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**STATE AND SOCIETY
IN THE BALKANS
BEFORE AND AFTER
ESTABLISHMENT
OF OTTOMAN RULE**

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**“WHICH REALM WILL YOU OPT FOR?” –
THE SERBIAN NOBILITY BETWEEN
THE OTTOMANS AND THE HUNGARIANS
IN THE 15TH CENTURY***

Abstract: Serbian rulers were both the vassals of the sultan and the Hungarian king from the beginning of the 15th century until the fall of the medieval Serbian state (1459). The interweaving of the Ottoman and Hungarian influence in Serbia reflected also on the Serbian nobility. Thus, like the ruling despots, some of the leading Serbian aristocrats received possessions in Hungary. This did not prevent some of them to enter into the sultan's service in order to preserve their positions and possessions, especially during the periods of increased Ottoman expansion in Serbia (for example in 1439). Entering the military service of conquerors was even more commonplace among the small nobility in those areas that came under the Ottoman rule. This tendency became even more evident after 1459, when the Ottoman authorities included numerous Serbian petty noblemen, as well as some of the high nobility, in their military organization as Christian *sipahis*, especially in the border regions of northern Serbia (sancak of Smederevo). However, many of them crossed to the Hungarian side. The Serbian despots and noblemen in Hungary participated in the defence of the southern Hungarian border and fought against the Ottomans, but they also struggled in Central Europe at the service of Hungarian kings.

Keywords: Serbia, Hungary, Ottoman Empire, Serbian despots, the Branković family, the Jakšić family, Miloš Belmužević, 15th century, Serbian nobility, Dmitar Mrnjavčević.

The question from the title, which was put before Prince Lazar (1371–1389) in the Serbian ecclesiastical literature and epic poetry, refers to the choice between submitting to the Ottomans and the Christian martyrdom

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through the struggle with the overwhelming enemy.¹ However, for Lazar's successors after the battle of Kosovo (1389), the said question could primarily denote the dilemma about the realpolitik which should be chosen. Thus, the advance of the Ottomans into the Balkans and the Danube region caused a major change in the Serbian-Hungarian relations at the beginning of the 15th century. The policy of cooperation with Hungary in the years that followed the battle of Ankara (1402) helped Despot Stefan Lazarević (1389–1427) to consolidate his state. However, very soon it became evident that even the weakened Ottoman Empire, dragged into the conflicts between the sons of Sultan Bayezid, still gripped its positions in the Balkans and that it was not possible to break off the relations with the Turks.² Therefore, Despot Stefan and, later, his successor Despot Đurađ (George) Branković were at the same time vassals to both the sultan and the Hungarian king, which put them in very unusual and contradictory positions. This policy could work only until the Ottoman Empire renewed its power and entered in direct clashes with Hungary. Already in the last years of the rule of Despot Stefan, since 1425, the Serbian state had experienced repeated Ottoman attacks because of the cooperation with Hungarians.³ During the rule of Despot Đurađ Branković (1427–1456) these contradictions were further increased, and in his attempt to maneuver between the two conflicting powers, the Serbian monarch brought upon himself the mistrust of both sides. As the result, the Ottomans occupied Serbia for the first time in 1439. Despot Đurađ temporarily managed to renew his state in 1444 with the assistance of the Hungarians and to continue the policy of

¹ V. Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme* II, Beč 1845, 295–296; R. Mihaljčić, *Lazar Hrebeljanović. Istorija, kult, predanje*, Beograd 2001, 145–148, 241–250, 272–275; J. Ređep, *Kosovska legenda*, Beograd 2007², 25–36, 97–98.

² M. Purković, *Knez i despot Stefan Lazarević*, Beograd 1978, 74–75, 82–91, 100–102, 104–109; *Istorija srpskog naroda* II, ed. J. Kalić, Beograd 1982 (hereinafter: *ISN* II), 70–90 (J. Kalić); J. Kalić, *Srbi u poznom srednjem veku*, Beograd 2001², 79–108; A. Veselinović, *Država srpskih despota*, Beograd 2006², 106–107, 115–120; S. Ćirković, *The Serbs*, Oxford 2004, 89–91, 101–103; J. V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor 2009, 501–510.

³ *ISN* II, 209–212, 216 (J. Kalić); J. Kalić, *Despot Stefan Lazarević i Turci*, *Istorijski časopis (=IČ)* 29–30 (1982–1983) 7–20.

double vassalry towards the sultan and the Hungarian crown. However, it turned out that Hungary was not capable to protect Serbia and to prevent its final fall under the Ottoman rule in 1459.⁴ The interweaving of the Ottoman and Hungarian influence in Serbia in that dramatic period of struggling for the survival of the Serbian state reflected also on the Serbian nobility. In the decades that followed the Ottoman conquest of Serbia, many of Serbian noblemen and members of other social groups entered Ottoman military service, while others believed that it was possible to renew the state relying on Hungary. Since it has been written about Christian *sipahis* on several occasions,⁵ I will focus primarily on the connections between Serbian nobility and Hungary in the 15th century, in the context of the Ottoman conquest of the Serbian lands.

It was not by chance that the sons of King Vukašin, brothers Andrijaš and Dmtar Mrnjavčević, were the first Serbian dynasts who sought refuge in Hungary in 1394. They were among the first to feel the power and unrelenting pressure of the Ottomans, as they were, together with their eldest brother King Marko, Ottoman vassals since 1371, after their father and uncle were killed in the battle by the river Maritsa. At the same time, their land in western Macedonia was far enough from Hungary and its expansionist policy towards the southern and south-eastern neighbors, which had contributed that the rulers of Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Wallachia often perceived this kingdom rather as an enemy than as an ally against the Turks. While Andrijaš disappeared

⁴ The most complete monograph of that period is: M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba*, Beograd 1994; see also: *ISN* II, 218–229, 241–267, 289–313 (M. Spremić, J. Kalić); J. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 526–534, 548–550, 554–556, 568–577; S. Ćirković, *The Serbs*, 103–108.

⁵ H. Inalcik, *Od Stefana Dušana do Osmanskog carstva*, Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju 3–4 (1952–1953) 23–55; B. Đurđev, *Hrišćani spahije u severnoj Srbiji u XV veku*, Godišnjak Društva istoričara BiH (=GDBIH) 4 (1952) 165–169; O. Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbiji (1459–1683)*, Beograd 1974, 158–162; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita na prelomu epoha*, Sremska Mitrovica–Istočno Sarajevo 2006, 37–60; E. Miljković, *Hrišćani spahije u Smederevskom sandžaku u drugoj polovini XV veka*, Moravska Srbija, istorija, književnost, umetnost. Zbornik radova, ed. S. Mišić, Kruševac 2007 (=Moravska Srbija), 85–90; Eadem, *The Christian Sipahis in the Serbian Lands in the Second Half of the 15th century*, Beogradski istorijski glasnik 1 (2010) 103–119.

without a trace in Hungary, which suggests the possibility that he was killed in the battle at Rovine in 1395 or in the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, Dmtar stayed in the service of King Sigismund of Luxembourg. He was appointed castellan of Világosvár and count of Zarand County before 1404, probably in 1401. As a Hungarian dignitary, Dmtar took part in Sigismund's military campaigns against Bosnians and Ottomans (1407–1410). He was killed in one of them, most likely in 1409, when the Hungarian king sent military assistance to Despot Stefan Lazarević against his brother Vuk and Emir Suleyman.⁶ A different orientation of the closest relatives – namely, the eldest brother, King Marko, was killed in the battle at Rovine in 1395 as a loyal vassal of Sultan Bayezid⁷ – will also be characteristic for some later cases, for example for the Branković family on the eve of the final Ottoman conquest of Serbia.⁸ It is not known if the Mrnjavčević brothers were followed by anyone of their nobility. Overall, there were very little preserved data on the nobility from the southern Serbian regions, which were the first to come under the Ottoman rule, who moved to Hungary.⁹ I will draw attention to brothers George and Vukašin from the Orbonász (or, in Serbian: Arbanas) family from the Krassó County in southern Hungary, who have not yet been noticed in Serbian historiography. It is believed that the brothers came from the Serbian noble family which arrived in Hungary

⁶ S. Ćirković, *Poklad kralja Vukašina*, Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta. Beograd 14/1 (1979) 156–161; P. Rókay, *A szerbek betelepülése Magyarországra a XV században*, A szerbek Magyarországon, Szeged 1991, 54; A. Fostikov, *O Dmitru Kraljeviću*, IČ 49 (2002) 47–65. About the fightings in Serbia in 1409 see: *ISN II*, 79–82 (J. Kalić); J. Kalić, *Srbi*, 88–89; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, 58; A. Veselinović, *Država*, 117–118; S. Ćirković, *The Serbs*, 90–91.

⁷ *ISN II*, 53–55 (S. Ćirković); Idem, *The Serbs*, 86; C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1481*, Istanbul 1990, 45; J. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 424.

⁸ I will discuss that later.

⁹ The Macedonia settlement and the family Dancs of Macedonia were recorded in the Temes County in the first half of the 14th century, so they were not connected with the Ottoman penetration into the territory of Macedonia: L. Boldea, *Un secol din evoluția unui domeniu feudal al Banatului de Câmpie: domeniul familiei nobile Danciu de Macedonia*, Analele Banatului, serie nouă: Arheologie – Istorie 18 (2010) 124. About the nobility in the lands belonging to the Mrnjavčević brothers see: M. Šuica, *Nemirno doba srpskog srednjeg veka*, Beograd 2000, 35–53.

somewhere from Albania.¹⁰ They appear in the sources during the first half of the 15th century. The highlight of George’s career was in 1441 and 1442, when he held the position of the count of Temes. Some documents show that his brother Vukašin helped him in maintaining administrative and judicial duties at that time.¹¹

Becoming the vassal of the Hungarian crown in 1403/1404, Despot Stefan received Mačva and Belgrade from King Sigismund, and since 1411 he also got a number of estates across Hungary. The Serbian ruler was thus included in the rank of Hungarian barons, with rights and obligations that stemmed from that status.¹² The intensive Serbian-Hungarian cooperation also had an impact on the Serbian nobility. It is often asserted in historiography that beside his Hungarian *familiars*, Despot Stefan also appointed Serbs as officials at his estates in Hungary. Thus, certain “Nikola Peret(n)ić” was mentioned as the despot’s official in Apatin in the Bodrog County, and Brajan as the vice-count of the Torontal County in Banat (both in 1417).¹³ However, the named Nicholas, the son of Benedict, was actually one of the Hungarian

¹⁰ P. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, Budapest 1996, I, 205; II, 178; I. Petrovics, *John Hunyadi, Defender of the Southern Borders of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, *Banatica* 20–2 (2010) 71.

¹¹ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest, Diplomatikai levéltár (henceforth: MNL-OL, DL), 55238, 55248, 74494, 55248; P. Engel, *Ibidem*; I. Petrovics, *Ibidem*.

¹² J. Radonić, *Sporazum u Tati 1426. i srpsko-ugarski odnosi od XIII do XVI veka*, Glas Srpske kraljevske akademije 187 (1941) 158–160; J. Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1967, 83–84; M. Purković, *Knez i despot*, 73–75, 86–87, 100–102; *ISN* II, 71–72, 74, 85–87, 322–323 (J. Kalić, S. Ćirković); S. Ćirković, “Crna Gora” i problem srpsko-ugarskog graničnog područja, Valjevo – postanak i uspon gradskog središta, Valjevo 1994, 63–66, 74–75; A. Veselinović, *Država*, 115–116; P. Engel, *Archontológia* I, 210, 283–284, 369–370, 399, 438–439, 444–445; A. Krstić–M. Ivanović, *The Chancery of Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg and Serbian Despots Stefan Lazarević and Đurađ Branković*, Proceedings of the international conference *The Court and Chancery of Emperor Sigismund as a Political Centre and as a Social System* held in Brno 18–21 November 2015, in publication.

