

ŞEREFİ
STUDIES IN HONOUR OF
PROF. GÉZA DÁVID
ON HIS SEVENTIETH
BIRTHDAY

Edited by

**PÁL FODOR
NÁNDOR E. KOVÁCS
BENEDEK PÉRI**



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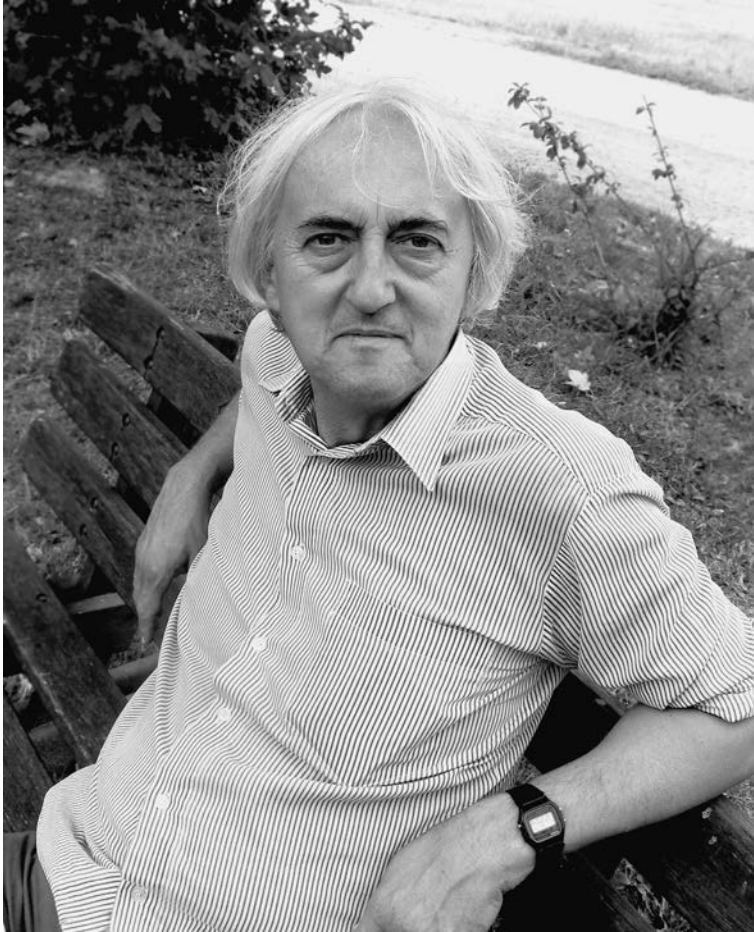
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GÉZA DÁVID

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SOLDIERS OF THE SULTAN IN OTTOMAN HUNGARY: THE TESTIMONY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS

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Sources of several kinds provide us with information on the ordinary soldiers, and particularly individual soldiers, who served in the minor Ottoman forts in Hungary. These include reports on local military action and skirmishes, pay lists, surveys, registers, probate inventories, account lists and cash books. These are complemented by visual sources and, not least, by archaeological finds. Excavations throw light on phenomena and objects that may be of significance on a historical scale but do not appear in surviving documents and were perhaps never recorded in writing. Different sources show up different aspects of the life, origins, surroundings, activities, equipment, clothing and possessions of Ottoman soldiers serving in the border region. The data sets are mutually complementary and enrich our knowledge from different angles.

Here, with a focus on archaeological material, we present the everyday life of soldiers in a minor Southwest Transdanubian Ottoman military base, the palisade fort of Barcs (Ottoman Barça; in this study I will use the Hungarian names of the various places and forts) on the River Dráva.¹

1 The Barcs research project was supported by Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA, K 72231). This paper was written as part of the project of the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (NKFIH), number K 116270.

HISTORICAL DATA

Following the capture of Szigetvár (Sigetvar) in 1566, its *bey* built a new fort on the bank of the Dráva at Barcs, thirty kilometres to the southwest of Szigetvár in 1567.² It was a minor river base and, after 1600, also defended the hinterland of Ottoman Kanizsa (Kanija). Intended to serve an important function, the stronghold was – in the year it was built – given control of the Dráva flotilla previously stationed at Eszék (Ösek/Osijek). This posed a threat to Kanizsa and its surroundings, to the Muraköz (Međimurje) and indirectly even to Styria. It is significant that at the Habsburg–Ottoman peace talks of 1567–1568, which led up to the Treaty of Adrianople, Barcs was one of the forts whose demolition was demanded by the Habsburg leaders.³ Because this did not take place, the new defensive strategy drawn up by the Aulic War Council in Vienna, ten years later (in 1578) provided for the construction – with support from the Styrian estates – of Bajcsavár (*Weitschawar*), a fort intended to defend the Mura country and Styria.⁴

Two key military events shaped the future of the Barcs fort. The first took place at the outbreak of the Long War in 1595, when the approach of Count

2 Franz Otto Roth, 'Wihitsch und Weitschawar. Zum Verantwortungsbewußtsein der adeligen Landstrände Innerösterreichs in Gesinnung und Tat im türkischen "Friedensjahr" 1578 II. Erbauung und Einrichtung des Kastells Bajcsavár (1578)', *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 61 (1970) 158; Ferenc Szakály, 'A babócsai váruradalom 1561-es urbárium a és a babócsai vár 1563-as leltára', *Somogy Megye Múltjából. Levéltári Évkönyv* 2 (1971) 52. A decree issued by the Ottoman imperial council on 23 September 1567 mentions Barcs as a completed fort. Cf. Klára Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várjai és várkatonasága*. 3 vols. Budapest, 2007, II. 1327.

3 László Szalai (ed.), *Verancsics Antal összes munkái*. Vol. 5: *Második portai követség 1567–1568*. (Monumenta Hungariae Historica, VI; Scriptorum, VI.) Pest, 1860, 152–156.

