already overrun Bulgaria and reached the lower Danube. After the defeat of the Balkan armies in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, defense against the

[117] Fortress *Kapudan* or captain was the head of the operational units in the fortresses. Unlike the *kapudan*s in Bihać and Nova these *kapudan*s had fewer troops and smaller jurisdictions. Evliya Çelebi commented that in this region, the dizdar was called kapudans. Considering this expression, we can speculate that kapudans were perhaps sometimes more influential in the fortresses and could often be promoted to the post of dizdar. Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country, on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*, Leiden-Boston, Brill 2006, 152.
[118] MAD.d. 5279.
[119] TKGM.d. 2134, 56.
[120] For the development of Ottoman defense policies after 1699, see: Ömer Gezer, *Kale ve Nefer: Habsburg Serhaddinde Osmanlı Askeri Gücü (1699-1715)*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2020
[121] Halil İnacık, "Türkler ve Balkanlar", *Bal-Tam Türklük Bilgisi*, Balkan Türkoloji Araştırmaları Merkezi, 3, Prizren, September 2005, 20.

Ottomans became one of the Kingdom of Hungary's most urgent security concerns. To keep his rival away from his borders, King Sigismund of Luxembourg organized cross-border campaigns into Ottoman lands with the aim of reconquering Serbian fortresses conquered by the Ottomans and advancing Hungarian borders towards the southeast in the direction of Kosovo. These campaigns ended with temporary achievements, but the defeat of the crusading army at Nicopolis in 1396 clearly proved that the Ottomans could not be expelled from Europe at that point. The Ottomans, however, would face the danger of destruction because of another threat, this time from the East, in the shape of Timur's forces. Unlike Anatolia, thanks to the stability of the system established in the Balkans, the Ottomans did not experience large-scale territorial losses in the Balkan peninsula defeat inslicted by Timur in 1402.[122]

On the other hand, the setbacks the Ottomans faced gave the Hungarians time to form a new military organization on their southern borders. The emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and Hungarian king Sigismund (1387–1395) realized that he had no chance against increasing Ottoman pressure unless he had strong and consistent borders. While his kingdom and its Balkan allies were unable to eliminate the Ottoman threat, they were able to stop the Ottoman expansion for several decades by conducting offensive campaigns. Nonetheless, the border defense strategies created by Sigismund, which were strengthened by his successors, were the cornerstone of Hungary's initiative against Ottoman invasions.[123]

To carry out his plans, Sigismund first demanded that the lower Danube fortified places be handed over to the king's forces for further fortification, and then ordered the construction of additional forts between Severin and Belgrade. In addition, he ordered the mobile troops of the southern Hungarian counties and the soldiers stationed at the border fortifications to be placed under central control. The new system that Sigismund sought to introduce led to the establishment of the so-called *militia portalis*, light cavalry units that could be deployed on the frontier against the Ottoman cavalry troops. For his new defense system, Sigismund mainly relied on the Serb population. For the sustainability of the system, they were the most important human resources and were used as hussars, boatmen on the Danube, and as peasant soldiers (also called *voynuk*s

[122] Dimitris J. Kastritsis, *The sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of:1402-1413*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2007.
[123] Ferenc Szakály, "The Hungarian-Croatian Border Defense System and It's Collapse", *From Hunyadi to Rákoćzi War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary*, ed. János M. Bak, Béla Király, Brooklyn, Brooklyn Collage Press, 1982, 140.

and *Soldatenbauer*) in return for certain tax exemptions. The main idea of the defense system was a line of border fortresses whose center would be a group of fortified places along the lower Danube. The defense strategies were mainly put into practice by Sigismund's renowned Florentine general, Pipo Scolari, who served as Count of Temes. He primarily strengthened the fortified places along unstable borders and, as a consequence of the collapse of the Despotate of Serbia and the Kingdom of Bosnia, his system was gradually extended towards the south. Belgrade was handed over to King Sigismund in 1427 by the Serbian Despot, where it would serve as the key fortress of the defense system for the next century. On the other hand, in Bosnia, Jajce and Srebrenica fortresses were also briefly included in this chain of fortresses in the 1430s. For nearly three decades, except for Bosnians towards the Ottomans and that of the Serbian Despotate, there were no major changes on the Hungarian southern border. However, following the collapse of the Bosnian Kingdom in 1463, Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus occupied its former capital, Jajce, and strengthened his southwestern borders by capturing many of its southern fortresses, such as Knin and Ključ, into the Hungarian defense system in 1463-1464. The last major fortress of the defensive chain was Šabac, a fortress and town located just 50 miles from Belgrade, which was captured in 1476.[124]

On the other hand, south of the Hungarian border, which was primarily organized for defensive purposes, the Ottomans were forming their own fortified borders in line with their aggressive expansion strategy. According to the data that Göksel Baş has put forth, following the fall of the Serbian Despotate (1454-59), the conquests of the Peloponnese (1460), Herzegovina and southern parts of the Kingdom of Bosnia (1463-81), and eventually, the capture of Kilia and Akkerman fortresses (1484), the Ottomans formed their first fortified borders in the Balkan peninsula. Early Ottoman defensive strategies aimed at creating a network of fortified places based on capturing all the important fortifications and passages on the banks of the Danube and its basin to ensure the protection of the *timar* areas. Between 1477-80 was a period when mutual Ottoman-Hungarian attacks on the borders increased, which led Bayezid II to sign a peace treaty with the Hungarians. This period of peace will provide an opportunity for the Ottomans to introduce fundamental changes in the defense system that they formed on the Hungarian borders. Before the

[124] Géza Pálffy, "The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century)", *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, ed. Géza Dávid, Pál Fodor. Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 2000, 7-9.

peace agreement, soldiers serving in the fortresses along the borders were mainly paid by *timar* allocations. However, after this treaty, in parallel to the rapid expansion of fortified places on the borders, the new garrison forces began to receive their salaries in *ulufe*[125] instead of the *timar*. As will later be seen, this change in payment method created the most important characteristic of the Ottoman border system. Thus, by the 1490s, the organization of the Ottoman fortress network on the Hungarian frontier was as follows: Vidin and its four connected fortresses, Florentin (Ottoman: Flordin), Svirlig (İsfirlik), Soko Grad (Bane), and Belogradchik (Belgradçık) formed the North Eastern of the Ottoman frontier. The central and most important part of the border consisted of 15 fortresses in the sancaks of Smederevo and Zvornik. While Golubac (Güvercinlik), Ram (Hram), Kulič (Koyluca) and Smederevo fortresses formed the first defense line in this region, Manasija Monastery (Resava), Ostrovica (Sivricehisar), Maglič (Maglic), Užice (Uziçe), Sokol Grad (Sokol) and Avala/ Žrnov (Güzelce), which were located in the south, constituted the second defense line in the sancaks along the Danube. West of the mentioned fortress network were four fortresses gathered around Zvornik. Among these fortresses, Teočak (Telçak) and Perin Grad (Perin) controlled the important passages to the north of the Sancak of Zvornik, while Srebrenica (Srebreniçe) and Kušlat (Kuşlat) secured the southern parts of the sancak. The western side of the border was surrounded by a two-tiered network of forts along the Sancaks of Bosnia and Herzegovina, from Teočak to the Adriatic coast.[126]

Towards the end of the reign of Sultan Mehmed II, almost all the garrisons that served on the borders began to receive their salaries (*ulufe*). This change in payment became a standard mostly in the northwestern provinces, namely on the Hungarian border, while garrison forces paid by *timar* were stationed in the interior provinces (Ottoman: *içil*). In the 1460s, the majority of the garrisons in the Sancaks of Bosnia and Smederevo were financed by *timar* revenues, yet towards the 1490s these fortresses were transformed into *ulufe* garrisons. In order to provide a more efficient defense, the Ottomans gradually stationed more and more garrisons along the Hungarian border, recognizing that they could not use the soldiers paid by *timar* allocations as effectively as the soldiers paid by *ulufe*. The increase in the number of *ulufe* garrisons, and thus in fortresses with

[125] The salary was given to soldiers, some civil and religious servants and scholars in the Ottoman Empire once every three months. The other payment method was gedik timar, which was also considered to be a salary, but in kind.
[126] Göksel Baş, "XV. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Balkanlarda Osmanlı Serhad Organizasyonun Oluşumu Kaleler Ağı Askeri Personel Finansman ve Mali Külfet", *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi=The Journal of South-Eastern European Studies*, 33, 2019, 151-155.

such garrisons, at the end of the 1480s can be observed more clearly in the Sancaks of Zvornik, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. According to a roll call register from 1491, 15 new fortresses, which were not present in *tahrir defter*s or any other sources before, have been added to the defense line of the above sancaks. According to the information in the roll call register, 831 *ulufeli mustahfiz* (i.e., *mustahfizs* with *ulufe*) soldiers were serving in these 15 fortresses in 1491.[127] In the same year, the total number of *ulufeli mustahfiz* soldiers in the Sancaks of Vidin, Semendire, Zvornik, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, i.e., sancaks on the Hungarian border, was 4770. To sum up, when we look at the general picture, there was a significant transformation in the Ottoman defense system on the Hungarian-Ottoman border in the years 1480-90, as the number of garrisons in the fortresses along the border increased, and the majority of them were organized as *ulufe* garrisons, i.e., fortresses.[128]

3.3. The Second Phase: Ottoman-Hungarian Border from 1526 to 1557

The result of the introduction of the Hungarian defense system was the preservation of the *status quo* from the 1460s for some sixty years onwards. After Sultan Mehmed II and King Matthias Corvinus had partitioned Bosnia following the war of 1463-1464, both rulers sought to preserve the lands they had conquered and to keep their borders stable. When their western border became relatively settled, the Ottomans again had to face rising threats in the East during the last

[127] *MAD.d.* 15334.

[128] Göksel Baş, "XV. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Balkanlarda Osmanlı Serhad Organizasyonun Oluşumu Kaleler Ağı Askeri Personel Finansman ve Mali Külfet", 155-160. The Ottoman practice of incorporating some elements of former Christian regimes into their border military structure significantly helped strengthen the Ottoman presence in the territory as well. Some Christian noblemen, fortress commanders, and Vlach leaders in Bosnia along the borders were given timars to serve and fight for the Ottomans. In return for this, they were allowed to maintain their religion. Local Christians, Voynuks, some of them previously soldiers, were allowed to retain baştines in order to serve the Ottomans. A similar thing happened to the Vlach population, which was also given tax privileges. As the Ottoman frontier moved west and northward, these privileges gradually faded and Christian sipahis completely disappeared in Bosnia in the 16th century. Vlach tax exemption was only possible along new borders, so they moved there in order to retain them. Hazim Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, edit. Dr. Branislav Đurđev, Nedim Filipović, Hamid Hadžibegić and Dr. Hazim Šabanović, Tomus secundus, Serija II, knjiga 1. Sarajevo, 1964; Adem Handžić, "Islamizacija u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni u XV i XVI vijekup", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, XVI-XVII/1966-1967, Sarajevo 1970, 5-48; Halil İnalcık, "Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna: XV. Asırda Rumeli'de Hristiyan Sipahiler ve Menşeleri", *Doğum Yılı Münasebetiyle Fuad Köprülü Armağanı = Melanges Fuad Köprülü*, Ankara, 2010, 207-248; Vjeran Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach: On Vlach Identity(ies), Role and Status in Western Parts of the Ottoman Balkans (15th-18th Centuries), *OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi/ Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies - Ankara University*, 34, 2013, 115-161.

years of the rule of Bayezid I, and during the entire reign of Selim I. As a consequence of successful campaigns carried out by Selim I against the Safavids and Mamluks on the eastern and southern borders of the Ottoman Empire, Suleiman I had the opportunity to turn his attention to the West. Suleiman first chose to correct one of his grand-grandfather Mehmed II's failures: to conquer the city of Belgrade.[129]

On the Hungarian side of the border, during the reign of the Jagiellonian dynasty, the Kingdom of Hungary was economically, socially, and politically in turmoil, and as a result, Matthias Corvinus's defensive practices were neglected. The fortified places were in poor condition, and the army's response system was ineffective. Finally, after the fall of several important fortifications, including Šabac and Belgrade (1521), Knin (1522), and Jajce (1528), the Hungarian defense system was on the verge of collapse: the fall of Belgrade paved the way, and the Battle of Mohács (Mohač) in 1526 sealed its fate.Belgrade, almost all the significant border fortresses and smaller forts that belonged to Hungary on the lover Danube and Sava rivers were conquered by the Ottomans in a short time. Yet, after the Mohács battle, Suleiman I chose to withdraw from Hungary, nevertheless, keeping under his control the fortresses along the Drava and the Danube from Osijek to the Tisza (Tisa) river for further conquests. On the other hand, after the fall of Jajce in 1528, the Austrian provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria started to face a direct Ottoman threat. Therefore, the first attempts to build a defense line were made in Croatia and Slavonia, through which the Ottomans could hit Austrian territories.[130]

As a matter of fact, in previous years, Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand had already started to help Croatia by sending financial support and troops to the Croatian nobility, who were fighting against the Ottomans. Ferdinand's plan was to create a similar system in Croatia to that which Corvinus had formed earlier in his southern provinces, a certain "buffer zone." It can be concluded that "a military border," in the sense accepted today, began to form at this very point in time. While Ferdinand's professional troops took over more and more fortified places in Croatia and Slavonia,

[129] Feridun M. Emecen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş ve Yükseliş Tarihi 1300-1600*, İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015, 237.
[130] Géza Pálffy, "Hungary, Vienna and the Defence System against the Ottomans in the Age of Süleyman", *The Battle for Central Europe. The Siege of Szigetvár and the Death of Süleyman the Magnificent and Nicholas Zrínyi (1566)*, ed. Pál Fodor, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2019, 321.

the financing of defense expenditures in the Croatian-Slavonian region became increasingly dependent on money from the mentioned Austrian lands.[131]

3.4. One Kingdom, Two Kings

In 1526, Hungary's and Croatia's nobles, in a short period, divided into two candidates for their new king: Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand and the Voivode of Transylvania, John Szapolyai (Ivan Zapolja). With the election of two kings for one kingdom, a civil war erupted between their supporters. Ferdinand's candidacy and his election were based on old treaties between the Habsburgs and the Jagiellonians. Apart from this, his commitment to defend the endangered Croatian lands played a prominent role in the election. Therefore, the Croatian nobility decided to choose Archduke Ferdinand as their king in January 1527 instead of John Szapolyai. According to the election document, Ferdinand accepted the responsibility of keeping a permanent army of 1,000 cavalry and 200 infantry units, led by his captain, at his own expense in Croatia. Ferdinand also promised to make every effort to inspect and supply all the fortified towns needed for the defense. However, since he had already directed all his strength to fighting with John Szapolyai, he could not meet the obligations he promised, especially the more comprehensive defense requirements that would soon be required in Croatia. On the other hand, unlike Croatia, the nobles in Slavonia had chosen John Szapolyai as their new king. Estates of Croatia and Slavonia were divided between two bans, who spent more energy fighting each other than defending the country against the threat from the East. Meanwhile the Ottomans were preparing for new attacks, Ferdinand could give the ban of Croatia only 200 of the promised 1,000 cavalry units and has sent his captain, Nikola Jurišić, and asked the Croatian nobility to cooperate with him. However, Jurišić's hands were tied because he had neither the money, nor military equipment, nor technicians to visit, inspect and prepare border fortifications.[132]

[131] Ivan Jurković,"Vojni ustroj i obrana Kraljevstva: Cito. Cito. Cito. Citissime!" *U Vrijeme sazrijevanja, vrijeme razaranja Hrvatske zemlje u kasnome srednjem vijeku*, ed. Marija Karbić, Zagreb, Matica Hrvatska, 2019, 128.
[132] Milan Kruhek,"Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća", *Povijesni prilozi*, Vol. 11, No. 11, Zagreb, 1992, 86-88; Géza Pálffy, "The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century)", *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, ed. Géza Dávid, Pál Fodor. Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 2000, 11.

In addition to the ongoing struggles between Ferdinand and Szapolyai in central Hungary, another battleground developed in Slavonia between the supporters of the two newly-elected Hungarian kings. Szapolyai had superiority in Slavonia. Ban Krsto Frankopan, who had real control over Slavonia, backed Szapolyai with the majority of Slavonian nobility. The fortifications in Slavonia were destroyed, as was its feudal economy, causing the Croatian defenses to weaken. During 1527, conflicts intensified, and John Szapolyai's ban Krsto Frankopan set fire to the towns of Pakrac, Gušćerovac, Sveti Duh, and Rasinja, which belonged to Ferdinand's supporters. After Frakopan's death (1527), Simon Erdödy, the bishop of Zagreb, took over the leadership of the pro-Szapolyai faction in Slavonia. In September 1528, Ferdinand's supporters gathered five thousand men in order to attack the army of bishop Erdödy that was gathering around Čazma, and a fierce clash occurred between the parties. In July and throughout August 1529, conflicts between the supporters of Szapolyai and Ferdinand continued around Gradec and the episcopal city of Zagreb. The Ottoman campaign against Vienna in 1529 did not result in wider conquests in the areas that are today part of Croatia, but Ottoman rapid conquests on the middle Danubewere a significant warning to King Ferdinand and Szapolyai's supporters. Under the direct threat of new Ottoman attacks, the Slavonian nobility met near Dišnik and Novi Dvor and signed a truce with no necessary agreement on their defensive duties and the future of the country. It was an important step for the later plans that they at least renounced mutual destruction and agreed in February 1530 to return fortified castles, towns, and estates to each other.[133]

The newly conquered Osijek was without delay fortified as a base for future conquests in Slavonia by the Ottomans. At the end of 1530, they occupied the river crossing on the Sava near the village of Kobaš, where they began the construction of new fortifications. The second major blow affecting the fate of the region was the failed Ottoman Siege of Güns (Kőszeg) in 1532. The Ottoman army under Suleiman's command passed through Slavonia, returning from Hungary and Austria after the failed siege. The area from Virovitica to Đakovo was plundered, and Požega was captured in 1537. Among the conquered fortifications, those considered suitable for Ottoman defense and further offensive policies were quickly repaired and garrisons were stationed in them.

[133] James D. Tracy, *Balkan Wars Habsburg Croatia, Ottoman Bosnia, and Venetian Dalmatia, 1499–1617*, Lanham, Boulder, New York, London, Rowman&Littlefield, 2016, 114-116, Milan Kruhek, "Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća", 89-91.

According to the data on the settlement of Brod on the Sava, the Ottomans installed in it a garrison of 1,500 soldiers.[134]

3.5. The Establishment of the Habsburg Defense Between Sava and Drava

Despite the growing Ottoman threat just before the Slavonian border, the defense problems and strategies in the area between the Drava and the Sava rivers were not addressed until the solution to the inheritance problem between Ferdinand and John Szapolyai was reached. There were no real initiatives or necessary forces of the royal army in this border region until the Ottoman local forces began to systematically conquer the area between the Drava and the Sava in 1537. In the absence of royal support, the defensive responsibilities of Slavonia were taken over by the Slavonian nobility, and rather than long-term strategies, their primary focus was to defend their lands and fortified cities at any cost. As might be expected, these efforts could not stop the advance of the more numerous and better organized Ottoman forces. While the situation in Slavonia was getting worse, the Treaty of Nagyvárad was signed in 1538 between Ferdinand and Szapolyai, which led to the period of forming a new and more effective defense strategy in Slavonia. As a result of the great efforts of the involved parties, various important problems, such as the functioning of the complex system of border fortifications, were solved during this period. However, a unified military command of the forces would not be completely agreed upon even after the Congress in Bruck an der Mur in 1578. After the Treaty of Nagyvárad, the first solution that came to mind against Ottoman advances was to prevent further Ottoman conquest in Slavonia by sweeping all Ottoman forces from Slavonia in one big open battle. Thus, a military campaign was organized under the command of General Hans Katzianer, who led his troops through Slavonia towards Osijek. Any task of the German and Croatian troops could not easily be accomplished given the scarcity of military capacities. As well as small and weak forces, the poor tactics of this campaign led the Christian army to a catastrophic defeat in the Battle of Gorjani on October 9, 1537, which proved that it was necessary to get rid of the tactic of open battle with such a superior

[134] Ive Mažuran,"Turske provale i osvajanja u Slavoniji od kraja 14. do sredine 16. Stoljeća", *Zborniku radova peti znanstveni sabor Slavonije i Baranje*, ed. Dušan Čalić and Đuro Berber, Vol. 1, Osijek, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni rad, 1991, 26.

enemy.[135] After this dramatic defeat, the king and the Croatian and Slavonian nobility prepared to launch an active defensive strategy based on border fortifications rather than leading offensive warfare tactics.

Between the Diet of Križevci in 1537 and the Congress in Bruck an der Mur in 1578, the formation of a new and more effective defense system was initiated, and this process would last nearly fifty years. During the development of the system, Slavonia and Croatia faced two major difficulties. The first one was the question of supreme authority over the entire military forces on the Croatian border. The second difficulty was the persistent problem of maintaining the increasing cost of a long defensive war against the Ottomans. Plans to build new fortified places and repair old ones did not regularly receive the necessary financial support. Therefore, the formation of an entirely new defense system took longer longer time. Moreover, the third important issue was meeting all the needs of the military forces to continue the defensive war; building logistical centers for a constant war also demanded a long development process. The authority and competencies of the Slavonian Sabor will be combined with the services and institutions established by the king and his War Council. The construction of the border fortification system began gradually and took a long time to develop. After new adjustments, the fortifications of the Slavonian borders consisted of two new characteristics. The first characteristic was achieved by building new Renaissance fortifications, i.e., they were built in the style called *trace italienne*[136] (in French: "Italian outline"). The second characteristic was the restoration, reconstruction or demolition of unsuitable and small fortifications according to their significance, in order to fit them into the new defensive border system. The border fortifications, both newly built and restored, had to serve in the same defense system. For more effective defense, strategic links had to be established between them. In this new strategy, individual fortifications would no longer act as feudal towns that defended themselves and/or the area of the local feudal estates. Furthermore, from that point on, there were no empty or exposed areas between these individual fortifications – all in order to prevent sudden enemy incursions. In other words, they had to form an unbroken, interconnected defensive chain. Construction work on this new border system began around the middle of the 16th century and lasted until the end of the same century. Building a fortification

[135] Mehmet Solak, "*Sınırların Hapsettiği Tarih-Hırvat Askeri Sınır Bölgesinin Örgütlenmesi (1553-1664)*", doctoral thesis, Hacettepe University, 2018, 74-77.
[136] Geoffrey Parker, "The 'Military Revolution', 1560–1660 - A Myth?", *Journal of Modern History*, 48 (1976), 195-214 (Spain and the Netherlands, 1559–1659: Ten Studies, Fontana, Collins, 1979, 92-95.

system in a relatively small area of Slavonia enabled various developments in defensive capabilities against further Ottoman conquests. The fortification system that improved the defensive capabilities of the old feudal towns spread across a wide area from the Drava to the Sava river, and from Eastern Slavonia to the west to Čazma and to the south to Jasenovac. The details of this new system will be discussed below.[137]

3.6. Varaždin

During the first decades of the 16th century, it became more and more evident that the town of Varaždin and its fortress would play a key role in defending not only the northwestern part of Croatia but also Styria and other neighboring Austrian provinces. Therefore, at the end of 1543, Ivan Ungnad, the captain of the province of Styria, took over Varaždin from the king with the obligation to fortify both the town and the old Varaždin fortress. The start of the construction of the new Varaždin fortifications would mark the beginning of the creation of a new fortress defense system in all the border areas between the Drava and the Sava.[138]

Ungnad's contribution to the construction of this new defense system, which would stretch from Varaždin to Sisak, would play a very decisive role. Acknowledging the defensive significance of Varaždin, the Styrian parliament was already willing to participate in increasing its defensive capabilities. The defensive walls and towers of the town of Varaždin were in rather poor condition according to Ungnad's early inspections, and in many places, the fortifications needed to be repaired without delay. When the renowned Italian architect Domenico dell'Alio, who was in the imperial service of the Habsburg Monarchy at that time, arrived at the construction site of the Varaždin fortifications, the works had already begun a year earlier. According to his instructions, the reconstruction of the already existing fortifications around Varaždin continued, as well as the entire new bastion system of earthen fortifications and ditches. Styria provided large sums of money for this great construction project. Styria also sent military protection to Varaždin, especially needed when the large construction site was open. Domenico dell'Alio also had to

[137] Kruhek, Milan. *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, Zagreb: Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1995, 178-179; Milan Kruhek,"Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća", 5-9; Nataša Štefanec, *Država ili ne, Ustroj Vojne krajine 1578. godine i hrvatsko-slavonski staleži u regionalnoj obrani i politici*, Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 2011, 190-194.
[138] Milan Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, 141-144.

supervise all other construction sites on the Slavonian border from the Drava to the Sava in 1553. Construction works continued almost uninterrupted until 1552, and it was planned that the construction and renovation of the Varaždin walls would be completed only in 1557. Thanks to these reinforcements, Varaždin became a logistical war base and the strongest fortress in the entire northern part of the defensive front on the Slavonian border.[139]

3.7. The Kaptol Castle in Sisak

According to Kruhek, the construction of the Kaptol Castle in Sisak marked a turning point in the realization of a stronger defensive border against the Ottoman invasion. It should be noted that, the Fortress of Sisak was not actually part of the Military Frontier, although it was an important stronghold in the belt of defense, and because of that Ferdinand encouraged its construction. The construction of the Kaptol in Sisak was of great importance for the defense of the entire area between the Una, Sava, and Kupa rivers, and after Varaždin, it was the second keystone of the future system of defensive fortifications on the Slavonian border. According to contemporary strategic plans, Zagreb had to take over the role of the logistics base of the Sava-Kupa defense front, and the Kaptol in Sisak would be the most prominent fortress of that southern defense triangle: Sisak, Karlovac, and Zagreb. The Kaptol in Sisak began to be constructed in April, 1544. The fortress was supposed to be remarkably firm, strong in construction, big enough to accommodate the required number of military crew and large enough to hold large quantities of food and war materials. The construction of the castle was supported by King Ferdinand, the Croatian nobility, the Croatian Sabor, and the Hungarian and Styrian parliaments. At the end of 1544, the first military unit was stationed in it, and in 1549, the roof was installed. While the construction work was advancing, the ammunition and cannons were procured and delivered. By 1552, almost all the construction work was completed, and a special commission inspected the new castle. In addition to the construction works, the Kaptol in Zagreb aimed to improve the defensive capabilities of the castle by digging protective ditches and erecting embankments on the open side, which was not protected by the Kupa and Sava rivers. Thus, by the middle of the 16th century, the most significant fortifications had been built at both ends of the future Slavonian

[139] Milan Kruhek, "Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća", 10-12; Mira Ilijanić,"Varaždin u 16. Stoljeću", Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad Varaždin, Vol. no. 2, 1988, 447-456.

border, i.e., at Varaždin and Sisak.[140] Following the Kaptol in Sisak, the construction of new Renaissance lowland fortresses would be built in chronological order: Koprivnica, Križevci, and Ivanić.[141]

3.8. Koprivnica

Koprivnica, as a larger town, had its old fortifications and a castle, similar to Varaždin. The period of construction of new fortifications began in 1544 when King Ferdinand appointed Luka Székely as captain of military garrisons in Koprivnica, Đurđevac and Prodavić. On the other hand, Ivan Ungnad was taking care of Koprivnica's construction as well as the construction of new fortifications in Varaždin. However, construction work has dragged on for years, and until 1560 the real construction of a new fortress system did not begin. Until 1578, the fortress had no well-founded bastions. In 1580, the construction of the town gates was completed, and the building of an armory was planned. In 1590, the four bastions were completed, which ended an important phase of the construction of the new fortress. The described construction activity was accompanied by large sums of money coming from the Austrian provinces. The Koprivnica fortress was finally completed and equipped for larger defensive tasks just before the great war operations during the Long Turkish War (1593-1606).[142]

3.9. Križevci

The fortifications around the medieval settlement of Križ played a crucial role in the survival of the Slavonian Border against the Ottoman attacks during the 16th and 17th centuries. During the construction of stronger fortifications in the area, the old Križ fortifications served as a

[140] Milan Kruhek,"Rat za opstojnost Hrvatskog Kraljevstva na kupskoj granici", *Sisačka bitka 1593*, ed. Ivo Goldstein, Milan Kruhek, Zagreb, Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta: Institut za suvremenu povijest, Sisak, Povijesni arhiv, 1994., 35-36.

[141] For chronological information see: Hrvoje Petrić, "Regesta za Povijest Koprivnice do 1600. godine (izbor)", *Podravina: časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja*, Vol. 12, no. 23, 2013, 160-192.

[142] Milan Kruhek, "Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća", 14-18; Milan Kruhek, "Povijest izgradnje koprivničke tvrđave", *Koprivnica Grad i spomenici,* Zagreb-Koprivnica: Odjel za povijest umjetnosti Centra za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu- RO Centar za kulturu OOUR Muzej grada Koprivnice, 1986, 203; Zlatko Uzelac,"Tvrđava Koprivnica prijedlog zaštite, restauriranja i rehabilitacije očuvanog dijela koprivničkih bedema", Podravski zbornik, Vol. 37, 2011. 34-47.

foundation for the new Renaissance fortress, and after these new fortifications being built, this town became one of the most important defense centers on the Slavonian Military Border. The new fortress and its garrison served to defend Križ, its population, and the extensive area surrounding it. The fortress was built in the style of *trace italienne* at the end of the 16th century. The restoration of the old fortifications and the construction of a new fortress began in accordance with the plans and orders of the aforementioned Italian Renaissance architect Domenico dell'Allio. In 1553, the inhabitants of Križ began to reconstruct their old stronghold by themselves, and after the initial inspections, Ivan Ungnad in his report described it as a big open construction site. According to this report, the new fortress structure had an asymmetrical long rectangular shape, and its walls were unreasonably long from a military standpoint. Styria provided major financial assistance for the expenses, and later, contributions from Austrian provinces such as Carniola and Carinthia reached the area. The labor force was provided by the Slavonian nobility, also with some financial aid. The construction of the new fortress, however, was a lengthy and expensive process. Due to the other ongoing projects in other important towns in Slavonia, such as Varaždin, Koprivnica, Križevci, Đurđevac, and Čakovec, the most significant problem was finding the required number of workers.[143]

In 1563, a Habsburg military commission was sent to Križevci to evaluate the condition of the fortifications. According to their report, Križevci "has not had proper fortification walls for many years, and it is in fact an unorganized long village. The poor quality of the construction of its fortifications and houses contributes to the fact that it should not be the capital of Slavonia... A fortress was built on that site, but it does not even have water. It lies on a narrow ridge of a hill, or on an elevation. One part of the fortress is much lower than the elevation on the west side, so nobody can be safe to reside there. There is a valley in-between, and above that swampy land, a little bit higher, there is a small spring-well, outside of the town and the fortress, which serves as a water supply for the entire population of the town. To the south and to the west side, this place is well fortified with a dike and a moat, constructed with great diligence, according to the aforementioned plan. This place was unsuitably chosen as a fortress in the first place, and it is evident that the architect himself ruined the building. It is evident, at first sight, that the bastions are not constructed in a straight architectural line, and they will be too small, especially one of

[143] Milan Kruhek, "Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća",16.

them... There are no parapets on the fortress walls and bastions. The fortress walls have poor foundations, they are too narrow at the top, so the construction of parapets could cause the collapse of the entire construction... Maybe the walls and bastions could be reinforced from the outside by a brick wall! A lot of things could be done, but it will cost a lot of money. The commissioners conclude their report with the statement that it is necessary to continue with the construction and further fortification of Križevci fortress and that all the necessary works should be completed as soon as possible..."[144]

Although it was considered to abandon these defective fortifications and to build a new fortress from the very beginning in another location, due to a lack of funds and time, this plan was never carried out. Despite its flaws, the fortress became the center of a larger defensive area. With the persistent efforts of Vid Hallegg, the commander of the Slavonian border in Varaždin, the reconstruction and final completion of the construction of the Križevci fortress were eventually completed between 1583 and 1590. Consequently, Križevci was equipped for larger defensive roles just before the Long Turkish War. [145]

3.10.Ivanić

According to the plans of the mentioned renaissance lowland fortifications, the fortress of Ivanić would be the smallest in the system of Slavonian border fortresses. Since this fortress had no settlement, it served to house a larger military garrison and the necessary war equipment. Since it was not completely built until 1578, the Congress in Bruck an der Mur, estimating that its strategic position was extremely important, gave additional money for the completion of its construction. The importance of Ivanić was also recognized by King Ferdinand, and therefore he sent a royal crew of 300 cavalry and 130 infantries to the area in 1541. However, this large number of military placements required the construction of a new fortification. Following the occupation of Virovitica and Čazma, the area of Ivanić, which was the first line of defense against the Ottoman advance towards Zagreb, began to be exposed to Ottoman incursions. When the construction

[144] Milan Kruhek,"Križevačka tvrđava i utvrde Križevačke kapetanije", *Povijesni prilozi*, Vol. 20, no. 20, 2001, 127-128.
[145] Milan Kruhek, "Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća",17-18; Ranko Pavleš, "Pokušaji prikaza Koprivnički Srednjovjekovnih i Ranonovovjekovnih Utvrda", *Podravina*, Vol. IX, nbr: 17, 2010, 78-82.

started, a commission concluded that the Ivanić fortifications were not a strong obstacle for the enemy, and the construction work had to be accelerated, particularly given its important strategic location. The bishop of Zagreb was obligated to take care of Ivanić's protection and, in order to do so, he procured two smaller cannons. By 1576, the Ivanić Captaincy and the captain of the royal army were located in Ivanić, and in terms of strategic importance, it was the third most important stronghold on the Slavonian Border.[146]

3.11.Smaller Fortifications

Koprivnica, Križevci and Ivanić were to become the headquarters of the captaincies of the Slavonian border. However, in addition to these significant fortresses, certain other fortifications had essential roles as well, such as maintaining mutual connections and protecting against the possible movement of enemies. The old town of Đurđevac stood on the Drava as the first outpost in front of the Ottoman garrison in Virovitica. Because it was the first line of defense against sudden Ottoman attacks, the strategic location of this fort was critical. In appreciation of the importance of this fort, Luka Székely erected a fortified courtyard with loopholes and towers, deepened and filled the ditches with water, and built a long wooden bridge to its settlement. The old Đurđevac town was regularly renovated until the last decade of the 16th century, and eventually entirely restored and strengthened.[147] Čakovec was a feudal town which rose to prominence in the 16th century after becoming the property of the Zrinski family. During the Zrinski's period, Čakovec underwent numerous architectural changes. According to its architectural remains, a solid defense system was established around the newly constructed one-story castle by the end of the 16th century. Its rulers strengthened the walls with defensive Renaissance bastions and ditches, while protecting the old defensive system on the outer defensive wall with semicircular towers. As a result, the Čakovec stronghold evolved into a hybrid of a traditional *Wasserburg* (German for "water castle") and a renaissance fortress. Despite the fact that Čakovec was in the Zrinski family's

[146] Milan Kruhek, "Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća", 18, Branko Nadilo, "Protuturske i druge utvrde između Vrbova i Save." *Građevinar,* 56, 2004, 511-519.
[147] Milan Kruhek, "Stari đurđevački grad u sistemu granične obrane od 16. do 19. stoljeća" *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske*, no.8/9, 1982/83, 85-106.

private possession, its defensive importance was always considered while planning Slavonia's border defense system.[148]

According to King Ferdinand's commission that inspected the border area in 1563, the less important but valuable fortifications in the area, starting from the Sava were as follows: Hrastilnica on the Sava, Kloštar or Stari Ivanić, Sv. Križ, Gofnic (watchtower below Čazma), Topolovac, Cirkvena, Sv. Domainkuš, Prodavić, and finally the bishop's Dubrava (biskupsku Dubravu) as new construction projects. Between Legrad and Koprivnica there were three more defense points in the shape of smaller wooden fortifications: Đelekovec, Drnje, and Sigetec. In addition to the major fortresses, other smaller forts, castles, towers, and *palanka*s that connected to a single defense system in Slavonia, thus significantly strengthening the area's defensive stability. This well-organized network of fortifications formed a formidable defensive front that enemy forces could no longer cross easily or conquer. Sudden penetrations behind the defense lines have been largely prevented thanks to these newly built fortifications, and their walls would play a crucial role in the conflicts of the last decade of the 16th century.[149]

3.12. Forming a Military System in the Area Between the Drava and the Sava

Croatian nobility managed to defend most of its southern borders throughout the first half of the 16th century, despite the loss of some significant border fortifications, irrecoverable demographic losses, and a collapsed feudal economy. In order to resist its total destruction, they built some basic structures for the future military border defense, particularly as a result of cooperation with Archduke (and then King) Ferdinand. As Croatian administration underwent structural changes, construction, reconstruction, and reinforcement of a significant number of border fortifications have been initiated. In addition to extensive building work, auxiliary royal troops led by captains were established, and a spy and alert service has been introduced into the border defense system. Attempting to develop a more efficient system, however, resulted in the

[148] Branko Nadilo,"Čakovečka utvrda i negdašnje utvrde uz Rijeku Muru", *Građevinar* 56, 2004-5, 309-312.
[149] Milan Kruhek, "Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća", 19; Milan Kruhek, "Križevačka tvrđava i utvrde Križevačke kapetanije", 19-20; Branko Nadilo, "Podravske utvrde u blizini Koprivnice" *Građevinar* 56 (2004), 581-583.

loss of many of Croatia's historic fortifications, as well as a significant portion of its territory, because it was not possible to include them all into this new border system.[150]

Given that the Croatian lands started to face direct Ottoman threat after the Battle of Mohács in 1526, it seems that ten years were wasted until the Diet in Križevci in 1538. According to Kruhek, the long-running civil war had severe consequences for the organization of the defense against the Ottoman enemy. However, the Slavonian nobility in the 1520s, even if there had been no internal problems, would not have been able to resist strategically well-planned Ottoman attacks after all, since there were no mutual efforts with this aim. Kruhek also stresses that, without King Ferdinand's greater assistance in the 1530s, the Slavonian nobility would not have been able to oppose the Ottoman local forces. The swift Ottoman victories validate his conclusion; the old fortifications belonging to the nobility were in a very poor condition and were not adequately equipped to defend themselves.[151]

As a matter of fact, the Croatian and Slavonian nobles have been preoccupied with the formation of their countries' defense for centuries, and a significant portion of parliamentary debates have been devoted to this concern. However, in the face of the Ottoman advance, the constant threat at the border posed a significant barrier to the greater engagement of the Croatian and Slavonian nobility in the process of building a more complex state apparatus. They could not dedicate themselves to one mutual objective and a non-self-interested approach, since their private possessions and interests were directly endangered. The Croatian and Slavonian nobles failed to organize the financial operations of their kingdoms more efficiently, and instead of developing a more efficient financial structure, they insisted on tax exemptions, which had far-reaching negative consequences for a more stable organization of defense.[152]

The first attempts to establish a comprehensive strategy of defense against the common enemy among the Slavonian nobles began in 1537. Extensive discussions took place in the Croatian and Slavonian parliaments in 1537 and 1538, and then in 1557 and 1558, 1560, 1562, 1573, etc. Of all these meetings, those held in 1537/8 and 1558 were the two most important initiatives. King Ferdinand invited a delegation of Croatian and Slavonian nobility to a meeting

[150] Milan Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, 77.
[151] Milan Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, 85-94.
[152] Nataša Štefanec, *Država ili ne, Ustroj Vojne krajine 1578. godine i hrvatsko-slavonski staleži u regionalnoj obrani i politici*, Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 2011.137.

with the Austrian parliament in Graz in November 1537. This was the first real initiative for the defense strategy that was to be developed in the following decades. The invited nobles gave a series of useful recommendations during this discussion, including the number and type of soldiers required for defense, supply organization, and condition and maintenance of fortifications. After Graz, the suggested measures were confirmed once more at the Diet in Križevci in 1538. The nobility's recommendations for an improved defense structure were briefly as follows:

"The collection of tax at the value of two forints, excluding farmers having a property whose worth less than six forints, is to be signed anew. The rules have been set according to which command of noblemen under the ruling of ban and insurrection army was summoned (?), more on that in the chapter on detailed strategical plans for the organization of the defense in krajina and behind the krajina (frontier) lines. Furthermore, the king had to have a man in the kingdom who was acquainted with the construction of fortresses and who could suggest possible renovations. The obligation of a signal shot was established with the aim of informing the countries and lands endangered by the enemy's invasion. All the rest, including the scheduling/arranging (?), was entrusted to the ban. It is forbidden for regular army units and mercenaries to enter and stay in the houses of noblemen, victorages, and serf houses, and it was set that the army will be accommodated in fortresses or camps. It had to be asked of the king for a skillful supplier, who would be accompanied by another one from the kingdom and would take care of the food supplies for the army. They should arrange the schedule for the carriage of the food, and every nobleman, for every twenty houses he is in charge of, had to prepare one carriage with food and bring it to the place the supplier set and by specially arranged price."[153]

The meeting in Graz was the first meeting where representatives from various classes assembled to discuss defense policy. The assemblies at Dubrava and Križevci, on the other hand, were the first systematic attempt to establish a domestic defense strategy against the Ottoman invasion. At these gatherings, the nobles of Croatia and Slavonia systematized and proposed their defense measures. Since the nobility was the main party that faced true danger on the borders, their suggestions influenced Austrian countermeasures. Despite the fact that their proposals would result in considerable changes in the administrative and fiscal systems, the Croatian and Slavonian

[153] Nataša Štefanec, *Država ili ne, Ustroj Vojne krajine 1578. godine i hrvatsko-slavonski staleži u regionalnoj obrani i politici*, 172. I would like to thank Dear Helena Vodopija for translating this paragraph from Croatian.

nobles lacked the strength and manpower to carry out these far-reaching reforms, and had to work with the Habsburgs.[154]

3.13.The Diet in Steničnjak in July 1558

More serious discussions about improving the military border system began as early as the 1550s, with a systematic observation of the borders and their defense capability. In July 1558, the Croatian Sabor met in the fortress of Steničnjak in an attempt to reform the Kingdom's defense system more comprehensively. The most controversial concerns at this gathering were the new proposals by captain Ivan Lenković, which would change the entire defense strategy. According to his plan, only the main fortifications would be defended, while lesser fortifications, i.e., almost all other forts and castles that remained under the control of the Croatian nobility, particularly in the south, would be abandoned. As a matter of fact, the basic idea of this centralized defense policy dates back to 1537. Since the Middle Ages, the Croatian and Slavonian nobles and the ban had judicial, legislative, and military authorities in the area of their own kingdoms. However, neglecting the ban's military authority over the military forces of the Kingdom of Croatia, King Ferdinand tried to place all the military forces in Croatia under the command of his supreme captain. About a decade later, during the Diet in Požun (Hungarian: Pozsony, German: Pressburg) in 1546, King Ferdinand once again revealed his intention to take over the border fortifications to his higher administration. According to Lenković's plan, after the handover, a commission would evaluate the fortifications on behalf of the King and would decide which ones were worth defending. The fortifications that were thought to be difficult to defend and financially burdensome would be demolished to prevent them from falling into enemy hands. This novel defense strategy was supposed to provide two major benefits. First, the state treasury would be relieved of a significant financial load, as there were not insufficient funds, soldiers, and war equipment to defend all of the border defenses. Secondly, this would achieve the goal of strengthening royal authority, which was manifested in a special way in the demand for the forming of a single military authority on the borders of Croatia and Slavonia. However, given King Ferdinand's inability to keep his promises made in 1527, the Croatian nobility was neither prepared

[154] Nataša Štefanec, *Država ili ne, Ustroj Vojne krajine 1578. godine i hrvatsko-slavonski staleži u regionalnoj obrani i politici*, 172.

nor willing to accept such proposals. Consequently, the Croatian nobility rejected the king's request to abandon any fortifications on the territory of the Croatian Kingdom. According to the nobility, numerous fortifications fell into enemy hands due to the king's insufficient help, not because they chose to abandon them. They lacked the manpower to defend all of the border fortifications, and there was insufficient war equipment or funds to cover the cost of defense. There was not even enough provision in the country to maintain the small population and even smaller garrisons. Despite this, the nobility did everything they could to defend their country and refused to give up their territory voluntarily. Instead, the Sabor made a detailed list of places where designated landlords would maintain their defenses, and determined estates that would send their subjects to defend their border fortifications. The Sabor also decided where the defenders would be kept, as well as the specific schedule of their assigned places, and left their control to the ban.[155]

However, King Ferdinand, contrary to expectations, supported the Sabor's decisions on organizing the defenders' service and encouraged the ban to assist the defenders in maintaining their positions. On the other hand, while the King appreciated Lenković's plan, he required new information and new opinions from the strategists and architects he sent to the Croatian border for his final decision. Lenković's final inspection of the defense of all Croatian border fortifications supplied the information the King required. Following a thorough inspection of all defensive fortifications along the Croatian and Slavonian borders, a comprehensive report was released in the same year, based on Lenković's report from 1563, which was the result of his ten years of experience on the borders. The report does not include extensive information on the fortifications themselves, but rather provides some basic information regarding ownership, the number of defenders, and his decision on whether to maintain its defense, strengthen them, or demolish them. He focused on consolidating defensive forces in the border area rather than defending every small stronghold at all costs, which was consistent with his prior approach. Lenković's list of fortifications and military units stationed there was not yet a complete report on the total complexity of border defense difficulties, but it was the first step toward forming such a comprehensive topographic and strategic picture of border defense. Lenković's list of fortifications

[155] Milan Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, 176-185; Nataša Štefanec, *Država ili ne, Ustroj Vojne krajine 1578. godine i hrvatsko-slavonski staleži u regionalnoj obrani i politici*, 174-176.

in Croatia includes a geographical map of their distribution along with the borders, the depth of the threatened areas, and organizational issues in constructing a new border defense.[156]

3.14.The Diet in Bruck an der Mur in 1578

A period of about a decade was spent working on forming a more effective border defense based on the system of frontier fortifications after the Sabor at Steničnjak in July 1558. Some new military and logistical institutions and services have been introduced to border defense system. The defensive line against the Ottomans was in desperate need of rebuilding in the 1570s. However, there was a big difference between the defensive front of the Slavonian border and the area from the Sava and Kupa to the Una. During 1577 and 1578, the whole area of Pounje fell, respectively: Kladuša, Sturlić, Ajtić, Pećki(grad), Ostrožac, Gvozdansko, and Zrin. Although the conditions that could cause new losses in Slavonia have not been triggered yet, the loss of Pounje caused warning bells to ring for the future of Slavonia.[157] In 1577 and 1578, a series of far-reaching reforms of the military border system were carried out, which, although not fully implemented as intended, became the basis for the functioning of the military frontier against the Ottomans in the next century and a half, until major reforms in the 18th century.[158]

Following the series of conferences held in 1576 and initial attempts to reorganize borders according to the needs of the time, Vienna Conference was held with the participation of elected representatives and the highest dignitaries from all the Austrian Hereditary Lands, the Czech Kingdom, and incorporated countries in 1577. The conference in Vienna was mostly, dedicated to four Hungarian regions, and to a lesser extent, to Croatia and Slavonia. The military-strategic principles of the war against the Ottomans, the new structure of the military frontier, the method of financing, and the number and distribution of troops in the fortifications and on the ground in the four Hungarian sections of the frontier were discussed. However, discussions on Croatia and

[156] Milan Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, 185-197; Milan Kruhek,"Izgradnja obrambenog sustava Slavonske granice u tijeku 16. stoljeća", 25-26.
[157] Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, Zagreb, Golden Marketing, 1998, 144-146.
[158] Danijela Cofek, Nataša Štefanec, "Vojnokrajiške institucije u praksi: Slavonska krajina 1578. godine, Military Border in Practice, Slavonian Border in 1578" *Podravina*, Vol. 10, no. 19, 2011, 6.

