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

*Editors in chief*

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## **BOSNIAN NOBILITY AFTER THE FALL OF THE KINGDOM OF BOSNIA IN 1463\***

***Abstract:*** Based on sources and literature, the paper elaborates on the destiny of a part of the Bosnian nobility after the fall of the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia. During the Turkish campaign in 1463, the upper stratum of the Bosnian nobility, with rare exceptions, mainly disappeared from the historical scene. A similar destiny befell a significant number of members of the lower nobility who were killed, executed, taken into captivity or fled Bosnia to the territories of the surrounding countries. Some of them, mainly members of the petty nobility, entered into the Turkish service and became part of the Turkish feudal system. In time, some of them accepted Islam.

***Keywords:*** Bosnia, Kingdom of Bosnia, 15<sup>th</sup> century, 1463, nobility, Islamisation.

The medieval Kingdom of Bosnia came into closer contact with the Ottoman state by the middle of the ninth decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The first known Turkish incursion into the territory of the Kingdom of Bosnia took place in 1386. Two years later, there was the first great conflict between the Bosnian and Turkish army, when the Bosnian troops commanded by voivode Vlatko Vuković defeated the Turkish troops led by Lala Şahin Pasha. In June 1389, the troops led by voivode Vlatko Vuković, sent by Bosnian King Tvrtko I to his ally Prince Lazar, took part in the Battle of Kosovo. In the period from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century until the middle of the second decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Turkish troops were occasionally making incursions into the territory of the Kingdom of Bosnia, mainly on invitation of the nobility who used them for mutual clashes.

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The Turkish influence in Bosnia became dominant after 1415.<sup>1</sup> Bosnian rulers, as well the major magnate families – the Kosačas and Pavlovićs – from then until 1463 and the fall of the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia were paying, with shorter interruptions, the harač tax to the Sultan. The King and the local landowning magnates were in vassal relations both with the Hungarian King and the Turkish Sultan.<sup>2</sup> The Turks continued with occasional incursions into Bosnia which was riven by conflicts among the local magnates, even after it became a tributary Turkish province.

In the years before the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia, the Turks gained positions in its territory. By the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century they seized the town of Hodidjed in the Vrhbosna župa. In 1448, and not later than 1451, they established there their administrative unit “Hodidid Vilayet“. After the fall of the Serbian Despotate in 1459, Turkish troops from Vrhbosna began to make forays into the territory of the Kingdom of Bosnia. They captured the town of Višegrad where a kadi is mentioned in early 1462. They expanded further the territories under their control towards Fojnica and Kreševo – in 1459, a Turkish sklav is mentioned in Fojnica, while in early 1462 Isa-bey Ishaković held some mills on the Željeznica river in the Visoko župa.<sup>3</sup>

In older historiography the year 1463 was often taken as the year when the medieval Bosnian state definitively disappeared.<sup>4</sup> As if it was forgotten that a part of the state remained in the hands of the Kosača

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<sup>1</sup> С. Ћирковић, *Две године босанске историје (1414 и 1415)*, Историски гласник 3–4 (1953) 29–42; М. Спремић, *Турски трибутари у XIV и XV веку*, Прекинут успон, српске земље у позном средњем веку, Београд 2005, 302–303; Н. Исаиловић, А. Јаковљевић, *Шах Мелек (Прилог историји турских упада у Босну 1414. и 1415. године)*, Споменица академика Симе Ћирковића, Београд 2011, 441–462.

<sup>2</sup> It is not known whether the lower noble families also paid harač. М. Спремић, *Турски трибутари у XIV и XV веку*, 302–314.

<sup>3</sup> Н. Šabanović, *Pitanje turske vlasti u Bosni do pohoda Mehmeda II 1463. g.*, *Godišnjak Istoriskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 7 (1955) 37–50; Н. Šabanović, *Bosansko krajište 1448–1463*, *Godišnjak Istoriskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 9 (1958) 177–220. A summary defter of the Hodidjed vilayet was compiled in 1455. Н. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića, zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, Sarajevo 1964, 14–18, 60–66.

<sup>4</sup> Е. Filipović, *Historiografija o padu Bosanskog Kraljevstva*, Stjepan Tomašević (1461.–1463.) – slom srednjovjekovnoga Bosanskog Kraljevstva, Sarajevo 2013, 11–28.

family, persevering for another twenty years or so. It is only with the fall of this part that we can talk about the final collapse of the medieval Bosnian state.<sup>5</sup> As Sima Ćirković writes: “A picture is created that the state idea disappeared in Bosnia and that the Bosnian nobility was fully uprooted with the decapitation of the last Bosnian king from the Kotromanić family and the siege of towns by the Turks”, as well as that from then onwards only the Hungarian Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire were entering into conflicts in the territory of Bosnia. However, the domestic forces consisting of the court, the nobility and the church “did not disappear altogether at least for a shorter time” even after that year.<sup>6</sup>

According to Mavro Orbini, Sultan Mehmed said that Bosnia would not have fallen so easily had the magnates been unanimous and united, and that it collapsed due to their discord and disunity.<sup>7</sup> The assessment that Bosnia fell easily and practically without any struggle because of the discord of its nobility was accepted in older historiography as definitive. The phenomena such as the weaknesses and limits of the royal authority, discords among the nobility, rebellions, accepting foreign military aid and foreign rulers, doubtlessly influenced the weakening and fall of the Kingdom, but they were not characteristic of the medieval Bosnian state only. The Kingdom of Bosnia collapsed primarily due to the pressure put by the Turks, which was reflected in constant incursions, lootings, pillages, propaganda, which lasted for almost eight decades. The Kingdom of Bosnia lacked force to oppose a powerful state in full swing – after all, not even much more powerful states were capable of it.<sup>8</sup> Not even in that fateful 1463 year was everything over. Moreover, not all parts of the Kingdom of Bosnia experienced the same destiny. Unlike the King’s land and the Pavlovićs’ territory whose magnates were no longer mentioned in sources, Herzog Stefan Vukčić Kosača kept a significant

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<sup>5</sup> In December/January 1481/82, the Turks seized the town of Novi in the Bay of Kotor as the last stronghold of the Kosača family. В. Атанасовски, *Пад Херцеговине*, Београд 1979, 134–138.

<sup>6</sup> С. Ћирковић, *Властела и краљеви у Босни после 1463. године*, Историски гласник 3 (1954) 123.

<sup>7</sup> М. Orbini, *Il regno de gli Slavi*, Pesaro 1601, 377.

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of some assessments of causes of the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia see: М. Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija (odnosi u XIV. i XV. st.)*, Sarajevo 1996, 380–388.

part of his territories, while a part of the erstwhile Kingdom of Bosnia fell into the hands of the Hungarian King.<sup>9</sup>

The fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463 and the decapitation of King Stefan Tomašević did not destroy the idea of its existence. The following two decades saw several attempts at its restoration. Somewhat before 12 August 1463, a group of Bosnian nobles appeared in Venice asking for help in restoring the Kingdom of Bosnia. In their names and on behalf of other nobles, they said they wanted the Venetian rule only, as otherwise they would subjugate to the Turks. They asked from the Venetians to dispatch envoys to the Herzog and other magnates.<sup>10</sup> This mission probably consisted of people without greater significance. It is unclear whether those were emigrants or a group coming from Bosnia. It is certain that they were imbued with anti-Hungarian mood and fostered links with Bosnia and a part of the nobility.<sup>11</sup> Herzog Stefan Vukčić Kosača, with some Bosnian nobles, was also proposing to Venice to take an action for the liberation of Bosnia.<sup>12</sup>

The Turks restored the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1465 when they enthroned vassal king Matija Šabančić, the son of Radivoj Kotromanić, the uncle of the last Bosnian king. This Sultan's move can be understood as a concession to the local petty nobility with anti-Hungarian mood. Matija Šabančić was mentioned in 1471 for the last time. In the same year, Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus appointed Nikola Iločki King of Bosnia, with the primary aim to tie him for himself as the main opponent and leader of opposition in Hungary. The Sultan responded by enthroning Matija Vojsalić from the Hrvatinić family in March or April 1476. Matija Vojsalić was not satisfied with his enthronement by the Turks, but asked for recognition from the Hungarian King as well. The

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<sup>9</sup> E. Filipović, *Minor est turchorum potentia, quam fama feratur... Contributions to the history of Bosnia in the second half of 1463*, Пад босанског краљевства, Београд–Сарајево–Бања Лука 2015, 195–226.

