

Regional Differences in the Ottoman-Controlled Middle Danube Area in the Sixteenth Century: New Research Possibilities

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ABSTRACT | This article approaches the possibilities of researching regional demographic and economic differences in the Ottoman-controlled areas of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom proper in two very different settings. First, it provides research options on sixteenth-century dually ruled Hungary in the southeastern area between the Drava and the Danube. This region was the Habsburg-Ottoman border zone in this period. The second section of the article focuses on case studies of the subprovinces of Požega and Szeged and the possibilities of their comparison. Both of these sanjaks were positioned in the interior of Ottoman territory and shared similarities, but they were also very different in certain aspects, particularly the presence of Muslims. The data for this article is provided by several Hungarian and, to a more considerable extent, Ottoman surveys, which are to a large degree digitized. The authors use the data on settlements, population, landholding, and state income from taxes preserved in these sources to provide various indicators that can outline the possibilities for further research.

KEYWORDS | condominium, Muslims, Ottoman Hungary, tax registers, territorial differences

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, parts of the Kingdom of Hungary that were partially or entirely under Ottoman control underwent an intense and complex transformation compared to the previous centuries.

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Warfare, which mobilized tens of thousands of soldiers on both the Christian and Ottoman sides, caused enormous devastation. Daily raids, seizures, enslavement, pillaging, organized or spontaneous exchanges of population, and the reuse of the landscape for defensive purposes significantly altered the economic and demographic conditions of various regions. The Hungarian Chamber of the Kingdom of Hungary, seated in Pozsony (Bratislava), had its tax collectors roaming the territory, just as the agents of the Ottoman Empire's *defterdar* (accountant general) office in Buda did.¹ However, due to the constantly changing military situation, even the peace treaties did not declare a fixed borderline between the two opposing powers.² Therefore, unlike most other border regions of the Ottoman Empire in this period, the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier region in Hungary was legally and economically a *condominium*, that is, a strip of territory under dual rule of constantly changing magnitude.³ Contemporary sources on the condominium are available from both sides. This offers a unique opportunity to better understand the Hungarian territories under Ottoman rule or influence. Therefore, we will first examine the indicators available for the condominium area, through which we can capture regional differences in development and track their temporal changes. In this part of the article, the combination of data on the number of settlements, households, taxes, and taxpayers is used to get a picture of the social and economic situation in the analyzed area. The data—collected over ten years, digitized, and organized into a vast database in the National Archives of Hungary⁴—enables researchers to carry out a regional comparison both on the level of settlements and other administrative units (*sanjaks*, *nahiyes*). The construction of the database, which currently contains more than 28,600 searchable records of estates, localities, and personal names, has made it possible to examine the social and economic conditions of the Ottoman sanjaks established on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom in a spatially and temporally differentiated way. Thus in the second part of the study we will discuss and compare two Ottoman interior subprovinces (sanjaks) with different characteristics, the Sanjaks of Požega and Szeged, mainly based on the data from Ottoman surveys. This section also presents possibilities for research on the social and economic transformation in the sixteenth century. The presence of various confessional and ethnic groups, with the emphasis on the Muslim population, in these two sanjaks will be given particular attention. In addition to sampling internal regional differences in the Habsburg-Ottoman border

zone and the Ottoman interior, this article provides a data sondage enabling the comparison of these two more expansive areas.

The Possibilities of Studying Territorial Inequalities in the Habsburg-Ottoman Border Region

Difficulties in Setting Up Indicators: Territorial and Time Constraints in Southern Transdanubia

In the following, we present the specific methodology used in this study and the general historical conclusions that can be drawn from the statistical analysis of the Ottoman registers on the example of the border area, the southwestern part of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁵ Under the Hungarian administration, this area included the counties of Tolna, Baranya, Somogy, and Zala. In September 1541, the Ottoman administration established the Sanjak of Mohács in the same area, wedged between the Dráva River and Lake Balaton, which existed until the conquest of Szigetvár (1566). After 1566, the Sanjak of Pécs and the Sanjak of Szigetvár continued to operate in the area until 1686 (figs. 1 and 2).

