

WAR AND PEACE IN THE FRONTIER: OTTOMAN RULE IN THE
UYVAR PROVINCE, 1663-1685

A Master's Thesis

by

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July 2009

To My Family

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UYVAR PROVINCE, 1663-1685

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY
BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

July 2009

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ABSTRACT

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Not only the provocative activities of the Transylvanian Prince György II Rákóczi but also the centuries-long Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry became the reason of an Ottoman campaign in Hungary in 1663. The war ended with the peace treaty of Vasvár signed on August 10, 1664. It was after this treaty that Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, the Ottoman Grand vizier, gave an order to establish a province around the Uyvar fortress, the most significant acquisition of the Ottomans at the end of the war. Thus, the Ottoman rule started in the Uyvar province that formed the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier for 22 years. Based mainly on the Ottoman chronicles, archival documents, and the secondary sources this thesis first describes and analyses the Ottoman campaign in 1663. Then, it pays close attention to the Ottoman administration in the Uyvar province. Finally, it gives us an opportunity to see the tendencies in Ottoman governmental mentality in the Habsburg frontier of the empire.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Seventeenth Century, Mehmed IV, Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 1663 Campaign, Uyvar Province, Frontier.

ÖZET

SERHADDE SAVAŞ VE BARIŞ: UYVAR EYALETİ'NDE OSMANLI HÂKİMİYETİ, 1663-1685

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Tez Yöneticisi: Yard. Doç. Dr. Evgeni Radushev
Temmuz 2009

Erdel Prensi György II Rákóczi'nin kışkırtıcı faaliyetleri ve bölgede uzun süredir devam eden Osman-Habsburg mücadelesi Osmanlı ordusunun 1663 yılında Macaristan serhaddine doğru bir sefere çıkmasına neden oldu. 10 Ağustos 1664 tarihinde imzalanan Vaşvar Barış Antlaşması'yla son bulan bu sefer sonrasında Vezir-i azam Köprülüzâde Fazıl Ahmed Paşa'nın emriyle Uyvar kalesi etrafında yeni bir eyalet oluşturuldu ve bu sınır bölgesinde 22 yıl sürecek Osmanlı hakimiyeti başlamış oldu. Büyük ölçüde Osmanlı kronikleri, arşiv belgeleri ve ikincil kaynaklara dayalı bu tezde öncelikle 1663 Osmanlı seferi incelenmiştir. Ayrıca Uyvar eyaletindeki idari yapılanma ve yönetim pratikleri üzerine durulmuş ve Osmanlı-Habsburg serhadi özelinde Osmanlı yönetiminin serhadlerde ortaya koyduğu pragmatik ve esnek idare tarzına dikkat çekilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Onyedinci Yüzyıl, Mehmed IV, Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, 1663 Seferi, Uyvar Eyaleti, Serhad

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to all who have helped me in the preparation of this thesis, and in particular to my supervisor, Dr. Evgeni Radushev, for his advice and constructive criticism throughout; to the examining committee members, Dr. Evgenia Kermeli and Dr. Hülya Taş, for their significant comments; and to the faculty of the History Departments of both Fatih and Bilkent Universities for their lectures that enlarged my intellectual horizon, which one way or another was reflected in the present work. Besides, I am thankful to Dr. Pál Fodor who accepted me as his student during my stay at Budapest.

I would like to express my gratitude to my classmates at Bilkent, particularly to Gisele Marien for her constant support and encouragement and to Sibel Kocaer whose close companionship helped me much to overcome many difficulties. I also extend my appreciation to Sadık M. Bilge, Cemal Bölücek, Fatih Durgun, Serkan Keçeci, M. Ali Kılıç, A. Zeki Olaş, Mustafa Öksüz, M. Burak Özdemir, Faruk Yaslıçimen, Harun Yeni, and Yasir Yılmaz for their unforgettable friendship. My greatest debt of gratitude, however, is to my family for their tolerance and love.

Many institutions and programs supported my studies and researches in Turkey and abroad. I owe special thanks to International Programs Office at Fatih University for arranging grants to finance my studies at Matej Bel University in Slovakia under

the framework of EU Socrates/Erasmus program; to Bilkent University History Department for funding my graduate studies; to Slovak National Scholarship Program for a research visit to the Slovak archives; to Turkish Ministry of Education for a Slovak language summer school scholarship; to Central European University for a fellowship; and to TÜBİTAK for a conference grant. These research opportunities have enabled me to collect valuable sources, some of which were put to good use in this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Before discussing a particular Ottoman campaign and the peculiarities of frontier life in an Ottoman province in the seventeenth century, it is appropriate first to have a close look at tendencies in modern scholarship with regard to the evaluation of the given period. Seventeenth-century Ottoman history is a relatively understudied period in historical inquiries. According to Linda T. Darling, an Ottoman historian who focuses on fiscal and military problems of the empire in the given century, there are two reasons for this neglect; one is related with the paradigm of the “Ottoman stagnation and decline” and the other is with the unpopularity of particular sultans in the period. It is indeed true that many historians have employed the “decline” paradigm for long years as a simplistic approach to the centuries after the reign of Sultan Suleiman I (r. 1520-1566) during which the Ottoman Empire reputedly enjoyed its “golden” age. As Darling rightly argued, this approach - as other collectivist approaches - does not give us a satisfactory explanation for the peculiar political, military, financial, socio-cultural, and intellectual problems of the empire.

Moreover, it hinders any attempts to compare elements in imperial structures in the early modern history.

Thanks to the efforts of the revisionist historians,¹ however, modern historians now have enough empirical data and alternative paradigms that allow a critical evaluation of the “declinist” literature. Halil İnalçık and Linda T. Darling, for instance, showed us that the Ottoman financial institutions were in consolidation and transformation in the seventeenth century, not in a state of decline in the real sense of the word.² In addition, Jonathan Grant, a scholar of Ottoman military technology who studied the capacity of the Ottoman weaponry and naval systems, rejected the established theories about Ottoman military decline.³ These and many other studies

¹ Fernand Braudel expressed one of the early critics on the employment of the “decline” paradigm in the Ottoman historiography in his *Civilization and Capitalism 15th-18th Century*, vol. III: *The Perspective of the World*, translated from the French by Siân Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992 – first published in 1979), 469: “How then is one to believe that all cities, ancient and restored, or new and sometimes very close to the western pattern, could possibly have prospered in a Turkey supposedly in decline? Why should something generally considered to be a sign of progress here be thought a sign of deterioration?” For other critics and revisionist works on the approach see Norman Itzkowitz, “Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Realities” *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962), 73-94; Halil İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980), 283-337; Suraiya Faroqhi, “Crisis and Change, 1590-1699” in Halil İnalçık – Donald Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 411-636; Mehmet Öz, “Onyedinci Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti: Buhran, Yeni Şartlar ve Islahat Çabaları Hakkında Genel Bir Deęerlendirme” *Türkiye Günlüğü* 58 (Kasım – Aralık 1999), 48-53; Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Virginia H. Aksan – Daniel Goffman (eds.), *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and articles in Mustafa Armağan (ed.), *Osmanlı Geriledi mi?* (İstanbul: Etkileşim Yayınları, 2007).

² Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: The Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560-1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), particularly, “The Myth of Decline”, 1-21. Besides, Linda T. Darling, “Ottoman Fiscal Administration: Decline or Adaptation?” *The Journal of European Economic History* 26/1 (1997), 157-179.

³ Jonathan Grant, “Rethinking the Ottoman “Decline”: Military Technology Diffusion in the Ottoman Empire, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries” *Journal of World History* 10/1 (1999), 179-201. For a more detailed study on the Ottoman military technology see Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

paved the way for us to understand this paradigm as a myth that was produced and commonly used as basis for another unfounded paradigm, “the sick man of Europe”, a common view of the Ottoman Empire in western politics and historiography in the 19th century.⁴

By way of following the argumentation of Darling, the second reason for the scholarly neglect of the seventeenth century-Ottoman history, complementary to the first one, is the image of the Ottoman rulers in the historical consciousness. It is true that authors of scholarly and popular literature dedicated more attention to those Ottoman rulers that could boast military achievements or were the agents of successful modernization efforts. In their works, the reigns of Mehmed II, the conqueror of the Byzantine capital, Selim I, the conqueror of Egypt, and Suleiman I, the “Magnificent” and the “Lawgiver”, figured prominently. Furthermore, they extensively discussed the two great reformers of the nineteenth century, Selim III and Mahmud II as well as the “Great Khan” or the “Red Sultan”, Abdülhamid II. However, except for some articles in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*⁵, monographs on the sultans that reigned in the period of “stagnation and decline” are hardly available.

Mehmed IV who ruled the Ottoman Empire for thirty-nine years between 1648 and 1687 - the longest sultanate in the Ottoman history after Suleiman I - is an appropriate name to discuss the unpopular and sometimes negative image of the Ottoman sultans. It was during the sultanate of Mehmed IV that the boundaries of the

⁴ As an example of this type of treatment see Bernard Lewis, “Some Reflections on the Decline of the Ottoman Empire” *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958), 111-127; and, Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), “The Decline of the Ottoman Empire”, 21-39.

⁵ See articles in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960-2004) and *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988-).

Ottoman Empire reached its widest extent with the conquest of Nagyvárad/Varad (1660), Érsekújvár/Uyvar (1663), Crete/Girit (1669), and Kamianets-Podilskyi/Kamaniçe-Podolya (1672).⁶ His contemporaries honored the Sultan by the title of “Gâzî”, the Holy Warrior; however, the military and the political achievements he gained did not secure him an everlasting prestige. The disastrous retreat after the siege of Vienna (1683) and the loss of significant fortresses and provinces, which consequently led to the deposition of the Sultan in 1687, changed the positive attitude of the contemporary authors and their successors. Mehmed IV was not the “Gâzî” anymore, but had become the “Avcı”, the Hunter, who spent most of his time in hunting and pursuit of pleasure. When this negative personal attribution conjugated with the paradigm of “decline” in the mainstream literature, Mehmed IV and his reign became one of the least known and most misrepresented periods in the Ottoman history.⁷

In contrast to the reputation of the Sultan, his grand viziers from the Albanian-origin Köprülü family who uninterruptedly held the post for twenty-seven years between 1656 to 1683 received recognition and praise both from their

⁶ For a short description of the political events in the reign of Mehmed IV see Akdes Nimet Kurat, “The Ottoman Empire under Mehmed IV” in F. L. Carsten (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. V: *The Ascendancy of France: 1648 - 88* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 500-518. For the major campaigns in the period see Ahmet Şimşirgil, *Uyvar’ın Türkler Tarafından Fethi ve İdaresi (1663-1685)*, Basılmamış Doçentlik Tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1997; Ersin Gülsoy, *Girit’in Fethi ve Osmanlı İdaresinin Kurulması, 1645-1670* (İstanbul: Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2004); Mehmet İnbaşı, *Ukrayna’da Osmanlılar: Kamaniçe Seferi ve Organizasyonu (1672)* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2004); Halime Doğru, *Lehistan’da Bir Osmanlı Sultanı: IV. Mehmed’in Kamaniçe-Hotin Seferleri ve Bir Masraf Defteri* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006).

⁷ For a recent revisionist study on the personality of Mehmed IV see, Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam: Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). See also the book’s review by İ. Metin Kunt, *Journal of Islamic Studies* 19/3 (2008), 410-412.

contemporaries and modern scholars.⁸ Mentioned as the leading figures of the restoration period in standard textbooks,⁹ it is true that the members of this family i.e., Mehmed Paşa (viz. 1656-1661), Fazıl Ahmed Paşa (viz. 1661-1676), and Kara Mustafa Paşa (viz. 1676-1683), played a significant role in re-ordering the Ottoman military, financial and social structures that were in chaos for decades. Given a free hand in imperial administration Köprülü Mehmed Paşa, for instance, succeeded in re-shaping the Ottoman internal politics in accordance with its tradition; the sultanate of women and *agas* finally ended.¹⁰ Moreover, thanks to the measures he took the finances of the empire recovered.¹¹ The problem to highlight here, however, is the position of modern historians who have forgotten to mention the name of the Sultan, that is, Mehmed IV, from whom Köprülü Mehmed and other grand viziers from the same family took command and on whose behalf they spent their efforts. Historically and logically, without the consent of Mehmed IV, the restoration policies of these grand viziers as well as their military and fiscal achievements would have impossible.

⁸ Ahmed Refik Altınay, *Köprülüler* (İstanbul: Kütüphane-i Askeri, 1331 [1915] – new edition by Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001); Ömer Köprülü, *Osmanlı Devletinde Köprülüler* (İstanbul: Aydınlık Basımevi, 1943); İ. Metin Kunt, *The Köprülü Years: 1656-1661*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Princeton University, 1975; Vahid Çabuk, *Köprülüler* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1988); Zeki Dilek (ed.), *Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa Uluslararası Sempozyumu (Merzifon, 08-11 Haziran 2000)* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001).

⁹ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* vol. I: *Empire of the Ghazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 207-215.

¹⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Crisis and Change, 1590-1699”, 419-440. For a principal work on “the sultanate of women” in the Ottoman history, see Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹¹ Surplus deficit reduced from -121.002.026 to -12.333.533 *akçes* (silver coins) during the grand vizierate of Köprülü Mehmed Paşa. See Erol Özvar, “Osmanlı Bütçe Harcamaları (1509-1788)” in Mehmet Genç and Erol Özvar (eds.), *Osmanlı Maliyesi Kurumlar ve Bütçeler*, vol. II (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), 197-238.

After these considerations, we can now turn our attention to the main inquiries in the present work, namely, a description of an Ottoman campaign in the Hungarian front (chapter one), a depiction of the Ottoman administration in a province established in the second part of the seventeenth century, and an illustration of peculiarities of frontier life in the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier. In the first hand, the author of the thesis argues that although the Ottomans were hailed in the modern historiography with having created the “near-perfect military society”,¹² the number of studies on Ottoman warfare is still limited.¹³ Besides, academic works on the “core” Ottoman provincial administration, let alone studies on the frontier provinces, display a number of deficiencies in terms of content and methodology.¹⁴ Referring mainly to the Ottoman war-accounts --a source group that less known and therefore less used in modern scholarship-- the present study entitled “War and Peace in the

¹² Peter F. Sugar, “A Near-Perfect Military Society: The Ottoman Empire” in L. L. Farrar (ed.), *War: A Historical, Political and Social Study* (Santa Barbara: ABC Clío, 1978), 104.

¹³ It was Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (d. 1730), an Italian soldier and scientist, who for the first time analyzed the Ottoman military system in a scientific manner in his *L'Etat militaire de l'empire ottoman* (Amsterdam: La Haye, 1732). For a Turkish translation of the work see Graf Marsigli, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Zuhur ve Terakkisinden İnhitâtı Zamanına Kadar Askeri Vaziyeti*, translated by M. Nazmi, (Ankara: Büyük Erkân-ı Harbiye Matbaası, 1934). Akdes Nimet Kurat's *Prut Seferi ve Barışı 1123 (1711)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1951) and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's *Kapıkulu Ocakları, I-II* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943-44) are still indispensable works on the Ottoman military organization. To name but few of the recent works on the Ottoman warfare see Rhoads Murphey, *The Functioning of the Ottoman Army under Murad IV (1623-1639/1032-1049)*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Chicago University, 1979; Caroline Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare: The Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593-1606* (Wien, VWGO, 1988); Ömer İşbilir, *XVII. Yüzyıl Başlarında Şark Seferlerinin İaşe, İkmal ve Lojistik Meseleleri*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, İstanbul University, 1997; M. Yaşar Ertaş, *Mora'nın Fethinde Osmanlı Sefer Organizasyonu (1714-1716)*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Marmara University, 2000; Mehmet İnbası, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar: Kamaniçe Seferi ve Organizasyonu (1672)* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2004); Hakan Yıldız, *Haydi Osmanlı Seferi!: Prut Seferi'nde Lojistik ve Organizasyon* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2006).

¹⁴ For a critical evaluation of the *sancak* and *eyalet* studies based on the *tahrir defters* see Oktay Özel, “Bir Tarih Okuma ve Yazma Pratiği Olarak Türkiye’de Osmanlı Tarihçiliği” in Kaya Şahin, Semih Sökmen, Tanıl Bora (eds.), *Sosyal Bilimleri Yeniden Düşünme (Yeni Bir Kavrayışa Doğru Sempozyumu Bildirileri)* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1998), 147-160. For another account that depicted the *sancak* studies in a positive manner see Adnan Gürbüz, *XV.-XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Sancak Çalışmaları: Değerlendirme ve Bibliyografik Bir Deneme* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınevi, 2001).

Frontier: Ottoman Rule in the Uyvar Province, 1663–1685” will first provide a general picture of the politics and the diplomacy before and during the campaign and establish a chronology of the Ottoman march by means of a comparative use of the available contemporary sources. The second part of the thesis, on the other hand, aims to depict the Ottoman administration in the northwestern province of the empire, that is, the Uyvar Province that was established in 1664 after the sign of the Treaty of Vasvár (August 10, 1664). The third chapter will document the peculiarities of the frontier life in the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier, particularly on the boundaries of the Uyvar province. Based on an Ottoman war-account, the military camps pitched en route Buda is listed in the appendix. Besides, a transliteration of the Vasvár treaty and its articles signed in the Uyvar fortress as they were recorded in the *Nemçeli Ahidname* register is provided in the appendix for the first time. Joseph Blaškovičs’ translation of the Code of Uyvar (*Kanunname-i Uyvar*) is also given with some corrections. Another document in the appendix is the transcription of a document kept in the Slovak archives. In the document that was published by Blaškovičs, one can see the differentiation of the Ottoman administrative practices in its northern frontier. A map of the province and a depiction of the fortress can enable us better understand the region we tried to describe. Lists of the governors of the Uyvar province and the gazetteer that supplement this thesis are useful for further investigations on the region.

1.1 Sources and Historiography

Ottoman *gazavât-nâmes* (war-accounts) and *vak'ayinâmes* (chronicles) are the main sources used in the first part of this study. Additionally, works of the western observers on the 1663 campaign will serve to check and enrich the data given by the Ottoman accounts. The Ottoman archival materials will be employed as documentary sources in the second and third part of the work.

Utilizing the war-accounts as primary sources in their researches is not yet an established tradition among the Ottoman historians. However, recent studies show us that this source group provides reliable information for historical inquiries.¹⁵ Particularly for a military historian, both the Ottoman chronicles and war-accounts, despite their deficiencies, offer significant qualitative and quantitative data to depict various aspects of the Ottoman warfare. Luckily enough, some of the Ottoman bureaucrats and the literary figures that attended the 1663 campaign left us accounts that describe the events took place before and during the march. Indeed, a few modern historians use these sources in their studies in an effective manner.¹⁶ This deficiency is mainly due to the philological barrier, however, as Virginia Aksan once

¹⁵ See, Christine Woodhead, "Ottoman Historiography on the Hungarian Campaigns: 1596 The Eger Fetihnamesi" in *Proceedings of the 8th Conference of the Comité des Études Ottomanes et Pré-Ottomanes (CIÉPO), at Pécs, Hungary, 1986* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 469-77. On the Ottoman war-accounts see Ağâh Sırrı Levend, *Gazavatnâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey Gazavatnâmesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956); Mustafa Erkan, "Gazavatnâme" *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi* 13 (1996), 439-440.

¹⁶ Rhoads Murphey, for instance, efficiently used the Ottoman chronicles in his work see Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare, 1500-1700* (London: UCL Press, 1999).

put, it “has led to many lopsided versions of the east-west confrontation which are based primarily on the accounts of travelers and the chancellery and the foreign office documents of European powers”.¹⁷

There are a number of Ottoman war-accounts on the 1663 campaign.¹⁸ Among them, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih*¹⁹ by Hasan Ağa, the Grand vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa's private secretary and *mühürdar* (the seal-keeper), provides the most precious and direct data on the campaign. The post that Hasan Ağa held gave him a privileged access to the official correspondences between the Grand vizier, the Porte, and the Habsburg court. Hasan Ağa's *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih* was translated into Latin in 1680, five year after its completion, and was dedicated to the Habsburg Emperor.²⁰ Due to the importance it had a number of Ottoman and western historians used the work as the main source to describe the events of the period.²¹

¹⁷ Virginia H. Aksan, “Ottoman War and Warfare, 1453-1812” in Virginia H. Aksan (ed.), *Ottomans and Europeans: Contacts and Conflicts* (İstanbul: The ISIS Press, 2004), 142.

¹⁸ In his article published in 1971, Vojtech Kopčan, a Slovak historian who produced works on the Ottoman military and administrative structure established in today's Slovakia, informs us the philological and contextual characteristics of these accounts. See Vojtech Kopčan, “Ottoman Narrative Sources to the Uyvar Expedition 1663” *Asian and African Studies* 7 (1971), 89-100; cf., Levend, *Gazavatnâmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey Gazavatnâmesi*, 119-123.

¹⁹ Manuscript, Köprülü Library, second section, no. 231; Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library, Revan section, no. 1307; Vienne National Library, no. 1070, Leiden University Library, Manuscript, Or. 1225; et cetera. The work is translated into German by Erich Prokosch, *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn die Ungarnfeldzüge des Grosswezirs Köprülüade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha 1663 und 1664 nach den Kleinodien der historien seines siegelbewahrers Hasan Ağa* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1976). There is a PhD thesis prepared on this work see Abubekir Sıddık Yücel, *Mühürdar Hasan Ağa'nın Cevahirü't-Tevârihi*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi, 1996. I am thankful for Dr. Yücel who showed his good intention by sending his unpublished work to me.

²⁰ Giovanni Battista Podesta, *Annalium Gemma authore Hasanaga Sigilli Custade Kupurli, seu Cypri Ahmed Basso, supremi vizirii Mehmed Quarti Turcarum Tyranni ex turcica-arabico-persico idiomate in latinum translata et diversis notis ac reminiscentiis illustrate (1680)*, The National Library of Wien, no. 8485.

²¹ The work is the main source of Raşid's and Hammer's accounts.

Another author from bureaucratic circles who produced a work on the campaign was an Ottoman Imperial Court secretary, Mehmed Necati. The author completed his *Tarih-i Feth-i Yanık*²² in December 28, 1665 and presented it to the Sultan. In this work, Necati depicted the campaign in a simple but factual manner and provided a list of military camps from Istanbul en route Buda, with a reference to the campaign chronology.

Two poets of the Ottoman court, Mustafa Zühdi and Tâib Ömer, were participated the campaign and completed their works upon their returns to İstanbul in 1665. In his work, *Ravzatü'l-Gazâ*,²³ Mustafa Zühdi used his literary capacity to provide detailed information on the campaign, particularly on Battle of St. Gotthard the in the summer of 1664. Besides, Tâib Ömer penned his work, *Fethiyye-i Uyvar ve Novigrad*,²⁴ to narrate the events that “were remarkable to remember”.²⁵

Erzurumlu Osman Dede prepared another literary text. In his *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa*,²⁶ he described the events between 1658 and 1669 in an artistic manner. Evliya Çelebi, a famous Ottoman traveler who equally attended the campaign

²² Mehmed Necati, *Tarih-i Feth-i Yanık*, Topkapı Palace Library, Revan section, no. 1308.

²³ Mustafa Zühdi, *Ravzatü'l-Gazâ*, İstanbul University Library, İbnü'l-emin Mahmud Kemal Section, no. 2488. There is a graduate thesis on this work see, Turhan Atabay, *Ravzatü'l-Gaza (Tarih-i Uyvar) Tahlil, İstinsah, Tenkid*, Unpublished Graduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1949.

²⁴ The work is not missing as Kopčan and Levend argued. It is kept in the İstanbul University Library, İbnü'l-emin Mahmud Kemal Section, no. 2602. There is a graduate thesis on this manuscript see, Abdülvahap Yaman, *Taib Ömer Fethiyye-i Uyvar ve Novigrad*, Unpublished Graduate Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1979.