4 Roth, 'Wihitsch und Weitschawar'; Géza Pálffy, 'The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System Against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century)', in Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*. (The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage. Politics, Society and Economy, 20.) Leiden, Boston, Köln, 2000, 49–54; Gyöngyi Kovács (ed.), *Weitschawar/Bajcsa-Vár. Egy stájer erődítmény Magyarországon a 16. század második felében*. Zalaegerszeg, 2002; Géza Pálffy, 'A Bajcsavárig vezető út: a stájer rendek részvétele a Dél-Dunántúl törökellenes határvédelmében a XVI. században', *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 116:2 (2003) 463–504.

György Zrínyi and his troops prompted the garrison to burn down the fort and flee to Szigetvár. The Ottomans retook possession of the site in 1600 and rebuilt the fort. Then in 1664, during the winter campaign of the poet-soldier Miklós Zrínyi, the Ottoman garrison fled again, leaving behind a large supply of victuals and several guns. That was when a schematic sketch, the only known pictorial representation of the fort, was made.⁵ It was burnt down again, and not rebuilt. After 1664, it gradually decayed.

Research by Klára Hegyi has established that in 1568–1569, soldiers were transferred to Barcs (and Szigetvár) from three forts around Verőce (Virovitica): Brezovica, Moslavina and Sopje;⁶ they were registered in Barcs in 1569. According to the Ottoman military pay registers, the garrison initially consisted of *azabs* and *martoloses*, probably also with *müstahfiz*es and artillerymen.⁷ The average strength was 150–200 soldiers, but the garrison was strengthened in the final third of the sixteenth century, partly owing to the building of Bajcsavár fort, and cavalry was also stationed there after 1579. The lists do not include the commanders of the flotilla stationed under Barcs, who may be identified as *kapudans* referred to by the name “de Mura”, expressing the desired direction of Ottoman expansion, and who appear in the *timar* grant records of the *sancak* of Szigetvár between 1567 and 1594.⁸

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

On the site of the fort, archaeological test excavations were carried out between 1989 and 1994, and an area of 1500 m² was excavated in 2002 and 2003, prior

5 Count Pál Esterházy (later palatine and prince of the Holy Roman Empire) gives an account of the stages of the campaign. His book *Mars Hungaricus* preserves the ground plans of the recaptured forts, including the Barcs palisade fort. Although the drawings are said to be the work of Pál Esterházy himself, they were probably made by an artist who copied the originals, which would explain their uniform style, and the mistakes. (I am grateful to Erika Kiss and Péter Király for pointing out this possibility.)

6 Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várai*, II. 1293.

7 *Ibid.*, II. 1327–1329, III. 1590–1594.

8 *Ibid.*, I. 102.

to a construction project.⁹ This covered about a quarter of the estimated 0.6–0.7 hectare (90 × 70 m) area of the fort. The excavation yielded information on the direction and extent of the stronghold, the structure of the castle wall, the internal buildings, the life of the garrison and ordinary soldiers, the traditions observed and activities pursued there, and questions of supplies and trade.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FORT, BUILDING WORKS, AND THE SURROUNDINGS

The conquerors usually ordered the people of nearby villages and settlements to build forts and repair walls. There are many such cases on record.¹⁰ The involvement of the local population (particularly people assigned from the village of Barcs, a few kilometres from the fort) in the building of the Ottoman palisade fort of Barcs seems quite certain,¹¹ but the number, names and ethnic affinities of the master builders are uncertain. It is less certain whether or to what extent the soldiers of the garrison took part in major construction and fortification works. The possibility cannot be dismissed, because some of them may have been craftsmen. Written sources tell us that at some (large) forts, mainly in the early period of Ottoman Hungary, several craftsmen were maintained to perform minor, everyday works; they were recruited into the military organisation of the garrison and received pay.¹² In the construction of

9 On the excavations, see Gyöngyi Kovács and Márton Rózsás, 'A barcsi török palánkvár', *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 12 (1996) 163–182; Gyöngyi Kovács and Márton Rózsás, 'A barcsi török vár és környéke. Újabb kutatások (1999–2009)', in Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (eds.), *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon / Archaeology of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in Hungary*. Budapest, 2010, 621–642.

10 One of the many examples: "As early as 24 February 1688, the *alaybeyi* of Kanizsa issued an order to the people of the villages to supply posts to be driven into the water tightly beside the palisade; and thick palisade posts carved to square section, which had to be five fathoms long; and finally posts for the wall." Sándor Takáts, 'A magyar erősségek', in Idem, *Rajzok a török világból*. Vol. 2. Budapest, 1915, 22.

11 The people of Barcs village had previously been required to carry wood for the Christian fort of Babócsa. Szakály, 'A babócsai váruradalom', 60.

12 Pál Fodor, 'Bauarbeiten der Türken an den Burgen in Ungarn im 16–17. Jahrhundert', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 35:1 (1981) 71.

the fort of Székesfehérvár (İstolni Belgrad) in 1572, for example, *mustahfiz*, *topçı*, *azab* and *martolos* soldiers worked for daily wages as bricklayers, carpenters, smiths and lime slakers.¹³ Craftsmen selected for fort-building work by the Ottoman leaders were mostly from the local population.

An interesting parallel is the construction of the Christian fort of Bajcsavár. An abundance of documentation on Bajcsavár survives in the Styrian Provincial Archive in Graz and the Military Archive in Vienna.¹⁴ This tells us that Styrian woodcutters and local Hungarian carpenters, smiths and bricklayers worked on building the fort, and that (German) infantry soldiers were also involved in the fortification works, but the Croatian infantry and Hungarian hussars declined to take part.¹⁵

In Barcs, as we have seen, the local peasants, rather than the soldiers, were probably responsible for cutting down the trees and driving in the palisade posts. The woodcutters cut down trees in the nearby forests and transported the timber to the fort on carts.¹⁶ The great continuous forests of the Dráva country are mentioned by Evliya Çelebi in his description of 1664,¹⁷ and show

13 Antal Velics and Ernő Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek. 2 vols.* Budapest, 1886–1890, I. 252–254.