<sup>10</sup> Š. Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike X*, Zagreb 1891, 261.

<sup>11</sup> С. Ћирковић, *Властела и краљеви у Босни после 1463 године*, 124–125.

<sup>12</sup> Ј. Радонић, *Ђурађ Кастриот Скендербег и Арбанија у XV веку*, Споменик Српске краљевске академије 95 (1942) 115; С. Ћирковић, *Ђурађ Кастриот Скендербег и Босна*, Симпозијум о Скендербегу, Приштина 1969, 55, нап. 25.

Sultan's reaction was the siege of Matija's towns. Owing to Hungarian help, the siege ended somewhat before 3 July 1476. It is not known what happened with Matija Vojsalić and his nobility. The mood obviously changed in Bosnia and Turkish policy that relied on the lower nobility no longer yielded results. When Nikola Iločki died a year later, all attempts at restoring the Kingdom of Bosnia stopped.<sup>13</sup>

The upper layer of the Bosnian nobility mainly disappeared from the historical scene during the Turkish campaign in 1463. This is evidenced also by the first Turkish defters of the territories that used to make up the largest part of the Kingdom of Bosnia and Herzog's land. We do not find in them members of the higher Bosnian nobility. Their names have been preserved only in the names of individual vilayets – the Pavlović vilayet, Kovačević vilayet, Hersek vilayet (Herzegovina). Of families playing a significant role during the existence of the medieval Bosnian state, the Kosačas and Vlatkovići held their positions for several more decades.

There is no doubt that in 1463 a significant part of the nobility lost their lives in clashes with the Turks or were taken captive and executed.<sup>14</sup> Contemporary sources write about the liquidation of King Stefan Tomašević and his brother Radivoj, but bring very little data about the killed nobility.<sup>15</sup> Konstantin Mihailović, a member of the campaign in

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<sup>13</sup> С. Ћирковић, *Властела и краљеви у Босни после 1463 године*, 123–131. Hazim Šabanović believes that the “restored Kingdom of Bosnia” stretched between Vranduk, Travnik and Maglaj, with a probable seat in Vranduk. H. Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, Sarajevo 1959, 49, 119. According to Adem Handžić, the main fortifications of this “kingdom” were the towns of Maglaj, Dobor and Tešanj, while other towns were located further north. He believes that Vranduk was not a part of this “statelet”. A. Handžić, *Nahija Brod krajem XV i početkom XVI vijeka*, Radovi sa simpozijuma „Srednjovjekovna Bosna i evropska kultura“, Zenica 1973, 385; A. Handžić, *Tuzla i njena okolina u XVI veku*, Sarajevo 1975, 38–41. According to Jelena Mrgić, the territory of the “Bosnian King” covered the towns of Vranduk, Žepče, Maglaj, Doboј and two other unidentified towns. J. Мргјић, *Северна Босна 13–16. век*, Београд 2008, 147.

<sup>14</sup> С. Рудић, *Прилог познавању страдања босанске властеле након пропасти краљевства*, Пад босанског краљевства, Београд–Сарајево–Бања Лука 2015, 274–279.

<sup>15</sup> Along with Radivoj, one of his sons may have been executed. S. Andrić, *O obitelji bosanskog protukralja Radivoja Ostojića (prilog rasvjetljavanju bračnih veza posljednjih Kotromanića s plemstvom iz dravsko-savskog međurječja)*, Stjepan Tomašević (1461.–1463.) – slom srednjovjekovnog Bosanskog Kraljevstva, Sarajevo 2013, 124.

1463, noted the execution of vojvode Tvrtko Kovačević.<sup>16</sup> Dursun-bey, who also took part in the conquest of the Kingdom of Bosnia, notes that Kovačević and Pavlović were captured and brought before the Sultan tied, but he says nothing about their destiny.<sup>17</sup> A contemporary of these events – Aşıkpaşazade writes that Kovač's son and Pavlović's son were in the Sultan's hands and that they were executed.<sup>18</sup>

The fact that the Bosnian nobility perished *en masse* is attested by a document created in Šibenik in December 1464, which notes: “Rege Stephano et multis primatibus Bosne proditorie captis et immolatis in fide Christi domini perseverantibus”.<sup>19</sup> Pope Pius II, the contemporary of the disappearance of the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia, says that the King was beheaded, with many members of the higher nobility perishing together with him.<sup>20</sup>

Later writers also bring new data about deaths of the Bosnian nobility. Jakov Lukarević from Dubrovnik says that “Iuan Paulouich Signor di Tribunio, Sanco Couaceuich, et Buthio Diunich” perished.<sup>21</sup> Mavro Orbini writes that after the decapitation of King Stefan Tomašević, Sultan Mehmed issued a public proclamation ordering that all magnates who wanted to keep their lands and estates had to come before him; however, those who believed him and came were killed.<sup>22</sup> “A short description of Zeta and Montenegro”, created in the second half of the

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<sup>16</sup> Константин Михайлович, *Јаничарове успомене или Турска хроника*, Споменик Српске академије наука 107 (1959) 50–51, 130–131.

<sup>17</sup> Tursun Bey, *Târih-i Ebü'l-Feth*, haz. M. Tulum, İstanbul 1977, 128.

<sup>18</sup> Aşık Paşazâde, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*, haz. K. Yavuz – M. A. Yekta Saraç, İstanbul 2003, 518.

<sup>19</sup> M. Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija (odnosi u XIV. i XV. st.)*, 383.

<sup>20</sup> Pii secvndi, *Commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae temporibus suis contigerunt a R. D. Ioanne Gobellino, Vicario Bonnen, iamdiu compositi, & a R. P. D. Francisco Bandino Picolomineo, Archiepiscopo Senensi ex vetusto originali recogniti*, Prostat Francofurti in Officiaria Avbriana, 1614, 311.

<sup>21</sup> J. Luccari, *Copioso ristretto de gli anali di Rausa*, Venetia 1605, 109. Based on Laonicus Chalcondyles's writing, Mihailo Dinić believed that Tvrtko Stančić was also killed in the 1463 campaign. Laonicus Chalcondyles, *Historiam libri decem*, Bonnae 1843, 543; М. Динић, *За историју рударства у средњовековној Србији и Босни I*, Београд 1955, 44.

<sup>22</sup> M. Orbini, *Il regno de gli Slavi*, 376–377.