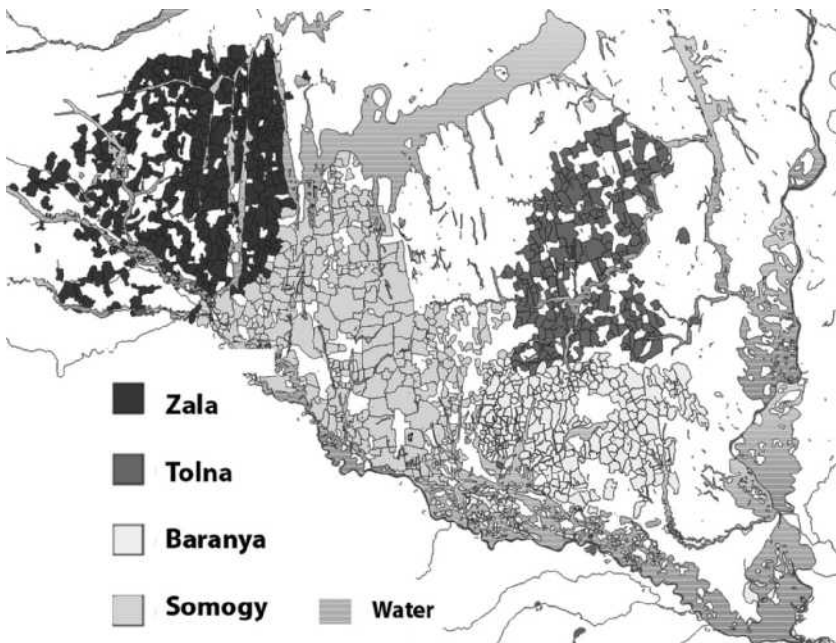


FIGURE 1 The area of Southern Transdanubia under Hungarian administration (1546).
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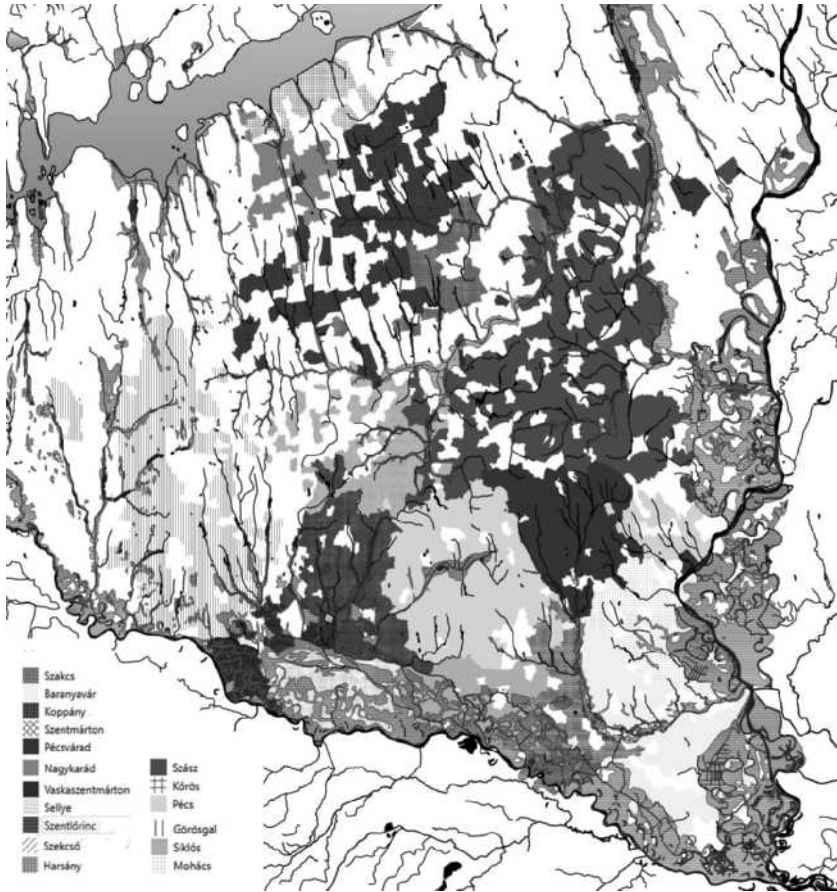


FIGURE 2 The area of Southern Transdanubia under Ottoman administration (1546).
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The administrative pattern of the dually ruled region changed continuously during the period under review. Hungarian taxation in Baranya and Tolna had retreated by the mid-1560s, and the two counties gradually lost their autonomy and came under Ottoman rule. Somogy, to the west of them, had to be merged with Zala in 1596 because its administration could no longer function satisfactorily. At the same time, the Sanjak of Mohács was enlarged by new conquests. New sanjaks (Koppány, Görösgal, Szekcsői, Pécs, and Szigetvár) were detached from its territory, either permanently or temporarily, for strategic and geographical reasons. By 1579, the Ottoman administration in South Transdanubia had already penetrated to the westernmost parts, that is, Zala County.

However, the diagrams showing the conquest of Somogy County, which was caught between the two powers, reveal that the region's size under dual rule was constantly changing, depending on the current military situation (diagrams 1–3).

DIAGRAM 1 © Éva Sz. Simon.

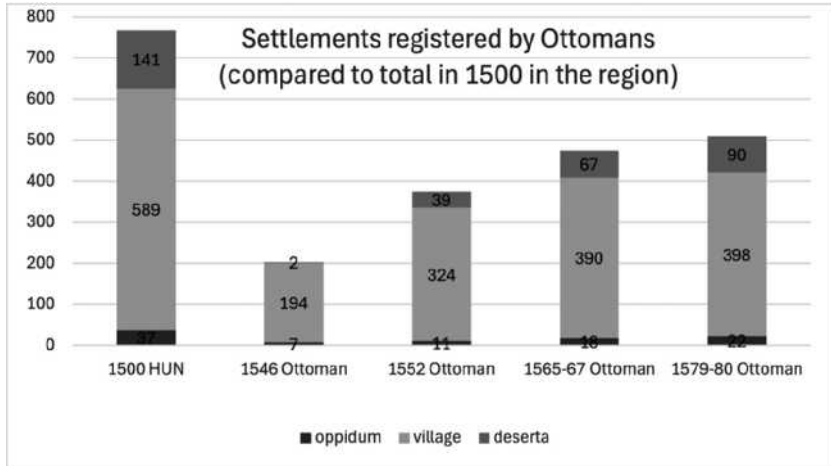


DIAGRAM 2 © Éva Sz. Simon.