¹³ A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba u Vojvodini od najstarijih vremena do osnivanja potisko-pomoriške granice (1703)*, Novi Sad 1929, 10; D. Popović, *Vojvodina u tursko doba*, Vojvodina I. Od najstarijih vremena do Velike seobe, Novi Sad 1939, 155; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* II, prevod i dopune J. Radonić, Beograd 1952, 357; *ISN* II, 324 (S. Ćirković).

familiares of Despot Stefan. His surname was not Peretić or Peretnić, but he had the noble title “de Perethnich”.¹⁴ This petty nobleman most probably came from the Valkó County in western Srem, where a settlement named Peretinac existed and where his possessions should be located.¹⁵ Furthermore, “Brayan [despoti] Rascie vicecomes et iudices nobilium comitatus de Thurontal” did not issue their document in 1417, but in 1447, which means that this Serbian nobleman was not in the service of Despot Stefan, but of Despot Đurađ.¹⁶ In fact, the only official of Despot Stefan in Hungary for whom we may assume that he was of Serbian origin was Nicholas *Raacz* (*Raach*), the castellan of Munkacs (Mukačevo in western Ukraine). He was mentioned at that position in 1424, and he was also at the same duty during the first years of reign of Despot Đurađ (around 1430).¹⁷ Serbian officials appeared at the despot’s estates in Hungary more frequently during the rule of Đurađ Branković, precisely at a time when the Hungarian kings, pressured by the domestic nobility, adopted decrees that prohibited the Serbian despot and other magnates to give the official positions in Hungary to foreigners.¹⁸ Thus in 1441, the castellan of Vilagosvár was certain voivode Stepan,¹⁹ and between 1450 and 1453 Vlatko was at the same position, while his deputy was Brajislav.

¹⁴ I. Nagy, *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo VI*, Pest 1894, 463–467.

¹⁵ D. Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában II*, Budapest 1894, 342.

¹⁶ MNL-OL, DL 55345 (March 1, 1447); F. Pesty–T. Ortway, *Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvárváros történetéhez I (1183–1430)*, Pozsony 1896, 531–532, wrongly dated this document in March 3, 1417; for correct dating see also: P. Engel, *Archontológia I*, 210, n. 304.

¹⁷ MNL-OL, Diplomatikai fényképgyűjtemény (=DF) 221558 (1424), DL 12252 (1430); B. Iványi, *A római szent birodalmi széki gróf Teleki-család gyömrői levéltára*, Szeged 1931, 118; P. Engel, *Archontológia I*, 369–370; A. Krstić, *Dokumentí o ugarskim posedima despota Đurđa datim u zalog Jovanu Hunjadiju 1444. godine*, Mešovita građa (Miscellanea) 32 (2011) 127.

¹⁸ F. Döry, G. Bonis, V. Bácskai, *Decreta Regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns 1301–1457*, Budapest 1976, 293; *ISN II*, 324–325 (S. Čirković); M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, 216–217.

¹⁹ F. Pesty, L. Magina, A. Magina, *Diplome privind istoria comitatului Timiș și a orașului Timișoara. Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvár város történetéhez II (1430–1470)*, Cluj-Napoca 2014, 112–117; P. Engel, *Archontológia I*, 459.

Groups of Serbs settled at the Vilagosvár estate at the same time.²⁰ Beside aforementioned Brajan, in the middle of the 15th century the duties of Torontal vice-counts were also performed by the Serbian *familiars* of the despot: Desimir and Juga (in 1448) and No(v)ak (in 1450).²¹ The increased presence of Serbian noblemen at the despot's possessions in Hungary from the 1440s may have been caused, on the one hand, by the growing Ottoman pressure and the reduction of the despot's territory (which led to the reduction in the number of available possessions in Serbia). On the other hand, at the time of internal turmoils in Hungary and his conflicts with the Hunyadi family, Despot Đurađ needed to have reliable men at his Hungarian estates.

Although, therefore, Serbian noblemen were not significantly present on the Hungarian estates of Despot Stefan Lazarević, some of the leading Serbian aristocrats received possessions in Hungary at that time. During the reign of Despot Stefan, the great *čelnik* Radič got from King Sigismund the castle Kupinik and some other possessions in Srem.²² Radič, together with the *protovestiaris* Bogdan, also held two possessions at the territory of present-day Banat, in Temes and Keve (Kovin) counties before 1438. Those possessions were then sold to the Talovac brothers.²³ A certain Serbian aristocrat Vladislav, unknown from other sources, also

²⁰ L. Thallóczy–A. Áldásy, *Magyarország melléktartományainak oklevéltára II. A Magyarország és Szerbia közti összeköttetések oklevéltára 1198–1526*, Budapest 1907, 172–174; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* II, 357; *ISN* II, 324 (S. Ćirković); D. Dinić-Knežević, *Slovenski živalj u urbanim naseljima srednjovekovne južne Ugarske*, Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju 37 (1988) 11; P. Engel, *Archontológia* I, 458–459.

²¹ MNL-OL, DL 44588, 55368; A. Magina, *Câteva documente privind comitatul Torontal în prima jumătate a secolului al XV-lea*, *Banatica* 22 (2012) 75–76, where Desimir's name is transcribed *Dezenit* instead of *Dezemir*; F. Pesty, L. Magina, A. Magina, *Diplome*, 210–211. Cf. P. Engel, *Archontológia* I, 210.

²² C. Pavlikianov, *The Mediaeval Slavic Archives of the Athonite Monastery of Kastamonitou*, *Cyrrillomethodianum* 20 (2015) 164, 170–171; G. Babić, *Društveni položaj ktitora u Despotovini*, *Moravska škola i njeno doba*, Naučni skup u Resavi 1968, Beograd 1972, 147; V. Tošić, *Veliki čelnik Radič*, Zbornik za istoriju MS 13 (1976) 11–12; M. Živojinović, *Le grand čelnik Radič*, *Κλητόριον εις μνήμην Νίκου Οικονομίδη*, Athens – Thessaloniki 2005, 394.

²³ L. Thallóczy–A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, 124–126; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, 204; M. Živojinović, *Le grand čelnik Radič*, 394–395; S. Ćirković, *O ktitoru Kalenića*, *Zograf* 24 (1995) 64–65; M. Ivanović, *Sveta Gora kao utočište za vlastelu iz Srpske despotovine*, *Naš trag* 3–4 (Velika Plana 2013) 362–367.

had a possession in the Keve County in 1429. A decade later, the same possession belonged to Serbian voivode Mihailo, who had two possessions in the Arad County, too.²⁴ During the first Ottoman conquest of Serbia in 1439, this nobleman apparently switched sides and fought with the Ottomans against the Hungarians. Therefore King Albert (in 1439) and Wladislas I Jagiełło (in 1440) took away his possessions in Hungary.²⁵ The identity of that voivode Mihailo could not be reliably determined. He may be identical with the later grand voivode Mihailo Angelović, who, as the brother of Mahmud Pasha Angelović, was the leader of the pro-Ottoman and anti-Hungarian party in Smederevo before the fall of the Serbian state in 1458. Recently, I published a document from which it can be seen that in 1450 one “voivode Mihailo named Čelnik“, which apparently refers to Angelović, had possessions in Hungary at that time.²⁶ Namely, he is mentioned in the document with the noble title “de Uhad“, which refers to the disappeared settlement Ohad (Ohat) in the territory of present-day Romanian Banat. It is also indicative that the said voivode or *čelnik* Mihailo was designated as one of the main opponents of Hunyadi among the despot’s men.²⁷

Voivode Mihailo was not the only Serbian aristocrat with strong ties to Hungary, who sided with the Ottomans at the time of the first fall of the Serbian state in 1439. *Protovestiarior* Bogdan, who was one of the highest dignitaries of the Serbian state at the time of Despot Stefan

²⁴ G. Vitković, *Prošlost, ustanova i spomenici ugarskih kraljevskih šajkaša*, Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva (=Glasnik SUD) 67 (1887) 10–13; I. Magdics, *Rácskevei okmánítár*, Szekesfehérvár 1888, 9–11; F. Pesty, L. Magina, A. Magina, *Diplome*, 100–101, no 74; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Slovenski živalj*, 27; A. Krstić, *Iz istorije srednjovekovnih naselja jugozapadnog Banata (15. vek – prva polovina 16. veka)*, Zbornik MS za istoriju 73 (2007) 35; Idem, *Prilog biografiji velikog vojvode Mihaila Anđelovića*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 52 (2015) 367.

²⁵ MNL-OL, DL 13440, 39125; F. Pesty, L. Magina, A. Magina, *Diplome*, 100–101, no 74; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Slovenski živalj* 32; A. Krstić, *Prilog biografiji*, 367–368.

²⁶ Serviciul Județean Cluj al Arhivelor Naționale ale României, colecția Kemény József, Diplomatariu autographum, in custody of Biblioteca Centrală Universitară „Lucian Blaga” Cluj-Napoca, colecții speciale, colecția Kemény, nr. 104; A. Krstić, *Prilog biografiji*, 371–373.

²⁷ A. Krstić, *Prilog biografiji*, 365–366.

Lazarević and during the first part of reign of Đurađ Branković,²⁸ did the same. In October 1439, two months after the surrendering of Smederevo, he sought and received, from some high Ottoman military commander in Serbia, the confirmation of his “*timar*”, i.e. of the estates which he possessed during the rule of Despot Đurađ. In return, Bogdan promised to wage war with the Ottoman army, which indeed was the obligation of a *timar* holder. If he wanted to go to Mount Athos, the Serbian aristocrat would be allowed to transfer the *timar* to his brothers Petar and Božidar, together with his military obligations towards the Ottomans.²⁹ Soon, Bogdan most probably became a monk on Mount Athos, in the Xeropotamou Monastery. At that time, the great *čelnik* Radič was already a monk at Athos in the monastery of Castamonitou, but he used his connections with the highest Ottoman officials to keep the property in Serbia, which he left to his monastery, and to secure his financial transactions with some laics before the Ottoman court.³⁰ The above examples, although fragmentary, show that members of the Serbian elite at the time of the despots, like their rulers, collaborated with the two neighboring powers between which the Serbian state was squeezed.

It remains unknown for now whether King Sigismund and his heirs donated to the Serbian nobility possessions at the request of the despots, or they established direct relationships with the most eminent Serbian aristocrats? It is also interesting that at the time when Despot Đurađ resided in exile in Hungary in 1442, there were groups of Serbs who were not in despot's, but in the direct service of the Hungarian king. At the head of one such group, which settled at the possessions of the Garamszentbenedek abbey in the counties Csongrád and Outer Szolnok, were voivode Jacob and “the captains or judges” George, Paul and Radoslav (*Radislo*). Comparing the document from November 1442, in which they were mentioned, with the one from September 1443, we can

²⁸ S. Ćirković, *O ktitoru Kalenića*, 61–67; *Bogdan*, Srpski biografski rečnik (hereinafter: SBR) 1, Novi Sad 2004, 593–594 (S. Ćirković).

²⁹ I. Kolovos, *A Biti of 1439 from the Archives of the Monastery of Xeropotamou (Mount Athos)*, *Hilandarski zbornik* 11 (2004) 297–299, 303.