18<sup>th</sup> century by an anonymous author, does not mention the liquidation of the Bosnian nobility, but brings some details that are partially congruent with Mavro Orbini's writing. According to this text, diplomas and privileges were presented to the Sultan in Jajce by noble families, promising an award and honour. The Sultan, however, ordered that all privileges be burnt. Only those who would receive Islam could have their old family surnames and use their estates and titles.<sup>23</sup>

The destiny of nobles who survived the year 1463 was different. Some of them were taken captive.<sup>24</sup> Pope Pius II writes that when Bosnia fell, the Turks were raping women and maidens, destroying churches, humiliating the clergy and taking all magnates into captivity to Asia.<sup>25</sup> According to Dursun-bey, after the surrender of Jajce, the Sultan ordered that the captives be displayed – he give away some of them, while allowing others to stay in the town.<sup>26</sup> Laonicus Chalcondyles writes that the Sultan did not apply the same treatment during the seizure of towns. After Bobovac fell, the Sultan ordered that some captives stay in the town. He gave away some of them to his magnates and sent others to Constantinople. He acted similarly during the conquest of Ključ. Unlike these two towns, in Jajce (which surrendered without struggles) the Sultan chose for himself children of some magnates, while giving other children to his people.<sup>27</sup>

During the 1463 campaign, the Turks also managed to capture the children of former King Stefan Tomaš and Queen Katarina – Katarina and Žigmund. Katarina was probably given to the care of Isa-bey, the son of Krajina vojvode Ishak. It seems that she was buried in Skopje.<sup>28</sup> Žigmund is mentioned in 1473 as a member of the Sultan's personal

<sup>23</sup> С. Радовановић, *Кратки опис Зете и Црне Горе*, Београд 1970, 171–173; Б. Шекуларац, *Кратко опис о Зети и Црној Гори*, Подгорица 1998, 166–167.

<sup>24</sup> С. Рудић, *Прилог познавању страдања босанске властеле након пропасти краљевства*, 279–280.

<sup>25</sup> Pii secvndi, *Commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae temporibus suis contigerunt a R. D. Ioanne Gobellino, Vicario Bonnen, iamdiu compositi, & a R. P. D. Francisco Bandino Piccolmineo, Archiepiscopo Senensi ex vetusto originali recogniti*, 311.

<sup>26</sup> Tursun Bey, *Târih-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 128.

<sup>27</sup> Laonicus Chalcocondylas, *Historiam libri decem*, 536, 537, 539.

<sup>28</sup> Г. Елезовић, *Краљ К`зи*, Братство 30 (1939) 49–69; М. Филиповић, *Краљ К`зи*, Југословенски историски часопис 1–2 (1939) 215–217.



guard at the time of the Turkish campaign against Uzun Hasan. He received Islam before his mother's death in 1478. By the end of the following decade he is mentioned as the bay of the sanjak Karasi in Asia Minor under the name of Ishak Bey Kraloğlu. He took part in the Battle of *Aga-Cayiri* in August 1488, whereafter he was declared one of the culprits of the defeat and was sent to Constantinople tied. We do not know his destiny, but in all probability he was alive even after the Battle of Krbava Field in 1493.<sup>29</sup>

The Kosača family continued to offer resistance to the Turks even after the collapse of the Kingdom of Bosnia. Mavro Orbini writes that while pillaging the Herzog's land the Turks suffered losses as well, because they were attacked by the "locals" who had withdrawn into the mountains, availing of any opportunity to suddenly attack Turkish troops.<sup>30</sup> Though the territories controlled by the Kosača family were reduced, an increasingly greater number of individuals from the ranks of the nobility appeared in the service of Herzog Stefan Vukčić. It may be assumed that a part of the nobility withdrew from the territories captured by the Turks to the territories still controlled by the Kosačas.<sup>31</sup>

In time, the circle of the nobility gathered around the Kosača family was being reduced, in response to further Turkish conquests and the realisation that the old order could not be restored. Even the members of this not so long ago the most powerful family of the Kingdom of Bosnia were leaving the territories which they held and were entering into the service of the neighbouring rulers. In 1469, Vladislav, the oldest son of Herzog Stefan Vukčić, received from the Hungarian King estates in Slavonia where he continued to reside permanently. Herzog's middle son Vlatko was for some time subjugated to the Sultan, after the surrender of Novi in December 1481, but eventually moved to the island of Rab, wherefrom his family went to Venice. Herzog's youngest son

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<sup>29</sup> A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium* I, Romae 1863, 509; J. Радонић, *Donado da Lezze u његова „Historia Turchesca”*, Годишњица Николе Чупића 32 (1913) 327; A. Olesnicki, *Bošnjak Hadum Jakub, pobjednik na Krbavskom polju g. 1493*, Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 264 (1938) 137–139, 148; Г. Елезовић, *Краљ К`зи*, 64–67;

<sup>30</sup> M. Orbini, *Il regno de gli Slavi*, 376

<sup>31</sup> В. Атанасовски, *Пад Херцеговине*, 150.

Stefan entered into the Turkish service in the first half of 1474, received Islam and the name Ahmed Pasha.<sup>32</sup>

Some Bosnian nobles entered into the service of Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus, who in early October 1463 launched a campaign against the Turks in Bosnia. The Kosačas provided him with considerable aid. In early December King Matthias received Vladislav Kosača into the ranks of Hungarian magnates.<sup>33</sup> During the siege of Jajce late that year, a part of the Bosnian nobility were active participants on the Hungarian side.<sup>34</sup> Known by names are members of the Obradović (Banović) family from eastern Bosnia – Radič, Vučihna and Jovan, as well as Ivan Čubretić of Pavle. King Matthias Corvinus bestowed on them gifts for the services provided.<sup>35</sup> Voivode Ivaniš Vlatković, at the time the most powerful Bosnian noble along with the Kosačas, entered into the service of the Hungarian King as well. King Matthias Corvinus awarded him – a document created in August 1466 mentions “Chekel” as his estate.<sup>36</sup>

Numerous members of Bosnian noble families managed to flee the country, some of them just before the calamity that befell the Kingdom.<sup>37</sup> According to known data, most of them sought refuge on the banks of

<sup>32</sup> About the Kosača family after the death of Herzog Stefan Kosača in 1466 see: B. Атанасовски, *Пад Херцеговине*.

<sup>33</sup> L. Thallóczy, *Studien zur geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im mittelalter*, München und Leipzig 1914, 418–422; С. Ћирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић Косача и његово доба*, 258.

<sup>34</sup> Ђ. Тошић, *Ослобађање Јајца од Турака крајем 1463. године*, Радови Филозофског факултета у Српском Сарајеву 2 (2000) 217–226; Ђ. Тошић, *Учешће Косача у ослобађању Јајца од Турака 1463. године*, Српска проза данас, Косаче – оснивачи Херцеговине, Билећа, Гацко, Београд 2002, 464–475; Ђ. Тошић, *Bosanska vlastela u oslobađanju Jajca od Turaka 1463. godine*, Stjepan Tomašević (1461.–1463.) – slom srednjovjekovnog Bosanskog Kraljevstva, Sarajevo 2013, 99–108.

<sup>35</sup> E. Laszowski, *Prilozi za povijest bosanskih porodica*, Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga Zemaljskog arkiva 19 (1917) 118–119; E. Laszowski, *Prinos historiji bosanskih porodica*, Vjesnik Kr. Državnog arkiva u Zagrebu 7 (1937) 29–34; М. Шуица, *Босанска властеоска породица Бановићи*, Историјски гласник 1–2 (1993) 32.

<sup>36</sup> L. Thallóczy, *Studien zur geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im mittelalter*, 429.