Slavonia were left to the joint assembly of the countries of Inner Austria (the duchy of Carinthia, Carniola, Styria in Bruck an der Mur.[159]

The main agenda of this two-month Diet in Bruck an der Mur, where a number of important decisions have been made, was mainly financing and the restructuring of the Croatian and Upper Slavonian military borders. At the conference, it was decided that while Archduke Ernest was in charge of the four Hungarian confines extending from the Drava to Transylvania, Archduke Charles was made responsible for the Croatian and Slavonian borders as the captain-general of the Croatian-Wendish confines under the central leadership of the Inner Austrian War Council. On the other hand, in military matters, the ban of Croatia and the supreme commanders of the Slavonian and Croatian Borders were subordinated to him. The commanders of all military units and fortifications, in turn, were controlled by the latter three persons. In Bruck, also the administrative and military hierarchy of the Military Border were clearly determined, their annual budgets were separated, decisions were made on their relationship, powers, and duties, and the structure was largely standardized and harmonized in Croatia and Slavonia.[160]

The inner Austrian provinces, Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, which actively participated in the forming and maintenance of the Croatian and Slavonian military borders for about half a century, had to take a large part of the financial responsibility for these two regions after the Diet in Bruck an der Mur. However, they also attained some administrative and military control over the regions they supported financially. Officials of these provinces were obliged to spend part of their time in the region in order to be better informed about the day-to-day operations of the region. The classes of Steiermark, Carniola, and Carinthia agreed, on the high annual sums to be paid annually for the maintenance of the military frontier and defense against the Ottomans. About 250,000 to 300,000 rheinish gulden, although these amounts were never paid. While Steiermark

[159] Mehmet Solak, "*Sınırların Hapsettiği Tarih-Hırvat Askeri Sınır Bölgesinin Örgütlenmesi (1553-1664)*", 161-163; Géza Pálffy, "The Border Defense System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. B. K. László Veszprémy, New York, Social Science Monographs-Brooklyn College Press, 2002, 118-121; Géza Pálffy, "The Habsburg Defense System in Hungary Against the Ottoman in the Sixteenth Century, a Catalyst of Military Development in Central Europe", *Warfare in Eastern Europe, 1500-1800* ed. B.L. Davies, Leiden Boston, Brill 2012, 47-50.

[160] Danijela Cofek, Nataša Štefanec, "Vojnokrajiške institucije u praksi: Slavonska krajina 1578. godine, Military Border in Practice: Slavonian Border in 1578", 7-8; Géza Pálffy, "The Origins and Development of The Border Defence System Against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Centruy)", *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The military confines in the era of Ottoman Conquest*, ed. Géza David, Pal Fodor, Leiden; Boston, Brill, 2000, 51-52.

became responsible for the functioning and financing of Slavonian bordes, the Carniolan and Carinthian classes for the Croatian borders. By reorganizing the troops on the borders, the conference participants agreed on a new structure for Croatia and Slavonia. Until 1578, Slavonian borders were defended by paid regular troops deployed in fortifications consisting of about 500 soldiers and a paid irregular troops (deployed in forests and terrain consisting of about 1,500 soldiers. However, at the conference, it was decided to reduce the number of irregularly paid troops and almost the entire army should be deployed in fortifications. Thus, the goal was to cut costs while also strengthening the defensive fortifications against the Ottomans with more regular troops. Several strategies for supplying food and munitions to Croatia and the Slavic borders were proposed. The system of warehouses for artillery and big weaponry in Inner Austria and on the borderlands was established, as well as the system of army activities and meetings in times of crisis, which resulted in a more transparent infrastructure network. As a result of those new measures, the control over the territory of the military frontier, which belonged to the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, was formally, strengthened by all necessary legal acts, taken over by the inner Austrian classes led by the Archduke.[161]

At the Diet in Bruck and der Mur, it was determined that a captain-general of Slavonia would reside at Varaždin, while a captain-general of Croatia would reside at a new castle yet to be built. Individual strongholds were divided into captaincies under each captain-general, as previously, and the headquarters-fortress of each captaincy generally got special attention in soldier allotment.[162]

Until 1578, several captains, commanding the forts in Križevci, Koprivnica, Ivanić, and Đurđevac, operated in the Slavonian region, but there was no need to establish a clear captaincy division because the number of fortified soldiers was small in comparison to the large field-paid army over which the fortified captains had no control. In 1578, the centers of the captaincy were undoubtedly Koprivnica, Ivanić and Križevci, and the majority of the paid army was distributed among them. On the other hand, Varaždin and Zagreb kept their troops, but they were outside the captain's division. Thus, in Croatia and the Slavonian region, the formation of a system of fortifications and military units, which had been going on for decades, was finally completed. New

[161] Danijela Cofek, Nataša Štefanec, "Vojnokrajiške institucije u praksi: Slavonska krajina 1578. godine, Military Border in Practice: Slavonian Border in 1578", 9-10.
[162] James D. Tracy, *Balkan Wars Habsburg Croatia, Ottoman Bosnia, andVenetian Dalmatia, 1499*–1617, 275.

solutions were introduced at the level of abolishing most of the paid field units at the expense of increasing fortification units, at the level of firmly defining the captaincy structure, at the level of hierarchies and subordination, and at the level of increasing the total number of soldiers and fortifications.[163]

3.15. The Emergence of the Ottoman *Serhad* in Bosnia

With the beginning of Ottoman rule in central Bosnia following the conquest of Hodidjed and Vrhbosna in 1451, the Bosnian territory and its administrative units started to represent the western border of the Ottoman Empire for more than four centuries. As a result of the expansion of its borders and the developments occurring beyond its frontier, Bosnia's role in defending Ottoman borders has changed significantly over time, as it was initially a sancak, and later became an eyalet in 1580.

According to sources, the first encounter between Bosnian and Ottoman forces occurred when the *akıncı*s from the territory of Kosovo first reached the banks of the Neretva River in the autumn of 1386. Thereafter, as a participant in Bosnia's internal struggles, the Ottoman forces easily found the necessary conditions to stay in the region. For example, in 1411, Sandalj Hranić Kosača, a Bosnian feudal lord, defended his domains with the help of around 7000 Ottoman soldiers from Piva to Ustiprača in the Drina region.[164] The Ottomans continued to carry out incursions into the Kingdom of Bosnia in the first decades of the 15th century, and also as an external force continued to support feudal families in their civil conflicts. However, these conditions substantially changed in the following decades. Contrary to his predecessors, the new Skopje *uçbeyi* (frontier commander) İsa Bey established a policy that ensured a persistent Ottoman military presence on the Bosnian territory rather than incursions and temporary occupations. Targeting primarily Herzegovina, İsa Bey led a significant number of troops into Bosnia, which resulted in conquering the important medieval town of Drijeva (today Gabela). Subsequently, until 1451, the Ottomans conquered the towns of Hodidjed, Vrhbosna, and the mountains around

[163] Nataša Štefanec, *Država ili ne, Ustroj Vojne krajine 1578. godine i hrvatsko-slavonski staleži u regionalnoj obrani i politici*, 405-409.
[164] Emir O. Filipović, *Bosansko kraljevstvo i Osmansko carstvo (1386-1463)*, Sarajevo, Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, 2019, 210.

Sarajevo. Today, in modern historiography, these areas are known as *Bosansko krajište* or *Vilayet-i Hodidjed* in Ottoman sources.[165]

Shortly after these conquests, we can find information about the first Ottoman military units permanently settled in Bosnia, thanks to an *icmal defteri* dated 1455. According to this source, 12 *timarlı mustahfiz*es were serving in the Zvečan fort, 15 in the Jeleč fort, and 20 in the Hodidjed fort.[166]

The fall of Bosnia in the middle of 1463 started a new phase. Following the fall of the Bosnian Kingdom, Ottoman Empire faced a fierce counter-offensive by King Matthias Corvinus, supported by the allied army of the Pope, the Venetians, and the Grand Duke of Bosnia (*veliki vojvoda rusaga bosanskog*), Stjepan Vukčić Kosača. As a consequence, the entire territory of northern Bosnia was lost, including the strategically important forts of Jajce and Srebrenik in 1463. In these newly conquered territories Corvinus formed two banates: Banate of Jajce (*Jajačka banovina*) and Banate of Srebrenik (*Srebrenička banovina*) in 1464.[167] Following the establishment of these banates, the Ottomans failed to expand their borders into Croatia and Dalmatia until the end of the 15th century, however, following the Ottoman victory at Krbava in 1493 the Hungarian and Croatian resistance around Bosnia began to weaken. Breaking through the Sana valley, the Ottomans built strong fortifications in the towns of Ključ and Kamengrad, which became important bases for sudden and rapid actions towards the west and south.[168]

In August 1503, an armistice was concluded between Hungary and the Ottoman Empire for seven years. After the end of the ceasefire period, the Ottomans refused to extend the armistice, and the new conquests in Bosnia followed. In particular, northern Bosnia was particularly exposed to new attacks, and the Banovina of Srebrenik was conquered in 1512, and became part of the Sancak of Zvornik shortly thereafter. Further conquests of the Ottomans in the direction of the

[165] Enes Pelidija, "Krallıktan Sancaklığa Bosna'nın 1463 Yılında Fethi", *Dünden Bugüne Bosna-Hersek ve Aliya İzzetbegoviç Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*", ed. Zekeriya Kurşun, Ahmet Usta, Emine Tonta Ak, İstanbul, 2018, 406-410.
[166] *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića. Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, prijevod na bosanski jezik i komentari: Hazim Šabanović, Sarajevo, Monumenta Turcica Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium Illustrantia, Tomus Secundus, Serija II, Defteri, knjiga 1, Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, 1964.
[167] Aladin Husić, "Tvrđave Bosanskog sandžaka i njihove posade 1530. godine", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 49, 2000, 194.
[168] Hazim Sabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk, postanak i upravna podjela*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost, Oour Izdavačka Djetlatnost, 1959, 55.

northwest and west were continued by the occupation of the towns of Unac and Blagaj (1512) on the Sana, and then Sinj (1513), Karin and Korlat (1514). But the real turning point was marked only by the fall of Belgrade and Šabac in 1521. Within two years after the fall of Belgrade, the following fortifications also fell: Zemun, Šabac, Ostrovica on the Una, Knin and Skradin.[169]

The defeat of the Croatian and Hungarian army at Mohács in 1526 opened a door not only to the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the Pannonian plain, but also into Croatia and Dalmatia. The military successes of the Ottomans at the beginning of Sultan Suleiman's reign had an important impact on the future military organization of Bosnia. To have a better grasp of this fact, we must look into former Ottoman defensive strategies in the lower Danube, i.e., the Sancak of Smederevo.

The Ottoman high officials were aware that the permanent conquests were impractical without the introduction of the *timar* system in the newly occupied lands, since it was the main pillar of the Ottoman state apparatus. However, to protect the *timar* lands, they formed a more stable and organized defense line by stationing *ulufeli* units in fortifications that were exposed to direct enemy attacks, instead of using the *timarlı* (i.e., those with *timars*) forces on the borders. As noted earlier, the defense system based on these *ulufeli* units that was established on the lower Danube banks after the 1480s had rather successful outcomes in the protection of the *timar* regions. Furthermore, thanks to the inner safety provided by *ulufeli* fortifications, the Ottoman borders were moving forward in a more secure and consistent way in subsequent periods of about 20-30 years. Apart from a concern for a better defense, it should also be noted that the Ottoman state's fiscal conditions were one of the main reasons for such a practice. Because of the scarcity of *tahrir* lands to be allocated in the newly conquered areas, the pragmatist Ottoman high officials were forced to use *ulufeli* garrisons along the borders. Since their salaries are covered by the allocated local liquidity resources (*mukataa*), manning *ulufeli* garrison units enabled the center to recruit more soldiers in a shorter time and to protect the borders without placing a greater burden on the central treasury. Furthermore, unlike the *ulufeli* soldiers, the *timarlı mustahfiz*es had to leave their posts in order to travel to their *timar* zones at specific times of the year, which was making it difficult to

[169] Aladin Husić, "Tvrđave Bosanskog sandžaka i njihove posade 1530. godine", 194.

maintain border protection. For such a compelling reason, most of the garrison forces in the border strongholds would begin to be financed with cash allocated from *mukataa* resources.

Consequently, this defensive policy was introduced in Bosnia after the victory at Mohács in 1526, and *ulufeli* military units such as *mustahfiz*es, *azap*s, *beşli*s, *faris*es, *gönüllü*s, and *martolos*es, that had not existed until then, began to serve on the Bosnian borders.[170] I would like to point out that, although Hazim Šabanović states that these units began to serve in Bosnia after 1526, this transformation had not taken place in a short period. *Ulufeli* units appeared in archival sources only after nearly a decade, which indicates that the transformation was gradual but consistent.

By the end of 1527, the Ottoman army conquered the Croatian fortifications Obrovac, Udbina, Mrsinj, Rmanj and other important towns of the Banovina of Jajce, including Jajce and Banja Luka.[171] After the fall of Klis, the last Croatian stronghold south of Velebit, the Ottomans consolidated their rule over the hinterland of the Adriatic coast from Zrmanja to Cetina and over Krbava and Lika. Only the territory of the Venetian towns remained out of Ottoman reach. After the end of the Ottoman-Venetian war between 1537 and 1539, the Republic of Venice lost the fortifications of Nadin and Vrana, and these forts were annexed to areas under Ottoman military control. With the establishment of the Sancak of Klis in 1537, classic forms of Ottoman administration were introduced and a significant part of the Bosnian Sancak, i.e., its entire southwestern part, was added to the newly formed Sancak of Klis.[172] Ottoman conquests will be completed in this area during the Ottoman-Venetian War or the War for Cyprus of 1570-1573, with the conquest of Zemunik by Ferhad Bey Sokolović.[173]

The second major wave of conquest in today's eastern Slavonia started in July 1536, led by Husrev Bey and Mehmed Bey Yahyapaşaoğlu, and finished with the capture of Požega in late

[170] Elma. Korić, "Stepen izučenosti rubnog pojasa osmanskog serhata u Bosni naspram habsburških vojnih krajina Hrvatske i Slavonske na temelju osmanskih izvora do kraja 16. stoljeća u dosadašnjoj bosansko–hercegovačkoj historiografiji", *Franz Vaniček i Vojnokrajiška Historiografija*, reviewers, Milan Kruhek, Nenad Moačanin, Damir Agičić, Zagreb, Slavonski Brod, Tiskara Zelina d.d., Zagreb, 2017, 108-109; Hazim Šabanović, "Vojno uređenje Bosne od 1463. godine do kraja 16. stoljeća", *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, XI/1960, Sarajevo, (1961), 216.
[171] Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, 71.
[172] Kornelija Jurin Starčević, "*Osmanski krajiški prostor: rat i društvo u jadransko-dinarskom zaleđu u 16. i 17. stoljeću*", doctoral thesis, Zagreb University, 2012, 26.
[173] Fazileta Hafizović, *Kliški sandžak od osnivanja do početka Kandijskog rata. (1537-1645. godine)*, Sarajevo, Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, 2016, 21.

January 1537. After this campaign, the Ottomans took possession of more than half of Slavonia in the space of six months, pushing the Habsburgs behind a line stretching from the Drava to the Sava east of Požega. Husrev Bey later focused his attacks on the Pounje region, and captured Dubica and Jasenovac in 1538. Until the mid-1550s, the Ottomans had captured a large part of Slavonia, establishing a boundary line first in Čazma in 1556, and later in Moslavina as a result of the fall of Čazma. A permanent Ottoman-Habsburg border, which would not be changed until 1699, formed only after the Long Turkish War (1593 – 1606).[174]

Later on, in the second half of the 16th century, the Ottomans conquered Kostajnica and Novi (1556), and in the time of Ferhad Bey Sokolović they captured a number of fortifications in Pounje: Cazin, Bužim, Ostrožac, and Krupa. However, some of the strongholds were destroyed due to new defense policies: Kladuša, Podzvizd, Šturlić, and Peć. In this area a large number of fortifications were immediately rebuilt, but some of them were not fortified until the 1630s due to frequent attacks by Croatian, i.e., Habsburg units. Since Pounje was one of the most important parts of the Ottoman-Habsburg border, the Ottomans constantly brought soldier and resources in order to gain as many strong military strongholds as possible. In time, they achieved to build a real military defense in this part of Europe, with strong fortifications out of which the army of the Habsburg Monarchy could no longer drive them away, even during the war that followed the failed siege of Vienna, the Great Turkish War (1683 – 1699).[175]

The borders of the Bosnian Eyalet stretched through seven sancaks (Požega, Pakrac, Bosnia, Bihać, Krka/Lika, Klis, and Herzegovina); only the Sancak of Zvornik remained in the background. With the cessation of Ottoman conquests on the northern and northwestern borders of Bosnia, the borderline settled and ultimate borders (*serhad*) were formed, which lasted more than a century.

The formation of certain parts of this border zone occurred at different times. The earliest borderline spread in Dalmatia, at the end of the 15th century. The town of Nova (Herceg Novi), as the most important fort in the south of the Sancak of Herzegovina, fell under Ottoman rule in 1482,

[174] Ive Mažuran, "Turske provale i osvajanja u Slavoniji od kraja 14. do sredine 16. Stoljeća", *Zborniku radova peti znanstveni sabor Slavonije i Baranje*, ed. Dušan Čalić and Đuro Berber, Vol 1, Osijek: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni rad, 1991, 59.
[175] Kornelija Jurin Starčević, "*Osmanski krajiški prostor: rat i društvo u jadransko-dinarskom zaleđu u 16. i 17. stoljeću*", 2012, 47-48.

while in the far northwest Bihać and its frontier fell only in 1592. In the middle of the 16th century, conquests in the land across the Sava River (i.e., in the Kingdom of Slavonia) ceased, and after the founding of the Sancak of Zaçasna (Čazma, Pakrac, or Cernik) in 1557, the border zone stabilized there, as well as in the neighboring Sancak of Požega. In southwestern Bosnia, again, partly towards the Venetian and partly towards the Habsburg border, the border zone stabilized after the establishment of the Sancak of Krka or Lika (1580).[176]

Conquests made on the Bosnian borders against Croatia (or the Habsburgs) and Venice cannot be attributed only to the well-conceived war plans of the Sublime Porte. When we examine the content of the letters sent directly to the sultan by the local *sancakbeyi*s, it is seen that they were highly effective in the strategies that are thought to be applied for future conquests. Military operations by local *sancakbeyi*s show signs of high-level planning. Their potential to determine practical strategic objectives and concentrate forces against the enemy regularly gave them an enormous advantage. They were fully informed about the military as well as the socio-economic structure of the enemy lands. In fact, even before the conquest, they were allocating the source of income among soldiers based on the economic merits of the territory they were targeting. Contrary to the Habsburg policy of driving away the enemy from the occupied lands in one big blow, which we saw in the campaign leading to the Battle of Gorjani, the *sancakbeyi*s did not have to put significant effort into any single campaign, since they had the ability to finance and provision attacks year after year. Their offensive plans were based on well-organized local forces and targets supported by precise intelligence. The priority of targets was planned based on future conquest policies, local forces' provision and military capabilities, as well as the conditions of the enemy.

3.16.The Emergence of the Ottoman Serhad in Slavonia

Following the fall of Belgrade and Šabac in 1521, the conclusive conquest of what is now known as Slavonia began. Hungary's southern line of defense collapsed with the loss of these two significant centers of defense, paving the way for Suleyman I to conquer the fortifications of the

[176] Adem Handžić, "O organizaciji Krajine Bosanskog Ejaleta u XVIII Stoleću-Severna i sjeverozapadna granica-Vojne krajine u jugoslovenskim zemljama u novom veku do Karlovačkog mira 1699", *Zbornik radova se naučnog skupa održanog 24. i 25. aprila 1986.*, Beograd, SAN naučni skupovi XLVIII, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka knjiga 12 1989, 79-80.

territory of Srijem. Osijek fell in 1529 which in the following year became an enormous forward operating base with a garrison of about three thousand men. Ivankovo, Đakovo, Gradiška, Brod, Pleternica, Cernik and other places fell in 1536. Požega with Požega valley fell in 1537. In 1541 Našice, in 1542 Orahovica, Slatina and Drenovac, in 1543 Valpovo, in 1544 Kraljeva Velika, in 1545 Moslavina were conquered. Finally, Virovitica and Čazma became the farthermost Ottoman fortresses in Slavonia at the end of 1552. The Ottoman conquest of Slavonia lasted about three decades while these strongholds were located at a fair distance from one another.[177]

The Ottoman defensive strategy in the region that is today known as Western Slavonia was based on a chain of forts running along two long parallel lines. These lines were initially built on fortresses conquered in the region between 1536 and 1552. This strategy, on the other hand, was later reformed through the construction of new fortifications or the demolition of existing ones, so that these lines would meet every requirement according to the needs of the time. The first defense line stretched from the northeast to the southwest, passing through the forts of Zdenci, Kreštelovac, Međurić, Granica, and ending in Kraljeva Velika fortress. Up until the beginning of the 17th century, Granica, and Velika were the fortifications where the real strength was concentrated. However, after the Long Turkish War, the garrison structures of these forts changed constantly depending on the requirements of the time and the roles they played in defense.

The second line, like the first, ran from northeast to southwest, passing through the forts of Stupčanica, Dobra Kuća, Podborje, Sirač, Pakrac, and Bijela Stijena. The sancak's center, Cernik, was well behind these two lines in a secure location. The fortresses of Pakrac and Sirač were the major fortifications of the second line, and with the exception of the Podborje fort, the other mentioned forts were in locations close to or parallel to each other.

It should be emphasized that, despite the fact that the Sancak of Zaçasna was never formally part of the Beylerbeyilik of Buda, this eyalet had a significant impact on the Zaçasna's border defense. Budin's influence was felt most strongly in Slavonia during the second and third quarters of the 16th century, particularly through the members of Yahyapaşa-zâde family.[178]

The conquered fortifications in Slavonia were manned by the units that were transferred from existing garrisons located in the inner regions. In doing so, because they had the necessary

[177] Dino Mujadžević, "Osmanska osvajanja u Slavoniji 1552. u svjetlu osmanskih arhivskih izvora, 90-91; Ive Mažuran, "Turska osvajanja u Slavoniji (1526.-1552.)", *Osječki zbornik* 6, 1958, 114-122.
[178] Géza Dávid, "Macaristan'da Yönetici Osmanlı Aileleri", *OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi/ Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies - Ankara University*, 38, 2015, 13-30.

manpower and financial means, the Ottoman local military leadership did not struggle as the Croatian nobility did in Slavonia before them. They only had to organize conquered lands into an Ottoman type of frontier (*serhad*) since they already held the strategic locations and strongholds.

On the other hand, they did not make much effort to establish such formations themselves. Similar strategy had already been planned by the local Croatian military elites before, in the early 16th century. The main difference between the Croatian local elite and the Ottoman local commanders was that they lacked the necessary manpower and financial resources that the Ottomans possessed.

Following the heavy defeat of Katzianer's army in Gorjani in 1537, King Ferdinand invited a Croatian delegation to seek solutions for better organization of the border defense and to meet the costs of the defensive war in Croatia. At this assembly, the Croatian delegation presented to him a list of towns and fortifications in Slavonia that should be supplied with military crews, weapons, and gunpowder as immediate as possible. According to the list the locations that needed to be fortified were:

Kraljeva Velika, Subocki Grad, Novska, Britvičevina, Ras, Pakrac, Bijela Stijena, Petrovina, Čaklovac, Kamengrad, Zelnjak, Sirač, Pauline monastery Sredice, Kreštelovac, Dijankovac, Dišnik, Voćin, Orahovica, Bijela, Oporovec, Drenovac, Mikleuš, Koroď, Brezovica, Pašinec. They also requested from the king in order to adequately defend these 26 towns and fortifications 2000 light cavalry, 500 heavy cavalries, and 1000 infantry. In addition, they demanded to establish river fleets on the Drava and Sava rivers, which consisted of shaika (šajka) boats and a military crew of 1,000 men on them.[179]

In the light of archival sources, when we look at the Ottoman borders in Slavonia in the early 1600s, we can see that the demands of the Croatian nobility were rather compatible with the requirements of that period. Following the Long Turkish War, the Ottomans established their stable military borders in Slavonia. When we look at the fortifications that defended this borderline, as well as the number of soldiers serving in these fortifications, we notice a considerable resemblance to what the Croatian nobility demanded almost a century ago.

In the Sancak of Požega, the following were the fortified towns and strongholds that formed a solid defense until the end of Ottoman rule in Slavonia: Pojega, Brezovica, Virovitica, Voćin,

[179] Milan Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, Zagreb, Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1995, 98-99; Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, 91.

Slatina, Kamengrad, Sopje, Moslavina, Mihojlac, Gorjan, Poljana, Hum, Jasenovac, Podgorač, Đakovo, Erdut, Osijek, Valpovo, Sveti Mikloš, Orahovica, Slatinić, and in the sancak of Zaçsana: Dobra Kuća, Stupčanica, Sirač, Pakrac, Velika, Cernik, Podborje, Granica, and Bijela Stijena.[180] As can be noticed easily, most of these fortified settlements were already in use before the Ottoman conquest. We can see that most of them were also cited in the above-mentioned Croatian demands for Habsburg reinforcement against the Ottomans. On the other hand, while the Croatian nobility demanded 3,500 soldiers in total to defend Slavonia, the number of soldiers stationed by the Ottomans within their borders was close to 3,000 during the 17th century. Finally, if we consider that the river captainships established by the Ottomans on the Drava and Sava rivers had about 1.000 soldiers,[181] we can better understand how right the Croats were in their demands a century ago, and how accurate the Ottomans were in their decisions to defend the region. Ultimately, it should not be forgotten that the Ottomans, thanks to their substantial military foundations in Slavonia, were able to make their presence felt in these lands even a decade after their heavy defeat at the Battle of Vienna in 1683.

[180] *MAD.d. 826; TS.MA.d. 1356; D.BKL.d 32208.*
[181] Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, 91.

4. OTTOMAN GARRISONS IN WESTERN SLAVONIA

The number of soldiers that served in the garrisons in Ottoman fortresses in Slavonia had grown from 760 to 1591 between the year 1563-1688.[182] Despite this growth in their numbers, the composition of these garrisons, which were divided into five main branches *Mustahfiz, Topçu, Azeb, Faris, Martolos*, has always remained the same. Although much has been written about who were the garrison members and what their duties were, the topic needed to be reviewed according to the insights that I obtained from archival sources. Earlier studies, particularly those of Turkish origin, had certain flaws as they approached the subject without a region or time specification. Their definitions were based on generalizations that could not be compatible with the entire empire. Therefore, the following sections have been written in accordance with the subject of the dissertation, taking into account the specific conditions of the Bosnian Eyalet.

4.1. The Garrison Members

4.1.1. Dizdar (castellan, commander of a fortification)

The term *dizdar* was used in Ottoman parlance to refer to the commander of any type of fortification, including fortresses, forts, *palanka*s, castles, citadels, towers, etc. The term itself is derived from the Persian word *diz* (fort or city wall), and the suffix *dâr*, which has the meaning of "one who holds, owns, or possesses".[183] *Dizdar*s were senior military officers at their place of duty,

[182] According to rol call registers the total number of *ulufeli* soldiers serving in the *Sancak*s of Zaçasna and Požega varied between 3,000 and 3,500 during the Otoman rule in Western Slavonia. In terms of the success of espionage activities, it should be emphasized that the total garrison number of 3,242 given by Hans von Auersperg in 1577 was rather accurate. For detailed informatin see: Nataša Štefanec, "Osmanski zapovjednici i struktura osmanske i habsburške vojske nahrvatskom dijelu krajišta (prema špijunskim izvještajima iz 1570-ih)", *Ascendere historiam: Zbornik u čast Milana Kruheka*, edited by Marija Karbić, Hrvoje Kekez, Ana Novak and Zorislav Horvat 209-227. Zagreb, Hrvatski institut zapovijest, 2014. On the other hand, the number of soldiers serving on the Habsburg side of the border was: in 1554: 1.234, in 1565: 2287, in 1577: 3095, and in 1578: 2.916. Nataša Štefanec, *Država ili ne, Ustroj Vojne krajine 1578. godine i hrvatsko-slavonski staleži u regionalnoj obrani i politici*, Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 2011, 488-492.

[183] Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be met with in Persian Literature*, Fifth Impression, London, Routlege and Kegan Paul Limited, 1963, 518; Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lugat: Eski ve Yeni harflerle*, Ankara, Aydın Kitabevi, 1988, 224, İlhan Ayverdi, *Kubbealtı Lugati: Asırlar Boyu Tarihi Seyri İçinde Misalli Büyük Türkçe Sözlük*, complied by Ahmet Topaloğlu, prep. by Kerim Can Bayar, İstanbul, Kubbealtı Neşriyat, 2005, 741.

and their appellations that used in the decrees were *kıdvetü'l-mustahfızîn* ("the commander of the garrison"), *zübdetü'l-mu'temedîn* ("the most privileged of the righteous"). While they were under the authority of *sancakbeyi*s and *beylerbeyi*s, they were responsible to the *kadı* for ensuring that their acts were in accordance with *sharia*. The privilege of writing directly to the center with their requests and complaints, as well as the dispatching of decrees and orders from the center to the *dizdar*s, attests to their relevance.[184]

As we learn from the archival sources, there were certain criteria for the assignment of *dizdar*s. Nevertheless, depending on the location of the stronghold and the corresponding century, some of the requirements that were demanded may have differed from time to time. According to sultanic orders, *dizdar*s were chosen among those who belonged to the *kapıkulu* class, such as janissaries, *cebecis, çorbacıs, yaybaşıs*, etc.[185] In addition to these high-ranking officials, sometimes *mustahfize*s, *azeb*s, or *martolose*s, who were considered as soldiers of a relatively low rank, could be appointed as *dizdar*s in minor frontier strongholds or safer inner fortifications.[186] When it comes to maintaining the system they formed, the Ottomans were conservatives. Therefore, they were strongly opposed to shifts in military classes. A decree sent from the center to the Beylerbeyi of Buda shows that *timar* holders, that is, *sipahi*s, were not permitted to be appointed *dizdar*s according to old laws.[187] Available sources do not offer much about their origin or background, however it can be said that after the first centuries they started to be chosen mainly from Bosnia.

When appointing a *dizdar*, the authorities preferred aged and experienced soldiers, and because of the importance of their post, *dizdar*s were chosen from among those with military experience, administrative abilities, and a respect for justice and the rule of law. Beylerbeyis had the authority to dismiss *dizdar*s from their posts if they lacked the required administrative capabilities or were involved in certain illegal actions.[188] In addition to the illicit activities, they were removed from their positions for a variety of reasons, including new assignments, discharge, death, poor health, resignation, etc.[189] If they needed to leave their post for a certain period of time,

[184] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 16, 28/49; İE.AS.14, 1352.
[185] Yusuf Oğuzoğlu "Dizdar", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 9, İstanbul, 1994, 480-481.
[186] Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018, 120.
[187] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 7, 167/437.
[188] Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, Ankara, Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı Yayınları, 1995, 79.
[189] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 45, 198/2343; AE.SMMD.IV, 22/ 2516; AE.SMST.II, 16/1501.

they could entrust it to someone trustworthy, such as their subordinate, a *kethüda*, or even their son. When they would retire, *dizdar*s had the right to suggest or request that his son be appointed to this position.[190]

The majority of *dizdar* assignments were done following the death of the former office-holder, which indicates that they were staying in their positions for extended periods of time. The fact that the same *dizdar* and *kethüda* served in the Čaklovac fort for over 20 years is a good example of this situation.[191] According to the information we obtained from a sultanic order, the *dizdar*s could be assigned to their posts for life.[192] The conditional assignments, on the other hand, were one of the interesting details of *dizdar*'s appointments. According to the document, to persuade the Istanbul headquarters, the candidate seeking this position had to make some sacrifices, such as devoting a portion of his pay to fort repairs or providing the requisite saltpeter for the cannons.[193]

*Dizdar*s were paid in the form of *ulufe*, i.e., in cash (most often in the fortifications near the border) or were given an allocation called *serbest timar*[194] (especially in inner and safer strongholds), while their salary rate varied depending on the size, location, and importance of the fortification. There have been instances where the number of *dizdar*s increased from one to six, depending on the size and importance of the fortification in question.[195] Their annual earnings would range from 20,000 *akçe*s to 1378 *akçe*s.[196] The *resm-i-arus* tax was one of *dizdar*s' additional sources of income. This levy was an Ottoman tax on brides that were collected from the fathers

[190] AE.SAMD.III, 154/15161.
[191] TT.d. 355, 76; TT.d. 612, 72.
[192] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 84, 32/59.
[193] For a study of of a specific Dizdar with a very unusual life story, please see. Nenad Moačanin, "Hacı Mehmet ağa of Požega, God's Special Protégé (ca. 1490 - ca. 1580)", Géza Dávid, Pál Fodor, eds., Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the age of Süleyman the Magnificent, Budapest: Loránd Eötvös University, Dept. of Turkish Studies, 1994, 171-181.
[194] Serbest ie. free timars were type of allocation that was outside the jurisdiction of local authority. It was forbidden for the local authorities to enter to the serbest timar zones when it came to tracking the perpetrators and collecting fines.
[195] Orhan Kılıç, "Teşkilat ve İşleyiş Bakımından Doğu Hududundaki Osmanlı Kaleleri ve Mevâcib Defterleri", *OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi/ Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies - Ankara University*, 31, 2012, 102.
[196] Eftal Şükrü Batmaz, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kale Teşkilatına Genel Bir Bakış", *OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi/ Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies - Ankara University*, 7,1996, 4.

and husbands of married women, and it appears to have had a feudal origin that is pre-Ottoman Christian.[197]

The *dizdar*s were in charge of the following duties: the defense of their strongholds as well as the security of the surrounding towns (*kasaba*) and *varoşes*; supervision of soldiers who served under their responsibility; the identification of those who were unable to serve; protection of weapons; ammunition conditions; reception of ammunition coming to the fort; presentation of ammunition to officials sent for inspection; protection and storage of warehouses in the inner castle; attendance of military campaigns when necessary; security of mountain passages and guidance of sultanic forces; supervision of tax collection and protection of the tax money; repair of the fort; control of the walls of the stronghold and the gates that provide the entrance and exit of the towns, etc.[198]

4.1.2. *Kethüda* (deputy)

The term *kethüda* was borrowed into Ottoman Turkish from the Persian word *ked-hoda* which originally means "master of a family; a bridegroom, a married man; anyone looked up to with reverence and respect; a magistrate; an alderman".[199] On the other hand, starting from the 15th century, the term *kethüda* has come to mean assistant or deputy for various state officials in the Ottoman state organization. Correspondingly, there has been the office of *kethüdalık* in different fields within the government ranks. Although the terms *kethüda* and *kahya* are often used interchangeably, it is known that the term *kethüda* started to be used earlier, while the term *kahya* emerged considerably later in the Ottoman history.[200] In South Slavic histioriography, the Ottoman Turksih loan-word *ćehaja* is used for this office in various contexts.

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[197] Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri: Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri Kanunnameleri: VI. Kitap II. Kısım Merkezi ve Umumi Kanunnameler*, İstanbul, Fey Vakfı, 1993, 589; Halil Sahillioğlu, "Arûs Resmi", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 3, İstanbul, 1991, 422-423.

[198] Orhan Kılıç, *Doğu Serhaddinin Kilidi Van (16.-18.Yüzyıllar)*, ed. Mesut Gül, Van, Van Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür ve Sanat Yayınları, 2021, 358; Eftal Şükrü Batmaz, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Kale Teşkilatına Genel Bir Bakış", 4; Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, 78-79.
Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nda Derbend Teşkilatı*, İstanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, 1990, 1967, 31,70.

[199] Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be met with in Persian Literature*, 1018; Mehmet Kanar, *Büyük Türkçe-Farsça Sözlük*, Tahran, Müessesetu İntişaret-i Şirin; Şirin Yayıncılık, 1374, 490.

[200] Mehmet Canatar, "Kethüdâ", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 25, Ankara, 2002, 332-334.

Kethüda that was stationed in the fortifications was the deputy to the *dizdar* and was serving as both the fortress's and the *mustahfız*es' second commander. Their responsibilities included ensuring the troops' daily work, maintaining orders in the stronghold, keeping accounts of the castle treasury, paying the guards' salaries, and conducting inspections as ordered by the *dizdar*. They were paid in *ulufe* or *timar*,[201] and their appointment requirements were the same as *dizdar*'s. Other units that served in the garrison also had their own *kethüdas* as military officers, such as janissaries, *kapudan*s, *cebeci*s, *azeb*s, *martolos*es, *topçu*s, etc. [202]

4.1.3. *Kapudan*s (captains)

The *kapudan*s (captains) and *kapudanlık* (captaincy), despite the existence of several academic publications about its historical context, are the phenomena that have not yet been fully understood in terms of their nature, boundaries, and function within the Ottoman lands in Europe. Apart from the *kapudan*s who served on the seas and major rivers such as the Danube, Sava, Krka, or Neretva, some *kapudan*s served as senior officers of the *azeb*s in the fortresses.[203]

According to Šabanović, the very first examples of fortresses' *kapudan*s in the West Balkan countries served in the fortress of Golubac and the fortress of Smederevo in what is today Serbia.[204] On the other hand, based on current information, as a separate unit, the first *kapudanlık* established in Bosnia was in the fortress of Gradiška around 1540.[205] Most of the *kapudan*s who served in the fortresses were located on the Dalmatian coast, where the Uskok raids used to heavily damage

[201] Göksel Baş, "*Ottoman Serhad Organization in the Balkans (1450-1500)*" master's thesis, Bilkent Univeritys, 2017, 57.
[202] Ahmet Şimşirgil, "Kızılelma'nın Muhafızları: Osmanlı Uyvarında Resmi Görevli Hizmetliler", *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 11, 2002, 92-96.
[203] For the Kapudanlık phenomenon that arose in Bosnia and Herzegovina after 1699, see: Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Kapetanije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1980.
[204] Hazim Šabanović, "Vojno uređenje Bosne od 1463. godine do kraja 16. Stoljeća*", Godišnjak Društva Istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, XI 1960, Sarajevo, 1961, 219.
[205] Nenad Moačanin, "Exposing Existing Fallacies Regarding the Captaincies in the Bosnian Frontier Area between the 16th – 18th Centuries," *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*, ed. Drago Roksandić and Nataša Štefanec, Budapest, CEU History Department, 2000, 76; Nenad Moačanin, "Some Observations on the kapudans in the Ottoman Northwestern Frontier Area 16-18 c.," Acta Viennensia Ottomanica, Akten des 13. CIEPO Symposiums, Vienna 1999, 241-246.

Ottoman lands and subjects.[206] In order to create safer settlements for their subjects, who were their main sources for tax revenue, the Ottomans increased the number of *kapudanlık*s to make the borders and territory more stable. The *kapudan*s were the highest senior officers of the *azeb*s, who formed the operational forces in fortresses, and the *ağa*s of *azeb*s were obliged to report directly to him.[207] The *kapudan*s were mostly chosen from among the *ağa*s of *azeb*s. On the other hand, sometimes they were appointed from among the *faris*es or *martolos*es, as they were the leaders of the fortresses' operational forces. The *kapudan*s, together with other military units under their command, were in charge of the protection of a wide area which was susceptible to enemy raids and attacks. From an Ottoman decree regarding the appointment of a *kapudan* to the Velika fortress for the first time, it is possible to obtain some information about the responsibilities expected of these commanders. According to this decree, the Velika fortress was located in a dangerous area where the Sava, Pakra, Ilova, and Una's waters accumulated in the area in the vicinity of the fortress, and in the time of floods, enemies were crossing the Habsburg-Ottoman border and would sail with their ships downstream and would damage Ottoman lands and subjects. In order to prevent this, Hasan Ağa (most probably an *ağa* of the *azeb*s) was appointed as *kapudan* of a few ships and soldiers who were transferred from the interior, i.e., from a safer area within Ottoman territory (3 May 1579).[208]

4.1.4. *Mustahfız, merd-i kale* or *hisar-eri* (defender, fortress soldiers)

Mustahfiz, merd-i kale or *hisar-eri* were terms used interchangeably in order to refer to the soldiers who served in fortifications. The term *mustahfız* was derived from the Arabic word *hıfz*, which means to protect, preserve, or conserve, and was widely used in the Ottoman military administration. The infantry troops who served as defenders or guards in the fortifications were given this title.[209] Equivalent terms *merd-i kale* and *hisar-eri* both mean merely "a man of the fortress".

[206] Kornelija Jurin Starčević, "*Osmanski krajiški prostor: rat i društvo u jadransko-dinarskom zaleđu u 16. i 17. stoljeću*", 106-109.
[207] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 48, 111/295.
[208] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 37, 174/261.
[209] However, following the Tanzimat, that same term gained another meaning and began to be used to define reserve forces (ihtiyat birliği) who remained ready for war in order to influence the course of the battles. Yaşar Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, Vol. 3, İstanbul, Ötüken Neşriyat, 2007, 3.400.

Mustahfizes were chosen among the Muslims and mainly recruited from the neighboring provinces and, because they were mostly formed by local forces, Ottoman sources widely described them as *serhad kulu*[210] (frontiersman) or *yerli kulu*[211] (local soldier). While there were various ways to join the *mustahfiz* unit, the two most common ways were to be the son of a military man or to prove to be a useful soldier in battles. *Mustahfiz*es were serving in the *mustahfiz* units under the command of *dizdar* and his deputy *kethüda*. They usually resided in the stronghold with their families, either in a cottage provided for them or in a makeshift dwelling erected against the fortress walls. Although it was strictly forbidden for them to leave their place of duty, they frequently did so for legitimate reasons such as military expeditions, pursuing fugitives, guiding other military units, or prohibited reasons such as trade, farming, or smuggling.

The *mustahfiz*es who were stationed in the zone of relatively safer regions were fewer in number, and their primary responsibility, rather than defending the country from the enemy, was to ensure the town's safety and public order. The *mustahfiz*es and *topçu*s formed the core of all garrisons, and as such, they were tasked with protecting the stronghold. *Mustahfiz*es and *topçu*s were frequently recorded in the same group within a given garrison, while the other three units of a garrison: *azeb, faris,* and *martolos,* were registered in a separate group. The link between these two military groups, mustahfizes and topçus, becomes more evident as they were occasionally registered under the same unit as *mustahfiz*es.[212]

As stated above, while their military officers were *dizdar* and *kethüda,* depending on the location of the stronghold and the number of units, also *ağa*s was serving as their officers. In the garrison composition, their units were organized firstly into *cemaat*s, and then into *bölük*s or *oda*s, headed by a *ser-bölük* or *ser-oda*. In newly established garrisons, a *bölük*/*oda* ordinarily consisted of ten or fewer soldiers.[213] The *mustahfiz*es were appointed with a patent called *berat*, and depending on the location of their place of duty, they were paid in cash (*ulufe*) or were granted an allocation (*timar*) in exchange for their services.[214]

[210] Abdülkadir Özcan, "Serhad Kulu", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 36, İstanbul, 2009, 560-561.
[211] Abdülkadir Özcan, "Yerli Kulu", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 43, İstanbul, 2013, 484-485.
[212] MAD.d. 681, 253.
[213] Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, 117-120.
[214] Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier, Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe*, London, I. B. Tauris & Company Limited, 2007, 87-89.

According to a *kanunname* of Suleyman I, "each fortress had the *dizdar*s, the *kethüda*s, and the *musahfiz*es to defend the arsenal, cannons, weapons, and all types of military equipment. *Mustahfiz*es patrol their strongholds and ramparts day and night. These soldiers are known as *hisar-eri*".[215] Apart from these, *mustahfiz*es' duties included the following: guarding the stronghold; and its valuable items, here including soldiers' salaries, tax revenues, and provisions; guarding the prisoners and the dungeons; accompanying tax collectors; and chasing down outlaws. Despite this fact, we occasionally see they were protesting against having the aforementioned duties, claiming that, according to the law, their only responsibility was to protect the stronghold's treasure and armory. Unlike in the border regions, the *mustahfiz*es serving in the interior lands were summoned to the campaign during the sultanic expeditions, and those who remained on duty were held responsible for the region's security.[216]

The *mustahfiz*es serving on the frontiers were given *ulufe*, while those serving in the interior were given *timars* (the *gedik*, or collective *timar*). Nonetheless, in sancaks near the borders, such as Požega, both *ulufeli* and *timarlı mustahfiz*es were serving together. In a specific part of the Sancak of Požega some garrisons, like in Kamengrad, Sveti Miklož, Podgorac, Slatinik, the *varoş* of Sopje and Požega, received their wages in the form of *timar*s. As in the Sancak of Požega, in the garrison of the Zdenci fort, which was located in the Sancak of Zaçasna, there were combined troops of *timarlı* and *ulufeli* soldiers as well. In 1568, 25 *timarlı mustahfiz*es were transferred from the Bosnian town of Zvornik to Zdenci in order to strengthen the defense.[217]

4.1.5. *Topçu*s (gunners, artillerymen)

Firearms first appeared on battlefields in the 14th century, and as they became widespread, the use of cannons for both offensive and defensive purposes increased. The Ottomans adopted firearms in the late 14th century and formed a separate artillery unit as part of the Sultans' armies in the early 15th century. Despite the lack of conclusive evidence, it is widely assumed that the

[215] *Sofyalı Ali Çavuş Kanunnamesi: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Toprak Tasarruf Sistemi'nin Hukuki ve Mali Müeyyede ve Mükellefiyetleri*, prep. by Midhat Sertoğlu, İstanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1992, 69.
[216] Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, 80.
[217] Adem Handžić, "O organizaciji vojne krajine Bosanskog ejaleta u XVII stoljeću: Sjeverna i sjeverozapadna granica", 52; *Popis sandžaka Požega 1579. godine/Defter-i mufassal-i liva-i Pojega 987*, trans. by. Fazileta Hafizović, ed. Stjepan Sršan, topography made by Ive Mažuran, Osijek, Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 2001, 157; Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country, on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*, Leiden-Boston, Brill 2006, 92.