²⁵ Tâib Ömer, *Fethiyye-i Uyvar ve Novigrad*, folio 2b.

²⁶ Erzurumlu Osman Dede, *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa*, Süleymaniye Library. Hamidiye Section, no. 909; see, Aslan Poyraz, *Köprülüzade Ahmed Paşa Devri (1069-1080) Vukuatı Tarihi*, Unpublished MA Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2003.

provided a great deal of information in his *Seyahatnâme*.²⁷ This famous work, which was translated into many languages and recently published as a reference text in Turkish,²⁸ allows us to see what happened during the march from the perspective of a professional storyteller (*meddâh*).²⁹

Along with these accounts, modern historians have numerous chronicles that mainly depict politics and diplomacy before and during the 1663 campaign at hand. Abdürrahman Abdi Paşa, Sultan Mehmed IV's close companion and trusted chronicler, for instance, offered us a perspective from the Palace in his *Vekâyi'-nâme*.³⁰ The work that covered the period 1648-1682 is an important source since it registered the reactions of the administrative palace circles to events during the campaign. Other chronicles that offer insights and information for the 1663 campaign are İszâde Abdullah Efendi's *Târih*,³¹ Mehmed Halife's *Târih-i Gilmânî*,³² Silahdar Mehmed Ağa's, *Târih*,³³ Mehmed Raşid's *Târih*³⁴, and Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa'nın *Zübde-i Vekâyi'ât*.³⁵

²⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library, Revan section, no. 1457.

²⁸ Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, et al (eds.), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 10 vols. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999-2007), particularly for the campaign see vols. 6 and 7.

²⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 161.

³⁰ Manuscript, Köprülü Library, no. 216; Süleymaniye Library, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Collection, no. 701; Topkapı Palace Manuscript Library, Koğuşlar Collection, no. 915. The work was transliterated into Turkish see Fahri Çetin Derin, *Abdürrahman Abdi Paşa Vekâyi'-nâmesi: Osmanlı Târîhi 1648-1682* (İstanbul: Çamlıca Yayınevi, 2008).

³¹ Manuscript, İstanbul University Library, İbnü'l-emin Mahmud Kemal Section, no. 3014; see, Ziya Yılmazlı *İszâ-zâde Târîhi (Metin ve Tahlil)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1996).

³² Mehmed Halife, *Târih-i Gilmânî*, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Revan, no. 1306; *Târih-i Gilmânî* Kamil Su (ed.), (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1976). The work was subject of a PhD work see, Ertuğrul Oral, *Târih-i Gilmanî*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2000.

It is possible to check and balance the information given by the Ottoman sources with some European literary texts on the campaign. *A brief account of the Turks late expedition, against the Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvania, and the hereditary countries of the Emperor together with an Exact Narrative of the Remarkable Occurrences at the Siege of Newhausel* (London: Richard Hodgkinson ve Thomas Mabb, 1663) is an account of an anonymous author who described the progress of the events, particularly the siege of the Uyvar (Hungarian: Érsekújvár, German: Neuhäusel, Slovak: Nové Zámky) fortress. Sir Paul Rycaut, who served in the Ottoman capital as secretary to the Earl of Winchilsea from 1661-1667,³⁶ wrote his *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London: Starkey and Brom, 1675), a work that established him as the foremost English authority on the Turks.³⁷ Other western authors that allocated noticeable pages to the campaign in their

³³ Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Târihi (1065-1094/1655-1695)*, I, Ahmed Refik (ed.), (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928).

³⁴ Mehmed Raşid, *Târih-i Raşid* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1860).

³⁵ Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekayiât Tahlil ve Metin (1656-1704)*, Abdülkadir Özcan (ed.), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995).

³⁶ For details of his life see Colin Heywood, “Sir Paul Rycaut, A Seventeenth-Century Observer of the Ottoman State: Notes for a Study” in Colin Heywood (ed.), *Writing Ottoman History: Documents and Interpretations* (Hampshire: Variorum, 2002), 33-59.

³⁷ Brandon H. Beck, *The English Image of the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1710*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Rochester University, 1977, 236.

monumental works on the Ottoman history are Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall³⁸, Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen³⁹ and Nicolae Iorga.⁴⁰

For the benefit of future research, it seems appropriate to mention some of the documents and registers on the campaign kept both in the Turkish and in the Austrian archives. The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul (BOA) houses a number of sources describing the fiscal and military preparations for the 1663 expedition. Among the documents and *defters* the Kamil Kepeci (KK), no. 2635 and *Maliyeden Müdevver Defter* (MAD), no. 3157, no 4353, and no. 4538 provide data on the provision of the army; KK, no. 1958 and no. 1960 on the expenditures of the campaign; and MAD, no. 3275 (p. 175), no. 3279 (pp. 169-176), and no. 15877 on the military equipment and the amour of the army.

The Österreichisches Staatarchiv (ÖStA), and more precisely, its Kriegsarchiv (KA) and Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA) departments are the second place to look for the archival materials.⁴¹ To name but a few, documents catalogued in HHStA, Kriegsakten 192, fol. 9r; (KA) Alte Feldakten 1663/9/84; 1663/Türkenkrieg/10/3; 1661-1664/Türkenkrieg/103 and 107; Kartensammlung H III c. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 30-50 are the Habsburg reports, correspondences, military

³⁸ Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 6 (Pesth, 1830), 107-147; cf., Baron Joseph von Hammer Purgstall, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 6, Turkish translation by Mümin Çevik-Erol Kılıç, (İstanbul: Üçdal Hikmet Neşriyat, 1989), 101-138.

³⁹ Johann Wilhelm Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, 4 (Gotha, 1856), 909-941.

⁴⁰ Nicolae Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 4 (Gotha, 1911), 112 ff.; cf. Nicolae Iorga, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi*, 4, Turkish translation by Nilüfer Epeçeli (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2005), 108-114.

⁴¹ I am thankful to Özgür Kolçak of Istanbul University for his help in recognizing these documents.

plans, and charts related to the 1663 campaign. Furthermore, two other Ottoman records were preserved in Germany, one in the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, no. Ms. or. oct. 2329 and the other in Staatbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no. 256. They are imperial orders that were issued for the celebrations to be held when the Ottomans captured the Uyvar fortress in September 1663.

The Ottoman sources on the Uyvar province that were preserved in the Turkish archive are the main sources utilized in the second part of the work. As soon as the Vasvár peace treaty (August 10, 1664) was approved by the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, the Grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Paşa established a new province in the newly acquired territory by appointing a *beylerbeyi* (governor-general of the province). The *tahrir defteri* (land survey register) of the province⁴² was prepared in a short time. Other registers in the archive are *vakıf defteri* (register of pious foundation) of Fazıl Ahmed Paşa,⁴³ *cizye defterleri* (Islamic poll tax registers),⁴⁴ *muhasebe icmal defteri* (synoptic financial account register),⁴⁵ *kale defteri* (castle

⁴² BOA, Tapu Tahrir Defterleri (TTD), no. 698. Due to valuable information it provides on administrative, demographic, economic, toponymic features of the region this register was intensively used in many studies. See, Jan Rypka, “Kánunnáme novozámeckého ejáletu [The Kanunname of the Nové Zámky Province]” *Historický časopis* 12/2 (1964), 186-214; Josef Blaškovič, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663-1685)”, *Archív orientální* 54/2 (1986), 105-130; Ahmet Şimşirgil, *Uyvar`ın Türkler Tarafından Fethi ve İdaresi (1663-1685)*, Unpublished Associate Professorship Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 1997. Josep Blaškovič prepared the Hungarian translation of the register see *Az újvári ejálet török adóösszeírásai* [The Turkish Tax-Registers in the Uyvar Province] (Pozsony [Bratislava]: Erdem, 1993).

⁴³ BOA, TTD, no. 794 and Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler, (MAD), no. 266. Blaškovič worked on this *defter* and transliterated it into Turkish see, Josep Blaškovič, “Sadrazam Köprülüzade (Fazıl) Ahmed Paşa'nın Ersekujvar Bölgesindeki Vakıfları 1664-1665” *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 9 (1978), 293-342; and for the *sımrnâme* (approved demarcation certificate) see, Josep Blaškovič, “Das Sultansdekret (Sünurname) über das Vakf im Bezirk Nové Zámky” *Archív orientální* 42/3 (1974), 300-313.

⁴⁴ BOA, TTD, no. 1037, MAD, no. 4016, and Dresden Eb. no. 356.

⁴⁵ BOA, MAD, no. 2052. The register, which provides information on the Uyvar officers and their salaries, was examined by Ahmet Şimşirgil see “Kızıl Elma'nın Muhafızları: Osmanlı Uyvar'ında Resmî Görevli ve Hizmetliler” *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 11 (2002), 71-99.

register),⁴⁶ *hazine vâridât ve masârif defterleri* (treasury income and expenditure registers),⁴⁷ *ruznamçe defterleri* (registers of daily transactions),⁴⁸ and *mevâcib defterleri* (pay-roll registers of the soldiers)⁴⁹.

Along with the registers kept in İstanbul there are some other Ottoman documents that can be found in local archives of Hungary and Slovakia. The number of these documents, which were mainly composed by the Ottoman officials living in the Uyvar fortress and nearby *sancaks* on the issues related to the administration, fiscal and social organization of the frontier, reaches a thousand.⁵⁰ The first researcher who tried to describe the daily life of the subjects based on these documents was a Slovak historian, Michal Matunák⁵¹. Then, Jan Rypka, a famous

⁴⁶ BOA, MAD, no. 12854. This defter was examined by Ahmet Şimşirgil in his *Uyvar'ın Türkler Tarafından Fethi ve İdaresi (1663-1685)*, 86-92. Also see Şimşirgil, "1663 Uyvar Seferi Yolu ve Şehrin Osmanlı İdaresindeki Konumu" *Anadolu'da Tarihi Yollar ve Şehirler Semineri*, 21 Mayıs 2001, *Bildiriler* (İstanbul: Dünya Basımevi, 2002), 88-97.

⁴⁷ BOA, Bab-ı Defteri, Baş Muhasebe Kalemi, no. 248; no. 17081-17084. Ahmet Şimşirgil published one of the Uyvar treasury registers see, Şimşirgil, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Uyvar'ın Hazine Defterleri ve Bir Bütçe Örneği" *Güney Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 9 (1998), 325-355. There is an unusual report that was prepared by a *deftardar* (keeper of registers and chief treasurer) of the Uyvar province in which he warned the center about the financial problems of the province and provided some somewhat a "to do" list. This report that was appended to *defter* (no. 17083) was published by Mark L. Stein, with its facsimile and English translation see Stein, "Ottoman Bureaucratic Communication: An Example from Uyvar, 1673" *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 20 (1996), 1-15.

⁴⁸ BOA, Ruznamçe Defteri, no. 854, pp.157-160; no, 855, pp.93-96; no, 887, 104-107; no. 889, 96-97.

⁴⁹ See Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007). Based on the pay-roll registers, the author gave a detailed account of the salaries of the soldiers in the Uyvar fortress.

⁵⁰ Blaškovič, "Osmanlılar Hâkimiyeti Devrinde Slovakiya'da Vergi Sistemi Hakkında" *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7/12-13 (1969), 91.

⁵¹ Michal Matunák, "Turecko-uhorské boje v severo-západnom Uhorsku [Turkish-Hungarian Conflicts in the Northwestern Hungary]" *Slovenské Pohl'ady* 17 (1897), 505-531, 568-591, 632-651, 69-705; *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraniči* [Life and Conflict in the Slovak-Turkish Border Region], (Bratislava: Tatran, 1983). For a biography of Matunák and a list of his works see, Vojtech Kopčan, "Michal Matunák a Jeho Dielo [Michal Matunák and his works]" *Historický časopis* 29 (1981), 75-83.

expert on Turkish and Persian literature, focused on the Ottoman documents preserved in the village of Dolný Kamenec and pioneered in analyzing and publishing these sources in a scientific manner.⁵² Eduard Tejníl, another Slovak historian, published a series of articles in which he combined the data provided by chronicles and archival documents.⁵³ Jozef Blaškovič, a famous Hungarian-Slovak orientalist, produced a monograph based on the documents kept in the Rimavská Sobota city archive. This work has great value since it provides a detailed picture of the frontier life in the city.⁵⁴ The characteristics of the Ottoman documents in local archives were the subject of an article published by Vojtech Kopčan.⁵⁵ Additionally,

⁵² Jan Rypka, "Čtyři turecké listiny z Dolného Komence na Slovensku [Four Turkish Documents from Dolný Kamenec in Slovakia/with Four Facsimiles]" *Průdy* 9 (1927), 335-65; 11 (1927), 471-82. For his life and works see Vojtech Kopčan, "Academician Jan Rypka and Research into Osmanli Documents in Slovakia" *Archív orientální* 54/3 (1986), 212-218.

⁵³ Eduard Tejníl, "K dejinám tureckého panstva na Slovensku [On the History of Turkish Rule in Slovakia]" *Historické štúdie* 4 (1958), 181-221; 5 (1959), 149-220.

⁵⁴ Jozef Blaškovič, *Rimavská Sobota v čase osmansko-tureckého panstva* [Rimavská Sobota during the Ottoman-Turkish Period], (Bratislava, Obzor, 1974). For the other works of Blaškovič on the Ottoman rule in the region see, Blaškovič, "Türkische historische Urkunden aus Gerner". *Asian and African Studies* 8 (1972), 71-89; "Zwei türkische Lieder über die Eroberung von Nové Zámky aus dem Jahre 1663" *Asian and African Studies* 12 (1976), 63-69; "Some Notes on the History of the Turkish Occupation of Slovakia", *Acta Universitatis Carolinae-Philologica I. Orientalia Pragensia* 1, (1960), 41-57. For the life and the works of the author see Vojtech Kopčan, "Zum siebzigsten Geburtsrag von Jozef Blaškovič" *Asian and African Studies* 16 (1980), 9-18. Some of the articles of the author were published in a recent Turkish edition see Josef Blaškovič, *Çekoslovakya'da Türklük* (İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi, 2008).

⁵⁵ Vojtech Kopčan, "Turecké listy a listiny k slovenským dejinám [Turkish Letters and Documents for the History of Slovakia]" *Historické štúdie* 13 (1967), 105-122. Other works of the author on the subject are as follows: Kopčan, "Pramane hospodárskej správy Osmankej ríše k dejinám Slovenska [Financial Reports of the Ottoman Empire for the History of Slovakia]", *Slovenská archivistika* 2 (1967), 133-149; "Osmanské pramene k dejinám Slovenska [Ottoman Sources for the History of Slovakia]" *Historický časopis* 13 (1965), 113-121; "Tri turecké listiny zo slovenských archivov [Three Turkish Documents from Slovak Archives]" *Historické štúdie* 18 (1973), 247-263; *Bibliografia slovenskej turkológie a osmanskej expanzie na Slovensku* [Bibliography of Slovak Turkology and Ottoman Expansion in Slovakia], (Bratislava: Academy of Sciences, 1977); "Die osmanische Expansion und die Slowakei (Ergebnisse und Perspektiven)", *Asian and African Studies* 16 (1980), 35-52; "Die tschechoslowakische Literatur zu den Türkenkriegen" in Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, et al (eds.), *Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung* (Wien: Franz Deuticke 1983), 79-97; "The Military Character of the Ottoman Expansion in Slovakia" in Jaroslav Cesar (ed.), *Ottoman Rule in Middle Europe and the Balkan in the 16th and 17th Centuries: Papers Presented at*

Blaškovič and Kopčan co-authored a series of articles in which they described the life in the Uyvar province based on the letters of its *beylerbeys*.⁵⁶ The *istimâ'let* (good will and accommodation) policy of the Ottomans, double taxation (*condominium*), ransom slavery, border violations, change in the socio-political orientation of the people due to the security reasons and other peculiarities of the frontier life can be described on the basis of these documents.⁵⁷

What are the secondary sources that were considered as the “framing” works in the Ottoman military and provincial studies? Thanks to the recent developments in European military historiography,⁵⁸ a few numbers of Ottomanists began to produce seminal works on the Ottoman warfare and, more significantly for the present work, on the Ottoman campaigns in the western fronts in the 17th centuries.⁵⁹ One of these authors, Caroline Finkel, wrote her work, *The Administration of Warfare: The*

the 9th Joint Conference of the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Historical Committee (Prague: Czechoslovak Academia of Sciences Oriental Institute, 1978), 189-214; “XVI-XVII.ıncı Asırlarda Kuzey Macaristan Boylarında Osmanlı Hakimiyetinin Karakteri” in *VII. Türk Tarih Kurumu Kongresi (Ankara, 25-29 Eylül 1970) Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, II (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1973), 618-625.

⁵⁶ Blaškovič and Kopčan, “Türkische Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Eyalet Nové Zámky I” *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1986), 141-59; II, 23 (1987), 157-170; III, 24 (1988), 107-124; IV, 25 (1989), 143-158; Kopčan (only), V, 1/2 (1992), 154-169.

⁵⁷ A number of works have already been published on these issues see Peter F. Sugar, “‘The Ottoman Professional Prisoner’ on the Western Borders of the Empire in the 16th and 17th Centuries” *Etudes Balkaniques* 7/2 (1971), 82-91; Vojtech Kopčan, “Osmanische Kriegsgefangene auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei im 16.-18. Jahrhundert” *Asian and African Studies* 19 (1983), 197-211; Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth-Early Eighteenth Centuries)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

⁵⁸ For an overview of the recent developments in historical studies on the European warfare see, Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and Jeremy Black (ed.), *European Warfare, 1660-1815* (London: Yale University Press, 1994).

⁵⁹ For an annotated review of some of these publications see Virginia H. Aksan, “Ottoman Military Matters” *Journal of Early Modern History* 6/1 (2002), 52-62 and on the Ottoman military literature see Kahraman Şakul, “Osmanlı Askerî Tarihi Üzerine Bir Literatür Değerlendirmesi” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 1/2 (2003), 529-571.

Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593-1606 (Wien: VWGÖ, 1988) on the logistics and the provision of the Ottoman army during its campaigns in Hungary at the turn of the seventeenth century. Rhoads Murphey, the author of the *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1999), on the other hand, compared limits and possibilities of Ottoman warfare by examining several major and minor battles and castle sieges on the eastern and western fronts of the empire in two centuries. Since the scope of latter work does not let the author to have a close look to the peculiarities of a single campaign, the 1663 Ottoman campaign has remained understudied. Besides, excluding the great number of studies based on *sicils* (Ottoman judicial records) and on travel accounts, it is possible to argue that modern historians scarcely wrote monographs on the daily life of the Ottoman subjects in the “core” provinces,⁶⁰ let alone the frontier regions.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi is one of the few scholars who successfully produced some works in this field see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), and *The Ottoman Empire and the World around It* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2006).

⁶¹ There are, however, a few works available in this regard see, for instance, Gustav Bayerle, “One Hundred Fifty Years of Frontier Life in Hungary” in János M. Bak–Béla K. Király (eds.), *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi: War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 227-242. Also, Salih Özbaran, *Yemen’den Basra’ya Sınırdaki Osmanlı* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009).

CHAPTER II

THE OTTOMAN CAMPAIGN IN HUNGARY, 1663

2.1 Politics and Diplomacy

“Many men, both learned and unlearned, has been long since foretold: the incursion of the Turks into Christendom 7 years before 1670”. These are the first lines of a contemporary account narrating the remarkable events during the siege of the Uyvar fortress by the Ottoman army in 1663.⁶² While the anonymous author shared the opinion of those who perceived the cause of the war as “the heavy judgment of Heaven”, he also hailed the factual reason of the Ottoman expedition in

⁶² Anonymous, *A brief account of the Turks late expedition, against the kingdom of Hungary, Transylvania, and the hereditary countries of the Emperor* (London: Richard Hodgkinson ve Thomas Mabb, 1663), 1.

Hungary in that particular year “the action of Rákóczi, in the year 1657, in Poland, being undertaken without the consent of the Grand Signor”.⁶³

György II Rákóczi (1621-1660), the prince of the Ottoman-suzerain Transylvania⁶⁴ between 1648 and 1660, found himself leading a strong principality that politically and financially flourished due to the successful administration of his predecessors, particularly during the reigns of István Bocskai (1604-1606), Gábor Bethlen (1613-1629) and György I Rákóczi (1630-1648). The Vienna (1606) and Linz (1645) peace treaties signed with the Catholic Habsburg emperors led the Calvinist rulers of the principality to gain significant political, constitutional and religious rights.⁶⁵ During the Thirty-Years War (1618-1648), the Protestant forces in Western Europe cooperated with the rulers of the principality to open a new front against the Habsburgs.⁶⁶ The Ottomans who considered the fight against the Safavid dynasty in the eastern front in the first half of the seventeenth century their priority, on the other hand, did not pay much attention to the affairs in Europe, which allowed the Transylvanian rulers to enforce their political position in the region. Thus, the

⁶³ Anonymous, *A brief account of the Turks late expedition*, 1-3.

⁶⁴ Transylvania (German: Siebenbürgen) is an historic region located in the eastern side of the Carpathian Basin in central Europe. It comprises the northwestern and central part of the present-day Romania. The Ottomans called this region *Erdel*, derived from Hungarian name, *Erdély* that literarily means “beyond the forest”. For the Ottoman rule in the region see Aurel Decei–M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, “Erdel” *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 4 (1945), 293-306; Peter F. Sugar, “The Principality of Transylvania” in *A History of Hungary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 121-137; Mihail Guboğlu, “Osmanlı Padişahları Tarafından Transilvanya’ya Verilen Ahidnameler, Kapitülasyonlar (1541-1690)” in *X. Türk Tarih Kurumu Kongresi (Ankara, 22-26 Eylül 1986) Kongreye Sunulan Tebliğler*, IX (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), 1725-34; Viorel Panaite, *The Ottoman Law of War and Peace: The Ottoman Empire and Tribute Payers* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2000).

⁶⁵ Ferenc Eckhart, *Macaristan Tarihi*, Turkish translation by İbrahim Kafesoğlu (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1949), 130-132.

⁶⁶ Béla Köpeczi (ed.), *History of Transilvania* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), 318-319.

international recognition and the political stability gained in that period provided the rulers of the principality with enough confidence to act independently from the Porte to whom they owed allegiance in their external affairs.

Following the policy of his father, the religious-oriented György II Rákóczi sought an opportunity to enhance the territorial power of Transylvania.⁶⁷ The political crisis Istanbul experienced in the period and the Cossack uprising in Poland, which caused anarchy in the region, further encouraged him to move independently from the Porte. Besides, Rákóczi succeeded in obtaining the support of the Romanian voivodes, George Stefan of Moldavia and Konstantin Serban of Wallachia.⁶⁸ According to an Ottoman source, he even planned an offensive on the Ottoman lands by cooperating with Venice.⁶⁹ In 1656, he joined the forces of King Charles X of Sweden, and attacked Poland with his 60.000 soldiers. However, the Poles decisively defeated him when the Swedish forces withdraw from the war. Since the Ottomans did not approve of his actions, Rákóczi's offensive against Poland became the reason for a number of Ottoman military interventions in the principality between 1656 and 1662, including one led by the aged Grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa in 1658.⁷⁰ The growing power of the principality that threatened the political balance of the region and Rákóczi's refusal of tax payment to the Ottomans might be other reasons

⁶⁷ Thomas M. Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent: Vienna's Second Turkish Siege and Its Historical Setting* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1967), 22–23.

⁶⁸ Köpeczi (ed.), *History of Transylvania*, 353.

⁶⁹ Mehmed Halife, *Târih-i Gılmânî*, Kamil Su (ed.), (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1976), 64.