14 László Vándor, Gyöngyi Kovács and Géza Pálffy, 'A régészeti és az írott források összevetésének lehetőségeiről: a bajcsai vár (1578–1600) kutatásának újabb eredményei / Archäologische und schriftliche Quellen im Vergleich: Neuere Ergebnisse der Erforschung der Grenzburg Weitschawar (Bajcsavár) (1578–1600)', in Géza Pálffy, 'Függelék [Documents from Vienna Archives]; *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 125 (1998–2000), 103–111; Leopold Toifl, 'Bajcsavár története a stájer levéltári források alapján', in Kovács (ed.), *Weitschawar*, 27–40.

15 Under the accord of May 1584, the local population had to carry out the repairs of Bajcsavár. The soldiers of the garrison were also involved in the work, but the Hungarian guards did not perform their tasks. In autumn 1588, the master of works, Franz Marbl, complained that the castellan, Miklós Malakóczy, had refused to order the Hungarian soldiers to cut down the palisade logs required for fortification. In 1591, it was again German infantry soldiers who drove in the palisade posts. Toifl, 'Bajcsavár története', 28–34.

16 Timber and other building materials for large forts were brought in on hundreds of carts, sometimes from far afield. In the 1630s, "several thousand wagons of stone and lime" (*Kalk und Stein von vielen tausend Wagen*) were brought to Kanizsa from the Pécs area. Fodor, 'Bauarbeiten der Türken', 67.

17 "Setting out to the west from Szigetvár, we went on hills and then on sandy-soiled forests for six hours and arrived at the fort of Babócsa (Boboŕça). ... Then, going to the south in the forests for seven hours, we arrived at the fort of Berzence. ... From Kanizsa, going south in

up indirectly on the First Military Survey (1782–1785) (see Figure 1), which is close enough in time to be usable in reconstructing the late Ottoman environment of the seventeenth century. This is true despite the large-scale river regulation that started in the eighteenth century and the changes in the structure of settlement and roads.

Woodcutting must have been an everyday activity for the fort and the villages that served it, in order to supply firewood and palisade posts required for maintenance. The hatchets, axes, hammers, pliers, drills, chisels, saws, nail extractors, etc. found on the site were the tools of craftsmen who built the fort (carpenters and smiths). Their owners did not necessarily belong to the garrison, and could have been workers from outside, who brought their own tools with them.¹⁸ They could also, however, have belonged to the basic equipment of the fort. The tools and iron implements are typical finds from excavations of forts from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, and the types serve as chronological markers. It is remarkable that excavations on the Turbék stockade¹⁹ built in the 1570s to defend the *türbe* of Süleyman the Magnificent, have not yielded many tools or working implements (at least on the basis of finds published to date).²⁰ This is perhaps not surprising, because research on the area was directed at the *türbe* and the religious complex around it (mosque and dervish convent). The remains of buildings on this area are not comparable with average remains of Ottoman forts, and other finds – apart from some undoubted correspondences – are only partially comparable. Outside the area

hills and forests for three hours, we arrived at the camp of the grand vizier and into the vicinity of İbrahim Kethüda. Starting from [... Kanizsa], we went west for one day, proceeding only through forests, and easily crossed the River Mura at a suitable ford." Imre Karácson (transl.), *Evlia Cselebi török világotató magyarországi utazásai 1660–1664*. Ed. by Pál Fodor. Budapest, 1985, 552, 554, 571, 577.

18 The estate of Gergely Nagy of Tolna County, for example, contained a drill (*burga*) and an axe (*balta*), but also a scythe (*tirpan-i köhne*) and a plough-iron (*şaban demiri*). Ibolya Gerelyes, 'Inventories of Turkish Estates in Hungary in the Second Half of the 16th Century', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 39:2–3 (1985) 337.

19 Gábor Ágoston, 'Muslim Cultural Enclaves in Hungary under Ottoman Rule', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45:2–3 (1991) 197–198.

20 Erika Hancz, 'Nagy Szulejmán szultán szigetvári türbe-palánkjának régészeti feltárása (2015–2016)', in Norbert Pap and Pál Fodor (eds.), *Szulejmán szultán Szigetváron. A szigetvári kutatások 2013–2016 között*. Pécs, 2017, 89–130.

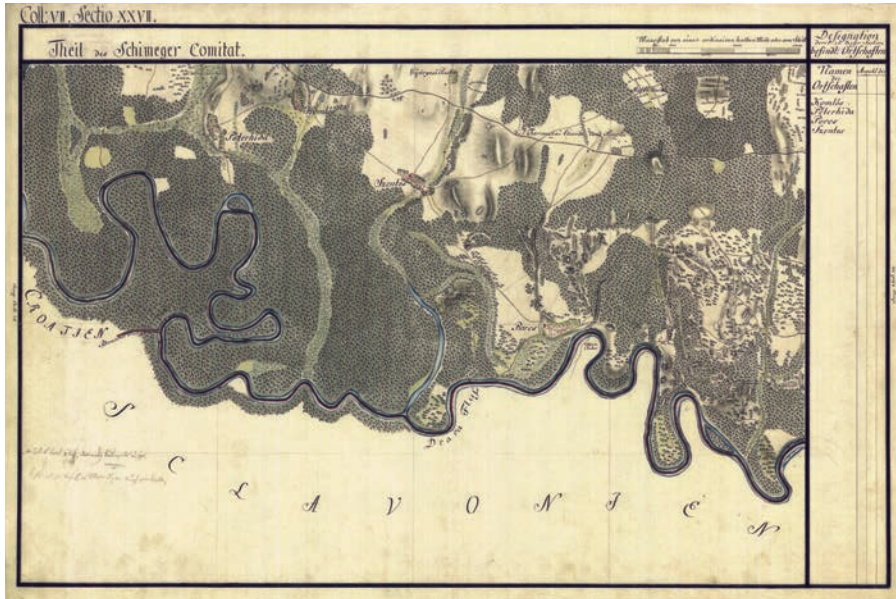


FIGURE I
THE SETTLEMENT OF BARCS AND ITS SURROUNDINGS ON THE FIRST MILITARY SURVEY (1782)
COL. VII, SECTIO XXVII

of the religious complex, the situation is likely to be different, particularly on the as-yet unexcavated settlement (*kasaba*).