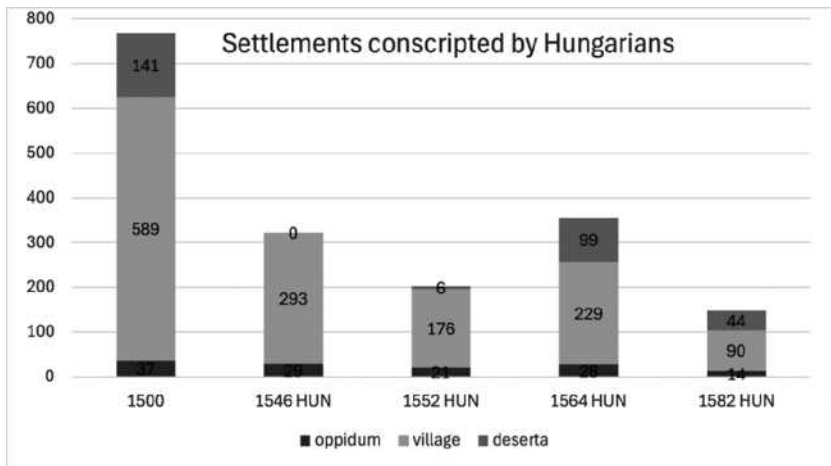
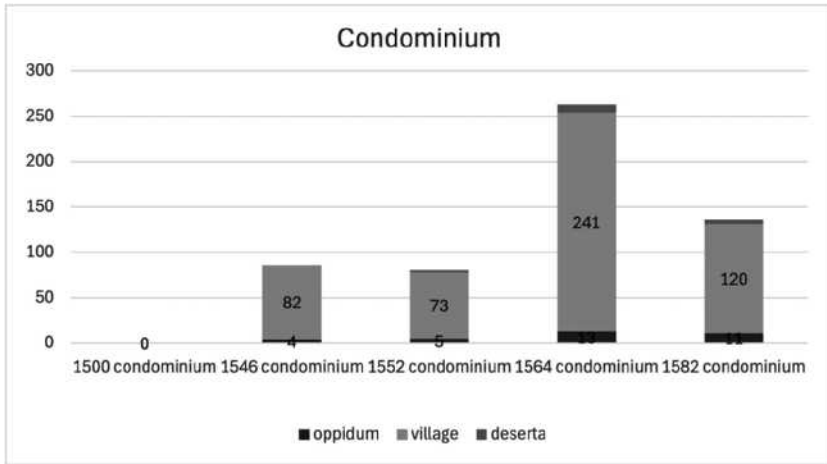


DIAGRAM 3 © Éva Sz. Simon.



The Hungarian and Ottoman administrations conducted their surveys at different time intervals. The Hungarian censuses (*dicalis conscriptiones*) were ordered by the diet, which met every year, and were carried out with varying frequency until the end of the seventeenth century. The Ottoman detailed surveys (*mufassal tahrir defterleri*) were made when needed (i.e., preceding peace negotiations)⁶ and only in the sixteenth century. They were organized in around 1546, 1552, 1565, 1570, 1579, and 1590 in the area under study.

Each of the two powers defined the tax base in varying degrees of detail and used different measurement units. On the Hungarian side, we can generally only find the number of units of state tax (*porta* or house/*fumus*). Ottoman surveys also include the names of the population liable to pay state and landlord taxes. The juxtaposition of the two types of registers shows that neither is suitable for shedding clear light on socioeconomic conditions. Despite the existence of parallel Hungarian and Ottoman financial and military surveys, numerous constraints of research have to be mentioned. The tax records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries neither cover the former territory of the country, nor all of the strata of its society, nor the entire period of Ottoman rule.

Indicators That Can Be Extracted En Masse from Sources

CHANGES IN SETTLEMENT DENSITY, 1500–1696 At the end of the Middle Ages, there were about 15,000 settlements in the Carpathian Basin, the location of which is known with approximate accuracy.⁷ The settlements' names

from the Ottoman censuses of 1579, which preceded the Fifteen Years' War at the end of the century, and the last Hungarian *dical* censuses of the late seventeenth century were overlaid on the late medieval map in figure 3.⁸ The illustration shows that the settlement network of the area did not change significantly until the end of the sixteenth century. The same is confirmed by the analysis for each county (diagram 4).

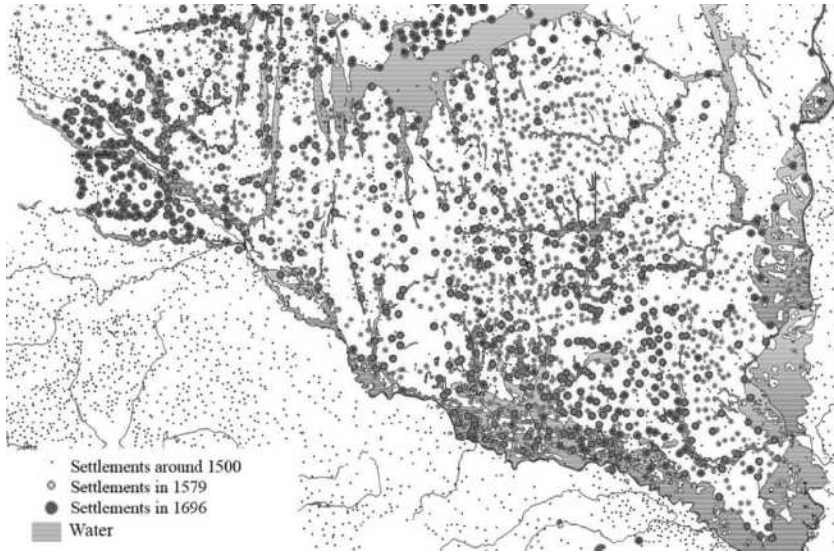
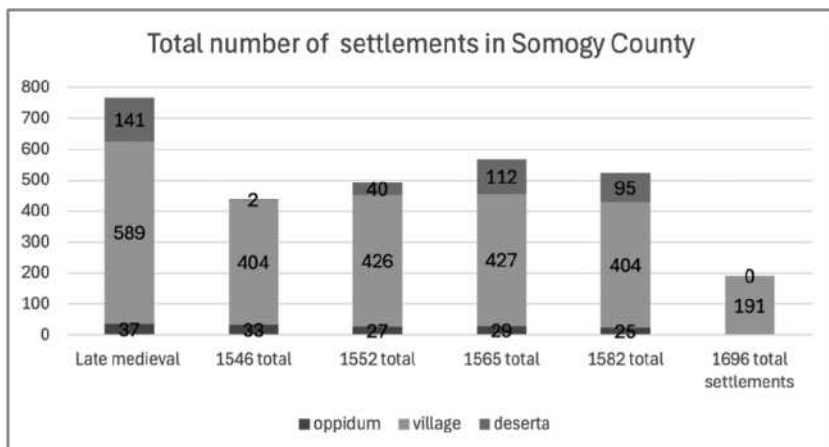