³⁰ E. Zachariadou, *Worrisome wealth of the čelnik Radič*, *Studies in Ottoman history in honour of professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. C. Heywood and C. Imber, Istanbul 1994, 383–397.

conclude that these Serbs did not arrive there directly from Serbia, but from the southern Hungarian frontier at the Danube, from the surroundings of the fortresses Haram and Tornište in present-day Banat.³¹ It is believed that voivode Jacob was probably the same person with voivode Jakša, who in 1453 led the Serbian auxiliary detachment during the conquest of Constantinople, and who was the founder of the Jakšić family.³²

After the death of Despot Đurađ and before the fall of the Serbian state, in 1457 and 1458, there were rather sharp divisions in the Serbian ruling circles: one group considered that the state could be saved with the Hungarian support, while the other believed that the disaster could be avoided with further cooperation and compliance with the Ottomans. This conflict of two political conceptions was connected with the strife in the Branković dynasty. Despot Lazar and his elder brother Stefan were on the one side, and on the opposite side there were the eldest brother Grgur (Gregory) and sister Mara, the former sultana, who, together with their maternal uncle Thomas Cantacuzenos, fled to the Ottomans after the death of their mother Despina Irina in May 1457.³³ It should be noted

³¹ MNL-OL, DL 13691, 13745; I. Gyárfás, *A jász-kúnok története III (1301–1542)*, Szolnok 1883, Oklevéltár, 613–614, no 136; Gy. Benedek–M. Zádorné Zsoldos, *Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok megyei oklevelek 1075–1526*, Szolnok 1998, 267–268; S. Ćirković, “*Rasciani regales*” *Vladislava I Jagelonca*, Zbornik za istoriju MS 1 (1970) 79–82; A. Krstić, *Srpski gradovi i trgovi u ugarskoj građi iz vremena „Duge vojne” (1443–1444)*, IČ 65 (2016) 117–118, n. 13. H(a)ram was the fortress and the town placed at Stara (Banatska) Palanka, at the confluence of the Danube and the river Karaš/Caraș. Tornište (*Tornistye*, *Tornisca*) was the fortress situated in Pančevo, at the confluence of the Danube and the river Tamiš/Timiș; A. Krstić, *Iz istorije srednjovekovnih naselja*, 39–44. Sima Ćirković believed that these Serbs came from Serbia: S. Ćirković, *Seobe srpskog naroda u Kraljevinu Ugarsku u 14. i 15. veku*, *Seobe srpskog naroda od 14. do 20. veka*, Zbornik radova posvećen tristagodišnjici seobe Srba, Beograd 1990, 42.

³² S. Ćirković, “*Rasciani regales*”, 80–81; M. Spremić, *Porodica Jakšić u Banatu*, Banat kroz vekove. Slojevi kultura Banata, ed. M. Maticki–V. Jović, Beograd 2010, 33–34.

³³ Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, Sremski Karlovci 1927, 241; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, 504–506; Idem, *Despot Lazar Branković*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 50 (2013) 905–906; M. Popović, *Mara Branković. Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert*, Mainz,

that the two brothers, who suffered a great trauma in their youth, when they were blinded by order of Sultan Murad II in 1442, later had a completely different attitude towards the Ottomans. Grgur naively believed that he could ascend the Serbian throne with the Ottoman help, why he, together with his illegitimate son Vuk, participated in the campaign of grand vizier Mahmud Pasha Angelović in Serbia in the spring and summer of 1458. At that time, Vuk Grgurević took part in the Ottoman incursions on the Hungarian territory in Srem and southern Banat.³⁴ Unlike his brother, Stefan was not only the implacable enemy of those who deprived him of the eyesight, but he was also unyielding towards the Hungarians. That is why he, after had been expelled from Smederevo, could not find shelter in Hungary. After he had sojourned in Albania at Scanderbeg, where he had married Angelina, the daughter of lord Gjergj Araniti and Maria Muzaka, Despot Stefan moved to Venice. He stayed in the city in 1461/1462, and then settled in Belgrado in Friul around 1465, where he lived with his family in poverty and where he died in 1476.³⁵

We now know very little about the fate of the Serbian nobility after the final collapse of the Serbian state in 1459. A part of the nobility

Ruhpolding 2010; I used the Serbian edition: M. Popović, *Mara Branković: žena između hrišćanskog i islamskog kulturnog kruga u 15. veku*, Novi Sad 2014, 140–142.

³⁴ Lj. Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 243; V. Makusev, *Monumenta historica Slavorum meridionalium vicinorumque populorum* II, Beograd 1882, 218; S. Ćirković, *O despotu Vuku Grgureviću*, Zbornik za likovne umetnosti MS 6 (1971) 284–285; K. Mitrović, *Vuk Grgurević između Mehmeda II i Matije Korvina*, Braničevski glasnik 2 (2004) 22–23, 25; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, Istraživanja 4 (1975) 6–7; M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti Sremu*, 47–48; A. Krstić, *Pad Srbije iz ugla osvajača: Ašikpašazade i Dursun-beg*, Pad Srpske despotovine 1459. godine, ed. M. Spremić, Beograd 2011, 316.

³⁵ I. Nagy–A. Nyáry, *Magyar diplomaciai emlékek Mátyás király korából (1458–1490)* I, Budapest 1875, 117; V. Makusev, *Monumenta historica* II, 206–207; Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* I–2, Beograd–Sremski Karlovci 1934, 161–162; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 29–30; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* I, Beograd 1952, 388, 407–408; F. Babinger, *Das Ende der Arianiten*, München 1960, 11–14; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 20–23; I. Božić, *Beleške o Brankovićima (1460–1480)*, Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta. Beograd 13–1 (1976) 117; *ISN* II, 374–376 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Despot Stefan Branković Slep*, Glas SANU 164, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka 15 (2010) 118–120, 126–141.

certainly perished in the battles during the conquest of Serbia. Thus, after the surrender of Novo Brdo in 1455, Sultan Mehmed II, contrary to his promise, executed prominent men in the city.³⁶ Similar situations surely happened in some other fortified cities, especially in those which did not surrender, but were captured.³⁷ On the other hand, the conquerors were rewarded people who had surrendered their fortresses; among them were also those from Novo Brdo.³⁸ The same case happened three years later, when Mahmud Pasha captured the fortresses of Resava and Golubac.³⁹ The Ottoman sources, primarily the *tahrir defters*, suggest that the majority of those who joined the Ottoman military service as Christians *sipahis* were members of the petty nobility.⁴⁰ However, due to the lack of data on the petty nobility before the Ottoman conquest of Serbia in the saved sources, we cannot follow the later fate of individual persons and families. As for the high nobility and aristocrats, it is indicative that sources were silent about many of them after the establishment of the Ottoman rule. However, unlike the conquest of Bosnia in 1463, when King

³⁶ Konstantin Mihailović iz Ostrovice, *Janičareve uspomene ili turska hronika*, ed. Đorđe Živanović, Spomenik SANU 107 (1959): 23, Konstantin Mihailović, *Memoires of a Jannissary*, trans. B. Stolz, Ann Arbor 1975, 98–99; ISN II, 297–298 (M. Spremić, J. Kalić); M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, 429–431.

³⁷ About the conquest of Serbia in 1458–1459, based on comparing of the accounts of Aşikpaşazâde and Tursun Bey with the sources from Serbia, Hungary, Dubrovnik and Italy, see: A. Krstić, *Pad Srbije*, 308–319.

³⁸ Yorgi čelnik who handed over Novo Brdo, hold a joint *timar* with certain Turgud in the *vilayet* of Keşişlik (southeast of Seeres) in 1455, with total revenue of 22968 *akçes*: A. Stojanovski, *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod. Opširen popisni defter od XV vek*, Skopje 1978, 295–298.

³⁹ According to the *defter* of the Braničevo *vilayet* from 1467, fourteen individuals from Resava and two from Golubac, who gave over these fortresses, were rewarded with tax exemption: M. Stojaković, *Braničevski defter*, Beograd 1987, 252–253; E. Miljković, A. Krstić, *Braničevo u XV. veku. Istorijsko-geografska studija*, Požarevac 2007, 80–82; A. Krstić, *Pad Srbije*, 310, 314. My colleague Tatjana Katić informed me that she found fragments of a *defter*, which showed that the commander of Golubac was also awarded with a *timar*. Unfortunately, his name was not preserved in the document. I am very grateful to Tatjana Katić for this information.

⁴⁰ Their revenues were regularly lower than the income of Muslim *sipahis*, and sometimes several Christian *sipahis* held a joint *timar* with very low incomes. About Christian *sipahis* see: H. Inalcik, *Od Stefana Dušana do Osmanskog carstva*, 31–36, 43–46; E. Miljković, *The Christian Sipahis*, 103–119.

Stefan Tomašević and some male members of his family were executed, but also some of the most powerful Bosnian lords such as the Pavlović brothers and Tvrtko Kovačević,⁴¹ there were no explicit mentions of such extermination of the highest nobility in Serbia.

Some of high ranking Serbian aristocrats stayed in the Ottoman territory, although far away from Serbia. The destiny of grand voivode Mihailo Angelović, the brother of Mahmud Pasha, was very interesting. He gained the main position in the regency formed after sudden (and presumably violent) death of Despot Lazar Branković on January 20, 1458, and he also had personal aspirations towards the Serbian throne. After his supporters proclaimed him the despot, Mihailo Angelović allowed an Ottoman detachment to enter the capital. That caused the strong resistance of the inhabitants of Smederevo and Mihailo's fall from power on March 31. The great voivode was arrested, at first in Smederevo, then in Hungary, and he and his supporters lost their possessions, which were given to the followers of the winning party. Among those who were deprived of the possessions after the upheaval in Smederevo at the end of March 1458 was also Miloš Belmužević, who later became one of the most prominent Serbian noblemen.⁴² After he was released from the custody in Hungary, sometime between the end of 1460 and the February 1463,⁴³ Mihailo Angelović stayed in the

⁴¹ See the articles of E. Filipović, D. Mujadžević and Z. Janeković Römer in the collection of papers *Stjepan Tomašević (1461–1463), slom srednjovjekovnoga Bosanskog Kraljevstva*, ed. A. Birin, Zagreb–Sarajevo 2013, and the papers of E. Kurtović, P. Dragičević, B. Babić and E. Filipović in *Pad Bosanskog kraljevstva 1463. godine*, ed. S. Rudić, D. Lovrenović, P. Dragičević, Beograd–Sarajevo–Banja Luka 2015, where sources and earlier secondary works are quoted.

⁴² B. Ferjančić, *Vizantinci u Srbiji prve polovine XV veka*, Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 26 (1987) 207–211; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, 515–517, 520, 523, 528, 532, 537, 762; Idem, *Borbe za Smederevo 1458–1459*, Pad Srpske despotovine 1459. godine, Zbornik radova SANU, ed. M. Spremić, Beograd 2011, 215–216; *Mihailo Anđelović*, SBR 6, Novi Sad 2014, 839–840 (M. Spremić); A. Krstić, *Novi podaci o vojvodi Milošu Belmuževiću i njegovoj porodici*, Inicijal 1 (2013) 165.

⁴³ T. Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs. The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453–1474)*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2001, 98.

retinue of his brother, grand vizier Mahmud Pasha.⁴⁴ Mihailo was still connected to Serbia, at least during the first years, where he remodelled the monastery of Nova Pavlica in 1464.⁴⁵ The sources give us contradictory information about the end of his life. According to one contemporary report, Mihailo was a prominent Christian at the sultan's court and he was among the Ottoman dignitaries who were killed in the battle against Uzun Hasan at Tercan in Anadolia in 1473.⁴⁶ Another note suggested that Mihailo Angelović went to a monastery after the execution of Mahmud Pasha in 1474, and that he left this world as monk Makarios in the Monastery of Eikosifoinissa on Mount Pangaion west of Kavala sometime after 1486.⁴⁷

If such a fate of Mihailo Angelović could be proven, it would suggest that he was close to the former sultana Mara Branković (*Despine Hatun* in Ottoman sources).⁴⁸ She had the residence at her estate in Ježevo (Ezova, now Dafni) south-east of Serres, which she received from Sultan Mehmed II.⁴⁹ Her sister Kantacouzene (Catherine), the widow of Count Ulrich of Cili, joined Mara in Ježevo in 1469.⁵⁰ During the second half of the 15th century there were several Byzantine and Serbian noblemen

⁴⁴ I. Božić, *Kolebanja Mahmud-paše Anđelovića*, Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor 41/3–4 (1975) 164–165; T. Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs*, 220–221, 226–234.

