



A Defter Entry from 1489 about the Fortress and Town of Travnik in Bosnia

Michael Ursinus

Author:

Faculty Member, Department of Islamic Studies (Ottoman Studies), University of Heidelberg.

michael.ursinus@ori.uni-heidelberg.de.

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Context

BOA TD 24 appears to be the first Survey Register to specifically mention the situation in and around the fortress (*kale*) of Travnik during the first 25 years or so after the initial Ottoman conquest of much of Bosnia in 1463. It is well established that the Hungarian counter-attacks secured for the king the banate (*banovina*) of Jajce (with the towns of Jajce, Banjaluka, Greben, Sokol, Jezero, Vinac, Vrbaški grad, Livač, Komotin, Bočac and Zvečaj along Vrbas river), and the banate of Srebrenik to the east of Doboj and Gračanica, i.e. well east of Bosna river. The *nahiye* of Lašva (named after one of the tributaries of Bosna river of the same name) and mentioned in Ottoman sources for the first time in 1468/9, was situated between the rivers Vrbas and Bosna. Its original main settlement is unknown; its centre only later became identified with Travnik. Equally uncertain is the situation in and around the fortress of Travnik after the fall of Bosnia: Hazim Šabanović assumes that Travnik, founded before 1463, lay waste between 1463 and 1477 (based, no doubt, in part on evidence like the *icmal defteri* dated 1468/9 in Atatürk Kitaplığı O.76, fol. 169a: *karye-i Travnik hâli*), or was under the control of the Bosnian puppet-kingdom established by the Ottomans (H. Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, p. 125). It is now known that the fortress of Travnik was initially handed over to the Ottomans, probably already in 1463, by Pavao, son of Grgur, who (later) held the stronghold of Hum near the village of Podhum south of Livno.¹

The entry in BOA TD 24 refers to Ayas Beğ (Paşa), the ‘first *sancakbeği* of Bosnia’, as the Ottoman commander who ‘made prosperous’ (*imaret etmek*) the fortress of Travnik and who also appointed voynuk Stjepan Branković to the position of *knez* of Travnik, a position that was to be confirmed on him by (Hass) Murad Paşa who held the post of *beğlerbeği* of Rumili until 1473 (H. Reindl, *Männer um Bayezid*, p. 162f.). Ayas (Ayaz) Beğ was *sancakbeği* of Bosnia between 1470 and 1475 and again during the early part of 1484.²

¹ Michael Ursinus, “Serving King and Sultan: Pavao Grgurić and his Role on the Hungaro-Ottoman Frontier in Southern Bosnia, c. 1463 – 1477”, in: Veran Kursar (ed.), *Life on the Ottoman Border. Essays in Honour of Nenad Moačanin* (Zagreb, 2022), p. 19 – 30, especially p. 19.

² Ćiro Truhelka, “Tursko-slovjenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive”, in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* XXIII (Sarajevo, 1911), p. 341f; 344f.

Given his appointment of Stjepan Branković to the *knezlik* of Travnik being confirmed by Hass Murad Paşa who drowned in 1473, it is probable that the reinforcement of Travnik fortress by Ayas Beğ also happened during the early part of his first term of office, offering exemption from the *avariz-i divaniye* tax to anyone who was prepared to settle there, be they Muslim or Christian. As the text of the defter entry makes abundantly clear, years of conflict with the unbelievers (of nearby Jajce) caused the settlers considerable losses, be that by being killed, taken prisoner or losing their possessions. In order to avoid their dispersal which would cause great injury (to the state) it became imperative to appease them (*istimale etmek*) by offering the settlers to be charged one ducat from every (Muslim) household and two from any Christian family while altogether exempting them from paying the *harac*, *ispençe* and any *avariz* taxes.