Ottomans were stationing artillery and artillery troops in important fortifications from very early periods.[218]

The *topçu*s were separated into two different branches in the Ottoman military organization: those who produced cannons and those who used them in battle or defense. In Ottoman garrisons, there were two different *topçu* units. The first was *Dergâh-âli topçus*, that is, Porte artillerymen, who were sent as specialists from the Porte, and the others, local *topuçu*s, or *yerli kulu topçu*s.[219] The *topçu*s were one of the most important elements in the garrisons and were an important part of the troops in strongholds, despite their small number. They were widely stationed in fortifications, particularly along the border. Like the *mustahfiz*es, the *topçu*s were responsible for the general defense of the stronghold and were not permitted to leave it.[220] The number of *topçu*s in a given garrison varied according to the size and location of the fort they served. For instance, in 1591, while 90 *topçu*s were registered in the garrison of Buda fortress,[221] the largest and most important stronghold in the eyalet of Budin, the number of artillerymen serving in the garrison of the Sirač fort in 1590 was only three.[222]

Although occasionally there are some discrepancies regarding the composition of their authorized officers, it can be stated that, while their chief commander was the *dizdar*, they were under the direct command of *ser-topi*s (head of artillerymen) and his *kethüda* (deputy).[223] The artillery units were divided into *bölük*s (squads) in which their corporals were the *ser-bölük*s (head of squads). Initially, Christians from the Balkans were in the majority in the artillery. However, starting in the last quarter of the 15th century, Muslims became the only human resources in these units, as a result of government incentives and demands.[224] Special attention was given to these units, as the authorities gradually became aware of their importance. Therefore, recruitment for these units required a certain procedure. It was ordered that no one be employed as an artilleryman

[218] Gábor Ágoston, "Firearms and Military Adaption: The Ottomans and the European Military Revolution 1450-1800", *Journal of World History*, 25/1, 2014, 89.
[219] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilatından Kapukulu Ocakları II*, Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988, 35.
[220] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 46, 254/568
[221] Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018, 338.
[222] MAD.d. 528, 509.
[223]A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 42, 219/683; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 58, 98/275.
[224] Göksel Baş, "XV. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Balkanlarda Osmanlı Serhad Organizasyonun Oluşumu Kaleler Ağı Askeri Personel Finansman ve Mali Külfet", 162-163.

unless they were tested in Istanbul by the Sublime Porte, because those who did not have a good knowledge of artillery could break the cannons and damage them.[225] Artillery was a profession passed down from father to son, and candidates were learning their profession from their fathers. Before being entrusted as a *topçu*, the candidate first had to be tested by the *ser-topi*s and the *dizdar*, and then needed to prove himself either in Istanbul or to a specialist who was sent from the center to test local *topçu*s' capabilities. After the initial Ottoman centuries, artillery became one of the most important parts of Ottoman garrisons, whether they were *kapıkulu*s or locals. As the number of local artillerymen increased following the expansion of the empire's borders, it became the central artillery's primary duty to transfer their technical expertise to the *local topçu*s. [226]

4.1.6. *Azeb*s (infantry garrison soldiers)

The term *azeb*, which means "bachelor" or "single man" in Arabic, was used in Byzantine, Latin, and Italian sources in the 14th–16th centuries to describe pirates. The *azeb*s as a military unit were present among the forces of Anatolian Seljuks, Akkoyunlus, and smaller Anatolian *beylik*s which had coastal naval forces. In the Ottoman Empire, the *azeb*s were introduced into the army before the janissaries, where they served as light archers and participated in wars as advance forces.[227] In South Slavic sources and literature they are referred to as *azapi*.

*Azeb*s were divided into two branches: *kara azeb*s (those who served on land) and *deniz azeb*s (those who served on sea). *Kara azeb*s began to be stationed in fortifications as early as the 15th century, and thus they became one of the most important infantry units in the Balkans. Despite the fact that we do not know their ethnic origin, the *azeb*s are listed as Western Anatolian Turkmen villagers in all available sources. During the first centuries of the empire, the *azeb*s were young peasants who were selected for a certain campaign and returned to their villages afterwards. However, over time, with the continuation of the campaigns, most of them broke their ties with their villages and turned into semi-mercenaries who were constantly pursuing military business in

[225] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 72, 74/141.
[226] Mesut Uyar, Edward J Erickson, *Osmanlı Askeri Tarihi*, trans. Mesut Uyar, İstanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014, 82-87.
[227] İdris Bostan, "Azeb", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 4, İstanbul, 1991, 312-113.

the provincial centers and towns. The a*zeb*s were required to provide their own weapons and equipment, which were strictly controlled when the soldiers were mobilized.[228]

Following the rapid expansion in the Balkans, the *azeb*s started to be stationed in the fortresses, *palanka*s, bridges, towers, passages, etc. in increasing numbers. The composition of the *azeb* units in the garrisons was similar to that of the other units, the *fari*ses and *martolos*es. Their units consisted of *cemaat*s, and each *cemaat* had a number of smaller divisions called *oda* or *bölük*. The military officer of the *cemaats* was *ağa*, then his deputy, *kethüda*. *Azeb*s were often the largest unit in the strongholds; in fact, in smaller forts and *palanka*s, sometimes the entire garrison consisted of *azeb* troops. The *azeb*s, especially those who were under the command of *kapudan*s, were regularly employed to provide armed protection for water transport, ships, harbors, and shiploads. In this regard, the *azeb*s were employed for similar duties as were the *azeb*s serving on the seas.[229]

As stated earlier, in modern Ottoman military historiography, the *azeb*s are mostly defined as two different classes: as naval and land soldiers. Ottoman archival sources, on the other hand, never differentiate them in such a precise manner, and the separation is usually based on the author's interpretations of the data obtained from the sources. In the eyes of the scribes who recorded them in their *defter*s or documents, they were simply *azeb*s, and it made no difference in terms of their status or names whether they served or were assigned to sea or land operations. Despite the fact that *mustahfiz*es were occasionally deployed to the flotillas for the same objectives as the *azeb*s, for water-related operations, the *azeb*s were generally the first preferred military unit.[230]

4.1.7. *Fari*ses (cavalry garrison soldiers)

The term *faris* means cavalry, which derives from the Arabic word *feres* (horse). The use of this term as *farisân* by making a plural form with the Persian suffix *-ân* is also frequently seen in documents. While different terms such as *ulufeciyan-i süvari* and *atlı ulufeli* were used for

[228] Mesut Uyar, Edward J Erickson, *Osmanlı Askeri Tarihi*, 36-37.
[229] Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier, Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe*, London, 75-77, Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, 134-135.
[230] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 5, 49/112, A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 58, 19/56; 32/97.

mounted garrison troops in the earlier periods, *faris* became the most preferred term after the second half of the 16th century.[231]

It is unknown exactly when were these mounted soldiers first stationed in the fortifications, but considering their important roles, both offensive and defensive ones, they must have been stationed in the border forts from the early period. These troops were usually recruited from local human resources and were not part of the cavalry units of *kapıkulu*, nor the timar-holding *sipahi*s. The *fari*ses were widely stationed in locations where there were frequent clashes with enemy troops. As their weapons and equipment were not well suited for defense, they were used mostly for raids or for countermeasures like tracking down, capturing, and disarming light cavalry enemies who happened to attack the surrounding area. During enemy attacks or sieges, in order to help defend the fortification, they would leave the fortress to try to breach the blockade.

The *faris* unit consisted of *cemaat*s and *oda*s, and while the *farisan ağa*s were the commanding officers of the *cemaat*s, the *ser-oda*s were serving under them as the heads of the *oda*s. *Fari*ses were paid better than other units that served in garrisons, as they were paid for their own maintenance of their equipment and they had to care for their horses.[232] Unfortunately, the documents in the Ottoman archives do not provide specific information on these mounted soldiers. Appointment records are the most common type of documents about them, and these reports contain relatively few personal or job-related details aside from names and locations of duty.

4.1.8. *Martolos*es (Greek: *armatolos*, "armed man")

The *martolos*es (Croatian: *martolozi*) were one of the oldest military institutions in the Medieval Balkans, and the origin of this semi-military establishment dates back to the Byzantine Empire. Because the adoption of local institutions that the Ottomans found in the newly conquered lands fell in line with their specific needs and interests, this institution was easily integrated into the Ottoman military system. The organization of *martolos*es in the Ottoman military was strong in the western frontier, particularly in Vidin, northwest Bulgaria, northern Serbia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and the Peloponnese, in the second half of the 15th century and the beginning of the

[231] Abdülkadir Özcan, "Fârisân", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. EK-1, Ankara, 2020, 560-561.
[232] Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier, Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe*, London, 78-79.

16th centuries.[233] However, as Klára Hegyi explained, "the boundaries of the term *martolos* are blurred, for several reasons. Besides the martoloses serving for pay in fortresses there existed a substantial class of military peasants with the same name – this was the earlier of the two groups – which in return for exemption from taxation performed border defense and law enforcement duties mainly in the Balkan Peninsula, but also in Ottoman Hungary; the two elements are inclined to overlap slightly, they cannot be clearly distinguished."[234]

The reason for this blurring is mostly related to the imprecise definitions in contemporary texts of that period. Since the Vlachs were the main source for recruitment for auxiliary troops, both for *voynuk*s and *martolos*es, the origins of these Christian semi-military groups are still a matter of discussion. Therefore, a brief overview of the Vlachs's history in the Balkans might be helpful for a better understanding of the *martolos*es. The majority of researchers agrees on the view that *voynuk*s and *martolos*es descended from pre-Ottoman lower military aristocracy, i.e., free peasant-soldiers with tax-exempt lands. As previously stated, the integration of local Christian elements into the Ottoman military system was in the Ottomans's interest, as they were expanding rapidly in the Balkans. Since the Vlachs were the most populous human source that the Ottomans could use, the majority of *voynuk*s and *martolos*es were recruited from them. On the other hand, Western sources do not differentiate the Vlachs from *martolos*es or *voynuk*s, because they were frequently present in the same locations, particularly along borders where they performed similar duties.[235] *Martolos*es could be recruited from both Christians and Muslims if necessary. They had a tax-exempt status if their lands were permanently in danger. They, with their own uniforms and banners, served in units, usually on foot, and supplied the Adriatic and Danube fleets with the necessary ammunition.[236]

As for *martolos*es who served in the garrisons, a fair number of them were stationed on the western borderline of the Ottoman Empire, and according to Nenad Moačanin the only true soldiers that were paid in cash were forteress martoloses. Therefore, some confusion arises from

[233] Milan Vasić, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Martoloslar", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 31, 1977, 48-50.
[234] Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018, 137.
[235] Vjeran Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach: On Vlach Identity(ies), Role and Status in Western Parts of the Ottoman Balkans (15th-18th Centuries), *OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi/ Journal of the Center for Ottoman Studies - Ankara University*, 34, 2013, 143.
[236] Abdülkadir Özcan, "Martolos", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 28, İstanbul, 2003, 64-66.

the fact that large Vlach groups were occasionally performing the *martolos hizmeti*, particularly in raids on the ennemy land. Most of the martoleses were probably Vlach converts, in fact, one report from 1598 speaks of predominantly Vlach garrisons at Pakrac and Kraljeva Velika.[237] Initially, almost all the soldiers in the *martolos* units were Christian. While the commanding officers, *ağa*s, were Muslims, the lower officers, the *sermiye*s, were mostly Christians. However, until the end of the 16th century, Muslims became the majority, since a growing number of them joined the *martolos* troops, and those who were of Christian origin started to change their religion.[238]

The *martolos* units consisted of *cemaat*s and *oda*s. At the head of each *cemaat*, an *ağa* served as an officer and a *sermiye* as his deputy. Apart from these two, *alemdar* and *çavus* could also occasionally serve in these units. The *martolos* units were also noteworthy for the high number of *kılavuz*es (guides) they contained. Their responsibilities included espionage, raiding, and scouting. Because the members of these units were well-versed in the topography of the frontier area, they were widely employed as *kılavuz*es when Ottoman raiders ventured deep into enemy territory.[239]

4.1.9. Auxiliary units

The auxiliaries were members of garrisons who were assigned to a unit or a *cemaat* according to their profession. Because they were serving in these units, they had no particular officers and were supervised by the military officers of the *cemaat*s, such as *dizdar*, *azeban ağa* or *farisan ağa*. When they were serving in a particular unit, they were recorded in the *mevacib defter*s at the end of the list of members of *cemaat*s in which they served. For instance, in the *mustahfiz* unit, the record order was always as follows: the first on the list was always the *dizdar*, followed by the *kethüda*, and then if any: *haddad*, *neccar*, *imam*, *müezzin*, etc. On the other hand, when they had their own *cemaat*s, they served under the roof of the *müteferrika* unit, which was present only in major fortifications such as the Moslavina fortress in the Sancak of Zaçasna. As the term *müteferrika* (various, diverse) implies, the composition of this unit was rather diverse, and only a small number of servicemen served in it. Below, brief information will be given about the

[237] Nenad Moačanin, Town and Country on the Middle Danube,156.
[238] Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, 137-141.
[239] Göksel Baş, "*Ottoman Serhad Organization in the Balkans (1450-1500)*", 68.

auxiliaries who served in the fortifications of the Sancak of Zaçasna during the 16th and 17th centuries.[240]

Anbari (warehouseman): the official in charge of warehouses; he ensured the security of the materials stored there, kept track of arriving and exiting goods, and delivered them to the needed locations on time.

Bevvab (gate guard): the person responsible for the opening and closing of the fortification gates and the security of the entrance and exit.

Cebeci (armourer): an expert in charge of making, repairing, and maintaining the tools and equipment necessary for war, such as arrows, bows, swords, shields, gunpowder, bullets, etc.

Haddad (blacksmith): expert tasked with making and repairing tools such as pickaxe, shovel, bellows, ax, saw, spade, etc.

Meremmetçi (repairman): the name given to the individual who was recruited from the locals to repair the fortress or the roads in exchange for a tax exemption or a fee.[241] *Meremmet* designates a makeshift, temporary fix for anything that will last or be used for a short period of time, and because their repairs were superficial and easy, they were called by that name.

Neccar (carpenter): in addition to their standard carpentry work, they repaired the wooden components of the strongholds, mended wooden bridges when needed, and restored the ships belonging to the fortification on the riverfront.

İmam (religious employee of a mosque who is the leader of prayers) and *müezzin* (religious employee of a mosque who reads the *ezan* andother religious chants): the Arabic word *imam* literally means "to take the lead". On the other hand, it designates a person who leads the prayer performed in the congregation. *Müezzin* was personnel of a mosque who called Muslims to prayer by chanting the *ezan*.[242] Although they did not have any military duties, *imam*s and *müezzin*s were considered military in the Ottoman state system since they were put into service by the sultan's decree. Because of that, during the term of their office, *imam*s and *müezzin*s were exempt from the

[240] Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, 125-128.
[241] Midhat Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lügatı,* İstanbul, Kurtuba Kitap, 2015, 377.
[242] Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşçı, "İmam", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 22, İstanbul, 2000, 178; Kemal Beydilli, "İmam", "İmam", *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 22, İstanbul, 2000,181-186;

taxes paid by regular subjects.[243] However, if the imam or *müezzin* cultivated land, they were required to pay the land taxes. While educational backgrounds were not always a priority, those to whom such responsibilities were assigned were typically expected to have adequate religious knowledge and morality to perform this duty. The educational records of the *imam*s and *müezzin*s do not convey the impression that they were well-educated. In fact, it is clear that they lacked information beyond fundamental religious knowledge. Appointments to these positions might be carried out by designating a competent son, brother, or recommended person to the role, or by the state assigning another person in place of a deceased individual. However, it can be said that there was a prevalent tradition of passing on these duties from father to son. In particular, *imam*s and *müezzin*s serving in border fortresses were likely to be appointed from former and experienced soldiers who had sufficient knowledge and experience in the field of religion. It is likely that these officials, who worked in the harsh conditions of the Ottoman frontier, have been expected to help in matters such as transferring their experience to the soldiers and helping with the defensive duties when necessary, apart from training soldiers in religious matters and performing prayers. Apart from leading the daily prayers, *imam*s and *müezzin*s were also engaging in religious education of the garrison members. In addition, death and burial, birth registration, marriage contracts, and divorce procedures were carried out by *imam*s.[244]

Supervision of the *imam*'s service was the responsibility of the local *kadı*, who regularly reported to the central authorities and proposed necessary measures. A new *imam* would be appointed when the *kadı* decided that the *imam*'s state of health was not suitable for service. It appears that, since the *imam*s were not always satisfied with their positions, they often left the service and abandoned the fortresses when they wanted to.[245]

[243] Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları: Kanunlar*, İstanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1943, 50.
[244] Ümit Güler, "Osmanlı Dönemimde İmamların Mesleki Hayatlarında Karşılaştıkları Sorunlar (18.Yüzyıl Diyarbekir Eyaleti Örneği)", *İslam Medeniyeti Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol. 4, nr. 1, Kütahya, 2019, 1-10.
[245] Aladin Husić, "O imamskoj službi u tvrđavama Bosanskog sandžaka u 15. i prvoj polovini 16. stoljeća*", Radovi, Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu,* knjiga XIV/1, Sarajevo, 2010, 91.

4.2. Ottoman Fortresses in Western Slavonia

4.2.1. Slavonian Gradiška (Gradişka-i Cedid, i.e., "New Gradiška")

Local Bosnian forces under the command of Bosnian Sancakbey Husrev occupied the area across the Gradiška fortress on the right bank of the Sava in 1536.[246] In order to safeguard the river crossing, immediately they built a new *palanka* which they also named Gradiška on the left bank Sava.[247] In order to distinguish these two fortresses, Slavonian Gradiška was named *Gradişka-i Cedid* (New Gradiška) or *Palanka-i Gradişka* and the Bosnian was named *Gradişka-i Atik* (Old Gradiška). As for this dissertation, I use the name "Slavonian Gradiška" in order to discern it from the Gradiška fort located on the right bank of Sava, i.e., in Bosnia.[248] With the construction of this new *palanka*, both banks of the Sava were transformed into a river transfer center for further attacks to the west. For crossing the river, as was seen on other rivers in the Balkans, they used a pontoon bridge (*tonbaz*), which was very practical for fast actions. Thanks to this new bridgehead, the crossings became safer and faster. As the attacks toward the west increased in frequency, the Gradiška fortresses became one of the most important river transfer centers in the area.[249]

Slavonian Gradiška was administratively linked to the Bosnian Gradiška, and due to the uncertainty of addressing these two fortresses in the Ottoman documents, it is difficult to determine which fortress any of the documents actually mention. Without any distinctive definition such as (*palanka* or *cedid*) it is neither possible nor useful to distinguish these two fortresses from each other. Therefore, I used only documents that I am sure are related to Slavonian Gradiška.

Although it became an inner (*içil*) fortress (i.e., far from the border) due to the Ottoman conquests in the central and Western Slavonia in the 1550s, Habsburg / Croatian commanders Petar Erdödy and Juraj Frankopan Slunjski with the help of fast *šajka*s descended the Sava,

[246] Today Gradiška (formerly Bosanska Gradiška) in Republika Srpska.
[247] Today Stara Gradiška in Croatia.
[248] To avoid confusion, Ottoman Gradişka-i atik (as a big and important stronghold) is modern Bosanska Gradiška on the right bank. To the contrary, Gradişka-i cedid on the left, Croatian bank, is today called „Stara Gradiška", to make difference with the new, post-Ottoman town of Nova Gradiška, built in the 18. c. near Cernik. Today, Cernik is just a suburb of this Nova Gradiška.
[249] Nenad Moačanin, *Turska Hrvatska*, Zagreb, Matica Hrvatska, 1999, 137.

suddenly attacked the Slavonian Gradiška in 1552, took captives and set the *palanka* on fire. However, it was soon rebuilt in the same location.[250]

Both because of its distance from the Habsburg-Ottoman border and the long-term peace that was agreed upon at the end of the Long Turkish War, the settlement around the fortress of Slavonian Gradiška developed constantly and was well populated. During the Great Turkish War (1683-1699), the Habsburg generals were aware of the great military significance of the Slavonian Gradiška, but it was not until 1687 that a serious military action was undertaken with the aim of capturing it. On October 28, 1687, the Habsburg army led by General Hans Dunewald arrived in Cernik, where he intended to attack Gradiška. However, he could not take any action because of the high-water level of the Sava and the lack of larger boats. This postponement of the attack on Gradiška made military operations significantly more difficult at a later time. Because the Ottomans were able to prepare for defense, their forces were able to cross the Sava into Slavonia without any problems. At the end of July of 1688, Prince Ludwig of Baden arrived in Požega at the head of an army of 5,000 soldiers and joined forces with the imperial regiment under the command of Lorenz Hoffkirchen. Their joint forces, together with the soldiers of Adam Zrinski and Count Franjo Ivanović, attacked Slavonian Gradiška, whose garrison surrendered after a short resistance. However, the imperial generals did not fortify the conquered Gradiška, and the Bosnian Gradiška remained in Ottoman hands. Four years later, in early 1691, the Ottomans managed to recapture the Slavonian fortress; however, it was not a long-term success, and on October 15 of the same year they abandoned Slavonian Gradiška. With the loss of this fortress, the last Ottoman stronghold in Slavonia fell and the Sava became the new border.[251]

The first archival source I could find related to the garrison in Slavonian Gradiška is a *mukataa* record showing the payments made to the soldiers serving in the fortresss in March 1561.[252] This *mukataa defter* is similar to a balance-sheet where only quarterly payments are recorded and it does not contain any information about either the number or composition of the garrison. The first source I could find in the archives that fully depict the composition of the *ulufeli* garrison in the Gradiška is a *mevacib defter* from 1563 (*MAD.d.* 5413). Considering its later significance and size, it is quite interesting that even though it has been about three decades since

[250] Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, Zagreb, Golden Marketin, 1998, 117.
[251] Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, 269.
[252] MAD.d. 7337, 51.

its construction, the fortress was still defended by a relatively small number of soldiers. Furthermore, the absence of *topçus*, *faris*es and *martolos*es, three of the five fundamental military units on which the Ottoman border organization was based, indicates that the Gradiška was still in a development stage.

According to the first *mevacib defter* dated 1563, in addition to officers: *dizdar*, *kethuda* and *ser-topi*, 31 soldiers were serving in the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es, which consists of three *bölük*s and 34 soldiers in total. The daily payment (*yevmiye*) from treasury to these *mustahfiz*es was 171 *akçe*s.[253]

Given that the fortress was built to protect the Sava river and its banks, the Ottoman military corps of *azeb*s should have become Gradiška's largest military unit in the near future. According to a decree dated July 15, 1560, a flotilla of Habsburg/Croat forces positioned on the Sava was quite efficient at that time, which made the Ottomans very apprehensive. In order to respond to the enemy flotilla properly, it was decided to increase the number of *azeb*s, and commander Cafer Ağa, who knew the Sava river well, was appointed as the a*ğa* of the *azeb*s.[254] As mentioned earlier, the *azeb*s formed the operational force of the fortifications. They were used effectively on the frontline for transportation, raids, and force displays on the river, as well as for defending the fortresses against river threats. According to the information obtained from the *mevacib defter* dated 1563, there was only one *azeb cemaat*, consisting of two *oda*s in the Gradiška fortress. The only officer of this *cemaat* was *azeban ağa* and two *kılavuze*s were serving here besides him. The daily amount of salary paid to *azeb*s was 106 *akçe*s.[255]

As can be seen, Slavonian Gradiška was defended by a small garrison of 58 soldiers, which indicates that it was still serving at low capacity during river crossing operations. As the later records will reveal, this situation would continue until the beginning of the 17th century.

Our second source regarding the garrison in Slavonian Gradiška is a *mühimme defter* dated 25 November 1578. According to the decree in this *defter*, on an earlier occasion the Sancakbey of Bosnia had requested that the number of soldiers in the fortress be increased. However, the Ottoman high command was quite conservative in cases such as recruiting new soldiers and would

[253] MAD.d. 5413, 64-65.
[254] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 4, 103/1040.
[255] MAD.d. 5413, 67.

try to avoid over-employment by reviewing old defters even for a single soldier. Their priority was to prevent the minimum burden that could be brought onto the central treasury. As a result, according to the center, the fortress had been safely guarded by 56 troops for a long time and will continue to be guarded by this number of soldiers in the future.[256]

Examining the data of the *mevacib defter* from 1587 reveals that the high command had eventually accepted that there was a need to increase the number of soldiers, especially *azeb*s, in Gradiška. In the quarter of a century, from 1563 to 1587, the number of *mustahfiz*es increased by only one soldier, while the number of *azeb*s tripled. Despite the fact that he was not a soldier, in 1587 an imam began to serve as personnel in the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es. Therefore, the number of *mustahfiz*es in the fortress increased to 35, and their daily payment to 173 *akçe*s.[257]

The *azeb* unit, on the other hand, had undergone a considerable reorganization in this period, as their numbers increased. In this unit the number of *cemaat*s increased from one to two and the number of *oda*s to eight. Military officers of this troops were two azeban *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, two *reis*es[258], and an *alemdar*. While the total number of *azeb*s was 79, five of them were serving as *kılavuze*s. The daily *akçe*s paid to the *azeb*s trippled in direct proportion to their numbers and reached 414 *akçe*s.[259]

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1590, the *topçu*s who served within the mustahfiz unit underwent the most significant change in 1590. The number of *topçu*s increased to seven in total, with the officers *ser-topi* and *kethuda*. Considering their important role in the fortress defense, it was clear that, confronted with the possibility of war (i.e., Long Turkish War, as it was later named), this was a measure against Habsburg threats due to growing tensions in the Slavonian region. While the total number of *mustahfiz*es had increased to 39, the amount of salary they received daily was 202 *akçe*s.[260] In the *cemaat* of *azeb*s there were no notable changes. In this unit there were two *cemaat*s and nine *oda*s, as well as eight military officers, two *azeban ağa*s, two

[256] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 23, 147/301.
[257] MAD.d. 826, 70-71.
[258] Shipmaster.
[259] MAD.d. 826, 74-79.
[260] MAD.d. 528, 177-178.

*kethuda*s, three *reis*es, and one *çavuş*, seven *kılavuze*s. A total of 78 soldiers were paid 454 *akçe*s per day.[261]

Considering the serious military defeats of the Ottomans in Slavonia during the Long Turkish War, the loss of Moslavina, the largest and most important fortress on the borders of Zaçasna, and even the possibility of being pushed back from Slavonia, they were forced to recruit more soldiers and to reorganize the existing ones for a more substantial defense. During this period, the number of soldiers in the Gradiška fortress had increased two and a half times, and two new units, *topçu* and and *martolos* were introduced into the garrison. In this regard, the first quarter of the 1600s stands out as the period when Gradiška became a full-fledged border fortress. Furthermore, by relocating the seat of the Gradiška Captaincy to here from Bosanka Gradiška, the *kapudan* (Captain) of the Sava river reinforced the fortress with his own *cemaat* of *azeb*s, which enabled him to take over operational activities in the region. Gradiška's restructuring as a military outpost provided critical protection against enemy attacks on the Sava, while also allowing the flotilla to be used more effectively in the event of attacks over the border.

Despite the fact that Gradiška had been improved in terms of security and effectiveness, the Kostajnica fortress still had priority among the river crossings during this period. To better grasp the situation, it would be helpful to provide further information on the situation of other fortresses along the Sava in 1618. While the total number of soldiers serving in the Bosnian and Slavonian Gradiška fortresses was 600, in Kostajnica's fortifications (fortress, *palanka*, tower, and bridge), that number was 649, in Dubica it was 274, and in Jasenovac it was 166 in total. As can be seen from the given data, Kostajnica, as a four-pillar fortification complex, served as the most important military base in the region for river crossings.[262]

According to the conclusions I reached from my comparisons with other *mevacib defter*s, the *MAD.d.* 5279 *defter*, which has no record of its date, should have been completed between 1615 and 1620. The Gradiška fortress must have been reorganized as a border fortress during this period. As previously stated, the *topçu* and *martolos* units, two important elements of the Ottoman frontier system, began to serve in the fortress around the beginning of the 17th century. Although

[261] MAD.d. 528, 181-186.
[262] MAD.d. 528, 2-90.

there were constant changes in the number of soldiers and *cemaat* numbers, the composition of troops in Gradiška generally followed a stable course until its final conquest by the Habsburgs.

According to *MAD.d.* 5279, 31 *mustahfiz*es were serving in the mustahfız unit, and the daily amount paid to these soldiers was 156 *akçe*s in total. The *topçu*s, which were recorded for the first time in a separate unit, consisted of one *cemaat* and two *oda*s. Military officers of this unit were *ser-topi* and *kethuda*. The daily wage paid to the total of 22 *topçu*s was 138 *akçe*s. Incidentally, the *topçu* unit in Gradiška was the largest artillery force in the Sancak of Zaçasna, and continued to serve as the largest artillery unit until the fortress was finally lost.[263]

A total of seven military officers, two *ağa*s, *two kethud*as, two *reis*es, one *alemdar*, four *kılavuze*s and 96 soldiers were serving in the *azeb* unit, which consisted of two *cemaat*s and 10 *oda*s. The daily amount paid to them was 552 *akce*s. The *martolos* unit, the other *cemaat* that was recorded in the *defter*s for the first time, consisted of four *oda*s. The officers of the *martolos*es were *ağa* and *sermiye*. While a total of 39 martoloses were serving, their salary was 188 *akçe*s per day.[264]

By 1618, the most important change in the fortress was the significant increase in the number of *azeb*s, as a result of the relocation of the Captaincy of the Sava from Bosnian Gradiška. After this date, the Gradiška fortress increased its importance in the context of defending strategies and became one of the largest fortifications in the Sancak of Zaçasna.

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1618, the *mustahfiz*es consisted of a total of 32 soldiers, and apart from the military officers, *dizdar* and *kethuda,* two more personel, *anbari* and *neccar*, had begun to serve there. The daily amount paid to mustahfızes was 204 *akçe*s. In the *cemaat* of *topçu*s, which consisted of two *oda*s and 23 *topçu*s in total, the military officers were a *ser-topi*, a *kethuda* and an *alemdar,* and the daily salary paid them was 187 *akçe*s.[265]

The number of *cemaat*s in the *azeb* unit had increased to three with the addition the *cemaat* of the *kapudan*, and the total number of *oda*s rose to 20. The number of officers has also rose significantly in comparison to the number of soldiers: a *kapudan*, two *ağa*s, three *kethuda*s, five *reise*s, and three *alemdar*s were serving as military officers, while the flotilla on the Sava was

[263] MAD.d. 5279, 14-31.
[264] MAD.d. 5279, 14-31.
[265] MAD.d. 681, 9-10.

manned by two *topçu*s. The total number of soldiers was 191, and ten of these *azeb*s were serving as *kılavuze*s. The daily amount paid to the *azeb* unit was 1,375 *akce*s in total. *Martolos*es consisted of four *oda*s, and were the second-largest force in the Gradiška garrison with 41 soldiers. Their daily wage was 236 *akçe*s.[266]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1626 gives similar data as the previous defter, except for the fluctuation seen in the *azeb* unit. The number of *mustahfiz*es increased to 34 in this defter, and personnels *anbari* and *neccar* are not seen here anymore, while two new officials, *bevvab* and *imam*, began to serve in the mustahfız unit. However, despite the increase in the number of soldiers, the annual amount of *akçe*s received by soldiers was reduced to 192 *akçe*s. There has been no change in the *topçu* unit. The composition of *topçu*s and the amount of *akçe*s they received remained unchanged.[267]

The first difference seen in defter dated 1626 is that, although the total number of *cemaat*s of *azeb*s increased to four, the number of soldiers decreased by 78, to 113. There were 11military officers serving in 19 *oda*s, a *kapudan*, three *ağa*s, four *reis*es, and three *alemdar*s. There were also seven *kılavuze*s in the fortress. The daily amount of *akçe*s paid to the *azeb*s in total was 1,907 *akçe*. In the *martolos* unit, on the other hand, while the number of *cemaat*s and *oda*s remained the same, an *alemdar* joined the officers. The total number of the *cemaat*s was 40, and the daily wage was 240 *akçe*s.[268]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1627 was formed one year after the previous defter, which allows us to see the changes between recent dates. In the one-year period between these two *defter*s, *azeb*s would regain their power and the number of soldiers in the *azeb* unit rose again. This probably occurred because the regular soldiers in the Gradiška fortress were temporarily assigned to another task. In other units, the formation was given to the fortress in 1618 remained unchanged.

In addition to *dizdar*, *kethuda*, *bevvab*, *anbari*, and *imam*, 27 soldiers were serving in the fortress. To the mustahfız unit, which had 33 soldiers in total, was paid 197 *akce*s per day. On the

[266] MAD.d. 681, 18-28.
[267] MAD.d. 1942, 176 -178.
[268] MAD.d. 1942, 178-185.

other hand, the *topçu*s maintained their numbers from 1618, and their daily amount of wage was 188 *akçe*s.[269]

While the number of *cemaat*s in the *azeb* unit decreased to 3, the number of *oda*s increased to 20 again. As regards the *azeb*s, the first thing that stands out is that the total number of soldiers approached the number that was present in 1618. Secondly, the number of *kılavuze*s has increased to seventeen, which indicates that the *azeb*s were increasingly being deployed for tasks outside of the fortress. Due to the decrease in the number of *cemaat*s, the number of *ağa*s decreased by one, but the number of other military officers remained the same. In total 186 *azeb*s were serving in the fortress, and the amount of money they get was 1,316 a*kçe*s. The *martolos*es, like the other units, continued to serve without any major changes. While their total number was 42, their daily wage was 239 *akçe*s.[270]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1643, which does not resemble any of the other *mevacib defter*s, is far from reflecting the full composition of the Gradiška fortress, and gives only a fractional view. In this defter only two *cemaat*s are seen: topçus and *azeb*s. While the *topçu*s consisted of 22 soldiers, their daily wages decreased to 131 *akçe*s. As officers, 3 *ağa*s, 3 *kethuda*s, 3 *rei*ses and 3 *alemdar*s were serving in the *azeb* unit, and the total number of troops here was 88. The daily amount of payment to *azeb*s was 498 *akçe*s.[271]

The mevacib defter dated 1646, which contains the records of the paid fortress troops that served in the Eyalet of Bosnia, is today kept in the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek). It was saved from the *defterhane* of the Eyalet of Buda by Luigi Fernando Marsigli after Buda's fall and transported to Vienna as booty. As can be understood from its date, it was prepared on the basis of the Ottoman high command's roll call order for the *ulufeli* soldiers serving on the Bosnian Eyalet's borders. Based on the information in the *defter*, the year 1644 stands out as the year that Gradiška had the largest number of soldiers until that time. The number of *oda*s of the *mustahfiz*es increased to 4 and the number of soldiers increased to 41 at that date. In addition to *dizdar*, *kethuda*, *alemdar*, *anbari*, *neccar*, and *imam*, 35 *mustahfiz*es serving there. The daily amount paid to them was 264 *akçe*s. The *topçu* unit consisted of three *odas*, and *ser-*

[269] TS.MA.d. 1356, 8b-9b.
[270] TS.MA.d. 1356, 15b-20b.
[271] MAD.d. 3721, 4-8.

topi, *kethüda*, *cebeci* and *anbari* were the officers. The total number of *topçu*s was 29, and the daily payment had increased to 228 *akçe*s.[272]

The number of *cemaat*s in the *azeb* unit increased dramatically to 7, and the number of *oda*s to 33 at that date. A large number of officers (one *kapudan*, six *ağa*s, seven *kethuda*s, 12 *reise*s, seven *alemdar*s, and five *ser-topi*s and artilerymen) and 10 *kılavuze*s were serving in the fortress. The total number of *azeb*s was 318, and the amount of *akçe* paid to them was 2,318 per day. The number of *oda*s in the m*artolos* unit increased by one, to five, and the total number of soldiers to 55. In the *martolos* unit, where 293 *akçe*s were paid daily, an *ağa*, a *kethuda*, an *alemdar* and a *kılavuz* were serving as officers. From this point of view, it is clear that the Slavonian Gradiška reorganized to a large extent into a hub for operational activities.[273]

In 1665, there were significant changes in both the composition and the number of soldiers in Gradiška fortress. Although the exact date is unknown, we see that the ulufeli *mustahfiz*es were no longer serving in the fortress at this date.

To find an explanation for this fact, I examined the *mevacib defter* of Bosnian Gradiška and noticed that the ulufeli *mustahfiz*es never served in this fortress as well. However, this condition should not mislead us. The *tahrir defter*s and other sources revealed that the *mustahfiz*es who served in the Bosnian Gradiška were *timarli* units from the beginning, i.e., from the Ottoman conquest. Regarding this fact, we should also consider the possibility of the Slavonian Gradiška cadres being transformed into *timarli* units as well as the fact that these *cemaat*s were abolished or relocated to other fortifications.

In the defter dated 1665, the number of *oda*s in the *cemaat* of *topçu*s was increased to three. *Ser-topi*, *kethuda*, *alemdar* and *anbari* were serving as officers, while the total number of *topçu*s was 29. Their payment, on the other hand, increased significantly, to 300 *akçe*s per day.[274]

The most significant change in the fortress was in the *azeb* unit. We see that the number of *cemaat*s decreased to six, *oda*s to 26. A large officer group (a *kapudan*, five ağas, six kethudas, six reises, six *alemdar*s and one *ser-topi*) was serving here, with 5 *topçu*s and 14 *kılavuze*s. While the total number of soldiers on duty was 257, the daily amount paid to them was 2,648 *akçe*s. In the

[272] MXT 627, 24-27.
[273] MXT 627, 48-67.
[274] D.BKL.d. 32189, 2-15.

cemaat of *martolos*, the number of *oda*s remained the same, while the total number of soldiers decreased to 53. While the officers consist of *ağa*, *sermiye*, *alemdar* and *kılavuz*, the daily salary paid to the soldiers was 522 *akçe*s.[275]

The last information I found about the garrison at Slavonian Gradiška was in a defter dated 1686. As the first page of the defter is missing, I could not be sure if the *mustahfiz*es were serving in the fortress or not. At this date, the *cemaat* of topçus consisted of 3 *oda*s and 30 *topçu*s. The officers were *ser-topi*, *kethuda*, *alemdar* and *cebeci* and *anbari* were the other personnel. The soldiers were paid 227 *akçe*s per day.[276]

In the *azeb* unit, the number of *cemaat*s increased to seven, and the number of *azeb*s increased to 281. Led by the *kapudan*, the military officers consisted of 27 officers in total, six *ağa*s, seven *kethuda*s, six *reis*es, six *alemdar*s and a *ser-topi*. The daily payment delivered to these soldiers was 1,848 *akçe*s. There was no significant change in the *martolos* unit. The *cemaat* was consisting of five officers a *ağa*, a *kethuda*, a *ser-miye*, and two *kılavuze*s, in total 50 soldiers, and their daily wages were 390 *akçe*s.[277]

Slavonian Gradiška has been one of the most important fortresses in Slavonia since it was first built, and it maintained its importance by serving the Habsburgs in the post-Ottoman period as well. Due to the nature of the Ottoman sources, we do not have any significant information about the socio-economic life around the fortress; however, the available sources help us to draw a consistent military portrait of the garrison in question.

As can be easily noticed, there are significant time gaps between the *defter*s, sometimes as much as 25 years. However, the changes in the garrison can be observed regularly. While the fortress had a garrison of 50–60 soldiers for a long time, this number increased to 287 in the first quarter of the 17th century, and to 443 in the middle of the same century. Relocating here the seat of the Captaincy of the Sava substantially changed the fortress's character and increased its value even more. The regular variation in unit numbers and composition suggests that the fortress soldiers were frequently deployed in battles, raids, protection duties, and transportation. The absence of a *faris* unit in this fortress is one of the most convincing pieces of evidence that it was

[275] D.BKL.d. 32189, ibid.
[276] D.BKL.d 32213, 1-2.
[277] D.BKL.d 32213, 2-15.

formerly used as a naval base.[278] Slavonian Gradiška, one of the three largest fortresses in the Sancak of Zaçasna in terms of garrison strength, has special importance as it was the last Ottoman stronghold in Slavonia.

[278] In 1585, a request was sent to relocate 20 *faris*es to Gradiška from the Skradin fortress. However, this request was never fulfilled. A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 58, 312/795.

Table 2: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Slavonian Gradiška (1563-1686)

Slavonian Gradiška	Mustahfız															Topçu									Azep										Martolos								Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Alemdar	Sertopi	Kethuda (topçu)	Topçu	Bevvab	Anbari	Neccar	İmam	Mustahfiz	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	Alemdar	Cebeci	Anbari	Topçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Topçu	Kılavuz	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Ser-miye	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Martolos	Total	Daily S.	Soldier	Daily S.
1563 (MAD 5413)	1	3	1	1	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	31	34	171	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	1	–	–	–	–	2	23	24	106	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	58	177
1573 (Mühimme D.23/301)	Soldier: 56			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	56	–
1587 (MAD 826)	1	3	1	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	31	35	173	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	8	–	2	2	2	1	–	5	71	78	414	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	113	587
1590 (MAD 528)	1	3	1	1	–	1	1	5	–	–	–	1	29	39	202	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	9	–	2	2	3	1	–	7	71	79	454	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	118	656
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	3	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	28	31	156	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	20	22	138	2	10	–	2	2	2	1	–	4	87	96	552	1	4	1	1	1	1	36	39	218	188	1.064
1618 (MAD 681)	1	3	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	27	32	204	1	2	1	1	1	–	–	20	23	187	3	20	1	2	3	5	3	2	10	175	191	1.375	1	4	1	1	–	2	37	41	236	287	2.002
1626 (MAD 1942)	1	3	1	1	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	29	34	192	1	2	1	1	1	–	–	20	23	187	4	19	1	3	3	4	3	–	7	99	113	1.097	1	4	1	1	1	2	37	40	240	210	1.716
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	1	3	1	1	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	1	27	33	197	1	2	1	1	1	–	–	20	23	188	3	20	1	2	3	4	3	2	14	168	186	1.316	1	4	1	1	–	2	39	42	239	284	1.940
1643 (MAD 3721)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	1	1	–	–	20	22	131	3	–	–	3	3	3	3	1	–	75	88	498	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	24	122
1646 (MXT 627)	1	4	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	35	41	264	1	2	1	1	1	–	1	–	29	228	7	33	1	6	7	12	7	5	10	280	318	2.318	1	5	1	1	1	1	51	55	293	443	3.253
1665 (D.BKL.d. 32189)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	1	1	1	–	1	25	29	300	6	26	1	5	6	6	6	4	7	219	257	2.648	1	5	1	1	1	1	49	53	522	339	3.480
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	Soldier: 455			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1686 (D.BKL.d 32213)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	29	143	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	25	30	227	7	24	1	6	7	6	6	4	9	254	281	1.848	1	5	1	1	1	2	47	50	264	390	2.500

4.2.2. Kraljeva Velika (Velika)

During the Middle Ages, the settlement of Kraljeva Velika stretched along the Sava River from the village of Stara Subocka to the lower bend of the rivers Pakra and Lonja, not far from today's town of Novska. It was first mentioned as a noble estate in 1237, when its owner was Petar Veliković. Its later owner was the Ivanović family, as the property was included in the Dubička parish, and then in the Križevci County. Most probably a large and typically plain-type fortress[279] was built on the site of a previously small fort as early as the middle of the 14th century, with earthen ramparts, water-filled ditches, and oak palisades. It is likely that King Sigismund of Luxemburg seized the estate and the fortress from the Ivanović family. Later, the owner of Kraljeva Velika was Ladislav Egervar, who distinguished himself in the campaign of King Matthias Corvinus in 1480 in Bosnia. At the end of the 15th century, the noble family Kanižaj became the masters of the estate and the fortress, and the Croatian and Jajce ban Franjo Berislavić Grabarski succeeded him. When he died in 1517, his widow Margarita married the Virovitica County Prefect, Ivan Banić (Bánffy) from Donja Lendava, and brought Kraljeva Velika as a dowry.[280]

However, in the same year, the famous warrior Petar Berislavić, ban and bishop of Zagreb, forcibly occupied the fortress. After his death, Banić's property was returned to the latter in 1520. At the beginning of the dynastic war between Ferdinand I Habsburg and John Szapolyai, Banić ceded Kraljeva Velika to Krsto Frankopan for a while, as a war base for operations against Ferdinand's supporters in Slavonia. However, after Frankopan was killed in the vicinity of Varaždin in the same year, the fortress and the estate were given again to Banić. However, Ferdinand took away his property in 1537 and gave it to his faithful supporter, Toma Nádasdy, then ban of Croatia. Although the fortress successfully resisted numerous Ottoman attacks, the danger increased when the nobleman Krsto Svetački became an Ottoman vassal in 1540 and ceded all of his forts to the Ottomans, including Subocka and Novska. Since there are records proving that the garrison in Velika was receiving its payment from a mukataa source in 1543, Velika must

[279] I will call the fortification in Kraljeva Velika a fortress, it being a fort of a very large type, opposed to the appellation "fort" for all other fortifications of medium or smaller size in the area under study.
[280] Branko Nadilo, "Obrambene građevine uz Savu i na zapadnim obroncima Psunja", *Građevinar*, 56, 2004, 705-706.

have been conquered at or prior to this date, in contrast to the date of 1544 given in Croatian historiography.[281]

Due to its central location and military potential, Kraljeva Velika was always one of the most important strongholds in the region. Although it was attacked several times by Habsburg forces before Nikola IV Zrinski's attack in 1554, it could not be captured. When Nikola IV intended to break into Velika with 700 cavalrymen, he was prevented from doing so by the fall of Čazma a few days earlier. Nevertheless, when Zrinski realized that he could still carry out his plan, he quickly arrived to the vicinity of Velika, seized the fortress, and took a large number of Ottomans as slaves. However, the Ottomans would soon recapture the fortress and hold it until 1685, when they were driven out during the Great Turkish War.[282]

According to the Habsburg survey of Kraljeva Velika in 1698, we can obtain detailed information about the state of the fortress at that time: it was located on a flat and moist ground; most of its area was flooded by the Sava; thus, houses had to be built on pillars. For the Ottomans, it was a fortification opposite the Habsburg border town of Ivanić, and it was one and a half-day west from Požega, the seat of the Sancakbey of Požega. The fortress was surrounded by high sidewalls and four corner bastions, and there were five lower round towers as ramparts. Inside its walls, there was a quadrangular building that had three floors without a roof, and it was completely ruined inside. Only its strong exterior walls were still standing.[283]

A payment record (*mukataa*) dated November 1547, i.e., from a period a few years after the Velika fortress was surrendered, is the earliest document that contains information about the fortress. According to this record, a rather large garrison had been stationed in the fortress where the *mustahfiz*, the *azeb*, and the *rüesan* (later called *faris*) units served.[284] On the other hand, the first detailed *mevacib defter* of this fortress is *MAD.d.* 5413, dated 1563, where we can see the full composition of its daily-paid garrison.

[281] MAD.d.166, 81b.
[282] Antun Abramović and Radovan Domagoj Devlić, "Utvrde stare Hrvatske i kraljevstvo Slavonije: Kraljeva Velika", *Hrvatsko Slovo*, 231, 24.9.1999, 32.
[283] Stjepan Sršan, "*Naselja u Istočnoj Hrvatskoj krajem 17. i početkom 18. Stoljeća*", Osijek, Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 2000, 251-252.
[284] MAD.d. 166, 53b.

In 1563, the Velika fortress had the second-largest garrison after Moslavina in the Sancak of Zaçasna. The *mustahfiz*, *topçu*, *azeb*, and *faris* units were serving together in the Velika garrison, which was a rather large force with 100 soldiers in total. While the *mustahfiz* unit consisted of one *cemaat* and four *oda*s, the *dizdar* and his *kethüda* were the military officers in this section. The wage paid to the *cemaat* consisting of a total of 35 *mustahfiz*es was 167 *akçe*s per day. The *topçu* unit stationed in Velika was rather unusual as it had a large number of soldiers, a total of 16. The officers of this unit, which consisted of one *cemaat* and two *oda*s, were not recorded in the *defter*, while the daily wage paid to the unit was 86 *akçe*s.