⁴⁵ There are different opinions about the possibility that the former great vojvode and/or members of his family were buried in the church of Nova Pavlica. Cf.: R. Petrović, *Otkriće u Novoj Pavlici*, Saopštenja 15 (1983) 243–248; Idem, *Otkriće fresaka u Novoj Pavlici. Prilog proučavanja umetnosti XV veka*, Raška baština 3 (1988) 138–150; A. Jurišić, *Nova Pavlica, rezultati arheoloških radova*, Beograd 1991, 10, 34–44, 102–103, 105, 110–112. In any case, Mihailo Angelović did not die in 1465, but much later, which raises serious doubts about the proposed identification of human remains found in Nova Pavlica.

⁴⁶ G. Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Torino 1865, 135–137.

⁴⁷ T. Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs*, 98–99, n. 113, 100.

⁴⁸ Mara Branković, who died in 1487, was most probably buried in the same Monastery of Eikosifoinissa (Kosinitsa): Lj. Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 255, nr. 802; M. Popović, *Mara Branković*, 154, 230–231.

⁴⁹ R. Ćuk, *Carica Mara*, IČ 25–26 (1978–1979) 80–81, 93; M. Popović, *Mara Branković*, 153, 184–206.

⁵⁰ J. Ređep, *Katarina Kantakuzina grofica celjska*, Beograd 2010; M. Spremić, *Kantakuzina (Katarina) Branković*, *Mons aureus* 30 (2010) 98–108; M. Popović, *Mara Branković*, 167–175, 201–202, 209.

and clerics who were close to Mara Branković and stayed at her court. Among them were brothers Đurađ and Oliver Golemović, the prominent aristocrats of Mara’s father Despot Đurađ. Oliver, former *kephalē* of Priština (around 1436) and despot’s governor in the “Land of Branković“, i. e. Kosovo and Metohija (1448–1455), died in Ježevo in December 1463. His brother Đurađ, who carried the title of *čelnik* from 1453 to 1457 and performed judicial and other duties, including the diplomatic missions to the sultan’s court (1453, 1456),⁵¹ was still alive in May 1466.⁵² Besides these aristocrats, there were also other members of the nobility in the service of Mara Branković. In 1470, her noblemen “vrač“ (physician) Beli, Kraimir and Branko were mentioned in one document, and probably at least some of her Serbian envoys recorded in the archive material belonged to the rank of nobility: Stefan Zahić (1457), Novak Gojunović (1462), Đurko Krajković, Vojin Setrenić, Stefan Belokosić, Dobrivoje Radmanić (1465), Nikašin (1474–1475).⁵³

After the fall of the Serbian state some aristocrats sought refuge in monasteries, especially at Mount Athos. It is well known that Prince Grgur Branković died as monk German in the Hilandar monastery in October 1459. It seems that the treasurer Radoslav also chose monastic life. The donation charter issued to him by Despot Lazar in December

⁵¹ M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, 328, 354, 402, 487, 547, 674, 722, 726–727; M. Blagojević, *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama*, Beograd 1997, 243–244, 275–277; *Đurađ Golemović*, SBR 3, Novi Sad 2007, 620 (S. Ćirković).

⁵² At that time, he was mentioned as one of the witnesses in the charter of *Carica* (“empress”) Mara issued in Ježevo to the Athonite monasteries Hilandar and Saint Paul. An underage son of the late Golemović got the income of 10,000 *akçes* from Sultan Mehmed II in 1472: R. Ćuk, *Povelja carice Mare manastirima Hilandaru i Svetom Pavlu*, IČ 24 (1977) 105, 114; Eadem, *Carica Mara*, 81; M. Popović, *Mara Branković*, 198, 210–211.

⁵³ Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* I–2, 197; I. Božić, *Beleške o Brankovićima*, 112–115; R. Ćuk, *Carica Mara*, 71–72, 74–76, 81–82, 85–86; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, 44; M. Popović, *Mara Branković*, 154, 156–157, 159–160, 179, 199–200, 240–243. Stepašin, son of Branišat, a man from Mara’s entourage, got some privileges from Sultan Mehmed II. His grandson from Kalenić in the sancak of Alaca Hisar (Kruševac) enjoyed these privileges in the second half of the 16th century: M. Vasić, *Stanovništvo Kruševačkog sandžaka i njegova društvena struktura u XVI vijeku*, *Kruševac kroz vekove*, Kruševac 1971, 70–71, n. 145; V. Boškov, *Mara Branković u turskim dokumentima iz Svete Gore*, *Hilandarski zbornik* 5 (1983) 192.

1457 provided such a possibility, and the said document was found in the treasury of the Vatopedi monastery.⁵⁴ Monks Gerasim and Jovan Bagaš, who may have come from the old Serbian noble family Bagaš from Vranje, most probably lived in the monastery Chilandar in the second half of the 15th century. They were also close to Mara Branković and her circle.⁵⁵ Nikon, the *hegumen* of the monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos in the late 15th century, was previously a nobleman at the court of Despot Stefan the Blind. Monks Kozma and Joseph from Chilandar were also of noble origin.⁵⁶

On the other hand, a part of the elite of the fallen Serbian state escaped to the neighboring countries. At first, some of them took refuge in Bosnia, primarily supporters of Despina Jelena and her son-in-law, the last Serbian despot Stefan Tomašević. Thus, yet in 1458, Bosnian king Stefan Tomaš allowed logothete Stefan Ratković to settle in Bosnia if Serbia could not be liberated.⁵⁷ There were not many data about those who had sought refuge in the territory of Dubrovnik or Venice, or in Albania, as did blind Despot Stefan Branković. Indeed, at first there was no information about the high Serbian nobility who went over to the Hungarian side. This is probably partly a result of the fact that the despot's family, which had previously been in conflict with the Hunyadi family,

⁵⁴ M. Lascaris, *Actes serbes de Vatopédi*, Byzantinoslavica 6 (1935–1936) 171–172, 183–184; R. Radić, *Manastir Vatoped i Srbija u XV veku*, Treća kazivanja o Svetoj Gori, Beograd 2000, 94; M. Ivanović, *Sveta Gora*, 367–368.

⁵⁵ As the representatives of Mara Branković, they testified in favor of the Chilandar monastery in litigation with the Zograf monastery before the *kadi* of Gümülcine (Komotini) in 1485: V. Bošković, *Mara Branković u turskim dokumentima*, 201–202, 204–205, 207–208; A. Fotić, *Sveta Gora i Hilandar u Osmanskom carstvu XV–XVII vek*, Beograd 2000, 135–136, 283–284; R. Ćuk, *Carica Mara*, 90–92; M. Popović, *Mara Branković*, 214–216; About the Bagaš family see: Đ. Sp. Radojčić, *Feudalna porodica Bagaši iz Vranja (XIV i početak XV veka)*, Vranjski glasnik 1 (1965) 19–23.

⁵⁶ All three of them arrived to the court of Đorđe and Jovan Branković in Kupinik in 1495 and 1496 respectively, asking the despots to be the new *ktetors* of their monasteries: K. Nevostrujev, *Tri hrisovulje u Hilandaru*, Glasnik SUD 25 (1869) 274–277; K. Mitrović, *Povelja despota Đorđa, Jovana i Angeline Branković manastiru Svetog Pavla*, Stari srpski arhiv (=SSA) 6 (2007) 212, 217.

⁵⁷ F. Rački, *Prilozi za sbirku srbskih i bosanskih listina*, Rad JAZU 1 (1867) 157; M. Spremić, *Despot Đurađ*, 537–538; S. Mišić, *Posedi velikog logoteta Stefana Ratkovića*, Moravska Srbija, 9, 14.

was deprived of all their possessions in the Kingdom of Hungary during the tumultuous events before and after the surrender of Smederevo.⁵⁸ However, when the constant raids of the *akincis* in the areas of southern Hungary started, accompanied by devastation and depopulation,⁵⁹ King Matthias Corvinus, as a part of reorganization of the border defense system, actively began to settle the Serbs in his realm and to encourage the Serbian nobility to enter his service. Brothers Stefan and Dmtar (Demetrius) Jakšić, the sons or stepsons of the said voivode Jakša Breščić, crossed on the Hungarian side probably in 1464. In the second half of that year, King Matthias donated them the town Nagylak with its villages in the valley of the river Mureş. In subsequent years the Jakšić brothers gained numerous estates, which were spread across Transylvania, Banat and Western Srem.⁶⁰ At the same time, after King Matthias achieved success in Bosnia and managed to halt the Ottoman incursions into Srem and Banat, the king's former opponent, Despot Vuk Grgurević, also came in his service. Vuk Grgurević was included in the range of Hungarian barons, he received possessions in the southern parts of Hungary and King Matthias officially accepted or confirmed his despot title.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *ISN* II, 328–329 (S. Ćirković); Đ. Bubalo, *Posedi srpskih despota u odbrambenim planovima Kraljevine Ugarske 1458. i 1459. godine*, Pad Srpske despotovine 1459. godine, 235–238.

⁵⁹ At the beginning of 1462, King Matthias complained that Turks took away at least 200,000 inhabitants of Hungary during last three years: I. Nagy–A. Nyáry, *Magyar diplomaciai emlékek* I, 112; *ISN* II, 431 (S. Ćirković).

⁶⁰ Stefan and Dmtar Jakšić got possessions in the Cluj (Kolozs) county in 1467, in the Canad county in 1472, and they also received the castle Kórógy in the Valkó county in 1476. A decade later, the brothers obtained possessions in the Arad county: L. Thallóczy–A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, 258–259, 390; J. Radonić, *Prilozi za istoriju braće Jakšića*, Spomenik SKA 59 (1923) 63–73; S. Borovszky, *A nagylaki uradalom története*, Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből 18, Budapest 1900, 16–19; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 16, 26–28, 348–349; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, 88–89; M. Spremić, *Porodica Jakšić*, 34–40.

⁶¹ V. Fraknoi, *Matyás király levelei* I, Budapest 1893, 78. For different opinions about the origin of Vuk's despot title cf.: A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 16–17; B. Ferjančić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama*, Beograd 1960, 198–199; A. Veselinović, *Država*, 93; S. Ćirković, *O despotu Vuku*, 286–287; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 7–8; K. Mitrović, *Vuk Grgurević*, 24–30; M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, Srem kroz vekove: slojevi kultura Fruške gore i Srema, ed. M. Maticki, Beograd–Beočin 2007, 48; S. Ćirković, *Postvizantijski despoti*, ZRVI 38 (1999–2000) 399–400.