<sup>37</sup> С. Рудић, *Прилог познавању страдања босанске властеле након пропасти краљевства*, 281–286.

the Adriatic. Any trace of the majority of them was soon lost in sources. In late April 1463, Ana – the widow of voivode Pavle Klešić came to Zara. She withdrew to the convent of St Nicholas.<sup>38</sup> A part of the Vladimirić family, brothers Juraj and Radić, and Radivoj – the son of their brother Radoje, also settled in Zara after leaving their estates. They were in Zara already in May 1463.<sup>39</sup> According to a Venetian report, knez Radič, the brother of the Bosnian King, moved to the island of Krk with his wife and children.<sup>40</sup> Numerous Bosnian nobles found refuge also in the territory of Dubrovnik. In mid-July 1463, it was expected that Vladislav Kosača and Queen Katarina would arrive in the territory of Dubrovnik. In the same month it was decided that the Ljubibratićs should move to Šipan. In early August, the wife of Pavle Marković found shelter in Pelješac.<sup>41</sup> In 1464, the son and daughter of Ivaniš Kovačević are mentioned in Dubrovnik. It seems that the widow of voivode Tvrtko Kovačević also found refuge in Dubrovnik.<sup>42</sup> According to the writing of Jakov Lukarević, the inhabitants of Dubrovnik first rescued and then maintained the following members of the nobility: “Dabissa di Latiniza Signor di Srebarniza, Caterina sorella di Radoslau Paulouich moglie di Radiuoy fratello del Rè Tomaso, con Gliubiscia suo figliuolo, Teodora moglie del Signor di Tribunio, Stoian Nasach, e Radibrat“.<sup>43</sup> The next group of the nobility that fled to Dubrovnik consisted of: “„Barbara figliuola d’Ivan Vulatkovich, Giorgio Dobrotich di Srebarniza, che poi fece un Trattato della natura de’ Spiriti Celesti, che dedicò al Senato di Rausa, Buoso Velimisoglich, Nicola Kraucich,

<sup>38</sup> M. Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija (odnosi u XIV. I XV. st.)*, 362.

<sup>39</sup> M. Šunjić, *Bosna i Venecija (odnosi u XIV. I XV. st.)*, 318; С. Рудић, *Владимирићи*, Зборник радова у част академику Десанки Ковачевић-Којић, Бања Лука 2015, 377.

<sup>40</sup> V. Solitro, *Documenti storici sull’Istria e la Dalmazia*, Venezia 1844, 69–73; S. Ljubić, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae I*, Zagrabiae 1876, 88–90; С. Рудић, *Извештај Антуна Винђигуере као извор за историју средњовековне Босне*, Зборник за историју Босне и Херцеговине 5 (2008) 152–153.

<sup>41</sup> С. Ћирковић, *Херцег Стефан-Вукчић Косача и његово доба*, 263; Д. Динић-Кнежевић, *Миграције становништва из јужнословенских земаља у Дубровник током средњег века*, Нови Сад 1995, 250.

<sup>42</sup> М. Динић, *За историју рударства у средњовековној Србији и Босни I*, 42–43, нап. 25.

<sup>43</sup> J. Luccari, *Copioso ristretto de gli anali di Rausa*, 109.

Ostoia, Ruscicich, Sanko Knesnich, Vuladislau Copcich, et due fratelli Vilicchi”.<sup>44</sup> It is questionable whether the data brought by Lukarević can be used without doubting their accuracy. However, it is indisputable that a large number of Bosnian nobles, both known and unknown to us, found refuge in the territory of the Republic of Ragusa.

In 1463, Bosnian queens Katarina and Jelena stayed in the Republic of Ragusa.<sup>45</sup> In December 1466, Queen Jelena was in the convent of St Stephen near Split. She then went to the Porte. The Sultan received her and provided her with regular annual allowance. After 1498, she left Constantinople and moved to Thrace where her uncle Manuel II Palaiologos lived. She died there somewhat after 1500.<sup>46</sup> In late 1466 or early 1467, Queen Katarina sailed to Ancona, and then to Rome, where she enjoyed assistance of the Pope who, on account of the crusades against the Turks, bestowed on her monetary allowance. She died in 1478. Queen Katarina had a sort of a court in Rome, consisting of noblemen and noblewomen who had fled Bosnia together with her. There were Radič Klešić of Ivan, Juraj Čubranić of Nikola, Abraham Radić, Paula Mirković of Mirosav, Jelena Semković of Ivan and Mara Mišljenović of Juraj. After Katarina’s death, members of her court enjoyed monetary assistance meted out by the Pope.<sup>47</sup>

Not only Queen Katarina and her courtiers found shelter in Italy. The number of those seeking refuge across the Adriatic was certainly not small as it seemed to them that only there could they be safe from the Turkish danger. The letter of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga of 12 June 1463 notes that a ship from Šibenik packed with people fleeing the Turks arrived to Ancona. Four noblemen on the ship reported that Bosnia had

<sup>44</sup> J. Luccari, *Copioso ristretto de gli anali di Rausa*, 139.

<sup>45</sup> F. Rački, *Dubrovački spomenici o odnošaju dubrovačke obćine naprama Bosni i Turskoj godine razspa bosanske kraljevine*, *Starine Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 6 (1874) 9–10; Ć. Truhelka, *Dubrovačke vijesti o godini 1463.*, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 22 (1910) 19/20; Д. Ковачевић, *Пад босанске средњовјековне државе према дубровачким изворима*, *Годишњак Друштва историчара Босне и Херцеговине* 14 (1963) 217–218. Z. Janeković Römer, *Kraj srednjovjekovnog Bosanskog Kraljevstva u dubrovačkim izvorima*, Stjepan Tomašević (1461.–1463.) – slom srednjovjekovnoga Bosanskog Kraljevstva, Sarajevo 2013, 56–58.

<sup>46</sup> Ђ. Тошић, *Посљедња босанска краљица Мара (Јелена)*, *Зборник за историју Босне и Херцеговине* 3 (2002) 29–60.

<sup>47</sup> Ђ. Тошић, *Босанска краљица Катарина (1425–1478)* *Зборник за историју Босне и Херцеговине* 2 (1997) 73–112.

been captured by the Turks, that all areas were in fear and that many people left their homes, escaping captivity.<sup>48</sup> In 1472, honourable knight (*počteni vitez*) Pribislav Vukotić, a nobleman of the Kosača family, settled in Padua.<sup>49</sup>

Some nobles, despite the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia, remained in the country. Some found shelter with the Roman Catholic Church. Documents of the Franciscan monastery in Fojnica testify that many noble families found refuge in the monastery. Among others, there were the Alaupovići, Radijelovići, Sitići, Vučemilovići (Vučevići).<sup>50</sup> Members of some noble families, such as the Bjelavići, Masnovići and Čubretići are seen later as members of the Franciscan order.<sup>51</sup>

Following the downfall of the Kingdom, some Bosnian nobles entered into the Turkish service, i.e. they embraced the new order and actively participated in it. New masters were lenient towards those who had not taken arms against them, and were making them part of their feudal system. During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Turks were taking over the Christian petty nobility in large numbers, distributing to them timars on the condition that they remained faithful to the Sultan. The earliest defters compiled by the new authorities in the territory of Bosnia and Herzog's land contain a significant number of Christian sipahis.

Even during the 1463 campaign, some noblemen were surrendering to the Turks without struggle the towns that they commanded. Information about this can be found in the defter of the Bosnia sanjak from 1468/69. This defter records the timars of Isa-Balija – there is a note next to his name that he surrendered the Samobor fortress and converted to Islam, as well as the timar of Pavo Grgurić who surrendered the fortresses of Hum (near Livno) and Travnik, of Jusuf who surrendered the fortress whose name is not mentioned and who became a Muslim, and Ungurus (Madžar) Mahmud who surrendered the fortress

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<sup>48</sup> M. Šunjić, *Trogirski izvještaji o turskom osvojenju Bosne (1463)*, Glasnik arhiva i Društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine 29 (1989) 144.