The *azeb*s, which would later become the Velika fortress's largest force, had a very small amount of infantry at this date. While the officers of the *cemaat*, which consisted of two *oda*s, are the *azeban ağa* and his *kethuda*, a total of 102 *akçe*s were paid to the 21 *azeb*s daily in this unit. As in the *cemaat* of *azeb*s, the cemaat of *faris*es also had a small number of soldiers. While the *farisan ağa* was only the military officer of the *cemaat*, a total of 28 *faris*es were paid 179 *akçe*s per day.[285]

Although its composition was consistent, the garrison of the Velika fortress followed an unstable course in terms of the numbers of its troops during the second half of the 16th century. If the *mevacib defter* dated 1587 is examined, we can see that as a result of the 380 percent increase in the *azeb* unit (from 21 to 111), the total number of soldiers in the garrison jumped to 176 at once. Another interesting fact is that the *topçu* unit decreased from 16 soldiers to 8, losing half of their total number of soldiers. The other two units, the *mustahfiz*es and *faris*es, on the other hand, underwent no changes that would have affected the garrison organization. The daily salary paid to a total of 176 soldiers was 986 *akçe*s in 1587.[286] According to the information in the *mevacib defter* dated 1590, the *azeb* unit experienced another major fluctuation, with its number dropping to 77. Apart from the *azeb* unit, there were minor changes in other units. The soldiers of the Velika fortress, which had a total of 141 soldiers in its garrison, were paid 811 *akçe*s per day in 1590.[287]

The Ottomans had difficulties keeping their domains in Slavonia intact during the Long Turkish War, and have eventually lost the Moslavina fort, the largest and westernmost stronghold

[285] MAD.d. 5413, 118-125.
[286] MAD.d. 826, 280-301.
[287] MAD.d. 528, 445-462.

of the Sancak of Zaçasna at that time. On the other hand, following the Peace of Zsitvatörök in 1606, which had a significant impact on building new balances not only in Western Slavonia but also throughout the entire Habsburg-Ottoman frontier, the Velika fortress began to play an important role on the newly formed borderline. When a new Ottoman defensive strategy was developed, which was based on a chain system of forts running northeast-southwest along two long lines, the Velika fortress became the largest and most crucial stronghold of the first defense line, which was formed on the outermost border of the Sancak of Zaçasna. This first line, as stated earlier, stretched from the northeast to the southwest, passing through the forts of Zdenci, Kreštelovac, Međurić, Granica, and ending in Kraljeva Velika. It should be emphasized that the Ottoman border defense system, including its continuation in the Hungarian plains, was primarily organized around larger strongholds with smaller forts scattered around them. Although this type of organization was comparable to that on the Habsburg side of the border, it had its own distinct features. Therefore, comparisons should be made with caution. In this regard, with the arrival of a new *kapudan* who was put in charge of future operational activities, the Velika fortress became the key fortification on which the sancak of Zaçasna would rely for a long time, in terms of both defense and attacks.

According to the *mevacib defter MAD.d.* 5279, which belongs to the first quarter of the 17th century, while the Velika fortress had been organized as the foundation of the Sancak's defense, it had experienced a major transformation in terms of both the garrison composition and the number of soldiers. First, a new *cemaat*, the *martoloses*, was introduced into the garrison, and then the *azeb* and *faris* units were exceptionally expanded in order to maximize the operational strength of the fortress.

On the other hand, there were only minor changes in the *cemaat*s of *mustahfiz*es and *topçu*s, in accordance with Velika's new role, this being deploying the operational forces to nearby strongholds when needed, or raiding and repeling enemy assaults until reinforcements arrived. The daily wage of the 28 soldiers in the *mustahfiz* unit was 151 *akçe*s, while the daily salary for the seven *topçu*s who served in the *topçu* unit was 39.[288]

[288] MAD.d. 5279, 147-149.

During this period, the number of soldiers serving in the *azeb* unit increased enormously, by 271 percent, from 77 to 286, while the number of *cemaat*s and military officers also expanded to the same extent. The number of *cemaat*s in the *azeb* unit increased from three to seven, one of which belonged to the *kapudan*, and the number of *oda*s rose to 31 in total. The wage paid to the *azeb* unit, which had at least 30 military officers in total, was 1779 *akçe*s per day. The *faris* unit, like the *azeb*s, expanded significantly, by 148 percent, from 29 to 72 men. While the military officers in the *faris* unit, which had a total of 2 *cemaat*s and 11 *oda*s, were two *farisan ağa*s and an *alemdar*, the salary paid to the entire unit was 502 *akçe*s per day. Finally, the *martolos* unit, which we see for the first time in the garrison, was of a moderate size. The *cemaat* of *martolos*es consisted of four *oda*s. While there were two officers, an *ağa* and a *sermiye*, a total of 18 soldiers were serving in the unit and the daily wage paid to them was 98 *akçe*s.[289]

If the *mevacib defter* dated 1618 is examined, it is seen that there was again a fluctuation in the total number of soldiers in the garrison of the Velika fortress. The main reason for this increase was that the *kapudan* had left this fortress together with his large *cemaat* of *azeb*s. The *azeb* unit was reduced to 161 soldiers – a decrease of 43 percent. Although there was a significant increase in the number of *topçu*s, from 6 to 20, there were no notable changes in the other three units.

In 1618, besides the military officers: a *dizdar*, a *kethuda*, and an *alemdar*, also a *neccar* and a *bevvab* were serving in the *mustahfiz* unit. The total salary paid to the *mustahfiz* unit in which 30 soldiers served was 170 *akçe*s per day. While the officers in the *cemaat* of *topçu*s, which consisted of two *oda*s, were a *ser-topi* and his *kethuda*, there were also an imam and another *bevvab* serving there as officials, and the total wage of 24 *topçu*s was 143 *akçe*s per day. In the *azeb* unit, the number of *cemaat*s had decreased to six and the *oda*s to 18, while a total of 23 military officers: six *ağa*s, six *kethuda*s, five *reis*es, five *alemdar*s, a *çavuş*, and also seven *kılavuz*es, was serving there. The daily amount of *akçe*s paid to 161 *azeb*s was 1025 *akçe*s. They consisted of two *cemaat*s and 11 *oda*s, and the officers of the *faris*es were two *farisan ağa*s, a *kethuda*, two *alemdar*s, and also three *kılavuz*es were serving in this unit. The *martolos*es were the second unit in the garrison that expanded significantly in terms of the number of soldiers at this date. It consisted of two

[289] MAD.d. 5279, 149-162.

*cemaat*s and four *oda*s, and the military officers of this unit were two *ağa*s, two *sermiye*s, and an *alemdar*. The total wage of 34 *martolos*es was 205 *akçe*s per day.[290]

Comparing the 1626 and 1627 *defter*s reveals that the unstable state of the garrison of Velika persisted. While the total number of soldiers serving in the garrison of the Velika fortress reduced again to 296 in 1626, the same number increases to 310 a year later, in 1627. Presumably, the reason for such fluctuations is that since the Velika fortress was located in the forefront of the first line of defense, its operational forces, particularly the *azeb*s, were mostly used for assignments outside the stronghold.

In 1626, the number of soldiers in all units of the Velika garrison decreased again, but this did not affect the composition of the garrison considerably. The *131 mustahfizes* consisted of 26 soldiers, the *topçu*s nine, the *azeb*s 160, the *faris*es 66, and the *martolos*es of 34 soldiers, while the wage paid to a total of 296 soldiers serving in the garrison was 183 *akçe*s per day.[291] In 1627, there were 23 soldiers in the *cemaat* of *mustahfız*es, seven in *topçu*s, 175 in *azeb*s, 71 in *faris*es, and 35 in *martolos*es. While a total of 310 soldiers were serving in the fortress, their daily wage was 1919 *akçe*s.[292]

By 1646, the number of soldiers in the Velika garrison had risen above 400 again, making it the second-largest stronghold in the Sancak of Zaçasna after (Slavonian) Gradiška. The return of the *kapudan* to Velika after nearly three decades was the main cause of this increase. Apart from this fact, there were some expansions in the *faris* and *martolos* unit, which were the other operational forces of the garrison. It should also be noted that the numbers reflected in the later *defter*s on the garrison in the Velika present a stable image after this date.

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1646, there were no changes in the number of *cemaats* and *oda*s, both in *mustahfiz* and *topçu* units. There were 22 soldiers in the *mustahfiz* unit, where their daily salary was 142 *akçe*s, and while there were nine soldiers in the *topçu* unit, their wage was 57 *akçe*s per day. On the other hand, the *azeb* unit consisted of eight *cemaat*s, including the *kapudan*'s, and 22 *oda*s in total. The number of officers serving in this unit was also rather high. A *kapudan*, seven *ağa*s, eight *kethüda*s, seven *reis*es, and eight *alemdar*s were the military officers

[290] MAD.d. 681, 116-125.
[291] MAD.d. 1942, 151-163.
[292] TS.MA.d. 1356, 89a-95a.

of this unit. Also four *kılavuz*es served alongside them. The daily salary paid to the unit served by a total of 225 soldiers was 1394 *akçe*s. Following the 36 percent increase, the number of *cemaat*s in the *faris* unit increased from two to three, and the number of *oda*s from ten to 15. Two *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, and two *alemdar*s were their military officers, in a unit where a total of 97 soldiers served. The daily wage of this unit was 688 *akçe*s. The *martolos* unit had three *cemaat*s and seven *oda*s, and the number of soldiers increased by 50 percent to 51. The military officers of this unit were two *ağa*s, two *sermiye*s and two *alemdar*s, and the daily salary paid to them was 291 *akçe*s in total.[293] According to the D.BKL.d. 32182, the *icmal* (synoptic) defter of 1646, another Ottoman defter from the same year, the salary paid to 419 soldiers was 2616 *akçe*s per day.[294]

Examining the last detailed *mevacib defter*, dated 1665, shows that the garrison composition and the number of troops have remained mostly unchanged, with slight exceptions. While the total number of soldiers serving in the fortress at this date was 420, the salary paid was 2612 *akçe*s per day. The *mustahfiz* unit consisted of one *cemaat* and four *oda*s, and the total daily salary paid to 22 soldiers was 134 *akçe*s. The *cemaat* of *topçu*s consisted of nine soldiers in total, and 56 *akçe*s were their daily salary. While the *azeb* unit consisted of eight *cemaat*s and 22 *oda*s, a total of 31 military officers were serving there. The daily wage for 223 soldiers serving in the *cemaat* of *azeb*s was 1368 *akçe*s. The *faris* unit, on the other hand, consisted of three *cemaat*s and 14 *oda*s. Three *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, and two *alemdar*s were the military officers there, and the salary paid to 108 soldiers was 710 *akçe*s in total. Finally, there were three *cemaat*s and seven *oda*s in the *martolos* unit. The daily wage for the 58 soldiers stationed in this *cemaat* was 344 *akçe*s.[295]

The last source on the Velika fortress is the *icmal defter* D.BKL.d 32208, which dates from 1683. According to this defter, in which only the number of soldiers was noted, a total of 378 soldiers were serving in the garrison of Velika. Nine of them were in the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es, nine in the *cemaat* of t*opçu*s, 234 in the *cemaat* of *azeb*s, 104 in the *cemaat* of *faris*es, and finally 22 in the *cemaat* of *martolos*es.[296]

[293] MXT 627, 342-362.
[294] D.BKL.d. 32182, 7.
[295] KK.d. 4893, 111b-117b.
[296] D.BKL.d 32208, 7.

Table 3: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Kraljeva Velika (1563-1686)

Kraljeva Velika	Mustahfız										Topçu								Azep										Faris								Martolos								Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Alemdar	Anbari	Neccar	Kılavuz	Mustahfiz	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	İmam	Bevvab	Topçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Çavuş	Kılavuz	Azeb	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Kethuda	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Faris	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Ser-miye	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Martolos	Total	Daily S.	Soldiers	Daily S.
1563 (MAD 5413)	1	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	33	35	167	1	2	–	–	–	–	14	16	86	1	2	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	19	21	102	1	2	1	–	–	–	27	28	179	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	100	534
1587 (MAD 826)	1	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	26	28	141	1	1	1	–	–	–	6	8	45	4	12	–	4	3	4	3	–	5	–	111	579	1	4	1	–	–	2	28	29	221	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	176	986
1590 (MAD 528)	1	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	25	27	141	1	1	1	1	–	–	6	8	45	3	8	–	3	3	3	2	–	5	–	77	405	1	4	1	–	–	2	28	29	220	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	141	811
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	4	1	1	–	–	–	1	26	28	151	1	–	1	–	–	–	6	7	39	7	31	1	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	286	1.779	2	11	2	–	1	–	69	72	502	1	4	1	1	–	–	16	18	98	411	2.569
1618 (MAD 681)	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	–	25	30	170	1	2	1	1	1	1	20	24	143	6	18	–	6	6	5	5	1	7	138	161	1.025	2	11	2	1	2	3	75	79	544	2	4	2	2	1	4	29	34	205	328	2.087
1626 (MAD 1942)	1	5	1	1	–	–	–	–	24	26	141	1	1	1	1	–	–	7	9	57	6	17	–	6	6	5	4	–	6	139	160	965	2	9	2	–	1	3	74	66	460	2	4	2	2	1	1	30	35	215	296	1.838
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	1	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	21	23	122	1	–	1	–	–	–	6	7	39	6	19	–	6	6	4	4	–	7	155	175	1.055	2	10	2	–	2	1	–	71	498	2	–	2	2	1	5	29	34	205	310	1.919
1646 (MXT 627)	1	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	20	22	142	1	1	1	1	–	–	7	9	57	8	22	1	7	8	7	8	–	4	194	225	1.394	3	15	2	2	2	3	–	97	688	3	7	3	3	3	2	42	51	291	404	2.572
1646 (D.BKL.d- 32182 İcmal)	Soldier: 419 Daily S.: 2.616							–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	419	2.616
1665 (KK 4893)	1	4	1	1	–	–	–	1	19	22	134	1	1	1	–	–	–	7	9	56	8	22	1	7	8	7	8	–	3	192	223	1.368	3	14	3	2	2	1	97	108	710	3	7	3	3	3	2	49	58	344	420	2.612
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	Soldier: 9											Soldier: 9									Soldier: 234											Soldier: 104									Soldier: 22										378	–
1686 (D.BKL.d 32213)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

4.2.3. Pakrac (Pakriç, Bakriç)

Pakrac is located on the Pakra River, which flows from the rather low but densely forested Psunj mountain in the town's east. From the north, Pakrac is surrounded by the small hills of Pakračka gora and the heights of the Papuk mountain. The first mention of this medieval town is recorded in the list of possessions of the Order of the Knights Hospitaller in 1237 under the name "Pekriz". During the reign of ban Stjepan de Guth-Keled, a mint began to function in Pakrac in 1250, which made this town one of the most important centers in Slavonia. However, the mint was moved to Zagreb in 1260. The Knights Templar built a massive stone fort that dominated the broader region around Pakrac during the 12th century. The Knights Hospitaller, who incorporated Pakrac into the Priory of Vrana, inherited this estate from the Knights Templar.[297]

When King Ferdinand I of Habsburg appointed the Zrinski family as the new commanders of this area in 1541, they became the only obstacle standing against the Ottoman advance. As early as October 1540, Pakrac and the nearby forts of Čaklovac and Rača began to suffer as a result of the Zrinski failing to receive the critical support they required from the King. Although Ferdinand I sent to the Zrinski a large sum of money at the beginning of 1541, due to a shortage of supplies and troops, they were unable to hold, or at least destroy the fort before the Ottoman advance. As a consequence, they left the town undefended, along with the remaining soldiers and the surrounding population. However, the Ottomans did not take possession of the fort immediately, and Pakrac stood abandoned for almost a year.[298]

The local Ottoman forces under the command of Murad Bey Gajdić and Ulama Pasha entered Pakrac at the beginning of February 1544 and immediately stationed a garrison in it. Thus, Pakrac became an Ottoman outpost from which several military operations in Western Slavonia began. When the Ottomans decided to destroy the fort in Čazma in 1559 and move the headquarters

[297] Vijoleta Herman Kaurić,"Značaj i sudbina pakračke utvrde kroz povijest", *Ascendere Historiam. Zbornik u čast Milana Kruheka*, ed. Marija Karbić, Hrvoje Kekez, Ana Novak, and Zorislav Horvat, Zagreb, Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014, 497-505; Antun Abramović and Radovan Domagoj Devlić, "Utvrde stare Hrvatske i kraljevstvo Slavonije: Pakrac", *Hrvatsko Slovo*, 225, 13.8.1999, 32.

[298] Gjuro Szabo, *Sredovjecni gradovi u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, Zagreb, Tisak Kr. Zemaljske Tiskare, 1920, 115; Tomislav Đurić, *Stari Gradvovi Dvorci i Crkve Slavonije Baranje i Zapadnog Srijema*, Zagreb, 2002, 113.

of the Sancak of Zaçasna 50 km to the east to Pakrac, this town gained great importance as a military and administrative center.

The region around Pakrac continued to be a place of constant conflict because of mutual attacks, looting, and conflicts between the Habsburgs and Ottomans. In the last quarter of the 16th century, the area became an increasingly unstable place for the Ottomans, and therefore the seat of the sancak was moved for a second time, eastwards to Cernik. However, Pakrac remained an important fort on the Habsburg-Ottoman borderline.[299]

Contrary to what was written in the western sources, Pakrac was not only a solid stone fort, as the Ottomans added some additional wooden parts to its fortifications. According to an Ottoman decree sent to the sancakbey of Zaçasna on August 16, 1570, Pakrac's palanka was damaged by the enemy, and the sancakbey of Zaçasna was compelled to seek support from the governors of the nearby Sancaks of Pojega, Srijem, and Zvornik. However, the Istanbul headquarters did not approve of this and ordered him to use the local population (*reaya*) of his own sancak in order to finish the repairs of the fort.[300]

According to Evliya Çelebi, who visited Pakrac and its surroundings in 1661, "Pakrac is a beautiful fort in a strong rectangular-shaped stone structure on a wide green hill by the Pakra river. There is a ditch around it, a suspended chain bridge in front of one of its doors, a pavilion at the bridgehead, and very narrow military houses with no gardens or yards in the fort, which are completely covered with wood".[301]

The region was plundered and destroyed several times by Habsburg forces during the Long Turkish War, but the Pakrac fort was not seriously damaged, and it remained an Ottoman stronghold until 1691. During the Great Turkish War, on October 16, 1691, Habsburg Colonel Lorenz Hoffkirchen and Croatian ban Nikola Erdödy attacked the Pakrac fort and forced its garrison to surrender with fierce cannon fire and subsequent assault.[302]

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[299] Branko Nadilo,"Obrambene građevine uz Savu i na zapadnim obroncima Psunja", *Građevinar*, 56, 2004, 709.
[300] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 14, 262/373.
[301] Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.5, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini, prep. by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, 276.
[302] Ive Mažuran, Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo, 269.

The fort was severely damaged during the Great Turkish War, according to the Habsburg survey dated 1698: at that time, the fort consisted of two round towers surrounded by walls and moats, which were in ruins. Above the fort's gates was a brick building consisting of two floors, and it had a ruined roof. Consequently, following its seizure, the Habsburg commanders decided to abandon it.[303]

The earliest record I have found about the Pakrac fort in the Ottoman archives is a payment record (*berat resmi*) from 1547, shortly after the fort was conquered. This record is most likely a payment made by the newly enlisted garrison in the fort to the central treasury for the confirmation of the garrisoned soldiers' *berat*s. It should be noted that we cannot be sure whether this record includes only a subset of the fort's garrison or its entire force. According to this source, there were 12 soldiers in the *cemaat* of *faris*es and 39 soldiers in the *cemaat* of *martolos*es in 1547.[304]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1563 is the first detailed roll call containing information about the garrison in the Pakrac fort, which at that time had a garrison of 85 soldiers. At this date, *mustahfiz*, *topçu*, *azeb*, and *faris* units were serving in the fort, where a rather strong garrison was stationed. The *mustahfiz* unit consisted of one *cemaat* and four *oda*s, and while the *dizdar* and a *kethuda* were military officers, a *bevvab* was serving beside them. The daily salary paid to the unit, in which a total of 36 soldiers were stationed, was 183 *akçe*s. In the *cemaat* of *topçu*s, an officer, *ser-topi*, and three *topçu*s were serving, and the salary paid to them was 27 *akçe*s per day. The *azeb* unit consisted of two *oda*s in which a rather small *azeb* troop served. Their military officers were an *ağa* and a *kethuda* and 88 *akçe*s was the daily salary paid to a total of 19 *azeb*s. While the *cemaat* of *faris*es consisted of three *oda*s, the only officer there was a *farisan ağa*. The salary paid to a total of 25 *faris*es was 132 *akçe*s.[305]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1587 reveals that the Ottomans significantly reinforced the Pakrac, then the center of Sancak of Zaçasna, before the Long Turkish War (1593 1606). In order to form a more solid defense, they not only increased the number of soldiers in the fort, but also reorganized the structure of the garrison. The Ottomans' large-scale fortifications in the sancak strongholds, along with the recruitment of new forces (from 760 to 1208 soldiers in total),

[303] Stjepan Sršan, "Naselja u Istočnoj Hrvatskoj krajem 17. i početkom 18. Stoljeća", 321.
[304] D.BRZ.d. 20615, 16,19.
[305] MAD.d. 5413, 103-109.

increased their ability to defend Slavonia during the aforementioned war and delayed the Ottoman retreat for about 100 years. The total number of soldiers stationed in the Pakrac fort increased by 124 percent, to 191 soldiers, and the wage paid to the garrison was raised to 1066 *akçe*s per day in 1587. While the *faris* unit experienced the most significant growth in number among the other units, with an expansion of 188 percent, the new *martolos* unit that joined the fort increased the Pakrac's strength in terms of infantry.

According to the *mevacib defter MAD.d.* 826, dated 1587, the *mustahfiz* unit suffered a loss in numbers, reducing the total number of soldiers to 23, and their daily wage decreased to 122 *akçe*s. There were no significant changes in the *cemaat* of *topçu*s. While the total number of *topçu*s was five, a *ser-topi* and a *kethuda* were the officers to three *topçu*s, and 30 *akçe*s was their daily wage. The *azeb* unit consisted of two *cemaat*s and seven *oda*s, where two *ağa*s, a *kethuda*, a *reis*, and two *alemdar*s were the military officers. The total number of soldiers in the *azeb* unit nearly doubled, to 56 soldiers, and the daily wage paid to this unit increased to 337 *akçe*s per day.[306]

The *faris* unit, as in the *azeb*s, had a significant increase in numbers. Because the number of *faris*es nearly doubled with a 191 percent increase, they became the most powerful force in the garrison. In this unit, there were two *cemaat*s, ten *oda*s and 72 soldiers in total, where two *ağa*s and five *kılavuz*es were serving. The total amount of *akçe*s paid to *faris*es was 451 *akçe*s per day. Lastly, the *martolos* unit, which we see for the first time in the fort, consisted of two *oda*s. An *Ağa* and a *sermiye* were the military officers in this *cemaat*, while five *kılavuz*es was serving beside them. There were 35 *martolos*es in total, and they were paid 126 *akçe*s per day.[307]

In 1590, there were no considerable changes in the garrison of the Pakrac fort. The total number of soldiers increased by 2, to 193, and the daily salary paid to the garrison increased to 1083 *akçe*s.[308] According to the *mevacib defter* from the first quarter of the 17th century, *MAD.d.* 5279, although there was no substantial change in the number of soldiers in the garrison, the *mustahfiz* and *azeb* units underwent some structural changes. During this period, while the *mustahfiz* unit expanded nearly twice, the *azeb* unit lost a significant number of soldiers, causing the loss of half of its force. This change in the garrison organization suggests that the fort's defense

[306] MAD.d. 826, 256-257.
[307] MAD.d. 826, 260-277.
[308] MAD.d. 528, 401-422.

was being prioritized at this period, while military operations outside the fort were being undertaken with more caution.

At that time, the *mustahfiz* unit consisted of one *cemaat* and six *oda*s, where a *dizdar* and a *kethuda* served as military officers. An *imam* was also recorded in this unit. The wage paid to the unit, in which a total of 46 *mustahfiz*es served, was 219 *akçe*s per day. The *topçu* unit consisted of seven soldiers, and the daily salary was 45 *akçe*s during this period. On the other hand, following the changes mentioned above, the *azeb* unit was reduced to one *cemaat* and four *oda*s and the number of their military officers decreased to four: an *azeban ağa*, his *kethuda*, a *reis*, and an *alemdar*. The wage paid to the unit in which a total of 30 *azeb*s served was 191 *akçe*s per day. As in the *topçu* unit, the *faris* and *martolos cemaat*s remained the same, except for minor changes in the total number of soldiers. There was a total of 71 soldiers in the *faris* unit, and the daily salary paid to them was 452 *akçe*s, while in the *martolos* unit, 31 soldiers were paid a daily salary of 111 *akçe*s.[309]

The Pakrac fort presents a consistent image as a sancak center during the first quarter of the 17th century. After the 1630s, it remained a formidable stronghold following the relocation of the Sancak's center to Cernik. For almost half a century, no significant changes occurred in the fort in terms of both the number of soldiers and the organization of the garrison. In 1618, the total number of soldiers serving in the Pakrac fort was 180, and the daily wage of the garrison was 1006 *akçe*s.[310] In 1626, there were again 180 soldiers in total, but with a slight decrease in the wages, as 943 *akçe*s were paid to them per day.[311] In 1627, while the total number of soldiers in the fort was 178, the daily salary paid was 974 *akçe*s.[312]

According to the *mevacib defter MAD.d.* 3721, which partially reflects the organization of the fort in Pakrac, 22 *faris*es were serving in three *oda*s. The military officers were a *farisan ağa* and an *alemdar*, and the daily wage paid to this unit was 149 *akçe*s in 1643.[313]

In the second half of the 17th century we see that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of soldiers serving in the Pakrac fort. The growth of the *azeb*, and particularly the *faris*

[309] MAD.d. 5279, 140-147.
[310] MAD.d. 681, 112-116.
[311] MAD.d. 1942, 144-151.
[312] TS.MA.d. 1356, 85b-89a.
[313] MAD.d. 3721, 37.

unit, indicates that the role of Pakrac in terms of security policies had changed. After a significant number of operational soldiers were stationed in the fort, Pakrac became a center not only for both offensive and defensive operations, but also the source of immediate help to other strongholds in the vicinity. According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1646, the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es consisted of six units. A *Dizdar* and a *kethuda* were the military officers there, and the daily salary paid to 48 *mustahfiz*es was 232 *akçe*s in total. While the *topçu* unit consisted of a *ser-topi*, a *kethuda*, and five soldiers, the salary paid to seven *topçu*s was 47 *akçe*s per day. The *azeb*s, the second strongest unit of the fort, consisted of two *cemaat*s and seven *oda*s, where a total of six officers were stationed: two *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, a *reis* and an *alemdar*. Two *kılavuz*es were also stationed here. The daily amount of *akçe*s paid to the unit in which a total of 61 *azeb*s served was 410. A total of 93 soldiers was serving in three *cemaat*s and 13 *oda*s in the *faris* unit, which was the strongest force in the garrison. The salary paid to this unit, where there were three *farisan ağa*s, three *kethuda*s, and three *kılavuz*es, was 608 *akçe*s per day. The *martolos* unit consisted of 27 soldiers in total, while an *ağa*, a *sermiye*, and an *alemdar* were the military officers there. The daily salary paid to the unit with four *oda*s was 83 *akçe*s.[314] According to the D.BKL.d. 32182, the *icmal* (synoptic) defter of 1646, another Ottoman source from the same year, the salary paid to 254 soldiers was 1502 *akçe*s per day.[315]

When we examine the *mevacib defter* dated 1665, we see that the composition of the Pakrac fort remained the same except for minor changes, such as the number of military officers in the *azeb* unit, while the total number of soldiers decreased by 34, to 230 in total. The daily wage paid to the soldiers in the fort, where a large garrison was stationed, decreased to 1405 *akçe*s at this date.[316] Acording to the *icmal* (synoptic) defter dated 1683, which is the last source we have regarding the Pakrac fort, a total of 228 soldiers were stationed in the Pakrac garrison.[317]

[314] MXT 627, 316-328.
[315] D.BKL.d. 32182, 7.
[316] KK.d. 4893, 103b-107a
[317] D.BKL.d 32208, 7.

Table 4: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Pakrac (1547-1686)

Pakrac	Mustahfız											Topçu						Azep														Faris								Martolos								Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Bevvab	İmam	Müezzin	Mustahfız	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	Topçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Kılavuz	İmam	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Faris	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Ser-miye	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Martolos	Total	Daily S.	Soldier	Daily S.
1547 (D.BRZ. d. 20615)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Soldier 12			–	–	–	–	–	Soldier 39			–	–	–	–	–	–	51	–
1563 (MAD 5413)	1	4	1	1	1	–	–	33	36	183	1	–	1	–	4	5	27	1	2	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	17	19	88	1	3	1	–	1	24	25	132	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	85	430
1587 (MAD 826)	1	4	1	1	–	1	–	20	23	122	1	–	1	1	3	5	30	2	7	–	2	1	1	2	1	–	50	56	337	2	10	2	–	5	70	72	451	1	2	1	1	–	3	32	35	126	191	1.066
1590 (MAD 528)	1	4	1	1	–	1	–	22	25	161	1	–	1	1	4	6	35	2	7	–	2	1	2	2	4	–	49	56	320	2	–	2	–	6	70	72	445	1	4	1	1	1	1	31	34	122	193	1083
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	6	1	1	–	1	–	43	46	219	1	–	1	1	5	7	45	1	4	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	26	30	191	2	10	2	–	–	69	71	452	1	4	1	1	1	–	28	31	111	185	1.018
1618 (MAD 681)	1	6	1	1	–	1	–	42	45	214	1	1	1	1	6	8	53	1	4	–	1	1	1	1	3	–	24	28	183	2	9	2	2	4	67	71	449	1	4	1	1	1	1	25	28	107	180	1.006
1626 (MAD 1942)	1	5	1	1	–	1	–	36	39	193	1	–	1	1	5	7	45	1	4	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	24	27	178	2	9	2	–	2	66	68	425	1	3	1	1	1	–	24	27	102	180	943
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	1	6	1	1	–	1	–	42	45	213	1	–	1	1	5	7	45	1	4	–	1	1	1	1	2	–	24	28	184	2	9	2	–	4	–	69	427	1	3	1	1	1	1	26	29	105	178	974
1643 (MAD 3721)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	1	1	3	20	22	149	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	149
1646 (MXT 627)	1	6	1	1	–	1	1	44	48	232	1	–	1	1	5	7	47	2	7	–	2	2	1	1	2	–	55	61	410	3	13	3	3	3	87	93	608	1	4	1	1	1	–	24	27	83	230	1.380
1646 (D.BKL.d- 32182 İcmal)	Soldier 254, Daily S.: 1.512								–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	254	1.502
1665 (KK 4893)	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	45	48	237	1	–	1	1	–	7	47	2	7	–	2	2	2	2	3	1	51	60	418	3	12	3	3	–	87	93	608	1	3	1	1	1	–	24	27	105	220	1.405
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	Soldier:48			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Soldier:		–	–	–	–	–	Soldier: 60			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Soldier: 93			–	–	–	–	–	Soldier: 27			–	–	–	–	–	–	228	–

4.2.4. Granica (Graniçe, Parkan-ı Cedid)

There is a lot of uncertainty in Croatian historiography relating to the Granica and Gračanica forts, as they are often mistakenly considered to be one and the same location. The medieval fort Gračanica, or Lehovac, is located at an altitude of 402 meters on the southern slopes of the Požeška Gora, northeast of the villages Baćin Dol and Cernik. The Gračanica fort was located on a prominent, elevated oval hill with a circular system of walls, a defensive ditch and an embankment. Based on its characteristics, Gračanica can be classified as one of the so-called high-altitude fortifications, such as those erected on prominent hills in mountainous areas. Apart from the main entrance through its tower, there were two small entrances on the sides of the tower which were climbed by wooden stairs, thus indicating that the fort was planned as a shelter for sudden attacks.[318]

The fort Gračanica is first mentioned in a source in 1525 (as Lehowacz) when King Louis II of Hungary (1506–1526) confirmed to the nobles Dežević the right to own the fort. Gračanica was built before the nearby Cernik fort, and at first it was the seat of the Zenišćanski nobles around 1476, and then it passed into the possession of the Dežević family. The Deževićs built their aristocratic estates around Cernik during the 14th and 15th centuries, and these estates soon became exposed to Ottoman attacks.[319] It is believed that Gračanica was captured along with Cernik during the Ottoman invasion of the area of southwestern Slavonia by the Sancakbey of Smederevo, Mehmed Bey Yahyapaşaoğlu, in 1536. However, I could not find any information about Gračanica in Ottoman sources.

In contrast with the claims in previous literature about this topic, the Ottoman archival materials that I examined reveal that Granica was a different fort in a separate location than Gračanica. Consistent with its Croatian name, the Ottoman spelling of this fort was *Graniçe* (غرانچه). Furthermore, I did not come across the spelling of *Graçaniçe* (غراچانیچه) in any source that I have studied so far. Josip Bösendorfer's mention of two different places with similar names

[318] Zorislav Horvat, Ratko Ivanušec, and Marija Mihaljević, "Utvrda Gračanica-Lehowacz Konzervatorsko-arheološko istraživanje i obnova", *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske*, 35, 2011, 91-95, Marina Matković, "*Kasnosrednjovjekovne utvrde novogradiškog i požeškog kraja*", graduate thesis, University of Zagreb, 2013, 44-51; Antun Abramović and Radovan Domagoj Devlić, "Cernik" *Hrvatsko Slovo* 229, (10.9.1999) s.32, Branko Nadilo,"Utvrde na Južnim Obroncima Psunja i Požeške Gore", *Građevinar*, 56, 2004, 781; Drago Miletić, *Plemićki Gradovi Kontinentalne Hrvatske Zagreb*, Zagreb, Društvo Povjesničara Umjetnosti Hrvatske, 2012, 303-306.

in this region as early as 1476 are compatible with Ottoman data.[320] Considering both the stone structure of Gračanica and its distance from Sava, the location determined by Nataša Štefanec for the Ottoman Granica in Gornja Gračenica seems to be more possible than any other claim in the mentioned literature.[321] Nevertheless, I must state that I have not been able to pinpoint the exact location of Granica fort.

The oldest Ottoman record of the Granica fort that I have found in the archives is the *mevacib defter MAD.d.* 5413, dated 1563. The second direct information about Granica and its conditions is an Ottoman decree dated 1572. According to this record, about five hundred enemies who took advantage of the rising waters of the river Sava attacked the Granica fort. As the fighting went on, a fire reached the gunpowder store; the fort exploded and burned with soldiers inside.[322] As the area became unstable as a result of attacks from Sisak and the surrounding Habsburg fortifications, the sancakbey of Zaçasna requested central authorities' assistance in rebuilding the *palanka*. In the reply, sent from Istanbul on January 1573, the fort was ordered to be rebuilt with the help of the locals (*reaya*), but without recruiting a new garrison. It should be stated that the central authorities, in the decree, warned the sancakbey to avoid persecuting the locals.[323]

In the next decree, dated February 15, 1574, we see that the *palanka* was already built and its garrison was manned by soldiers sent from the Bijela Stijena and Čaklovac forts, which were considered the inner forts (*iç-il*) at that time.[324] However, less than four months later, the central authorities asked the sancakbey whether it would be beneficial to rebuild the fort in its former place because he had relocated the fort to a different location (15 June 1574).[325] Five years later, another decree sent from Istanbul to the sancakbey on June 18, 1579, stated that, since it was located in an inconvenient location, the new fort did not create any habitable environment for the settlers, and such a situation was undermining the border defense. Therefore, the central authorities ordered the sancakbey to move the *palanka* to its former location and to compensate the costs as

[320] Josip Bösendorfer, *Crtice iz slavonske povijesti*, Osijek, Tiskom Knjigo i Kamenotiskare Julija Feiffera, 1910, 321.
[321] Nataša Štefanec,"Vojnokrajiške institucije u praksi", *Podravina* Vol. 10, nr. 19, 2011, 10.
[322] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 19, 128/272.
[323] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 21, 34/95.
[324] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 24, 252/669.
[325] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 26, 16/47.

he promised.[326] The Granica fort repaired again in 1646[327] and it continued to be used by the Ottomans until they finally withdrew from the area at the end of the 1680s.

During its early years, the Granica fort was the one of the largest strongholds in the Sancak of Zaçasna in terms of garrison size, and it would remain one of the most important fortifications of the Sancak for about three decades. However, as will be seen below, its role in defending the Sancak would be diminished following the loss of power in the last decade of the 16th century.

According to the data in the *mevacib defter* dated 1563, the garrison of the Granica fort was comprised of three *cemaat*s: the *mustahfiz*es, the *azeb*s, and the *martolos*es. The total number of soldiers in the garrison was 85, and the distribution of the number of soldiers among the units was almost equal. The *mustahfiz* unit consisted of one *cemaat* and three *bölük*s. The military officers of the unit, in which a total of 31 *mustahfiz*es served, were a *dizdar* and a *kethuda*, and the daily salary paid to this unit was 116 *akçe*s. The a*zeb* unit consisted of one *cemaat* and three *oda*s, where an *azeban ağa*, his *kethuda* and a *reis* were the officers. The daily salary paid to a total of 33 *azeb*s was 151 *akçe*s. The *faris* unit, on the other hand, consisted of one *cemaat* and three *oda*s, and the only officer in this unit was a *farisan ağa*. The daily salary of the unit, which had a total of 21 *faris*es, was 124 *akçe*s.[328]

When the *MAD.d.* 826 roll call of the Granica fort is examined, we see that the data it presents corroborates the information at the beginning of this chapter. As previously stated, the decision to rebuild the Granica fort in a different location had been made in 1573, and then the fort was relocated. By taking this into consideration, we see that the fort was not only moved, but also its garrison was reinforced with two new *cemaat*s: *topçu*s and *martolos*es. As a consequence of this, the number of soldiers in the garrison increased by approximately 25% to 106.

According to a *defter* dated 1587, the total number of soldiers in the *mustahfiz* unit, which consisted of one *cemaat* and two *bölük*s, decreased to 19, and the *akçe*s paid to this unit decreased to 89 per day. While the *topçu* unit in the garrison consisted of one *cemaat* and one *bölük* of 12 *topçu*s, the officers of this unit were a *ser-topi* and a *kethuda*. It is also worth noting that one *kılavuz* was serving in the *topçu* unit, which had a large number of *topçu*s according to the Sancak's

[326] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 36, 207/556.
[327] C.TZ., 11/508.
[328] MAD.d. 5413, 111-112.

conditions. The explanation for this should be that the artillerymen in the Granica fort, which is located on the frontline of the Sancak's frontier in an open area, are simultaneously conducting tasks outside the fort with other units. As a result, when some members of this relatively large artillery unit went on tasks such as attacking, defending, or escorting outside the fort with their *prangi* cannons, they were likely using the aforementioned *kılavuzes*.

The *azeb*s in the Granica garrison were the only unit growing in number in 1587. Four military officers: an *azeban ağa*, his *kethuda*, a *reis* and an *alemdar*, and also *four kılavuz*es were serving in the *cemaat* of *azeb*s, where there were four *oda*s. The salary paid to a total of 44 *azeb*s was 248 *akçe*s per day. On the other hand, the *cemaat* of *faris*es had lost half of their force and had fallen to ten soldiers in total, and the daily *akçe*s paid to this unit had decreased to 62. Lastly, the *martolos* unit consisted of one *cemaat*, three *oda*s, and a total of 21 soldiers. While an *ağa* and a *sermiye* were military officers there, the daily salary paid to the unit was 95 *akçe*s.[329]

Except for minor differences, the data in the *mevacib defter* dated 1590 is nearly identical to that in the prior *defter*. At that date, while there were 18 soldiers in the *mustahfiz* unit, the salary paid to them was 89 *akçe*s, and in the artillery unit 11 *topçu*s were paid 62 *akçe*s daily. As in the previous *defter*, the *azeb* unit had 44 soldiers, and their daily wage was 234 *akçe*s. While the *faris* unit had ten soldiers, the daily wage paid to them was 61 *akçe*s. The *martolos* unit had 22 soldiers, and 102 *akçe*s were paid per day to this unit. Finally, while the number of soldiers in the entire garrison was 105 in total, the daily salary paid to the entire garrison was 552 *akçe*s.[330]

Because the Granica fort had been relocated to its original location before the first half of the 17th century, the composition and size of the garrison changed significantly. Given the fact that the garrison of Granica had lost approximately half of its force, it was most likely located away from the border to a safer area. Furthermore, the disbandment or, more likely, the transfer of the Granica's biggest unit, the *azeb*s, to another fort indicates that the garrison's priorities in defense have changed. Since its operational capacity was decreased, Granica now had more self-defense-oriented character as a result of these developments.

According to the *mevacib defter MAD.d.* 5279, which belongs to the first quarter of the 17th century, the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es consisted of 17 soldiers in total, of which a *dizdar* and a *kethda*

[329] MAD.d. 826, 352-361.
[330] MAD.d. 528, 425-442.

were their military officers. The wage paid to this unit was 80 *akçe*s per day. On the other hand, the *topçu* unit decreased by one soldier to 11, and the salary paid to them was reduced to daily 62 *akçe*s. While the *cemaat* of *faris*es consisted of 20 soldiers, the daily amount paid to them was 55 *akçe*s. Although there was an increase in military service in the *cemaat* of *martolos*es, the salary paid to the *martolos* unit decreased to 93 in total.[331]

The garrison of Granica would remain consistent for nearly half a century in terms of its size and composition during the first half of the 17th century. The relocation of Granica to its original location, as well as the Ottomans' establishment of Kraljeva Velika as the key defense center of the Sancak of Zaçasna, must have contributed to these circumstances.

In 1618, there were 16 soldiers in the *mustahfiz* unit, 11 soldiers in the *topçu* unit, nine soldiers in the *faris* unit, and 20 soldiers in the *martolos* unit. The salary paid to the garrison of 56 soldiers was, in total, 283 *akçe*s per day.[332] The existing structure of the garrison was kept the same in 1626, although the wage for the 58 men in the garrison increased slightly, to 315 *akçe*s.[333] The data in the *defter* dated 1627 remained the same, except for some small differences in the number of soldiers and officers: the *faris* unit decreased by two soldiers to 11, and an *alemdar* joined the *martolos* community as an officer. The amount of *akçe*s paid to the garrison, which had 56 soldiers in total, was 279 *akçe*s per day.[334]

As previously indicated, the defter *MAD.d.* 3721, dated 1643, is far from providing information concerning the accurate composition of the fortifications in Sancak of Zaçasna. But still, it presents some valuable information. According to this *defter*, the *azeb* unit had returned to the Granica again in this period. This unit consisted of a *cemaat* and two *oda*s, where an *azeban ağa*, his *kethuda*, a *reis*, and an *alemdar* served as military officers. There was also a *kılavuz* serving there. In total, the daily salary paid to 24 soldiers was 135 *akçe*s.[335]

According to MXT 627[336], a detailed *mevacib defter* of 1646, all five frontier units again started to serve in the Granica fort. The *mustahfiz* unit consisted of two officers: a *dizdar* and a

[331] MAD.d. 5279, 168-170.
[332] MAD.d. 681, 127-129.
[333] MAD.d. 1942, 167-170.
[334] TS.MA.d.,1356, 98b-100a.
[335] MAD.d. 3721, 25.
[336] I would want to express my gratitude to Professor Moačanin and Göksel Baş for providing me with a copy of this defter.

kethuda, and had a total of 16 soldiers. The salary paid to them was 79 *akçe*s per day. The *topçu* unit consisted of 12 *topçu*s. The daily amount of *akçe*s paid to them was 70. The *cemaat* of *azeb*s consisted of 24 soldiers, and the salary paid to this unit was 149 *akçe*s. While 85 *akçe*s were paid to 13 soldiers in the *faris* unit, the daily wage paid to the 22 soldiers in the *martolos* unit was 99 *akçe*s.[337] According to the D.BKL.d. 32182, the *icmal* (synoptic) *defter* of 1646, the second Ottoman archival source from the same year, the salary paid to 85 soldiers was 477 *akçe*s.[338]

According to the last detailed *mevacib defter* that we have, KK.d. 4893 dated 1665, while the *mustahfiz* unit consisted of a *cemaat* and two *oda*s, a total of 16 *mustahfiz*es, two of which were a *dizdar* and a *kethuda*, were serving there. The *cemaat* of *mustahfizes*' wage was 79 *akçe*s per day. The *topçu* unit consisted of one *oda*. The salary of 70 *akçe*s was paid to 12 *topçu*s, while their officers were a *ser-topi* and a *kethuda*. The *cemaat* of *azeb*s was formed out of two *oda*s, and an *azeban ağa*, his *kethuda*, a *reis*, and an *alemdar* were the officers of this unit. The salary paid to 24 *azeb*s was 138 *akçe*s per day. The *cemaat* of *faris*es consisted of two *oda*s, and a *farisan ağa*, a *çavuş* and an *alemdar* were the officers there. A total of 81 *akçe*s were paid daily to the 14 *faris*es. While the *cemaat* of *martolos* consisted of 3 *oda*s, there were a total of 20 soldiers, together with an *ağa*, a *sermiye* , and an *alemdar* serving as officers, and the salary paid to them was 99 *akçe*s.[339]

The last source related to Granica is an *icmal defter* D.BKL.d 32213, dated 1683. According to the data in this *defter*, 27 soldiers in the *mustahfiz* unit, 24 in the *azeb* unit, 13 in the *faris* unit, 20 in the *martolos* unit, and a total of 84 soldiers were serving in the fort's garrison. Unfortunately, the details of the salaries they were receiving were not recorded in this *defter*.[340]

[337] MXT 627, 365-369.
[338] D.BKL.d. 32182, 7.
[339] KK.d. 4893, 118b-120a.
[340] D.BKL.d 32213, 7.