Transcription

- (1) *Nefs-i Travnik* (sic) *ḥāṣṣa-i mīrlivā* bundan evvel ḥażret-i ḥilāfet-penāh pādişāhimiz haledet hilāfetüyük
- (2) *ḥażretleri Bosna’niñ* evvelki sancağıbegi Ayās Beg mezbür ḳal'e imāret itmesi olındıkda hükm-i hümāyūn
- (3) *mūcibiyle ilıcağ virilüb şart olnmış ki her kim ki müslimāndan ve kefereden gelüb mezbür*
- (4) *yirde mütemekkin idecek olurlar ise ‘avāriż-i dīvānīyeden mu ‘āf ve müsellem olub timār irene*
- (5) *‘ādet üzre ‘öşrin ve resmin vireler diyü ammā mezkûr mevzi‘ bāğīye muttaşıl olmağın bir nice kere*
- (6) *urulub ba ‘zı kırılılub ve ba ‘zı esīr olmış ve ba ‘ziniñ mālleri telef olmuş ol sebebden*
- (7) *dağılub gitmelü olmuşlar ammā tefettüş olinub görülüb anlarıñ ol arada olinur mā[l]lerinden*
- (8) *nef-i ‘āmm ve dağılub gitmelerinden žarar-i tamām var ol cihetden bākī ḳalancalarına istimālet idüb*
- (9) *ḥāneden ḥāneye birer filūrī ve keferesinden ḥāneden ḥāneye ikişer filūrī vaż‘ olinub*

- (10) *ḥarāc ve ispençe ve sāyir ‘avāriżāt dan mu ‘āf ve müsellem olub civāri sınırında eger kilārından*
- (11) *‘ādet üzre ‘öşrin vireler ve zikr olan filūrī ḥarman vaqtinde vireler ve ol*
- (12) *yirleri geregi gibi ihtiyāt evin bekliyeler bu mūcibince şart olinub deftere sebt olındı*
- (13) *şimdikihālde daḥı öyle ḳayd olındı*

- (1) *Hisse-i İstipan veled-i Brankovik [Stjepan Branković] nām kāfir ki voynuk evi pādişāhimiz yolında zaferlik (sic)*
- (2) *idüb düşmāndan ḥaber getürdüğü sebebden Ayās Beg voynuklukdan çağırub*
- (3) *Travnik’ın knezligin virüb merhūm Murād Paşa daḥı mukarrer tutub eline mektūb*
- (4) *virmiş ve voynuklukları üzere bundan şoñra daḥı ṭapuya baştınalar žamm eylemiş*
- (5) *bunlardur kim zikr olinur evvelden elinde olan Leşicaca’nuñ aşa[ğı]sı ve yukarısı*
- (6) *ve Mabatik Sercune [?] nām çayır ve şoñra žamm olan Travnik’da Radivoy veled-i*
- (7) *Privik [Radivoj Privić/Pribić ?] ve karındaşı Vuķ baştınalarıyla Radovac Doglovik [Radovac Doglavić ?] evi ḥavlısı ve bostānlığı*
- (8) *yirler virilmiş taşarruf ider şimdikihālde sultānu'l-islām ve'l-müslimīn pādişāhimuz 'ezze maḳarrühü*
- (9) *hażretlerine daḥı 'arż olinub ḥük̄m-i hümāyūn şadağa olnmış şimdikihālde daḥı ki ve emr-i 'ālem-*
- (10) *muṭā ' üzere ber-karār-ı sābık zikr olan yirler taht-ı taşarrufında olub idegeldiği*
- (11) *ḥidmeti edā eyliye diyü deftere sebt olındı*

Facsimile

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وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَرْجُو أَنْ يُنْزَلَ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَلَمْ يَرْجِعْ إِلَيْهَا وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَّهُ بِهِمْ حِلٌّ
فَهُوَ لَا يَشْعُرُ بِأَنَّهُ مُنْذَرٌ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَرْجُو
أَنْ يُنْزَلَ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَلَمْ يَرْجِعْ إِلَيْهَا وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَّهُ بِهِمْ حِلٌّ

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مکانیزم این مکانیزم را می‌توان با توجه به مکانیزم اولیه پیشنهاد کرد که این مکانیزم
با توجه به مکانیزم اولیه پیشنهاد شده در اینجا مطابقت دارد.