⁷⁰ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 6, 34-38.

for the Ottoman military interventions.⁷¹ It was during these attacks that the Ottoman forces captured the fortress of Yenő (Turkish: Yanova), replaced the Romanian voivodes with the new ones, deposed Rákóczi, and enthroned Ákos Barcsai (1658-1660), who agreed to pay a war indemnity and annual tribute of forty thousand ducats instead of fifteen thousand.⁷² However, Rákóczi did not concede defeat and attacked the Ottoman-backed Barcsai, thus aiming to regain his throne. In this endeavor, he indeed trusted the support of the Habsburg Emperor, Leopold I,⁷³ who sent an envoy to the Ottoman capital to ask forgiveness on his behalf.⁷⁴ In May 1660, Rákóczi died of the wounds he received at the Battle of Gyalu (Romanian: Gelu) where he encountered the forces of Seydi Ahmed Paşa, the governor of Buda.⁷⁵ Three months later, the Ottoman commander-in-chief Köse Ali Paşa captured Varad (Hungarian: Nagyvárád, Romanian: Oradea), the most important border fortress of the principality, after a forty-four day siege, and thus annexed a new province to the Ottoman lands.⁷⁶ János Kemény, the Catholic general of György II's army, tried to organize a counter-attack but when he died in a clash near Nagyszöllös on January

⁷¹ Petr Štěpánek, "Zitvatoruk (1606) ve Vasvár (1664) Anlaşmaları Arasında Orta Avrupa'da Osmanlı Siyaseti", translated by Ramazan Kılınç, in Hasan Celâl Güzel, Kemal Çiçek, Salim Koca (eds.), *Türkler 9* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002), 734; Eckhart, *Macaristan Tarihi*, 136.

⁷² Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi (1065-1094/1655-1695)* I, Ahmed Refik (ed.), (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928), 129; Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi* 6, 37.

⁷³ Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 65: "...Leopold responded positively to Rákóczi's request for Austrian military intervention... [H]e initially did nothing more than occupy two Transylvanian counties that Rákóczi had ceded to him in exchange for his assistance."

⁷⁴ Mehmed Halife, *Târih-i Gilmânî*, 84; Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 166.

⁷⁵ Hammer, 6, 66.

⁷⁶ Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 203-208.

23, 1662, this strategy ultimately failed.⁷⁷ The Ottoman-supported Mihály I Apafy ascended the throne in 1661 and being obedient to the Porte, he held this post until 1690.⁷⁸

This line of events partially demonstrates what the anonymous source quoted above indicates as the cause of the 1663 campaign. The Ottoman policy makers in the capital paid close attention at preserving the ineffective buffer-zone status of Transylvania⁷⁹ by considering its strategic importance for the Ottoman provinces in the region, i.e. Budin/Budun (Hungarian: Buda, established in 1541), Tımışvar (Hungarian: Temesvár; established in 1552), Eğri (Hungarian: Eger) Kanije (Hungarian: Kanizsa, established in 1600).⁸⁰ The Ottomans showed no tolerance towards actions that could possibly disturb the established balance.⁸¹ By observing the classical Ottoman ruling methods, the Grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa took care of the interests of the empire in the region. Few days before his death, Mehmed Paşa invited Simon Reninger, the Austrian representative in İstanbul, to discuss the

⁷⁷ Köpeczi (ed.), *History of Transylvania*, 360.

⁷⁸ Mihail Guboğlu, “Osmanlı Padişahları Tarafından Transilvanya’ya Verilen Ahidnameler, Kapitülasyonlar (1541-1690)”, 1732.

⁷⁹ The Ottoman rulers put strict articles to preserve the buffer-zone status of the Transylvania in any peace treaty signed with their rivals in the region see Viorel Panaite, “Haraçgüzarların Statüleri: XV. ve XVII. Yüzyıllarda Eflak, Boğdan ve Transilvanyalılar Üzerine Bir Çalışma” in Güler Eren, Kemal Çiçek, Cem Oğuz (eds.), *Osmanlı 1* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), 380-381.

⁸⁰ Peter F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), 63.

⁸¹ Štěpánek, “Zitvatoruk (1606) ve Vasvár (1664) Anlaşmaları Arasında Orta Avrupa’da Osmanlı Siyaseti”, 733. From the very beginning of the Ottoman rule in the Central Europe, the Habsburg rulers had claimed rights on the Transylvania Principality. Reports of the Grand vizier Yemişçi Hasan Paşa (d. 1603), which indicated the importance of the principality for the security of the other Ottoman provinces in the region, warned the Sultan against the moves of the Habsburgs, see Cengiz Orhonlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Tarihine Aid Belgeler Telhisler (1597-1607)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1970), 65-70.

Transylvania problem in the presence of his son Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, the strongest candidate for the grand vizierate post. He warned Reninger and advised him to abstain from elections in the principality.⁸²

The Porte considered the Habsburg occupation of Székelyhíd (Turkish: Sekelhid) and Kolozsvár (Turkish: Kolojvar) castles and their allowing Count Nicholas Zrínyi (1620-1664), a grandson of the famous defender of the Sigetvar fortress,⁸³ to construct a new castle⁸⁴, as acts that violated the Zsitva-Török Peace Treaty of 1606.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, rebellions in Anatolia and the ongoing war with Venice predominantly occupied the Ottoman politics and the Ottoman capital chose diplomacy to solve the problem in its western front. According to European sources, the Grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa offered a peace treaty to the Habsburgs in which Vienna would recognize Varad as an Ottoman possession and would not support Kemény; in return, the Ottoman capital would terminate its campaign against Transylvania.⁸⁶ Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, moreover, tried to establish a Protestant republic in the region under the leadership of the German prince Karl Ludwig, during the first year of his vizierate.⁸⁷ This republic would consist of Protestant nobility living in

⁸² Hammer, 6, 90-91.

⁸³ Eckhart, *Macaristan Tarihi*, 136; Ahmed Refik, *Köprülüler* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001), 112-113.

⁸⁴ Zrínyi Újvár, “New castle of Zrínyi”, (Turkish: Yeni-kale).

⁸⁵ Josef Blaškovič, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663-1685)” *Archív orientální* 54 (1986), 106. Sir Paul Rycout, *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1678), 128: “Fort built by the Count Serini, being a matter really against the articles of the last peace.”

⁸⁶ Köpeczi (ed.), *History of Transilvania*, 360.

⁸⁷ János Varga, “Kara Mustafa Paşa ve ‘Orta Macaristan’” in Zeki Dilek (ed.), *Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, 142.

Upper Hungary and would pay annual tax to the Porte. Karl Ludwig, however, rejected this idea. The Grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Paşa then ordered the governor of Budin, Hüseyin Paşa, and the Transylvanian prince, Mihály Apafi I, to write letters to the Hungarian nobility in the region to accept the Ottoman sovereignty.⁸⁸ The Hungarian nobility that trusted the European coalition forces, however, did not accept this offer⁸⁹ and the Grand vizier applied the classical methods to find an ultimate solution that would secure the northern border of the empire.

It is true that with the beginning of the grand vizierate of Köprülü Mehmed Paşa in 1656, the spirit of *Gazâ* (the Holy War) was revived in the empire and the Ottoman militia regained its dynamism.⁹⁰ Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, the eldest son of Mehmed Paşa, who took the post of grand vizierate after his father death in October 30, 1661, had enough experience in statecraft and knew how to manage the human and financial resources of the empire.⁹¹ Engaged with the problems in Central Europe, the ambitious Grand vizier first warned the Habsburg's ambassador in İstanbul to observe the conditions of the existing treaty. He was aiming to end the war with Venice that had continued for fifteen years and then to deal with the problems at the Hungarian front.

⁸⁸ It is possible to consider these acts under the framework of political plans of the Grand vizier, i.e., changing the status of the Transylvania from an autonomous principality into an Ottoman province see Sir Paul Rychart, *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 122: "the total subjection of Transylvania"; Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, 6, 100; İ. Metin Kunt, "17. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kuzey Politikası Üzerine Bir Yorum" *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi* 4-5 (1976-77), 111-116.

⁸⁹ János Varga, "Kara Mustafa Paşa ve 'Orta Macaristan'", 142.

⁹⁰ On the reformist activities of the Köprülü Grand viziers see Ahmet Refik, *Köprülüler* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001). According to İnalçık, the spirit of *gazâ* remained as an dynamic principle until the end of the seventeenth century see Halil İnalçık, "Periods in Ottoman History" in *Essays in Ottoman History* (İstanbul: Eren Yayınevi, 1998), 15-30.

⁹¹ Abdülkadir Özcan, "Köprülüzâde Fazıl Ahmed Paşa" *DİA* 26 (2002), 260-262.

When the Ottoman army prepared for a campaign against the Venetian territories in Dalmatia in the spring of 1663,⁹² the Grand vizier received a *firman* from the Sultan ordering a march against the Habsburgs. Complaint letters received from the frontier fortresses and cities on the severe attacks of the Habsburg soldiers played an important role in this decision of the Sultan.⁹³ Besides, inspired by the Palace preacher Vani Mehmed Efendi, both the Sultan and the Grand vizier favorably considered a campaign against a Christian enemy, which might bring them heavenly reward and worldly prestige if it ended successfully.⁹⁴

The Ottoman ruling class had to observe the necessities of the army to end the war with a success.⁹⁵ The war equipment and the provision had been prepared the previous year for a campaign against Venice. In his *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, Sir Paul Rycaut explicitly described the preparation activities:

Though the Turks have their affairs but ill managed at sea, and their success accordingly fortunate; yet their preparation for land services are more expedite, and executed with that secrecy and speed, that oftentimes armies are brought into the field, before it is so much as rumored by common mouths that any designs are in agitation: For though it was now winter, yet the design against Germany went forward, forces were daily sent to the frontiers, cannon and ammunition for war, transported by way of Black Sea, and the Danube. Orders issued out to the princes of Moldavia and Walachia to repair their wharfs

⁹² Taib Ömer, *Fethiyye-i Uyvar u Novigrad*, folio 5b; Erzurumlu Osman Dede, *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa*, folios 3b-4a; Sir Paul Rycaut, *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 120; Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 235.

⁹³ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih*, folio 6a. Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 236-239. The *firman* reached to the Grand vizier when he was in Edirne.

⁹⁴ Ahmet Refik, *Köprülüler*, 107.

⁹⁵ Writing in 1981, Gèza Perjès mentioned the necessity to see the Ottoman-Habsburg campaigns as rationally calculated and carefully organized war games that lead some superficial conclusion. See, Gèza Perjès, "Game Theory and the Rationality of War: the Battle of Mohacs and the Disintegration of Medieval Hungary" *East European Quarterly*, 15/2 (1981), 153-62, particularly, 156: "Many [historians] have asserted that Ottoman actions were marked by a lust for plunder and reflected a drive toward unlimited territorial expansion... The opposing view, which I also hold, is that... it is inconceivable that an empire as large as Turkey could have been built and maintained for centuries without planning that reasonably took into account the objectives and means available".

and keys along the river for the more convenient landing of men and ammunition, and to rebuild their bridges for the more commodious passage of the Tartars; that horses should be provided against the next spring, for drawing all carriages of ammunition, and provisions; their magazines stored with quantities of bread and rice, their fields well stocked with sheep, and other cattle, and that no necessaries be wanting which concern the victualing or sustenance of a camp.⁹⁶ ... Thirty pieces of cannon from Scutari, and fifty from the Seraglio, most of a vast bigness and weight, which had served in the taking of Babylon, with great store of ammunition and provisions of war, were transported up the Danube to Belgrade, and the princes of Moldavia and Walachia had now commands sent them to quicken their diligence in making their preparations of war, and in providing sheep, beef, rice, and all forts of victuals for supply of the camp; and general proclamation was made in all places.⁹⁷

The sources provide discordant information on the actual strength of the Ottoman army in the 1663 campaign. According to Hammer, it was 121.600 men strong. He also informs us that while the troops were marching on Ösek (Hungarian: Eszék) a letter of the Crimean Khan arrived. In this letter, the Khan promised to send an army consisting of 100.000 soldiers under the command of his son, Ahmed Giray. In addition, 15.000 Kazak soldiers would come later. The voivodas of Wallachia and Moldavia also attended the march during the siege of the Uyvar fortress with their men.⁹⁸ On the other hand, Charles Ingrao downplays the number of Ottoman troops by stating that Ahmed Köprülü led an army of 60.000 into Royal Hungary.⁹⁹ Blaškovičs believed it was more than double that size, consisting of 70 thousand infantrymen and 80 thousand cavalry forces.¹⁰⁰ Marsigli's figure of 30.000

⁹⁶ Sir Paul Rycaut, *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 128.

⁹⁷ Rycaut, 131.

⁹⁸ Hammer, 6, 102-107.

⁹⁹ Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 66.

¹⁰⁰ Blaškovičs, "The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663-1685)", 106.

Janissaries and 155.000 provincial cavalry and infantry has been generally accepted in the works on the Ottoman campaigns in the given period.¹⁰¹

For the tributary princes, the participation in military campaigns theoretically should have postponed their tribute paying, as both Ottoman authorities and the *voivodes* were aware. In fact, the Moldavian and Wallachian *hospodars*, forced to come to the siege of the Uyvar fortress, spoke of their dilemma, “Is it possible for us to pay *harâc* and take part in the battle at the same time?” However, the Porte would try to solve this incompatibility by considering the military-political circumstances specific for each case.¹⁰²

On Ramazan 3, 1073 / April 11, 1663, the Grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed received the title of *serdar* in Edirne and began his march towards Belgrade.¹⁰³ Three days after his arrival to Belgrade, he accepted the envoys of the Habsburgs, Baron Goes and Beris, and Simon Reninger, who demanded peace negotiations.¹⁰⁴ The Grand vizier asked them to remove the Austrian soldiers from the Transylvanian castles, to demolish Zrínyi’s new castle, and to free the Muslim captives.¹⁰⁵ The envoys, on the other hand, also stated their conditions: the Székelyhíd and Kolozsvár castles would remain under the control of the Emperor and in return, they would destroy Zrínyi’s

¹⁰¹ Virginia H. Aksan, “Locating the Ottomans among Early Modern Empires” in Virginia H. Aksan (ed.), *Ottomans and Europeans: Contacts and Conflicts* (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 2004), 95.

¹⁰² Viorel Panaite, “The Voivodes of the Danubian Principalities - As *Harâcgüzarlar* of the Ottoman Sultans”, *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 9/1-2 (2003), 59-78.

¹⁰³ Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 240.

¹⁰⁴ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevâhirü't-Tevârih*, folios 8a-8b; Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 232-237.

¹⁰⁵ Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 243.

new castle.¹⁰⁶ To convince them of the strength and the capacity of the Ottoman army to gain what he demanded, the Grand vizier showed Baron Goes the tents and cannons gathered in the field of Belgrade.¹⁰⁷ When the Grand vizier informed the Sultan with a *telhis* of the conditions demanded by the Habsburg envoys Mehmed IV inflamed and reiterated his order to launch a campaign against the Habsburg Emperor.¹⁰⁸ Fifteen days later, when Fazıl Ahmed Paşa entered Ösek, he accepted the envoys for the second time. In addition to his early requests, the Grand vizier demanded an annual tax payment of 30.000 golden ducats as in the reign of the Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. The envoys accepted to convey the earlier conditions to the Habsburg Emperor but refused the latter one.¹⁰⁹ Finally, in a meeting in Buda in June 30, Ali Paşa asked the Austrian envoys on behalf of the Grand vizier to pay either 30.000 ducats annually or 200.000 florins as they paid at the time of Koca Murad Paşa (1606). The envoys asked time to set an answer. Ali Paşa gave the envoys fourteen days while the army continued its march en route the Uyvar fortress.¹¹⁰

At this point, it is appropriate to gain some insight into the social context of warfare. Doubtlessly, high levels of morale and motivation formed the basics of successful warfare. Along with technological advance and effective logistics, they paved the way to victory. Whenever the underpaid and under- appreciated soldiers

¹⁰⁶ Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 244.

¹⁰⁷ Hammer, 6, 103-104.

¹⁰⁸ Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 244.

¹⁰⁹ Hammer, 6, 103.

¹¹⁰ Hammer, 6, 104.

encountered numerous physical difficulties, they lost their morale, and as a result, the war. The commanders deployed the most powerful motivating tools e.g., granting and/or promising of awards to preserve the morale of the troops. The Ottoman military tradition, indeed, used these tools in an effective way.¹¹¹ The sources provide us with several examples from the 1663 campaign showing the Ottoman practice of motivating the soldiers in kind. The *cebecibaşı*, the one responsible for the assurance of the military equipment, was promoted due to the performance he showed in arranging the provision and armor in a timely manner. He obtained the rank of *defterdar* and granted the honor to enter Belgrade at the side of the Grand vizier.¹¹² Low-ranking soldiers were also in the position to benefit from the generosity of the commander. During the first confrontation with the enemy at the Battle of Ciğerdelen, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa granted 40-50 *guruşes* for each captive, and 25-30 *guruşes* for each head.¹¹³ The Porte, furthermore, undertook a number of measures to increase the moral and the motivation of the soldiers. As Mehmed Halife informs us, ninety-two *içoğlans*, boys serving in the inner part, *Enderun*, of the Topkapı Palace, were ordered to read *Surah al-Feth*, “the Victory”, ninety-two times in a week during an earlier campaign.¹¹⁴ Similarly, the army prayed for success and made sacrifices on the morning of the first day of the siege of Uyvar fortress.¹¹⁵ A unit in the army (*mehterân-i humâyun*) played musical instruments during the siege

¹¹¹ Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare, 1500-1700*, 133-168.

¹¹² Hammer, 6, 102.

¹¹³ Hammer, 6, 105.

¹¹⁴ Mehmed Halife, *Tarih-i Gilmani*, 65.

¹¹⁵ Hammer, 6, 106.

in order to keep soldiers' spirits high.¹¹⁶ However, while there was reward, there also existed punishment. To provide discipline in the army, *çavuşes* frequently made roll calls. To assure attendance it was declared that: “those who failed to be at the camp during the roll calls would lose their *dirlik* (livelihoods)”.¹¹⁷

Along with the moral and material motivations, the physical health of the troops had to be taken care of since the military life was fraught with danger for the common Ottoman soldier. During the siege of Uyvar, many soldiers were wounded. In an Ottoman document dated January 30, 1664, a certain Hasan who was one of the surgeons attended to the campaign asked 10.000 *akçes* from the central treasury to meet the expenses for the treatment of the soldiers.¹¹⁸

As John Stoye observed, “campaigning on a large scale justified enlarging the army to a maximum, and within this expanded force it was easier to contrive a balance of power which subdued the more refractory elements”.¹¹⁹ In fact, it was easier for the prominent Ottomans to settle personal scores during the campaign mobilization. Indeed, on September 12, 1663, while the siege of the Uyvar fortress was continuing, the Grand vizier used his extended authority to have Şâmizâde, the *reisülküttab* (the chief scribe of the Ottoman chancery), and his son-in-law, Kadı-zâde İbrahim Paşa executed. Although Ottoman sources have different views on this

¹¹⁶ Hammer, 6, 107.

¹¹⁷ Mehmed Halife, *Tarih-i Gilmani*, 111.

¹¹⁸ BOA, İbnülemin Sıhhiye, no. 35 cf. Çoşkun Yılmaz and Necdet Yılmaz (eds.), *Osmanlılarda Sağlık - vol. II Arşiv Belgeleri* (İstanbul: Biofirma İlaç Sanayi, 2006), 157.

¹¹⁹ John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna* (London: Collins, 1964), 30.

event,¹²⁰ readjusting the power balance seems to have been the main reason for the execution of such significant figures of the ruling class.¹²¹

2.1 March and Confrontation

The Ottoman army began its march in a customary way. On February 9, 1663, the *tuğ-i Sultan* (Imperial standard), symbol of the start of a campaign, was prepared for the march. A week later the imperial tents, and on the February 22, the tent of the Sultan himself were readied. The army gathered in Davutpasa on March 18, and following the traditional route used for the western campaigns advanced towards Edirne.¹²² Those soldiers attending the campaign had to join the army by March 21, 1663.¹²³ In Edirne, the ammunition and provision needed for the campaign were gathered. On April 11, The Grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Paşa was appointed *serdar* and left for Sofia.¹²⁴ There, horses were put on the pastures to feed on fresh grass. After a sixteen-day stay in Sofia, the Ottoman forces moved to Halkalı Pınar where the Sultan sent the commander a *firman* with a sword and caftan, traditional

¹²⁰ İsa-zâde, *İsa-zâde Tarihi*, 79; Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 277; Mehmed Halife, *Tarih-i Gilmani*, 109.

¹²¹ Rycout, *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 135-136.

¹²² Mehmet Necati, *Tarih-i Feth-i Yanık*, folio 1b.

¹²³ Erzurumlu Osman Dede, *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa*, folios 3b-4a.

¹²⁴ Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 240.

gifts to animate the *gazâ* spirit.¹²⁵ When the army subsequently reached Belgrade on June 8,¹²⁶ almost all its units had been assembled.¹²⁷ The soldiers were so numerous that the city of Belgrade became a carnival of colors because of their tents.¹²⁸ The army stayed in the city for twelve days in order to undertake the logistical aspects of the campaign. The cannons, mortars, ammunition, cereals and other provisions that were brought from İstanbul and the material already present in Belgrade were loaded onto one hundred and forty ships and transported from the Belgrade port to Budin via the Danube River.¹²⁹ Then, the army moved to Zemun and stayed for another two days there. On June 22, they reached Mitrofcâ (Croatian: Mitrovica) where the soldiers could buy cheap food.¹³⁰ It was June 28, when the army arrived Ösek. There, the soldiers received their provision and the cannons uploaded to the ships.¹³¹ Finally, on July 17, the army arrived Buda.¹³² Based on the information Mehmed Necati provided, the distance between one *menzil* (resting/camping place) and the next differed between two to eight hours of marching distance.¹³³

¹²⁵ *Silahdar Tarihi*, 242; Mehmed Halife, *Tarih-i Gilmani*, 108.

¹²⁶ Mehmed Necati, *Tarih-i Feth-i Yanık*, folio 2b.

¹²⁷ Taib Ömer, *Fethiyye-i Uyvar u Novigrad*, folio 8a.

¹²⁸ Mehmed Halife, *Tarih-i Gilmani*, 109.

¹²⁹ Mehmed Halife, *Tarih-i Gilmani*, 109; Erzurumlu Osman Dede, *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa*, folio 5b.

¹³⁰ Mehmed Halife, *Tarih-i Gilmani*, 109.

¹³¹ Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 245.

¹³² Mehmed Necati, *Tarih-i Feth-i Yanık*, folio 3a.

¹³³ See appendix.

Although it is a popular discourse to mention the geographical and political illiteracy of the Ottomans, recent studies show us that the Ottoman decision-makers were careful enough in planning and organizing their attacks in the European lands. They were aware of the castles, rivers, natural resources, swamps, defense lines, and balance of powers thanks to the activities of their well-developed information-gathering system.¹³⁴ Preparing sound reports on geographical and strategic peculiarities of the region was the responsibility of the frontier *paşas*. Therefore, based on the reports of the *paşas* in the Habsburg frontier, the Ottoman ruling class made a decision to march on the Uyvar fortress after carefully debating the issue in a meeting held in Buda on July 23, 1663.¹³⁵ The motives supporting the decision included the prospect of plentiful booty, and the prestige that could be gained by the enterprise – the more so since a high official of the Emperor resided in the fortress. Other possible targets for the Ottoman army were Yanık Kale (Hungarian: Győr) and Komaran (Hungarian: Komárom). However, they thought it difficult to enter Yanık Kale, and they knew that the castle of Komaran was ready for defense with its wide and waterlogged ditches.¹³⁶

The first confrontation of the Ottoman army with the German and Hungarian soldiers took place during the Battle of Ciğerdelen (Hungarian: Párkány; Slovak: Štúrovo), on August 6, 1663. To reach the Upper Danube, the Grand vizier ordered

¹³⁴ Gábor Ágoston, “The Ottoman-Habsburg Frontier in Hungary (1541-1699): A Comparison” in Kemal Çiçek, Ercüment Kuran et al (eds.), *The Great Ottoman Turkish Civilization* 1 (İstanbul: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2000), 277.