Table 5: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Granica (1563-1683)

Granica	Mustahfız								Topçu								Azep										Faris								Martolos								Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	İmam	Mustahfiz	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	Kılavuz	Topçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Kılavuz	İmam	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Çavuş	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Faris	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Ser-miye	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Martolos	Total	Daily S.	Soldier	Akçe
1563 (MAD 5413)	1	3	1	1	–	29	31	116	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	30	33	151	1	2	1	–	–	–	20	21	124	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	85	391
1587 (MAD 826)	1	2	1	1	–	17	19	89	1	1	1	1	1	10	12	67	1	4	–	1	1	1	1	4	1	39	44	249	1	2	1	–	–	–	9	10	62	1	3	1	1	–	2	19	21	95	106	562
1590 (MAD 528)	1	2	1	1	1	15	18	89	1	1	1	1	1	10	12	66	1	4	–	1	1	1	–	3	1	40	44	234	1	2	1	–	–	–	9	10	61	1	3	1	1	–	2	19	21	102	105	552
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	2	1	1	–	15	17	80	1	1	1	1	–	9	11	62	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	–	–	1	8	9	55	1	3	1	1	–	1	20	22	93	59	290
1618 (MAD 681)	1	2	1	1	–	14	16	81	–	–	1	1	1	9	11	62	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	–	–	1	8	9	54	1	3	1	1	–	3	18	20	86	56	283
1626 (MAD 1942)	1	2	1	1	–	14	16	79	1	1	1	1	1	9	11	66	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	–	–	1	10	11	66	1	3	1	1	1	1	17	20	104	58	315
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	1	2	1	1	–	14	16	76	1	1	1	1	1	9	11	62	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	–	–	1	8	9	54	1	3	1	1	–	1	18	20	87	56	279
1643 (MAD 3721)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	1	1	1	1	1	–	20	24	135	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	24	135
1646 (MXT 627)	1	2	1	1	–	14	16	79	1	1	1	1	–	10	12	70	1	2	–	1	1	1	1	1	–	20	24	149	1	2	1	1	1	1	9	13	85	1	3	1	1	1	1	19	22	99	77	482
1646 (D.BKL.d. 32182 İcmal)	Soldier: 85 Daily S.: 477						–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	85	477
1665 (KK 4893)	1	2	1	1	–	14	16	79	1	1	1	1	–	10	12	70	1	2	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	20	24	138	1	2	1	1	1	1	9	13	81	1	3	1	1	1	–	17	20	99	85	467
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	Soldier: 27						–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Soldier: 24										–	–					Soldier: 13					–	–	Soldier: 20							–	–	84	–

4.2.5. Cernik (Çernik)

Cernik was located at an important strategic point, controlling the passage from Posavina to the Požega Valley. It is assumed that the Cernik fort was originally wooden and later made of stone, and that it stood on the nowadays site of the Kulmer family's castle. While there is no sign of the original one, the latter fort is a very well-preserved baroque castle in the shape of a quadrangle, with four semicircular towers at the corners. The fort is located in the center of Cernik, in a lowland area at the foot of the Psunj mountain.[341]

Following the fall of Bosnia under Ottoman rule in 1463, and particularly at the between the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, Ottoman *akıncı*s raided the rich Slavonian estates across the Sava more and more frequently. As a consequence, the Dežević family decided to establish a stronghold in order to protect their estates from the invasion of Ottoman troops. It seems that at the beginning of the 16th century, on the site of today's castle, they first built a wooden, but soon a stone fort with bastions and ditches filled with water, which they called Drinovac and which would later become the Cernik fort. However, because of its position, which was on a plain and was relatively easy to surround and conquer, the Dežević family was not satisfied. Therefore, their former fort, Granica, which was located east of Cernik on the hills of Požeška Gora, was expanded and strengthened, and it would later be mentioned under the name Gračanica.[342]

During the Middle Ages, one of the most prominent Slavonian noble families were the Desislavić or Dežević families, as well as the neighboring Berislavić family. During the second half of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries, the Dežević family branched out into about twenty noble families, and they strengthened their wealth and reputation. In 1525, Louis II, King of Hungary, confirming his will, mentioned that the family had numerous estates in Požega, Vukovar, and Sopron counties. However, Ottoman invasions and the dynastic war between Ferdinand I and John Zapolja changed the destiny of this family: the last Dežević in this area was Ivan, a supporter of Zapolja, which is why King Ferdinand I took away his family estates in 1528. The Ottomans conquered Cernik during the invasion of Slavonia in 1536. The surrounding area was conquered without a fight by Ottoman troops commanded by Mehmed Bey Yahyapaşaoğlu, Sancakbey of Smederevo. On the other hand, with Dežević's western neighbor Krsto Svetački

[341] Marina Matković, "*Kasnosrednjovjekovne utvrde novogradiškog i požeškog kraja*", 2013, 35.
[342] Antun Abramović and Radovan Domagoj Devlić, "Cernik", *Hrvatsko Slovo*, 229, 10.9.1999, 32.

surrendering his four forts (Novska, Subocka, Britvičevina, and Oporovac) to the Ottomans, there was no force left in this territory to fight against the Ottoman advance in October 1540.[343]

Ottoman data suggests that small Croatian nobles and peasants in this area converted to Islam in rather high numbers. Furthermore, there were those who preserved their faith but accepted to enter Ottoman military service as auxiliary troops. Thus, around Bijela Stijena and Okučani the Vlach population was not resettled from Bosnia by Ottoman authorities. However, there were also those who neither converted to Islam nor entered Ottoman military service. Such people opted for the struggle in the form of *hayduk* rebel attacks, and their activities lasted almost a whole century around Cernik.[344]

Shortly before the outbreak of the Long Turkish War (1593 – 1606), the seat of the Sancakbey was moved from Pakrac to Cernik in 1592, and thus the importance of this place increased. The Cernik region became more and more threatened by Habsburg attacks. As early as June 1594, Habsburg General Sigismund Herberstein broke into the vicinity of Cernik, severely looted the area and set many villages in this region on fire. He returned the next year and did the same thing, in order to force the Vlachs of the Sancak of Cernik to enter Christian service. However, he was defeated under the walls of the Čaklovac fort.[345]

In 1598, Herberstein and the Croatian ban Ivan Drašković defeated up to 2,000 Ottomans in the vicinity of Cernik and attacked the Cernik fort. However, they did not have enough men to occupy it, so they set it on fire and retreated. Another attack was carried out in 1602 when the town of Cernik and the surrounding Ottoman villages were set on fire.[346]

However, these crises did not have any adverse effect on the development of Cernik. As soon as it became the administrative and military seat of the Sancakbey, it began to develop rapidly, and the region remained free from major wars and conflicts from the early 1600s until 1687. In 1687, the Slavonian insurgents captured the Cernik fort without significant Ottoman resistance. At that time, Cernik functioned as a large warehouse for the Ottoman army's war

[343] Branko Nadilo,"Utvrde na južnim obroncima Psunja i Požeške Gore", *Građevinar*, 56, 2004, 776.
[344] Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country, on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*, Leiden-Boston: Brill 2006, 156. Moačanin thinks that the last group were prisoners who settled near their masters and then converted. On the other hand, old peasants in this area simply fled or were scattered.
[345] Antun Abramović and Radovan Domagoj Devlić, "Cernik", 32.
[346] Branko Nadilo,"Utvrde na južnim obroncima Psunja i Požeške Gore", 776.

supplies. The Ottoman counterattack was successfully repelled by the advancing Habsburg army. The Habsburg commander of Slavonia, General Aenea Caprara, demolished most of the Cernik fort with the explanation that there were not enough soldiers to defend it. He also burned about 1,000 Ottoman houses as well. Croatian ban Nikola Erdödy believed that the demolition of the fort would lead to the devastation of the settlement. The demolition was stopped after the intervention of other generals and the Franciscans. At the end of 1690, the Ottomans reconquered Cernik, quickly repaired the fort, and placed a garrison in it. However, Cernik was reconquered by Habsburg troops led by ban Erdödy in 1691, and the Muslim population fled with the Ottoman army across the Sava to Bosnia.[347]

The first *mevacib defter* containing information on the garrison of Cernik is *MAD.d.* 5413. According to this *defter* dated 1563, Cernik's garrison, along with the one in Čaklovac, was one of the two smallest garrisons in the Sancak of Zaçasna. The *cemaat* of *mustahfız*es was the only unit serving in the fort, where a total of 12 *mustahfız*es were stationed. The *mustahfız* unit consisted of one *oda*, where a *dizdar*, a *kethuda*, and a *topçu* served as officers. The daily wage paid to this *cemaat* was 65 *akçe*s per day.[348]

In 1587, we see that the garrison in the Cernik fort, in addition to the *cemaat* of *mustahfız*es, was strengthened with a large *topçu* unit. This new *topçu* unit consisted of a *cemaat* and an *oda* where *ser-topi* and *kethuda* were serving as officers. The daily amount of wage paid to a total of 13 *topçu*s was 76 *akçe*s. In the other *cemaat*, *mustahfız*es, the officers were a *dizdar* and *kethuda*, and the daily wage paid to a total of 10 *mustahfız*es was 62 *akçe*s.[349]

Examining the *mevacib defter MAD.d.* 5279 reveals that the Cernik fort became stronger, as a new *cemaat*, the *azeb*s, began to serve here along with the two other *cemaat*s, *mustahfız*es and *topçu*s. The information in this *defter*, which dates from the first quarter of the 17th century, on *mustahfız*es and *topçu*s was identical to that in the previous roll call. The numbers of *oda*s, officers, and soldiers are precisely the same as those in the *defter* dated 1590. The *cemaat* of *azeb*s, on the

[347] Antun Abramović and Radovan Domagoj Devlić, "Cernik", 32.
[348] MAD.d. 5413, 136.
[349] MAD.d. 826, 320.

other hand, which we saw serving for the first time in the fort, was the largest military unit, with a total strength of 19 *azeb*s. The daily wages for this unit were 118 *akçe*s.[350]

In 1618, the number of soldiers serving in the garrison of Cernik decreased by five. While the total number of soldiers in the fort where mustahfız, *topçu* and *azeb* units served was 36, the daily amount of money paid to them was 237 *akçe*s. The *cemaat* of *mustahfız*es consisted of a total of nine soldiers, and their salary was 69 *akçe*s per day. The daily amount of *akçe*s paid to 10 *topçu*s in the *topçu* unit was 60. The a*zeb* unit consisted of two *oda*s where an *ağa*, a *kethuda* and a *reis* were the officers in charge. The amount paid to a total of 17 *azeb*s was 108 *akçe*s at this date.[351]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1626 presents a significant information not only about the Cernik fort but also the chronological development of the sancak itself. As mentioned before, due to security measures, the seat of the Sancakbey of Zaçasna moved eastwards twice, first to Pakrac and then to Cernik. The exact date of the latter relocation of the seat could not be determined from the available sources until now. However, the *mevacib defter MAD.d.* 1942 offers new data on this matter. As mentioned above, while the total number of soldiers in the garrison of the Cernik fort was 36 in the previous mevacib defter, this number increased to 93 in the defter *MAD.d.* 1942. In addition to the expansion of the garrison, a captaincy was established in Cernik, where concrete steps were taken to defend the area with a new azeb unit. On the other hand, when we cross-check the number of soldiers in other garrisons to see if the growth in the Cernik fort was an exception, we see that, except for Podborje, there was a general decline in the number of soldiers in the garrisons of other forts in 1626. Therefore, we can assume that the cause of this notable increase was most probably that the seat of the Sancakbey was moved here close to that date.

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1626, while the *mustahfiz* unit consisted of nine soldiers, as in the previous roll call, 63 *akçe*s was the daily salary paid to them. The *topçu* unit consisted of eight soldiers, and the total amount of wages paid was 58 *akçe*s. On the other hand, at this date, a considerable change in the fort garrison occurred in the composition and number of the *azeb* unit. The newly formed *kapudanlık* (captaincy) started to serve in the Cernik fort together with its own *cemaat*, and as a result, the number of *cemaat*s in the *azeb* unit increased to two, the number of *oda*s to eight, and the number of officers to seven: a *kapudan*, an *ağa*, two *kethuda*s, a

[350] MAD.d. 5279, 162-163.
[351] MAD.d. 681, 125-126.

reis, an *alemdar*, and a *çavuş*. The amount of salary paid to the *azeb* unit, where a total of 74 *azeb*s served, was 459 *akçe*s per day.[352]

The data on the Cernik fort in the *mevacib defter* dated 1627 is practically the same as the data in the previous year's *mevacib defter*. In two of the three *cemaat*s, *mustahfiz*es and *topçu*s, the number of soldiers remained the same, while in the *azeb* unit, the number of soldiers increased to 97. The daily salary paid to the garrison in Cernik increased to 611 *akçe*s in total. There are also five *kılavuz*es in the *azeb* unit at this date.[353]

The information about the garrison of the Cernik fort in the four respective *mevacib defter*s (two roll calls, two *icmal*s) belonging to the period between 1646 and 1683 is precisely the same. While the fort was protected by a garrison of 58 soldiers for about a quarter of a century, the daily amount of money paid to the garrison was 359 *akçe*s per day. According to the roll call *defter*s, the MXT 627 and KK.d. 4893, which are the only sources where we can see the fort composition in detail, in the *mustahfiz* unit, the officers were a *dizdar* and *kethuda*. The salary paid to a total of nine *mustahfiz*es was 63 *akçe*s per day. The *topçu cemaat* consisted of two officers, a *ser-topi* and a *kethuda*, in total of ten *topçu*s, and the daily amount paid to them was 51 *akçe*s. The *azeb* unit, on the other hand, consists of two *cemaat*s and four *oda*s, while we do not see any *kapudan* serving in the fort during the period in question. While the two *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, two *reis*es, an *alemdar*, and a *çavuş* were entitled as officers, the daily salary paid to a total of 39 *azeb*s was 245 *akçe*s.[354]

According to the *icmal defter* dated 1683, which is dated just before the siege of Vienna, there were 19 soldiers in the *cemaat*s of *mustahfiz*es and *topçu*s, and 39 soldiers in the *azeb* unit. However, the daily amount of money paid to them is not recorded in this defter.[355]

[352] MAD.d. 1942, 162-165.
[353] TS.MA.d., 1356, 95b-97a.
[354] MXT 627, 362-65; D.BKL.d., 32182, 7; KK.d. 4893, 118a-118b.
[355] D.BKL.d 32208, 7.

Table 6: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Cernik (1563-1683)

Cernik	Mustahfız									Topçu							Azep											Faris			Martolos			Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Alemdar	Topçu	Mustahfiz	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	Topçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Çavuş	Kılavuz	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda		Cemaat	Oda		Soldier	Akçe
1563 (MAD 5413)	1	1	1	1	–	1	9	12	65	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	65
1587 (MAD 826)	1	1	1	1	–	–	8	10	62	1	1	1	1	12	13	76	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	23	138
1590 (MAD 528)	1	1	1	1	–	–	8	10	62	1	1	1	1	10	12	76	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	138
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	1	1	1	–	–	8	10	62	1	1	1	1	10	12	70	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19	118	–	–	–	–	–	–	41	250
1618 (MAD 681)	1	1	1	1	–	–	7	9	69	1	1	1	1	8	10	60	1	2	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	14	17	108	–	–	–	–	–	–	36	237
1626 (MAD 1942)	1	1	1	1	–	–	7	9	63	1	1	1	1	8	10	58	2	8	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	67	74	459	–	–	–	–	–	–	93	580
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	1	1	1	1	–	–	7	9	66	1	–	1	1	8	10	60	2	8	1	1	2	1	1	–	5	72	78	485	–	–	–	–	–	–	97	611
1646 (MXT 627)	1	1	1	1	–	–	7	9	63	1	1	1	1	8	10	51	2	4	–	2	2	2	1	1	–	–	39	245	–	–	–	–	–	–	58	359
1646 (D.BKL.d- 32182 İcmal)	Soldier: 58, Daily S.: 359							–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	58	359
1665 (KK 4893)	1	1	1	1	–	–	7	9	63	1	1	1	1	8	10	51	2	4	–	2	2	2	1	1	–	–	39	245	–	–	–	–	–	–	58	359
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	Soldier: 19			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Soldier: 39			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	58	–

4.2.6. Dobra Kuća (Dobrigrad)

The remains of the medieval fort Dobra Kuća are located on the upper course of the Toplica stream, 8 km east of Daruvar and on a 300-meter-high hill on the western part of the Papuk mountain range. The fort was mentioned as a royal property for the first time in 1356, during the reign of King Louis I (or the Great) of Hungary (1342 – 1382), who granted the fort and its estate to the noble family of Hrvatinić in exchange for their fort named Greben near Jajce. After the Hrvatinić family, Dobra Kuća was given to their relatives, the Nelipić family, who moved from Lika to Slavonia in 1412. In 1476, they had to cede half of the estate, including the mentioned fort, to Szigmond Ernuszt, bishop of Pecs. However, in 1486, King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) gave Dobra Kuća to his relatives, the Hungarian nobles Székely, who owned the estate until the arrival of the Ottomans in 1543. [356] Due to the advancement of the Ottomans in northern Bosnia, the demolition of the fort was planned in 1516, but this plan never took place.[357]

Following the Hungarian defeat at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 and the fall of Požega to the Ottomans in 1537, the Ottoman advance unstoppably continued westward in the direction of Dobra Kuća. In September 1539, the Parliament of the Kingdom of Hungary in Bratislava (i.e., Požun in Croatian) urged King Ferdinand I Habsburg to send aid to the Dobra Kuća fort, as there were no more peasants in its neighborhood, and its owner, Ferenc Székely de Kevend, could not defend it any longer. In 1543, local Ottoman forces led by Murat Bey Gajdić and Ulama Pasha captured the fort.[358]

The Ottomans turned this strategically important fort into a military stronghold. According to its descriptions in the sources, we know that inside the fort there was a strong square defensive tower with thick walls. The tower was entered by placing a movable wooden ladder on the first floor. To the left of the entrance were cramped living quarters.[359]

[356] Branko Nadilo, "Obrambene Građevine Zapadnog i Sjevernog Papuka", *Građevinar*, 57, 2005, 184.
[357] Gjuro Szabo, "Dobra Kuca", *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, Vol. 10 nr. 1, 1909, 37.
[358] Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, Zagreb104; Filip Škiljan, "*Kulturno-historijski spomenici zapadne Slavonije s pregledom povijesti zapadne Slavonije od prapovijesti do 20. Stoljeća*", Zagreb, Srpsko narodno vijeće, 2010, 105.
[359] Antun Abramović and Radovan Domagoj Devlić, "Utvrde stare Hrvatske i kraljevstvo Slavonije: Dobra Kuća", *Hrvatsko Slovo*, 236, 29.10.1999, 32.

Although it is defined as a *palanka* in some Ottoman sources, Evliya Çelebi, who visited the fort in 1661, states that Dobra Kuća was a *hisar*, i.e., fort. According to Ottoman archival sources, since the fort started to become dilapidated, it needed to be renovated promptly. Therefore, it was repaired by the Sancakbey of Zaçasna without informing the Sublime Porte at the end of 1583. However, the Porte was displeased with such repairs on the outmost frontier without its approval, and thus demanded a detailed report.[360]

The fort remained an active Ottoman outpost until the end of Ottoman rule in this region. The Ottomans left Dobra Kuća in 1688 during the Habsburg offensive in Western Slavonia, and the fort was mentioned as a ruin already in 1702. Today, only traces of the main tower and the defensive wall of Dobra Kuća are visible. [361]

The oldest archival record of the Dobra Kuća fort is a *mukataa* record dated February 1548. Although it lacks specific information regarding the composition of the garrison, thanks to this payment record, we learn that the fort started to be protected by an *ulufeli* garrison consisting of *mustahfiz*es and *faris*es units immediately after it was conquered.[362]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1563 contains the first roll call data of the Dobra Kuća fort. According to the information in this defter, the *cemaat*s of *mustahfiz*es, *topçu*s, and *faris*es serving in the fort at this date. It should also be noted that the other two essential *cemaat*s, the *azeb*s and *martolos*es, have never served in Dobra Kuća during the entire Ottoman period. While the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es consists of 37 soldiers in total, two *dizdar*s were serving as officers in this unit. Under normal circumstances, the presence of two *dizdar*s in a small fort like Dobra Kuća would be very odd. To give a brief explanation: one of these *dizdar*s was the former *dizdar* of the Novi fort but for unknown reasons (corruption, appointment, or resignation), he began to serve in Dobra Kuća as *ser-bölük* (head of squadron). When other archival records are examined, it is seen that such rotations were widespread and often used in Ottoman fortifications.

The daily amount paid to the *mustahfiz* unit was 225 *akçe*s. The *cemaat* of *topçu*s in the fort was a relatively large unit. A total of 6 *topçu*s were serving, where a *ser-topi* was the only officer. Their salary was 26 *akçe*s per day. The *cemaat* of *faris*es was the most significant military force

[360] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 52, 245/642; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 53, 322
[361] Branko Nadilo, "Obrambene Građevine Zapadnog i Sjevernog Papuka", 185.
[362] *MAD.d. 166, 27b.*

of the Dobra Kuća fort. While the *cemaat* consisted of three *oda*s, *farisan ağa* was the only officer in the unit. The *faris* unit had a total of 25 cavalrymen and was given a daily wage of 139 *akçe*s.[363]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1587 demonstrates that the Dobra Kuća fort lost a significant number of soldiers after falling behind the first line of defense of the Ottoman side of the Habsburg-Ottoman border. The most noticeable fact in this defter is the dramatic decline in the *mustahfız* unit. With a loss of 29 soldiers, the *cemaat* was reduced to a small force of eight soldiers in total. The officers in the unit were *dizdar* and *kethuda*, and the salary paid to them decreased to 46 *akçe*s per day. The *cemaat* of *topçu*s also suffered a loss of two soldiers, reducing the number of artillerymen to four, and 22 *akçe*s was the daily wage paid to this unit. On the other hand, while there was no change in the *faris* unit, the daily amount paid to 25 soldiers increased to 146 *akçe*s.[364]

When the *mevacib defter*s *MAD.d.* 528 and *MAD.d.* 5279 are reviewed, it is seen that Dobra Kuća's garrison stayed practically unchanged for a quarter of a century. The situation in the *cemaat*s of *mustahfiz*es and *topçu*s in the *MAD.d.* 528 is a complete repetition of the information in the previous defter, *MAD.d.* 826. On the other hand, at this date, the *cemaat* of *faris*es grew by one *faris*, to a total of 26 soldiers, and a daily wage of 151 *akçe*s was paid to this unit.[365] According to the data in the *mevacib defter MAD.d.* 5279, the *mustahfız* unit continued to serve in the fort without experiencing any changes, while *topçu*s decreased to three artillerymen in total. The daily wage paid to this unit decreased to 16 *akçe*s. During this period, no serious changes were observed in the *cemaat* of *faris*es. A total of 147 *akçe*s were paid to 25 *faris*es.[366]

The first detail that draws attention in the *mevacib defter* dated 1618 is a notable increase in the *mustahfız* unit. The number of *oda*s in the *cemaat* increased to two; along with a *dizdar* and *kethuda*, a *bevvab* began to serve in the fort, and the number of soldiers in the unit jumped to 20 in total. The daily salary of these 20 *mustahfiz*es was 116 *akçe*s. The total number of *topçu*s in the *topçu* unit climbed to five, an increase of two, and the payment to them increased to 32 *akçe*s per day. As in the other two *cemaat*s, there was a slight increase in the *cemaat* of *faris*es as well. The

[363] MAD.d. 5413, 80-83.
[364] MAD.d. 826, 234-238.
[365] MAD.d. 528, 501-506.
[366] MAD.d. 5279, 136-137.

total number of soldiers increased to 29, and the daily amount paid to them increased to 177 *akçes*.[367]

The information concerning the Dobra Kuća fort in the *mevacib defter*s dated 1626 and 1627 is fairly the same. In 1626 and 1627, nine soldiers were serving in the *mustahfiz* unit. While the daily salary paid to this *cemaat* was 57 in 1626, it decreased to 46 *akçe*s in the following year. The only difference seen in the *topçu* unit in these two *mevacib defter*s is that while in 1626 a *kethuda* served in the *cemaat*, he was no longer seen in 1627. In each of these years, a total of 3 *topçu*s are paid 16 *akçe*s per day. As in other *cemaat*s, there was no critical change in the *faris* unit. In 1626, 23 soldiers served in this unit. In 1627, 22 soldiers served in it. While the daily wage paid to them was 119 *akçe*s in 1626, this amount increased to 139 *akçe*s in 1627.[368]

The roll call *defter* MXT 627 and the *icmal defter* D.BKL.d.32182 are the two sources that contain information on the Dobra Kuća fort in 1646. Although the total number of soldiers in these two *defter*s is the same, their daily wages differ. According to the *defter* MXT 627, while there were a *dizdar*, a *kethuda*, and a *bevvab* as officers in Dobra Kuća, the daily amount paid to *mustahfiz*es was 50 *akçe*s. A total of five *topçu*s served in the *topçu* unit, and the daily amount of wages paid to them was 24 *akçe*s. While the *cemaat* of *farise*s consisted of 28 cavalrymen in total, the amount of wage paid to them was 165 *akçe*s per day. According to MXT 627, the daily amount of wage paid to these three *cemaat*s was 239 *akçe*s in total.[369] On the other hand, according to the *icmal defter* D.BKL.d. 32182, the daily amount of salary paid to 41 soldiers was 244 *akçe*s.[370]

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1665, while 41 soldiers were serving in the Dobra Kuća fort in total, the daily salary paid to them was 244 *akçe*s. Noticeably, the fort appears to have been defended by a stable garrison for around two decades. This year, eight *mustahfiz*es were serving in the *mustahfiz* unit where the officers were a *dizdar*, *kethuda* and *bevvab*. The daily salary paid to them was 50 *akçe*s. A total of five *topçu*s were serving in the *cemaat* of *topçu*s, and the wages paid to them were 23 *akçe*s per day. The *cemaat* of *faris*es, on the other hand, consisted of

[367] MAD.d. 681, 106-107.
[368] MAD.d. 1942, 140-141; TS.MA.d. 1356, 83a-83b.
[369] MXT 627, 312-314.
[370] D.BKL.d. 32182, 6.

28 soldiers in total. There was also a *kılavuz* in the fort where *farisan ağa* served as an officer. The total amount paid to this unit was 165 *akce*s per day.[371]

The *icmal defter* D.BKL.d 32208, dated 1683, is the final Ottoman source that gives information on the garrison at Dobra Kuća. According to this *defter*, 40 soldiers in total, 13 *mustaḥfız*es-*topçu*s, and 27 *faris*es, were serving in the fort. However, since the *defter* does not offer any record of payments made to the garrison, we do not know how much they were paid daily.[372]

[371] KK.d. 4893, 102b-103a.
[372] D.BKL.d 32208, 7.

Table 7: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Dobra Kuća (1563-1683)

Dobra Kuća	Mustahfız								Topçu							Azep			Faris								Martolos			Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Bevvab	Mustahfiz	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	Toçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda		Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Kethuda	Alemdar	Faris	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda		Soldier	Akçe
1563 (MAD 5413)	1	4	2	—	—	36	37	225	1	—	1	—	5	6	26	—	—	—	1	3	1	—	—	24	25	139	—	—	—	73	390
1587 (MAD 826)	1	1	1	1	—	6	8	46	1	—	1	—	3	4	22	—	—	—	1	3	1	—	—	24	25	146	—	—	—	37	214
1590 (MAD 528)	1	1	1	1	—	6	8	46	1	—	1	—	3	4	22	—	—	—	1	3	1	—	—	25	26	151	—	—	—	38	217
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	1	1	1	—	6	8	46	1	—	1	—	2	3	16	—	—	—	1	3	1	—	—	24	25	147	—	—	—	37	209
1618 (MAD 681)	1	2	1	1	1	17	20	116	1	—	1	—	4	5	32	—	—	—	1	4	1	—	1	27	29	177	—	—	—	54	325
1626 (MAD 1942)	1	1	1	1	—	7	9	57	1	—	1	1	1	3	16	—	—	—	1	3	1	—	—	22	23	119	—	—	—	35	192
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	1	1	1	1	—	7	9	46	1	—	1	—	2	3	16	—	—	—	1	3	1	—	—	21	22	139	—	—	—	35	201
1646 (MXT 627)	1	1	1	1	1	5	8	50	1	—	1	—	4	5	24	—	—	—	1	3	1	—	1	26	28	165	—	—	—	41	239
1646 (D.BKL.d. 32182 İcmal)	Total soldiers:41					—	—	244	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41	244
1665 (KK 4893)	1	1	1	1	1	5	8	50	1	—	1	—	4	5	23	—	—	—	1	3	1	—	1	26	28	165	—	—	—	41	244
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	Mustahfizes and Topçus: 13								—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27	—	—	—	—	40	—

4.2.7. Podborje (Podborye)

There is only scarce information about this fort. Despite the fact that the sources clearly mention that there was a fort in this area, I was unable to find any information regarding who the fort belonged to during medieval times, its construction date or its structure. The medieval settlement of Podborje, today Gornji Daruvar, is first mentioned in a document dated 1404.[373] At the beginning of September 1544, Ulama Pasha and Murad Bey Gajdić, jointly attacked and conquered Podborje, along with other fortifications in Međurić, Čaklovac, Pakrac, and Kreštelovac.[374]

In Ottoman sources Podborje was clearly defined as a *palanka*. The earliest archival record that I have found relating to this fort is dated 1566.[375] Since Podborje was not specifically mentioned as a fort in the first detailed Ottoman tax census (*tahrir defteri*) of the Sancak of Zaçasna in 1565, we can conclude that it was built after this census. By September 1573, the fort had already become a border fortification with a strong garrison.[376]

Ottoman archival sources do not provide any specific information about its structure, form, or size, except for the two repair records from 1584.[377] Evliya Çelebi, who visited several forts in Western Slavonia, in 1661, does not give any information about the fort in Podborje as well. On the other hand, there is no data either in the Habsburg censuses or in the Habsburg descriptions of this region after the Ottomans' final withdrawal from this region at the beginning of the 1690s.[378]

Archival document *MAD.d.* 826, dated 1587, is the first *mevacib defter* that provides information about Podborje fort. According to the information that we obtained from this defter, Podborje was one of the most significant forts in the sancak of Zaçasna in terms of both the number of garrisons and the combination of *cemaat*s stationed there. Podborje's garrison, which contained four of the five fundamental frontier *cemaat*s, was effectively used in instances such as a

[373] Tomislav Đurić, *Stari Gradvovi Dvorci i Crkve Slavonije Baranje i Zapadnog Srijema*, Zagreb, 2002, 94.
[374] Ive Mažuran, "Turske provale i osvajanja u Slavoniji od kraja 14. do sredine 16. Stoljeća", *Zborniku radova peti znanstveni sabor Slavonije i Baranje*, ed. Dušan Čalić and Đuro Berber, Vol. 1, Osijek, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni rad, 1991, 49.
[375] MAD.d. 166, 161a.
[376] MAD.d. 166, page 212b
[377] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 52, 245/642; nr. 53 /322.
[378] Stjepan Sršan, "*Naselja u Istočnoj Hrvatskoj krajem 17. i početkom 18. Stoljeća*", Osijek, Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 2000.

preemptive attack or counterattack. However, in the second half of the 17th century, the fort lost its importance along with a substantial portion of its garrison and became one of the smaller fortifications in the sancak.

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1587, the *cemaat*s of *mustahfiz*es, *topçu*s, *azeb*s, and *faris*es were serving in the Podborje fort at this date. While the *mustahfiz* unit consisted of two *oda*s, *dizdar* and his deputy *kethuda* were serving as officers there. There was also an imam in this unit, taking care of the prayers and other religious services. The daily amount of *akçe*s paid to 16 *mustahfiz*es was 105 in total. Given the size of the sancak, there was a large artillery unit in the Podborje fort. In two *oda*s served nine *topçu*s. The officers of the *cemaat* of *topçu*s were *ser-topi* and *kethuda*, and the daily amount paid to the unit was 58 *akçe*s.[379]

The *cemaat* of *azeb*s, which consisted of two *cemaat*s and five *oda*s, was the largest unit of the Podborje fort. Two *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, two *reis*es, and two *alemdar*s were serving as officers. These officers were also assisted by six *kılavuz*es. The daily amount of wages paid to a total of 51 *azeb*s was 322 *akçe*s. The officer in *faris* unit, which consisted of a *cemaat* and five *oda*s, was *farisan ağa*. Five *kılavuz*es were serving in this unit as well. The daily amount paid for a total of 47 *faris*es was 284 *akçe*s.[380]

Examining the *mevacib defter*s, *MAD.d.* 528 and *MAD.d.* 5279, reveals that the Podborje fort served in the region for a period of about half a century without any serious changes in its garrison. Although there was a drop in the size of the garrison in general, this reduction was only 12 men, while the fort did not lose its importance during these years. In 1590, a total of 16 *mustahfiz*es, seven *topçu*s, 49 *azeb*s, and 47 *faris*es were serving in the fort, while the daily wages paid to this garrison, whose total number was 119, were 726 *akçe*s.[381]

According to the *mevacib defter MAD.d.* 5279, four *cemaat*s were still serving in the fort. On the other hand, the total number of soldiers dropped to 111, and the daily amount paid to the garrison decreased to 699 *akçe*s at this date. While the *mustahfiz* unit consisted of 15 soldiers, the

[379] MAD.d. 826, 328.
[380] MAD.d. 826, 332-345.
[381] MAD.d. 528, 521-534.

topçu unit of six, the *azeb* unit of 48, and the *faris* unit of 42 soldiers, there was no change in the number and composition of the officers serving in these units.[382]

By 1618, we see that the Podborje fort lost almost all of its force with the loss of its two largest units, *azeb* and *faris*. At this date, only a very small number of *mustahfiz*es and *topçu*s were serving in the fort, most probably as law enforcement. While the *mustahfiz* unit consisted of a total of 14 soldiers, in the *topçu* unit were four artillerymen. The daily salary paid to the Podborje garrison, where a total of 20 soldiers served, was 126 *akçe*s in 1618.[383]

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1626, the Podborje fort underwent significant changes in the context of the garrison structure. At this date, the *cemaat*s of *mustahfiz*es and *topçu*s no longer served there, while the *cemaat*s of *azeb*s and *faris*es returned to the fort or were re-established. With these changes, Podborje had regained some of its force, which improved its importance in favor of operational activities in the region. While the *azeb* unit in the fort consisted of two *cemaat*s and five *oda*s, two *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, and two *alemdar*s were serving there as officers, and the daily salary paid to a total of 38 *azeb*s was 243 *akçe*s. The *cemaat* of *faris*es, on the other hand, consisted of 4 *oda*s, while the officers serving there were *farisan ağa* and *çavuş*. In 1626, the daily amount of salary paid to a total of 27 *faris*es was 171 *akçe*s.[384]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1627 is the last source in which the Podborje garrison was recorded in its full *cemaat* composition. At this date, the *mustahfiz* and *topçu* units returned for their service in the fort with the same numbers and composition as in 1618. The daily salary paid to 14 *mustahfiz*es and 4 artillerymen increased slightly on this date and reached 135 *akçe*s. The only change in the *cemaat* of *faris*es was that the *çavuş* no longer served there as an officer. The salary paid to 27 soldiers has increased to 175 per day at this date. The *cemaat* of *azeb*s, on the other hand, decreased by one *oda* and five soldiers, to a total of four *oda*s and 33 soldiers. There were two *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, a *reis*, and an *alemdar* in this unit as officers. The salary paid to the *azeb*s was 210 *akçe*s per day.[385]

[382] MAD.d. 5279, 164-168.
[383] MAD.d. 681, 126-127.
[384] MAD.d. 1942, 164-167.
[385] TS.MA.d. 1356, 97a-98b

In 1646, only a *mustahfız* unit was serving in the fort. The *cemaat* of *mustahfız*es consisted of two *oda*s, and in addition to the *dizdar*, *kethuda*, *alemdar*, and *imam*, there were 11 *mustahfız*es in the unit. The daily amount of *akçe*s paid to a total of 15 soldiers was 102.[386]

According to the information in the *mevacib defter* dated 1665, the two main units of the fort, the *mustahıfız*es and *topçu*s, resumed working together again at this date. While the structure and number of the *mustahfız* unit remained the same as in 1646, while the amount paid to the soldiers increased to 104. In the *cemaat* of *topçu*s, in addition to the *ser-topi*, *kethuda*, and *topçu*s, an imam also started to serve there. The daily amount paid to a total of four artillerymen was 30 *akçe*s.[387]

The last Ottoman source that contains information about the garrison in Podborje fort is an *icmal defter* dated 1683. In harmony with the information in the previous *defter*s, only *mustahfız* and *topçu* units were serving in the Podborje fort at this date. Although we know that 15 *mustahfız*es and four *topçu*s served in the fort, we do not have any information about the amount of their daily wages due to a lack of payment records.[388]

[386] MXT 627, 333-334.
[387] KK.d. 4893, 107b.
[388] D.BKL.d 32208, 7.

Table 8: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Podborje (1563-1683)

Podborje	Mustahfız									Topçu								Azep									Faris								Martolos			Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Alemdar	İmam	Mustahfiz	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	İmam	Toçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Çavuş	Kılavuz	Faris	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda		Soldier	Akçe
1563 (MAD 5413)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1587 (MAD 826)	1	2	1	1	–	1	13	16	105	1	2	1	1	–	7	9	58	2	5	–	2	2	2	1	6	44	51	322	1	5	1	–	5	46	47	284	–	–	–	123	769
1590 (MAD 528)	1	2	1	1	–	1	13	16	111	1	2	1	1	–	5	7	47	2	5	–	2	1	2	1	3	43	49	300	1	5	1	–	6	46	47	268	–	–	–	119	726
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	2	1	1	–	1	12	15	110	1	1	1	1	–	4	6	39	2	5	–	2	1	2	1	–	42	48	288	1	5	1	–	–	41	42	262	–	–	–	111	699
1618 (MAD 681)	1	2	1	1	–	1	11	14	96	1	1	1	1	–	2	4	29	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	20	126
1626 (MAD 1942)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	5	–	2	2	–	2	–	–	38	243	1	4	1	1	–	25	27	171	–	–	–	65	414
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	1	2	1	1	–	1	11	14	106	1	1	1	1	–	2	4	29	2	4	–	2	2	1	1	1	–	33	210	1	4	1	–	–	25	27	175	–	–	–	78	520
1643 (MAD 3721)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	29
1646 (MXT 627)	1	2	1	1	1	1	11	15	102	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	102
1665 (KK 4893)	1	2	1	1	1	1	11	15	104	1	–	1	1	1	1	4	30	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	18	134
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	Mustahfızes: 15				–	–	–	–	–	Topçus: 4				–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19	–

4.2.8. Stupčanica (*İstupçaniç*)

The Stupčanica fort is located in northern Papuk, on a narrow hill at an altitude of 400 meters. Its tower is located on the north side of the fort, while on its south side were the town walls, which are today in ruins and difficult to recognize. Along the main tower, which is about 15 meters high and about seven meters wide, parts of smaller buildings and defensive walls have been preserved. The lower parts of the tower were made of stone, while its higher parts were made of brick. The tower was being entered through the first floor, and below were rooms without doors and windows. Inside the tower, stone stairs were built, which have by now collapsed.[389]

The history of Stupčanica dates back to the 13th century, when it was first owned by the noble Tiboldović family. The town was owned by Peter Pocharos in 1356, and in 1408 it was given by Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387 – 1437) to his wife Barbara. Twenty years later, the town became property of Nikola Gorjanski, Croatian ban and Palatine of Hungary (1397 – 1433). Following the Gorjanski family, Stupčanica was property of the Banffy family until 1543, when it was captured by Ottoman commanders Ulama Pasha, Murad Bey and Mehmed Pasha Yahyapaşaoğlu almost without a fight.[390]

Former inhabitants of the surroundings of Stupčanica almost completely disappeared during Ottoman raids in the vicinity, aand the area was completely deserted as early as 1540. After the Ottoman conquest, a *nahiye* was formed in and around Stupčanica, and the new administrative unit took its name from the name of the fort. Bearing in mind that the fort was located on the frontline of the war against the Habsburgs, the Ottomans immediately fortified the town, built a storehouse for food and ammunition, put cannons on the walls, and placed a strong crew in it. Following the stabilization of the area, Muslim, and later Vlach, populations settled in the surrounding area.[391]

Ban of Croatia, Nikola VI Zrinski (1570 – 1625) and Habsburg commander Sigismund Trauttmannsdorff with a joint attack on the Ottoman territory in Slavonia during the Long Turkish

[389] Branko Nadilo, "Obrambene građevine zapadnog i sjevernog Papuka", *Građevinar*, 57, 2005, 184-185.
[390] Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, 104.
[391] Antun Abramović and Radovan Domagoj Devlić, "Utvrde stare Hrvatske i kraljevstvo Slavonije", *Hrvatsko Slovo* 234, 15.10.1999, 32.

War (1593 – 1606) captured and kept for a while Stupčanica in 1603. When the fort was seized, a large number of imprisoned Christians were found in the stone dungeon.[392]

According to Evliya Çelebi's account in 1661, "Stupčanica is located on a rocky mountain which has a square shape, and was built of stone. It is beautiful but small."[393] Following the Ottoman defeat at Vienna in 1683, Ottoman forces abandoned Stupčanica and retreated to Gradiška. The conquering Habsburg forces destroyed Stupčanica to prevent the Ottomans from recapturing it. As early as 1702, in the report of the Imperial Military Commission for the Border in Slavonia, Stupčanica was mentioned as a completely destroyed location with bare walls and a large tower without a roof.[394]

The earliest record I have found about the Stupčanica fort in the archives is a payment record (*berat resmi*) from 1547, shortly after the fort was conquered. According to these records, in 1547 there were 30 soldiers in the *cemaat* of *mustahfız*es and 28 soldiers in the *cemaat* of *farıs*es.[395]

The second source regarding the garrison in Stupčanica is a *mevacib defter* dated 1563. At this date, only the *cemaat*s of *mustahfız*es and *farıs*es, two out of the five fundamental units, were serving in the fort. The *cemaat* of *mustahfız*es consisted of three *oda*s, in which *dizdar* and *kethuda* served as officers. The salary paid to a total of 24 soldiers was 118 *akçe*s. The *cemaat* of *farıs*es consisted of two *oda*s, and *farisan ağa* was the only officer there. The daily wage paid to this unit, in which a total of 21 soldiers served, was 125 *akçe*s.[396]

When the available *mevacib defter*s are examined chronologically, we see that the fort was empty for a while in the third quarter of the 16th century. According to the information in the *mevacib defter* dated 1590, the second roll call that provided the data about the Stupčanica fort, the repopulated garrison in the Stupčanica fort had lost most of its power. The only *cemaat* that served in the fort was *mustahfız*es, and a total of 17 soldiers were being paid 93 *akçe*s per day at

[392] Nadilo Branko "Obrambene građevine zapadnog i sjevernog Papuka", 185.
[393] Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.5, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini, prep. by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, 275.
[394] Stjepan Sršan, "*Naselja u Istočnoj Hrvatskoj krajem 17. i početkom 18. Stoljeća*", 224.
[395] D.BRZ. d. 20615, 11, 16.
[396] MAD.d. 5413, 85-88.

this year. *Dizdar* and *kethuda* were their officers, and a *topçu* was stationed there to serve as well.[397]

In the *mevacib defter* numbered *MAD.d.* 5279, which belongs to the first quarter of the 17th century, we see that the garrison structure of the fort was developed. In addition to the *cemaat* of *mustahfize*s, a moderate *azeb* unit had begun to serve in the fort, which increased the significance of the Stupčanica fort. While the *cemaat of mustahfiz*es maintained its structure from 1590, the wages paid to 16 soldiers decreased to 86 *akçe*s. On the other hand, the *cemaat* of *azeb*s consisted of three *oda*s in which *azeban ağa* and his deputy, *kethuda*, served as officers. Total of 19 *azeb*s in this unit were paid 112 *akçe*s per day.[398]

When we examine the *mevacib defter*s chronologically, we can see that the fort was guarded by a stable garrison for nearly half a century. While a total of 34 soldiers were serving in the fort in 1618, the daily amount paid to them was 217 *akçe*s.[399] In 1626, 214 *akçe*s were paid to 36 soldiers;[400] in 1627, 207 *akçe*s were paid to 35 soldiers;[401] in 1646, 212 *akçe*s were paid to 36 soldiers;[402] in another *defter* dated 1646, 212 *akçe*s were paid to 39 soldiers;[403] in 1665, 226 *akçe*s were paid to 35 soldiers per day.[404]

The last source about the Stupčanica fort is an *icmal defter* dated 1683, which was composed just before the siege of Vienna of 1683. According to this *defter*, which does not present the daily amount of money paid to the garrison, 36 soldiers, 16 *mustahfiz*es and 20 *azeb*s, were serving in the Stupčanica in 1683 as its final garrison.[405]

[397] MAD.d. 528, 469.
[398] MAD.d. 5279, 137-138.
[399] MAD.d. 681, 108.
[400] MAD.d. 1942, 141-142.
[401] TS.MA.d. 1356, 161-163.
[402] MXT 627, 314-316.
[403] D.BKL.d. 32182, 6.
[404] KK.d. 4893, 103-104.
[405] D.BKL.d 32208, 7.

Table 9 Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Stupčanica (1547-1683)

Stupčanica	Mustahfız										Topçu			Azep									Faris						Martolos			Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Alemdar	Topçu	Bevvab	Mustahfiz	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda		Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Faris	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda		Soldier	Akçe
1547 (D.BRZ. d. 20615)	Mustahfızes: 30																							Farises: 28									58	—
1563 (MAD 5413)	1	3	1	1	—	—	1	21	24	118	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	20	21	125	—	—	—	45	243
1587 (MAD 826)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45	243
1590 (MAD 528)	1	3	1	1	—	1	—	14	17	93	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	93
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	3	1	1	—	1	—	13	16	86	—	—	—	1	3	—	1	1	—	—	17	19	112	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	35	198
1618 (MAD 681)	1	3	1	1	—	1	—	13	16	88	—	—	—	1	3	—	1	1	—	—	18	20	129	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	34	217
1626 (MAD 1942)	1	2	1	1	—	1	—	13	16	87	—	—	—	1	3	—	1	1	1	—	17	20	127	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	214
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	1	3	1	1	—	1	—	13	16	88	—	—	—	1	3	—	1	1	—	4	17	19	119	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	35	207
1646 (MXT 627)	1	3	1	1	—	1	—	13	16	86	—	—	—	1	3	—	1	1	1	—	17	20	126	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	212
1646 (D.BKL.d- 32182 İcmal)	Mustahfızes: 39, Daily S.:212										—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39	212
1665 (KK 4893)	1	3	1	1	—	—	—	13	15	100	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	1	3	17	20	126	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	35	226
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	Mustahfızes: 16								—	—	—	—	—	Azeps: 20								—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	—

4.2.9. Bijela Stijena (Bila Stina)

The Bijela Stijena fort was located on the western slopes of Psunj Mountain as one of the oldest fortifications in central Slavonia. It was an important fort in the late Middle Ages, since it controlled an important traffic route from Hungary through Slavonia to Bosnia.[406] The fort was a day's walk to the west from Požega, and a three-hour walk to the north of Gradiška.[407] The site with the remains of the medieval fortress Bijela Stijena and today's settlement of the same name are located in the northern part of the Municipality of Okučani in the Brod-Posavina County.[408]

The fort was most likely built by Hungarian nobles Tiboltović who were given the adjective Svetački since they ruled in Svetačje, the territory between today's Novska and Okučani. The fort is first mentioned in historical sources in 1369 when King Louis I of Hungary allowed John Bissen (*castellani nostri de Feyrkw*) to voluntarily dispose of his estates.[409] In 1475, the fort was mentioned as *Belazthena*. King Matthias Corvinus presented Bijela Stijena to the Serbian Despot Vuk Branković, who was married to Croatian noblewoman Katarina Frankopan. When the Despot died in 1485, his wife gave it to her new husband, Franjo Berislavić Grabarski.[410] After Franjo Berislavić, the fort was ruled by Croatian ban Petar Keglević, and after him by Hungarian noble Tomás Nádasdy. In 1532, while withdrawing after an attack on Austrian hereditary lands, Ottoman forces ravaged large parts of the western and central Slavonia but did not attack the fort itself.[411] Bijela Stijena was held by Nikola Zrinski since 1537, but when a plague epidemic decreased the

[406] Branko Križan "Bijela Stijena", *Zbornik Povijesnog Društva Pakrac-Lipik*, 5, Prosinac 2008, 89-91.
[407] Stjepan Sršan, "*Naselja u Istočnoj Hrvatskoj krajem 17. i početkom 18. stoljeća*", 318.
[408] Ratko Ivanušec, Stanko Andrić, and Zorislav Horvat, *Neke srednjovjekovne utvrde Brodsko-posavske županije*, Zagreb, Ministarstvo Culture 2013, 12.
[409] Marina Matković, "Kasnosrednjovjekovne utvrde novogradiškog i požeškog kraja", 11; Škiljan claims that the name of this fort was first mentioned in 1231 in the Hungarian form Fejerko, which also means White Stone in Hungarian.
[410] Filip Škiljan, "*Kulturno-historijski spomenici zapadne Slavonije s pregledom povijesti zapadne Slavonije od prapovijesti do 20. Stoljeća*", 41-42; Marija Mihaljević and Ratko Ivanušec, "Konzervatorsko-arheološko istraživanje srednjovjekovne utvrde Bijela Stijena u 2011.", *Izvješće, Gradski muzej Nova Gradiška i Konzervatorski odjel u Slavonskom Brodu*, Slavonski Brod, 2012, 7-9.
[411] Funda Demirtaş, "*Celâl-zâde Mustafa Çelebi, Tabakâtü'l-Memâlik ve Derecâtü'l-Mesâlik*", doctoral thesis, Kayseri University, 2009, 323-327; Celalzâde Salih Çelebi. *Târîh-i Sefer-i Zafer-Rehber-i Alaman*, prep.by Fatma Kaytaz, İstanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2016, 68; Mehmet Akif Erdoğru. "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın 1532 Tarihli Alman Seferi Ruznâmesi", *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 24, 2019, 183.

population of this area, the local Ottoman forces under the command of Ulama Pasha from Bosnia captured Bijela Stijena in April 1543.[412]

Bijela Stijena maintained its importance during the early Ottoman rule in Slavonia. However, after the Habsburg-Ottoman border had been moved westward in the 1550s, it was considered for demolition. According to the decree dated May 18, 1574, due to the construction of a new *palanka* on the first line of the border, Bijela Stijena was now considered an inner fort (*iç il*) and it was ordered to be demolished if it was no longer useful for the defense of the border.[413] The Ottomans must have believed that the fort was still useful for the defense of the region because nine years later, in May 1583, the fort was repaired and its defense was strengthened by stationing new soldiers.[414] According to Evliya Çelebi, who visited the fort in 1661, Bijela Stijena was a small quadrangular fort located in a forest, had a mosque and a storehouse but there was no bazaar or a market.[415]

After the unsuccessful Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 and the turning of the tide on the Habsburg-Ottoman front in Hungary and Croatia, Bijela Stijena was captured by the Habsburg army in 1685. The fort was demolished by Habsburg general Aeneas de Caprara in 1688 out of fear that the Ottomans would return and re-establish themselves in it.[416]

Bijela Stijena was the smallest fort of the Sancak of Zaçasna and it had a garrison of insignificant size. As stated earlier, despite its small garrison and lesser status in terms of defense policies, Bijela Stijena managed to serve continuously until the Ottoman withdrawal from Slavonia.