FIGURE 3 Settlement density in 1500, 1579, and 1696. © Éva Sz. Simon.

DIAGRAM 4 © Éva Sz. Simon.



The most densely settled areas were located in the southwestern part of Baranya County, on the wet plains along the Dráva.⁹ This area stretched from Szigetvár, one of the central castles of the region, eastward to the foothills of the Mecsek range. To the west of this, the area of Inner Somogy, which had a rare density of settlements in the Middle Ages, was overrun by the Tatar army in the campaign of 1543. As a result, the Rinya Creek valley became even more sparsely populated. A more significant decline in the settlement network in the fifteenth century can be observed in the *nahiyes* of Harsány and Siklós, near the Karasica Creek. In this area, the Sanjak of Mohács (1541) was created from the estates of the Hungarian landlord Péter Perényi. It was, therefore, the earliest area in the region to be affected by the Ottomans. As a result of the devastation caused by the wars of reconquest in the 1660s–80s, nearly half of the settlements in the South Transdanubian region became untaxable. The fewest persistent settlements can be seen along the Danube (this area was used as a war route) and in the lower part of the River Kapos. The latter area was already the territory of the immigrating Vlachs in the second half of the sixteenth century. In general, places that had become untaxable by 1546 were still not taxable even at the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁰ In contrast to the regions heavily ravaged by the armies, Prekmurje (Muraköz), which enjoyed the natural protection of the Rivers Mura and Dráva, remained almost untouched (fig. 3).

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SHARE OF PERSONS LIABLE TO STATE TAX (*DICA/CIZYE*) AND POPULATION DENSITY The parallel Ottoman and Hungarian administrations allow researchers to compare the taxpaying populations almost simultaneously. The comparative study's results highlight mainly the differences in the tax bases of the censuses (*porta/hane*). On the other hand, the number of taxpayers shows the territorial specificities of the Hungarian tax system still in operation and the new Ottoman system being established.

The serfs paid the Hungarian state tax (*dica*). Nobles, settlers, and serfs exempted by natural or military disasters did not have to pay taxes. The map figure 4 demonstrates that in 1543 there were many settlements in South Transdanubia whose population was exempt from Hungarian taxation. Examples include the above-mentioned region along the Dráva with the densest settlement network, and the territory of Zala County. No taxable *portas* were recorded in these areas because the villages were inhabited by impoverished or petty nobility who had no serfs, and therefore no taxable *portas*.

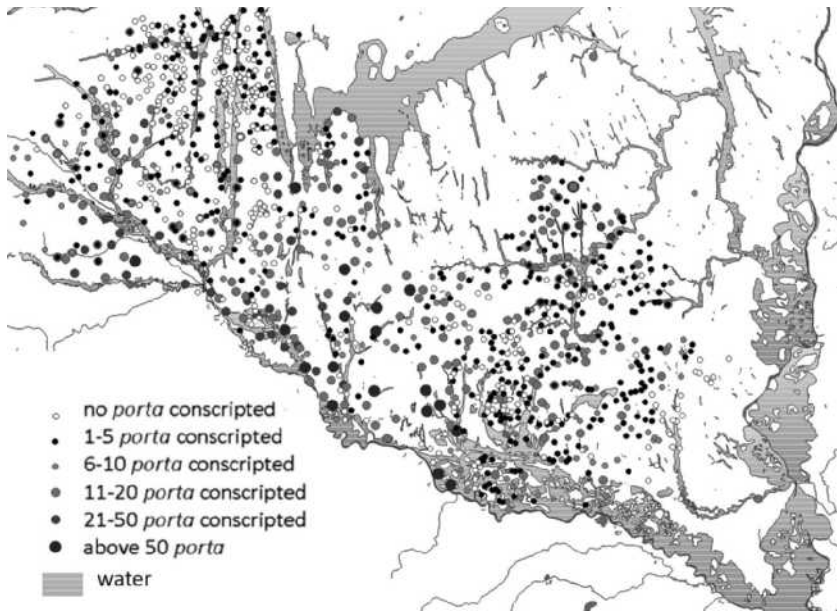


FIGURE 4 Porta numbers in 1543. © Éva Sz. Simon.

Figure 5, which shows the ratio of the number of portas to the number of settlements, illustrates that Somogy County was a stable taxpayer. In contrast, in Zala County to the west of it, the high number of non-taxpaying petty nobility makes the ratio look much worse than the area's real economic situation. On the other hand, the reduced figures for the eastern border (the *nahiyes* of Harsány and Siklós) already show the impact of Ottoman penetration (i.e., devastation) (fig. 6).