Archaeological observations have found that the initial builders at Barcs placed the rows of posts in ditches dug two metres apart, the 20–25 cm diameter posts being spaced 40–50 cm apart and woven together with iron clamps, twigs and branches. Earth and clay was filled in between the rows of posts and the exterior of the wall was plastered with clay and lime. (In the seventeenth century, only one row of posts was driven into the ground in some cases.) The palisade – as required for such forts²¹ – was frequently repaired, and traces of repairs often show up in section walls.

Forts were probably not built with geometrical precision, even if the work was supervised by an experienced master of works. The Ottoman palisade

21 Takáts, 'A magyar erősségek', 75.

stronghold of Újpalánk (Serdahel, Yeni Palanka), near Szekszárd, for example, did not have two bastions alike,²² and the same was probably true for the Barcs fort. (There may have been functional reasons, however, for differentiation among bastions.) A calculation based on the perimeter of the fort (gained from a comparison of the 1664 Esterházy ground plan and the excavation and field data) and the number of post holes observed in the excavations puts the number of logs required for the initial construction of the Barcs palisade at 1100–1200, requiring nearly 600 oak trees to be cut down.²³ The amount of timber used for the walls of the fort during its nearly 100 years of existence, taking into account rebuilding and repairs, must have been several times this amount, because large quantities were needed for palisade walls as well as for fastenings, defensive ditches and associated defensive constructions, the bridge, the rampart in front of the gate, and of course the interior buildings, which formed part of the initial construction.

The garrison soldiers lived in timber-framed buildings with walls of wooden planks plastered with clay; it is testified by remains of mud-and-daub. Among the evidence for the timber structure is the large quantity of 8–10 cm long forged nails²⁴ (many of the larger nails were used to link up the timber frames of the palisade and to fasten the bastions). The living quarters were joined together and most had earthen or packed clay floors, which were occasionally renewed. There are traces of floorboards in some places. The interior of the fort resembled a small village, and according to the employees listed in the Ottoman

22 Attila Gaál, 'Turkish Palisades on the Tolna-County Stretch of the Buda-to-Eszék Road', in Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (eds.), *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*. (Opuscula Hungarica, 3.) Budapest, 2003, 107.

23 Gyöngyi Kovács and Pál Sümegei, 'Palánkvárak, fák, erdők. Régészeti és környezettörténeti adatok a török kori palánkvárak faanyag-felhasználásához', in György Terei et al. (eds.), *Várak nyomában. Tanulmányok a 60 éves Feld István tiszteletére*. Budapest, 2011, 114–118. See further András Vadas and Péter Szabó, 'Not Seeing the Forest for the Trees? Ottoman-Hungarian Wars and Forest Resources', *The Hungarian Historical Review* 7:3 (2018) 477–509.

24 Interestingly, the register of a fort in the *sancak* of Semendire (Szendrő/Smederevo) records that 5 "mázsa" of nails (*mismar*) and much more of other nails were held in the store. Velics and Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek*, II. 3. (The mid-sixteenth to late eighteenth-century Hungarian "mázsa" = 58.80 kg. István Bogdán, *Magyarországi őr-, térfogat-, súly- és darabmértékek 1874-ig*. Budapest, 1991, 52, 457.)

pay registers and the Esterházy sketch, it had a mosque, indeed a sultan's or state-maintained mosque. The pay registers give the name of its staff. In 1619, the *hatib* was Ahmed Halife, the *müezzin* Mehmed Ali, and the *kayyum* Hüsrev Emirshah; in 1628, the *hatib* was Hubyar Halife.²⁵ The mosque is marked on the Esterházy drawing on the southeast area of the fort, but we were unable to identify it. Judging from the remains of the dwellings found there, it must have been a simple structure, which may be difficult to identify even in future.

The dwellings (whose floor dimensions, where they could be established, were 12 × 7 m, 12 × 5 m, and 5 × 6 m) were heated with stoves built with cup-shaped tiles. The excavations yielded a large quantity of stove remains,²⁶ which indicate that the stoves stood on approximately 80 × 80 cm bases made of bricks laid in clay. In front of the stoke-hole, there was a cooking surface for cooking over an open fire. Judging from the stove bases and the abundant stove tiles and fragments of stove-wall, the stoves were of the Balkan type (rectangular section below, with octagonal upper section and cupola),²⁷ similar to those still found in houses in the Balkans.²⁸ We used a computer program to reconstruct several stoves from the stove-wall pieces, with spectacular results.²⁹ Most date from the sixteenth century. Fragments of their superstructure ended up in closed pits during the levelling of the ground that followed the Long War. The clay was prepared in situ or nearby. The stove builders may have come from villages or towns in South Transdanubia or the other side of the Dráva, and either brought with them the mass of unglazed hand-thrown stove tiles that

25 Balázs Sudár, *Dzsámik és mecsetek a hódolt Magyarországon*. Budapest, 2014, 157.

26 Some of the brick-surfaces, judging by their sizes and ground plan, may be regarded as stove remains.

27 Gordana Marjanovic-Vujović, 'Kuća iz druge polovine XVII veka otkopana u utvrćenom podgrađu beogradskog grada – Donjem Gradu', *Godišnjak Grada Beograda* 20 (1973) 203–204, T. VII–VIII; Tibor Sabján and András Végh, 'A Turkish House and Stoves from Water-Town (Víziváros) in Budá', in Gerelyes and Kovács (eds.), *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 281–300. Remains of a tile stove were found in a dwelling room of the dervish convent in Turbék (Hancz, 'Nagy Szulejmán', 108). We have no further details, but it may have been this type of stove.

28 Sabján and Végh, 'A Turkish House', 297–299, Figs. 16–18. See also, for instance, the stoves of the eighteenth-century Svrzo house in Sarajevo.

29 Gyöngyi Kovács and Zsolt Réti, 'Stoves, Ovens and Fireplaces in the Ottoman Castle at Barcs', *Antaeus* 2019 (forthcoming).