¹³⁵ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevahirü't-Tevarih*, folio 13b; Erzurumlu Osman Dede, *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa*, folio 7a; Hammer, 6, 103.

¹³⁶ Hammer, 6, 104.

his *paşas* to build a bridge near Estergon (Hungarian: Esztergom). Hüseyin Paşa, Kaplan Mustafa Paşa, and Kadızade İbrahim Paşa, were appointed to coordinate this challenging task.¹³⁷ However, when the Ottoman army reached Estergon on August 2, the bridge had not yet been finished, which compelled the Grand vizier to take a personal interest in the construction of it. Four days later, the bridge was finally completed and Köse Ali Paşa, Mehmed Paşa, and Yusuf Paşa with their soldiers numbering 8.000 strong crossed the bridge over the Danube and reached Ciğerdelen.¹³⁸ On the day when the Ottoman army passed on to the Upper Danube, the Ottoman soldiers captured a messenger who carried more than twenty letters. This intercepted correspondence contained instructions for the officials who commanded the Uyvar and Novigrad (Hungarian: Nógrád) fortresses.¹³⁹

Misled by a false report, Count Forgacs, the commander of the Uyvar fortress, went to stop the Ottoman passage on the Upper Danube. However, he suffered a decisive defeat at Ciğerdelen. His army consisted of 8.000 hussar or hayduck, 500 infantrymen, German and Hungarian soldiers.¹⁴⁰ At the end of the battle, 4.800 soldiers of the Habsburg side had been killed.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Taib Ömer, *Fethiyye-i Uyvar u Novigrad*, folio 8b.

¹³⁸ Taib Ömer, *Fethiyye-i Uyvar u Novigrad*, folio 9a.

¹³⁹ The Ottoman-Turkish translation of some of these letters were supplemented in the Mühürdar Hasan Ağa's work see, *Cevahirü't-Tevarih*, folio 17b-19a.

¹⁴⁰ The number of the soldiers was more than 10.000 according to Taib Ömer, *Fethiyye-i Uyvar u Novigrad*, folio 9b.

¹⁴¹ Taib Ömer, *Fethiyye-i Uyvar u Novigrad*, folio 12b.

Then the Ottoman army finally reached the Uyvar fortress, the “golden apple”, on August 17, 1663. The castle was erected in 1545 on the right bank of the Nyitra (Turkish: Nitra) River, after an order of Pál Várdai, the archbishop of Esztergom, who aimed to protect his lands from the Ottoman attacks. It was then named after its founder, Érsek Úyvár, that is, “the new castle of the archbishop”.¹⁴² However, when it became clear that this relatively small castle could not prevent the Ottoman attacks, the *Wiener Hofkriegsrat* (Vienna War Council) decided to build a new stronghold in accordance with the renaissance fortification model (*trace italienne*) that would provide security for the road leading to the capital.¹⁴³ Italian military engineers, Carlo Theti and Ottavio Baldigara, were in charge of the reconstruction of the fortress.¹⁴⁴ The construction activities started at 1573 and finished by 1580. The fortress occupied an area of approximately three kilometers and was surrounded by a 35-meter wide and 4, 5-meter deep moat filled with the water of the river.¹⁴⁵ As a prime example of the star fortresses, Uyvar was one of the most modern strongholds in Europe at that time and a component of the most up-to-date fortress chain that was built to prevent further Ottoman expansion.¹⁴⁶ However,

¹⁴² Blaškovičs, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663-1685)”, 105; for an authoritative Slovak account on the fortress and the city see, Ladislav Kočíš, *Nové Zámky v minulosti a súčasnosti* [Nové Zámky in the Past and Present] (Nové Zámky, 1967), particularly, 21-32: “Turci v Nových Zámkoch” [Turks in Nové Zámky].

¹⁴³ Géza Pálffy, “Scorched-Earth Tactics in the Ottoman Hungary: On a Controversy in Military Theory and Practice on the Habsburg-Ottoman Frontier” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 61/1–2 (2008), 183.

¹⁴⁴ Gábor Ágoston, “Habsburgs and Ottomans: Defense, Military Change and Shifts in Power” *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 22 (1998), 131-132.

¹⁴⁵ Blaškovičs, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663-1685)”, 106.

¹⁴⁶ Other castles in the defence-chain that were also modernized in accordance with the Italian model were Szigetvár (Sigetvar), Kanizsa (Kanije), Győr (Yanik), Komárom (Komaran), Eger (Eğri),

the Ottoman forces could capture the fortress in 1605 and gave it to the Transylvanian prince Borcskay.¹⁴⁷ The Austrians however succeeded in re-taking the stronghold and subsequently spent a great deal of resources to strengthen its walls.

Evliya Çelebi reports on the fortress as follows:

It has six towers and each tower is like the Alexander wall. In the west, there is the 'white tower', in the east there is the 'tower of the pope', in the south there is the gate of Vienna with on its left the 'wet tower'. In the north there is the tower of Komaran, with the king's tower at the side of the *kible*. Each tower has forty-fifty cannons and a gunpowder storage room. They did not keep all the gunpowder in the same place so as not to lose all what they have in case of fire. Each tower contains a thousand men, and it is not difficult to find a place in time of battle.¹⁴⁸

Besides, the Ottoman source *İhtisar-ı Tahrir-i Atlas Mayor* describes the geographical position of the fortress with these words:

The Uyvar fortress is in vicinity of Nitra, a town that was the most valued in the region. The fortress was built to protect the town and the region. It is six hours away from the Komaron castle and twelve hours away from Cigerdelen. The Nitra castle, on the other hand, is six hours away in the north.¹⁴⁹

In accordance with Islamic tradition, the Grand vizier first called upon the commander Adam Forgacs to surrender when the army reached the fortress. Forgacs, however, refused the Ottoman offer and the siege was started. On the twenty-fourth

Temesvár (Tımişvar), and Nagyvárad (Varad). See, Ágoston, "Habsburgs and Ottomans: Defense, Military Change and Shifts in Power", 132-133.

¹⁴⁷ See, Nâimâ Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Naimâ*, I, Mehmed İpşirli (ed.), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), 295–296.

¹⁴⁸ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 6, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (eds.), (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), 189.

¹⁴⁹ Ebubekir el-Dımeşki, *İhtisâr-ı Tahrîr-i Atlâs Mayor*, Topkapı Sarayı Manuscript Library, Revan Section, no. 1634, folio 345b-346a.

day of the siege, Crimean, Wallachian, and Moldavian forces joined the army.¹⁵⁰ Ottoman spies informed the Grand vizier that Montecucoli, the General of the imperial army, was coming to rescue the fortress with his 30.000 soldiers and 45 cannons. To stop the advance of the adversary, the Grand vizier appointed Kibleli Mustafa Paşa and the Crimean soldiers.¹⁵¹ The army of Montecucoli was defeated and the Ottoman soldiers made raids until the vicinity of Vienna, returning with a great amount of booty.¹⁵²

On September 25, 1663, after a siege of thirty-eight days, the commander surrendered the fortress. The Ottoman army spent 184 tons of gunpowder in this enterprise.¹⁵³ The Grand vizier guaranteed a safe transportation of the Hungarian and German population in the Uyvar castle to the island of Komaron.¹⁵⁴ Two days later, he settled in the fortification and ordered repairs to strength the defense of the fortress. He appointed Kurd Mehmed Paşa, who was *mazul* (not appointed to an official duty) at the time of the conquest, as the first governor of the Uyvar. The governor of Budin Hüseyin Paşa was appointed as the *muhafiz* (protector-in-chief) of the fortress. When the stronghold was captured, the Ottoman soldiers found 40

¹⁵⁰ Taib Ömer, *Fethiyye- i Uyvar u Novigrad*, folio 15b.

¹⁵¹ Mehmed Necati, *Tarih-i Feth-i Yanık*, folio 14b; Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 273.

¹⁵² Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 273

¹⁵³ Gabor Agoston, “Gunpowder for the Sultan’s Army” *Turcica* 25 (1993), 92-93.

¹⁵⁴ Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevahirü’-t-Tevarih*, folio 27a.

cannons and 14.000-kile flour.¹⁵⁵ These provisions were useful to meet the needs of the Ottoman soldiers, who continued their military activities.

In addition to the Uyvar, other forts and castles in the vicinity were also captured. Among them Nitra, Leve (Hungarian: Levé) and Novigrad were the significant ones to mention. The Tatar forces, at the same time, plundered Moravia. When the region of Uyvar was thus completely subdued, the Grand vizier sent letters to the surrounding palankas, granting them pardon.¹⁵⁶ As a document kept in the Rimavska Sobota archive shows us that he also positively responded to the letters of the frontier pašas who asked for protection against the raids of the Tatar forces.¹⁵⁷ The Ottoman army moved back to Belgrade for wintering with the intention to resume the campaign in the following spring.

The news of the capture of the Uyvar fortress by the Ottoman forces was echoed throughout Europe. The church bells were rang to warn of the Turkish threat and preachers busied themselves with the encouragement of their flock.¹⁵⁸ Hammer informs us that the number of the publications about the Ottomans reached its peak at that time.¹⁵⁹ It should also be kept in mind that the Habsburg capital consciously alarmed the public opinion by sending numerous letters across the continent since

¹⁵⁵ Hammer, 6, 108.

¹⁵⁶ Hammer, 6, 109.

¹⁵⁷ Slovak State Archive, Rimavska Sobota Branch, Turkish Documents, no, 18, cf. Jozef Blaškovič, *Rimavská Sobota v čase osmansko-tureckého panstva* (Bratislava, Obzor, 1974), 186.

¹⁵⁸ Thomas M. Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent: Vienna's Second Turkish Siege and Its Historical Setting*, 25.

¹⁵⁹ Hammer, 6, 106.

“the constant propagation and frequent exaggeration of the Turkish menace helped mobilize financial and military support and contributed to the considerable consolidation of the Habsburgs’ position in the region by emphasizing their indispensability in defending Western Christendom against Infidel Islamdom.”¹⁶⁰ The Emperor Leopold I, indeed, received considerable financial aid from Germany, Italian States, Spain and the Papacy. In addition to the financial support, he successfully convinced the Estate Assembly in Regensburg in February 1664 to send military aid that consisted of Saxony, Brandenburg, Bavaria, and French troops.¹⁶¹

While the imperial army was in preparation to stop the advance of the Ottoman troops, Count Nicholas Zirinyi started his own campaign in southwestern Hungary in January 1664. Although the Ottoman army was in its winter camp in Belgrade, the Grand vizier quickly responded to the attacks. Zirinyi’s castle, which was one of the “official” causes of the 1663 Ottoman campaign, was captured on June 30 and demolished on July 11.¹⁶² On the other hand, the German troops of Louise de Souchès, which were reinforced by Hungarian soldiers, were operational on the Upper Danube. Souchès was successful in capturing Nitra (May 2) and Leve (June 14) castles.¹⁶³ On August 1, some units of the Ottoman army were confronted

¹⁶⁰ Ágoston, “Habsburgs and Ottomans: Defense, Military Change and Shifts in Power”, 135.

¹⁶¹ Vojtech Kopčan “Nové Zámky - Ottoman Province in Central Europe” *Studia historica Slovaca* 19 (1995), 57; Thomas M. Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent: Vienna’s Second Turkish Siege and Its Historical Setting*, 25. For the European coalition at that time see, Faruk Bilici, “XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Türk-Fransız İlişkileri: Gizli Harpten Objektif İttifaka” in Güler Eren, Kemal Çiçek, Cem Oğuz (eds.), *Osmanlı 1* (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), 480-492.

¹⁶² Mehmed Necati, *Tarih-i Feth-i Yanık*, folio 34b.

¹⁶³ For the Habsburg attacks in the year 1664 see, Georg Wagner, *Das Türkenjahr 1664: eine Europaeische bewaehrung Raimund Montecuccoli, die schlach von St. Gotthard-Mogersdorf und der friede von Eisenburg (Vasvar)* (Eisenstadt: Burgenländische Forschungen, 1964). For a recent study

with the imperial forces commanded by Montecuccoli at St. Gotthard.¹⁶⁴ The imperial forces defeated these units and prevented the march of the main body of the Ottoman army from crossing the Rába River. The peace treaty concluded at Vasvár (German: Eisenburg) on August 10, however, provided the Grand vizier what he demanded.¹⁶⁵ This twenty-year truce confirmed the Ottoman suzerainty over Transylvania, granted the Ottomans the tenure of the strategic fortresses of Uyvar, Novigrad and Varad, and forced the Habsburg Emperor to make a “gift” of 200,000 florins to the Sultan. It only allowed Leopold I to erect a new stronghold, Leopoldov, to protect the Váh River Valley.¹⁶⁶

The main reason of the Habsburg Emperor’s willingness to sign the treaty was to secure the empire’s eastern fronts to engage militarily in the West. In addition, the economic crisis that had struck the Habsburg capital limited the scope of the military expenditures. The treaty of Vasvár, however, considerably annoyed the Hungarian nobility. They felt that their national poet and leader, Count Nicholas Zrínyi, had not received the necessary support from the imperial commander

based on European sources see Ferenc Tóth, *Saint-Gotthard 1664 Une bataille européenne* (Paris: Lavauzelle, 2007)

¹⁶⁴ The Battle of St. Gotthard was a subject of many studies produced by Turkish military officers: Ahmed Muhtar, *Sen Gotarda Osmanlı Ordusu* (İstanbul: Kütübhanesi-i İslam ve Askeri, 1326 [1908]) – Turkish transliteration was made by Raif Karadağ and published by Emre Yayınları in 2005-; Yüzbaşı Raif - Yüzbaşı Ekrem, *Türklerin Avusturya’ya Karşı İcra Ettikleri Seferlerden: Sengotar Seferi, 1662-1664* (İstanbul: Askerî Matbaa, 1934); Kemal Yükep, *Sengotar Muharebesi 1664 -Etüt-* (Ankara: Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı, 1978).

¹⁶⁵ Ottoman version of the treaty kept in BOA, İbnülemin–Hariciye, no. 408. For the Turkish transliteration of the treaty, see appendix. Besides, Leopold I sent a letter when the treaty signed see BOA, Ali Emiri, no. 8876.

¹⁶⁶ Thomas M. Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent: Vienna’s Second Turkish Siege and Its Historical Setting*, 26.

Raimondo Montecuccoli.¹⁶⁷ The discord between the Habsburg Emperor and the Hungarian nobility was also rooted in the religious tensions caused by the increased counter-reformation.¹⁶⁸ The Grand vizier Ahmed Paşa understood this situation well and used it to further the Ottoman cause by providing security and good treatment to those who accepted the Ottoman suzerainty during the march of the army, a tactic that was steeped in the Ottoman military tradition.¹⁶⁹ An Ottoman document preserved in the village of Dolný Kamenec on the upper reaches of the Nitra River shows us that Hüseyin Paşa, the governor of Buda and the protector of the Uyvar fortress, provided security for the inhabitants of this village against the attacks of the Crimean Tatars, Cossacks, and the soldiers of Moldavia and Wallachia who had participated in the Ottoman campaign as auxiliary units. In another document from the same village, Çatra-patrizâde Ali Paşa, the governor of Leve (Levice), ordered İsmail Bey, the commander of Leve regiment, to protect the subjects of the village who accepted the Ottoman authority from any aggression that would come from the army.¹⁷⁰

In accordance with the Vasvár treaty but contrary to the tradition of having local Ottoman officers represent the Porte, the Ottoman capital sent a *paşa* as a diplomatic envoy. The Rumeli beylerbeyi Kara Mehmed went as an ambassador to

¹⁶⁷ Robert Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 72.

¹⁶⁸ Anonymous, *A brief account of the Turks late expedition*, 7-8.

¹⁶⁹ For details of the Ottoman organization in the newly acquired regions see, Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquests" *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954), 103-129.

¹⁷⁰ Vojtech Kopčan, "Academician Jan Rypka and Research into Osmanli Documents in Slovakia" 212-218. Mühürdar Hasan Ağa give a number of 20.000 who accepted the Ottoman authority after the capture of Leve castle see, *Cevahirü't-Tevarih*, folio 37a.

Vienna in 1665. The *paşa*'s mission was to renew the relationship between the warring parties after the conclusion of the treaty and according to a report he prepared himself, he was successful in this endeavor.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ J. E. Matuz, "Transmission of Directives from the Center to the Periphery in the Ottoman State from the beginning until the Seventeenth Century" in Caesar E. Farah (ed.), *Decision Making and Change in the Ottoman Empire* (Missouri: The Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1993), 20. For a description of Kara Mehmed Paşa's diplomatic visit to Vienna and his *sefâretnâme* (an account of embassy) that was considered the first example of its kind in the Ottoman diplomacy see Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2008 – first published in 1968), 47-49.

CHAPTER III

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION IN THE UYVAR PROVINCE

3.1 Physical Description

As soon as the Grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Paşa captured the Uyvar fortress, he ordered reconstruction activities. The wall of the fortress was repaired, two churches were converted into mosques, and a *varoş* (suburb) was built in front of the Estergon gate. As Evliya Çelebi informs us in his *Seyahatnâme*, the largest and the oldest church, the Hungarian Parish Church, was converted into a mosque and named after the Sultan, Mehmed IV. The second church in size, the Franciscan Church, was named after the Valide Sultan. A *tekke* (derviş lodge) for Halveti Şeyh Ali Efendi from Estergon and numerous cells that would serve for religious purposes were added to the mosque. The soldiers used the third church, the Calvinist Church, as a

storehouse.¹⁷² The suburb consisted of one hundred houses with reed roofs that would provide housing for officers and the soldiers living in the fortress. Another mosque was built in the name of the Grand vizier in the suburb. Fazıl Ahmed Paşa granted his *vakıf* (charity foundation) incomes to this mosque. In addition, the Grand vizier demanded the construction of one hundred and thirty shops on the road leading from Estergon gate to the bridge across the Nitra River to ensure in the livelihood of the employees of the Uyvar fortress. With Ahmed Paşa taking a personal interest, these reconstruction activities were completed in a month.¹⁷³

In his article, Blaškovičs gave us a description of the main square of the fortress. There was a two-storey house assigned for the fortress commander in the western side of the square. Another two-storey building that was used as library and school by the Ottomans was on the southern side. The palace of the Estergon archbishop, which became the seat of the *beylerbeyi* of the province, was on the north. The fortress had twenty straight alleys decorated with many fine stone-and-brick two-floor buildings.¹⁷⁴

The fortress experienced reconstruction activities from time to time. In June 1665, serfs from Novigrad, Győr, and Pest-Solt-Pilis counties were employed in such activities. *Çerahors* (paid non-Muslim workers) were transferred from more remote *sancaks* such as Seged and Eger to work on buildings and to maintain the road and

¹⁷² Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 6, 227-228.

¹⁷³ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 6, 230.

¹⁷⁴ Blaškovič, "The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663-1685)" *Archív Orientální* 54 (1986), 108–109. A physical description of the Uyvar fortress and the city based on an Ottoman register (MAD, no. 12854) was provided by Ahmet Şimşirgil see Şimşirgil, *Uyvar'ın Türkler Tarafından Fethi ve İdaresi (1663–1685)*, 86–92.

the material of the military corps. Construction materials were also brought from Budin, Estergon and Ístolni-Belgrad.¹⁷⁵

3.2 Administrative Units

Uyvar was one of the three provinces established in the Central Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁶ By putting that, “although Uyvar was mentioned as a province its administrative division is not clear”, Lajos Fekete has drawn our attention to the difficulty to assess the administrative structure of the Uyvar province.¹⁷⁷ However, focusing on the Ottoman accounts and registers, it is possible to re-draw the administrative units of the province.

Based on his observation in 1663, Evliya Çelebi informs us that the province of Uyvar consisted of six *sancaks* (districts), i.e., Litre [Nitra], Leve, Novigrad, Hollok, Buyak, and Tabi-i Tuna Vişigradi.¹⁷⁸ This division was true for the year

¹⁷⁵ Kopčan, “Nové Zámky – Ottoman Province in Central Europe” *Studia historica Slovaca* 19 (1995), 68. For a useful examination of the construction activities in fortress in the Ottoman Hungary see Pál Fodor, “Bauarbeiten der Türken an den Burgen in Ungarn im 16.-17. Jahrhundert” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1981), 55-88.

¹⁷⁶ The others were Varad (1660) and Kamanıç (1672).

¹⁷⁷ Lajos Fekete, “Osmanlı Türkleri ve Macarlar 1366-1699” *Bulleten* 52 (1949), 94. Andreas Birken’s account on the Ottoman provinces reflected the division in 1663. See *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Verlag, 1976), 38.

¹⁷⁸ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* 1, Robert Dankoff–Seyit Ali Kahraman–Yücel Dağlı (eds.), (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), 83. Şimşirgil provided information about the *sanjaks* in his work.

1663, however, the counter-attacks of the Habsburg forces and the fall of Nitra (May 2, 1664) and Levice (June 14, 1664) into the Austrian hands, changed the political map of the region. According to the *mufassal defter* (the detailed register of the province) that was completed in 1664, the territory of the province was divided into seven *nahiyes* (sub-districts), which roughly complied with the borders of the Hungarian counties (*vármegye*).¹⁷⁹ The number of villages registered in the *defter* was approximately 750 but 120 of these villages were already registered in the Estergom *sanjak* register of 1570,¹⁸⁰ which means that the number of the newly subjugated villages in the province was 630. Here is the list of these *nahiyes* and the number of villages subordinated them:

Narhid (Hung. Nyárhíd) - 43 villages; Barş (Tekov) – 195 villages; Komaran (Komárno) – 61 villages; Hond (Hont)– 93 villages; Nitre (Nitra) – 313 villages; Jabokrek (H. Žabokrek) – 11 villages; and Sele (H. Šaľa) – 41 villages.¹⁸¹

There were thirty cities in the Uyvar province. Blaškovičs provided us with a table in which he listed these cities with their inhabitants, households and their total tax revenue.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Kopčan, “Nové Zámky – Ottoman Province in Central Europe”, 58. Klára Hegyi states that: “the sixth *vilayet* in Hungary was established around Uyvar (without being divided into *livas*), with the troops being stationed in the centre, in Surány (Şuran), and Komjáti (called Gradiška by the Ottomans)” see Klára Hegyi, “The Ottoman Network of Fortresses in Hungary” in Géza Dávid - Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians and Habsburgs in Central Europe: the Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 170. The Hungarian *vármegye* division was mentioned in the *mevâd kağıdı* as well. See appendix.

¹⁸⁰ Kopčan, “Nové Zámky – Ottoman Province in Central Europe”, 57. The Estergom *sanjak* register was published by Lajos Fekete see *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570-évi adóösszeírása* (Budapest, 1943).

¹⁸¹ Kopčan, “Nové Zámky – Ottoman Province in Central Europe”, 58.

It should be kept in mind that the administrative units of the province were drawn according to the Ottoman *defter* that did not always coincide with the political frontier. Many communities paid taxes to both parties (a practice known as *condominium*). There were even some places that were located far behind the frontier on the territory of the empire, which were considered by the Ottoman authorities as their possession and thus liable to taxation.¹⁸³ Thus, the borders of the Uyvar province, or for that matter of any province in the frontier regions, cannot be easily defined by looking at the official registers that mostly reflect the financial resources.

3.3 Officials

In his account, Evliya Çelebi listed the dignitaries of the Uyvar province as follows: a *mal defterdarı*, a *defter emini*, a *defter kethüdası*, a *çavuşlar kethüdası*, an *alaybeyi*, a *çeribaşı*, a *yeniçeri ağası* heading twenty *oda*, a *cebecibaşı*, a *topçubaşı* and a *vezir hakim*.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Blaškovič, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663-1685)”, 116. See appendix.

¹⁸³ Josef Blaškovič, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663–1685)”, 114. For a discussion on *condominium* see Gábor Ágoston, “The organization and Structure of Ottoman Hungary; Ottoman Administration in Hungary; Ottoman Taxation; The Condominium” in István György Tóth (ed.), *A Concise History of Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina and Osiris, 2005), 274-282.