Three years later, the Ottoman survey (fig. 7) shows a very different picture of the region compared to the Hungarian tax register. The Ottomans levied a state tax (*cizye*/poll tax) on every household owning 300 *akçe* (the Ottoman monetary unit) of movable property. There are also nontaxing villages here, but they are fewer in number and scattered. The Ottoman registers also include the impoverished or petty nobility who were not taxpayers in the Hungarian tax registers, usually with one to ten *cizye*-paying *hanes* (households). This clearly shows the difference between the two tax bases. The Ottomans registered the poor nobility and

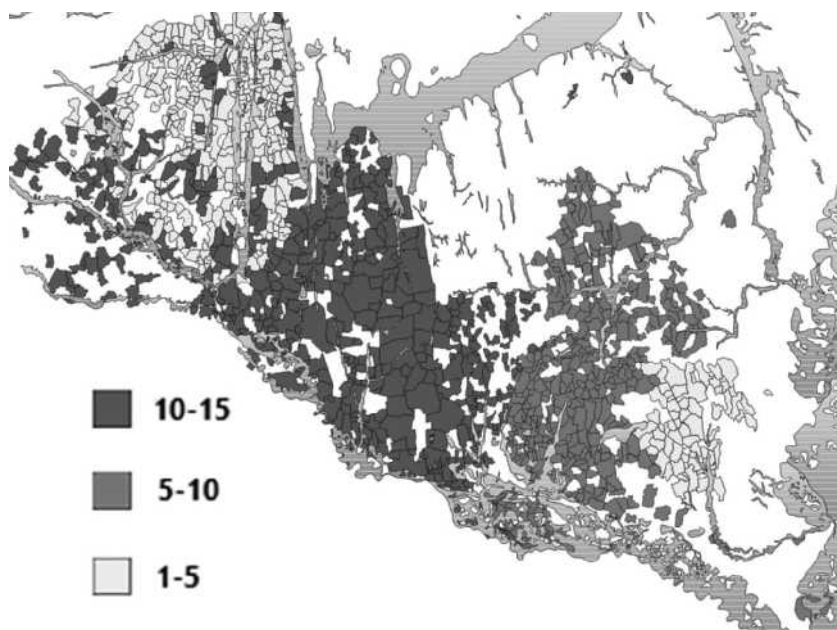


FIGURE 5 Proportion of portas paying Hungarian state tax to the number of settlements in South Transdanubia by districts in 1543. © Éva Sz. Simon.

even taxed them. Their names (but without indicating their nobility) are also listed in the defters.

At the same time, the maps figures 6 and 7 demonstrate the survival of the high economic potential of the Danube valley customs posts (as shown by the predominance of settlements with 20–50 hane and more). In the center of the sanjak, in the region of Pécs and Siklós, the dominance of settlements with 6–20 hane can be observed. The peripheral areas and the route of raids in the Kapos River valley are also marked by a line of settlements with low hane values (1–5 hane per settlement—fig. 7), which is a sign of economic decline.

By the 1570s, the rules for imposing state taxes had changed.¹¹ Nevertheless, there was no significant territorial restructuring in the proportion of cizye taxpayers, only a general increase in numbers in the 1550s. The register of 1579 shows a clear distinction between the central part of the region and the periphery (table 1).

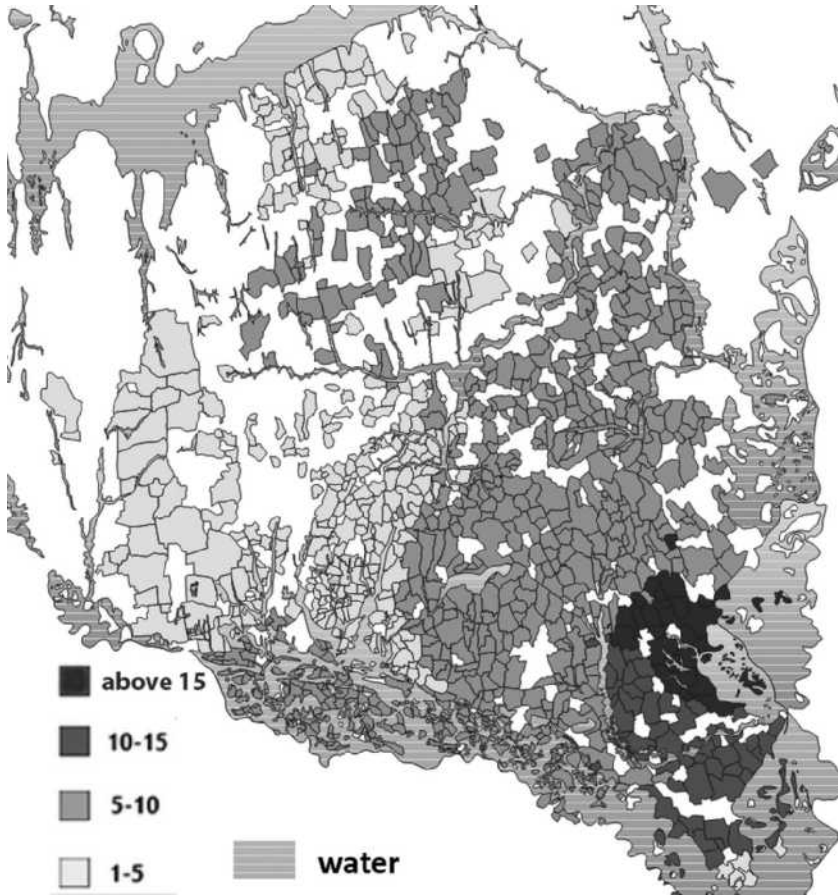


FIGURE 6 Proportion of households taxed by the Ottomans in Southern Transdanubia by nahiyes in 1546. © Éva Sz. Simon.