<sup>49</sup> С. Ђирковић, *Почтени витез Прибислав Вукотић*, Зборник Филозофског факултета у Београду 10–1 (1968) 259, 271.

<sup>50</sup> M. Batinić, *Franjevački samostan u Fojnici od stoljeća XIV–XV*, Zagreb 1913, 15.

<sup>51</sup> С. Рудић, *Властела Илирског грбовника*, Београд 2006, 105, 182, 236.

of Novi (on the Sava river).<sup>52</sup> According to the writing of Pope Pius II, former Manichean Radak surrendered Bobovac to the Turks.<sup>53</sup> The same defter of 1468/69 records the timars of knez Ivaniš and Stipan who surrendered the Doboј fortress. The timars were recorded in 1477 and are related to the fall of the “state” of Matija Vojsalić.<sup>54</sup> Herzog Stefan Vukčić was saying that during the 1463 campaign many castellans also in his country surrendered to the Turks towns without struggle, together with all their inventories and wealth.<sup>55</sup> Unlike the Bosnian defter of 1468/69, the Herzegovina defter of 1477 contains only one case of a nobleman bestowed with a timar after he surrendered to the Turks the fortress under his command – this was Radoj, Rupčić’s son, who surrendered the fortress of Sokol.<sup>56</sup>

Defters offer a plenty of information mainly about the petty nobility who accepted the Turkish rule and fit into the new order. For the sake of illustration, according to the defter of the Bosnia sanjak from 1468/69, the Trebinje nahiye was in the hands of Herzog’s son. It contained 17 timars, 15 of which were held by Christian sipahis.<sup>57</sup> The largest Christian timar in the Bosnia sanjak belonged to mentioned Pavo Grgurić. It was located in the Neretva nahiye and yielded income of 16161 akçe.<sup>58</sup> As of 1477,

<sup>52</sup> A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, Mostar 2008, 100, 125, 159, 185.

<sup>53</sup> Pii secvndi, *Commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae temporibus suis contigerunt a R. D. Ioanne Gobellino, Vicario Bonnen, iamdiu compositi, & a R. P. D. Francisco Bandino Picolomineo, Archiepiscopo Senensi ex vetusto originali recogniti*, 311. According to contemporary sources, the Turks captured Bobovac by force. Tursun Bey, *Târîh-i Ebü'l-Feth*, 123; Константин Михайлович, *Яничарове успомене или Турска хроника*, 50, 130; M. Šunjić, *Trogirski izvještajii o turskom osvojenju Bosne (1463)*, 146.

<sup>54</sup> A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 78.

<sup>55</sup> С. Пирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић Косача и његово доба*, 253.

<sup>56</sup> He had his old inherited estate in the Čurevo village near Sokol. A. Aličić, *Poimenični popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina*, Sarajevo 1985, 258.

<sup>57</sup> A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 151–154.

<sup>58</sup> Pavo Grgurić was a timariot from 1463 to 1477. The defter states that he was captured, whereafter his timar was given to another person. It is not known who captured him or what his destiny was like. Pavo Grgurić also governed the fortress of Hum and, together with other guards, held a timar in the Livno nahiye which consisted of 14 derelict villages. A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 100, 195.

Filip also had a timar yielding 9544 akçe.<sup>59</sup> During the ninth decade, there were large Christian feudatories as well. Knez Petar, Obrin's son, had a ziamet in the Neretva nahiye worth 40325 akçe.<sup>60</sup>

According to the 1477 defter, in the Herzegovina sanjak the timar of Vukac, Obren's son, in the Sokol nahiye with the income of 5956 akçe, was particularly prominent. In the same nahiye, mentioned Radoje, Rupčić's son, also held a timar, with an income of 4208 akçe. Sanke, the teacher of Herzog's son, held a timar in the Dubištica nahiye with an income of 3350 akçe.<sup>61</sup> Timars of some Vlach chiefs were much larger – the timar of voivode Grgur in the Zagorje nahiye yielded income of 7323 akçe, and the timar of Vukić, Vlado's son, in the Črešnjeva nahiye 7975 akçe.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, knez Herak Vraneš held in the Popovo nahiye a timar with an income of 28970 akçe.<sup>63</sup>

The defter of the Bosnia sanjak from 1468/69 also contains interesting notes about some Christian timariots. The following is noted for Vladoje, Šegoj's son: "He is an honourable and brave Christian".<sup>64</sup> For brothers Tvrtko and Jovan, Čavlija's sons, it says they "were worthy Christians, remaining honest and faithful to our ruler".<sup>65</sup> The nobles who accepted the Turkish rule, regardless of whether those were Christians

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<sup>59</sup> A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 102.

<sup>60</sup> N. Filipović, *Pogled na osmanski feudalizam (s posebnim obzirom na agrarne odnose)*, *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 4 (1952) 104.

<sup>61</sup> A. Aličić, *Poimenični popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina*, 258–260, 264–267, 278–280.

<sup>62</sup> A. Aličić, *Poimenični popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina*, 377–381, 390.

<sup>63</sup> A. Aličić, *Poimenični popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina*, 331–364. Some Vlach chiefs in Herzog's land became part of the feudal stratum even before the Turks' arrival. The Turks understood the importance of the Vlachs for the stability of their power and began to grant timars to prominent Vlach chiefs who thus became equal partners to local feudatories. Over time, their status was growing stronger at the expense of the earlier nobility. As a consequence, a significant number of domestic feudatories embraced Islam, while there is no confirmed example of Islamisation among the Vlach chiefs. N. Filipović, *Vlasi i uspostava timarskog sistema u Hercegovini (I)*, *Godišnjak Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine* knj. 12, Centar za balkanološka istraživanja knjiga 10, Sarajevo 1974, 127–221; О исламизацији влаха погледати: N. Filipović, *Islamizacija vlaha u Bosni i Hercegovini u XV i XVI vijeku*, *Radovi* 73 (1983) 139–148.

<sup>64</sup> A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 97.

<sup>65</sup> A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 123.

or new Muslims, and became part of the Turkish feudal system, were not always faithful to their new rulers. The defter of the Bosnia sanjak from 1468/69 also brings data about the disobedience of some timariots in respect of the central authorities. Some timariots lost their estates when they failed to respond to the invitation to the military campaign against Uzun Hasan. Those were, for instance, Balaban Boljetić, Hadžija, Mirahor's brother, Brajak Podrpan, Župan Radič, Radosav, the son of Stepko.<sup>66</sup> Though rare, there were also cases of fleeing to the other side. It is not clear from the defter text whether those were Islamised nobles or not. In any case, it was noted that Mahmud Diraz "went to the infidels".<sup>67</sup> Musa and Isa who fled to Hungary also lost their timars.<sup>68</sup>

After and during the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia, members of the Kosača family also occasionally cooperated with the Turks. The first Turkish incursions in 1463 were directed against Herzog Stefan Vukčić. A part of the Sultan's army took part in them, aiming to bring to power Herzog's son Vladislav. Before his death, Herzog was saying that Vladislav had brought the Turks to Bosnia via the paths that they themselves could have never passed.<sup>69</sup> All three sons of Herzog Stefan Vučić occasionally cooperated with the Turks after his death.<sup>70</sup> As already mentioned, according to the defter of the Bosnia sanjak from 1468/69, the Trebinje nahiye was in the hands of Herzog's son whose name was not given.<sup>71</sup> In the 1470–1472 period and some time after the surrender of Novi, Herzog Vlatko was also recognising the Turkish rule.<sup>72</sup> By the middle of the year 1470, Sultan's envoys intervened with Dubrovnik inhabitants to pay to Herzog Vlatko and his brother knez

<sup>66</sup> A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 40, 85, 116, 145, 158.