A ruler showing markings from 0 to 10 inches. The numbers are labeled above the ruler, and there are tick marks below it. The markings are as follows: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Source: BOA TD 24 (1489), p. 73-74

سعیرزاده^ن خادم دارلوب نویم در اول هفدهم جلادت شاه بارشا^ن مهر^ن خدی خلافت
 هفتاد و سه تکر او^ن لک سمجاع^ن شن ایاس برگزین^ن فلم عارض ایام^ن اولند^ن فدا. حمل^ن ماروز
 موجیم ایلخان^ن دارلوب شرط او^ن شش کار^ن که مسلمانه^ن لرز و کفره^ن دن^ن لکهون^ن گزین^ن
 برد. متکر از. چکار^ن اولور^ن اعوار^ن و دوا^ن نه^ن معاف و مسلم اولوب^ن تیار^ن از.
 عالن^ن از^ن بعزم^ن و رسکنیز^ن و رصیو^ن اما^ن ذکر^ن موضوع باعیه^ن متکر اول^ن غیر^ن بین^ن کر.
 اور^ن لوب^ن بعض^ن قر^ن لوب^ن وبعض^ن ایرا^ن امش^ن و سبضن^ن مالک^ن تکن^ن اول^ن سببه^ن
 طاعن^ن که^ن مکلو^ن امشار^ن امانت^ن اول^ن لوب^ن کور^ن لوب^ن آندر^ن که اول^ن آراد. اوزور^ن مالک^ن نه^ن
 نفع^ن عام^ن و طاعن^ن که^ن لوند^ن ن صزر^ن نام^ن و ارا^ن اول^ن جهتن^ن با^ن قلا^ن لرن^ن اسنان^ن لوب^ن
 خاندن^ن خانبه^ن برد^ن فلور^ن و کفی^ن سز^ن خان^ن خانبه^ن اکش^ن فلور^ن وضع^ن اول^ن لوب^ن
 خوب^ن و اپنه^ن و سایر^ن عوارض^ن ن معاف و مسلم اولوب^ن صواری^ن سوزن^ن الک^ن کل^ن زدن^ن
 عالن^ن از^ن بعزم^ن و روز^ن ذکر^ن اولان^ن فلور^ن خزم^ن و قست^ن و روز^ن اول^ن
 بر^ن لوب^ن کر^ن کمی^ن احتیاط^ن او^ن بکلیا^ن لوب^ن موجیم^ن شرط او^ن لوب^ن و فخر^ن بنت^ن اول^ن دی^ن
 شد^ن که^ن دخ^ن ایله^ن قید^ن اولند^ن —

حص^ن سپاه^ن و دیگر^ن ایقون^ن بکر^ن کافر^ن دینوق^ن او^ن بیش^ن می^ن بود^ن. مکون^ن
 لوب^ن دشانه^ن ل^ن خبر^ن کنور^ن و بیک^ن سببه^ن ایاس^ن یک^ن دینوق^ن بکر^ن جزو^ن ب^ن
 ترا^ن و بیک^ن کز^ن لکسر^ن. دیگر^ن روح^ن مرله^ن با^ن اساه^ن فی^ن موز^ن طوب^ن ایه^ن مکون^ن
 ویمن^ن و دینوق^ن لر^ن ایز^ن. بوند^ن صد^ن. و دخ^ن طاپو^ن بکش^ن لوز^ن ایش^ن ایه^ن
 بوند^ن در^ن که^ن ذکر^ن اول^ن لوب^ن اول^ن العذ^ن. اولان^ن لشیج^ن نه^ن اش^ن و بیو^ن فاروس^ن
 و ما^ن با^ن تیک^ن رجوت^ن نام^ن جای^ن و صدر^ن. هم^ن اولان^ن ترا^ن او^ن بینقد^ن. دل^ن و ده^ن و لمه^ن

Continuation:

پریویکر و قریب راشن و قی پاپتند نرم رله دلخ و علود و گیرادی جولیسی و بوساندنی
بربرور لیش بترف لدر شند که علیه سلطانه الاسلام والملکه. بیز سامیه موزع. نظر
ضر تازه و خی عرض اول لذون حلم هایون صدقه او لیش شند که همچو دنی کرو او رعایم
بطاه از زر. بر قدر سابق ذکر اولان بر لر رکن بقر فد. اولوب بله. بکله و بکا
خندن له ایلیه ھی و قفر. شیده او لنه