CHANGES IN THE AVERAGE POPULATION OF SETTLEMENTS IN 1546 AND 1579 As we can see, there is a lot of uncertainty about the number of taxpayers, influencing the conclusions that can be drawn from the changes over time. Conclusions (and numbers) are influenced by the source value of the defters, the diligence and capabilities of the census takers, and changes in the method of censuses. In general, defters that even list several unmarried family members by name are considered to be the most reliable. As early as the 1980s, Heath W. Lowry noted that the first *tahrirs* (detailed surveys) in non-Muslim areas immediately after the conquest were the most suitable for analysis because they were the most accurate.¹² The map

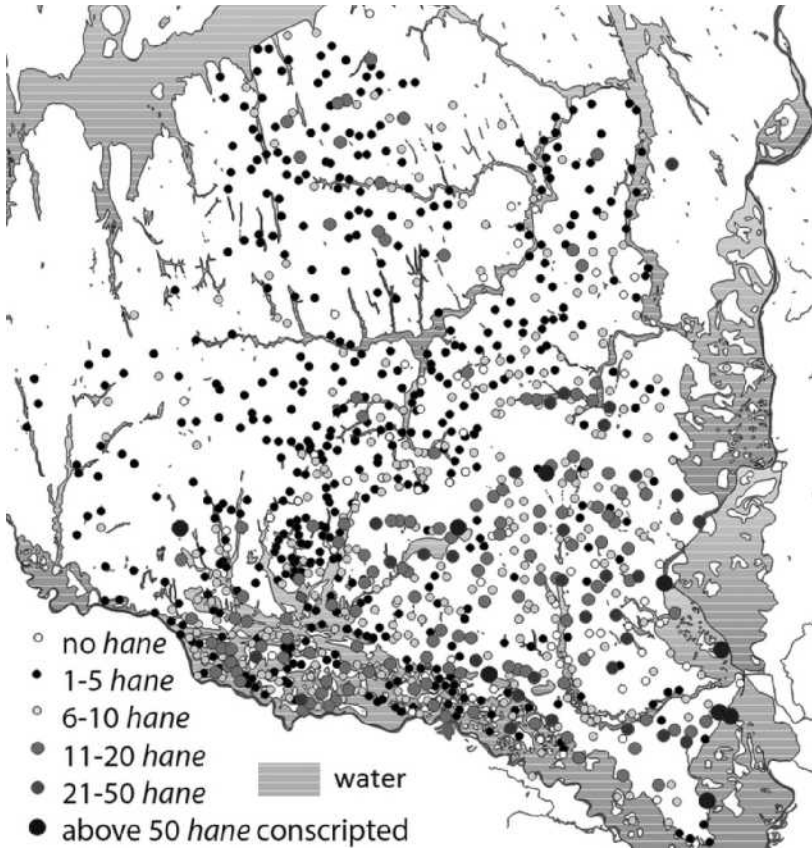


FIGURE 7 Number of *hane* in 1546. © Éva Sz. Simon.

TABLE 1 Changes in the number of Ottoman state tax payers and inhabited settlements in South Transdanubia (the Sanjak of Mohács and its successors, the Sanjak of Koppány, Pécs, Szigetvár, and Szekcső)

<i>Sanjak of</i>	<i>Mohács</i>	<i>Mohács</i>	<i>Szigetvár</i>	<i>Pécs</i>	<i>Koppány</i>	<i>Szekcső</i>	<i>All</i>
	1546	1568	1579	1579	1579	1579	1579
Settlements	988	1,033	928	499	343	118	1,888
Hane	7,941	n.d.	5,504	6,722	2,257	2,825	17,308
Hane/settlement	8	n.d.	6	13,5	6,5	24	9

figure 8 shows that in the southeastern corner of Baranya County, where the highest hane-numbers were recorded, almost no unmarried men were registered.

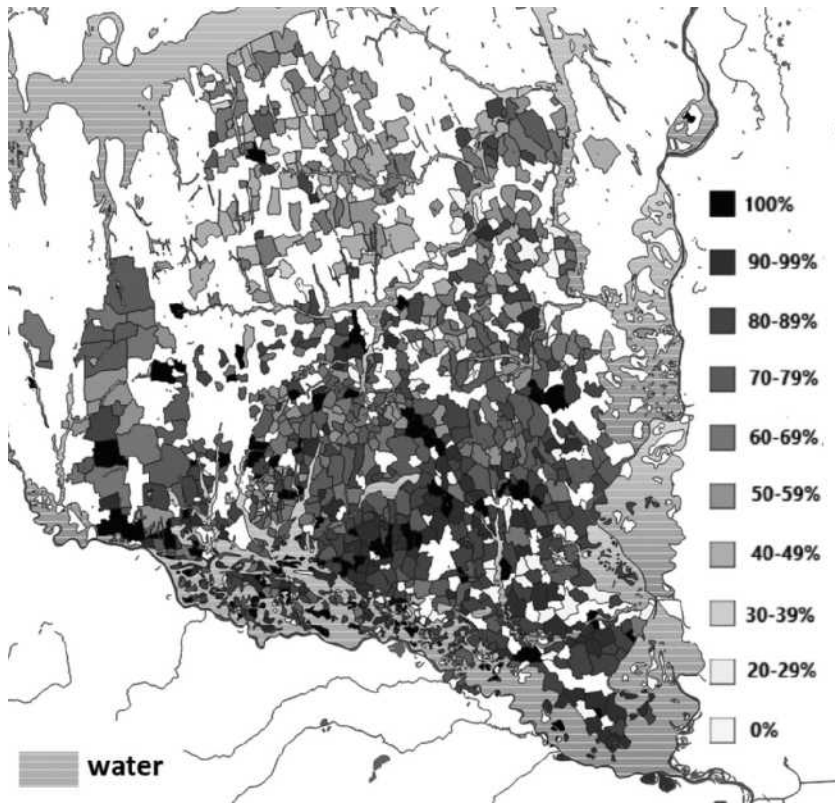


FIGURE 8 Proportion of heads of household measured to the total number of persons in the survey. © Éva Sz. Simon.