While the oldest record I could find about Bijela Stijena is a *mukataa* payment dated July 1558,[417] the first date on which the garrison in the fort was mentioned in the sources is 1563. According to the records of the *mevacib defter* dated 1563, the only *cemaat* that served in the fort was the *mustahfiz* unit. *Dizdar* and *kethuda* were the officers of 15 soldiers, and an *imam* was also

[412] Antun Abramović and Radovan Domagoj Devlić, "Bijela Stijena" *Hrvatsko Slovo*, 233, (8.10.1999), 32.
[413] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 24, 252/669.
[414] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 49, 70/243.
[415] Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.5, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini, prep. by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, 275.
[416] Filip Škiljan, "*Kulturno-historijski spomenici zapadne Slavonije s pregledom povijesti zapadne Slavonije od prapovijesti do 20. Stoljeća*", 42.
[417] MAD.d. 166, 90a.

serving there as the head of prayers. The daily amount paid to *mustahfiz*es was 80 *akçe*s.[418] Although we see that in a *mukataa* record dated November 1564 there was a *cemaat* of *azeb*s serving in the fort,[419] this unit was never listed in the *mevacib defter*s until 1643. The reason for this may be that this unit has been transferred into this fort from another fort, or that these soldiers served in another fortification despite being in the garrison of Bijela Stijena. We cannot be sure what the correct explanation is because of the ambiguous nature of Ottoman archival records.

Until 1627, the garrison and the number of soldiers in Bijela Stijena remained almost unchanged. While the only *cemaat* serving in the fort until the first quarter of the 17th century was the *mustahfiz*es, the number of soldiers fluctuated between 18 and 20. In 1587, 19 soldiers received 105 *akçe*s;[420] in 1590, 19 soldiers received 94 *akçe*s;[421] between 1615 and 1620, 19 soldiers received 111 *akçe*s;[422] in 1618, 20 soldiers received 104 *akçe*s;[423] in 1626, 18 soldiers received 93 *akçe*s;[424] and finally, in 1627, 18 soldiers received 95 *akçe*s per day.[425]

In 1643, we see that the structure of the garrison in the fort had changed. As might be expected, a transformation in the garrison meant that the fort's role had to change as well. In 1643, the only military force serving in the Bijela Stijena fort was a *cemaat* of *azeb*s. Although they would return to the fort at a later date, the fate of the *mustahfiz*es is uncertain during this period. This new garrison composition indicates that the fort's mission was no longer just to protect itself, but also to carry out operational activities outside of the fort when necessary. According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1643, in the *azeb* unit, which consists of one *cemaat* and four *oda*s, an *ağa*, a *kethuda*, an *alemdar* and a *topçu* were serving as officers. Daily salary paid to a total of 24 soldiers was 136 *akçe*s.[426]

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1646, the garrison in the fort remained the same, except for minor changes. At this date, the number of *azeb*s serving in the fort was unchanged, but a *reis* started to serve as officer. Furthermore, the *topçu* who served in the *azeb* unit is not

[418] MAD.d. 5413, 99.
[419] MAD.d. 166, 94a.
[420] MAD.d. 826, 404.
[421] MAD.d.. 528, 397.
[422] MAD.d. 5279, 177.
[423] MAD.d. 681, 139.
[424] MAD.d. 1942, 175-176.
[425] TS.MA.d. 1356, 201.
[426] MAD.d. 3721, 25-26.

mentioned in the defter, and the daily wage paid to a total of 24 *azeb*s has decreased by 14, to 122 *akçe*s.[427] On the other hand, according to an *icmal defter* of the same year (1646), the total number of soldiers serving in the fort was 42, and the daily salary paid to them was 218 *akçe*s.[428] The best assumption that we can make to explain this fact is that the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es was transferred from another stronghold to its original post.

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1665, there were two *cemaat*s in the Bijela Stijena fort: *mustahfiz*es and *azeb*s. The *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es consisted of two *oda*s and their officers were *dizdar* and *kethuda*. There was also a *bevvab* in the fort, where a total of 18 *mustahfiz*es were serving. The daily salary paid to the *mustahfız*es was 92 *akçe*s. The *cemaat* of *azeb*s maintained its condition from 1646 without any change. The amount of salary paid to 24 soldiers increased by only three *akçe*s, to 125 *akçe*s.[429]

According to the *icmal defter* dated 1683, there were 18 *mustahfiz*es and 24 *azeb*s in Bijela Stijena. The salaries paid to these 42 soldiers are unfortunately not recorded in this defter.[430] In the last roll call register of Bijela Stijena, dated 1685, just before it was lost to the Habsburgs, the only unit serving in the fort was *azeb*s. The *azeb* unit consisted of two *cemaat*s and four *oda*s in which two *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, two *rei*ses, two *alemdar*s, and a *kılavuz* served. The unit, which had 50 soldiers in total, was paid 303 *akçe*s per day.[431]

[427] MXT 627, 369-371.
[428] D.BKL.d. 32182, 7.
[429] KK. d. 4893, 120-122.
[430] D.BKL.d 32208, 7.
[431] D.BKL.d 32213, 98-100.

Table 10: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Bijela Stijena (1563-1685/6)

Bijela Stijena	Mustahfız										Topçu			Azep											Faris			Martolos			Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Alemdar	Bevvab	İmam	Mustahfiz	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda		Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Topçu	Kılavuz	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda		Cemaat	Oda		Soldier	Akçe
1563 (MAD 5413)	1	2	1	1	–	–	1	12	15	80	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	80
1587 (MAD 826)	1	2	1	1	–	–	–	17	19	105	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19	105
1590 (MAD 528)	1	2	1	1	–	–	–	17	19	94	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19	94
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	2	1	1	–	1	–	16	19	111	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19	111
1618 (MAD 681)	1	2	1	1	–	1	–	17	20	104	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	20	104
1626 (MAD 1942)	1	2	1	1	–	1	–	15	18	93	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	18	93
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	1	2	1	1	–	1	–	15	18	95	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	18	95
1643 (MAD 3721)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	–	1	1	–	1	1	–	20	24	136	–	–	–	–	–	–	24	136
1646 (MXT 627)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	20	24	122	–	–	–	–	–	–	24	122
1646 (D.BKL.d- 32182 İcmal)	Mustahfızes: 42, Daily S.: 218								–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	42	218
1665 (KK 4893)	1	2	1	1	–	1	–	–	18	92	–	–	–	1	4	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	20	24	125	–	–	–	–	–	–	32	217
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	Mustahfızes: 18					–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	Azeps: 24			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	42	–
1685/6 (D.BKL.d 32213)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	4	–	2	2	2	2	–	1	42	50	303	–	–	–	–	–	–	50	303

4.2.10. Međurić (Megüriçki)

Međurić is mentioned in the sources as a feudal estate in 1228.[432] The church located in Međurić is mentioned as *Vasmegywrechye* in a diocesan list of churches in 1334 and 1501. There were many owners of the estate: the first were the noble Pekry family *de genere* Thethen, then the Međurički family; the Morović family owned it from 1448 to 1476, and then its owners were the Kanizsai family. However, a part of the estate was in the hands of the Međurički family all along, as King Ferdinand I in 1529 took the estate from the Međuričkis and gave it to Grgur Stefković and Gašpar Gusić.[433]

Petar Keglević, who was in control of the fort during the Ottoman advance through the Međurić area, asked the Habsburgs to help him financially because, as the ban, he did not receive a salary or any kind of help against the growing Ottoman threat. His towns Međurić and Kraljeva Velika were in great danger and it was only a matter of time before the Ottomans would conquer them. With the surrender of Krsto Svetački, following a similar fate of other forts in the vicinity, Međurić was directly attacked by Ottoman forces. Soon after, in September 1544, joint forces of Ulama Pasha and Murad Bey attacked and captured Međurić with ease.[434]

The first Ottoman archival record that I found on Međurić is a detailed census entry (*tahrir defteri*) dated 1565 which states that the fort of Međurić was in a dilapidated state. It could be that the retreating Croatian forces demolished it in order to prevent the Ottomans from using it as a military base. An Ottoman decree dated January 1584, sent from Istanbul, clearly state that the Ottoman Međurić was a made of wood.[435] If we consider that there were two separate records in the mentioned detailed census of 1565 – the *varoš* of the ruined fort of Međurić[436] and the *varoš*

[432] Tajana Sekelj Ivančan and Tatjana Tkalčec, "Kasnosrednjovjekovna stolna keramika s nekih gradišta iz okolice Kutine i Garešnice", *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 19, 2002, 174.
[433] Gjuro Szabo, "Prilozi za povjesnu topografiju požeške županije", *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 11/1, 1911, 4.
[434] Ive Mažuran, Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo, 87-94. Also see, Đuro Vidmarović, "Kada je hrvatski ban Toma Nadaždi preselio u zapadnu Ugarsku svoje podložnike iz vlastelinstava Velika i Međurić u današnjoj zapadnoj Slavoniji?", *Croatica christiana periodica*, 54, 2008, 29-36.
[435] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 52, 245/642.
[436] *TT.d.* 355, 87; *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584*, trans. and edit. from the Ottoman Turkish by Fazileta Hafizović, Slavonski Brod, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2021, 323.

of Međuričke/Železno Međurićki[437] – indicates that the Ottomans must have built their own fort somewhere else.

According to an Ottoman decree sent to Sancakbey of Zaçasna in April 1574, it was ordered that a strong wooden tower be built with the help of the locals, in order to help protect the border.[438] Despite the fact that Međurić's last appearance in roll call registers was in 1627, another document shows that it was repaired together with the forts of Podborje, Zdenci, and Granica in 1646.[439] The fact that Međurić did not appear in the sources again after this certain period of time this information suggests that the fort was not re-garrisoned due to its inadequate repair.

Comparing available sources, we see that Međurić fort was first used by the Ottomans in the period between 1574 and 1587 by stationing a garrison. While it was a medium-sized fortification in terms of the number of soldiers serving, four of the five basic units of the Ottoman frontier military organization (*mustahfiz*, *topçu*, *azeb*, and *faris*) were present in the fort. According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1587, 14 *mustahfiz*es and 4 *topçu*s were serving in Međurić. While the officers of the *mustahfiz*es were *dizdar* and *kethuda*, the officers of the *topçu*s were *ser-topi* and his deputy, the *topçu kethuda*. While the mustahfizes were paid 82 akçes, the *topçu*s were paid 23 *akce*s per day.[440]

There were 4 *kılavuz*es in the fort, where 31 soldiers served in total. The daily salary paid to the *azeb*s was 192 *akçe*s. The *cemaat* of *faris*es, which was the largest unit in the fort, consisted of four *oda*s and a total of 41 soldiers. *Farisan ağa* was the only officer in this unit, and the daily salary paid to them was 257 *akçe*s.[441]

The only significant change regarding the Međurić fort in the *mevacib defter* dated 1587 is that the number of *faris*es serving in the fort decreased by two to 39, and the daily wage paid to these cavalrymen decreased to 244 *akçe*s. Other *cemaat*s stationed in the fort had the same structure as in the previous *defter*.[442]

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[437] *TT.d. 355*, 74; *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584*, trans. and edit. from the Ottoman Turkish by Fazileta Hafizović, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2021, 130, 147, 309.
[438] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 26, 157/414.
[439] C.TZ., 11-508.
[440] MAD.d. 826, 376.
[441] MAD.d. 826, 380-385.
[442] MAD.d. 528 537-546

According to the *mevacib defter MAD.d.* 5279 (undated), there were no changes in the composition of the *oda*s and officers of the *cemaat*s serving in Međurić, but there were minor changes in the total number of soldiers and the salaries paid. The number of soldiers in the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es decreased by one to 13, and the salary paid to them decreased to 78 *akçe*s. There was no change in the *topçu* unit, and the structure of this *cemaat* remained the same as it was in the first two *defter*s.[443]

The total number of soldiers in the *azeb* unit decreased by one to 30, and the daily amount of *akçe*s they received decreased to 182. The total number of soldiers in the *faris* unit decreased by two to 37, and the daily amount paid to them decreased to 234 *akçe*s.[444]

Although we do not have a precise date range since the *MAD.d.* 5279 source is undated, we can see that the fort was abandoned for a certain period of time in the first quarter of the 1600s. Međurić, which was not recorded in the *defter* dated 1618, began reappeared in the *mevacib defter* of 1626. Since Međurić had lost its two *cemaat*s: *mustahıfz*es and *topçu*s on this date, the total number of garrison soldiers in the fort considerably decreased, to 58. The *azeb* unit consisted of three *oda*s. An *ağa*, a *kethuda*, a *reis*, and an *alemdar* served as officers. There was also a *kılavuz* in the fort, where a total of 27 soldiers served. The daily salary paid to them was 173 *akçe*s. While the number of *oda*s and officers in the *faris* unit did not change, the number of soldiers decreased to 31. Two *kılavuz*es also began to serve here and the daily salary paid to a total of 31 cavalrymen was 204 *akçe*s.[445]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1626 is the last roll call register in which the Međurić garrison is seen in the sources in detail. As previously stated, although the fort was repaired in 1646, a salaried garrison was no longer stationed there. When we examine the *defter* dated 1626, we see that the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es reapers and starts to serve again in the fort. In harmony with the data in the previous *defter*s, the unit had a total of 13 *mustahfiz*es and the *cemaat* consisted of two *oda*s and two officers (a *dizdar* and a *kethuda*). The daily salary paid to them was 86 *akçe*s.[446]

[443] MAD.d. 5279, 173.
[444] MAD.d. 5279, 173-175.
[445] MAD.d. 1942, 173-175.
[446] TS.MA.d. 1356,

There are several differences in the *cemaat*s of *azeb*s and *faris*es at this date. While the number of officers, *oda*s, and *kılavuze*s of these two units remained unchanged, the overall number of men and the amount of money paid decreased. Despite the fact that the *azeb* unit's number of men grew by one to 28, the amount of money paid was reduced to 165 *akçe*s. The number of troops in the *faris* unit, on the other hand, grew by five to 36, and the total amount of money paid to them climbed to 225 *akçe*s.[447]

[447] TS.MA.d. 1356, 197-199.

Table 11: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Međurić (1563-1683)

Međurić	Mustahfız									Topçu					Azep											Faris							Martolos			Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Mustahfiz	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	Topçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Kılavuz	Faris	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda		Soldier	Daily S.
1563 (MAD 5413)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1587 (MAD 826)	1	2	1	1	–	14	84	1	–	1	1	1	4	23	1	5	–	1	1	1	1	4	27	31	192	1	4	1	–	40	41	257	–	–	–	90	554
1590 (MAD 528)	1	2	1	1	–	14	84	1	–	1	1	1	4	23	1	5	–	1	1	1	1	4	27	31	192	1	4	1	–	38	39	244	–	–	–	88	543
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	2	1	1	–	13	78	1	–	1	1	–	4	23	1	5	–	1	1	1	1	–	26	30	182	1	4	1	–	36	37	234	–	–	–	84	517
1618 (MAD 681)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1626 (MAD 1942)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	–	1	1	1	1	1	23	27	173	1	4	1	2	30	31	204	–	–	–	58	377
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	1	2	1	1	–	13	86	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	–	1	1	1	1	1	24	28	165	1	4	1	2	35	36	225	–	–	–	73	476
1643 (MAD 3721)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1646 (MXT 627)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1646 (D.BKL.d- 32182 İcmal)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1665 (KK 4893)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1686 (D.BKL.d 32213)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

4.2.11. Zdenci (İzdenci)

The village of Zdenci was first mentioned in 1272, so we can assume that the fort itself may be even older. In 1363, Zdenci was owned by Simon de Morochida, and after that by his descendants. Moroc of Međešalja is also mentioned in the 14th century as the owner of Zdenci. In 1490, both Donji and Gornji Zdenci became the property of the Báthory family.[448] At the end of 1540, during the Ottoman advance toward Western Slavonia, the Habsburg authorities compiled a list of settlements and fortifications that needed to be defended and supplied with crews and ammunition; Zdenci was one of those settlements. Nevertheless, Bosnian Sancakbey Husrev Bey managed to capture the fort in 1544 and continued to advance westward.[449]

Ottoman sources clearly describe Zdenci as a *palanka*,[450] and the first record that I found in the Ottoman archives mentioning it is a *mukataa* record from July 1567.[451] The first detailed census (*tahrir defteri*) of the Sancak of Zaçasna dated 1565 does not mention the Zdenci fort. On the other hand, the fort appears in the second and last census, dated 1584,[452] which clearly indicates that the it must have been repaired and put back into service by the Ottomans in this date range. The last record mentioning the Zdenci fort is a roll call register from 1628; after this date the sources fall silent. The Ottomans must have demolished the *palanka* and sent its garrison to other forts closer to the border. Although we do not know exactly why the Ottomans made this decision, we often see that they frequently made such practices, demolishing a fort or moving its garrison to a different location.

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[448] Fillip Škiljan, "*Kulturno-historijski spomenici zapadne Slavonije s pregledom povijesti zapadne Slavonije od prapovijesti do 20. Stoljeća*", 182; Gjuro Szabo, "*Sredovjecni gradovi u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*", 102.

[449] Ive Mažuran, Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo, 88-89; Adem Handžić, "Prilog istoriji starih gradova u bosanskoj i slavonskoj krajini pred kraj XVI vijeka", *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, 13, 1962, 321-339; Olga Zirojević, "Turska utvrđena mesta na području današnje Vojvodine, Slavonije i Baranje", *Zbornik za istoriju Matice srpske* 14, 1976, 138-143; Geza Palffy, "Izvanredan izvor o zemljopisnim znanjima ugarsko-hrvatske političke elite 16. stoljeća popis ugarskih i slavonskih gradova, utvrda i kaštele koji su između 1526. i 1556. dospjeli u turske ruke, sastavljen za staleže Njemačko-Rimskoga Carstva", *Scrinia Slavonica,* 14, 2014, 9-39.

[450] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 52, 245/642

[451] MAD.D.166,163b.

[452] TT.d. 612, 110; *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584*, trans. and edit. from the Ottoman Turkish by Fazileta Hafizović, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2021, 323.

The first time the *ulufeli* garrison of the Zdenci fort was recorded in its full extent was in 1587. Although we know that *ulufeli* and *timarlı* troops were present in the fort prior to this period, we do not know the precise number or tasks of these soldiers due to lack of sufficient sources. According to an *icmal tahrir* record dated 1548/9, 25 *timarlı mustahfiz*es were sent to the Zdenci fort from the Sancak of Zvornik.[453] The last year these *mustahfiz*es were documented was 1594/1595,[454] and we have no information on whether they continued to execute their duties after that date. Zdenci was a medium-sized fort with a garrison of about 100 soldiers. While the *cemaat*s of *mustahfiz*es, *topçu*s, and *azeb*s were present in the fort, the other two essential *cemaat*s, *fari*ses and *martolos*es, never served there. The composition of the units in the fort suggests that the fort was not organized for operational activities outside the fort and was primarily used for defensive purposes.

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1587, there were a *mustahfız*, a *topçu*, and two *azeb cemaat*s in the Zdenci fort. The *mustahfız* unit consisted of 3 *oda*s. The officers of *mustahfiz*es, *dizdar* and *kethuda*, were accompanied by 23 regular soldiers. The daily salary paid to a total of 25 soldiers was 123 *akçe*s. Zdenci had a very small artillery unit. *Ser-topi*, *kethuda*, and two *topçu*s were serving in the fort, and the salary paid to them was 25 *akçe*s per day. On the other hand, there was a relatively large *cemaat* of *azeb*s in the fort. The *azeb* unit, which was divided into six *oda*s, had two *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, two *rei*ses, and one *alemdar* as officers. The total number of *azeb*s was 47, and two of them were *kılavuz*es. The daily amount of *akçe*s paid to a total of 47 soldiers was 270.[455]

Except for two changes, the data from the previous *defter* was repeated identically in the *defter* dated 1590. The number of *oda*s in the *mustahfız* unit rose from three to four, and the total amount of money paid to the *azeb*s decreased by five *akçe*s to 265. The other information is the same as in the defter *MAD.d.* 826.[456]

When we examine the information in the *defter MAD.d.* 5279, we see that there have been minor changes in the fort. The number of *mustahfiz*es decreased by one to 24, the daily amount

[453] TT.d. 259, 114/1,114/2, 114/3; Adem Handžić, "O organizaciji vojne krajine bosanskog ejaleta u 17 stoljeću", *Prilozi*, XXIII, 24, 1988 52.
[454] TT.d. 655, 104a-108b.
[455] MAD.d. 826, 364-373.
[456] MAD.d. 528, 473-482.

paid to them fell to 113 *akçe*s. The number of *topçu*s serving in the fort remained the same, but the daily amount of their wage lessened by one, to 24 *akçe*s. Finally, the *azeb* unit also lost some manpower and the number of soldiers oin the unit decreased to 44. The total amount of money paid to them decreased to 252 *akçe*s per day.[457]

In the first quarter of the 1600s, Zdenci, just like the Međurić fort, was evacuated and not used for a while. Despite the fact that there is no data about Zdenci fort in the *mevacib defter* dated 1618, it reappears in the *mevacib defter* dated 1626. In 1626, there is a significant change in the composition of the fort's garrison. The only *cemaat* that served in the fort were the *azeb*s, and the *cemaat*s of *mustahfiz*es and *topçu*s were either abolished or transferred to another fortification. Despite the decrease in the number of *cemaat*s, as a result of the serious increase in the number of *azeb*s, the fort did not suffer a great loss as regards its military power. The *azeb* unit consisted of three *cemaat*s and seven *oda*s, and a total of 10 officers (three *ağa*s, three *kethuda*s, two *reis*es, and two *alemdar*s) were serving there. The *cemaat*, which had a total of 63 soldiers, was paid 366 *akçe*s per day.[458]

The *mevacib defter* dated 1627 is the last source in which the garrison at Zdenci was recorded. *Mustahfiz* and *topçu* units, which had not been recorded in the previous year, reappear in this *defter*. While the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es consisted of two *oda*s, *dizdar* and *kethuda* were accompanied by 16 soldiers. The daily amount of wages paid to a total of 18 *mustahfiz*es was 88 *akçe*s. The formation of *topçu*s in the *MAD.d.* 5279 *defter* remained the same at this year, and the salary paid to a total of four artillerymen was 24 *akçe*s per day. The unit of *azeb*s consisted of two *cemaat*s and six *oda*s, where two *ağa*s, two *kethuda*s, two *reis*es, and two *alemdar*s were serving as officers. At this date, the total number of *azeb*s decreased by 20 to 43, and the daily amount paid to them declined by 249 *akçe*s.[459]

[457] MAD.d. 5279, 170-173.
[458] MAD.d. 1942, 170-173.
[459] TS.MA.d. 1356, 194-196.

Table 12: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Zdenci (1563-1627)

Zdenci	Mustahfız									Topçu					Azep										Faris			Martolos			Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Mustahfiz	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	Topçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Kılavuz	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda		Cemaat	Oda		Soldier	Akçe
1563 (MAD 5413)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1587 (MAD 826)	1	3	1	1	23	25	123	1	–	1	1	2	4	25	2	6	–	2	2	2	1	2	40	47	270	–	–	–	–	–	–	76	418
1590 (MAD 528)	1	4	1	1	23	25	123	1	–	1	1	2	4	25	2	6	–	2	2	2	1	2	40	47	265	–	–	–	–	–	–	76	413
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	1	4	1	1	22	24	113	1	–	1	1	2	4	24	2	6	–	2	2	–	–	–	40	44	252	–	–	–	–	–	–	72	389
1618 (MAD 681)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1626 (MAD 1942)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	7	–	3	3	2	2	–	53	63	366	–	–	–	–	–	–	63	366
1627 (TS.MA.d 1356)	1	2	1	1	16	18	88	1	–	1	1	2	4	24	2	6	–	2	2	2	1	–	36	43	249	–	–	–	–	–	–	65	361
1643 (MAD 3721)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1646 (MXT 627)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1646 (D.BKL.d- 32182 İcmal)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1665 (KK 4893)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1686 (D.BKL.d 32213)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

4.2.12. Krešteloveac (Kreştelofeç)

There is only scarce information about this Ottoman fort in the sources. Moreover, it is mentioned no earlier than 1529.[460] In the autumn of 1544, the combined troops of Sancakbey of Požega, Murad Bey Gajdić, Bosnian Sancakbey, Ulama Pasha, Sancakbey of Klis, Veli Bey, and Sancakbey of Herzegovina, Malkoç Bey, captured the settlements Krešteloveac, Pakrac, Međurić, Čaklovac, Podborje, and Rača.[461]

The first Ottoman source I could find about Krešteloveac was a decree from July 1572, which is about the need for its repair. According to the decree, the fort was located in an important passage and was in a dilapidated state. For the Ottoman high command, repairing the fort and putting it back into service was important both for the protection of the border and for the local people who would revive (*şenlendirme*) the environs by settling there. The Ottoman command expected the locals to help defend the area against attacks from across the border. As a matter of fact, unlike the first Ottoman tax census of the Sancak of Pakrac from 1565, which does not mention the fort, we see Krešteloveac as a fort in the 1584 Ottoman tax census of the mentioned sancak.[462] This fact proves that the fort must have been built after the mentioned decree. The last Ottoman archival record about Krešteloveac is a roll call register from 1628, and after that date I did not find any data on this fort, despite various subsequent roll calls for the examined area. As we often see in the Ottoman documents, the forts built as *palanka*s could have been demolished, or moved and rebuilt according to the need at that time. Therefore, in the case of Krešteloveac, one can posit that after 1628 the *palanka* was demolished and its crew was distributed to other forts in the region.

As a garrisoned fort, Krešteloveac was first mentioned in Ottoman sources in 1587. In comparison to other fortifications in the Sancak of Zaçasna, its garrison was initially moderate-sized and possessed the fundamental Ottoman frontier fortress formation. However, the fort was not able to maintain its importance and eventually lost almost 70% of its garrison in the next 30

[460] Gjuro Szabo, "Prilozi za povjesnu topografiju požeške županije", 48.
[461] Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, 107.
[462] TT.d. 612, 110.

years. After the 1630s, the fort was completely abandoned, and was not mentioned in the sources ever again.

According to the *mevacib defteri* dated 1587, there were four *cemaat*s in Krešteloval: *mustahfız*, *azeb*, *topçu*, and *martolos*. The *cemaat* of *mustahfız*es consisted of four *oda*s and 15 *farise*s, and their only officers were *dizdar* and *kethuda*. Their daily wage was 98 *akçe*s in total. The officers of the *topçu cemaat* were *ser-topi* and *kethuda*, and a total of six *topçu*s were serving there. The daily salary given to them was 38 *akçe*s.[463]

The largest unit of the fort was the *cemaat* of *azeb*s. There were two *cemaat*s and eight *oda*s in the fort, and their officers were *ağa*s (two of them), *kethuda*s (also two), *reis*es (also two), and an *alemdar*. There were also seven *kılavuz*es and an imam in the fort, where a total of 55 soldiers served. The *cemaat* of *martolos*es consisted of four *oda*s, and *ağa* ve *ser-miye* were serving as their officers. While a total of 18 soldiers served there, the total daily salary paid to them was 104 *akçe*s.[464]

When we look at the *mevacib defteri* from 1590, we can see that the fort has kept its abovementioned formation. The number of *cemaat* soldiers in the fort remained the same, although their pay was slightly increased. While the daily quantity of *akçe*s paid to troops in the previous book was 594, it increased by 13 akçes to 607 on this date.[465]

In the first quarter of the 17th century, Krešteloval underwent an essential change. The three *cemaat*s that previously served in the fort were abolished and replaced by a *cemaat* of *faris*es. This demonstrates that the fort was reorganized for a new mission in connection with its location. With this change, the Krešteloval fort was given the task of defending the sancak's borders by deploying combat-ready troops at any moment. The *faris* unit consisted of one *cemaat* and four *oda*s, where and *ağa* and *alemdar* served as officers. The unit, which had a total of 32 cavalry, was paid 206 *akçe*s per day.[466]

Although there is no record of Krešteloval in the *defter* dated 1618, it reappears again in the defter dated 1626. It is possible the fort was evacuated during this time period, or that soldiers

[463] MAD.d. 826, 389.
[464] MAD.d. 826, 393-397.
[465] MAD.d. 528, 485-498.
[466] MAD.d. 5279, 176.

were temporarily relocated to another fort. The number of *oda*s in the fort, in which, as we saw, only *fari*ses served, was reduced to three in 1626, and the total number of *cemaat*s was reduced to 22. While an *ağa* and *alemdar* were serving as officers, there were two *kılavuz*es in the fort as well, and the total salary paid to them was 146 *akçe*s per day.[467]

The last information about Krestelovac appears in the *mevacib defter* dated 1627. The figures in this defter are close to those of the previous year. The number of *oda*s increased to four again and the number of soldiers increased to 24. Besides an *ağa* and an *alemdar*, an imam started to serve in this *cemaat* as well. The total amount paid to the soldiers was 175 *akçe*s per day.[468]

[467] MAD.d. 1942, 174.
[468] TS.MA.d. 1356, 200.

Table 13: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Krešteloyac (1563-1627)

Krešteloyac	Mustahfız									Topçu					Azep												Faris												Martolos								Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Mustahfız	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	Topçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Kılavuz	İmam	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Alemdar	İmam	Kılavuz	Faris	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Ser-miye	Kılavuz	Martolos	Total	Daily S.	Soldier	Akçe
1563 (MAD 5413)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1587 (MAD 826)	1	4	1	1	13	15	98	1	–	1	1	4	6	38	2	8	–	2	2	2	1	7	1	47	55	354	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	1	1	1	–	18	104	94	594
1590 (MAD 528)	1	4	1	1	13	15	107	1	–	1	1	4	6	38	2	8	–	2	2	2	1	7	1	47	55	355	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	1	1	1	–	18	107	94	607
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	1	1	–	–	30	32	206	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	32	206
1618 (MAD 681)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1626 (MAD 1942)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	1	1	–	2	20	22	146	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	146
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	1	1	1	2	22	24	175	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	24	175
1643 (MAD 3721)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1646 (MXT 627)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1646 (D.BKL.d- 32182 İcmal)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1665 (KK 4893)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1686 (D.BKL.d 32213)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

4.2.13. Moslavina

The Moslavina fortress was built after the Mongol invasion of 1242 and was located in the area of the same name, bounded by the rivers Česma in the north and west, Lonja in the south, and Ilova in the east. Moslavina became one of the biggest fortresses in the vicinity its construction. Moslavina (Hungarian: Monoszló) is most likely derived from the name of Mojslav, a member of the Croatian tribe Beloša, who were one of the area's rulers. The oldest owner of the Moslavina estate in the 12th century was prefect Makarije, originally from Baranja, to whom the Croatian and Hungarian King Bela III donated this estate. Because of its dense population the economic importance of the area of Moslavina was very high, and its owners were mostly the leading figures of the Kingdom of Hungary. At the beginning of the 14th century, the fortress and the estate became property of the Slavonian ban Ivan Babonić of the Blagaj family. From the end of the 14th to the end of the 15th centuries, the owners of Moslavina was the Čupor Moslavački family. When Stjepan, the last member of the family, died in 1492 without an heir, Croatian and Hungarian King Vladislav II, successor of Matthias Corvinus, donated the estate to Toma Erdödy. Due to the severity of the prolonged Ottoman attacks before its fall, the area of Moslavina was completely deserted, many of its settlements disappeared, and its fortifications were damaged or destroyed. After the Ottoman conquest of Valpovo, Orahovica, Voćin, Pakrac and Bijela Stijena in 1543, Peter II Erdödy abandoned Moslavina in 1545 without a fight. Although the Ottomans have taken control of the entire area of Moslavina, no particular military actions have been recorded in the sources concerning the conquest of the neighboring fortifications of Bršljanovac, Garić, and Jelengrad (Hungarian: Szarvaskő). When the Ottomans abandoned Čazma in 1559, due to the difficulties of maintaining this overly exposed fortress, Moslavina became the westernmost Ottoman fortress for another three decades. During the Long Turkish War (1593 – 1606), Croatian ban Toma II Erdödy recaptured Moslavina after a three-day siege. Although it was captured undamaged, Erdödy decided to demolish it in order to prevent it to become a target of another Ottoman conquest. Following the peace of 1606, when Moslavina became a border fortress on the

Habsburg side, the Croatian Parliament decided to rebuild it. However, its reconstruction was never completed.[469]

The oldest Ottoman archival document I have found relating to the Moslavina fort is a *mukataa* record of November 1548.[470] On the other hand, the last document is a roll call register of 1590, just before the fortress was recaptured by Erdödy.[471] According to the Ottoman records, the fortress was repaired once, at the end of 1583, and in the document, it was defined as a *palanka*.[472]

Following the loss of the Čazma fortress, Moslavina became the closest Ottoman fortress to the Habsburg border in Western Slavonia. The Ottomans had to organize the Moslavina fortress as the largest fortification in the region, as well as most complex according to its garrison composition, since it was the most important obstacle against enemy attacks. According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1563, Moslavina had the largest and most diversified garrison in the whole sancak. In addition to the four essential frontier units, *mustahfiz*, *topçu*, *azeb*, and *faris*, there was also a müteferrika unit which consisted of craftsmen, religious officials, and technicians in the Moslavina fortress.

According to the *mevacib defter* dated 1563, the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz* consisted of six *oda*s. *Dizdar* and *kethuda* were military officers, and a *kılavuz* was serving as an auxiliary. The unit, which had 58 soldiers in total, was paid 318 *akçe*s per day. Although it was commonly found in the larger strongholds of the other eyalet's fortifications, in the Zaçasna sancak, only the Moslavina garrison had this exclusive unit. The number of soldiers in the *muteferrika cemaat* that we see for the first time in was relatively small. In this cemaat, an imam, a muezzin, a haddad, a meremmetçi, an anbari, a bevvab, a neccar, and an unidentified official were serving apart from the other garrison troops. The daily salary paid to the *cemaat* with a total of nine members was 55 *akçe*s. The *cemaat* of *topçu*s consisted of a *ser-topi* and seven *topçu*s, and the daily salary paid to them was 54 *akçe*s.[473]

[469] Branko Nadilo, "Ostaci Obrambenih Građevina na Području Moslavine", *Građevinar*, 54, 2004, 649-651; Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, 111.
[470] AE.SSÜL.I. 4, 257/2.
[471] MAD.d. 528.
[472] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 52, 245/642, nr. 53, 115/322.
[473] MAD.d. 5413, 127-129.

The number of *azeb*s and *fari*ses serving in the fortress was the same. While the *cemaat* of *azeb*s had a wider capacity in terms of officers, the only officer of the *fari*ses was a *farisan ağa*. The *cemaat* of *azeb*s consisted of two *oda*s, and the daily amount of *akçe*s paid to a total of 25 *azeb*s was 134 *akçe*s. On the other hand, the *cemaat* of *fari*ses consisted of three *oda*s, and the daily amount paid to *fari*ses was 172 *akçe*s. The *fari*ses had to cover the expenses of the horses they raised; therefore, the amount paid to them was slightly higher than the amount paid to the *azeb*s.

The *mevacib defter* dated 1587 reveals that important changes were made in the composition of the Moslavina fortress at that time. The total number of soldiers in the fortress decreased to 109, while the *faris* unit was abolished and the *martolos* unit was established instead. The considerable rise in the number of soldiers at the fort of Granica and, in particular, in the fort of Velika, the other two strongholds that formed the frontline of the Sancak of Zaçasna, suggests that the Moslavina fortress served in the scope of Ottoman defense strategies in a different way during this period. The rise in the number of soldiers and the change in the composition of the *cemaat*s in these two aforementioned strongholds indicate that the border's defense responsibility was intended to be divided equally among a line of fortifications rather than to be grouped within a single fortress.

Following the loss of a large number of soldiers, the number of *oda*s in the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es was reduced to five. While 32 soldiers commanded the officers, *dizdar* and *kethuda*, the daily salary paid to them was 223 *akçe*s. The *cemaat* of *muteferrika*s consisted of an *imam*, a *muezzin*, a *haddad*, and a *meremmetçi*, and they were accompanied by three extra officials. Their daily wages were reduced to 41 *akçe*s in total in accordance with their decreasing numbers. The number of soldiers in the *cemaat* of *topçu*s also decreased, to five. The daily salary paid to the unit in which served a s*er-topi*, a *kethuda* and three soldiers was 33 *akçe*s.[474]

In 1587, the number of *azeb* units increased to two, and the number of *oda*s increased to five, while the total number of soldiers increased to 44. This *cemaat*, in which an *ağa*, a *kethuda* and a *reis* served as officers, was paid 257 *akçe*s per day. The *cemaat* of *martolos*es, which we saw for the first time in the fortress, consisted of three *oda*s and a total of 21 soldiers. While the officers

[474] MAD.d. 826, 304-305.

were an *ağa* and a *ser-miye*, two *kılavuz*es also served there. The daily wage paid to them was 106 *akçe*s.[475]

The data about the garrison in Moslavina, which is reflected in the *mevacib defter* dated 1590, is completely the same as it was in the previous *defter*, except for minor differences in the *cemaat* of *azeb*s. While the total number of soldiers in the *cemaat* of *azeb*s remained the same, the number of officers increased to six. Since officer's daily salary was higher than the pay of the ordinary *azeb* soldiers, the total amount of wages paid to this unit also rose to 669 *akçe*s per day.[476]

As a consequence of the instability created on the Ottoman side of the border by the offensive actions of the Hasbsburg/Croatian troops, the Moslavina fortress was abandoned in 1590. The loss of the fortress resulted in the withdrawal of the borderline from the river Česma on towards Ilova and the lower course of the river Lonja, and this new line would be accepted as the new borderline during the Peace of Zsitvatorok in 1606.

[475] MAD.d. 826, 308-316.
[476] MAD.d. 528, 381-393.

Table 14: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Moslavina in 1563

Moslavina	Mustahfız								Müteferrika										Topçu							Azep									Faris							Martolos							Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Kılavuz	Mustahfız	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	İmam	Müezzin	Haddad	Meremmetçi	Anbari	Bevvab	Neccar	Soldier	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Ser-topi	Kethuda	Topçu	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Kapudan (Ağa)	Ağa	Kethuda	Reis	Alemdar	Azep	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Faris	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Oda	Ağa	Ser-miye	Martolos	Total	Daily S.	Soldier	Daily S.
1563 (MAD 5413)	1	6	1	1	1	56	58	318	1	–	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	9	55	1	–	1	–	7	8	54	1	2	–	1	–	1	–	23	25	134	1	3	1	24	25	172	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	125	733
1587 (MAD 826)	1	5	1	1	–	32	34	223	1	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	3	7	41	1	–	1	1	3	5	33	2	5	–	2	1	1	–	39	43	257	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	1	18	20	105	109	659
1590 (MAD 528)	1	5	1	1	1	32	34	223	1	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	3	7	41	1	–	1	1	3	5	32	2	5	–	2	2	1	1	37	43	268	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	1	18	20	105	109	669
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1618 (MAD 681)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1626 (MAD 1942)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1643 (MAD 3721)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1646 (MXT 627)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1646 (D.BKL.d- 32182 İcmal)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1665 (KK 4893)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1686 (D.BKL.d 32213)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

4.2.14. Čaklovac (Çaklovec, Şaklofeç)

The remains of the Čaklovac fort lay on a steep hill on the northern side of Psunj, south of the road Pakrac – Požega and an hour's walk from the village of Dragović. Čaklovac was built as the westernmost fort of the Požega County by the Hungarian nobleman Csák in the late 13th or early 14th century. Its original name was Csáktornya (Csák Tower). Csák rebelled against King Charles (Robert) I of Hungary (1308 – 1342), so in 1317 Charles I seized Csák's estate as a punishment and gave it to the Pakrac Preceptorate, i.e., the Priorate of Vrana. Ivan Paližna, the Prior of Vrana, in 1383 led a revolt against the Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxembourg, whose army captured the fort in 1387. However, the fort remained part of the Pakrac Preceptorate until the end of the 15th century. The fort is mentioned in 1421 as the "Csaktornja" and was owned by the Priorate. Bartol Berislavić Gabarski (years of life unknown) is mentioned as the owner of Čaklovac in 1481. From then on, Čaklovac was held by secular nobles. In 1517, the estate was held by the ban of Jajce, Juraj Stražemanski. A few years later, in 1523, its owner was ban Petar Keglević, and after him it was ruled by Ferenc (Franjo) Tahy, who had the title of governor of the Vrana Priorate. In 1541, King Ferdinand I abolished the Vrana Priorate and handed over all their estates to the Zrinski family, who were the strongest defenders of this area against the Ottomans.[477] In September 1544, joint local Ottoman forces led by Murad Bey of Požega, Ulama Pasha of Bosna and Veli Bey of Herzegovina captured Čaklovac.[478]

Although the fort maintained its position in the early times of the Ottoman conquest of Slavonia, it gradually lost its importance as the Habsburg-Ottoman border moved further to the west. As the Ottomans started to form their own defense policies, the borderline became settled and as a consequence of this, the garrison of Čaklovac was transferred to the Granica fort in February 1574, which was rebuilt in a new location as a *palanka*.[479] Four months later, in May 1574, a decree was sent to the Sancakbey of Zaçasna, in which he was ordered to demolish Čaklovac if it was no longer useful for the defense of its vicinity. After this decree, the fort was evacuated and demolished, as ordered earlier. [480]

[477] Branko Križan, "Srednjovjekovna utvrda Čaklovac (kraj Pakraca)", *Zbornik Povijesnog Društva Pakrac-Lipik*, 6, 2009, 47-56; Gjuro Szabo, "Prilozi za povjesnu topografiju požeške županije", 59.
[478] Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*, 107.
[479] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 23, 297/645.
[480] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 24, 252/669.

The only source I have found regarding the garrison in Čaklovac is a *mevacib defter* dated 1563. As it can be understood from the data in this *defter*, a small unit was serving there, and there was no additional unit in the fort other than the *mustahfiz*es. Their *cemaat* was divided into two *oda*s and there were 16 *mustahfiz*es in total. The daily amount of wage paid to the unit was 81 *akçe*s, while *dizdar* and *kethuda* were the only officers in the fort.[481]

Table 15: Total numbers and daily salaries of the garrison in Čaklovac in1563

Čaklovac	Mustahfız							Topçu			Azep			Faris			Martolos			Total	
	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda	Dizdar	Kethuda	Mustahfız	Total	Daily S.	Cemaat	Bölük/Oda		Cemaat	Bölük/Oda		Cemaat	Bölük/Oda		Cemaat	Bölük/Oda		Soldier	Daily S.
1563 (MAD 5413)	1	2	1	1	14	16	81	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16	81
1587 (MAD 826)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1590 (MAD 528)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1618 (MAD 681)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1626 (MAD 1942)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1627 (TS.MA.d. 1356)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1615-1620? (MAD 5279)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1643 (MAD 3721)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1646 (MXT 627)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1646 (D.BKL.d- 32182 İcmal)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1665 (KK 4893)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1683 (D.BKL.d 32208)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1686 (D.BKL.d 32213)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[481] MAD.d. 5473, 101.

5. CONSTRUCTING, SUPPLYING AND FINANCING THE GARRISONS

Researching how, how much, and with which resources the Ottoman garrisons were constructed and supplied throughout the 16th and 17th centuries proved to be the most challenging part of this study. The reason for that is not being able to establish a consistent narrative due to the scarcity of relevant documents. Since I began studying sources for my dissertation, this chapter has been the one that I have spent the most time on. Unfortunately, this is the part of the dissertation that needs even more facts and data to comprehend this subject thoroughly. Throughout the time that I have worked on other chapters, I continued to go to the Ottoman archives in Istanbul on a regular basis in the hope of discovering additional materials relevant for the topic of the present chapter. However, I have not made much progress on this front because the Eyalet of Bosnia and its border remained of secondary significance to the Ottoman central administration in comparison to the Hungarian frontier. Furthermore, due to the destruction of the resources kept in the local archives during wartime, especially during the war of 1684 – 1699, we have lost the chance to examine the underlying dynamics of the geographical area of Western Slavonia in greater depth. Therefore, we can only shed light on the circumstances in certain periods by using the pieces of information reflected in the central archives. Despite these limitations, I believe that the findings of this chapter will be beneficial for future researches.

5.1. Construction Policies

Constructions such as repair, modernization, or building of new forts on the Habsburg side of the border were the result of joint processes agreed upon after a series of expert opinions, reports, and meetings. On the other hand, due to the scarcity of the sources on the Ottoman side, we can only draw some partial conclusions about how similar processes were organized in the Ottoman territories of the Eyalet of Bosnia. For the Ottomans, the *sancakbeyi*s were undoubtedly the first officials authorized for such matters. According to the documents, the *sancakbeyi*s would inform the center about the present situation on the borders and would offer their suggestions and solutions, which were usually approved by the high-ranking officers such as *beylerbeyi* of the

respective eyalet and the central administrators in Istanbul. Following this standard procedure, which of course had to be compatible with the financial conditions of the time, could be put into practice by local officials under the supervision of a higher authority. Unfortunately, the available sources do not provide specific information on who were the decision-makers, what kind of plans or drafts were prepared, which architects were employed, or in what time the work was completed.