<sup>67</sup> A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 102.

<sup>68</sup> A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 147.

<sup>69</sup> Š. Ljubić, *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike X*, 354; С. Пирковић, *Херцег Стефан Вукчић Косача и његово доба*, 252.

<sup>70</sup> Погледати: В. Атанасовски, *Пад Херцеговине*.

<sup>71</sup> Ahmed Aličić believed that this was Vladislav and that this note confirms the existence of dual power between the Ottomans and Vladislav Kosača in the Trebinje nahiye, or that Vladislav recognised the rule of the Ottomans. A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 151.

<sup>72</sup> В. Атанасовски, *Пад Херцеговине*, 64–85.



Stefan all inheritance of their father Herzog Stefan Vukčić.<sup>73</sup> We have already mentioned that Stefan entered into the Sultan's service in 1474. Some members of the noble family Vlatković from Hum also recognised the Turkish authority and entered into the Turkish service. Andrija Vlatković was the best known – in late 1481 he was mentioned as a voivode in the service of the Herzegovina sanjak-bey. He received from the Turks the confirmation of his old inherited estates in the nahiyes of Vrgorac, Ljubuški and Primorje, which was named after him Avgustin's land or Fragustin. The Hungarians captured and killed him upon the order of King Matthias Corvinus in 1488.<sup>74</sup> In the 1508–1510 period, his cousin, knez and voivode Petar Pavlović received for administration from the Turks Krajina and Avgustin's Hum land.<sup>75</sup>

Immediately after the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia, we see the first Islamised members of the domestic nobility. Islamisation of the Bosnian nobility began several decades earlier, with the consolidation of the Turks in the territory of the medieval Bosnian state.<sup>76</sup> The reasons for the conversion to Islam were economic privileges granted to new Muslims, chaotic social and political circumstances that the Turks found in Bosnia, the wish to climb the social ladder and other.<sup>77</sup> A number of prominent

<sup>73</sup> Љ. Стојановић, *Старе српске повеље и писма I–2*, Београд – Сремски Карловци 1934, 275–276; В. Атанасовски, *Пад Херцеговине*, 61.

<sup>74</sup> Д. Когац, *Vjerske prilike na području knezova Jurjevića – Vlatkovića*, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru 49 (2007) 233–235; Ђ. Тошић, *Андреја (фра Августин) Влатковић – (не)свакидашњи примјер хумског великаша*, Наука и идентитет. Филозофске и природно-математичке науке. Зборник радова са научног скупа (Пале, 21–22. мај 2011), Пале 2012, 61–67; Д. Когац, *Vjera u Humskoj zemlji*, Mostar 2008, 150–153.

<sup>75</sup> С. Рудић, *Петар Павловић – војвода Хумски и Крајине*, Зборник за историју Босне и Херцеговине 7 (2012) 49–60.

<sup>76</sup> According to the 1455 defter, Husein, Rajko's son, held a timar in the Hodidjed vilayet. In the same vilayet, on 20 July 1463 a timar was given to Ismail from Bosnia, on the condition that he should serve in the town of Hodidjed. Н. Шабановић, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića, zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, 62, 64.

<sup>77</sup> About the issue of Islamisation of the Bosnian nobility see: В. Чубриловић, *Порекло муслиманског племства у Босни и Херцеговини*, Југословенски историјски часопис 3–4 (1935) 368–403; А. Соловјев, *Нестанак богомилства и исламизација Босне*, Годишњак Друштва историчара Босне и Херцеговине 1 (1949) 42–79; Н. Филиповић, *Поглед на османски феудализам (с посебним обзиром на аграрне*

Turkish dignitaries traced their origin to the medieval Bosnian nobility. It is striking that among them there were almost no members of the upper layer of the medieval nobility. Islamisation took place mainly among the petty noble families that did not play an important role in the Kingdom of Bosnia. However, there were several exceptions. Certainly the most prominent Islamised Bosnian nobleman was Ahmed-pasha Herzegović, the youngest son of Herzog Stefan Vukčić Kosača.<sup>78</sup> There was also Sinan-pasha Borovinić who originated from the family that had kinship links with the Pavlovićs.<sup>79</sup> We could also add to them Mehmed-bey and Halil-pasha Obrenović, whose ancestors were probably mentioned in the 14<sup>th</sup> century as witnesses on charters of Bosnian rulers.<sup>80</sup>

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*односе*), Годишњак Друштва историчара Босне и Херцеговине 4 (1952) 5–146; N. Filipović, *O nastanku feudalnih posjeda muslimanskog bosanskog plemstva*, Pregled 5 (1953) 386–393; A. Handžić, *O islamizaciji u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni u XV i XVI vijeku*, Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju 16–17 (1966–67) 5–48; N. Filipović, *Napomene o islamizaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini u XV vijeku*, Godišnjak Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine 7, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja 5, Sarajevo 1970, 141–167; B. Zlatar, *O nekim muslimanskim feudalnim porodicama u Bosni u XV i XVI stoljeću*, Prilozi 14 (1978) 81–139; С. Рудић, *Прилог познавању неких исламизованих босанских породица*, Споменица академика Симе Ђирковића, Београд 2011, 425–439.

<sup>78</sup> For more than three decades, Ahmed-pasha was one of the most prominent persons in Turkey. He was grand vizier five times. He died in 1517. We do not know anything about the destiny of his descendants – he had three sons and three daughters. В. Атанасовски, *Пад Херцеговине*, Београд 1979, 189–219; В. Златар, *O nekim muslimanskim feudalnim porodicama u Bosni u XV i XVI stoljeću*, 90–92.

<sup>79</sup> Sinan-pasha held the position of the sanjak-bey of Bosnia (twice), Herzegovina and Smederevo, and of the beylerbey of Rumelia and Anatolia. He was finally raised to the rank of grand vizier. He lost his life in 1517. In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, Kasumbey, Ferid-bey and his son Bayezid are mentioned. С. Рудић, *Боровинићи, властeosка породица из источне Босне*, Земља Павловића, средњи вијек и период турске владавине, Бања Лука, Српско Сарајево 2003, 274–275.

<sup>80</sup> The Obrenovićs were a medieval family from the environs of Konjic. Mehmed-bey was the sanjak-bey of Morea and Herzegovina. He was also Sultan's kapicibasha. He had two brothers – Halil and Hamzo. Halil-pasha served as the Rumelia beylerbey for some time. In 1485 and 1489, in the environs of Višegrad, Hamza-bey held a part of the Višegrad ziamet with the income of over 73000 akçe. Their father was Petar Obrenović. В. Златар, *Neki podaci o sandžak-begu Mehmed-begu Obrenoviću*, Prilozi 10/2 (1974) 341–346; П. Анђелић, *Varones regni u државно вијеће средњовјековне Босне*, Прилози 11–12 (1975–1976) 40, нап. 52; В. Златар, *O nekim*

Many Islamised individuals who reached high positions in the Ottoman Empire originated from petty and poor Christian noble families, such as Sokollu Mehmed pasha and a number of his relatives.<sup>81</sup> Members of the Boljanić family – Sinan-pasha and Husejn-pasha Boljanić<sup>82</sup> also reached high positions, as well as Ibrahim Novošeherlija.<sup>83</sup>

The first Turkish defters of the Bosnia sanjak offer insight into the beginnings of Islamisation of the nobility. The process was sporadic, but yet visible at the time. The defter of the Bosnia sanjak from 1468/69 records several dozens of members of the medieval petty nobility who embraced Islam. Some of them have the designation of “a new Muslim”, for some of them it is noted that they had a Christian father or brother, while some kept their Christian surnames. For instance, in the Neretva nahiye, the timar of Čavljića’s sons Radivoj, Križan and Dragnić was recorded. A note from late May 1474 suggests that Radivoj and Križan became Muslims and received the names of Sulejman and Timurhan.<sup>84</sup> In the Bistrica nahiye, timars were held by Hasan, Alija and Husein, Borovina’s sons.<sup>85</sup> Jusuf Radisalić enjoyed a timar in the Goražde

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*muslimanskim feudalnim porodicama u Bosni u XV i XVI stoljeću*, 103–104; С. Рудић, *Прилог познавању неких исламизованих босанских породица*, 434–435; Д. Амедоски, *Вакуфнама Мехмед-бега Обреновића из 1516. године*, Пад босанског краљевства 1463. године, Београд–Сарајево–Бања Лука 2015, 291–309.