In the 13,000 km² area surveyed in 1546, 18,770 tithe-paying (*müzevvec*) heads of family were recorded in 988 settlements (19 per settlement), which gives a population density of 1.5 taxpayers per square kilometer (7.5 if multiplied by 5 family members per taxpayer). In addition, 7,166 unmarried relatives (*mücerred*; an average of 6 unmarried men per settlement) were registered. Patterns on the map figure 8 show that the census was not carried out with the same care everywhere. As in other areas, most of the settlements in South Transdanubia—more than 50 percent in 1546—were in the 6–25 taxpayer category.¹³ Most male inhabitants (married plus unmarried) were also registered in this category.

Regarding spatial distribution, these sites were located on the northern and southern slopes of the Mecsek, in the Zselic region, and in the Tolna hills. The central area around Pécs (the Plain of Pécs) had a population larger

than the average (25–50 inhabitants). The villages with impoverished nobles in the southern part of Baranya County, which paid no Hungarian portal tax and only a tiny amount of *cizye*, and the area of Tolna County, which had already been left out of the Hungarian census, belonged to the same region, and their high population numbers highlight essential differences in taxation. In the lowland areas of the river valleys (Danube and Drava) the registered male population often exceeded half a hundred. The five towns in the area—Mohács, Danóc, Laskó, Pécs, and Kálmáncsehi—accounted for 8 percent of all heads of family (indicating the interrupted process of urbanization). The lowest average male population (per settlement) was recorded in the south-eastern periphery of Inner Somogy, which has a sparse settlement network. The distribution of clergy in the area shows the same spatial pattern (fig. 9). The number of priests, which varied in proportion to the sizes of populations surveyed, can thus also be considered as an indicator of the total population.

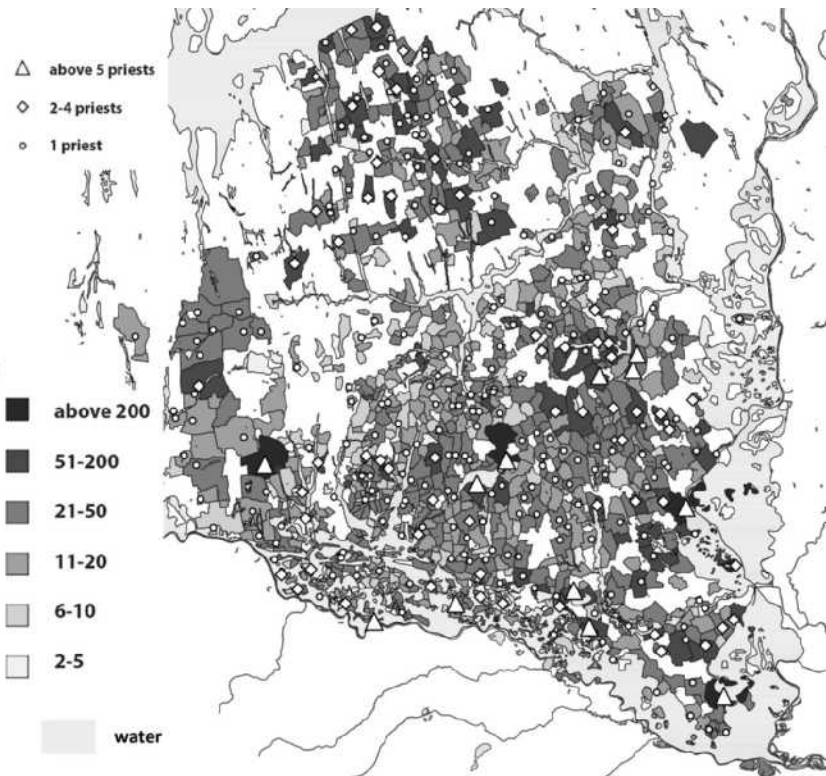


FIGURE 9 The population of the census in 1546, with the number of priests.
© Éva Sz. Simon.

There was a significant change in the total registered male population from 1546 to 1579. If we compare the 988 inhabited settlements recorded in 1546 with those recorded on both dates, we have a sample of 697 common settlements. In these localities, the number of persons enumerated is 19,736 in 1546 and 23,212 in 1579, an average increase of 15 percent.