Bearing in mind this general lack of information, we can, however, still draw some important conclusions in light of archival records about the construction activities in the Sancak of Zaçasna. The Ottomans started to reinforce the conquered pre-existing fortifications in Slavonia as early as the 1540s and continued to repair and maintain them until the end of the 1680s, i.e., until the very end of the Ottoman rule in this area. According to the details in the available sources, the forts in Slavonia were in better condition and were more carefully maintained than the fortifications in the Sancaks of Klis and Krka.[482]

The main aim of the construction or repair in the Sancak of Zaçasna was to defend the frontier with multiple lines of fortifications, preferably at equal distances from one another.[483] Improving the security of rivers and roads which were in close proximity to the Habsburg border was another important aim. However, for the Ottomans, the construction activities were mainly dependent on whether the local civilians could be engaged in the construction activities. Moving the borders forward was always the first goal for the Ottomans; however, this goal changes in last decade of the 16th century, when the Ottoman advance came to a standstill. Besides the garrisons that were deployed along the borders, the Ottomans used semi-nomadicpopulation, especially the Vlachs, for the protection of the borders in return for some tax advantages in sancak of Zaçasna. Therefore, securing the livelihood of these people along with other civilian population in the area was an important step towards establishing a viable defense system. This process was usually

[482] D.BKL.d. 32182, 8-9. In total 9 of the 17 fortresses in the Sancaks of Klis and Krka were recorded as being "in ruins" by the Ottoman scribe in 1646.

[483] In the case of Hungary, construction activities had three main aims. The first aim was to defend the Ottoman-Hungarian borders with several rows of forts, preferably equidistant from each other. The second aim was to defend provincial centers, especially Buda and Timişoara, while the third and final aim was to increase the safety of rivers and roads by constructing a large number of small *palanka*s. More detailed information please see: Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018, 85-92.

called the "reviving" (*şenlendirme*) in Ottoman parlance, and it helped to alleviate the lack of manpower and security in war-stricken regions such as the Sancak of Zaçasna.[484]

5.2. Fortification Types in the Sancak of Zaçasna

The terminology that was used to describe a stronghold in Ottoman archival sources changed over time, particularly after the 1580s. There are only three types of military fortifications in the Sancak of Zaçasna that I have come across in the archive materials: *kale* (fort, fortress), *palanka* or *parkan* (stockade/palisade), and *kule* (tower). Because of the ambiguity in the way the latter term is used in (Ottoman) Turkish, it is quite difficult to define the term *kale* and explain to which term(s) it corresponds in English. All kinds of fortified structures are described as *kale* in the archival documents, and this fact causes some confusion. The word *kale* is derived from the Arabic word *kal'a*, which means "to uproot", "to scrape". In this regard, *kale* means a big piece of rock or a cloud-like mountain that cannot be climbed.[485] In a broader sense, a fort(ress) is any defensive structure that is used to protect a location or an inhabited place. The first aim of building a fortress was to protect the area from enemy attacks in a firm, safe, permanent, or even short-term way. In peacetime, they guarded the security of populated, fortified places; and during the enemy's attack, they were the mainstay of active defense, with which the defenders were to stop and repel enemy attacks. The fort can therefore be a well-chosen position of nature (a high rock, a cave, a river, a seashore, or an islet on a lake, very often on a swampy soil surrounded by spilled waters such as a stream) or a military construction. A fortress was a large and permanent fortification, mostly including a varoš or town. A fort, on the other hand, a fort was a fortified place occupied only by troops and surrounded by such works as a ditch, rampart, and parapet.[486]

Among the 15 fortifications in which the Ottomans stationed a garrison in the Sancak of Zaçasna, only five of them (Gradiška, Kraljeva Velika, Pakrac, Sirač, and Moslavina) could be

[484] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 7, 210/581; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 36, 207/556; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 51, 68/212. For further information see: Nenad Moačanin, Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690, Leiden-Boston, Brill 2006.
[485] Semavi Eyice, "Kale", in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 24, Ankara, 2001, 234.
[486] Milan Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, Zagreb, Institut za suvremenu povijest, 1995, 13. From now on, the term fortress will be used instead of kale. For further information on the size and functions of the fortifications in the Sancak of Zaçasna see chapter 4.

defined as fortresses in terms of size and the task they undertook, while the remaining nine strongholds are more accurate to define as forts.

Palanka is the Hungarian equivalent of the terms *palanca* in Italian and *palanque* in French. These terms refer to a small fort surrounded by defensive walls built of wooden stakes.[487] The first examples of fortifications that can be considered as *palanka*s can be found in the early periods of the Ottoman Empire. During sieges that were expected to last a long time, the Ottoman forces would build a wooden fortified place called a *havale* (wooden fence, palisade) and would station a garrison there. These types of palisades were used in the later periods as well but not with the same frequency as in the earlier period. *Palanka*s were particularly seen on both sides of the Hungarian and Bosnian borders, and the Ottomans used such fortifications frequently from the fourteenth to the late nineteenth century.[488] *Palanka*s were built mostly from simple wooden components, and partly from double-thick or tripple-thick wooden layers. These wooden parts were brought together with mortar and were filled in with dirt, and they were also equipped by bastions on the corners of the edifice. These bastions were called *čardak*s (a wooden edifice erected on four or more tall wooden pillars) and were added as an element of defense and protection. *Palanka*s were mostly rectangular, and their walls were defended by a deep protective ditch.[489]

When the Ottomans captured strongholds, they consistently named them *kale,* even if they were small or had been badly fortified. However, they started to address them as *palanka* or *parkan* after they repaired or fortified them, even if they originally had stone-built ramparts and/or foundations. This is because the fortifications or reinforcements made by the Ottomans, such as adding towers, repairing walls, and building facilities, were predominantly made of wood.[490] Following the inclusion of these wooden components, the Ottoman officials began to name these fortifications *palanka*s as well. It should be noted that the Ottomans never preferred

[487] Yaşar Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, Vol. 4, İstanbul, Ötüken Neşriyat, 2007, 3.757; Silâhdâr Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa. *Nusretnâme İnceleme-Metin (1106-1133/1695-1721),* prep.by Mehmet Topal, Ankara, Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2018, 306; Semavi Eyice, "Kale", 234.

[488] Burcu Özgüven, "Palanka Forts and Construction Activity in the Late Ottoman Balkans", *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock, London, Oxford University Press, 2009, 171-187.

[489] Burcu Özgüven, "The Palanka: A Characteristic Building Type of the Ottoman Fortification Network in Hungary", EJOS– Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies, Proceedings of the XIth International Congress of Turkish Art, Utrecht – The Netherlands, no. 34, Vol. IV, 2001, 1-12; Milan Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, 38.

[490] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 26, 157/414; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 53, 115/322; The same was true for the Ottoman fortresses in Hungary, see: Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018, 85.

one of these terms to another, and these three terms were used interchangeably throughout the period in question without making any notable distinction. Although *palanka* and *parkan* are used interchangeably in the achieve records and literature, Sertoğlu claims that the latter was smaller.[491]

Square, circular, or semicircular towers were built as separate fortifications or outposts of fortresses. Circular towers had an advantage over square towers, which were more easily damaged and torn down by cannonballs. On both the Habsburg/Croatian and the Ottoman side of the border, there were towers that actually had the role of watchtowers. These were mostly circular in plan, and provided shelter to a smaller border guard unit whose task was to monitor and investigate the movement of enemy troops or plunderers such as *martolos*es.[492]

According to a decree dated May 18, 1574, the *dizdar* of the Međurić fort informed the Istanbul headquarters that the fort, which took on an important responsibility of protecting the borders, was dilapidated and a wooden tower should be built for better protection. In the response, it was ordered that the necessary wood should be provided by the civilians of the area and the tower should be built by voluntary work (*imece*). the local Ottoman unit was ordered to strictly avoid maltreating the locals; otherwise, they would be severely punished. Unfortunately, the document does not provide more information about the tower's length, width, shape, etc.[493]

5.3. Construction Activities

For the period before 1699, there is limited information about the construction, repair, and maintenance of the Ottoman fortresses and other fortifications in the Bosnian Eyalet. The crux of the problem is that finding detailed information is rather difficult because documents held in the Ottoman archives in Istanbul only include fragments of data. Since the construction and maintenance costs of the fortifications were not recorded in the central treasury expenditures, the effect on the overall cost of the frontier expenses is hard to determine. I was unable to gather consistent information on this subject as a result of the aforementioned destruction of the local Ottoman archives during times of war. In the Bosnian Eyalet, the costs of building and repair of

[491] Midhat Sertoğlu, *Osmanlı Tarih Lügatı*, İstanbul, Kurtuba Kitap, 2015, 458.
[492] Kruhek, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, 23, 26.
[493] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 26, 157/414.

the fortifications were mainly met by the local treasury through such revenues as *mukataa*,[494] *avarız*,[495] *bedel-i nüzûl*,[496] *bedel-i sürsat*[497] and/or *cizye*[498], which were mostly allocated for the local expenditures. With the loss of these records, we are unfortunately incapable of providing consistent data for the period before the Treaty of Karlowitz.

It should be noted that local allocation was not the only way to meet such costs. Doubtlessly, payments were made from the central treasury to be used for such concerns as well. However, the Ottoman bureaucracy was generally not willing to apply such practice, in order to minimize the outflow of money from the central treasury.

Besides these sources, in certain instances the *sancakbeyi*s themselves were asked to reimburse the expenditures in exchange for their own benefits.[499] Another method of meeting costs was to assign locals to do these works in exchange for tax easements (*tekâlifden muaf olmak şartıyla*) or to have this work done for free (*imece tarikiyle*) by the locals of the region where the fortress was located. Finally, one of the common methods used by the Ottomans was to engage the local Christian population that was employed as *cerahor*s[500] or a day-laborers (*ırgad*) to do these tasks.[501]

5.4. Military Construction in the Sancak of Zaçasna

The data I have obtained from archival records during the time period in question, which is roughly from the second quarter of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century, correspond fully to the relevant section in an early *kanunname* of the Sancak of Bosnia from 1491.

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[494] A term expressing the tax revenue unit within Ottoman finance which was farmed out for a certain period of years for a fixed sum.
[495] The *avarız* tax was a one-time levy that was generally collected during times of war if it was necessary for the state treasury. However, as a result of continuous wars, this tax became a standard yearly tax.
[496] *Bedel-i nüzul* refers to a tax levied on grains such as wheat and barley, in order to meet the food demands of the Ottoman army during a campaign.
[497] *Sürsat* was an obligation similar to *nüzûl*, but unlike the latter, it included other substances besides wheat and barley, such as oil, honey, sheep, bread, straw, grass, wood, etc. Taxpayers were compelled to sell the aforementioned substances at a price below the market value, which was determined by the state.
[498] Cizye or poll tax was a tax in principle per capita, yet often per household (hane) on non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.
[499] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 36, 207/556.
[500] *Cerahor*s were local Christian inhabitants who were gathered to be employed as low-wage laborers in the construction of fortresses, bridges, roads, etc.
[501] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr.7, 210/ 581, A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 16, 165/317; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr.36, 288/761; İE.AS., 8/734; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 98, 84/258.

This section contains detailed information on how to carry out tasks such as repair and maintenance of fortifications. The following passage contains a short translation of the mentioned section: "The fortifications along the borders should be repaired by the *cerahor*s hired from the surrounding areas. The workers who have been assigned as repairmen and carpenters to the fortresses of the Bosnian province should be summoned, and then the strongholds should be repaired or built by the architect who receives his salary as a *timar* allocation. Finally, the treasury should meet the repair costs, and local commanders must not levy any unjust imposition on the subjects."[502] This article, according to relevant data, was used as the foundation for all forms of construction work, first in the Sancak of Bosnia until 1580 and then in the Bosnian Eyalet.

Most of the documents concerning the fortress fortification works that were carried out in the Sancak of Zaçasna are copies of decrees sent from the Istanbul center to the *sancakbeyi*s and *kadı*s of this sancak. Although the information in these documents is far from providing detailed data, after examining them, I concluded that the Istanbul usually ordered construction to be done in accordance with the instructions in the above article.[503] However, an account book which was composed just after the foundation of the Sancak of Zaçasna holds a special place as it is the only source that contains detailed data about the topic in question.

MAD 55, dated January 1556, contains highly valuable repair records for the Zaçasna, Velika, and Pakrac fortresses and provides us very useful information, such as the materials used during the repair of the fortress, the profession of workers employed, and where the necessary finances and materials were met. According to the data in this *defter*, the necessary financing for the repair of the fortresses was met by three separate sources. The largest of these sources was 70.000 *akçe*s paid by the *kadı* of Sarajevo. Unfortunately, there is no explanation for this payment or what was the source of the *kadı*'s money in question. The second financing source that was allocated to be spent on these repairs is rather interesting. According to the defter, 50.593 *akçe*s, which was a rather large amount, originated "from the money of some captives who were taken out of the Zaçasna fortress". Again, there is no precise information on the identities, age, or social status of these captives. The third and last financing source, 10.000 *akçe*s, came from the *mukataa*

[502] Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri: VI. Kitap Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri Kanunnameleri: II. Kısım Kanunî Devri Eyalet Kanunnameleri (II)*, İstanbul, Fey Vakfı, 1993, 443.
[503] A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 14, 262/373; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 19, 128/272; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 21, 34/95; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 23, 297/645; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 24, 252/669; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 26, 16/47; A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 52, 245/642; nr. 53 /322.

obtained by leasing a Sava wharf to a private entrepreneur Süleyman *emin* (a trustee; a custodian; a collector).[504] It is also worth remembering that there might be additional sources that were not included in this *defter* that were likely to have come from other state revenues as well.

MAD 55 provides us with detailed information about the building material that was used for fortress repair. The repair materials vary and can be listed as follows: plates, various nails, unwrought iron, steel, shovels, trowels, hoes, coatings, lead, sulphur, and lime.[505] The total amount of money paid for the construction materials used in the Zaçasna, Velika, and Pakrac fortresses was 18,283 *akçe*s.[506]

As mentioned above, we cannot determine the total number of people working in construction, as the works were often done by local people in exchange for a tax easements or on a voluntary basis. However, we know that, apart from the locals, various state officials from the military class (*zaim*s, *sipahi*s, *ağa*s of *azeb*s and *fari*ses, etc., were involved in the repair procedures.[507] Nevertheless, bearing in mind that these individuals appear in the documents produced by the state apparatus only when they are promoted or rewarded in exchange for their services, the available numbers might be misleading or far from presenting the real numbers.

According to MAD 55, five main day-labourer groups were employed to repair the strongholds:[508] *arabacı*s,[509] *bargiran*s,[510] *benna*s,[511] *neccar*s,[512] and *ırgad*.[513]. While 32 *neccar*s, 33 *arabacı*s, 9 *bargiran*s, and 180 *ırgad* were employed in the Pakrac fortress, the amount of money paid to them was 9,866 *akçe*s. Furthermore, 100 *neccar*s and *benna*s, 250 *arabacı*s, 200 *ırgad* and an unspecified number of *bargiran*s worked in the Velika fortress. The amount paid to them was 10,848 *akçe*s in total. Finally, 39 *benna*s and *neccar*s and 113 *ırgad* served in the Zaçasna fortress, where the amount paid to them was 11,704 *akçe*s.[514]

[504] MAD.d. 55, 124b.
[505] MAD.d. 55, 125b-126a.
[506] MAD.d. 55, 125b-126a.
[507] MAD.d. 675, 122-123; C.TZ.11.508, 001.
[508] Bearing in mind that the translation of these terms often causes semantic shifts, I decided to use the original terms.
[509] A cartwright, a waggoneer.
[510] A man who hires out horses; a man in attendance of hired horses.
[511] A builder, regardless whether an architect, a carpenter or a mason.
[512] A carpenter; a man who does rough woodwork on the doors and windows, etc. of buildings.
[513] A laborer, a day-laborer.
[514] MAD.d. 55, 125b-126a.

5.5. Weapons

There is very limited information on which weapons were used and how the Ottoman garrisons in the Sancak of Zaçasna received military supplies. Unfortunately, we lack the necessary data to determine what kind of weaponry was found in which fortification and in what quantities. However, based on some references in the documents, it is possible to identify the types of weapons used in Ottoman fortresses in Slavonia. According to the earliest source, a *mühimme defter* from the Topkapı Palace Museum (*Koğuşlar 888*), in 1552 in the Virovitica fortress there were following weapons: one *bacaluşka*, three *kanon*s, ten *darbzen*s, two *top*s, some *şakalo*zes, and unknown quantity of rifles.[515]

Bacaluşka was one of the most popular and widely used Ottoman siege/fortress cannons. They were written in Ottoman sources with numerous variations: *baciliska*, *bacaluşka*, *bacaloşka*, *badaluşka*, *badoluşka*, *badoloşka*, and *bedoloşka*, which are the distorted forms of the word *basilisk*. While small *bacaluşka*s could shoot cannonballs weighing 1–14 kg, large *bacaluşka*s could shoot cannonballs weighing 17–28 kg. The lengths of the *bacaluşka*s ranged between 198–220 and 396–440 cm, and the average weight of the *bacaluşka*s that were produced in the main Ottoman cannon foundry Tophane in Istanbul between 1522 and 1526 was 4,193 kilograms.[516]

The term *kanon* most likely derives from the old French word *canon*, whereas the type of *bacaluşka* that shoots smaller cannonballs was called "*kanon topu*" by the Ottomans.[517]

Darbzen, which is a combination of the Arabic word *darb* and the Persian word *zen*, means "the one that strikes a blow". These cannons, which were also called *darbuzan* or *zarbzen*, were one of the most common weapons used by the Ottomans as field guns during their campaigns. They were used in sieges and for defense as well, in large numbers. These cannons were smaller than the *bacaluşka*s and weighed 54 kg. Their length was 132-154 cm, and they could shoot a small cannonball weighing only 150 grams. These small cannons were easy to transport,

[515] Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, *Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való: a szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei, 1544-1545, 1552*, Budapest MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005, 601-602.
[516] Gábor Ágoston, "*Barut, Top ve Tüfek. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Askeri Gücü ve Silah Sanayisi*", trans. by Tanju Akad, İstanbul, Kitap Yayınevi, 2006, 113-116; Salim Aydüz, "*XV. ve XVI. Yüzyılda Tophane-i Amire ve Top Döküm Teknolojisi*", Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006, 361-365.
[517] Salim Aydüz, "*XV. ve XVI. Yüzyılda Tophane-i Amire ve Top Döküm Teknolojisi*", 367; Agoston Gabor. *ibid*, 116.

and two of them could be loaded onto a horse or a camel at the same time. Because they were easy to manufacture, they were produced in Smederevo and Belgrade, as well as in Istanbul.[518]

Şakaloz derives from *szakallas*, which is the Hungarian equivalent of the German term *Hackenbüchse* and was used to describe a handgun with a heavy bore and hook. The hook was used to fix the ball in place in order to prevent strong recoil. Like the *szakallas* in the Hungarian strongholds, the *şakaloz*es were the most common weapons in the Ottoman fortresses. Almost half of the cannons recorded in the Belgrade fortress in 1536 consisted of *şakaloz*es, and there were 900 *şakaloz*es in the Smederevo (Semendire) fortress in the same year. *Şakaloz*es, together with one or two cannons, were the only weapons accessible to the defenders of the Empire's minor forts. In Hungarian fortresses, *szakallas* were a significant part of the arsenals, and an inventory from 1577 reveals that there were 4,500 *szakallas* in 46 Hungarian fortifications.[519]

Prangi was a small Ottoman gun firing shells weighing 150 grams. The Ottomans used the prangis from the mid-fifteenth century in their fortifications, where the prangis often comprised the majority of the cannons. In the Ottoman sources, it also appears under the names prankı, pirankı, parangi, pranga, pranku, prangu, and parangu. It was derived from the Italian or Spanish word braga, which is short for petriero a barga, a small breech-loading swivel gun.[520] For the Ottoman fortifications in the borders, prangis were mention in spy reports by Georgiceo (Jurjevi) from 1625–1626. According to Nenad Moačanin this form of artillery was not specifically used for field combat but rather for alarm, warning other forts and troops that the enemy was approaching. This fact harmonizes with Evliya's statement for the Sancak of Zaçasna as well.[521]

When enlisting new soldiers for the fortresses, the Ottoman authorities would distinguish between soldiers by the ability to use rifles. Also, they would make a distinction between the use of gunpowder for cannons and gunpowder for rifles. These are the signs that prove the use of rifles in the strongholds. However, we do not have any information about the details of the weapons

[518] Salim Aydüz, "*XV. ve XVI. Yüzyılda Tophane-i Amire ve Top Döküm Teknolojisi*", 381-389; Gábor Ágoston, "*Barut, Top ve Tüfek. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Askeri Gücü ve Silah Sanayisi*", 117-120.
[519] Gábor Ágoston, "*Barut, Top ve Tüfek. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Askeri Gücü ve Silah Sanayisi*", 124-125.
[520] Gábor Ágoston, "Firangi, Zarbzan, and Rum Dasturi: The Ottomans and the Diffusion of Firearms in Asia," eds. Pál Fodor, Nándor E. Kovács and Benedek Péri, *Şerefe. Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, Budapest, Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019, 89–104. In Ottoman borderland fortifications, prangis are referenced in spy reports by Georgiceo (Jurjević) from 1625–1626.
[521] I would like to thank Professor Nenad Moačanin for sharing these details with me.

used in defense.[522] Apart from the information about the weapons mentioned above, we currently do not have specific information regarding the armament used in the Ottoman strongholds in Slavonia.

5.6. Supply of Ammunition

The Ottomans had built their supply and distribution hubs for ammunition in Smederevo and Belgrade, both of which were fairly distant from the border. A decree dated March 1585, sent to Beylerbeyi of Budin confirms this fact explicitly: "...the fortress of Smederevo is the key of frontier, and the tools and weapons delivered to the fortresses of [the Eyalets of] Buda and Bosnia were given by the Belgrade warehouse (*mahzen*)..."[523] Almost all the archival documents related to the ammunition supply of the Sancak of Zaçasna mention the fortifications of Smederevo and Belgrade.[524] These two fortifications served as the main ammunition hub not only for Zaçasna but also for the Sancaks of Bosnia, Bihać, and Krka.[525] The Sancaks of Klis and Herzegovina, on the other hand, were mainly supplied through Banja Luka, Srebrenica, and Požega.[526]

According to a sent decree, dated November 1559, following the demolition of the Zaçasna fortress by the Ottomans, six cannons that had been provided from the neighboring fortifications were taken from the Zaçasna and moved to other nearby strongholds.[527] However, the fortress must have had more than six cannons. According to Ottoman records, since it was one of the central strongholds of the area at that time, a large number of soldiers with intense firearm power should have been stationed there. Besides, the Ottoman forces that conquered the Zaçasna fortress continually hit the fortress with artillery fire for two days. These cannons must have been placed in the fortress to defend it afterwards.[528]

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[522] C.AS. 962/41832; İE.AS. 28/2547; MAD.d. 826, 352; Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, *Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való: a szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei, 1544-1545, 1552*, Budapest, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005, 468.
[523] A.DVNS.MHM.d. 55, 217/393.
[524] According to Nenad Moačanin almost certainly the supply with ammunition, bullets, humbaras etc. was coming from the large karhane-i yuvarlak at Banja Luka.
[525] A.DVNS.MHM.d. 9, 71/170; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 12, 317/653; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 12, 628/1192; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 14, 68/83; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 23, 67/139; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 36, 123/348.
[526] A.DVNS.MHM.d. 9, 71/191-1922; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 14, 754/1070-1071; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 27, 365/872; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 48, 131/353; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 69, 210/419.
[527] A.DVNS.MHM.d. 3, 196/551.
[528] Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor. *Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való: a szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei, 1544-1545, 1552*, 627.

According to another decree, dated July 1568, it was reported to the Istanbul center that cannons were needed in a number of undefined forts in the Sancak of Zaçasna. In response, the Istanbul center ordered the *dizdar*s of the Smederevo and Belgrad fortresses to send two medium-sized *darbzen*s and three large-sized *darbzen*s with the necessary cannonballs from the Belgrade fortress.[529] The necessary ammunition and manpower, on the other hand, were deployed from Smederevo and Belgrade and sent to the western border of the Empire via the Danube and the Sava rivers, in July 1568.[530]

5.7. Supply of Provisions

There is no detailed information about how the provisions for the garrisons of the Sancak of Zaçasna were provided. Nevertheless, we have enough data to present some opinions on this subject. To begin with, according to the information I obtained from the *tahrir defter*s, the members of the garrisons were mostly doing agriculture in the arable fields near their fortresses. We can posit that these agricultural activities were for their own use, as well as for commercial purposes.[531] In addition, I have some thoughts regarding the garrisons' provision requirements being met through *sürsat* and *bedel-i nüzul* purchases. In the archive records I have reviewed, the most effective methods of acquiring military supplies for campaigns, yearly purchases, etc., were the two mentioned methods. The fact that numerous decrees sent from the Istanbul center were describing the transport of cereals from Slavonia to different parts of the Eyalet of Bosnia indicates that this territory was a storehose at that period as well as it is in modern times.[532]

The Ottomans regularly monitored the quality of the cannons, ammunition, and supplies held in the fortifications, and they took special care to avoid any negative consequences. The orders sent from the Istanbul center to the *beylerbeyi*s, *sancakbeyi*s, and *kadı*s frequently indicated that if there were any malfunction or corruption, the mentioned local officials would be severely punished, and the controls were to be carried out with extreme caution. Those who deliberately or

[529] A.DVNS.MHM.d. 7, 955/1675.
[530] A.DVNS.MHM.d. 12, 628/1192; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 55, 217/393; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 27, 365/872.
[531] *TT.d. 355*, 74-75; *TT.d. 612*, 82, 104; *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584*, trans. and edit. from the OttomanTurkish by Fazileta Hafizović, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2021, 127-128, 328, 365.
[532] A.DVNS.MHM.d. 7, 920/2525; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 14, 745/1069-1070; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 19, 298/601, A.DVNS.MHM.d. 14, 745/1070.

unintentionally damaged state property were immediately identified and punished, and those who evaded responsibility or abused it were caught even if they had escaped from the area, and subsequently they were forced to compensate for the damage done. Following the inspection, the inventory stock had to be described in detail, documented in a comprehensive list and sent to the Istanbul center in a sealed pouch.[533]

5.8. The Cost of Defense: Financing the Garrisons

The majority of the military expenses of the border sancaks in Slavonia consisted of the salary payments to the garrison troops. The financing of the border fortresses, one of the most successful tasks of the Ottoman financial structure, mainly relied on three different payment methods: *timar* allocations,[534] money transfers (*havale*) from the nearby *mukataa* revenues,[535] and finances that were directly sent from the central treasury. Since the salaried fortresses were too far from the Istanbul center, it was difficult to transfer the collected taxes to the frontier zones. Therefore, the Ottomans used an empire-wide known payment practice known as *havale*.[536] Because the money is used without entering the central treasury, the expenses for fortresses made through *havale* would not appear in the Ottoman annual budgets. On the other hand, financing the garrisons from the central treasury was not the most preferred way, because the Ottoman bureaucrats wanted to prevent money outflow from the central treasury.[537] Furthermore, different branches in the fortresses could be paid via *timar* allocations or *havale*. Commonly, *mustahfiz*es would receive *timar* allocations, and other troops such as *azeb*s and *faris*es were paid in cash.[538]

As a result of successive conquests that lasted until the last decade of the 16th century, the Ottoman borders towards the Habsburg lands were regularly expanded. As old borders turned into inner zones (i.e., the *içil*s into sancaks), the Ottoman authorities began to introduce *timar* allocations as their first and most preferred means of payment for military and other service to the

[533] KK.d. 67, 209; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 60, 95/219; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 78, 627/1619; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 80, 250/622.
[534] TT.d. 672.
[535] MAD.d. 7337.
[536] Havale: Transfer of funds to the garrison from the income sources. Payments were always made in cash with the knowledge of the trustee, the kadi, and the government representative. The kadi gave a hüccet to the supervisor, with the name of the mukataa, its amount, and to whom it was given on what date.
[537] TS.MA.e 873, 38.
[538] Baş, Göksel, "*Ottoman Serhad Organization in the Balkans (1450-1500)*" master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2017, 91-101.

state in areas that were far from enemy threat. One good example of this would be the transformation of payment from salary to *timar* allocation in the garrisons of Osijek, Požega, Sveti Đurađ, Kaptol, Podgorač, Našice, Erdut, Orahovica, Đakovo, Valpovo, and Sveti Mikloš in the Sancak of Požega in 1570.[539]

Contrary to the sultan's standing army (*kapıkulu*), whose salaries were paid from the central treasury, the financing of the salaried troops serving in the border region was met primarily through *mukataa* revenues that were spread in various regions of Rumelia and Bosnia. In the case of a *mukataa*, a tax farmer (*emin*) who promised to pay the treasury a fixed amount would be given the right to collect a certain sum of money from a certain source of state revenue, i.e., *mukataa*. This sum was determined as a rough estimate of what the mentioned source of state revenue would give, and any additional income would become the profit of the tax farmer. Both the treasury and the tax farmer would benefit from this payment method. The officials knew that they could rely on a steady tax income, and the tax farmer was able to keep any earnings beyond the amount he guaranteed, and was able to generate significant profits by raising taxes as well. *Mukataa* revenues could come from a variety of state sources, such as mints, mines, salt-pans, customs, etc.[540] Paying the salaries of the garrison soldiers in this way was both a feasible and practical solution for the state at that period. The payment records of such garrisons were not directly included in the central budget.

In the Ottoman Empire, the salaries (*mevacib*) of officials and paid soldiers were calculated on a daily basis and paid quarterly. The salaries were paid at the end of every three months according to the Hijri year, and these payments were called *kıst* (meaning share, or percent). For the first *kıst*, MASAR was used as an abbreviation of the Islamic months of Muharram, Safar and Rebîülevvel; for the second *kıst*, *RECEC* as an abbreviation of the months of Rebîülâhir, Cemâziyelevvel, and Cemâziyelâhir; *REŞEN* as an abbreviation of the months of Rajab, Shaban, and Ramadan for the third *kıst*; and finally, *LEZEZ* were used as abbreviations for the months of Şevval, Zilkade and Zilhicce.[541] The departments that were under the *Defterdarlık* (Financial Office), *Büyük Kale Kalemi*, *Küçük Kale Kalemi*, and the *Anadolu Muhasebesi* (Anatolian

[539] TT.d. 486, 76-226; A.DVNS.MHM.d 6, 59/124; Nenad Moačanin, *Požega i Požeština u sklopu Osmanlijskog carstva (1537-1691)*, Jastrebarsko, 1997.
[540] Mehmet Genç, "Mukātaa", in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 31, Ankara, 2020, 129-132.
[541] MAD.d. 826; MAD.d. 528.

Accountancy) would manage the transactions related to the payment of the salaries of the garrison across the Empire. Records of salaried groups such as appointments and resignations, deaths, etc. were kept in these departments, and when salary payments were made, account statements were issued here.[542]

Payments to salaried garrisons in the sancak of Zaçasna were also made quarterly but a different practice was followed, corresponding to 238 days per year as in the other sancaks in the Bosnian eyalet. The same fact was seen in the Sancak of Syrmia, Smederevo, and Kruševac as well. The Ottomans referred to this payment method as *gayr-i ez seb'in*, which means that soldiers received only 70% of their salary, while 30% remained in the treasury. Unfortunately, we do not yet know why and when the Ottomans began to use this regulation.[543] Although salary payments are planned to be paid in certain periods, garrison troops on the frontier often have difficulty receiving their pay on a quarterly basis.[544]

The *mukataa defter*s, which contain the records of money transfers paid to the garrisons of the Sancak of Zaçasna are the most detailed financial resources we have.[545] With the exception of a few years, we can acquire detailed records of salary payments from 1543 to 1573 thanks to these *defter*s. Following the expansion of the Ottoman borders towards Croatia, particularly after the 1540s, the fortifications that remained in the inner region started to be financed with the *timar* allocations instead of a salary. As a result of this, their incomes began to be allocated to the new border fortresses. Zaçasna, as a border sancak, was one of the regions where this regulation was practiced. When the financial resources of the garrisons in the Sancak of Zaçasna are studied, it is discovered that the internal revenue sources such as the wharves, customs, granaries, saltworks and fines paid on neglected fields in the *Beylerbeylik* of Rumelia were the primary sources allocated to the salaried garrisons.

The geographic distance between the *mukataa*s and the paid fortresses in the Sancak of Zaçasna is evident. On the other hand, when the information in the Table no. 1 is examined, we see that there are serious fluctuations in the amount of financing that was sent to the garrisons in

[542] Erhan Afyoncu, "Mevâcib", in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 29, Ankara, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2004, 418-420.
[543] Baki Çakır, *Osmanlı Mukataa Sistemi (XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıl)*, İstanbul Kitabevi, 2003, 89-93; Klára Hegyi, *The Ottoman Military Organization in Hungary Fortresses, Fortress Garrisons and Finances*, 2018, 192.
[544] Topkapı Hat 1446, 8; MAD.d. 22300, 3; İE.DH 4/340; A.DVNS.MHM.d. 58, 113/307.
[545] MAD.d. 166, MAD.d. 7337, AE.SSÜL.I. 5/286, AE.SSÜL.I 4/257, D.BMK.AHM.d 22604, AE.SMRD.III 2/68.

the Sancak of Zaçasna. This situation may have arisen for a variety of reasons, such as an unanticipated drop in income, the abnormality brought on by the wars, the allocation of resources to different expenditures, changes in the number of garrisons, etc. We are unable to draw a definitive conclusion due to a lack of accessible resources. The largest source of finance for the garrisons, which can be seen in the tables, was the cash coming from the wharves on the banks of the Danube, which are located today in Romania, Serbia and Bulgaria. A total of twelve wharves, four paddy fields, two saltworks, two granaries, and various sources of income were allocated to the salaries of the garrisons in the Sancak of Zaçasna. When we look at their locations, we can see that the wharves run parallel to the Danube River for a long distance, from Kladovo to Tulcea. After the wharves, particularly saltworks contributed significantly to the financing of the borders. The Pomorie saltworks was an especially large source of income.

Due to insufficient data, it is not possible to determine which of the garrisons in the Sancak of Zaçasna were financed by how many different sources, and also, it is impossible to determine the exact figures in the finances of border protection. However, with the information from the *mevacib defter*s, it is possible to make a rough calculation.

Table 16: Mukataa Sources and Their Present Locations

Ottoman Spelling	Todays' Location
İskele-i Rahova	Oryahovo Wharf
İskele-i Yergöğü	Giurgiu Wharf
İskele-i Tutrakan	Turtukaya Wharf
İskele-i Tulca	Tulcea Wharf
İskele-i İsakçı	Isaccea Wharf
İskele-i Maçin	Măcin Wharf
İskele-i Nigbolu	Nikopol Wharf
İskele-i Küpsi	A Wharf near to Plovdiv
İskele-i Zişţovi	Svishtov Wharf

İskele-i İrşova/Hırşova	Hârşova Wharf
İskele-i Fethülislam	Kladovo Wharf
İskele-i Vidin	Vidin Wharf
Memleha-i Ahyolu	Pomorie Saltworks
Memleha-i Tekfurgölü	Techirghiol Saltworks
Müselman-ı enhar-ı Filibe	Muslims of the rivers of Plovdiv
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe	Income from the rice in Plovdiv
Anbar-ı İstanbul	İstanbul Storehouse
Anbar-ı Varna	Varna Storehouse
Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı -	Income from the rice produced in Pazardzhik
Erz-i nehr-i İbrahim Paşa? - ...	Income from the rice in …?
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Küpsi	Income from the rice in Küpsi
Mukataa-i yava ve kaçgun ve beytü'l-mal ve mal-ı gaib ve mal-ı mefkud gebran ve etrak-ı liva-i Nigbolu	Fines paid on neglected fields from Nikopol

Table 17: Akçe Transferred to Garrisons[546]

Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
Memleha-i Göl-i Tekfur (Şevval-Zilkadeteyn 953)	25.748	**Stupčanica**
Undefined source (955 Lezez)	20.896	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Şevval-Ra. 956) Memleha-i Ahyolu	47.732	
Müselman-ı enhar-ı Filibe (Reşen 960)	10.687	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Lezez 966)	10.777	
Tulca ve İsakçı ve Maçin (Recec 967)		

[546] The defters MAD.d. 166, MAD.d. 7337, AE.SSÜL.I. 5/286, AE.SSÜL.I 4/257, D.BMK.AHM.d 22604, AE.SMRD.III 2/68 were used to collect the data.

İskele-i Silistre (Reşen 967)	15.323	
İskele-i Nigbolu (Lezez 969) Teslimat-ı memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul (Recec, Reşen 969)	54.952	
Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı (Reşen 970)	3.815	
Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı (Recec 971)	9.195	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Recec 975) Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Lezez 975)	31,806	
Erz-i enhar-ı ...? (Recec 976)	10.753	
Erz enhar-ı Filibe (Masar, Lezez 977)	29.664	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
İskele-i Rahova (950)	86.880	**Velika**
Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul ve Varna ve memlaha-i Gölü-i Tekfur ve tevâbiuhâ (Muharrem-C. 955) Memleha-i Göl-i Tekfur (Şevval-Muharrem-C. 955)	20.300	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (953) İskele-i Nigbolu ve Ziştovi maa Makri (953) İskele-i Rahova ve Nigbolu (953) İskele-i Niğbolu ve Ziştovi maa Makri (953)	293.850	
Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul ve Varna ve memlaha-i Gölü-i Tekfur ve tevâbiuhâ (Zilkadeteyn 954)	2.856	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (965)	23.940	
İskele-i Silistre ve Hırsova (967) İskele-i Rahova maa Makri (967) İskele-i Rahova tabi-i Nigbolu (967) İskele-i Nigbolu (967) Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul (Masar, Recec 967)	209.811	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (968)	8.230	
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (969)	7.438	

Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı (970) Müselman-ı Enhar-ı Filibe (970) Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı (970)	17.791	
Müselman-ı enhar-ı Filibe (971)	16.416	
İskele-i Niğbolu (972)	140.220	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe, Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (976) Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (976)	31.036	
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (977) Erz-i enhar-ı Filibe (977) Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (977)	88.808	
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (978)	20.010	
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (979) Erz-i nehr-i İbrahim Paşa tabi-i Tatarpazarı (979)	15.732	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
An-kıst-ı mukataa-i yava ve kaçgun ve beytü'l-mal ve mal-ı gaib ve mal-ı mefkud gebran ve etrak-ı liva-i Nigbolu (Reşen 953)	14.425	**Sirač**
Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul ve anbar-ı Varna ve memlaha-i Göl-i Tekfur ve tevâbiuhâ ve hashâ-i Göl-i Tekfur (Şevval-Rebiülevvel 957)	22.572	
İskele-i Nigbolu ve Ziştovi maa Makri (Muharrem 964)	46.982	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Rebiuahir 965)	13.594	
İskele-i Tulca ve İsakçı ve Maçin (Lezez 966)	14.107	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Reşen 967) İskele-i Vidin (Masar,Recec 967) İskele-i Rahova maa Makri (Lezez 967) İskele-i Rahova (Reşen 967) İskele-i Nigbolu (Masar,Reşen 967)	130.442	
İskele-i Rahova (Reşen Lezez 968)	21.327	

Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Reşen 970) Müselman-ı enhar-ı Filibe (Reşen 970) Müselman-ı enhar-ı Filibe (Reşen 970)	60.681	
Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı (Recec 971)	10.733	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Recec 973)	14.822	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Recec Masar Reşen 975) Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Reşen 975)	27.127	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Recec Masar Reşen 976) Erz enhar-ı Filibe (Reşen 976)	29.356	
Erz-i enhar-ı Filibe (Masar, Lezez, Reşen 977) Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Masar 977)	40.099	
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Lezez 979) Erz-i nehr-i İbrahim Paşa (Lezez 979)	20.454	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul ve Varna ve memlaha-i Gölü-i Tekfur ve tevâbiuhâ (Şevval 955-Ra.956,)	455.325	**Moslavina**
Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul ve Varna ve memlaha-i Gölü-i Tekfur ve tevâbiuhâ (Receb-Zilhicce 957)	28.077	
Memleha-i Ahyolu ve Tekfurgölü ve anbar-ı mahruse-i İstanbul ve hasha-i memleha-i Tekfurgölü (Recec 962)	39.788	
Silistre ve Hırsova (Reşen, Lezez 964)	27.588	
Memleha-i Ahyolu ve Tekfurgölü ve anbar-ı mahruse-i İstanbul ve hasha-i Memleha-i Tekfurgölü (Masar 965)	18.121	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Lezez 966) Memleha-i Ahyolu ve Tekfurgölü ve anbar-ı mahruse-i İstanbul ve hasha-i Memleha-i Tekfurgölü (Masar, Recec, Reşen 966)	200.712	

İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Reşen, Masar 967) İskele-i Nigbolu (Lezez 967) Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul (Recec 967)	281.073	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Lezez 968) İskele-i Silistre ve Hırsova (Lezez, Masar 968)	121.242	
Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul	37.519	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Recec, Masar Lezez 970) İskele-i Rahova maa Makri (Recec 970) Müselman-ı enhar-ı Filibe (970) Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı (Recec, Reşen 970) Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Recec 970)	127.553	
Mukataa-i İskele-i Nigbolu (Masar 972) Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Reşen 972)	41.296	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Şevval-Zilkadeyten, Recec 973)	92.344	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Masar 975)	11.970	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Reşen 976)	11.371	
Mahsul-i erz enhar-ı Filibe (Reşen 977) Mahsul-i erz enhar-ı Küpsi (Masar, Recec 977)	32.745	
Mahsul-i erz enhar-ı Küpsi (Masar, Recec 978)	37.138	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
İskele-i Nigbolu (Masar 952)	32.974	**Pakrac**
Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul ve anbar-ı Varna ve memlaha-i Göl-i Tekfur ve tevâbiuhâ ve hashâ-i Göl-i Tekfur (Rebiülahir-C. 960)	10.000	
İskele-i Nigbolu ve Ziştovi maa Makriye (Recec, Muharrem 964)	55.450	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Lezez 966)	13. 135	

İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Masar 967) İskele-i Silistre ve Hırsova (Reşen 967) İskele-i Silistre ve Hırsova (Masar 967) İskele-i Rahova (Recec 967) İskele-i Nigbolu (Masar 967) Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul (Recec 967)	159.411	
Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı (Masar 970) Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı (Reşen 970) Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Reşen 970)	49.527	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Recec 973)	17.611	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Ra 975)	6.840	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Reşen 976)	9.661	
Erz-i nehr-i İbrahim Paşa (Recec 977) Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Masar 977) Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Reşen 977)	60.491	
Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı (Lezez 978)	7.351	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
İskele-i Vidin, Fethülislam ve mahsul-i karye-i İrşova (Ca.)	70.000	**Zaçasna**
İskele-i Nigbolu ve Ziştovi maa Makariye (Receb, Şaban 961)	10.000	
İskele-i Silistre ve Hırsova (963) Anbar-ı İstanbul (963)	47.710	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Zilkadeyten 964) İskele-i Silistre ve Hırsova (Lezez 964) İskele-i Silistre ve Hırsova (Masar 964) İskele-i Rahova maa Makri (Recec 964) İskele-i Nigbolu ve Ziştovi maa Makri (Muharrem 964) Anbar-ı İstanbul (Recec 964)	473.355	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Recec 965)		

Mukataa-i İskele-i Nigbolu (Reşen 965) Anbar-ı İstanbul	378.634	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Reşen 966)	14.371	**Granica**
İskele-i Rahova (Reşen 967) Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi Memleha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul (Lezez-Recec 967)	72.322	
Memleha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul (Reşen-Recec 969)	30.868	
Müselman-ı enhar-ı Filibe (Reşen 971)	10.244	
İskele-i Nigbolu (Masar 972)	37.983	
Erz-i enhar-ı Filibe (Lezez 977)	7.524	
Erz-i nehr-i İbrahim Paşa (Lezez 979)	28.084	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul ve anbar-ı Varna ve memlaha-i Göl-i Tekfur ve tevâbiuhâ ve hashâ-i Göl-i Tekfur (Rebiülevvel-C. 960)	530	**Čaklovac**
İskele-i Nigbolu ve Ziştovi maa Makri(Zilkadeteyn 963)	9.181	
İskele-i Nigbolu ve Ziştovi maa Makri(Muharrem 964)	19.646	
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Recec 967) Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul ve anbar-ı Varna ve memlaha-i Göl-i Tekfur ve tevâbiuhâ ve hashâ-i Göl-i Tekfur (Masar 967)	11.261	
Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpazarı (Reşen 970)	6.460	
İskele-i Nigbolu (Masar 972)	6.644	
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Masar 975)	4.159	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**

Memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul ve anbar-ı Varna ve memlaha-i Göl-i Tekfur ve tevâbiuhâ ve hashâ-i Göl-i Tekfur (Şevval-Zilkadeteyn 957)	12.666	**Bijela Stijena**
İskele-i Yergögü ve Tutrakan (Lezez 969-Masar 970)	14.371	
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Masar 977)	6.012	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
Müselman-ı enhar-ı Filibe (Reşen 970)	5.762	**Cernik**
İskele-i Niğbolu (Masar 972)	5.506	
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Şevval 978)	15.399	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
Teslimat-ı memlaha-i Ahyolu ve anbar-ı İstanbul (Reşen-Lezez 968)	47.741	**Parkan-ı Gradiška**
Erz-i enhar-ı Tatarpaşa (Lezez 970)	9.083	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Recec 975)	8.800	**Međurić**
Erz-i nehr-i İbrahim Paşa (Zilkadeteyn 979) Erz-i nehr-i İbrahim Paşa (Lezez 979)	21.053	
Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Recec 973)	11.000	**Podborje**
Çeltük-i enhar-ı Filibe ve Tatarpazarı ve Küpsi (Masar 975) İskele-i Niğbolu (Masar 975) Erz-i nehr-i İbrahim Paşa (Reşen 975)	33.097	
Erz-i nehr-i İbrahim Paşa (Recec 977)	18.066	
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Recec 978)	11.623	
Erz-i nehr-i İbrahim Paşa (Recec-Masar 981)	43.797	

Mukataa Sources	**In Total**	**Transferred to**
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Reşen 975)	8.009	**Zdenci**
Erz-i enhar-ı ...? (Masar 976)	6.840	
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Reşen, Recec, Lezez, Muharrem-Ca. 977) Erz-i Enhar-ı Filibe (Lezez 977)	70.420	
Erz-i enhar-ı Küpsi (Recec 978)	19.349	

6. CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I tried to define and analyze the defensive and offensive capabilities of Ottoman military formations in Western Slavonia from the middle of the 16th century to the end of the 17th century. In addition, another objective of this study was to make a comparison between the Ottoman and Habsburg military systems in Slavonia and to draw conclusions regarding the parallels and differences between the defensive strategies utilized by the two empires in this region.

To gain a better understanding of the underlying conditions of defensive dynamics in the Sancak of Zaçasna, I first focused on the socio-economic characteristics of a border sancak on an Ottoman frontier. Therefore, I tried to provide detailed information about the conquest of the territory of the sancak, its establishment, development process, special conditions, and economic prospects. In the strategic sense, Slavonia was very important for the security of the northwestern borders of the Ottoman Empire in general and the Bosnian Eyalet in particular. In the military sense, it represented the furthermost borderland, i.e., *intiha-i serhad*, in which the main aim was to expel or to enslave the population and destroy their material culture and economic resources. This phenomenon is mainly known as "small war" i.e., "*mali rat*" (in Croatian).