¹⁸⁴ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 1, 83.

The first beylerbeyi of the Uyvar province was Kurd Mehmed Paşa who had been without a post during the siege of the Uyvar fortress.¹⁸⁵ Sarı Hüseyin Paşa, the governor of the Budin province, was appointed as *muhafız*, or defender of the fortress with his soldiers.¹⁸⁶ Kurd Mehmed Paşa was soon replaced by Küçük Mehmed Paşa, the governor of Varad, who was once in charge of protecting the Transylvanian prince against the attacks of János Kemény. The appointment of Küçük Mehmed Paşa to this post was in accordance with the Ottoman administrative strategy to choose a man who had already served as a *beylerbeyi* or *sancakbeyi* in the frontier and whose acquaintance with the region was always preferable. Then, Sührab Mehmed Paşa held the office between 1667 and 1669. The Porte executed him in July 1669 when he failed to inform the capital about the construction of a new castle of the Habsburgs on the frontier.¹⁸⁷ The names of all the governors of the province are listed in the appendix.

As İnalçık informs us, the main responsibility of a *beylerbeyi* was to maintain public security and to execute the Sultan's orders. *Kadı* and *defterdar*, two other significant figures in the provincial administration, were independent from the *beylerbeyi* in their decisions and had a right to address directly the central government. In addition, the *agas* of the Janissary garrisons in the main cities were not dependent on the provincial governors. Such restrictions and frequent changes of

¹⁸⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, 6, 207

¹⁸⁶ Erzurumlu Osman Dede, *Tarih-i Fazıl Ahmed Paşa*, folio 14b.

¹⁸⁷ Silahdar, *Silahdar Tarihi*, 1, 552. This fortress built in Guta was later demolished by Reimound Montecucoli see Kopčan, "Nové Zámky – Ottoman Province in Central Europe", 69.

their posts obviously limited the executive power of *beylerbeyis*.¹⁸⁸ However, while discussing the income of a provincial governor in the second half of the seventeenth century, Metin Kunt interpreted the center-periphery relations in a rather different perspective. Kunt mentions that the Ottoman Sultans were capable of establishing direct contact with their *sancak* governors in different parts of the empire in the sixteenth century, which ensured significant efficiency in provincial government; however, this was not the case in the seventeenth century. In the latter century, *beylerbeyis*, as the direct correspondent of the Sultan in the provinces, had significant power in governing the province. The increased political power of the *beylerbeyis* was also reflected on their salaries. The average income of a *beylerbeyi* in the seventeenth century (1,600,000 *akças*) was three times higher than his counterpart who had served a century before. However, the *beylerbeyi* who kept office in the seventeenth century had to spend one-half of his income to keep good relations with the central bureaucracy.¹⁸⁹ In the case of the Uyvar province, the *beylerbeyi* received most of his income from the provincial treasury. He disposed of the income from 119 towns, villages and farms, which along with various other sources of income, annually amounted to 1,340,000 *akças*.¹⁹⁰

The usual Ottoman provincial bureaucratic apparatus, headed by the *defterdar*, carried out the administration of the provincial treasury. The first *defterdar* of the province was Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi. Then, Hafız Mustafa and Osman Efendi

¹⁸⁸ Halil İnalcık, “Eyalet” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, 723.

¹⁸⁹ İ. Metin Kunt, *Bir Osmanlı Valisinin Yıllık Gelir-Gideri Diyarbakir, 1670-71* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1981).

¹⁹⁰ Kopčan, “Nové Zámky – Ottoman Province in Central Europe”, 59.

held this post.¹⁹¹ Other members of the office of the provincial finance were a *ruznamçeci*, a *muhasebeci*, a *mukabeleci*, a *tezkireci* and secretaries.¹⁹² It is interesting to see that in 1674 Defterdar Şeyhi Mehmed Efendi prepared a report in which he requested *firman*s from Porte to ensure required acts that would save the treasury money.¹⁹³

Hacı Mahmud Efendi was the first *kadı*, the one responsible for the judicial affairs, of the province.¹⁹⁴ His *naib* (assistant and deputy) was Hüseyin Efendi. Salih efendi, the *imam* of the Janissaries, Hasan and Mehmed, the *muezzins*, were in charge of religious services.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Ahmet Şimşirgil, “Osmanlı İdaresinde Uyvar’ın Hazine Defterleri ve Bir Bütçe Örneği” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 9 (1998), 329. According to Blaškovič the first *defterdar* of the province was Ahmed Paşa see Josef Blaškovič, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663–1685)”, 109.

¹⁹² BOA, *MAD*, 2052, 4. Cf. Şimşirgil, “Osmanlı İdaresinde Uyvar’ın Hazine Defterleri ve Bir Bütçe Örneği”, 326.

¹⁹³ This report, which appended to the provincial financial record for the year 1084/1673-74, is kept in BOA, *Baş Muhasebe Kalemi-Uyvar Hazinesi Defteri* (D. BŞM-UYH) [Chief Accounting Office–The Uyvar Treasury Register], 17083, 18-19. Mark L. Stein published the reports with its facsimile in his article see Stein, “Ottoman Bureaucratic Communication: An Example from Uyvar, 1673” *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 20 (1996), 1-15.

¹⁹⁴ BOA, *TTD*, 794, 23.

¹⁹⁵ Blaškovičs, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663–1685)”, 110. A detailed list of officers was prepared by Şimşirgil see Ahmet Şimşirgil, “Kızılelma’nın Muhafızları: Osmanlı Uyvar’ında Resmi Görevliler ve Hizmetliler” *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 11 (2002), 71-99.

3.4 Garrison

Due to the strategic significance it had in protecting the northwestern frontier of the empire, the Uyvar fortress and its garrison composition attracted the attention of many scholars. Recently Mark L. Stein published his dissertation in a book format in which he discussed the garrison of the Uyvar in a comparative way.¹⁹⁶ Besides, Klára Hegyi listed the soldiers in the Uyvar fortress in her recent book, *A török hódoltság várai és várkatonasága* [Cities and Castles under Turkish Rule].¹⁹⁷ Şimşirgil also showed interest in the garrison organization and provided another list with which he described the military groups in the fortress and their incomes.¹⁹⁸

According to the plans of the capital, the number of the soldiers that served in the garrison changed during the course of time. Stein estimated that the number of the *kapıkulu* troops, i.e., Janissaries and *çavuşes*, which served in the garrison was 1,442 in the earliest record dated 1074/1663-64. It is possible to see the composition

¹⁹⁶ Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier: Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007). For Gábor Ágoston's critics on the work see his review in *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52/1 (2009), 159-163.

¹⁹⁷ Klára Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várai és várkatonasága* (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2007), vol. III, 1621-1629. For the soldiers in Šurany castle, see 1630-1631.

¹⁹⁸ Ahmet Şimşirgil, "Kızılelma'nın Muhafızları: Osmanlı Uyvar'ında Resmi Görevliler ve Hizmetliler", 91-96.

and the change in the number of the kapıkulu troops in another record dated a year later:¹⁹⁹

Units	Numbers
<i>Çavuş</i>	4
<i>Kâtib</i>	4
Religious officials	6
<i>Topçu</i>	6
<i>Cebeci</i>	14
<i>Martolos</i>	22
<i>Kapudan</i>	30
<i>Yeniçeri</i>	80
<i>Faris</i>	81
<i>Mustahfiz</i>	108
<i>Azeb</i>	120
<i>Gönüllü</i>	154
Total	629

In her list for the year 1667, Klára Hegyi gave the composition of the garrison as in the following:²⁰⁰

Units	Numbers
<i>Yeniçeriyân-ı Dergâh-ı Âli</i>	1430
<i>Cebeciyân-ı Dergâh-ı Âli</i>	209
<i>Topçuyân-ı Dergâh-ı Âli</i>	60
<i>Yeniçeriyân-ı Yerliyân</i>	205
<i>Mustahfizân</i>	95
<i>Topçuyân-ı Yerliyân</i>	13
<i>Cebeciyân-ı Yerliyân</i>	20

¹⁹⁹ Stein, *Guarding the Frontier: Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe*, 111-112.

²⁰⁰ Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várai és várkatonasága*, III, 1622.

<i>Gönüllüyân</i>	248
<i>Fârisân</i>	98
<i>Azebân</i>	123
<i>Kapudân</i>	24
<i>Martolosân</i>	21
<i>Neferât-i İhracât-i Gradiška</i>	218
Total	2764

Stein also worked on documents from 1675-76 and listed the numbers of the soldiers as follows:²⁰¹

Units	Numbers
<i>Çavuş</i>	20
<i>Kâtib</i>	7
Religious officials	21
<i>Topçu</i>	56
<i>Cebeci</i>	71
<i>Martolos</i>	66
<i>Kapudan</i>	66
<i>Yeniçeri</i>	739
<i>Faris</i>	259
<i>Mustahfiz</i>	203
<i>Azeb</i>	202
<i>Gönüllü</i>	213
Total	1923

Vojtech Kopčan informs us that the war with Venice in 1666-1669 weakened the strength of the Ottoman garrison at the Uyvar fortress. Habsburgs, observing the weakness of the Ottoman garrison, accelerated their fortification activities on the

²⁰¹ Stein, *Guarding the Frontier: Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe*, 116.

bank of the Váh River. In addition to the castles that erected in accordance with the Vasvár treaty, i.e., Leopoldov and Guta, they renewed or partly re-built the forts of Šintava, Šaľa, St. Philip. The presence of these fortifications along the river prevented the Ottoman officers from collecting taxes, which, in a long term, negatively affected the finance of the province. Indeed, since the provincial income was not enough to cover the cost of maintaining and defending the fortress, and the salaries of the mercenaries and the officers, the capital granted the income from other parts of the empire, i.e., Egypt, for the provincial treasury.²⁰²

According to Hegyi, the soldiers serving in the Uyvar fortress received significantly more than the average pay.²⁰³ Kopčan also points out that the Ottoman capital gave up the income of its frontier region in favor of its soldiers and dignitaries by rewarding them with properties (*zeamet, tumar*).²⁰⁴ According to Blaškovičs, there were 377 names recorded in the list of individuals that received a plot of land in the district of Uyvar for their personal use.²⁰⁵

Concerning the population, the Ottoman survey registers are still the best sources to figure out the number of the subjects living in the Ottoman-held

²⁰² Kopčan, “Nové Zámky – Ottoman Province in Central Europe”, 67-68.

²⁰³ Klára Hegyi, “The Financial Position of the Vilayets in the Hungary in the 16th – 17th Centuries” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 61/1-2 (2008), 84.

²⁰⁴ Kopčan, “Nové Zámky – Ottoman Province in Central Europe”, 63.

²⁰⁵ BOA, TTD, 698, 5-11 and 263-264. Some soldiers and officials acquired the right of land tenure (gardens, vineyards, meadows approximately 533.5 *dönüm*) in the province. According to *defter* a total of 533, 5 *dönüm* of fruit gardens (*bahçe*), 419 *dönüms* of vegetable gardens (*bostan*), 1678,5 *dönüms* of fields (*tarla*), two farms and meadows from which 3,449 wagons of hay were harvested see Blaškovičs, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663–1685)”, 110.

territories.²⁰⁶ According to Şimşirgil's estimation, the population of the Uyvar *sanjak* was about 82.721.²⁰⁷ Besides, Blaškovičs informs us that there was not a dense civilian population in the Uyvar fortress. Those who were present at the fortress were mostly vendors from the Balkans and families of the official dignitaries.²⁰⁸ In addition, Kopčan draws our attention to a short note in the official registers that provides significant data on different aspects of the life in the province. The note, on page 18 of the detailed register, states that: "the inhabitants of the villages Kis Ker and Nagy Falu have fled and these communities are in ruins". However, on page 10 of the *vakıf defter* that was prepared some 2-3 months later, the subjects liable to taxes were listed in both villages. Kopčan argues that these notes were the indicators of the movement of the population. During the confrontation of the imperial armies, the inhabitants of the land fled; however, as soon as the danger disappeared they returned to their villages.

3.5 Vakıf

Fazıl Ahmed Paşa asked the Sultan to assign him a part of the conquered territory as his *mülk* (property). The Sultan sent him a *mülkname-i hümayun* (donation decree) in the January 1665, in which he granted the territory of the towns

²⁰⁶ Heath Lowry, "The Ottoman Tahrir Defterleri As a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations" in Heath Lowry (ed.), *Studies in Defterology, Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 1992), 3–18.

²⁰⁷ Şimşirgil, *Uyvar`ın Türkler Tarafından Fethi ve İdaresi (1663-1685)*, 100.

²⁰⁸ Blaškovičs, "The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663–1685)", 112.

of Komjatice and Šurany, six villages and ten farms. The Grand vizier was free to do whatever he wished with his property. He turned it into a *vakıf* (charity foundation). Along with the income from farmland, the income from 35 shops and slaughterhouses in the Uyvar fortress as well as the orchards and flower gardens and three mills on the Nitra River belonged to this *vakıf*.²⁰⁹ Later registration of the *vakıf* of Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, upon his orders in 1675, mentioned twelve additional water mills on the Nitra River.

In his brief analysis over the family endowments of the Köprülü family Metin Kunt mentions the number of Fazıl Ahmed Paşa's charities and their sources of revenues. Kunt uses a *vakıf* deed kept in the Köprülü Library under the catalogue number of four. The deed, which dated 25 Safer 1089 / 18 April 1679, indicates that Fazıl Ahmed Paşa undertook a charitable work in Uyvar, i.e., a mosque. The mosque had been endowed with a rich source of revenue; 175 shops, 16 houses, 15 mills, 2 rooming houses, 2 plots, and a slaughterhouse were assigned to meet its financial needs. Kunt also lists other endowments of Fazıl Ahmed Paşa along with those of his father and brother and concludes that there was a correlation between the *vakıf* building activities of these grand viziers and the public policy of the empire. It was this policy that aimed to fulfill the social, cultural and ideological responsibilities of the empire, which stimulated Fazıl Ahmed Paşa to build endowments in all the significant cities and castles he conquered during his grand vizierate.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ Kopčan, "Nové Zámky – Ottoman Province in Central Europe", 59; Josep Blaškovič, "Sadrazam Köprülüzade (Fazıl) Ahmed Paşa'nın Ersekujvar Bölgesindeki Vakıfları 1664-1665" *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 9 (1978), 293-342.

²¹⁰ İ. Metin Kunt, "The Waqf as an Instrument of Public Policy: Notes on the Köprülü Family Endowments" in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage* (1994), 189–198.

CHAPTER IV

PECULARITIES OF THE FRONTIER

Many historians have employed the notion of *uç* (frontier) to explain the territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire in its early decades. Paul Wittek and other authorities in the field discussed this notion and provided noticeable insights on various aspects of the life in these regions.²¹¹ On the other hand, the number of works in this category that focuses on relatively stable borders in the classical and post-classical periods of the empire is limited.²¹² Ottoman historians appropriately distinguish between *uç* and *serhad*, the latter being used to indicate the Ottoman border regions after the early formative days of the Ottoman Empire. The present

²¹¹ For a recent study analyzing different perspectives on the notion see Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: Construction of the Ottoman State* (California: University of California Press, 1997).

²¹² The works on the early Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi (eds.), *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 4; Salih Özbaran, *Yemen'den Basra'ya Sınırdaki Osmanlı* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 27.

work will mainly discuss the peculiarities of the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier. However, before dealing with this region there is a need to give a definition of the frontier (*serhad*).

C. B. Fawcett once stated, “it is through the frontiers of a state that it has relations with other states; and its frontier areas are thereby differentiated from the interior parts of the territory”.²¹³ In her latest work, *Empire of Difference*, where she discussed the flexibility and longevity of imperial systems, Karen Barkey displayed a similar outlook on the frontier zones between the contending imperial structures:

Borders among states, frontier zones between empires, where both separation and connections are made with different groups, represent ecologies of constraint and opportunity. Between contending states and imperial powers, frontier spaces present those who live by or control the borders with varying sets of opportunities, tentative responses, prospects for brokerage, and alliance in war and peace. In this intermediary space shared and crossed by many networks of actors, there developed over time a common local knowledge, a shared understanding of the cross and no-cross zones, of imperial rules and regulations to uphold or ignore, and cultural idioms that facilitate everyday life in harsh environments.²¹⁴

Kemal Karpat, on the other hand, draws our attention to the effects of the internal and international problems on the relations between the borderlands and the center:

One may conclude, therefore, that the Ottoman borderlands cannot be grouped in one single category, but must be viewed separately as each borderland defined its relationship with the Porte according to international and internal considerations.²¹⁵

²¹³ C. B. Fawcett, *Frontiers: A Study in Political Geography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1918), 21 quoted in Stein, *Guarding the Frontier*, 16.

²¹⁴ Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 36.

²¹⁵ Kemal Karpat, “Comments on Contributions and the Borderlands” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9/1–2 (2003), 1.

In their introduction part of *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe*, Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, the editors of the volume, discussed the frontier in both its Ottoman and non-Ottoman contexts and summarized the prevailing views concerning the frontier follows:

Instead of being seen as unchanging barriers over centuries, or as separating-integrating zones (Turner), frontiers are now considered to be areas of mediation, linkage, as well as confrontation, where an intensive exchange of cultural, ideological, religious, and commercial goods and men (i.e. renegades) takes place, and which are shifting continuously.²¹⁶

Mark L. Stein's insights on the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier shares similarities with the aforementioned definition:

Boundaries, especially those advanced by war, often divide populations that share a religion, language, or ethnicity. Such was the case with the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier in Hungary. Although this region was a militarized frontier separating two often-antagonistic empires, the local populations on each side of the frontier spoke Hungarian, and lived similar agrarian lives.²¹⁷

The almost two-centuries long military conducts of the Ottoman army in the lands of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom were generally divided into four groups in the dominant historiography: a) the campaigns of Sultan Suleiman who aimed to expand the territories of the empire in Europe (1526-1566), b) the "Long War" years that showed the equal strength and (in)capabilities of the Ottoman and the Habsburg forces (1593-1606), c) the campaigns of the Grand viziers from Köprülü family to

²¹⁶ Géza Dávid - Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians and Habsburgs in Central Europe: the Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), xii-xiii.

²¹⁷ Mark L. Stein, *Guarding the Frontier: Ottoman Border Forts and Garrisons in Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 16-17.

penalize ambitious acts of the Habsburg-backed Transylvanian Prince György II Rákóczi (1658-1664), d) the second siege of Vienna by the Ottomans and the retreatment of the Ottoman army from central Europe (1683-1699).²¹⁸ As was discussed in the preceding chapters, the Ottoman rule in the Uyvar province periodically falls into the third group. The province, being the northernmost province of the Ottoman Empire, enables us to have a close look at the different governmental applications of the Ottomans in their “core” and border regions.

The works of the new generation of Hungarian Ottomanists showed that the Ottoman period in Hungary was not that “dark” as Gyula Szekfű (1883-1955), a significant Hungarian historian, once described in his multi-volume work, *Magyar történet* [Hungarian History].²¹⁹ Thanks to these studies, we are now able to see that the Ottoman policy-makers were careful enough in their policies towards Hungary,²²⁰ not as “barbaric” as once thought.²²¹ The rulers of the empire were quite aware of the strategically significant geographical areas, ecclesiastic and coronation cities, border-defense castles, and natural resources. They made their decisions, which would affect the socio-economic life of the subjects as well as the imperial apparatus, after long

²¹⁸ Lajos Fekete, “Osmanlı Türkleri ve Macarlar 1366-1699”, *Bellekten*, 8/52 (1949), 663-745.

²¹⁹ For different approaches and trends in the Hungarian historiography in regard to the evaluation of the Ottoman rule see Gábor Ágoston, “The Image of the Ottomans in Hungarian Historiography” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 61/1-2 (2008), 15-26.

²²⁰ Pál Fodor, “Ottoman Policy towards Hungary, 1520-1541” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45 (1991), 271-345.

²²¹ For a respond to these arguments see M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, “Macaristan’daki Türk Hâkimiyeti Devrine Ait Bazı Notlar” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 8-9/1 (1940 - 42), 200-211. Hungarian historian Sándor Takáts produced many archive-based works that can be considered as the pillars of the “anti-barbarian thesis”. See, Ágoston, “The Image of the Ottomans in Hungarian Historiography”, 17.

discussions and careful deliberations.²²² A number of documents that illustrate the degree of the governmental practices in the Ottoman Hungary can be found in the Ottoman archives. As examples can be mentioned the military plans for the further expansion in the region, the accounts showing the names of the castles that formed the chain of defense and their distance from each other, as well as data that enable to calculate the time spent on human and material transportation.²²³

Once they acquired new land, the Ottoman rulers immediately sought to integrate it into the classical Ottoman land tenure system that is known as *timar*.²²⁴ In this system, the Ottoman rulers divided the territories into estates, *timars*, and appointed the cavalrymen to units as ruling figures. They asked *timariots* to raise new recruits for the imperial army and collect the taxes. With the help of this system, new human and financial resources supported the Ottoman army while the land was cultivated. Although the *timar* system was essentially practiced in the “core” provinces of the empire,²²⁵ the Ottoman rulers applied it to the frontiers in the west, i.e., in the Ottoman Hungary.²²⁶

²²² For a contemporary account on how Ottomans were careful in their military enterprises see Mühürdar Hasan Ağa, *Cevahirü't-Tevarih*, folio 13b. For a review of the Ottoman strategic plans towards Hungary see Géza Dávid, “Ottoman Administrative Strategies in the Western Hungary” in Géza Dávid (ed.), *Studies in Demographic and Administrative History of the Ottoman Hungary* (Istanbul: The ISIS Press, 1997), 89-102.

²²³ As an example, see the archival documents published by Fodor, “Ottoman Policy towards Hungary, 1520-1541”, 315-323.

²²⁴ For details of the Ottoman organization in the newly acquired regions see Halil İnalcık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquests” *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954), 103-129.

²²⁵ For a detailed explanation of the term “core” here see Peter F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), particularly, “Part Two: Life in the European “Core” Provinces of the Ottoman Empire, 1413-1574”, 63-112.

²²⁶ Géza Dávid produced a monograph on the governmental practices in an Ottoman district, *sancak*, in Hungary where he explained this practice in detail see Dávid, *Osmanlı Macaristan'ında Toplum*,

When the Sultan Suleiman captured Buda, the capital of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, in 1541, he immediately ordered to establish a new province, the highest unit in the peripheral administrative structure, in the region. Suleiman perceived that only a *beylerbeyi*, who had a powerful and prestigious position in the imperial structure, could respond to the military and diplomatic maneuvers of his powerful rival, the Habsburg Emperor, in the west.²²⁷ By concentrating on the territories along the right side of the Danube, Sultan Suleiman I aimed to keep the road to Vienna, the “golden apple”, under his direct control.²²⁸ The *eyalet* of Buda/Budin (1542-1686) was established in the center of Hungary and the eastern part of the kingdom became the vassal state of the Ottomans.²²⁹

The confrontation with the Habsburgs and the conquest of the further Hungarian lands led to the establishment of the new provinces, i.e., Tımişvar (1552-1716), Yanık (1594-98), Papa (1594-97) Eğri (1596-1687), Kanije (1600-90), Varad (1660-92), and Uyvar (1663-85), in the western frontier-zone of the empire.²³⁰ The establishment of each province meant another burden for the imperial treasury since the total tax revenue collected from these lands could at most meet one third of the

Ekonomi ve Yönetim: 16. Yüzyılda Simontornya Sancağı, translated from Hungarian by Hilmi Ortac, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), particularly chapters 3 and 5.

²²⁷ Dávid, “Ottoman Administrative Strategies in the Western Hungary”, 90.

²²⁸ For the term “golden apple” see Pál Fodor, “The View of the Turk in Hungary: the Apocalyptic Tradition and the Red Apple in Ottoman-Hungarian Context” in Pál Fodor (ed.), *In Quest of the Golden Apple* (İstanbul: The ISIS Press, 2000), 71-104.