FIGURE 2
STOVE TILES FROM THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE OTTOMAN FORT AT BARCS

have been found in the excavations (see Figure 2) or procured them in nearby markets, possibly in Babócsa³⁰ or Verőce³¹ or even further away. The composition of the archaeological material, however, shows that Hungarian-type stove tiles also sometimes found their way into the purchases at the market.

The large number of stoves and fireplaces obviously derives partly from the needs of the soldiers, but it may also be related to climatic conditions. There were signs of the “Little Ice Age” – cold winters and cool rainy summers – in the weather of the Carpathian Basin at that time, including this region, and with increasing frequency during the sixteenth century.³² In January 1664,

30 The correspondences between the stove tiles found in excavations of Nárciszos in Babócsa and those from Barcs suggest that they came from a common set of workshops. Judging by a few stove-wall pieces containing stove tiles, it is possible that the stoves themselves were identical. Kálmán Magyar, ‘Babócsa története a honfoglalástól a mohácsi vészig,’ in Idem (ed.), *Babócsa története. Tanulmányok a község történetéből*. Babócsa, 1990, 176–181, 211–213.

31 See for example Silvija Salajić, *Srednjovjekovna nizinska utvrda u Virovitici*. Virovitica, 2014, 28–29, pictures at top. The finds are dated earlier.

32 Lajos Rácz, *Magyarország környezettörténete az újkorig*. (Természettörténelem, 1.) Budapest, 2008, 141–151; Lajos Rácz, ‘The Climate History of Central Europe in the Modern Age,’

for example, Evliya Çelebi graphically described bitter weather in Zimony (Zemun), where people and animals froze to death.³³

THE SOLDIERY

The Ottoman pay registers preserve much information on the soldiers. The entries beside the names include the soldiers' original place of residence, religion, sometimes their marital status, and occasionally even their wounds. A summary by Klára Hegyi shows that most of the soldiers in Barcs were from the Balkans, and many of them were Muslim, some recent converts. The 1619 pay register, for example, states that 49% of the personnel (175 soldiers and three employees of the mosque) had Balkan names, some Bosnian. Nine had the surname Bosna and thirty two, Divane. Kurd Ömer Ağa is a name that suggests a distant origin. We know the standard bearers and the staff of the mosque by name. The daily pay of the top ranks varied between 10 and 30 *akçes*; other ranks were paid 5–6 *akçes* and mosque personnel 6–12 *akçes*. The high proportion of Muslims, including new converts, and data indicating Balkan origins, all have significance for the assessment of material culture.

The fate of the Barcs palisade fort crucially depended on that of Babócsa and Szigetvár. The garrison did not defend the fort during the great military campaigns. Although the soldiers fled the fort, they did not stay out of minor skirmishes, which proved disastrous for them several times. In 1600, Hungarian *hajdús* (*heyducks*) routed the forces of the commander of Barcs, executing the commander himself, and in the 1640s, thirteen horsemen from Légrád captured the chief *serdar ağa* of Barcs and three of his men.³⁴ The main tasks of the garrison, at least in the sixteenth century, were to control the river, secure the

in József Laszlovszky and Péter Szabó (eds.), *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*. Budapest 2003, 236–241.

33 For example: "...a hurricane blew, casting down everything, ... the snow killed all of the camels, ... several people, tormented by the great cold, froze to death." Karácson (transl.), *Evliya Cselebi*, 440–442.

34 Csaba D. Veress, *Várak Baranyában*. Budapest, 1992, 113; Géza Perjés, *Zrínyi Miklós és kora*. Budapest, 1965, 101.

Dráva bridge-head and serve the flotilla. The objects found there, however, do not give the impression that the fort was a riverside base or that its garrison carried out service on the riverbank or on boats. The only connection with boats comes from one or two sintels,³⁵ all from the sixteenth-century layers. One possible explanation is that the ships anchored some distance away (perhaps in the area of the later ferry). Pál Sümegi and his colleagues have shown through a pollen study that the channel of the Dráva under the fort started to turn into a backwater in the late sixteenth century, and even at that time, may have carried running water only during floods.³⁶ The swampy channel of the Dráva – which eventually served as a natural defence for the fort – was not well suited to navigation. The flotilla is not mentioned after the sixteenth century, and it was clearly withdrawn.³⁷ Although there are almost no remains of river activity and navigation on the site of the fort, it is possible that such may be found in the silt strata that were subsequently deposited in the Dráva channel.

Together with the *azabs*, *martoloses* and *müstahfizes*, there were a number of cavalry soldiers serving in Barcs; there were between 65 and 68 of them in the period 1577–1581.³⁸ In the second half of the sixteenth century, horses usually fetched between 250 and 300 *akçes* at an auction of a deceased person's estate,³⁹ although individual cases could fall far outside this range.⁴⁰ The daily pay of

35 The sintel was used to fasten the seals between the planks of the ship. It is an iron staple with an oval or disc-shaped plate that holds down the seal, with a small nail forged to each side of the plate. The nails were driven into the two adjoining planks. Attila János Tóth, *Örvények titkai. Víz alatti régészeti kutatások*. (A Régészet Világa, 2.) Budapest, 2018, 70.

36 Pál Sümegi, Dávid Molnár, Katalin Náfrádi, Dávid Gergely Páll, Gergő Persaits, Szilvia Sávai and Tünde Töröcsik, 'The Environmental History of Southern Transdanubia during the Medieval and the Ottoman Period in the Light of Palaeoecological and Geoarchaeological Research', in Gyöngyi Kovács and Csilla Zatykó (eds.), *Per sylvam et per lacus nimios. The Medieval and Ottoman Period in Southern Transdanubia, Southwest Hungary: the Contribution of the Natural Sciences*. Budapest, 2016, 40–49.

37 No *martolos* appear in the Barcs pay registers in the first half of the 1590s. Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várai*, II. 1329. Despite the plausible reason given for this, the suspicion remains that the temporary disappearance was actually due to the withdrawal of the flotilla.

38 Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várai*, II. 1328–1329.