<sup>81</sup> Mehmed pasha was a grand vizier during the rule of three sultans: Suleiman the Magnificent, Selim II and Murad III. Mehmed’s brother or close cousin Makarije was the hegumen of Hilandar and the first patriarch after the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć in 1557. Р. Самарцић, *Мехмед Соколовић*, Београд 1975; В. Златар, *О неким muslimanskim feudalnim porodicama u Bosni u XV i XVI stoljeću*, 111–118.

<sup>82</sup> They originated from the Boljanić village in Herzegovina. Sinan-bey was the Bosnian sanjak-bey in 1562. In the 1563–1580 period, he was appointed sanjak-bey of Herzegovina three times. Husejn-pasha was the sanjak-bey of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and later served as a beylerbey in Egypt, Diyarbakır, Baghdad and Bosnia. В. Златар, *О неким muslimanskim feudalnim porodicama u Bosni u XV i XVI stoljeću*, 129–130.

<sup>83</sup> He originated from Novi Šeher. He was the beylerbey of Rumelia. He served as a grand vizier four times. В. Златар, *О неким muslimanskim feudalnim porodicama u Bosni u XV i XVI stoljeću*, 135–136.

<sup>84</sup> А. Аличић, *Sumarni popis sandžака Bosna iz 1468/69. године*, 103.

<sup>85</sup> А. Аличић, *Sumarni popis sandžака Bosna iz 1468/69. године*, 137–138.

nahiye.<sup>86</sup> By the middle of the ninth decade, timars of three Dragalj's sons are mentioned: Mahmud and Pavko in the Hrtar nahiye in the area of the Pavlovićs, and Sinan-bey in the Osad nahiye in the area of the Kovačevićs of 72681 akçe. Already mentioned Petar, Obrin's son, had a ziamet worth 40325 akçe in the Neretva nahiye, while his brother Hamza-bey enjoyed a part of the Višegrad ziamet worth 73685 akçe. In the Bosnia sanjak, timars were also held by Milovac, Radovina and Radin, cousins of Ali-pasha.<sup>87</sup>

The defter of the sanjak of Herzegovina from 1477 records a significantly smaller number of individuals who definitively changed their faith compared to the defter of the Bosnia sanjak from 1468/69. For instance, only several of them are designated as "new Muslims". There is also a far smaller number of Muslims with Christian surnames or it is noted that their cousins were Christians. For the sake of illustration, of brothers Hasan and Mahmud Garovčić, the former held a timar yielding 3448 akçe in the Dubištnica nahiye<sup>88</sup>. In the Sokol nahiye, Mahmud and his father Radak held a chiflik. In this chiflik, the lands that they held from the Herzog's time were recorded.<sup>89</sup>

Apart from the defters, some headstone inscriptions are a significant source for exploring the process of Islamisation of the medieval nobility. In Petrovo polje near Rogatica there is a headstone of Mahmut Branković dated to 1471–1459 with the inscription: "И ПОГИБЕ НА БОЮ ДЕСПОТОВЪ. Я СИ БИЛ(И)ГЪ МАХМУДА БРАНКОВИКА НА ВСОИ ВАШТИНЕ НА ПЕТРОВЪ ПОЛЪ. ДА Е БЛАГ(О)С(Л)ОВЕНА РЪКА КОЉ СИЧЕ И ПИСА".<sup>90</sup> In Čadovina, also in the environs of Rogatica, there is a headstone of Hasan

<sup>86</sup> A. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine*, 120.

<sup>87</sup> Н. Филиповић, *Поглед на османски феудализам (с посебним обзором на аграрне односе)*, 104–105.

<sup>88</sup> A. Aličić, *Поименични popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina*, 275–278.

<sup>89</sup> A. Aličić, *Поименични popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina*, 256–7.

<sup>90</sup> Љ. Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и натписи I*, Београд 1902, 97; М. Vego, *Zbornik srednjovjekovnih natpisa Bosne i Hercegovine IV*, Sarajevo 1970, 37; Г. Томовић, *Морфологија ћириличких натписа на Балкану*, Београд 1974, 118–119; В. Zlatar, *O nekim muslimanskim feudalnim porodicama u Bosni u XV i XVI stoljeću*, 98. The Brankovićs belonged to the medieval petty nobility. They were in the service of the Pavlović family.

Radilović dated to the 15–16<sup>th</sup> century with the inscription: “Хасан и Ахмата дова Радиловиќа сина. И што стари Хасана ђмрѣ. И что биеше уво: ере бише ђзђръ хъчовеке а юначе юђнака . И тои не рово брата Ахмата велике жалости ради писаше. И да е бла[го]сов[е]нь тко ќе проити. И проклетъ [к]ви [ќе] привалити”.<sup>91</sup>

Numerous sipahi Muslim families in the territory of the former Kingdom of Bosnia in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries traced their descent from the medieval Bosnian nobility. The following families belonged to the medieval nobility: the Alajbegovićs, Arnautovićs, Atlagićs, Bajezidagićs, Boljanićs, Borovinas, Borovinićs, Brankovićs, Gazi Husrev-beg, Hercegovićs, Juriševićs, Katušićs, Kopčićs, Malkočs, Novošeherlijas, Ljubovićs, Ljubunčićs, Obrenovićs, Popovićs, Predojevićs, Resićs, Rustempašićs, Sokolovićs, Stančićs, Starčićs, Vilićs, Vlahovićs, Vraneševićs, Vuković-Desisalićs.<sup>92</sup> Of course, this is not an exhaustive list of the Islamised Bosnian medieval nobility.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>91</sup> M. Vego, *Zbornik srednjovjekovnih natpisa Bosne i Hercegovine* IV, 23. This family is not mentioned in medieval records. E. Laszovski, *Radijelovići, bosanska velikaška porodica*, Napredak, glasilo hrvatskog kulturnog društva „Napredak” u Sarajevu, god. VIII, br. 6 (lipanj 1933) 66–68; С. Рудић, *Властела Илирског грбовника*, 204–205.

<sup>92</sup> B. Zlatar, *Kopčići i Vilići*, Prilozi 13 (1977) 322–327; B. Zlatar, *O nekim muslimanskim feudalnim porodicama u Bosni u XV i XVI stoljeću*, 81–139; X. Шабановић, *Босански намесник Ферхад-бег Вуковић Десисалић*, Зборник радова Филозофског факултета у Београду 4–1 (1957) 113–127; С. Рудић, *Прилог познавању неких исламизованих босанских породица*, 436–437.