By approaching the topic from two different angles, I tried to understand the nature of the defense system formed by the Ottomans in Western Slavonia. The first step was to understand the origins and limits of the defense strategy that central and local authorities developed as a result of joint policy making. The second step was to reveal the organization of the defense elements of the Sancak of Zaçasna via examining its military structures, the size and composition of garrisons, the methods of supplying munitions and supplies, and cost of the defense. The Ottoman ruling elite, which was aware of this constant nature of war in the region, established a defensive strategy there, based on a chain of forts running along two long parallel lines. This system developed gradually during the 16th century, as the Ottomans conquered and built or remodeled individual fortifications and stationed garrisons. The first defense line stretched from the northeast to the southwest, passing through the forts of Zdenci, Krestelovac, Međurić, Granica, and ending in the Kraljeva Velika fortress. The second line, like the first, ran from the northeast to the southwest, passing through the forts of Stupčanica, Dobra Kuća, Podborje, Sirač, Pakrac, and Bijela Stijena. The

center of the sancak during the 17th century, Cernik, was well behind these two lines in a secure location.

The first step of forming a defense strategy was to station garrisons in the newly conquered fortifications. The Ottoman local military elite in Slavonia did not struggle to find the necessary manpower and financial means as the Croatian-Slavonian nobility did. They organized the conquered lands into an Ottoman type of frontier (*serhad*). Unlike on the Habsburg side of the frontier, in the Ottoman *serhad*, nearly the entire population, regardless of their religion and social status, was involved in the military system in various ways and participated in the defense in exchange for certain tax easements.

Analysis of the sources, on the other hand, showed that Croatian-Slavonian military leaders had already planned a similar strategy before the Ottomans conquered the area in the early 16th century. The number of forts that they demanded to be fortified by the Habsburg ruler and the number of soldiers they required for a strong defense were very close to the number of Ottoman fortified places and garrisons stationed in the area. "However, the Croatian-Slavonian local elite lacked the necessary manpower and financial resources that the Ottman commanders possessed. Nevertheless, these circumstances chaged during the 17th century. In the years leading up to the 1680s, the Habsburgs and Croatian-Slavonian elite were able to build up their forces and finances to a level that enabled them to engage the Ottomans successfully, and in the end, they were able to defeat the Ottomans in a very short time. This is why, after the Battle of Vienna in 1683, Ottoman border system in Slavonia began to collapse. By the year 1691, it had been completely overrun byHabsburg forces. Consequently, in the years leading up to the 1680s, the Habsburgs and the Croatian-Slavonian elite were able to build up their forces and finances to a level that enabled them to engage the Ottomans successfully, and in the end, they were able to defeat the Ottomans in a very short time. In this case, understanding the reasons for the success of the Ottoman local military offensive against the Croatian-Slavonian military elite on the Bosnia-Croatian borderline or attempting to determine what Croatia and Slavonia did correctly over a century emerges as a new research area.

The composition, size, and development of the garrisons stationed in the Sancak of Zaçasna during a period of around 140 years provide an insight into the Ottomans' regional policies. The Ottoman military border in the Sancak of Zaçasna was formed in three phases: a) settlement for further

conquests, b) stabilization after The Long Turkish War, and c) prioritizing defense by increasing garrison capacities after 1640. It should be noted that the defensive strategy that the Ottomans applied in Western Slavonia was not unique to Zaçasna or, in a broader sense, to all of their European lands. Thanks to archival sources, we know that there were paid (*ulufeli*) garrisons throughout the Ottoman Empire, which spanned three continents. Eyalets of Budin, Temeşvar, Bosnia, Rumelia, Van, Diyarbakir, Aleppo, Damascus, Egypt, Tripoli, and Yemen were defended by *ulufeli* garrisons, and despite some differences arising from the regional conditions, their compositions were largely the same. In this context, we have to try to understand the nature of the military border(s) formed by the Ottomans not only through Euro-centric comparisons, but also by analyzing the differences between other, non-European garrisons spread over their vast geography.

7. LIST OF SOURCES AND LITERATURE

Abbreviations:

A.DVNS.MHM.d.	Mühimme Defteri
A.E.	Ali Emiri Tasnifi
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
C.	Muallim Cevdet Tasnifi
D.BKL.d.	Büyük Kale Kalemi Defteri
D.BMK.AHM	Baş Muhasebe Kalemi Ahlat Mukataası
D.BRZ.d.	Büyük Ruznmaçe Kalemi Defteri
DFE.RZ.d.	Ruznamçe Defterleri
İE.	Ibnül-Emin Tasnifi
KK.d.	Kamil Kepeci Tasnifi
MXT	Codices Mixti
MAD.d.	Maliyeden Müddever Defterler Serisi
MA.RKR.d.	Meşihat Arşivi, Rumeli Kadıaskerliği Ruznamçesi
TDV	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
TKGM.d.	Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü
TS.MA.d.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi
TT.d.	Tapu Tahrir Defteri

7.1. Archival Sources

1.1. A.DVNS.MHM.d.

2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 36, 37, 42, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58, 60, 72, 78, 80, 84, 98

1.2. AE.

Süleyman I. 4, 257/2; 5/286; 4/257; Murad III. 2/68; Mehmed IV. 22/ 2516; Mustafa II. 16/1501; Ahmed III. 154/15161

1.3. C.

Askeriye 962/41832; Tımar-Zeamet 11/508

1.4. D.BKL.d.

32182; 32189; 32208; 32213;

1.5. D.BMK.AHM.d

22604

1.6. D.BRZ.d.

20615

1.7. DFE.RZ.d.

44; 586

1.8. İE.

Askeriye 14/352; 8/734; 28/2547; Dahiliye 4/340

1.9. KK.d.

67; 71; 4893

1.10 MXT

627

1.11. MAD.d.

55; 166; 528; 675; 681; 826; 1942; 3721; 4133; 5279; 5413; 7337; 15334; 22300

1.12. MA.RKR.d.

216/39

1.13. TKGM.d.

2134

1.14. TS.MA.d.

1356

1.15. TT.d.

201; 211; 212; 259; 285, 348; 355; 432; 486; 612; 672; 655; 728; 1009

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8. GLOSSARY

Ağa: The rank is often owned by the commanders of the various units or branches within a garrison, as well as by the commanders of the strongholds themselves.

Alemdar: A lower-level unit officer means “Flag bearer,”.

Akçe: Small Ottoman silver coin that was the basic currency in the Ottoman Empire and also served as a unit of account; between 1532 and the end of the century, 60 akçe = 1 sultani of gold, about 1 Venetian ducat; a coin made of silver nearly always used as the fundamental unit of currency in financial transactions.

Akıncı: A privileged military unit who was sent in advance of the main army on a campaign to ravage and reconnoiter.

Anbar: Storehouse.

Askeri: ‘Military’; The term that was applied to members of the privileged class who were exempt from paying taxes.

Avarız: Term for a group of extraordinary levies. At first they were occasional, however they turned into regular cash taxes towards the end of the 16th century.

Azeb: Azabs were infantry garrison troops who also served in the fleet; their duties included serving both on land and on ship.

Bacaluşka: Large cannon, possibly equivalent to the basilisk.

Ban: Viceroy, Royal governor in medieval and early modern Hungary, usually of frontier regions or countries. It derives from probably from an ancient Iranian.

Banate (from the Latin banatus): Frontier province or dependency governed by a ban in the name of the king of Hungary.

Başţine: The the South Slavic word, corresponding to çift; family property of non-Muslims on state land, the possession that can be cultivated with a single steamer; a property that can be cultivated with one pair of oxen.

Beylerbeyi (literally "bey of the beys" or "lord of the lords"): Provincial governor-general; commander of the sancakbeyis.

Bölük: Unit of troops, usually within a cemaat.

Cemaat: Unit of troops, usually made up of bölüks.

Çavuş: An officer in the palace and the imperial council who is responsible for escorting envoys and carrying imperial decrees; messenger; an army officer who conveys messages from the commanders to the army; the officer who served in the fortress garrisons.

Cizye (Ar. jizya): Islamic head tax imposed on non-Muslim adult males and households.

Darbuzan or Zarbuzan: Large cannon.

Defter: A register or record book, such as tax/revenue surveys (sing. tahrir defteri), registers of the poll tax (sing. cizye defteri), or soldiers' pay lists (sing. mevacib defteri).

Dizdar: Castellan; commander of a fortification such as fort, fortress, palanka or tower.

Emin: A tax farmer who promised to pay the treasury a fixed amount, a collector who is given the right to collect a certain sum of money from a certain source of state revenue.

Faris: Garrison cavalry unit.

Gönüllü: Volunteer troops.

Haddad: Blacksmith.

Hass: (1) Sultanic or crown lands/revenues; (2) lands/revenues of provincial governors and sancak governors, usually (but not always) yielding an annual revenue of more than 100,000 akçe in the sixteenth century.

Havale: Transfer of funds to garrison from the income sources.

İcmal defteri: Synoptic register; register of prebends managed by the imperial treasury or distributed in payment for services to the state.

İmam: Leader of religious ceremonies head of a local religious community.

Kadi: A judge who determines justice according to both sharia and kanun. He was also responsible for the supervision of financial and military matters.

Kanun-Kanunname: A collection of customary and sultanic laws; shorter law code of a sancak dealing with issues of criminal law and taxation.

Kasaba: Small town.

Kethüda: Deputy or assistant for various state officials in the Ottoman state organization; the deputy to the dizdar who served as both the fortress's and the mustahfızes' second commander.

Lezez: Abbreviation used in Ottoman financial accounts to refer to the last quarter of the year (combination of the names of three months: şevval, zilkade and zilhicce).

Mahalle: The smallest administrative-territorial unit in the town.

Martolos: One of the mobile units of the army of fortress garrison, initially mostly non-Muslims, and later almost exclusively Muslims.

Masar: The first quarter of the year was referred to by this abbreviation in Ottoman financial acconunts. (Combination of the names of three months: Muharrem, Safer and Rebiülevvel).

Mevacib Defteri: Detailed pay list including lists of soldiers' names.

Mezraa: It was either an empty place or piece of arable land without permanent inhabitants, capable of becoming a village.

Mufassal defteri: Detailed land and revenue survey register of a sancak, including towns and villages, inhabitants, fields and other taxable localities, as well as the taxes paid by inhabited places.

Mukataa: A financial unit consisting of one or more sources of income belonging to the state, whose management was usually entrusted to a tax-farmer.

Mustahfız, Merd-i kale, Hisar eri: Member of the infantry unit in a garrison.

Mühimme defteri: 'Register of important affairs'; a record of the decisions of the imperial council (mainly containing the drafts of the outgoing decrees).

Müteferrika: ‘Different, various’; A mixed unit at a garrison, consisting of personnel with both civilian and military responsibilities.

Müezzin: Employee of a mosque who chants the ezan from the minaret.

Nahiye: The smallest territorial administrative unit.

Neccar: Carpenter, an artisan-soldier.

Nüzul: One of the ‘extraordinary’ taxes collected by the state, which became a regular tax in the 17th century.

Oda: A squad belonging to a garrison.

Seroda: Corporal in charge of a squad in a military unit where squads are called odas.

Palanka: Fortification made of earth-filled wood palisades.

Parkan: palisade; defensive structure consisting of a all built out of timber and earth.

Paşa: Title given to viziers and governors-general.

Reaya: Tax-paying farmer, peasant.

Recec: A term for the second quarter of the Islamic calendar year that was used in Ottoman financial accounting. (Abbreviation of the names of three months: Rebiülahir, Cemaziülevvel and Cemaziülahir).

Reis: Commander of a cemaat, commander of a ship.

Reşen: A term for the third quarter of the Islamic calendar year that was used in Ottoman financial accounting. (Abbreviation of the names of three months: Receb, Şaban and Ramazan).

Ruznamçe: A record book that details the day-to-day alterations that take place, such as grants of properties or new prebend holders.

Sancak (Ar. liva): Banner; a subdivision of a province; subprovince or district.

Sancakbeyi (mirliva): The highest-ranking local commander in a sancak who was accountable for both military and civilian affairs.

Sebin: ‘The account of seventy’; soldiers paid according to this system received only 70% of their salary, while 30% remained in the treasury.

Serhad kulu, Yerli kulu: The armed forces of a province.

Sermiye, Yüzbaşı: Officer of the martolos unit.

Seroda: Leader of a squad.

Sipahi: Light cavalryman remunerated through military fiefs or timars; sipahi of the Porte, member of one of the six kapıkulu cavalry divisions of the Porte’s standing army.

Tahrir: Land and revenue survey.

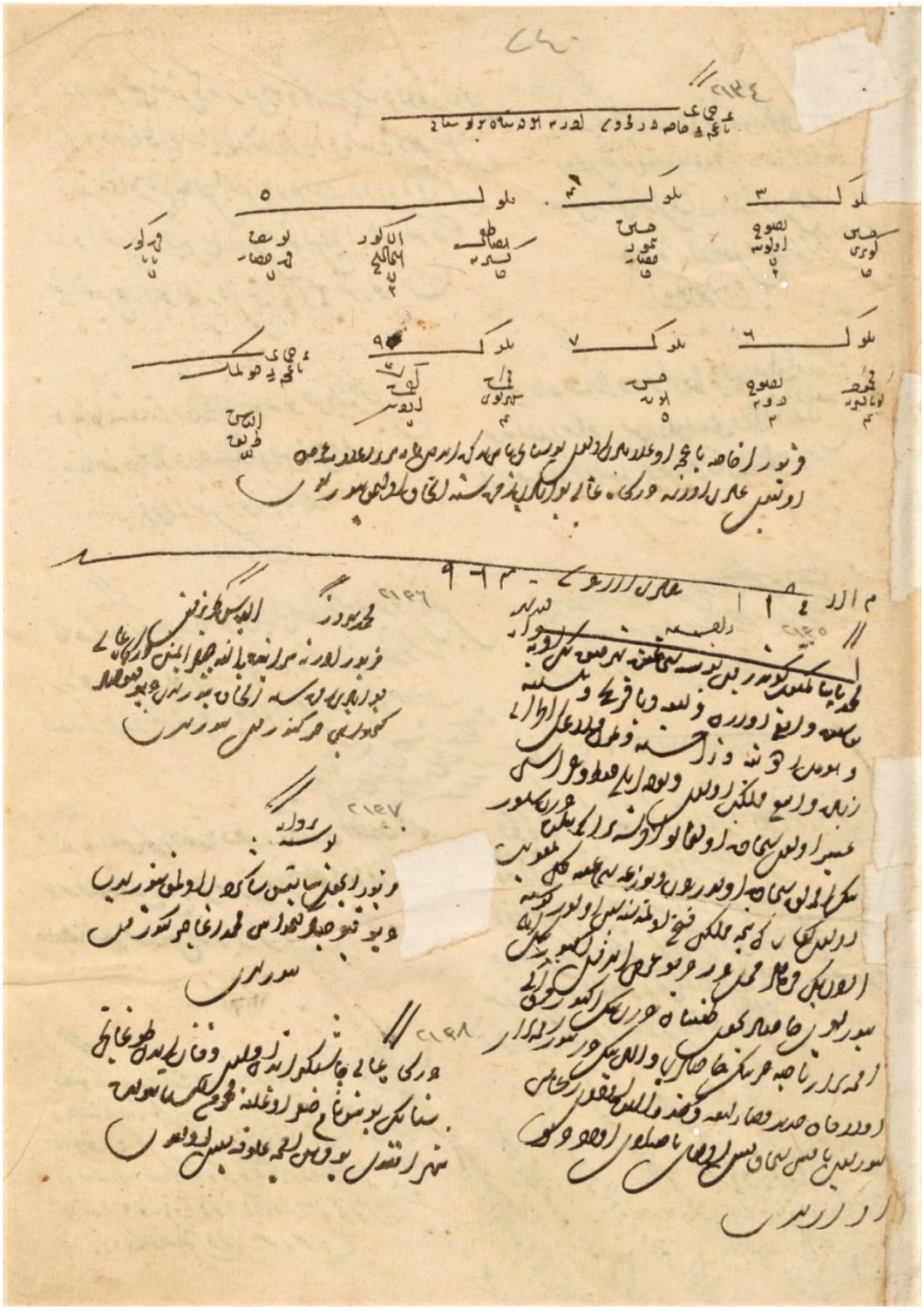
Timar: Military or administrative “fief” or prebend that was given to soldiers and officials in return for their service.

Topçu: Artilleryman

Zeamet: Prebend, which brought in income from 20,000 to 99,000 akçes, and which was given to high military and high-ranking office holders.

9. APPENDICES

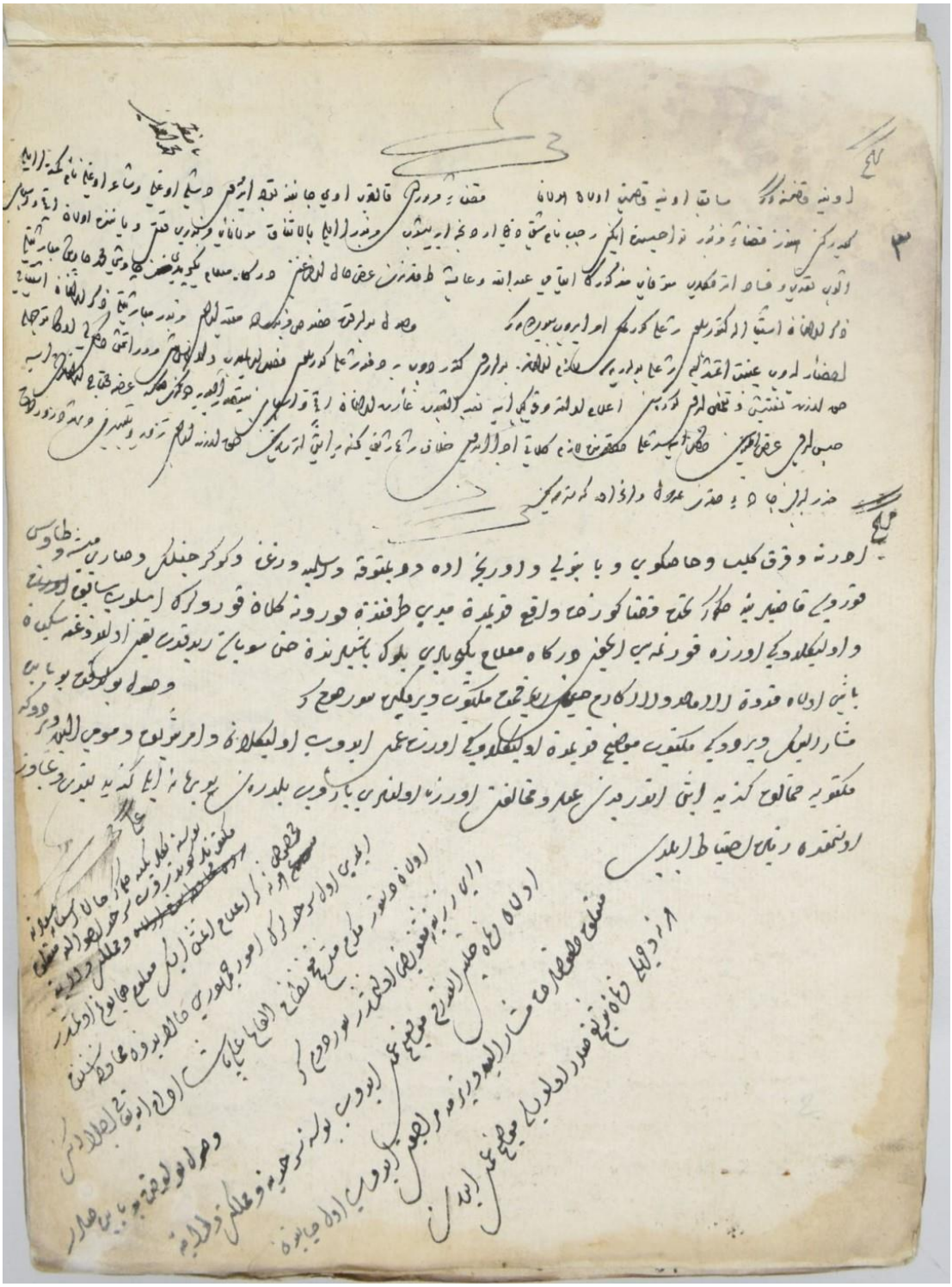
Appendix 1: The copy of the decree, dated April 11th, 1557, on the establishment of the Sancak of Zaçasna. A.DVNS.MHM.d., nr. 2, 240/2135.



Appendix 2: The archival record, dated November 2nd, 1641, shows that Zaçasna was reallocated as a *yurdluk-ocaklık* sancak. DFE.RZ.d. 586, 242.[547]

[547] I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Zekai Mete for helping me read this allocation record.

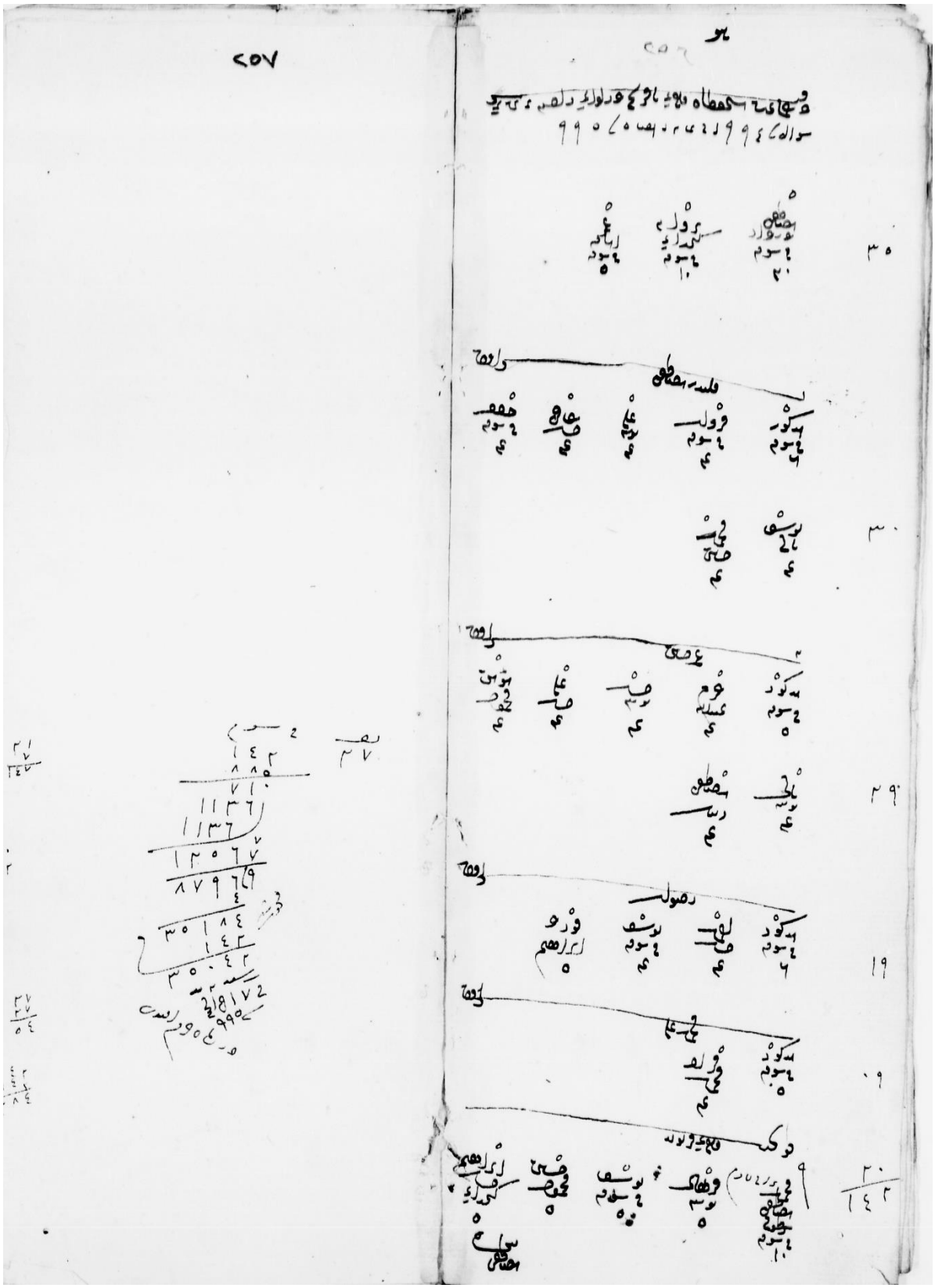
Appendix 3: The copy of the decree, dated 1608, stating Budin's higher authority over the Eyalet of Bosnia. KK.d. 71, 3.[548]



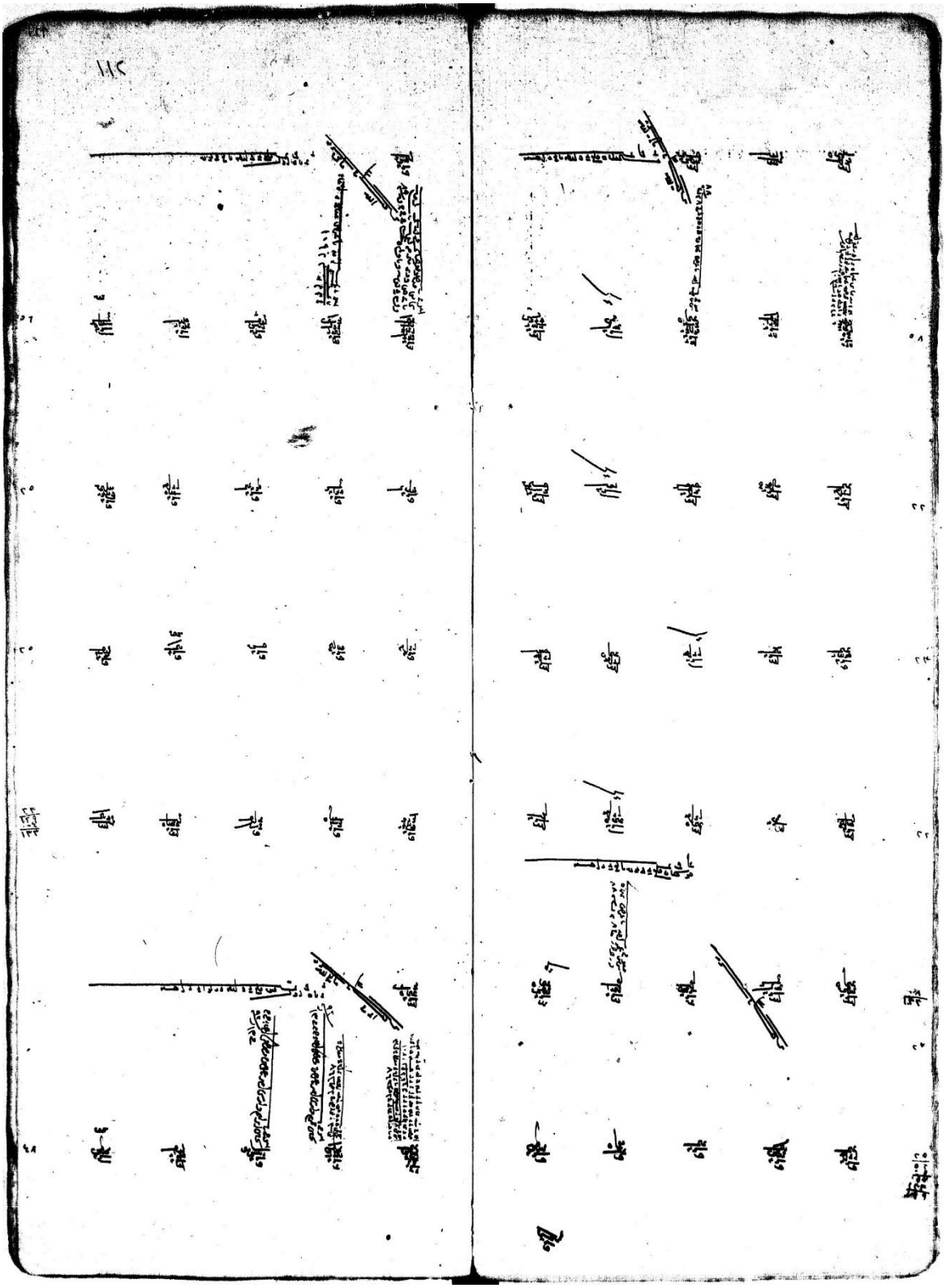
[548] I would like to thank dear Miraç Tosun for helping me read this copy of decree.

Appendix 4: *Kapudanlık*s in Bosnia in 1734. TKGM.d. 2134, 56.

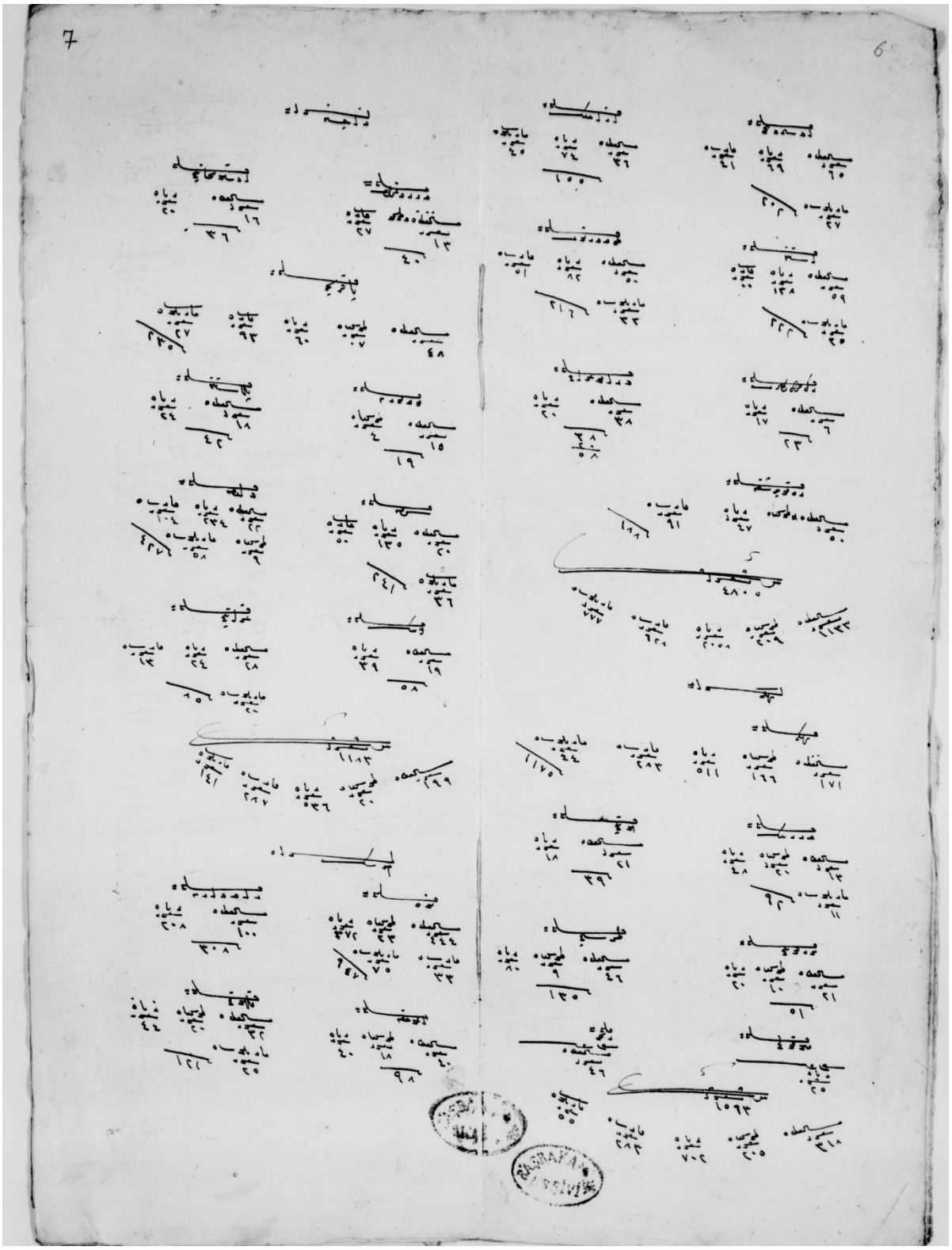
Appendix 5: Records of the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es in the Pakrac fort in 1587; MAD.d.826, 256.



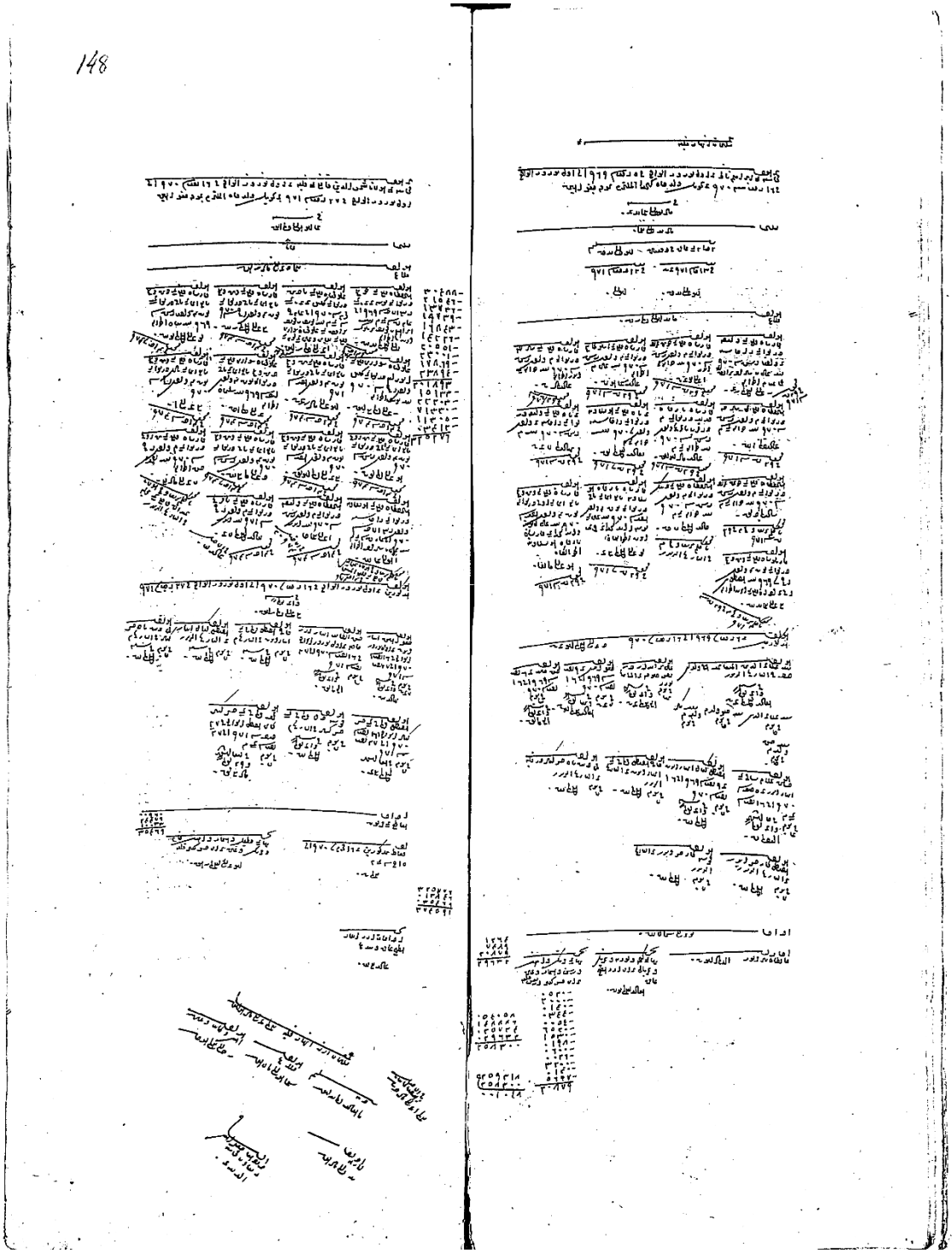
Appendix 6: Records of the *cemaat* of *mustahfiz*es and *azeban*s in the Velika fortress in 1665. KK.d. 4893,111b-112a



Appendix 7: The *defter* page showing the number of garrisons stationed in the sancaks of Bihać, Zaçasna and Hercegovina in May 1683. D.BKL.d. 32208, 7.



Appendix 8: *Mukataa defter* dated March 1563, showing numerous payments were sent to the forts Dobra Kuća, Sirač, Stupčanica, Velika, Moslavina, Granica, and others. MAD.d. 166, 147b-148a.

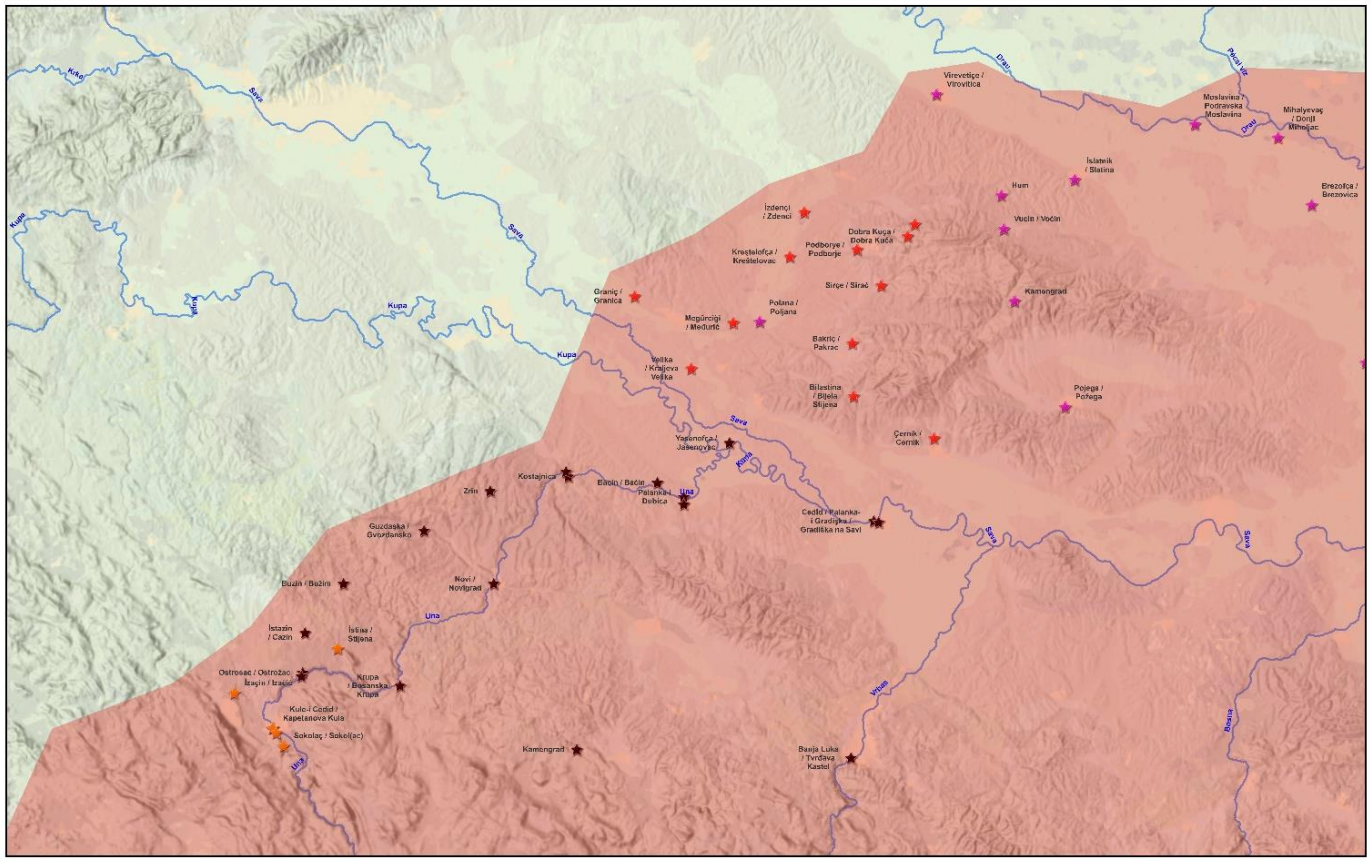


Appendix 9[549]

[549] I owe special gratitude to Seyfullah Aslan and Göksel Baş for their assistance in mapping the data that I extracted from the archival records.

Appendix 10

Ottoman Frontier Fortresses in the Sanjaks of Bosnia, Bihac, Zaçasna and Pozega in 1627



18.06.2022

Zaçasna

Bihac

Pozega

Bosnia

1:1,361,422

0 5 10 20 mi

0 12.5 25 50 km

Sources: Esri, USGS

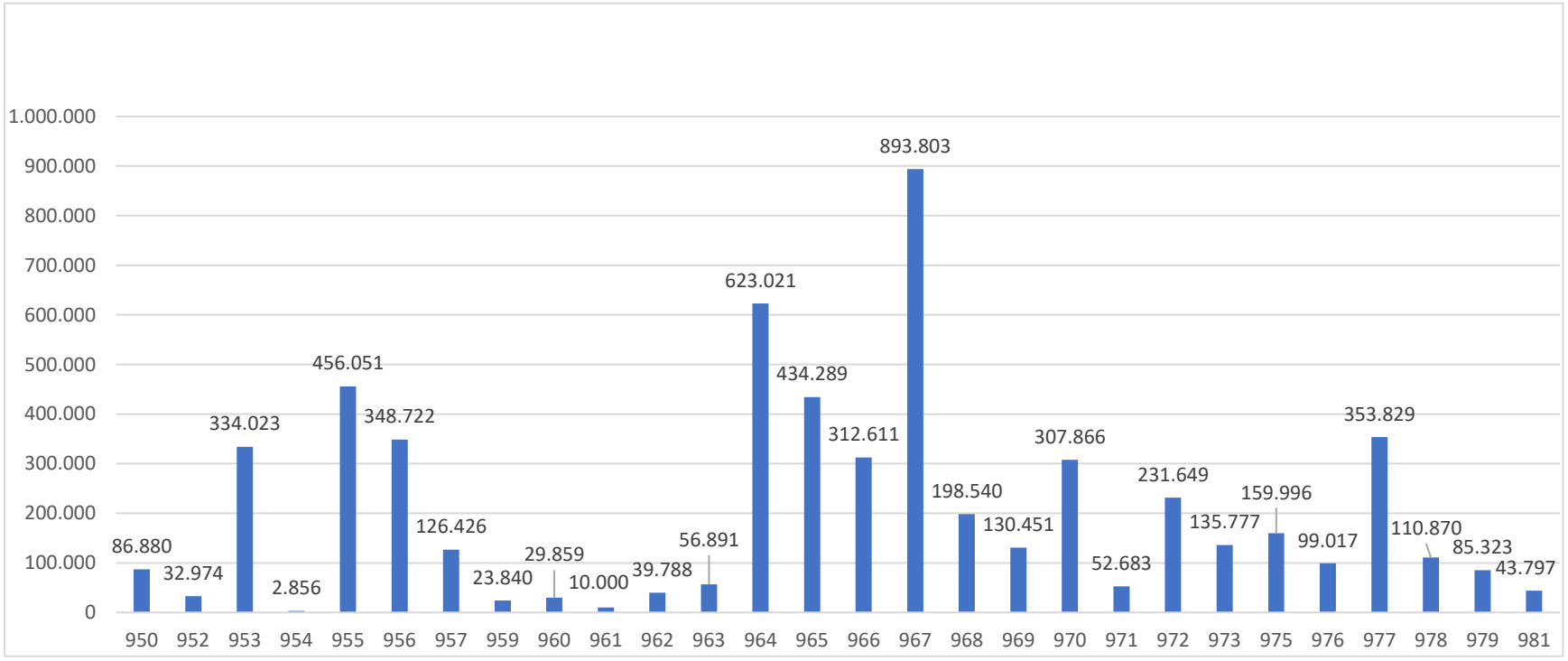
Appendix 11


Zaçasna
Požega
Bihać
Bosnia
Krka
Klis
Herzegovina
ADRIATIC SEA
SANJAKS
Požega
1. Požega
2. Brezovica
3. Virovitica
4. Voćin
5. Slatina
6. Kamengrad
7. Poljana
8. Moslavina
9. Donji Miholjac
10. Hum
11. Gorjani
Zaçasna
12. Dobra Kuća
13. Stupčanica
14. Sirač
15. Pakrac
16. Kraljeva Velika
17. Cernik
18. Podborje
19. Zdenci
20. Međurić
21. Krešteloveac
22. Bijela Stijena
Bosnia
23. Dubica Palanka
24. Dubica
25. Baćin
26. Kamengrad
27. Gradiška Palanka
28. Gradiška
29. Jasenovac
30. Kostajnica
31. Kostajnica Palanka
32. Zrin
33. Bužim
34. Novigrad
35. Trvđava Kaštel (Banja Luka)
36. Cazin
37. Krupa
38. Gvozdansko
39. Ostrožac
40. Ostrožaci na Uni (Geçid-i Oştrgad)
Bihaç
41. Bihać
42. Kapetanova Kula
43. Sokol(ac)
44. Izačić
45. Stijena
46. Jezerska
Klis
47. Klis
48. Kozjak
49. Utvrda Kjučica
50. Bilaj Blagaj
51. Bilaj Bunić
52. Gradina Solin
53. Đukonov Vrh?
Krka
54. Ostrovica
55. Tvrđava Kurjaković
56. Udbina
57. Nadin
58. Utvrda Turina
59. Vrana
60. Karin
61. Bogočin (Vlingrad)
62. Strmica
63. Gradačac
64. Novigrad
65. Vranjić
66. Barlete Bilaj
67. Zemun
68. Poličnik
69. Rakitnica
70. Perušić
71. Knin
72. Lički Ribnik
73. Popina
Herzegovina
74. Atik Nova (Herceg Novi)
75. Cedid Nova (Herceg Novi)
76. Risan
77. Zadvarje
78. Sedd-i Islam
79. Vrgorac
80. Ljubuški
Ulufeli Garrisons of the Eyalet of Bosnia in 1627
0
50
100
Km
200 KM
Kaynaklar:
Esri, USGS
N
W
E
S

Appendix 12


The Locations of Mukataa Sources 1543-1573
Macin
Isaccea
Tulcea
Kladovo
Vidin
Oryahovo
Nikopol
Svizthov
Turtukaya
Hârşova
Giurgiu
Techirghiol
Varna
Pomorie
Pazardzhik
Plovdiv
Kupsi
İstanbul
18.06.2022
1:5,445,687
0 30 60 120 mi
0 50 100 200 km
Sources: Esri, USGS

Table 18: Annual Payment in *Akçe*s from *Mukataa* Resources to Forts in the Sancak of Zaçasna (1543-1573)



CURRICULUM VITAE

I was born in 1986 in Muş, Turkey. I completed my primary school education in Bursa and finished high school in Muş in 2004. I graduated from Istanbul University's Faculty of Letters Department of History in 2009. With my master's thesis titled "Mahmut Sabit Tarih-i Silistre (İnceleme, Metin, İndeks)", I got my Master's degree in 2013. In the same year, I started my Ph.D. education at Istanbul Medeniyet University. Due to the fact that I was awarded a scholarship by the Ministry of Education in 2015, I did not finish the first Ph.D. program that I started. In 2017, after having fulfilled the Croatian language requirement, I began my education for the Ph.D. degree at Zagreb University. I have participated in projects for the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and the General Directorate for Foundations in Turkey. Finally, I worked as a researcher and text writer on the 52-episode documentary Turks. My study interests are related to the social, military, economic, and demographic history of Croatia and Bosnia in the framework of Ottoman rule.