King Matthias wanted Vuk Grgurević on his side, because the despot was a brave warrior and a prominent person who could gather the Serbs to fight against the Ottomans. Although he was actually a Hungarian aristocrat, many Serbs regarded Despot Vuk, and later his relatives and successors despots Đorđe and Jovan Branković, as legitimate Serbian rulers.⁶² Indeed, the Serbian despot and his men distinguished themselves in many battles with the Ottomans during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus. At the end of 1470 or at the very beginning of 1471, Despot Vuk attacked the Ottoman territory in Bosnia and reached Srebrenica. Five years later, the despot and his forces had a significant role in the siege and capturing of the Šabac fortress. After King Matthias had finally seized Šabac on 15 February 1476, Despot Vuk and Voivode Vlad Țepeș (Draculea) penetrated up to the fortresses and towns of Srebrenica, Kučlat and Zvornik, which they captured, burned and robbed. In the summer of the same year, the Serbian despot and several other Hungarian commanders, including Dmitar Jakšić, defeated the Smederevo *sancakbeyi* Mihaloğlu Ali-bey at Požežena on the Danube while returning from the *akın* into Banat. After that battle, in the fall of 1476, the Serbian captains and their warriors participated in the Hungarian blockade of Smederevo, when three strongholds were erected in its vicinity.⁶³ Despot Vuk and one of the Jakšić brothers led the Serbian light cavalry squadrons in the battle of Breadfield (Kenyérmező) in

⁶² For example, the Serbian annals recorded that Despot Vuk “ruled” 26 years (i. e. from 1459 to his death), and scribes wrote books “in the time of the pious and Christ loving lord Despot Vuk”. Srem was regarded as “the fatherland” of Đorđe and Jovan Branković and “the glorious and wonderful land of the despots”: Lj. Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 101, 254; Idem, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* I, Beograd 1902, 111; III (1905), 151; *ISN* II, 454–455, n 34 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 48, 55.

⁶³ L. Thallóczy–A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, 265–270, 389; Lj. Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 250–251; V. Fraknói, *Matyás király levelei* I, 356, 359; A. Bonfini, *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades, quatuor cum dimidia*, Lipsiae 1771, 593–595, 598; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 20–22; S. Ćirković, *Srednji vek*, Šabac u prošlosti I, Šabac 1970, 98–102; O. Zirojević, *Smederevski sandžakbeg Ali-beg Mihaloglu*, *Zbornik za istoriju* MS 3 (1971) 17–18; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 10–12; *ISN* II, 384–385 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 50–51.

Transylvania on October 13, 1479.⁶⁴ At the very end of the same year, the despot continued to fight against the Ottomans in Bosnia. Together with the ban of Croatia and Slavonia and the ban of Jajce, the despot penetrated to Vrhbosna (Sarajevo), burnt and devastated the city and its vicinity and, in retreat, they clashed with Davud Pasha near Travnik.⁶⁵ Despot Vuk and Jovan Jakšić with their troops also participated in the second campaign of Paul Kinizsi in Serbia in November 1481. The despot and the captain of Belgrade Ladislaus Rozgonyi defeated the Ottoman flotilla on the Danube, which enabled the majority of the Hungarian forces to cross the river. After Kinizsi and Jakšić beat and killed the voivode of Golubac, the Christian army marched up to the city of Kruševac (Alaca Hisar), which they demolished and devastated its area. In the return, the Hungarian army took away tens of thousands of Serbian inhabitants, who were settled in the Hungarian territory (mainly in Banat).⁶⁶ In September 1482, Despot Vuk was among the Hungarian commanders who near Bečej successfully fought down another *akın* from the Smederevo sancak into the territory of Banat. The last known battle of Despot Vuk with the Ottomans occurred at the river Una in October 1483, when he, the Croatian ban Matthias Geréb and Count Bernardin Frankopan defeated the *akıncı* troops which were returning from the raid in Croatia, Carinthia and Carniola.⁶⁷ In the meantime, the new Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512) chose the Serbian despot as the

⁶⁴ J. Długosz, *Historie Polonicae Libri XII*, tom. V, liber XII (XIII), Cracoviae 1878, 695–696; N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle* V, Bucarest 1915, 23–25; F. Szakály – P. Fodor, *A Kenyérmezei csata (1479. október 13.)*, *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 111–2 (1998) 324, 326, 345–347.

⁶⁵ V. Makušev, *Prilozi k srpskoj istoriji XIV i XV veka*, *Glasnik SUD* 32 (1871) 204–206; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 13; *ISN* II, 385–386 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 52.

⁶⁶ Lj. Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 253, 296; V. Fraknoi, *Matyás király levelei* II, 158, 185, 190, 196–197; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* I, 412; S. Ćirković, *Golubac u srednjem veku*, Požarevac 1968, 27–28; J. Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd*, 198–199; *ISN* II, 386–387 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 52; E. Miljković, A. Krstić, *Braničevo*, 40; M. Ivanović–N. Isailović, *The Danube in Serbian-Hungarian relations in the 14th and 15th centuries*, *Tibiscum* 5 (2015) 386–387.

⁶⁷ A. Bonfini, *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*, 635, 637; N. Jorga, *Notes et extraits* V, 135–142; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 25; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 15, 17.

mediator in his peace negotiations with the Hungarian king. The sultan's choice was understandable, because Despot Vuk was one of the most influential frontier lords in Hungary with good connections on both sides. The preserved diplomatic correspondence of Despot Vuk from 1482/1483, conducted in the Serbian language, shows that during these peace negotiations he communicated with the sultan and with his old rival Mihaloğlu Ali-bey, the *sancakbeyi* of Smederevo. The *sancakbeyi* was also in contact with the Transylvanian voivode Stephen Batory through the same despot's envoy – priest Jovan. In order to encourage Despot Vuk to mediate for peace, at one moment Sultan Bayezid II tactically put forward the possibility of restoration of the Serbian state.⁶⁸

King Mathias did not only engage the despots and other Serbian warriors in the struggle with the Ottomans, but also sent them to his wars against the Czechs, Poles and Germans. Despot Vuk and Dmitar Jakšić proved themselves in the Bohemian warfare (1468–1471), as well as in the war with Poland (1473–1474). During King Matthias' conflict with Emperor Friedrich III in 1477–1479, the Serbian detachments led by the despot and Dmitar Jakšić fought in Lower Austria. The method of warfare used by these Serbian units – the ravaging of enemy's territory and terrorizing the population – was characteristic for the combats on the Ottoman-Hungarian frontier, and it was commonly used by both powers.⁶⁹ Four thousand Serbs were also in King Matthias' army in Austria during the siege of Hainburg in 1482, while Despot Vuk, as it is said before, with his hussars defended the south Hungarian frontier towards the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Vuk signed his letters as “Despot Vuk and the captain of the Bosnian cities”: N. Radojčić, *Pet pisama s kraja XV veka*, Južnoslovenski filolog 20/1–4 (1953–1954) 343–367; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 15–16; *ISN* II, 387–388 (S. Ćirković); K. Mitrović, *Pet pisama despota Vuka Grgurevića*, Braničevski glasnik 3/4 (2006) 71–82.

⁶⁹ A. Bonfini, *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*, 567, 576, 590–591, 607; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 8, 12–13; *ISN* II, 382, 432–434 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Porodica Jakšić*, 37–38; S. Božanić, *O ratu između Matije Korvina i Đorđa Pođebrada u svetlosti kazivanja Bonfinija*, Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu (= GFNS) 37/1 (2012) 419, 421; S. Božanić–M. Kisić, *O prvoj generaciji Jakšića na tlu južne Ugarske – Stefanu i Dmitru u delu Rerum Hungaricarum Decades*, GFNS (2017), in publishing.

⁷⁰ A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 25.

For his military merits, Despot Vuk received possessions from the Hungarian monarch on several occasions. He got his first possessions in Srem probably soon after arriving in Hungary in the second half of 1464. We know that he resided in the castle of Kupinik (Kölpény) on the Sava, which had been previously possessed by his grandfather Despot Đurađ,⁷¹ and he also held two other castles in Srem – Irig and Berkasovo (Berekszó), the latter in pledge.⁷² In 1470, King Matthias rewarded him with the castle of Feyérkő, i.e. Bela Stena in Križevci (Körös) County in Slavonia. Probably at the same time, Despot Vuk acquired Tituševina, the complex of possessions which laid partly in Križevci, partly in the Zagreb County. In 1482, King Matthias donated him the castles Komogojno (present-day Komogovina) and Gradisa (Gradusa) in the Zagreb County with their appurtenances, as well as the castle Kostajnica with its estate in the same county. Like other Hungarian barons, the Serbian despot had his court and retinue, consisting of his *familiars* and different officials.⁷³

After the death of Despot Vuk Grgurević in April 1485, King Matthias invited his relatives Đorđe and Jovan, who were in the service of Emperor Friedrich III, to come to Hungary. Đorđe was appointed despot, and the brothers received Vuk's possessions in Srem, where they arrived with their mother Angelina and the relics of their father Stefan in February 1486.⁷⁴ In return, Despot Đorđe was obliged to lead and to

⁷¹ V. Fraknoi, *Matyás király levelei* I, 78; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 16–18; S. Ćirković, *O despotu Vuku*, 285–287; ISN II, 376–377 (S. Ćirković).

⁷² J. Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora* XII, 303–304; Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma* I–2, 487; N. Radojčić, *Pet pisama*, 353–354.

⁷³ For example, Despot Vuk's castellan in Berkasovo was Stefan Vitez (*Wythez*) in 1482: MNL-OL, DL 18615. In the same year, Despot Vuk donated Bela Stena, Tituševina, Komogojno and Gradisa to his wife Barbara Frankopan: A. Bonfini, *Rerum Hungaricarum decades*, 576; M. Mesić, *Gradja mojih razprava u „Radu“*, *Starine JAZU* 5 (1873) 120–125, 127; L. Thallóczy–A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, 293–296; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* I, 411; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 8–10, 18–19; ISN II, 377, 382, 447 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 49, 53–54.

⁷⁴ Lj. Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 42, 254–255, 297; *Život arhiepiskopa Maksima*, ed. A. Vukomanović, *Glasnik Društva srbske slovesnosti* 11 (1859) 126–127; S. Božanić, *The Political and Cultural Life of Despot Đorđe Branković in Syrmia*, The cultural and historical heritage of Vojvodina in the context of classical and medieval studies, Department of History, Faculty of Philosophy, Novi Sad 2015, 192–194.

equip the detachment of 1000 light cavalrymen (*hussars*).⁷⁵ Four years after Despot Vuk's demise, the first male generation of Jakšićs in Hungary was dead, too. DMITAR was killed in Smederevo in November 1486, while he was returning from a diplomatic mission to the Ottoman court.⁷⁶ His elder brother Stefan died in the service of King Matthias in Wien in January 1489. They had left numerous offspring and their sons played a prominent role in Hungary and among the Serbs in the Kingdom in the following decades.⁷⁷ There were strong connections between the Serbian nobility in Hungary, but they had not always acted in conjunction. After the death of King Matthias in 1490, the Branković brothers supported his illegitimate son John Corvinus, and then King Maximilian Habsburg.⁷⁸ The other Serbian aristocrats in Hungary (the Jakšićs and Miloš Belmužević) immediately accepted Wladislas II Jagiełło (1490–1512) as the king of Hungary and took part in his army in struggles against the Habsburgs over Székesfehérvár and against Jan Olbracht near Košice in November and December 1490. After the Brankovićs had recognised the authority of the Jagiełlonian king in

⁷⁵ Despot Đorđe and Jovan Branković also possessed Kostajnica in Slavonia: M. Mesić, *Gradja*, 127; L. Thallóczy–A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, 291; Berkasovo in Srem they held in pledge: J. Teleki, *Hunyadiak kora* XII, 303–304; K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba* I, 412; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 31–32; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 28–29; *ISN* II, 445–446 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 56, 58; S. Božanić, *op. cit.*, 195–196.

⁷⁶ King Matthias strongly protested to Sultan Bayazid II about the assassination of the diplomatic envoy. Sultan Bayezid II tried to assure the king that he was not responsible and punished the culprits for Jakšić's death: Ivan Biliarsky, *Une page des relations magyaro-ottomanes vers la fin du XVe siècle*, *Turcica* 32 (2000) 296–299; : Lj. Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 120, 255; I. Nagy–A. Nyáry, *Magyar diplomaciai emlékek* III, Budapest 1877, 376; Oruç b. Âdil, *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osmân*, ed. F. Babinger, Hannover 1925, 134–135; G. Taksin, *Un izvor referitor la moartea lui DMITAR Jakšić – solul lui Matia Corvin la Bayezid II*, *Anuarul Institutului de istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol” XXII/2* (Iași 1985) 597–603; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 28; O. Zirojević, *Smederevski*, 21; *ISN* II 445 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Porodica Jakšić*, 40–41.