²²⁹ Peter Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804*, 70.

²³⁰ Gábor Ágoston, “Ottoman Conquest and Military Frontier in Hungary” in Béla Király and László Veszprémy (eds.), *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History* (New Jersey: Atlantic Research and Publications, 2002), 91-101. For a study on the Ottoman provinces see Andreas Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1976).

salaries of the ruling elite and soldiers in these provinces, and other defense-related costs.²³¹

It seems that the Ottoman rulers followed the old Hungarian administrative division when they decided to parcel the newly acquired lands. They did not even hesitate to use the old names of particular cities and castles.²³² During the war years, particularly the ones at the turn of the century (1596-1606), the administrative boundaries were frequently changed and new *sancaks* were created. The aim, according to Dávid, was to situate the strongest possible military forces in the closest proximity to the Habsburg-controlled areas and to provide the local Ottoman rulers a better efficiency of command. Financial considerations might be another reason since the high number of people eager to get a position possibly induced the capital to create new posts.²³³

The application of the *timar* system, however, did not change the frontier characteristics of the region. Principally, the Ottoman rulers paid close attention to keep the ruling practices of the old regime, e.g., tax rates, and sometimes they permitted to the local rulers to keep their posts in the newly conquered lands.²³⁴ In accordance with the traditional Ottoman *millet* system, the local Ottoman rulers

²³¹ Klára Hegyi, "The Financial Position of the *Vilayets* in Hungary in the 16th-17th Centuries" *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 61 (2008), 77-85.

²³² Tibor Halasi-Kun, "Ottoman Toponymic Data and Medieval Boundaries in Southeastern Hungary" in János M. Bak – Béla K. Király (eds.), *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi: War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 243-250. Géza Dávid does not fully share this argument see "Ottoman Administrative Strategies in the Western Hungary", 95-96.

²³³ Dávid, "Ottoman Administrative Strategies in the Western Hungary", 95.

²³⁴ İnalçık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquests", 112-119.

tolerated religious and cultural differences in the places where they were appointed. Besides, to make the Ottoman rule easily acceptable by the non-Muslim inhabitants of the land, the established tax rates were reduced to an advantageous degree. As Josef Blaškovič once argued, this advantageous taxation was the basic element of the success of the Ottoman rule in some part of medieval Hungary.²³⁵

Thanks to recent studies on the Ottoman frontiers, modern researchers have enough data to discuss the variations of the Ottoman administrative practices in different regions. Gábor Ágoston provided carefully crafted insights for this new understanding:

Former historical reconstructions of Ottoman administrative practices and capabilities are based on random evidence, often from the core provinces of the Balkans and Asia Minor, that have very little to say about regional variations outside the core zones. The minutes of local judicial courts, complaints of provincial authorities, and the communication between the central and local authorities present a different picture and demonstrate the limits to centralization.²³⁶

It is true that beginning from the governorship of Aslan Paşa in Buda (1565–1566) the governors in the Hungary used local languages i.e., Hungarian, Slovak, German, along with Ottoman and Latin, in their official writings.²³⁷ To do so, they recruited many educated natives for the translation offices and later appointed them to significant posts in the provincial administration.²³⁸ This official stance also

²³⁵ See, Josep Blaškovič, “Osmanlılar Hâkimiyeti Devrinde Slovakya’da Vergi Sistemi Hakkında” *Ankara Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7 (1969), 89-118.

²³⁶ Gábor Ágoston, “A Flexible Empire: Authority and its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers”, 16.

²³⁷ Yasemin Altaylı, “Budin Paşalarının Macar Dilini Kullanımı” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, 46/1 (2006), 255-269. Also see the document in the appendix.

²³⁸ The survey of land tenure in the Uyvar province was completed in 1664 with the help of a native named Constantine see BOA, MAD, no. 2052, fol. 4, “Cemaat-i Katiban-ı Divan” [The List of the Provincial Secretaries].

enabled the interaction of the Ottoman soldiers in the garrisons with the local population. Local men sought to serve their new master²³⁹ and local girls married with the garrison soldiers.²⁴⁰ Zdenka Veselá-Prenosilová, a Czech historian, published an article in which she analyzed the underlying reasons of this high-level local cooperation with the Ottomans.²⁴¹ She based her research on the Habsburg-Hungarian court and Catholic Church memoranda and indicated that any cooperation and contact with the Muslim enemy was seen as treason and apostasy for the Habsburg officials and the clergy; the punishment was torture, flaying, and ultimately execution. However, such religious-based and Habsburg-backed propaganda and severe preventing measures had not stopped the cooperation of the people in the region with the Ottoman administrators who were offering better treatment and security than the Hungarian-Habsburg government. Acculturation had continued in the frontier region. Such interactions in political, military and cultural levels between rulers and the ruled ones were the components of the frontier life in the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier.

In the seventeenth century, the Ottoman capital frequently changed the governors of the provinces in the frontier. By contrast, the Habsburgs made serious

²³⁹ Pál Fodor, "Making a Living on the Borders: Volunteers in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Army" in Géza Dávid-Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians and Habsburgs in Central Europe: the Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 229-264.

²⁴⁰ Muhammed Fatih Çalışır, "'I want to marry a Janissary!': Social Change in the Ottoman-Habsburg Frontier, ca. 1570-1670", unpublished paper read in the 42nd Annual Meeting of Middle Eastern Studies Association (MESA), Washington DC, November 24, 2008.

²⁴¹ Zdenka Veselá-Prenosilová, "Slovakia and the Ottoman Expansion in the 16th and 17th Centuries" in Jaroslav Cesar (ed.), *Ottoman Rule in Middle Europe and the Balkan in the 16th and 17th Centuries: Papers Presented at the 9th Joint Conference of the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav Historical Committee* (Prague: Czechoslovak Academia of Sciences Oriental Institute, 1978), 5-44.

attempts to centralize their imperial system throughout Central Europe.²⁴² This maneuver of the “rival” forced the Ottoman governors in the frontier to take measures that prevented the tendency among natives towards the Habsburg rule. As an example, while the Habsburgs spent efforts to convert the Protestant Hungarians into Catholicism, the Ottoman rulers provided religious tolerance and sometimes supported the Protestants against the Habsburgs.

The Ottoman-held Hungarian land both carried the characteristics of a core province and a buffer zone in terms of its administration. It resembled the core provinces of the empire since the land was divided into *beylerbeyliks* (provinces) and *sancaks* (districts); its human and natural resources were recorded according to the *tahrir* system; *janissaries*, the Ottoman paid soldiers, guarded the fortress garrisons; and social and cultural institutions of the Ottomans became visible in the major cities.²⁴³ However, it was a buffer zone due to procedure of double taxation (*condominium*). The cases below allow us to think that the practices implemented by the rulers in the Ottoman-Hungary and particularly in the Uyvar province, could be defined today with terms such as flexibility and pragmatism.²⁴⁴

Situated less than one thousand miles away from Vienna, the Uyvar fortress and the province established around it had a significant position in the defense line of

²⁴² Max Kortepeter, “Habsburg and Ottoman in Hungary in the 16th and 17th Centuries” in Andreas Tietze (ed.) *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen. Relations Habsbourg-ottomanes. Wien, 26.-30. September 1983: Comité des Études Ottomanes et Pré-Ottomanes (CIÉPO) colloque* (Wien, Institute für Orientalistik, 1985), 57.

²⁴³ Gábor Ágoston, “Hungary; Ottoman Administration” in Gábor Ágoston - Bruce Alan Masters (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Facts on File, 2008), 257-258.

²⁴⁴ Gábor Ágoston, “A Flexible Empire: Authority and its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers” *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 9 (2003), 15-31.

the empire against the Habsburgs. It was the sixth province established in Ottoman Hungary.²⁴⁵ The province had its own provincial treasury but depended on the financial aid of the center.²⁴⁶ The treasurer of Uyvar received orders to prepare the annual budget of the province in which he calculated the total income and the expenditures. Such treasury accounts enable us to understand the amount of annual expenditure of the province. The treasury indeed paid close attention to the restoration of the social and religious establishments such as the mosque and the clock tower in the castle. However, since the Uyvar region was a border province, the income of the treasure only partially met the provincial expenses. Thus, the central treasure in Istanbul covered the payments of the garrison soldiers and the ruling elite.²⁴⁷

In accordance with one of the pillars of the Ottoman administrative system, *daire-i adalet* (circle of justice), the governors of the Uyvar province had to promote the wellbeing of the subjects. In according with this *circle of justice* concept, the rulers were expected to behave responsibly towards their subjects, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and the subjects in return had to pay their taxes on time.²⁴⁸ In a report prepared by one of the treasurers of the province, Hafız Mustafa, on the financial

²⁴⁵ Vojtech Kopčan, “Eyalet-i Uyvar” in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi (Ankara, 22-26 Eylül 1986) Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, 4 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), 14735-14742.

²⁴⁶ Ahmet Şimşirgil, “Osmanlı İdaresinde Uyvar’ın Hazine Defterleri ve Bir Bütçe Örneği” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 9 (1998), 326.

²⁴⁷ For a *firman* on the payment of the garrison expenses, see Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, no. E. 5223/44.

²⁴⁸ Halil İnalçık, “State and Ideology under Sultan Süleyman I” in Halil İnalçık (ed.), *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, 1993), 71.

issues of the province it is possible to see how the local ruling elite responded to the misuse of the provincial authority by the governor. Hafız Mustafa complained about the irresponsible attitude of the governor whom he accused of being the destroyer of the welfare of the subjects and who thus prevented them to pay their taxes in a timely manner. Although we do not have any evidence documenting the response of the center concerning the problem, this direct report of the treasurer is an indication of the working check-and-balance system in the provincial administration.²⁴⁹

The appointment of a *beylerleyi* was not confined to a certain period and place. The sense of responsibility and the level of success while executing his function played an important role in the appointment or the dismissal of this high-level administrative staff. The main duties of a *beylerbeyi* in the provinces were protecting the *reaya* (the subject), keeping the military order, and collecting soldiers for the army during war. The other officials in the province such as the governors of *sancaks*, *sancakbeyi*, and the judges, *kadis*, were all reporting to him. A *beylerbeyi* had the right to appoint timariots and to solve the problems in relation with the cultivation of the land. In case of necessity, he was assigned to command the imperial army in regions close to his province.²⁵⁰ If he would fail to fulfill any of these duties or misuse the authority granted him, he would be punished most severely. An example is Sührab Mehmed, one of the governors in the Uyvar

²⁴⁹ Ahmet Şimşirgil, "Osmanlı İdaresinde Uyvar'ın Hazine Defterleri ve Bir Bütçe Örneği", 327. The same report with its facsimile was published by Mark L. Stein see Stein, "Ottoman Bureaucratic Communication: An Example from Uyvar, 1673" *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 20/1 (1996), 1-15.

²⁵⁰ Mehmet İpşirli, "Beylerbeyi" *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 6 (1992), 71-72.

province, who failed to inform the capital about the castle erected by the Habsburgs in the border. He was sentenced to death in 1669.²⁵¹

Along with the protection the Ottoman governors provided, the advantageous tax system created a preference for Ottoman rule among the subjects. This tendency can be seen in land survey registers in İstanbul. Few months after the establishment of the Uyvar province, the leaders of more than 750 villages had applied to the Ottoman Paşa to become the taxpayers of the empire.²⁵² In some cases, particularly during the periods of financial difficulties, tax reduction was also offered to the subjects. In a document written by Mehmet Efendi, *defterdar*, the head of the financial department, of the Uyvar province, the total tax debt of the subjects living in Dolný Kamanec village near the Nitra River was reduced to sixty-nine piasters from eighty-one due to their poverty.²⁵³ In another document kept in Rimavská Sobota city archive, the inhabitants of the city borrowed interest-free loan from the Ottoman governor, Kapı Ağası Mustafa, to fulfill their tax duties in 1666.²⁵⁴

The religious tolerance shown by the provincial governors was another practice of the Ottoman administration in the frontier, which in the long term favored a positive attitude towards Ottoman rule. A letter written in December 1680 by Küçük Mehmet Paşa, governor of the Uyvar province, indicated that the Ottoman

²⁵¹ Şimşirgil, “Osmanlı İdaresinde Uyvar’ın Hazine Defterleri ve Bir Bütçe Örneği”, 329.

²⁵² Yusuf Blaškovič, “Köprülü Mehmed Pasa’nin Macarca Bir Ahidnamesi” *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, 15 (1968), 38.

²⁵³ Vojtech Kopčan, “Academician Jan Rypka and Research into Osmanlı Documents in Slovakia” *Archív orientální*, 54/3 (1986), 213.

²⁵⁴ Josep Blaškovič, *Rimavská Sobota v čase osmansko-tureckého panstva* [Rimavská Sobota at the time of the Ottoman-Turkish Reign] (Bratislava: Obzor, 1974), 199.

rulers were given permission not only to Protestant activities but also to the Franciscan monks to perform mendicancy on Turkish-occupied territory in 1679.²⁵⁵ Another document signed by the same paša shows us that the governor ensured the free passing of two brothers who came to settle in the village of Ime near Komaron Island and asked to be the Ottoman subjects.²⁵⁶ These documents are illustrative of the inclusive aspect of Ottoman policy: the Ottomans enabled non-Ottoman newcomers to settle in the frontier by granting them *aman kağıdı*s (protective letters).

Utilizing the Ottoman documents kept in Slovak archives, Blaškovičs and Kopčan gave significant examples that document the Ottoman administrative practices in the Uyvar province in a series of articles. Here are some cases derived from these studies:

During August of the year 1671, the Uyvar *beylerbeyi* Seydi Mehmed Paša wrote a letter to the judges of Kamenec and to the judges of the towns of the Tekov county, requesting their urgent presence in the Uyvar fortress to ‘discuss certain issues’. The discussions required that three wise men would accompany each of the judges. Although the letter does not specify the nature of the topics to be discussed, Josef Blaškovičs and Vojtech Kopčan proposed that the probable reason of the assembly of the judges was the preparation of the *cizye* defter.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Based on the articles on the 1615 treaty. See, Mihaly Matunak, *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraniči* [Life and Conflict on the Slovak-Turkish Border Region], (Bratislava: Tatran, 1983), 244.

²⁵⁶ Jozef Blaškovič - Vojtech Kopčan. “Türkische Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Eyalet Nové Zámky. I” *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1986), 153.

²⁵⁷ Jozef Blaškovič - Vojtech Kopčan. “Türkische Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Eyalet Nové Zámky. II”, *Asian and African Studies* 23 (1988), 160.

Some of the correspondence between the Ottomans and their Habsburg adversary dealt with the exchange of prisoners, which were made during the numerous raids by the Ottoman and Habsburg troops. In a letter of 1684, the officers of the Uyvar fortress requested that the prisoners held by a certain officer be exchanged in return for theirs. They did not fail to assure that only the prisoners that really belong to the Ottoman side would be accepted. The other ones would be sent back.²⁵⁸

The Ottoman authorities forbade the export of food outside the province. In particular, the sales of cereals to Hungary were theoretically not tolerated. However, in practice the local Ottomans in power often ignored this prohibition. Illustrative is the letter of a certain Ottoman dignitary Hacı Ahmet from the Uyvar province, who not only showed interest in acquiring a certain quantity of cloth from the Hungarians, but also made Esterhazy an offer of 150 *kile* of spices.²⁵⁹

The issue of double taxation was discussed in the letter of a certain Ahmed Zaim from the Uyvar province to Paul Esterhazy in 1682. Ahmed Zaim had received part of an unspecified village as a fief and asked the Hungarian commander to protect the villagers to their mutual benefit. Moreover, the Ottoman sent a pair of scarlet boots as a gift.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Kopčan, Vojtech. "Türkische Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Eyalet Nové Zámky. II", 169-170.

²⁵⁹ Jozef Blaškovič - Vojtech Kopčan. "Türkische Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Eyalet Nové Zámky. IV" *Asian and African Studies* 25 (1990), 150.

²⁶⁰ Jozef Blaškovič - Vojtech Kopčan. "Türkische Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Eyalet Nové Zámky. IV", 156.

In the documents going back to late 1660s a clear tension between Ottoman authorities and Habsburg forces, particularly with those of the Leopoldov, Šaľa, Komárno and Nitra fortresses and the armies of the proprietors were recorded. While the Ottomans forces attacked those villages that refused to pay their taxes, the forces of the Habsburgs and proprietors organized forays to steal cattle and horses in the Ottoman territory.²⁶¹

A message from the Ottomans reached Vienna in June 1671: it demanded that Montecuccoli resolve the tax problem. His answer could not have satisfied the Ottoman side, as he responded that the Turks had no right to force the villages to pay taxes, and that only those that were in close proximity to the Ottoman power centers should promise to pay taxes willingly.²⁶²

²⁶¹ Kopčan, “Nové Zámky - Ottoman Province in Central Europe”, 68.

²⁶² Kopčan, “Nové Zámky - Ottoman Province in Central Europe”, 69.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, the Grand vizier of the Sultan Mehmed IV, took the responsibility of commanding an Ottoman army consisted of more than 120.000 men and numerous war-equipments in the campaign of 1663. Not only to secure his own position but also to solve the authority problem in the central Europe, the young *serdar-ı ekrem* had to gain a victory over the Christian enemy in his first campaign. The confrontation with the Habsburg forces obliged him to stay in Hungary for about two years during which time they seized a number of castles and cities and engaged in several skirmishes. Doubtlessly, organizing and leading such an army in a distant region required carefully planned logistics and good command. Based on the Ottoman sources it is possible to argue that Fazıl Ahmed Paşa successfully overcame this difficult task in spite of the various environmental and provisional restraints he encountered. The Grand vizier managed to return the capital as a victorious commander. Thanks to the accounts of the contemporaries, today, nearly three

hundred and the fifty-year after this campaign, it is feasible to assess what really happened before and during the march. The first part of this study thus tried to put some insights to analyze the limits and the constraints of the Ottoman art of war in the given campaign that took place in the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier. It showed us that contrary to received wisdom, the Ottoman narrative accounts can serve as a source group that enable researchers to have sound knowledge on the political and diplomatic side of the Ottoman campaigns and partially about their logistics. Furthermore, by discussing the Ottoman diplomacy and politics in the given decade it illustrated the dynamism of the Ottoman ruling class both in internal and external politics, which helped them to gain successful results in a long run.

Detailed information and useful insights for further investigation on the landscape, the administrative units, the officials, the garrison and the *vakıfs* in the Uyvar province was provided in the second part of the work. The investigation enabled us to see the capacity of the Ottoman rulers in organizing effective governing mechanisms in the frontier regions in a period that was controversially described as the “stagnation and decline” in the mainstream historiography. The focus given on the political and financial position of the *beylerbeyis* in the seventeenth century and on the charity building activities of the Grand vizier from Köprülü family is useful to put some illustrative examples to discuss the peculiarities of this understudied period.

Providing definitions of the frontier, the third chapter focused on the peculiarities of the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier, and more specifically, life in the Uyvar province. By examining the cases provided in the chapter it is possible to argue that the administrative practices of the governors in the Uyvar province were

twofold; one related to the administration of the province, e.g., distribution of the revenues, collection of taxes, and the other to the administration of the frontier. In both regards, the governors of the province had to be careful in their policies towards the subjects in order not to lose their allegiances to the empire. Besides, since they were ruling the frontier of the empire the governors had to introduce some sort of socio-economic measures, along with the military ones, to prevent the Habsburg attacks. Implementing the pragmatic and flexible policies such as the marriage permission for the janissaries, reducing the tax rates, or the usage of local languages in the official writings, -practices that were not seen in the core provinces- they created a pro-Ottoman attitude among the locals which helped them to have a strong defense against their rivals. As Halil İnalcık and Gábor Ágoston have described in their works, flexibility, pragmatism, and *istima'let* or gaining the support of people through reconciliation and protection, are indeed the key words to understand the underlying reasons of this support and close cooperation.

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APPENDICES

A. Military camps en route Buda*

Place	Duration (hour)	Arrival date	Seat (day)
DavutPaşa	1	8 Şaban 1073 [March18, 1663]	8
Küçükçekmece	2		-
Büyükçekmece	3		-
Silivri	6		1
Kınıklı	3		-
Çorlu	3		-
Karışdıran	4		1
Bergos	4		1
Baba-yı atık	5		-
Hafsa	3		-
Sazlıdere	4		-
Edirne	2	28 Şaban 1073 [April 7, 1663]	7
Çirmen	4		-
Cısr-i Mustafa Paşa	4		-
Harmanlı	6		-
Büyükdere	5		-
Semizce	4		-
Kayalı	3		-
Papaslı	4		-
Kuyubaşı	3,5		-
Filibe	1,5		3
Nehr-i Çeltükbaşı	3,5		-
Tatar pazarı	3		1
Saruhanbeğli	3		-
Köstence	5		-

* Cf., Vojtech Kopčan, “Zwei Itinerarien des osmanischen Feldzuges gegen Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky) im Jahre 1663” *Asian and African Studies* 14 (1978), 59-88; Ahmet Şimşirgil, “1663 Uyvar Seferi Yolu ve Şehrin Osmanlı İdaresindeki Konumu” in *Anadolu’da Tarihi Yollar ve Şehirler Semineri İstanbul 21 Mayıs 2001 Bildiriler* (Istanbul: Globus Dünya Basımevi, 2002), 79-98.

İhtiman	4		-
Minareli köyü	6		-
Ormanlı	3		-
Sofya	1,5	26 Ramazan 1073 [May 4, 1663]	16
Halkalıpınar	5		1
Sarıbarut	6		-
Şehirköy	5		-
Palanka-i Musa Paşa	7		-
Ilıca	6		-
Niş	2		2
Aleksence	6		-
Kınalızade çiftliği	8		-
Perakin	3		-
Yagodina	4		1
Batanca	6		-
Palanka-i Hasan Paşa	6		-
Kolar	5		-
Hisarcık	4		-
Belgrad	5	2 Zilkade 1073 [June 8, 1663]	10
Zemun	1,5		2
Vayka	4		-
Mitrofça	3,5		-
Dimitrofça	3		-
Kulufça	4		-
Tovarnik	4		-
Vulkovar	5		-
Dal	3		-
Ösek	2	22 Zilkade 1073 [June 28, 1663]	6
Darda	3		1
Birivivar	4		-
Mihaç	5		-
Batösek	4		-
Seksar	4		-
Bakşe	5		-
Fotvar	5		1
Cankurtaran	8		-
Erçin	3,5		-
Hamzabey	3		-
Budun	2,5	11 Zilhicce 1073 [July 17, 1663]	13
Total	361	-	-

Source: Mehmed Necati, *Tarih-i Feth-i Yanık*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Revan Section, no. 1308, folios 1b-7a.

B. The Treaty of Vasvár²⁶³

Bin yetmişbeş senesinde tecdîd-i ‘ahd olundukta taraf-ı humâyundan Nemçe Çâsârına verilen ‘ahidnâmedir.