<sup>93</sup> Vasa Čubrilović believed that the following families descended from the medieval nobility: the Kovačevićs, Todorovićs, Sijerčićs, Ljubovićs, Sulejmanpašićs, Vilićs, Kregićs, Brankovićs, Kovčićs, Turhanovićs, Filipovićs, Kulenovićs, Sokolovićs, Orukovićs. В. Чубриловић, *Порекло муслиманског племства у Босни и Херцеговини*, 374, 386, 388. According to Alexander Soloviev, it is not possible to claim that Bosnian beys were mainly the descendants of the Christian medieval nobility. If there were such cases, they descended from the petty nobility, such as the Brankovićs, Radilovićs, Sijerčićs. А. Соловјев, *Нестанак богомилства и исламизација Босне*, 52. Ivan Frano Jukić believed that the following families descended from the Christian nobility: the Rajkovićs, Babićs, Bakovićs, Bosnićs, Cerićs, Čekićs, Dugalićs, Dvagićs, Filipovićs, Glumčićs, Ljubovićs, Ljubunčićs, Kopčićs, Kresoevićs, Kulenovićs, Kukavičićs, Skorbovićs, Repovacs, Šaranovićs, Vojnikovićs, Vidaićs, Sokolovićs, Zlatarovićs, Ždralovićs. I. F. Jukić, *Zemljopis i poviestnica Bosne*, Zagreb 1851, 142, nap. 4.

This paper elaborates on the destiny of a part of the nobility of the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia. More thorough archive research would certainly widen the circle of families subject to our analysis and contribute to the better understanding of the processes unfolding in the territory of the former Kingdom of Bosnia after 1463.

## Srdan RUDIĆ

### BOSNA KRALLIĞI'NIN 1463. YILINDA YIKILMASINDAN SONRA BOSNA'DA SOYLULAR TABAKASI

#### Özet

Bu çalışmada, kaynaklar ve araştırma eserleri kullanılarak Ortaçağ Bosna Krallığı'nın yıkılmasının ardından Bosna'da soylular arası ilişkilerin dönüşümü incelendi. 1463 yılındaki Osmanlı seferi esnasında Bosnalı soyluların üst tabakasının çoğunluğu tarih sahnesinden silindi. Bunların bir kısmı Türklerle çatışmalarda hayatlarını kaybetti, bir kısmı da ya esir alındı ya da idam edildi. Hayatlarını kaybedenler hakkındaki bilgiler neredeyse yok mesabesinde. Kaynaklarda, kral Stefan Tomašević ve dayısı Radivoje'nin yanı sıra, asil sınıfının Kovačević ve Pavlović gibi sadece bir kaç mensubundan bahsediliyor. Kaynaklara göre soyluların bir kısmı da esir düşüp köleleştirildi – bunların arasında, eski kral Stefan Tomaš'in çocukları Katarina ve Jigmund da vardı. Ancak, krallığın yıkılışı, Osmanlılara karşı direnişin sona erdiği anlamına gelmiyordu. Kaybedilen bölgelerden kaçan vasalların bir kısmı Kosača'ların topraklarına gidip Novi'nin 1481 yılında yitirilmesine kadar savaşımayı sürdürdü. Obradović, Čubretić, Vlatković gibi bazı vassal ailelerinin mensupları Macar kralı Matiyas Korvinus'un hizmetine girerek Osmanlılara karşı mücadeleye devam etti. Soylular tabakasının bir çok mensubu Bosna'dan kaçmayı başararak Adriyatik sahilinde, bilhassa Dubrovnik'te, kurtuluşu ararken, bazıları da, örn. tacından olmuş kraliçe Katarina gibi, Apenin yarımadasına sığındı.

Bosna Krallığı'nın yıkılmasından sonra soyluların bir kısmı bu bölgede kalarak “fatihlerin” hizmetine girdi. Kosača ve Vlatković ailelerinin bazı mensupları da ara sıra Osmanlı tabiyetine girdi. 1468/69 yıllarında Bosna sancağına ait ve 1477 yılında Hersek sancağına ait ilk tahrirler, yeni idarecileri kabullenen minör hıristiyan soylular hakkında pek çok bilgi veriyor. Örneğin bu defterler sayesinde, Bosna krallığının ilgasından hemen sonra ilk yerli müslümanlaşmış eski dönem soylularını görebilmekteyiz. İslamlaşma, bir kaç nadir istisna dışında (İshak Kraloğlu, Ahmed Paşa Hersekoğlu, Sinan Paşa Borovinoğlu, Mehmed

Bey Obrenoviç, Halil Paşa Obrenoviç), genel olarak Orta Çağ Bosna Krallığı'nda önemli rol oynamayan küçük asilzade ailelerini kapsadı. XV. ve XVI. yüzyıllar boyunca eski Bosna Krallığı topraklarında olan bir çok sipahi müslüman ailenin kökenleri, bu metinde gösterildiği üzere, Orta Çağ Bosna Krallığı'nın soyluluk düzenine dayanmaktaydı.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Bosna, Bosna krallığı, 15. yüzyıl, 1463, soylular, islamlaşma.



## Срђан РУДИЋ

### БОСАНСКА ВЛАСТЕЛА НАКОН ПАДА БОСАНСКОГ КРАЉЕВСТВА 1463. ГОДИНЕ

#### Резиме

У раду је на основу извора и литературе обрађена судбина босанске властеле након пропасти средњовековног босанског краљевства. Током турског похода 1463. године горњи слој босанске властеле углавном је нестао са историјске сцене. Део припадника властeosког слоја је погинуо у сукобима са Турцима или био заробљен и погубљен. Подаци о погинулој властели су ретки, скоро да их и нема. У изворима се поред краља Стефана Томашевића и његовог стрица Радивоја, помиње тек неколико настрадалих припадника властeosког слоја, попут Ковачевића и Павловића. Извори сведоче да је део властеле био заробљен и одведен у ропство – међу њима су били и Катарина и Жигмунд, деца бившег краља Стефана Томаша. Ипак, пад краљевства није значио и престанак пружања отпора освајачима. Косаче, на чију област се повукао део властеле са територија које су заузели Турци, су наставиле да се боре све до пада Новог под турску власт крајем 1481. године. Део властеле, попут чланова породица Обрадовић, Чубретић, Влатковић, наставио је борбу против Турака у служби угарског краља Матије Корвина. Бројни припадници властeosког слоја успели су да избегну из Босне – највећи број њих спас је потражио на обали Јадрана, пре свега у Дубровнику. Неки су, попут бивше краљице Катарине и њене пратње, спас потражили на Апенинском полуострву.

Део властеле је након пада босанског краљевства остао у земљи и ступио у службу освајача. Турску власт су повремено признавали и поједини чланови породица Косача и Влатковић. Први турски пописи санцака Босна из 1468/69. године и санцака Херцеговина из 1477. године доносе бројне податке о ситној хришћанској властели која је прихватила турску власт и укључила се у нови поредак. Непосредно по паду босанског краљевства срећемо и прве

исламизоване припаднике домаћег племства. Исламизација је, уз ретке изузетке (Исхак Краљ Огли, Ахмед-паша Херцеговић, Синан-паша Боровинић, Мехмед-бег Обреновић, Халил-паша Обреновић) углавном захватила ситне властеоске породице које током постојања средњовековне босанске државе нису имале значајнију улогу. Бројне спахијске муслиманске породице које током XV и XVI века срећемо на територији некадашњег босанског краљевства водиле су порекло од средњовековне босанске властеле.

**Кључне речи:** Босна, Босанско краљевство, 15. век, 1463, властела, исламизација.