⁷⁷ M. Spremić, *Porodica Jakšić*, 41–57.

⁷⁸ I. Nagy–A. Nyáry, *Magyar diplomaciai emlékek* IV, Budapest 1878, 432; T. Gerevich–E. Jakubovics–A. Berzeviczy, *Aragoniai Beatrix magyar királyné életére vonatkozó okiratok*, Budapest 1914, 172–173; F. Šišić, *Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima (1473–1496)*, *Starine* 37 (1934) 301–302, 308–309.

1491, all leading Serbian noblemen in Hungary were in Wladislas' army in the second battle near Košice against Jan Olbracht on December 24 of the same year.⁷⁹

The weakening of Hungary during the reign of Wladislas II and internal conflicts, which reflected on the ability of the Kingdom to confront the Ottoman Empire, also influenced the Serbian nobility. During the last decade of the 15th century, Đorđe and Jovan Branković, who bore the despot title together with his brother since 1494, were in conflict with the powerful duke Lawrence Újlaki for several years, and also had clashes with some other lords. Moreover, the Branković brothers were in dispute with the Archbishop of Kalocsa, because the Serbs, relying on the benefits granted to the Orthodox Christians in the Kingdom in the form of exemption from the church tithe in 1495, refused to pay it.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, Despot Jovan, who remained the only holder of this title since his brother Đorđe became monk sometime between August 1497 and July 1499, never stopped to hope that he will regain his throne in Serbia through the struggle with the Ottomans.⁸¹ He had a prominent role in the first Ottoman-Hungarian war in the 16th century (1501–1503). In July 1501, Despot Jovan and the ban of

⁷⁹ Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatae abbatis, *Commentarii de temporibus suis*, ed. V. Rezar, Zagreb 2001, 66, 73; N. Istvanffy, *Regni Hungarici historia post obitum gloriosissimi Mathiae Corvini regis*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1724, 10; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 33–36; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 29–30; *ISN II* 449–451 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Porodica Jakšić*, 41–43; Idem, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 57; S. Božanić, *Srpski velikaši u političkim previranjima oko izbora Vladislava II za kralja Ugarske*, *Istraživanja* 24 (2013) 151–166; Eadem, *The Political and Cultural Life of Despot Đorđe*, 197–198.

⁸⁰ MNL-OL, DL 20056, 20057, 20598; C. Wagner, *Epistolae Petri de Warda*, Posonii et Cassoviae 1776, 82–86, 124–126; L. Thallóczy–A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, 284–288, 292–293; N. Istvanffy, *Regni Hungarici historia*, 24–26, confused Despot Đorđe with Despot Vuk; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 37–39; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 30–35; *ISN II*, 452–453 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 57–58, 60; S. Božanić, *The Political and Cultural Life of Despot Đorđe*, 198–201.

⁸¹ *Hrisovulja despota Ioanna Brankovića, despota srbskog*, *Glasnik Društva srpske slovesnosti V* (1853) 224–225; K. Nevostrujev, *Tri hrisovulje u Hilandararu*, 274–277; V. Makusev, *Monumenta historica I*, Varsaviae 1874, 313; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 35–36, 40–41; M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 60–61.

Belgrade George More broke in Serbia, and in November started the attack of the main part of the Hungarian army. In December 1501 and January 1502, Despot Jovan and his forces penetrated from Belgrade to northwest Serbia and Bosnia. The attacks were followed by the burning of villages, taking away the booty, and removal of the population on the Hungarian side.⁸² The Ottoman authorities, including Hersekli Ahmed Pasha, tried to mediate for peace through Despot Jovan, as they did through Despot Vuk before, but without success. Although he performed the mediating missions, Despot Jovan was personally against peace with the Ottomans. In July 1502, the despot had a successful clash with Ottoman forces near Zvornik in Bosnia. Other Serbian warriors, led by Marko and Dmitar Jakšić (the Younger) and Radič Božić, participated in the Hungarian campaign on the Danubian border, around Braničevo, Kladovo, Vidin and Nicopol.⁸³ In September 1502, Despot Jovan sent his brother Maksim, the former despot, to Venice, offering the joint struggle against the Turks. This offer was politely declined, because Venice was already preparing for peace at that time. Exhausted from fighting, Despot Jovan died on December 10, 1502.⁸⁴ As he had no male offspring, King Wladislas II gave the despot dignity to the Croatian aristocrat Ivaniš Berislavić, who got married to Jovan's widow Jelena Jakšić. Although the institution of the Serbian despot in Hungary continued to exist the next 35 years, it had no longer that reputation and importance as before.⁸⁵

⁸² The reports mentioned that the despot entered into *Bossina*, but it could refer to *Posavina* in northwest Serbia: V. Makuscev, *Monumenta historica* I, 317–319; cf. *ISN* II, 459–460, n 47 (S. Ćirković).

⁸³ Miklós Istvánffy also mentioned Miloš Belmužević as one of the commanders in this campaign, but he was dead at that time: N. Istvánffy, *Regni Hungarici historia*, 31. Cf. G. Pray, *Annales regum Hungariae* IV, Vindobonae 1767, 304; K. Jireček, *Istorija* I, 414; *ISN* II, 460, n. 47 (S. Ćirković); M. Spremić, *Porodica Jakšić u Banatu*, 45.

⁸⁴ M. Sanuto, *I diarii* IV, Venezia 1880, 457–458, 629; Lj. Stojanović, *Rodoslovi i letopisi*, 258; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 38; *ISN* II, 460 (S. Ćirković);

⁸⁵ B. Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 201–204; *ISN* II 460–461, passim (S. Ćirković); Idem, *Postvizantijski despoti*, 400–401; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, passim; M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 63–71; S. Božanić, *Srem u periodu od 1502. do 1526. godine*, Spomenica Istorijuskog arhiva “Srem” 6 (2007) 72–87; Eadem, *O despotici Jeleni, kćerki Stefana Jakšića, u srpskoj istoriji, kulturi i tradiciji*, Šesti međunarodni interdisciplinarni simpozijum Susret kultura, Zbornik radova, knjiga II, Novi Sad 2013, 883–892.

In addition to the members of the Branković and Jakšić families, vojvode Miloš Belmužević distinguished himself in the Hungarian service during the last two decades of the 15th century. In the 1470s, he was one of the most significant Christian *sipahis* in the Smederevo sancak. Miloš Belmužević was recorded as the *timar* holder in the first preserved *mufasal defter* of the Smederevo sancak of 1476/1477, with the *timar* which consisted of the revenues of the market place (*pazar*) Jagodina, in total 8,583 *akçes*. This census was conducted immediately after the Ottoman-Hungarian warfare in northern Serbia in 1476, which means that Miloš Belmužević dutifully fulfilled his military obligations to the sultan during previous fighting.⁸⁶ Voivode Miloš transferred to Hungary most likely in 1480 or 1481, during the large Hungarian campaigns in northern Serbia, followed by converting the mass of the population across the Sava and the Danube.⁸⁷ In his will, Miloš Belmužević mentioned that he passed to the Hungarian side with the guarantees provided by King Matthias and the Estates, and that he was later wounded serving King Matthias in Silesia.⁸⁸ Serbian historiography has wrongly considered that it happened during the wars waged between 1468 and 1474, which contradicts the fact that he was recorded as the *sipahi* in the Smederevo sancak in 1476/7.⁸⁹ Now, we can say with certainty that vojvode Miloš was wounded during the Głogów War, which was fought between King Matthias Corvinus and his Silesian vassal, John II of Sagan, duke of Głogów in Lower Silesia in Poland, in 1488. Due to the participation of the Serbian warriors in this conflict, the local people called it “the Serbian war”. Despot Đorđe Branković and his detachment also participated in the fights in Silesia in 1489.⁹⁰ The war

⁸⁶ Başbakanlık Arşivi İstanbul, *Tapu tahrir defteri*, nr. 16 (1476), 223–224; B. Đurđev, *Hrišćani spahije u severnoj Srbiji u XV veku*, GDBIH 4 (1952) 167; E. Miljković, *Hrišćani spahije u Smederevskom sandžaku u drugoj polovini XV veka*, Moravska Srbija, 87, 91; A. Krstić, *Novi podaci*, 168.

⁸⁷ N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, 38, 201–202; A. Krstić, *Novi podaci*, 169–170.

⁸⁸ A. Ivić, *Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika iz XVI i XVII veka*, Vjesnik kraljevskoga hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskoga arkiva 15/2 (1913) 93 (=N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, 354).

⁸⁹ A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 18; *ISN II*, 377–378, 381–382 (S. Ćirković).

⁹⁰ I. Cureus, *Gentis Silesiae annales*, Witebergae 1571, 339–357, esp. 345–346, 356–357. When this article was already prepared for publishing, I learned that Aleksandar Ivanov

ventures of Belmužević, made in the vicinity of Székesfehérvár during the war between Wladislas II Jagiełło and Maximilian Habsburg (1490–1491), were well known. He also participated in the fighting against the troops of the Polish prince Jan Olbracht at Košice in December 1491.⁹¹ The Hungarian monarchs generously rewarded Belmužević for his merits on several occasions. Before his death, voivode Miloš enjoyed 22 possessions, of which three were in the Bács county (today Bačka in Serbia), two in the Csanad and 17 in the Temes county (in the territory of nowadays Romanian Banat and the Mureș valley).⁹² Miloš Belmužević had the noble title „de Saswar“ according to the possession which was located in the vicinity of Timișoara, and which he was given by King Matthias after the Silesian war (1488/1489). The significant presence of the Serbs at the former possessions of Belmužević in the years and decades that followed his death indicates that he, as well as the Jakšićs and other Serbian noblemen, had an important role in colonizing of the Serbian refugees from the Ottoman Empire in Banat.⁹³ Belmužević also took part in combats and skirmishes on the frontier, which did not cease even during the truces. During one such intrusion of the Ottoman warriors from Smederevo into the territory of Banat, on Easter, most probably in 1499 or 1500, voivode Miloš was wounded and his son Vuk was killed. In order to avenge his son, Miloš Belmužević ravaged the surroundings of Smederevo in the summer of 1500 and died several months later.⁹⁴

concluded the same about the time of the Silesian warfare of Miloš Belmužević: A. Ivanov, *Ratovanje vojvode Miloša Belmuževića u Šleziji*, Zbornik MS za istoriju 94 (2016) 21–27.

⁹¹ Ludovici Tuberonis *Commentarii*, 66, 73; N. Istvanffy, *Regni Hungarici historia*, 10; A. Ivić, *Istorija*, 34; S. Božanić, *Srpski velikaši*, 154, 160–161.

⁹² A. Magina, *Un nobil sârb în Banatul secolului al XV-lea: Miloš Belmužević*, *Analele Banatului*, Serie nouă, Arheologie – istorie 18 (2010) 136–142; A. Krstić, *Novi podaci*, 169, 171, 179, 182–183.

⁹³ MNL-OL, DL 26685; A. Magina, *Un nobil sârb*, 137.

⁹⁴ Ludovici Tuberonis *Commentarii*, 134–136; M. Sanuto, *I diarii* III, Venezia 1880, col. 669–670. Left without a male heir, Belmužević got permission from king Wladislas II to leave his estate to his mother Olivera, his wife Veronica and his underage daughter Milica: L. Thallóczy–A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, 297–299; A. Ivić, *Nekoliko čirilskih spomenika*, 94; A. Magina, *Un nobil*, 142; A. Krstić, *Novi podaci*, 171–176.