Hamd ü sipâs-ı bî-kiyâs ol hudâ-yı mute‘âl celle şânuhû ani’ş-şebih ve’l-misâl hazretine olsun ki itâ‘ât-ı evâmir ve nevâhî ve şükr-i ni‘ami nâ-mütanâhi berekâtıyla cenâb-ı hilâfet-i meâb saltanât-ı nisâbım a‘zâm-ı selâtîn-i rûy-i zemîn ve ebvâb-ı sa‘âdet iktisâb-ı ma‘delet intisâbım merci‘-i hâvâkîn-i evrenk nişîn eyledi. Ve selâvât-ı nâ ma‘dûd cemî‘-i enbiyâ-i i‘zâm ale’l-husûs ol fahr-ı enâm ve mefhâr-ı mürselîn-i kirâm ve şefî‘-i rûz-ı kıyâm Muhammedü’l-Mustafa sallallâhü aleyhi ve sellem hazretlerine olsun ki sıyânet-i şer‘-i mütehârraları ri‘âyet-i sünen-i me‘âlî eserleri semarâtıyla zât-ı [...] sıfât-ı kâmbahş ve kâmyâbım mesned ârâ-yı darü’l-mülk cemşîd ve kayser ve vâris-i pâyitaht-ı keyhüsrev ve İskender eyledi. Taht-ı kabzâ-i tasarruf-ı sâhib-kırânım ve dâhil-i havza-i hükümet hidîvâne-i ma‘delet unvânım olan emâkin ü emsâr ve memâlik ü diyârdan eşrefü’l-buldân ve’l-emâkin ve ebekü’l-medâin ve’l-mesâkin kible-i cümle-i âlem ve mihrâb-ı teveccüh-i amme-i ümem olan Mekke-i Mükerrreme ve Medine-i Münevvere ve Kudus-i Şerîf-i Mübârekin hâdîmi ve hasretü’l mülûk olan bilâd-i selâse-i mu‘azzâma ki İstanbul, Edirne ve Burusadur ve Şâm-ı Cennet Meşâm ve Bağdad-ı Dârü’s-Selâm ve Mısır Nâdiretü’l-Asr bî-himtâ ve külliyyen ekâlim-i Arabistan ve Halebü’s-Şehbâ ve Irak-ı Arab ü Acem ve Basra ve Lahsa ve Deylem ve Rakka ve Musul ve Şehrizer ve Van ve Diyar-ı Bekr ve Zü’l-kaderiyye ve Kürdistân ve Gürcistân ve vilâyet-i Erzurum ve Sivas ve Adana ve Karaman ve Mağrib-i Zemîn ve Cezâyir ve sevâhil-i diyâr-ı Anadolu ve Habeş ve Tunus ve darü’l-cihâd Cezâyir ve Trablus ve Cezîre-i Kıbrıs ve Rodos ve Akdeniz ve Karadeniz ve memâlik-i Rum ili ve husûsen memâlik-i Tatar aduv-i şikâr ve deşt-i Kıpçak ve vilâyet-i Kefe ve Azak ve diyâr-ı Bosna ve Kanije ve Sighetvar ve İstoni Belgrad ve Eğri ve Tımışvar ve darü’l-mülk Engürüs olan Budin ve Belgrad ve ânâ tâbi‘ olan kıl‘a ve husûsân memâlik-i Erdel ve Eflâk ve Boğdan ve ta‘rîf ü tavsîfden müsteğnî nice kıl‘a u buk‘ânın pâdîşâh-ı kişverküşâsı ve şehinşâh-ı memleket-ârâsı es-sultân ibnü’s-sultân (p. 18) ve hakân ibnü’l-hâkân es-sultânü’l-gâzi Mehmed Hân ibn-i İbrahim Hân’ım. Menşûr-ı bâhiri’n-nuşûr saltanâtımı ve nişân-ı sâti‘âtü’n-nûr hilâfetimi elkabuhû sultânü’l-berrayn ile mevsûf ve zîver-i hakânü’l-bahreyn ile müzeyyen eyledi. Şâkîren alâ tilke’n-ni‘am şîme-i kerîme-i abâ vu ecdâd şeca‘âtnihâdımın avâtıf-ı kadîmesi üzre zabt ü hırâset memâlik-ı suğur-u bilâd ve hıfz ve himâyet-i cümle-i re‘âyâ vu fukârâ vu i‘bâda dikkât ü himmet-i şâhânem elzem ve re‘fet ü şefkât-i mülûkânem sezâvâr ve ehemm olmağın bi’l-fi‘il âsâkir-i nusret-ı şî‘ârım ile serhâdd-i Engürüs ve tevâbi‘i aktârına serdâr-ı sipehsâlar zafer-i iştihâr kılınan düstûr-ı ekrem-i müşîr-i efhâm nizâmü’l-âlem nâzım-ı menâzimü’l-ümem müdebbirü umur-ı cumhûr bi’l-fikri’s-sâkib mütemmimi

²⁶³ BOA, A.DVN.DVE.d, *Nemçelü Ahidnâmesi*, 57/1, 17-19. The Turkish and Italian texts were deposited in Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Türkische Urkunden, Kasten 468, L. 67. Hasan Ağa provided the articles in his account.

mehâmmü'l-enâmi bi'r-re'yi's-sâ'ib mümehhid-i bünyânü'd-devle ve'l [...] müseyyid-i erkânü's-sa'âde ve'l-iclâl mükemmil-i nâmus-ı saltanatü'l-uzmâ mürettib-i merâtib-i hilâfetü'l-kübra el-gâzi fi sebilillah el-mahfûf bi-sunûfi avâtifi'l-meliki's-sâmed vezîr-i a'zâm âsâf-ı şîme ve vekîl-i mutlâk-ı sadâkât-i himem serdâr-ı ekremim Ahmed Pâşâ edâmallahü te'âlâ iclâlehü ve za'afe iktidârahü âsâkire-i mansûrem ile hidemât-ı hümâyûn itmâmına tekâyyüd üzre iken iftihârü'l-ümerâ-il-izâmi'l-İsevîye muhtârü'l-küberâi'l-fihâm fi'l-milleti'l-mesîhiyye vilâyet-i Alamân ve Çeh ve Macar ve Nemçe diyârının hâkimi kaviiyyü'l-iktidârı ve millet-i nasrâniye mülûkünün ulusu ve hürmetlûsü Roma İmparatoru [...] Lepoldus hutimet avâkibuhû bi'l-hayr ile sekiz seneden berü mabeynde mün'âkid ve pâydâr olan sulh ü salâh ba'zı vekâyi'-i ihtilâl sebebiyle menkadî' ve zâil olub mabeynde harb ü kıtâl ve ceng ü cidâl sûret-i numûn olmağla esâs-ı asâyiş-ı ahâlî-i bilâd ve arâmiş-i ra'iyet ve fukârâ-yı ibâd olan sulh u salâhı müceddeden vaz' u tecdîd ve hukûk-ı dostî ve cevâd-ı kadîmi tecdîde me'zûn olan kıdveti-ümerâ-i millet-i'l mesîhiyye meymûn-ı [...] hutimet avâkibuhû bi'l-hayrın mu'temed âdemisi gelüb al dahi tecdîd-i asâyişin ciheti ve temhîd-i mebânî-i dostî idüp mevâdd-ı sulhü söyleşip [...] verecek mertebe kendüye vekâletnâme geldigün bildirüp ordu-yu hümâyûnumda bi'd-def'ât mükâleme vü müzâkereden sonra **on madde** üzerine karâr verilüp ve vükelâ-yı tarafeyn rızâlarıyla **işbu sene-i hams ve seb'ine ve elf Muharreminin onaltıncı günü yigirmi sene temâmına degin** müddet ta'yîn olunup ve sulh u salâh bağlanup cânîbeynden ma'mûlün-bih olmak üzre temessükler virilmek lâzım geldikde müşârün-ileyh serdâr-ı zafer iktidârım dahi taraf-ı bâhiri's-şeref hüsrevânemden vekîl-i mutlakım olduğı hasebiyle vech-i meşrûh üzere on maddeye temessük virdügin ve virilen mevâdd kâğıdının mazmûnı mü'eyyed ü mü'ekked Çasar bâvakar tarafından ordu-yı hümâyûnuma nâmesi gelmek üzre karâr virildiğün pâye-i serîr-i i'lâma arz u telhîs ve nâmesi geldügin ve taraf-ı hümâyûnumdan dahi sulh u salâha müsâ'ade ve sulh nâme-i pür-şevket virilmesin tazarru' u niyâz iyledigin refâhiyyet-i fukârâ-yı cânîbeyn ve rahât-ı ra'iyet-i tarafeyn için tarafeyn vükelâsının temessüklerinde mestûr on maddeyi mutazzamın ve taraf-ı şehinşâhânemizden dahi mevâdd-ı mezbûra mu'teber ve makbûl tutulduğün muharer ve müştemil hatt-ı hümâyûn-ı sa'âdet makrûnumla fermân-ı âlişânım sâdır olmağın işbu tuğra-yı garrâ-yı cihân-ârâmızla müşerref nâme-i hümâyûn-ı sa'âdet makrûnumuz inâyet ve erzâni kılub cümle umûr-ı sulh lafz-be-lafz inâyet ve kabûl oldukdan sonra mahfûz ve makbûl olmak için on maddedirki aynıyle zikr olunur.

Evvəlki madde: Târîh-i mezbûrdan dört ay sonra büyük elçilerimiz çıkup âdet-i kadîme üzre tarafeynin nâmeleri izzet ü ikrâm ile icrâ ideler.

İkinci madde: Roma İmparatorunun elçisi iki yüz bin kara gurusluk pişkeş sa'âdetlü İslâm pâdişâhı hazînesine teslîm eyleye.

Üçüncü madde: İsyânları sebebiyle Kanije kal'ası kurbunda müceddeden binâ eyledikleri yeni kal'a tarafeynden ta'mîr olunmayub muhâsara dahi olunmaya

Dördüncü madde: Uyvar kal'ası sınırında vâki'nehr-i Vağ'ın üzerinde Roma imparatoru hutimet avâkibuhû bi'l-hayr tarafından yalnız bir kal'a binâ ve ihyâ oluna

Beşinci madde: Tarafeynin askeri bir dürlü hîle ve bahâne ile çeteye çıkmayub ve çete nâmiyle şirrete hîleye sülûk idenleri tarafeynin hâkîmleri ve zâbitleri muhkem haklarından geleler

Altıncı madde: Sulh ve salâha ihtilâl-i vâki'oldukdan berü feth ü teshîr mü'yesser olup taht-ı hükümet-i adâlet unvânımıza dâhil olan memâlik re'âyâsı varup Roma imparatorunun vilâyetinde tavattun idenleri kaldırub herbiri kadîmi yerlerinde ve vilâyetlerinde karâr ittirile

Yedinci madde: Erdel vak'âsı esnâsında Rakoçi ve Kemin Yanoş nâm şâkîler isyân ve şekâvetleri sebebiyle Roma imparatoru tarafına teslim eyledikleri kal'aları girü Erdel memleketinin a'yân-ı vilâyetine redd ü teslim ideler

Sekizinci madde: Varad kal'ası kurbunda Seykelhid kal'ası yıkılup harâb ola ve tarafeynden ta'mîr olunmaya

Dokuzuncu madde: Târîh-i mezbûrdan yirmi sene tamâmına degin ibkâ u mukarrer olan tarafeynin sulh u salâhına mugâyir bir ferd aslâ ve kat'a vaz'u hareket eylemeye

Onuncu madde: Tarafeynin asker çeküp ceng ü cidâl ve harb ü kıtâl olunmaya.

İmdi fimâ-ba'd mevâdd-ı mezbûre üzre tecdîd olunan sulh u salah müstevcibü'l-felâh mukarrer tutulup yerleri ve gökleri yoktan var iden hazreti Allah celle şânühû'nun ism-i şerîfleri yâd olunup peygâberimiz hatemü'n-nebiyyîn fahrü'l-mürselîn Muhammedü'l-Mustafa sallallâhü aleyhi ve sellem hazretlerinin mü'cizâtı kesîretü'l-berekâtların irâd idüp şîme-i kerîme-i hüsrevân-ı sadâkât-ı mu'tâd ve kâ'ide marziyye-i tacdârân vefâ-ı i'tiyâd üzre 'ahd ve mîsâk ideriz ki zikr olunan mevâddın şürûd ve kuyûduna ve sulh u salâhın mevâsik ve uhûduna kemâl-i mertebe ri'âyet olunub mademki ol cânibden hılâfına vaz' u hareket sudûr ve zuhûr bulmaya. Taraf-ı hümayûn-ı pâdişâhânemizden ve vükelâ-ı âl-i-makâm vesâ'ir mîr-i mîrân-ı zevi'l-ihtîşâm ve ümerâ-i sâhibi'l-ihtirâm ve umûmen âsâkir-i nusret-encâm-ı zaferyâb ve cümle ubûdiyyetimiz ile şerefyâb olan tevâ'if-i hüddâmdan bir ferd hilâfına müte'âllik vaz' u hareket eylemeye.

The articles of the treaty signed in the Uyvar fortress²⁶⁴

Bin yetmişbeş (1664) senesinde Uyvar altında müzâkere olunan sulhun mevâd kâğıdıdır. (Fi 16 Muharrem sene 1075)

Ahidnâmenin tahrîr târîhi fi evâil-i ramazan sene 1075. Uyvar sahrasında verildi.

Evvelki madde: Erdel memleketinden Nemçe askerinin ihrâc olunması maddesidir; evvelki ahidnâmede yokdur. Roma İmparatoru'nun askeri Erdel içinde zabt eyledikleri kıl'a ve palankaları Erdel hâkimine ve âyân vilâyete teslim idüp ammâ ol tarafın askerleri ikisi bile bir vakitte Erdel'den çıkup serhâdlerden çekilüp ândan sonra zikr olunan kal'alar vesâ'ir Erdel memleketi üslûb-ı sâbık üzre âsûde-hâl olup

²⁶⁴ BOA, A.DVN.DVE.d, *Nemçelü Ahidnâmesi*, 57/1, 19-20.

Erdel hükümeti mahlûl oldukda eskiden olan ahidnâme-i hümâyûnum mücebince aralarında hüsn-i rızâlarıyla hâkîm olacak âdemi aralarında bulalar ve her vechle eski âdetleri üzre âzâde âsûde-hâl olalar.

İkinci madde: Erdel'e müte'âllik ahvâldir; evvelki ahidnâmede yokdur. Hîn-i sulhde sulh için Erdel vilâyetinden Nemçe'ye verilen Varmekî dedikleri yedi nâhiye yerdendir. Roma İmparatoru'nun Çatmar ve Cabuluk nâm iki nahiyesi vesâ'ir kendüye müte'âllik olan memleket ve vilâyet nâhiyelerinde ve ânlarâ tâbi' olan re'âyâ ve şehir ve kıla' ve palanka husûsen kadîmden Nemçe Çasârı'na tâbi' olan Hayduşâğ tâ'ifesi ki Erdel'e tâbi' olan Hayduşâğ'ın gayridir anlara mahsus olan kıl'a ve karyelere bir vechle ve bir bahâne ile rencîde olunmayub gerek İslam tarafından ve gerek Erdellüden ve gerek Erdel hâkiminden ve gayri kimesneden bir tarık ile rencîde olunmayub harac ve virgü anlardan talep etmeyeler ve bu âna değin anlardan birşey talep olunursa bundan sonra talep olunmayub def' oluna.

Üçüncü madde: Erdel'e müte'âllik ahvâldir; bu dahi bâlâda işâret olunduğu üzre Varmeke'dendir. Roma imparatorunun iki nâhiyesinde ve ol serhâdlerde olan kıl'a ve palankâlarını husûsen Çatmar ve Karlu ve Kalu ve Ecid nâm kal'alarını ve gayrî lâzım olan yerlerini sâ'ir hudûdlarında olan kılâ'ı gibi hıfz u ta'mîr ve muhâfazacılar ta'yîn idüp tabûr ve serdar nâmında askeri ile gelmeyeler. Kezâlik ehl-i İslâm ve Erdel tarafından amel oluna ve tarafeyn-i memleketin mazarrâtı def'i için Seykelhid kal'ası ve tabyaları yakılıub hâk ile yeksân ola. Tarafeynden veyâhûd bir gayri kimesneden bir tarık ile ve bir bahâne ile yine yapılmıya ve asker ile alât-ı harble muhâfâza olunmaya.

Dördüncü madde: Rakoci oğlu Kemin Yanoş oğlu veyâhûd Orta Macar bir gayrî kimesne zabıd olunub Erdel içine asker ile gelüp yeniden kıyl u kâle ve fitneye sebep olmamak için ruhsât virilmeye. Kezâlik İslam ve Erdel tarafından Nemçe imparatorunun memleketine ve nâhiyelerine bu makûle kimesne gelmeğe ruhsât verilmeye.

Beşinci madde: Tarafeynin bedhâhları olanlarına himâyet u siyânet olunmayub müsâ'ade olunmaya.

Altıncı madde: Kanije kurbunda ihdâs olunub kuvvet-i kahîre ile hedm olunan kal'a tekrâr tarafeynden yapılmaya. Zikr olunan hareketlerin sebebiyle Kanije'ye kârîb ihdâs olunan kal'a bundan sonra tarafeynden tekrar yapılmaya ve muhâfâza olunmaya.

Yedinci madde: Erdel hareketi esnasında bu tarafa ya ol cânîbe sığınan Erdellüler'e gerü vilâyetlerine varub yurtlarında olup emlâkların zabt idüp kendü hallerinde olalar. Kimesne rencîde eylemeye ve hâkîmlerine tâbi' olup vilâyetlerine zararlı işde bulunmayalar.

Sekizinci madde: Nehr-i Vâğ'ın öte yüzünde vâki'olan Gota nâm karyenin ve nehr-i mezbûrun mabeynlerinde kendü memleketin muhâfâza için Roma imparatoru yeniden bir kal'a binâ eylemeye.

Dokuzuncu madde: Çete ahvâlidir; bundan sonra tarafeynden düşmenlik olmayub çeteye çıkılmaya ve her kim buna muhâlif idüp çeteye çıkarsa tarafeynden muhkem hakkından geline. Ve tarafeynin askerleri muhkem zabt olunub bir sâ'ât

evvel Macar ve Erdel serhâdlerinden kalkup iki cânîbden tekrâr gelmeyeler. Re‘âyâ fukârâsı âsûde-hâl olalar.

Onuncu madde: Müddet-i sulh ve istibdâl-i elçi ve pişkeş ahvâlidir; ve tarafeynin sülh ve salâh ve mahabbet-i ziyâde istihkâm bulmak için kavlı ü karâr olunmuşdur ki bu mübârek sulh işbû târihten inşâllâhü te‘âlâ yirmi seneye dek hıfz oluna. Ve târih-i mezbûrdan dört ay mürûrundan sonra re‘âyâ fukârâsının âsûde-hâl ve müreffehü’l-bâl olmaları için büyük elçileri çıkub âdet-i kâdîme üzre ahidnâme-i hümâyûn ibkâ oluna. Ve Roma İmparatorunun elçisi kendü hüsn-i ihtiyârıyla vâki‘ olan dostluk nişânesi için iki yüz bin kara gurûş değer bahâ pişkeş ü hedâyâ getüre. Ve âsitâne-i sa‘âdet tarafından dahi kezâlik büyük elçi kadimden olu geldüğü üzre der-i devlete lâyıq pişkeş u hedâyâ ile varup mübâdele olunalar. Ve elçilerin mübadelesi kadimden ola geldüğü mahâll ve vech üzre ola. Ve dahi Jitre Boğazı’nd olan sulhdan bu ana gelince her ne kadar ahidnâme-i hümâyûn mevâdları oldu ise sonradan ref‘u tebdîl olunmadı ise yine ibkâ ve mukarar olunup icrâ olunalar.

C. The Code of Uyvar Province*

1. From every household of the *reâyâs* within the confines of the Uyvar province 50 *akçes* of [the annual tax known as] *ispençe* shall be collected. One half is to be collected on Hızır Day [April 24] and the other on Kasım day [October 26].
2. Collect from their harvest, such as of wheat, barley, oats, lentils, peas, flax and hemp, the tenth part as tithe. The *reâyâs* are to deliver ‘*öşür* [tithe] to their [respective] *sipahi's* granary in the Uyvar fortress. The poor *reâyâs* should not be oppressed and burdened by demands to deliver [the tithe] to a place more remote than the nearest marketplace.
3. Collect the honey from one of out every ten beehives as tithe. From those who own less than ten hives collect four *akçes* for every hive. Nevertheless, from the Muslims’ beehives, which are in the *varoş* [town] and near their homes, on their farms or in their gardens no tithe shall be collected but two *akçes* for each hive.
4. One out of every *ten pintes* of must the *reâyâs* shall be collected as tithe. What they call a *pinte* is one-and-a-half *vukiyes* (= 1.563 litres). In addition, if the *reâyâs* ask to do so, collect from their must [instead of tithe in kind] five *akçes* per *pinte* as barter money for the tithe.
5. As tax on sheep one *akçe* shall be collected for every two sheep. Nothing more shall be collected.
6. As the due levied on hogs, two *akçes* shall be collected per head. However, for those [hogs] that are younger than one year nothing shall be collected.
7. For every hog from another village to feed on acorns, one *akçe* shall be collected as pastureland fee.
8. A tithe shall be collected from the fruit that ripens in the *reâyâs*’ vineyards and gardens.
9. The tax on wood shall be collected just as before, [i.e.] each household shall supply at about Kasım Day a wagonload of [fire] wood for the previous [period]. Nevertheless, if the *sipahis* run out of wood let them not burden the *reâyâs* by forcing out of them the delivery of a sufficient amount of wood.
10. The hay fee shall be collected from the *reâyâs* at the time when grass is cut for hay, for *akçes* per household, [after which] no tithe shall be collected from hay.
11. As the fee for guarding [the harvest] and the fee for the use of pastureland, *half-a-pint* of pure [refined by melting] butter shall be collected from every

* This English translation of the Kânunnâme of Uyvar is copied from Jozef Blaškovič’s article with some revisions see Blaškovič, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663-1685)” *Archív Orientální* 54/2 (1986), 129-130.

household. A *pinte*, as mentioned above, equals one-and-a-half *vukiyes*. Nothing more should be demanded.

12. After the harvest, when threshing time comes, the sipahis may immediately collect the tithe from the harvest. Let them not oppress the *reâyâs* by demanding a *pîşkeş* [gift] under the pretext that they have not yet received the tithe [i.e. before the threshing]. In addition, if somebody had such intentions, let the judge forbid it and prevent him [from doing so]. No *salariye* should be asked for. And if any [*sipahi*] tries still before the threshing to collect from the *reâyâs* the tithe based on an estimate [in the form of a lump sum], forbid him to do so. The tithes should be collected at the time of threshing in accordance with how high the yields have been.
13. For each of the mills on the rivers Danube, Váh and Nitra a fee of 60 *akçes* shall be collected. Nothing more shall be demanded for the state treasury. And for every mill situated on a smaller stream, which is in operation all year round, a fee of 36 *akçes* shall be collected and for that which [is in operation] only half a year, 18 *akçes*.
14. As bride tax, 40 *akçes* shall be collected for an unmarried [maiden] and 30 *akçes* for a widow. The feudal lord of the village, which the woman is leaving, shall collect this bride tax.
15. The Muslims who have the right of tenure of meadows in the environs of Uyvar are mostly members of the military of different rank. It is not customary in the border regions of Engürüs [Hungary] to collect a tithe for meadows mowed for their horses by the members of the army [who] are in the sultan's service on that frontier acquired with God's help. But, since from time immemorial these people used to pay the due of two *akçes* per each wagon of hay, let them pay to the feudal lord two *akçes* for each wagon, [but they should not be oppressed by higher sums being demanded from them]. However, a tithe shall be collected from the hay that the holders of the *timârs* harvest after having acquired enough for them.
16. From the fruit and vegetable gardens held within the confines of Uyvar by heroes [i.e., soldiers], no tithe shall be collected but a fee of four *akçes* for each *dönüm*.
17. It is not stated in the *defter* that the farms and other villages of the vicegerency, which are benefices of the owners of *ze'âmets* and *timârs*, shall pay tithes in lump sums. If the officials [tax collectors] do not take note of this regulation and try to solicit and oppress the *reâyâs* by asking [from their position of authority] for *kesim* [a lump sum] as barter money for tithes, forbid such [behavior]. Let them collect tithes and taxes from the *reâyâs*, but they must not inconvenience them by demanding a *kesim*.
18. From the harvest from the fields included in the Uyvar cadastre, which are in the tenure of Muslims, and Martolosos living in the town, and also of non-believers who have them by inheritance, collect only the tenth part as tithe. The vicegerency should not ask anything of them on the basis of ownership rights (*toprak hakkı*).