39 *Ibid.*, I. 213.

40 In the probate inventories of soldiers who died in June 1558, having served in the garrisons of the palisade forts at Szolnok (Solnok) and (Török)Szentmiklós (Senmikloş), horses were

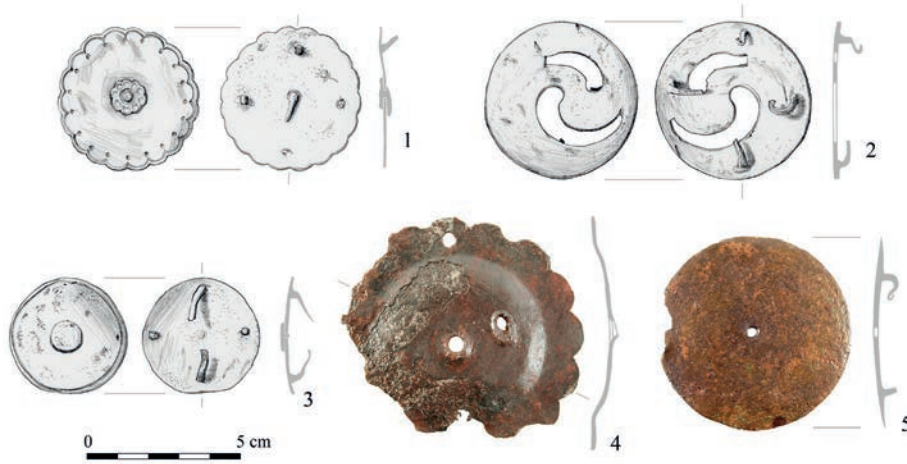


FIGURE 3
ORNAMENTAL DISCS FOR BRIDLES (PHALERAS). BARCS, OTTOMAN FORT

cavalry soldiers was between 9 and 13 *akçes*,⁴¹ but a horse (by itself, not to mention the saddle, bridle and other gear) had a very high value. Cavalry troops therefore probably did not leave their horses unattended, and since the fort was too small to accommodate horses, they may have lived outside the fort. This may explain the dearth of horse gear found in the excavations in Barcs. There were only a few phaleras (ornamental discs for bridles; see Figure 3), bits, webbing buckles and horseshoes. The phalera was clearly an item bought at a market, because examples identical to those found in Barcs have turned up elsewhere, such as the Christian fort of Bajcsavár.⁴²

We hardly found any weapons or combat-related objects, which may partly be because the fort was evacuated in advance of being burnt down on both

entered at prices of between 600 and 2500 *akçes*, simple used saddles at 25–100 *akçes*, and bridles at 7–20 *akçes*. Velics and Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek*, II. 221–223. A black saddle horse (*siyah esb*) belonging to the *dizdar* of Pécs (Peçuy) was evaluated in the probate inventory of 1572 at 780 *akçes*, and various saddles were entered at values of 10–100 *akçes*. Gerelyes, *Inventories*, 322–327. Cf. Klára Hegyi, *Török források Pécs 16. századi történetéhez*. (Források Pécs történetéből, 3.) Pécs, 2010, 245–250.

41 Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várai*, I. 207.

42 Kovács (ed.), *Weitschawar*, 161.

occasions, and any valuable objects (cannons) would have been taken as booty by the Christian troops. Among the identifiable finds are cannonballs and musket balls (there were several cannonballs at the north wall, near the bastion), fragments of sabres and piercing weapons, and the category also includes carved bone weapon casings and a fragment of a bone gunpowder flask decorated with engraved flowers. Casting musket balls was probably something that every soldier could do, while larger, more complicated weapons were repaired by the fort gunsmith. As was general in forts, Barcs had its own blacksmith's shop, as clearly indicated by special tools, traces of cinders and ball casting crucibles, although these finds fall far short of the recently-published blacksmith's equipment from the Újpalánk fort.⁴³

Soldiers' clothing is the subject of many contemporary pictorial representations and graphic descriptions in probate inventories and travel accounts, and we do not attempt an analysis here. Most of the small costume items found in the excavations are extremely humble. Textiles and leather are rarely preserved. Data from written and visual sources can rarely be compared with – and of course does not exactly match – archaeological data. Notable finds from Barcs include heel plates, spurs, buttons, belt buckles, belt ornaments and clasps. These items do not appear (specifically) in probate inventories, although “buckled belts” and “boots with spurs” sometimes do.⁴⁴ We also found a special item in Barcs: a carved walrus-tusk belt fitting⁴⁵ that counts unique (at present) in Hungary. Its valuable material, which came from Russia, together with its

43 Attila Gaál, 'A fémmegmunkálás leletei a székszárd-palánki török kiserőd (Jeni Palanka) feltárásából', in Elek Benkő, Gyöngyi Kovács and Krisztina Orosz (eds.), *Mesterségek és műhelyek a középkori és kora újkori Magyarországon. Tanulmányok Holl Imre emlékére / Crafts and Workshops in Hungary during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. Studies in Memory of Imre Holl*. Budapest, 2017, 215–239.

44 For instance Hudaverdi's estate from Pécs (1560): “boots with spurs (*çizme mahmuz*) 26 *akçes*”, Hegyi, *Török források*, 114. In the estate of Szolnok *müstahfiz* Ahmed bin Mahmud (1558): “One old belt with buckle, 15 *akçes*.” In the estate of the Szolnok cavalryman Kurd: “One pair of worn boots with spurs, 80 *akçes*”, Velics and Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek*, II. 221. Such objects can also be seen on pictures. Klára Hegyi and Vera Zimányi, *Az oszmán birodalom Európában*. Budapest, 1966, Plates 50–51 (spurs).

45 Erika Gál and Gyöngyi Kovács, 'A Walrus-Tusk Belt Plaque from an Ottoman-Turkish Castle at Barcs, Hungary', *Antiquity* 85:329, Project Gallery, September 2011, accessed 8 May 2019, <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/gal329>; Erika Gál, 'Objects Made from Tusk, Bone, and



Ömer bin Abdullah bende-i Hayy [...]