In the second half of the 15th century and the first decades of the 16th century, the Serbian population in Hungary was constantly increasing, due to the organized and spontaneous migration from the Ottoman to the Hungarian territory. The Serbs in Hungary represented a substantially militarized social group. Serbian nobles and other warriors served as light cavalry – *hussars* in the royal service and in the squads of the despots, Jakšić and Belmužević,⁹⁵ then as crew in the river flotilla (*nazadistae*, *šajkaši*), or in the border fortresses, including Belgrade.⁹⁶ Not all Serbian nobles in Hungary in the second half of the 15th and the first decades of the 16th century were noblemen before moving to that kingdom – a number of warriors who distinguished themselves in the military service were certainly awarded with nobility by the Hungarian kings. Due to lack of data in the sources, it is not possible to determine the difference between the old and the new nobility. Many noblemen remain unknown, and some of them are known only by names.⁹⁷ Some were directly in the king’s service, and others appeared as the *familiares* and officials of the Serbian aristocrats. Thus, Vuk Kolaković (*Wok Golachowigh*) was the castellan of despots Đorđe and Jovan in Irig,

⁹⁵ According to the contemporary Ragusan writer Ludovik Crijević Tuberon, Despot Đorđe Branković and his brother Jovan rode to war against the Poles in 1491 with 600, the sons of Stefan and D Mitar Jakšić with 300, and Miloš Belmužević with 1000 hussars. The decree from 1498, which defined the military obligations of the barons and counties, also mentioned the Serbian despot, who should equip 1000 horsemen for war, Stefan Jakšić of Nagylak (the Younger) and Miloš Belmušević, who had to go to war with all his hussars: Ludovici Tuberonis *Commentarii*, 73; *Magyar törvénytár 1000–1526. évi törvényczikkek*, Budapest 1899, 606, 608.

⁹⁶ *ISN* II 436–438 (S. Ćirković); Idem, *Počeci šajkaša*, Plovidba na Dunavu i njegovim pritokama kroz vekove, zbornik radova, ed. V. Ćubrilović, Beograd 1983, 129–137.

⁹⁷ For example, King Matthias rewarded the military merits of the knight (*aulae miles*) Nicolas Proyka and his brother Rayko by donating them the *predium Jenew* (Ianova) near Timișoara in February 1488. Marko Staniša of Varadia was the king’s representative during Proyka’s introduction into possession, and *Rayko* and *Nicolaus Lywbych de Sippzo* (Šipsov/Sipszó, near Timișoara), were presented among the neighboring noblemen: MNL-OL, DL 30225; A. Krstić, *Novi podaci*, 184, n. 83. While the Proyka brothers could be of Serbian or Romanian origin, Marko Staniša, Rajko and Nikola Ljubić were certainly Serbs. A litigation between Serbian noblemen in Šipsov from 1523 reveals that Dujo (*Dwyo*), the father of the plaintiffs Ladislav and Jovan, as well as his brother Stanko (*Zthanko*), the father of the defendants Radičko and Mihailo, got the disputed possession in Šipsov from King Matthias after a campaign of Paul Kinizsi ad *Thurciam*: MNL-OL, DL 26685.

while their *provisor curie* in Kupinik was Dmtitar Pozob (*Demetrius Pozop*) in 1497. At the same time, the despots' castellan in Jarak was Damjan Belmužević (*Belmosowigh*), apparently a relative of voivode Miloš Belmužević.⁹⁸ In his will from 1500, voivode Miloš mentioned the "servants" (*sluge*, i. e. the *familiars*), to whom he left some of his possessions: Marko Radanović, Stefan Pribenović and certain Jova.⁹⁹

Many of Serbian noblemen and warriors in Hungary were previously in the Ottoman military service. The reasons for the transition from the Ottoman to the Hungarian side could be multiple. The motives of religious and ideological nature (which were, for example, evidenced in the will of Miloš Belmužević)¹⁰⁰ were often merged with practical ones, which implied striving for a better position and social advancement. Therefore already in the 1470s we have reported cases of crossings in the opposite direction, from Hungary to the Ottoman Empire, i. e. to the Smederevo sancak. For example, in the *defter* from 1467, it was stated for three Serbs from Topolovnik in the area of Braničevo, one of whom was a priest, that they were exempt from taxes and that they came from Hungary and entered the Ottoman service under this condition. For thirty Serb *martolos*, in the same *defter*, it was stated that they were foreigners of noble origin or had come under oath, and that they performed their military service as other Christian *sipahis*.¹⁰¹ However, such cases are significantly rarer than migration in the opposite direction from the Ottoman to the Hungarian territory.

In the second half of the 15th century Serbian nobility in Hungary still kept the traditions of the fallen Serbian state and had strong connections with the Orthodox Church. In Serbian tradition, Despot Vuk was primarily remembered as the brave warrior – the "Fiery

⁹⁸ MNL-OL, DL 20598. The surname of the castellan of Jarak was transcribed "Velmožović" in the earlier historiography: D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 35, 44; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, 82; M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 60; S. Božanić, *The Political and Cultural Life of Despot Đorđe*, 196, 201.

⁹⁹ A. Ivić, *Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika*, 94; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, 205; A. Krstić, *Novi podaci*, 181.

¹⁰⁰ A. Ivić, *Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika*, 93–94.

¹⁰¹ M. Stojaković, *Braničevski defter*, Beograd 1987, 79, 259; E. Miljković, A. Krstić, *Braničevo*, 46, 127.

dragon Vuk”, but he was also attributed the patron’s activity, building of the church of Saint Nicolas in Slankamen in Srem.¹⁰² His successors, the legitimate descendants of Despot Đurađ Branković, had much stronger ties with the Orthodox Church. Đorđe (Maksim) and Jovan Branković and their mother Angelina helped the Athonite monasteries, especially those whose *ktetors* were their ancestors – Chilandar, Saint Paul, Esphigmenou.¹⁰³ During the second decade of the 16th century, Maksim and Angelina founded the monastery Krušedol on the mountain Fruška Gora in Srem with the help of Jakšićs and Wallachian Voivode Neagoe Basarab. Maksim Branković became the Orthodox archbishop in Walachia, and after returning to Hungary, he was the archbishop of Belgrade and the spiritual head of all Orthodox Christians in Hungary (around 1513–1516). Because of their merits and piety, the Orthodox Church canonized Stefan, Angelina, Jovan and Maksim Branković.¹⁰⁴

It is possible that some other monasteries on Fruška Gora in Srem or in Banat were founded by the Serbian nobles. The earliest history of

¹⁰² R. Grujić, *Duhovni život*, Vojvodina I. Od najstarijih vremena do Velike seobe, Novi Sad 1939, 355; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 20. According to S. Ćirković, *O despotu Vuku*, 288–289, it is more probable that the citizens of Slankamen erected the church with their own funds.

¹⁰³ K. Mitrović, *Povelja despota Đorđa Brankovića o prihvatanju ktitorstva nad Hilandarom (1486, mart 20, Kupinik)*, SSA 5 (2006) 229–239; Eadem, *Povelja despota Đorđa, Jovana i Angeline Branković manastiru Svetog Pavla (1495, novembar 3, Kupinik)*, SSA 6 (2007) 209–217; Eadem, *Povelja despotice Jelene Jakšić manastiru Hilandaru (1503, juni 11, Budim)*, SSA 7 (208) 196–203; *Hrisovulja despota Ioanna Brankovića, despota srbskog*, Glasnik Društva srpske slovesnosti V (1853) 224–225; F. Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii, Viennae* 1858, 542–543; K. Nevostrujev, *Tri hrisovulje u Hilandaru*, 274–277; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 35–36; M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 59–60; S. Božanić, *The Political and Cultural Life of Despot Đorđe*, 194–195.

¹⁰⁴ *Život arhiepiskopa Maksima*, ed. A. Vukomanović, 125–129; M. Stefanović, *Žitije majke Angeline*, Arheografski prilozi 8 (1986) 134–137; D. Dinić-Knežević, *Sremski Brankovići*, 39–40; M. Spremić, *Srpski despoti u Sremu*, 65–67; S. Tomin, *Vladika Maksim Branković*, Novi Sad 2007, 24–43, 101–187; Eadem, *Despotica i monahinja Angelina Branković – Sveta majka Angelina*, Mužastvene žene srpskog srednjeg veka, Novi Sad 2011, 179–203; S. Božanić, *Srem*, 76–77.

these monasteries is vague, and some of them are traditionally regarded as the foundation of the Branković family.¹⁰⁵ However, due to their limited financial resources, it is hard to believe that tradition. Based on the Ottoman documents from the time of Selim II, during the so-called “sale of churches and monasteries”, it can be concluded that many of the monasteries in Srem were built before the establishment of the Ottoman rule.¹⁰⁶ For the monastery of Fenek in Srem near Belgrade, it can be argued with great certainty that it was founded by Serbian nobleman Dmitar Potrečić, who had possessions in this area in the last decades of the 15th century.¹⁰⁷ Two Serbian Orthodox monasteries – Bođani in Bačka and Bezdin in the Mureş valley in Romania, known from the 16th century, were erected on Belmužević lands. It is traditionally considered that the Jakšić brothers were the founders of both monasteries, but it is possible that the original churches were built by Miloš Belmužević. The erecting of the monasteries Hodoš (Hodoş-Bodrog) and Felnac in the Arad County are also attributed to the Jakšić family.¹⁰⁸ They were also the *ktetors* of Chilandar.¹⁰⁹ The Serbian noblemen in Hungary were also donors of other monasteries on the

¹⁰⁵ S. Tomin, *Vladika Maksim Branković*, Novi Sad 2007, 78–89.

¹⁰⁶ It was claimed that monks did not build these monasteries and that they held them since the Ottoman conquest. Such formulation suggests that the monasteries were constructed prior to 1526: B. Mc Gowan, *Sirem Sancağı Mufassal Tahrir Defteri*, Ankara 1983, 105–106, 196–198, 229, 238, 240, 244, 246, 401; O. Zirojević, *Posedi fruškogorskih manastira*, Novi Sad 1992, 13, 59, 68, 74, 76, 81, 86, 92, 103, 105, 109. On the “sale of churches and monasteries” see: A. Fotić, *Konfiskacija i prodaja crkvenih imanja u vreme Selima II (problem crkvenih vakufa)*, *Balcanica* 27 (1996) 45–77; Idem, *The Official Explanations for the Confiscation and Sale of Monasteries (Churches) and their Estates at the time of Selim II*, *Turcica* 26 (1994) 3–54.

¹⁰⁷ Z. Simić, D. Dimitrijević, S. Ćirković, *Počeci manastira Feneka*, *Saopštenja* 27–28 (1995–1996) 79–86; A. Krstić, *Vreme turske vlasti u Sremu*, *Srem kroz vekove: slojevi kultura Fruške gore i Srema*, ed. M. Matički, Beograd–Beočin 2007, 96–97.

¹⁰⁸ Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* II, Beograd 1903, nr. 2362, III (1905), nr. 4963, VI (1926), nr. 10212; R. Grujić, *Duhovni život*, 357–358, 366–368; M. Jovanović, *Srpski manastiri u Banatu*, Beograd–Novi Sad 2000, 111–112, 146; M. Spremić, *Porodica Jakšić*, 39, 44; A. Krstić, *Novi podaci*, 179–181. Cf. D. Ţeicu, *Die Ekklesiastische Geografie des Mittelalterlichen Banats*, Bucureşti 2007, 79–80, 102–103, 107–108.

¹⁰⁹ K. Nevostrujev, *Tri hrisovulje u Hilandarju*, 278–283.