19. If a member of the *reâyâs* is accused of something he must not be condemned to paying a fine as long as his guilt has not been proven as “clear and certain” according to *şer’iyya*. However, as soon as the guilt has been proven and the *kadi* has pronounced the sentence and issued the court record there should be implemented what is prescribed by the immutable (i.e. infallible) *şer’iyya*.
20. The villages of the Sultan’s vicegerency’s and *sancakbegi’s hasses* and the *hâss* of the state farms’ finance director (*defterdâr-i emvâl*), the secretary of *defters* and the *defterdâr of timârs*, and the *miralay*, as well as the villages of the other *ze’âmets* listed in the *General Defter* (*defter-i icmal*) are free. Unless a *reâyâ* in any of those villages is guilty of a gross offence [crime] and unless he is liable, according to law, to the punishment of having his hand severed or of being sent to the gallows, neither the *beylerbeyi* nor the *sancakbeyi* should intervene [in the affairs of the free farmholds] or do any harm to them [i.e. the accused].
21. The so-called slaughter tax shall be collected for the cattle slaughtered at the Uyvar fortress and in the *varoş*. This tax amounts to two *akçes* per head of bovine cattle and one *akçe* for every four sheep.
22. For every ox brought to Uyvar by cattle dealers and sold under the yoke [as a draught-animal], 20 *akçes* shall be collected for the state, and 60 *akçes* for that sold to enemy territory. Nothing should be demanded by the vicegerency.
23. Out of each 50 lumps of salt sold to enemy territory one lump of salt should be collected. However, for every two lumps of salt sold to Muslims in the Uyvar fortress for their own needs one *akçe* shall be collected and nothing more.
24. Nothing should be collected from the fruit, bread, chickens, eggs, cheese, milk and other food brought by the *reâyâs* and their wives on the back or on the head for sale to Uyvar.
25. Because a toll has been asked [until now] from every wagon of wood or hay brought by the *reâyâs* for sale to the Uyvar fortress, and this has caused them a loss, [therefore] nothing should be asked for from a wagon of wood or hay.
26. For the butter, honey, flour, barley and other kinds of grain and various (other) food products that the *reâyâs* bring in wagons from the countryside to Uyvar for sale no customs duty (*gümruk*) shall be collected but only five *akçes* (of toll) per wagon. Nevertheless, if those in question are not traders and bring the grain (food products) for them to eat, nothing shall be collected for those wagons.
27. For each wagon of bovine hides being taken to enemy territory 120 *akçes* shall be collected and 20 *akçes* per wagon of sheepskins.
28. For enamelled pots, goblets, wooden casks, iron and steel (products) and head-coverings for non-believers that are imported to Uyvar from enemy territory for sale one *akçes* shall be collected for every 50 *akçes* of their price.
29. Nothing shall be collected from the potters working in the *varoş* and the fortress.
30. For the goods sold to non-believers at the market and in the shops a duty of one *akçes* shall be collected for every 50 *akçes* of their price. Let the members of the

traders' guild not seek the excuse that they belong to the army (i.e. that they are purveyors to the army and as such need not pay the duty).

31. When wax is sold, one *akçe* shall be collected for every *okka*.
32. When they bring fish for sale, one *akçe* shall be collected for every 50 *akçes* of their price. If they bring dried fish, collect 12 *akçes* per wagon.
33. Weighing charge (*kantariye*) is one *akca* for every 44 *okkas* of goods. The fee from *keyl* (*resm-i keyl*) is one *akçe* for every two Istanbul *keyls*.
34. For every wagonload of boards and various beams that the *reâyâs* bring to Uyvar from enemy territory and float down the river Váh, five *akçes* shall be collected. The *reâyâs* should not be damaged financially by being asked to pay one *akçe* per board and by one board per wagon being demanded of them.
35. For each roll of line or cloth that is brought to the Uyvar fortress for sale, 240 *akçes* shall be collected. From a roll of canvas, burlap or (raw) cloth from sheep's wool, 120 *akçes* shall be collected. Let nothing more be collected.
36. For every millstone cut in a quarry and transported through the *varoş* of Tekovské Lužany to enemy territory, 120 *akçes* shall be collected. Let nothing more be collected.

All the above-listed market fees (*bâç*, transit toll) and duties shall be collected for the state [treasury]. Let the vicegerency (i.e. the provincial authorities) not interfere with this.

D. Ottoman Administrative Units in the Uyvar Province

<i>Nahiye</i>	Name of town	Number of people liable to <i>cizye</i>	Number of households	Total sum of tax
Barş	Nagy Sarlo (Tekovské Lužany)	411	264	85,100
	Jeliz (Želiezovce)	95	55	27,250
	Verebil (Vráble)	190	147	51,151
	Uy Barş (Nový Tekov)	76	59	16,126
	Oslan (Oslany)	110	77	25,135
Narhid	Şuran (Šurany)	69	46	7,113
	Udvard (Dvory nad Žitavou)	30	30	16,660
	Nimet Södin (Svodín)	51	42	12,885
	Macar Södin	115	89	29,885
	Mezö Ölved (Veľké Ludince)	111	69	36,429
Hond	Bât (Bátovce)	167	138	59,100
	Selin (Selany)	177	109	81,180
	Nimet Baka Bânya (Pukanec)	40	31	14,400
	Zibritov	-	-	20,000
	Kemencze	-	-	20,000
Nitra	Galgofça (Hlohovec)	583	476	153,000
	Kiş Topoçan (Topolčianky)	70	43	16,625
	Şente (Šintava)	136	105	36,860
	Serdahel (Nitrianska Streda)	136	105	36,860
	Oponice	82	60	19,809
	Bodok (Dolné Obdokovce)	21	21	6,065
	Kovarce	118	81	29,750
	Salakuz (Sokolníky)	61	43	13,740
	Nagy Topoçân (Topolčany)	192	160	48,440
	Pereslin (Preseľany)	110	83	27,757
	Gimös (Jelenec)	82	66	17,140
Komyatin (Komjatice)	127	79	14,830	
Jabokrek	Jabokrek	60	44	16,480
Komaran	Bator Kesö (Voynice)	76	52	36,832
Şelle	Şelle (Šaľa nad Váhom)	59	46	12,260

E. A Document Related to the Affairs in the Ottoman-Habsburg Frontier²⁶⁵

Bin altmış dört senesinde vaki' rabiü'l-evvelin evâilinde azametlü ve şevketlü padişah hazretlerine itaat eyleyen varoş ve kura ahalileri ve aralarında sakin olan nemeş [Nemçe] taifesi ... ihtilaline sebep olan mevad ... ile vekilleri olan nemeşlerden Juri Ferenc ve İyoçi Yanoş ve Ragalı Mihâl ve Dabaşı Mihâl ve Bokor Ferenc nam nemeşleri Egre divanına gönderüb getürdükleri mevadı cümle ayan muvacehesinde kıraat olundukta memlekette sebep olan işler men' ü def' olunması lazım ve mühim olunmağla cümlenin rey ve ittifakıyla işbu mevadlar def' u ref' olunmuşdır. Ba'de'l-yevm bu makule ahval zuhur ederse tarafımızdan verilen defter mucibince amel olunub varoş ve kura ahalileri ve aralarında sakin olan nemeşler dahi adet ve kanun üzere azametlü padişahımıza kemal-i mertebe itaat üzere olub hilaf-ı kanun ve hilaf-ı muted her türlü hareket etmeyüb itaat oldukca kimesne rencide etmeyüb saye-yi padişahide emniyet ve salim olalar.

Evvelki madde: Varoş ve kurada sakin olan nemeşler harami korkusundan gece evlerinde rahat yatmayub ve gezdikleri yolları emniyet ve salim gezmeğe havf üzere olmağla evlerimizde korunmak için âlât-ı harb taşımağa icazet rica olunur.

Divan: Nemeş taifesi olmağla tüfenk ve balta ve ... taşıya ve illa kılıc ve nice kolçak ve zırh ve tolga taşımaya caizdir. Sahh

İkinci madde: Nemeş taifesi çuka ... ile kıyafet-i kevn-i diğere ile ve mahmuzlu çizme ile gezdigimizde yollarda müslüman gazileri rast gelüb üzerimizden esbablarımız ve ayağımızdan çizmelerimiz alırlar men' ü def' olunması rica olunur.

Divan: Her ne gûne esbab ile gezerse kimesne rencide eylemeye ve rencide olunursa edenlerin hakkından geline. Sahh

Üçüncü madde: İtaat üzere olan varoş ve kuranın eski kesimlerine kanaat etmeyüb beher sene kesimlerine artırmakla reaya fukarası takat getürmeğe tahammülleri olmayub perakende olmak mukarrerdir men' ü def' rica olunur.

Divan: ... kuraya kesim arturmak lazım oldukda ... olunub izn-i hakim ile ... bila izin artırılmaz. Sahh.

Dördüncü madde: Varoşlarda ve köylerde sakin olan nemeş taifesi bu ana değın kesimlerin eda eyledikten sonar bir türlü hizmet teklif olunmamış iken bu defa Solnok kalesinden zahire getirmek için arabalar yazılıb ve andan gayri kireç hane hizmeti teklif olunmağla üslub-ı sabık üzere kalmamız rica olunur.

²⁶⁵ Slovak State Archive, Rimavska Sobota Branch, Turkish Documents, no, 1-8, cf. Jozef Blaškovič, "Türkische Historische Urkunden aus Gemer" *Asian and African Studies* 8 (1972), 74-77.

Divan: Egre kalesi intiha-yı serhad olub şevketlü padişahımızın mikdarı ile ve yolda artırmağla bu zahirenin gelmesi lazımdır. Solnok canibinden gelen zahire azametlü padişahımızın kulları için nafaka tayin buyrulmuşdur. Getirdilmesi lazım ve mühimdir. İnad olunmayub zahire arabalar beher sene verile. Kireç hane hizmeti mâtakaddümden nemeş olanlara teklif olunmayub bundan sonra dahi teklif olunmaya. Sahh.

Beşinci madde: ... müslüman yazısıyla ... olmayub bu sebab ile zararımız olur. Verilen tezkere macar yazısıyla rica olunur.

Divan: ... makule harac akçasın ... şaya teslim olundukda bir tarafı müslüman ... yazısıyla ve bir tarafında macar lisanı ile tezkere ... işaret oluna. Sahh.

Altıncı madde: Müslüman gazileri taşra köylerimize geldiklerinde ve köyümüzden taşra bulunan çobanlarımızı ve hizmetkarlarımızı tutub içerüye götürürler. Reayalı olduğuna isbat olunduktan sonra akçasız salıvermezler men' ü def' rica olunur.

Divan: Gaziler taşrada bulundukta muzırdır deyü bu makule çoban ve hizmetkar getürdüklerinde reaya gelüb doğru olduğuna kefil oldukdan sonra akça talep olmıyaya ve illa bu sebab ile katana ve cürümzade-yi saklamayalar sonradan haber alınursa cezaları verile. Sahh.

Yedinci madde: Varoşlarda ve karyelerde sakin olan nemeş taifesinin hanelerine müslüman gazileri geldüklerinde mutâd-ı kadim üzere kullandığımız yaraklarımızı alub ve kendümüzü ve hizmetkarlarımızı mecruh ederler. Bu makule iş cürm ne eyleye. Tam cürmde bakı olub men' ü def' olunması rica olunur.

Divan: Bu makule nemeş taifesinin adet üzere olan yarakları alınmayub ve kendülerin ve hizmetkarların rencide eylemeyeler ederlerse edenlerin haklarından geline. Sahh.

Sekizinci madde: Egre ağalarından olub azablar ağası Hasan Ağa'nın Satmar Yanoş nam zimmiden akçası olub kefil değil ... olmuşdur. Bu makule işlerin dikkati rica olunur.

Divan: Akçaya kefil olmayub ... verir de kazançları olmaduktan sonra mücerred ol köylüdür deyü kimesne-yi rencide eylemeye herkesi akça verdükde kavil kefil ile vere. Sahh.

Dokuzuncu madde: Varoşlara ve karyelere hizmet eylemek için itaat etmeyen varoş ve kuradan gelen hizmetkarlar verekağdın almamışlar deyü rencide olunmaya ve bu makule hizmetkar gelmesiyle vilayet mamur olur ve illa harbî kaleden çıkarsa veyahud kılıcın bırakub reayalık ihtiyar ederse anın gibiler verekağdına talib olub kağıdsız gezmeğe [izin rica olunur]

Divan: Ol makule itaat eylemeyen varoş ve kuradan hizmetkarlık için itaat üzere olan varoş ve kuraya geldüğünde verekağdına muhtac olmaya. Herhangi varoş v kuraya ol makule hizmetkarlar gelirse belli başlı birovları ol hizmetkarın ahvalini sual edüb anın gibi şekavet üzere değil ise reayalığa gelürse verekağdı almayınc çıkmaya sonra esir olur. Sahh.

Onuncu madde: İtaat üzere olan vilayet devletlülere ayinleri kasdeyledikleri davaları müslüman canibinden ümera ve zuama ve sipah mücerred ol dava benim makbulum değildir deyü birovların içerüye davet edüb gelmezse cürm-i galiz ile rencide ediyorlar men' ü def' rica olunur.

Divan: Kanuna muvafık cürüm değil ise sınır ve mezraa davası olmayub ve şikayetçi bu canibe gelüb aralarında kendülerine müteallik davaları görüb bu canibden ümera ve zuama taraflarından bozmaya. Sahh.

Onbirinci madde: Potura akçası macar vilayetinde üçer penze cari olub reaya taşradan içerüye satılık bir nesne getürüb reayaya üçer penz hesabı üzere vermeyüb bu sebep ile reaya fukarasının zarureti vardur cümle üçer penze cari olmasına rica olunur.

Divan: Bu ahval yalnız bu canibe müteallik değil. Budun'da tuğrakeş vezir hazretleri rey-i şerifleri ile Budun ve Üstürgun ve Kanija vesair kalelerin ittifakıyla olmak lazım. Sahh.

Bekir, ağa-yı fârisan-ı Egre hâlâ

Mehmed, ağa-yı fârisan-ı Egre

İşbu defterde şerh verildiği minval üzere ba'del-yevm amel olunub itaat üzere olan kura ve varoş ahalilerin ve aralarında sakin olan nemeşler hilâf-ı vaz u hareket etmedikce rencide ve remide olunmaya deyü buyruldu. Fî 5 Rabiü'l-ahir 1064 [February 23, 1654]

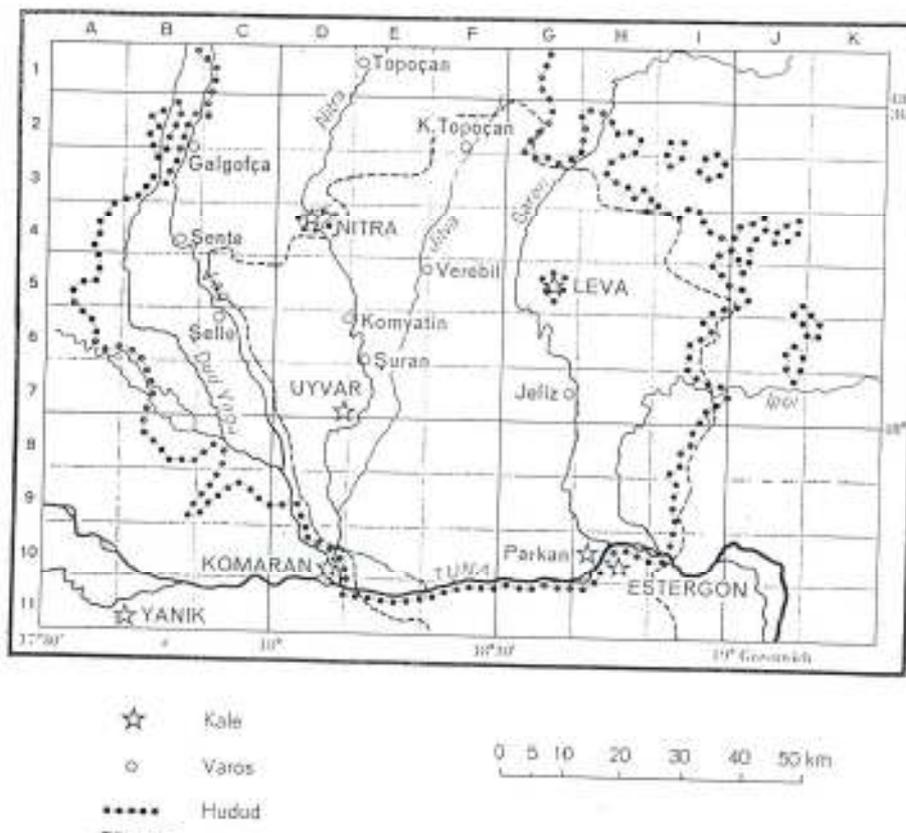
Bende-yi âl-i Muhammed, Mehmed

F. A Map of the Uyvar Province²⁶⁶

The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663—1685)

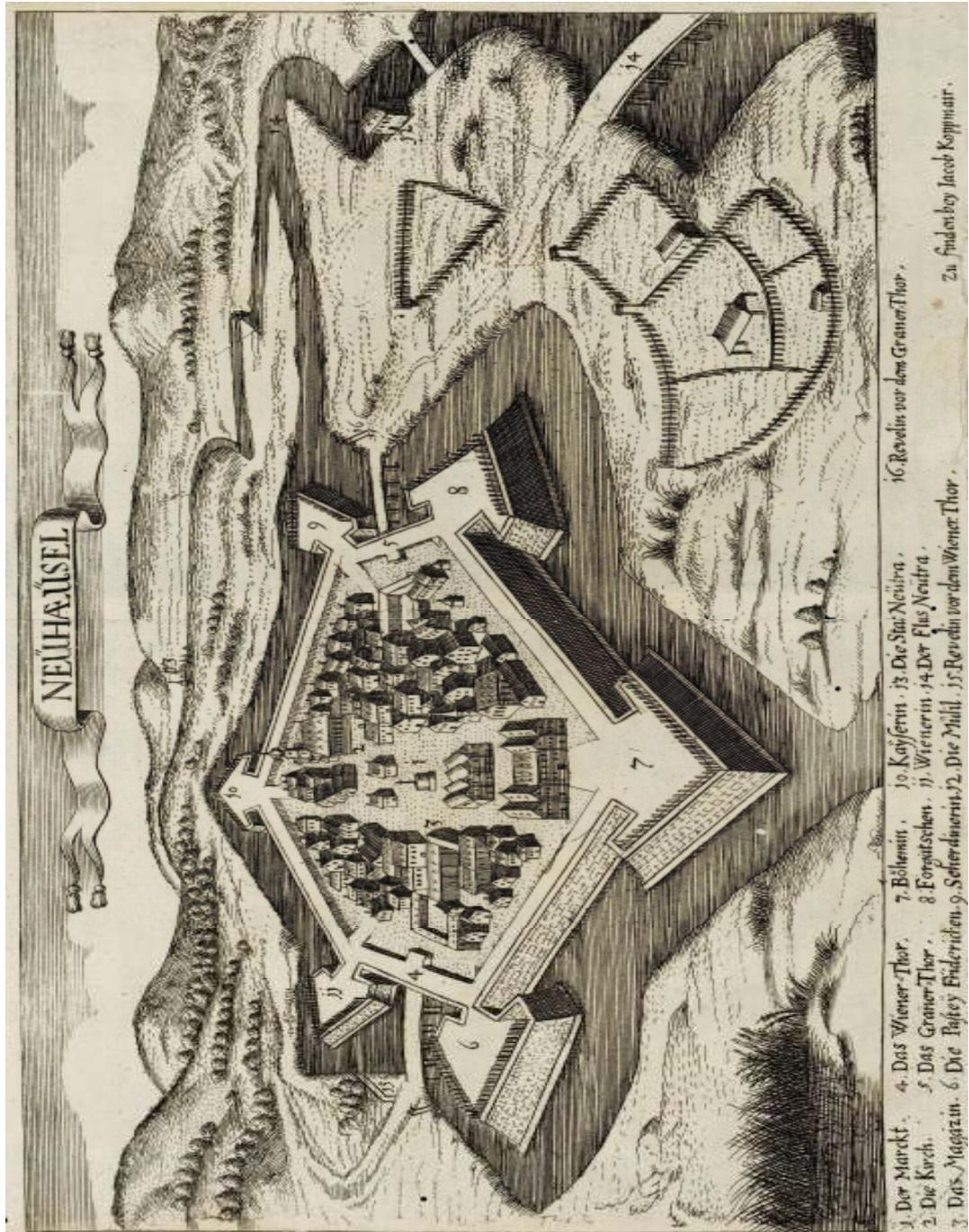
VII

Eyalet-i Uyvar 1664



²⁶⁶ Josef Blaškovičs, “The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663-1685)” *Archív Orientální* 54 (1986), 105-130.

G. The Uyvar Fortress in late 17th century by Jacob Koppmair²⁶⁷



²⁶⁷ Source: http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/slovakia/nove_zamky/maps/koppmair_nove_zamky.html

G. The Governors of Uyvar Province

A. Kopčan's list:²⁶⁸

Name of the Governor		Dates mention his appointment or office
1	Kurd Mehmed Paşa	September, 1663
2	Sührab Mehmed Paşa	1667
3	Seydi Mehmed Paşa	1669
4	Küçük Mehmed Paşa	February, 1671
5	Hoca-zâde Arnavud Paşa	November, 1673
6	Kerem Mehmed Paşa	November, 1673
7	Mustafa Paşa	June-September, 1676
8	Mahmut Paşa	January, 1677
9	Küçük Hasan Paşa	February-June, 1679
10	Mehmed Paşa	May, 1682
11	Hoca-zâde Hasan Paşa	October 10, 1682
12	Şeyhoğlu Ali Paşa	August 27, 1683
13	Hoca-zâde Hasan Paşa	February, 1684

²⁶⁸ Vojtech Kopčan, "Nové Zámky – Ottoman Province in Central Europe", 65.

B. Şimşirgil's list:²⁶⁹

Name of the Governor		Dates mention his appointment or office
1	Kurd Mehmed Paşa	1664
2	Küçük Mehmed Paşa (1)	1666
3	Küçük Mehmed Paşa (2)	1669
4	Sührab Mehmed Paşa	1669
5	Küçük Mehmed Paşa (3)	1670
5	Kerem Mehmed Paşa	November 1673
6	Mustafa Paşa	January 1674, 1676
7	Ali Paşa	1676, 1677
8	Küçük Mehmed Paşa (4)	June 1679
9	Mehmed Paşa	March 1680, 1681
10	Hoca-zâde Hasan Paşa (1)	October 1682 – August 1683
11	Şeyhoğlu Ali Paşa	1683, 1684
12	Hoca-zâde Hasan Paşa (2)	February 1684, 1685

²⁶⁹ Ahmet Şimşirgil, *Uyvar`ın Türkler Tarafından Fethi ve İdaresi (1663-1685)*, 100-102.

H. Geographical Names

Turkish	Hungarian	Slovak	German
Boğdan/Buğdan	Moldva	Moldavsko	Moldau
Budin/Budun/Buda	Buda	Budín	Ofen
Ciğerdelen	Párkány	Parkan/Štúrovo	Gockern
Eflak	Havasalföld	Valašsko	Walachei
Eğri	Eger	Jäger	Erlau
Erdel	Erdély	Sedmohradsko	Siebenbürgen
Estergon	Esztergom/n	Ostrihom	Gran
Hollok/Hollük	Hollókő	-	Raabenstein
Komaran	Komárom	Komárno	Komorn
Leve	Léva	Levice	Lewenz
Nitra/Nitre	Nyitra	Nitra	Neutra
Novigrad	Nógrád	Novohrad	Neuburg
Peşte	Pest	Pešť	Pest
Uyvar	Érsekújvár	Nové Zámky	Neuhäusel
Yanık Kale	Győr	Ráb	Raab
Zerinvar/Zirinvar	Zrínyiújvár	-	Neu Serinwar