FIGURE 4
SEAL WITH ARABIC LETTERS. BARCS, OTTOMAN FORT

manufacture, point to one of the sultan's workshops in Istanbul.⁴⁶ Among the objects found beside the belt plaque was a seal with Arabic letters (see Figure 4; deciphered by Balázs Sudár). These and other rare finds may mark out the quarters of the high-ranking persons in the fort.

The soldiers may have repaired their own clothes. A pair of scissors, an essential item for sewing, was probably a personal possession. In the estate of the Szolnok *müstahfiz* Ferhad (1558), for example, "two shabby pairs of scissors" were worth 21 *akçes*.⁴⁷ Other personal items were knives, clasp knives,⁴⁸ iron fire strikers, whetstones, razors, bone combs and pipes, some of them is mentioned in estates.⁴⁹ In Evliya Çelebi's account of his travels, knives, clasp knives and

Antler from the Ottoman-Turkish Fort at Barcs, Hungary', in Kovács and Zatykó (eds.), "Per sylvam", 133–135.

46 Cf. Rıfıkı Melül Meric, 'Bayramlarda Padişahlara Hediye Edilen San'at Eserleri ve Karşılıkları. I. Sûret-i defter oldur ki usta kârlar bayramlık getürdiklerin beyân ider', *Türk San'ati Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri* 1 (1963) 766–770 (*balık dışından kemer pulları*).

47 Velics and Kammerer, *Magyarországî török kincstári defterek*, II. 222.

48 The Buda customs registers record the import of a great many knives into Ottoman Hungary. For example, in 1571, 200 *akçes* were collected on 4,000 knives from Hurrem *rençber* (tradesman, merchant), 500 *akçes* on five barrels of knives from Hoca Ömer *rençber* and 100 *akçes* on 4,000 knives from Matás (Mátyás) Bogdáni. Customs duty was collected from Pál "Diák", a Christian retail merchant, on 2,000 knives, and from István Kados, also a retail merchant, on 18,000 (!) knives. The list goes on; see Lajos Fekete and Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Budai török számadáskönyvek 1550–1580*. Budapest, 1962, 49, 59, 63, 74.

49 For instance Hegyi, *Török források*, passim.

forks were in the belt carried by the Albanian, Bosnian and Croatian soldiers of Nova Varoš in the Balkans.⁵⁰ The Barcs pipes are varied, most of them commercial goods, although one carved out of brick was almost certainly made in the fort, perhaps by a soldier with time on his hands. There were also various games to pass the time. The dice game played with an astragalus (a bone from a sheep's leg, marked with points) was in all probability played in the Barcs fort, although the astragali we found (only four out of more than 10,000 animal bones!) may not have been used for playing games, because they do not show the corresponding signs of wear.⁵¹ The sheep astragali found on the site of the dervish convent in Turbék were gaming pieces.⁵²

Other personal property was soldier's pay. The pay registers record exactly who received how many *akçes*. We might expect large numbers of Ottoman coins to be recovered in excavations of Ottoman forts, but they are not common, and we only found a few in Barcs.⁵³ One partial explanation for this is purely practical: scattered small silver coins are difficult to find on the site. The increasingly common use of metal detectors in excavations and in field surveys may make some improvement, but will certainly not greatly alter the present conclusion from research that few Ottoman coins were in circulation in Hungary. The money in use comprised a mixture of Ottoman, Hungarian and Western coins.⁵⁴

PROVISIONS, COOKING, AND KITCHEN- AND TABLEWARE

Beef was the staple of soldiers' diet in the Barcs fort, and they hardly ate meat from any other animal. The vast majority (75.98%) of almost 10,000 animal

50 Ibolya Gerelyes, 'Török viseletek Evlia Cselebi útleírásában', *Folia Historica* 6 (1978) 22.

51 I would like to thank Erika Gál for this observation.

52 Hancz, 'Nagy Szulejmán', 107, Fig. 21.

53 Márton Gyöngyössy, *Altın, akçe, mangir... Oszmán pénzek forgalma a kora újkori Magyarországon*. Budapest, 2004.

54 Klára Hegyi, 'A török hódoltság és pénzforgalma', *Numizmatikai Közlöny* 86–87 (1987–1988) 77–83; Géza Dávid and Ibolya Gerelyes, 'A hódoltság gazdasága és társadalma régész és történelem szemmel', *Keletkutatás* 1996. ősz–2002. tavasz, 88–90.

bones found in the excavation were from cattle, and the only other substantial proportion comprises domestic hen bones (9.46%). The area was well suited for flood plain pig farming, but pig bones make up only 3.49% of the total. This low number may be due to the Muslim religion of the garrison soldiery.⁵⁵ Meat was supplied from the cattle trade routes to Italy and Styria that passed through the region. The soldiers of the fort may have been involved in driving the cattle, but they could also have ordered assistance from the nearby villages. Beef came to the fort by purchase or as tax. An examination of the bones has established that the meat was butchered in the fort.

Cooking-related remains reflect the Balkan traditions of the Ottoman conquerors. There are many fragments of chaff-tempered, pebble-lined baking bells, demonstrating the widespread use within the fort of an archaic type of baking utensil that in some parts of the Balkans was still used in the twentieth century.⁵⁶ Like the copper vessels, ceramic pots must have been brought in to the fort, because we found no traces of a pottery workshop. The great majority of household pottery comprises hand-thrown Balkan-type pots and jugs of various sizes and types, made in the region. Notable are the “Bosnian jugs”, highly ornamented with a cog-wheel potter’s tool (see Figure 5). The small number of these (only ca. thirty among nearly 18,000 pottery fragments) suggests a special and as-yet unknown function. Glazed footed bowls traceable to Byzantine roots, the form of tableware most typical of the conquerors, were used mainly to serve soup-like food. The footed cups may, in the seventeenth century, have been used for drinking coffee.⁵⁷ Probate inventory entries show

55 Erika Gál and László Bartosiewicz, ‘Animal Remains from the Ottoman-Turkish Palisaded Fort at Barcs, Southwest Hungary’, in Kovács and Zatykó (eds.), “*Per sylvam*”, 181–252, particularly 183, 200–201.