Ottoman territory. For example, “Cvetko, voevoda Belgrada” was recorded in the *pomenik* (the commemorative book) of the Lesnovo monastery in Macedonia.¹¹⁰ He is certainly the same person with Cvetko, who together with some Marko and their families moved from the Ottoman to the Hungarian side in 1502 and entered the service of Belgrade ban George Kanizsai. One can see from Hungarian documents that Cvetko was a wealthy man.¹¹¹ Orthodox clerics were present in the households of Serbian aristocrats as priests, but also as scribes and secretaries.¹¹²

At the same time, the Serbian noblemen, especially the most respected ones such as the Jakšićs and Belmužević, were increasingly being integrated into the environment of the Hungarian nobility. They created family and marriage ties with the noble families of Hungarian and Romanian origin and carried out usual activities of the county nobility. This gradually led to their assimilation during the 16th century.¹¹³

To conclude, like their rulers and dynasts, who sought a chance of survival sometimes in obeying and serving the sultan, and sometimes in relying on his enemies, primarily Hungary, so the certain members of Serbian nobility maintained relations with both powers. After the fall of the Serbian state in 1459, the Kingdom of Hungary was one of the main destinations for those members of the Serbian elite who could not or would not remain under the Ottoman rule, and who decided to replace their former military service in the Ottoman state with the one in the countries of the crown of St. Stephen.

¹¹⁰ S. Novaković, *Srpski pomenici XV–XVIII veka*, Glasnik SUD 42 (1875) 11–12.

¹¹¹ L. Thallóczy–A. Áldásy, *Magyarország és Szerbia*, 304, 308; A. Ivić, *Istorija Srba*, 45; J. Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd*, 280, 283, 312–313; N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, 91.

¹¹² N. Radojčić, *Pet pisama*, 353–354, 362; Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi I*, 111; A. Ivić, *Nekoliko ćirilskih spomenika*, 94.

¹¹³ N. Lemajić, *Srpska elita*, 183–186; M. Spremić, *Porodica Jakšić*, 47–56; A. Krstić, *Novi podaci*, 171, 175–178; A. Magina, *Milica Belmužević: l’histoire d’une noble dame du XVIe siècle*, *Inicijal* 2 (2014) 145–162.

Aleksandar KRSTIĆ

“HANGİ İMPARATORLUĞA KATILACAKSIN?” – 15. YÜZYILDA OSMANLI VE MACARLAR ARASINDA SIRP SOYLULARI

Özet

Osmanlıların, Balkan yarımadasına ve Tuna bölgesine gelişi Sırp-Macar ilişkilerinde önemli bir değişime neden olup, iki tarafın yoğun bir işbirliğine girmesine yol açtı. Mrnyavçević hanedanlığı mensuplarından, Dmitar ve Andriyaş, 14. yüzyılın sonlarında Makedonya'daki bölgelerini terk edip Macaristan'a geçtiler (1394). Andriyaş hakkında pek bir bilgimiz yok. Dmitar ise, Vilagoşvar şehrinin kastellanı ve Zarand idari bölgesinin jupanı olarak 1410'larda Macar kralının hizmetindeydi. Ankara muharebesinden sonra (1402), Sırbistan ve Macaristan arasında yoğun bir işbirliği başladı: despot Stefan Lazareviç (1389-1427), kral Lüksemburglu Sigismund'un vassalı olup, Maçva ve Belgrad'ı aldı. 1411 yılından itibaren ise ona Macaristan topraklarında bir çok arazi verildi. Gelecek onyıllar boyunca bir çok Sırp soylu Macaristan Krallığı'nın topraklarında arazilere sahip oldu. Ancak, bu çifte vassallık durumu – hem sultana hem de Macaristan Krallığı tacına – Sırp devletini çöküşten kurtaramadı. Sırbistan'ın Osmanlı idaresine altına ilk girişi esnasında (1439), önemli Sırp soylularından bazıları, Macaristan topraklarında arazisi olanları da dahil olmak üzere, Osmanlı hizmetine girdi. Sırp devletinin geçici toparlanmasından sonra, despot Curac Brankoviç'in ikinci hükümeti esnasında (1444-1456) Macaristan'da olan despot arazilerinde Sırlar da görevliler olarak bulunuyorlardı. Aynı zamanda, Sırbistan'dan Macar topraklarına geçen nüfus sayısı da giderek artıyordu. 1459 yılında Osmanlıların Sırbistan'ı tamamen fethetmelerinden sonra, bu tür geçişlilikler daha da yoğunlaştı. Sırp asilzadelerinin bir kısmı, hristiyan sipahi olarak fatihlerin hizmetine girerken, bazıları da manastırlara çekildi ve diğer bir kısmı da komşu devletlerin topraklarına sığındı. Osmanlı idaresi altında kalamayan veya kalmak istemeyen bir çok Sırp soylu için Macaristan zamanla ana sığınma merkezi olmaya

başlayacaktı. 1459 yılından sonra Macaristan sınırlarında meydana gelen devamlı Osmanlı baskısına karşılık, kral Matyas Korvinus, Sırpların Macaristan topraklarına yerleşmesini destekliyordu. Sırp vassal sınıfı mensubları ve diğer savaş erbabı da kralın hizmetine geçerek arazi alıyorlardı. 1464 yılında Macar tarafına geçen despot Curac Brankoviç'in torunu despot Vuk Grgureviç ile Stefan ve Dmitar Yakşiç kardeşler de bunlar arasında en ileri gelenlerdendi. Sırp despotlar – Vuk (1485 yılında ölümüne kadar) ve sonra da akrabaları Corce (1485-1497/9) ve Yovan Brankoviç (1494-1502) – Macar baronları olmalarına rağmen, köken ve şöhretlerinden dolayı Sırplar arasında meşru hükümdarlar ve halkın reisleri olarak sayılıyorlardı. Despot Brankoviç ve Yakşiçlerin yanı sıra, Miloş Belmujeviç de Macaristan'da en şöhretli Sırp soylulardan biriydi. Kariyeri Sırp despotlarının devletinde başlayan bu asilzade, 1470'ler boyunca Semendire sancağının hristiyan sipahilerin ileri gelenlerinden biriydi. Belmujeviç, 1480/1481 yılında Osmanlı topraklarına Macarlar saldırısıyla tetiklenmiş büyük göç dalgası sırasında kuzey Sırbistan'dan Macaristan'a geçti. Sırp despotları, Yakşiçler ve Belmujeviç, genel olarak hussar isimli hafif suvarilerden oluşturulan Sırp askeri bölüklerinin başındaydı. Sadece Osmanlılara karşı savaşmadılar, Matyas Korvinus ve Vladislav II Yagellon'un Çeklere, Lehistanlılara ve Avusturyalılara karşı açtığı savaşlara da katıldılar. Bu Sırp büyük soylularının yanı sıra, bir takım asker ve minör soylu sınıfından başka Sırplar da doğrudan Macar kralının hizmetindeydi. 15. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Macaristan'da olan minör Sırp asiller hakkındaki bilgiler yeterince korunmuş ve araştırılmış değil. Bu çalışmanın yazarı bazı soylular hakkında yeni bilgiler getiriyor ve bazı eski düşünceleri düzeltiyor. 15. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Macaristan'da olan Sırp asilzadelerinin Ortodoks kilisesiyle ve çökmüş Sırp devletinin süregiden geleneğiyle güçlü bağlantıları vardı. Ancak, Macar soylu ortamına da iyice dahil olmuşlardı. Bu durum, 16. yüzyıl boyunca kademeli olan bir asimilasyonla sonuçlanacaktı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sırbistan, Macaristan, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Sırp despotları, Brankoviçler, Yakşiçler, Miloş Belmujeviç, 15. yüzyıl, Sırp soylular, Dmitar Mrnyavçeviç.

Александар КРСТИЋ

„КОЈЕМ ЋЕШ СЕ ПРИВОЛЕТИ ЦАРСТВУ?” – СРПСКА ВЛАСТЕЛА ИЗМЕЂУ ОСМАНЛИЈА И УГАРА У 15. ВЕКУ

Резиме

Продор Османлија на Балканско полуострво и у Подунавље изазвао је значајну промену у српско-угарским односима, и довео до интензивне сарадње две стране. Још крајем 14. века, чланови династије Мрњавчевић, Дмитар и Андријаш, напуштају своје области на територији Македоније и прелазе у Угарску (1394). Док се Андријашу губи траг, Дмитар је током прве деценије 15. века био у служби угарског краља као кастелан града Вилагошвара и жупан жупаније Заранд. После битке код Анкаре (1402) започиње интензивна сарадња између Србије и Угарске: деспот Стефан Лазаревић (1389–1427) постаје вазал краља Сигисмунда Луксембуршког, добија од њега Мачву и Београд, а затим, почев од 1411. године, и бројне поседе широм Угарске. У наредним деценијама и више српских великаша такође стиче поседе на тлу Краљевине Угарске. Међутим, позиција двоструког вазалства – и према султану и према угарској круни – није успела да заштити српску државу и спаси је од пропасти. У време првог пада Србије под османску власт (1439) неки од угледних српских великаша, међу којима и они који су имали поседе на тлу Угарске, ступају у службу Османлија. После привремене обнове српске државе, током другог дела владавине деспота Ђурђа Бранковића (1444–1456), на деспотским поседима у Угарској јављају се и Срби као деспотови службеници, а све више становника из Србије прелази на угарску територију. Ова миграциона кретања се још више интензивирају након коначног османског освајања Србије 1459. године. Део српске властеле ступио је у службу освајача као хришћани спахије, неки су се повукли у манастире, а други су нашли уточиште у суседним државама. Временом, Угарска ће постати главно уточиште за бројне српске племиће, који нису хтели

или нису могли да остану под османском влашћу. Суочен са сталним османским притиском на границе Угарске након 1459. године, краљ Матија Корвин је активно подстицао насељавање Срба у својој земљи. Српска властела и други ратници ступали су у краљеву службу и добијали поседе. Најзначајнији међу њима били су деспот Вук Гргуревић, унук деспота Ђурђа Бранковића, као и браћа Стефан и Дмитар Јакшић, који су са османске на угарску страну прешли 1464. године. Иако су српски деспоти – Вук (до смрти 1485), а потом његови сродници Ђорђе (1485–1497/9) и Јован Бранковић (1494–1502) – били угарски барони, они су због свог порекла и угледа који су уживали, међу Србима доживљавани као законити владари и предводници свог народа. Поред деспота Бранковића и Јакшића, један од најугледнијих српских великаша у Угарској био је Милош Белмужевић. Овај властелин, који је своју каријеру започео у држави српских деспота, био је током 1470-их година истакнути хришћанин спахија у Смедеревском санџаку. Белмужевић је прешао у Угарску 1480/1481. године, током великих таласа пресељавања становника из северне Србије, подстакнутих угарским продорима на османску територију. Српски деспоти, Јакшићи и Белмужевић предводили су српске војне одреде, састављене првенствено од лако наоружаних коњаника – хусара. Они су војевали не само против Османлија, него су учествовали и у ратовима које су угарски краљеви Матија Корвин и Владислав II Јагелонац водили против Чеха, Пољака и Аустријанаца. Поред ових српских великаша, један број српских ратника и ситних племића био је директно у служби угарског краља. Подаци о ситној српској властели у Угарској током друге половине 15. века нису у довољној мери сачувани ни познати. Аутор у раду доноси неке нове податке о појединим племићима, и исправља одређена ранија схватања. Српска властела у Угарској током друге половине 15. века била је снажно везана за Православну цркву и за традиције срушене српске државе, али је такође била добро интегрисана у угарску племићку средину. То ће током 16. века постепено доводити до њихове асимилације.

Кључне речи: Србија, Угарска, Отоманско царство, српски деспоти, Бранковићи, Јакшићи, Милош Белмужевић, 15. век, српски великаши, Дмитар Мрњавчевић.