56 Béla Römer, ‘A sütőharang a történelem előtti időktől napjainkig’, *Ethnographia* 77 (1966) 390–422; Cvetko Č. Popović, ‘Lončarstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini I’, *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Sarajevu. Nova serija* 11 (1956) 99; Persida Tomić, ‘Crepulje i vršnici u Severoistočnoj Srbiji’, *Glasnik Etnografskog Muzeja u Beogradu* 33 (1970) 43–54.

57 On Ottoman ceramics in Hungary in general: Gyöngyi Kovács, ‘Turkish, Balkan and Far Eastern Ceramics in Ottoman Hungary’, in Baha Tanman, V. Belgin Demirsal Arlı, Hatice Adigüzel and Tufa Sağnak (eds.), *Exhibition on Ottoman Art. 16–17th Century Ottoman Art and Architecture in Hungary and in the Centre of the Empire*. İstanbul, 2010, 91–99; Géza Dávid and Ibolya Gerelyes, ‘History, Meet Archaeology. The Potter’s Craft in Ottoman Hungary’, in



FIGURE 5
FRAGMENTS OF A DECORATED, SO-CALLED "BOSNIAN JUG". BARCS, OTTOMAN FORT

that tableware – especially the copper ware – was not cheap, and that many vessels were in personal property. Among the expensive but commercially-available items, of which we found only a few fragments, were pieces of faience ware made in Iznik, Turkey, and Chinese porcelain cups.

Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *Bread from the Lion's Mouth. Artisans Struggling for a Livelihood in Ottoman Cities*. New York and Oxford, 2015, 70–87.

AGRICULTURE AND TRADE

In peacetime, the soldiers engaged in agriculture, and there are abundant and detailed written sources concerning the farms they tended. Archaeological finds only confirm this fact. In Barcs, for example, although we have no written records of farming by the garrison soldiery, agricultural implements – scythes, sickles, a hay hook and, from the bottom of a sixteenth-century pit, a ploughshare and coulter (? – have been uncovered from precisely datable strata. We also have finds relating to animal husbandry, such as curry combs, goads, horseshoes, etc., but these allow various interpretations, considering the presence of cavalry soldiers in the garrison and the possibility that cattle were driven into the fort for slaughtering.

Our knowledge of crops grown in the region comes partly from contemporary tax surveys. The 1579 land/tax register of the *sancak* of Szigetvár states that the civilian population of Barcs paid tax on wheat, rye, cabbages, onions, garlic, lentils and peas,⁵⁸ and that such produce clearly must have been delivered to the fort. The grain was milled within the fort on millstones of the late medieval type, about 50 cm in diameter,⁵⁹ and the chaff-tempered plaster on walls and in stoves preserve a good number of grains suitable for archaeobotanical analysis. These may be wheat and rye, in accord with the data of the surveys.

Customs register entries show that thousands of iron objects came into Ottoman Hungary from Styria.⁶⁰ Iron knives from Steyr had been particularly popular since the late medieval period⁶¹ and have been found at many archaeological sites in Hungary. They also appear in Barcs, where their owners may have bought them for one or two *akçes* at markets in neighbouring towns.

58 Lajos Rúzsás, 'Barcs a feudalizmus korában', in Ottó Bihari (ed.), *Barcs múltja és jelene*. Barcs, 1979, 9–10.

59 Katalin T. Biró, 'Lithic Artifacts from the Ottoman-period Site at Barcs Castle (Somogy County, Hungary)', in Kovács and Zatykó (eds.), "Per sylvam", 145, Figure 4.1.

60 Vera Zimányi, *Magyarország az európai gazdaságban 1600–1650*. (Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből, 80.) Budapest, 1976, 154. The thousands of knives that were registered for customs duty in Ottoman Buda may also have included items from Steyr and Nuremberg.

61 Imre Holl, 'A középkori késes mesterség', *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 121–122 (1994–1995) 159–188.



FIGURE 6
BAGSEAL. BARCS, OTTOMAN FORT

One lead seal is particularly interesting (see Figure 6), because it is not the usual kind of textile seal but a more modern bagseal. The letter A may be a master's mark. Such pieces usually date from the eighteenth century or later, although there are similar lead customs seals from the seventeenth century in the Netherlands.⁶² How this item came to be among the seventeenth-century finds in the fort is a question demanding further enquiry.

The finds from the Ottoman fort in Barcs are relatively modest, but clearly represent the characteristically diverse material culture of the soldiery of the conquering Ottoman

forces in the frontier lands of the Ottoman Empire. Although their presence had a fundamentally military purpose, these men, in peacetime, also engaged in peasant and craft occupations. The picture that emerges from the finds confirms the data in written sources, particularly the pay registers, and reveal the Balkan origins and affinities of the garrison soldiery. Some of the finds, however, indicate relations with nearby towns and villages that involve a continuation of late medieval traditions. They also include Austrian, Styrian and Balkan commercial wares and more refined items of Ottoman culture, either purchased or brought in as part of supplies or as personal possessions.

In any period, the nature of the site and the area of supply leave their mark on the composition and character of objects. At Turbék, for example, no sign has yet been found of ceramics of the Hungarian tradition, while Ottoman palisade forts in the Danube region (for example Ozora, Báticasék and Újpalánk) are full of the products of Hungarian towns. The finds in Barcs, as is typical of the Dráva country, display a dominance of Balkan elements.

62 I would like to thank Maxim Mordovin for this identification.



This book is dedicated to Prof. Géza Dávid, the renowned Hungarian Ottomanist on his seventieth birthday. His books, papers and text publications are of first-magnitude significance for the understanding of the administrative system, demographics and economic history of the Ottoman Empire and, specifically, Ottoman Hungary. His friends and colleagues from Hungary and abroad gathered to present him with a *Festschrift*. It is intended as more than an expression of respect – an encouragement for work that remains to be done in the coming years for the benefit of all of us.