PROPORTION OF CIZYE-PAYERS TO TITHE-PAYERS Until the 1570s, the *cizye* tax was paid only by the wealthier classes. Therefore, in 1546, the percentage of those liable for the *cizye* compared to the number of those liable for the tithe tax paid by all may be a suitable proxy when examining the social stratification of a settlement or region. As figure 10 shows, in the

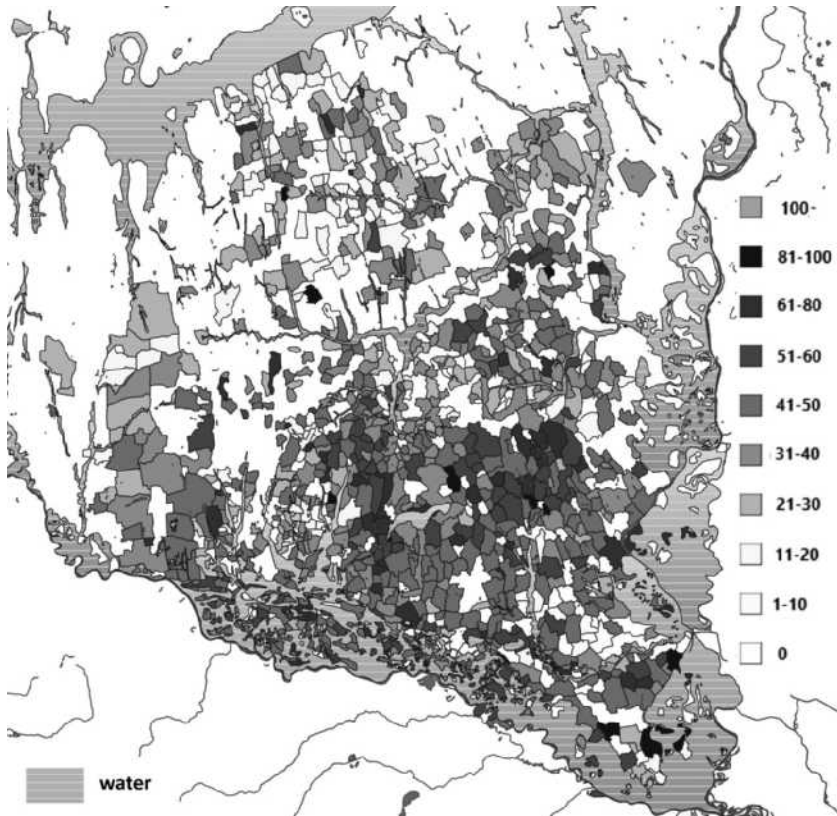


FIGURE 10 Social stratification: share of *cizye* payers in relation to the number of heads of household (per settlement). © Éva Sz. Simon.

densely populated Dráva-Danube triangle, there were several settlements where all registered persons belonged to the high-income category of *cizye* payers. However, this proportion was only around 20 percent in the peripheral areas and villages of the petty nobility.

PRODUCTIVITY INDICATORS The ratio of the expected income of each municipality to the number of inhabitants subject to the tithe can be used as a proxy to determine the income per capita (as the Ottoman tithe was also proportional, representing 10 or 12 percent of the produce) (fig. 11). Social stratification and productivity show a completely different pattern compared to the previous map (see fig. 10). The productivity proxy shows the highest correlation with the size of the population covered. The exception is the areas along the Danube, where the value of agricultural products per capita was low despite a sizeable Hungarian population. It is also striking that the highest income per capita was not recorded in

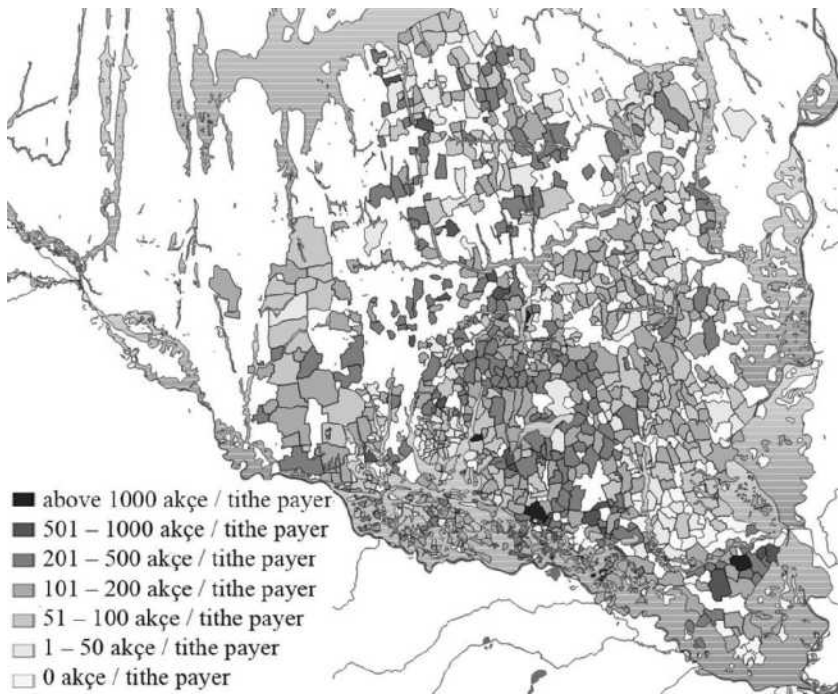


FIGURE 11 Productivity indicator: income divided by population paying tithe (1546).

© Éva Sz. Simon.

the region's cities. However, a ring of considerable economic strength is clearly visible around the cities as market centers. This ring was the widest around Pécs, but it also existed around the towns of Kálmáncsehi, Laskó, and Danóc. It is entirely absent at Mohács. The low quotient is characteristic of the entire Mohács plain, and the same can be observed in the villages of the poor nobility.

The above two indicators have never been used and analyzed for the Ottoman era; however, it is a generally accepted method in regional studies and geography to create proxy variables: for the 1330s tithe/area values have been used to approximate the intensity of agrarian output.

Inequalities in the Ottoman Interior Sanjaks: A Comparison of the Sanjaks of Požega and Szeged

The Sanjak of Požega

The territory of this sanjak came under Ottoman rule in different phases between 1526 and 1552. In the pre-Ottoman era, it mainly belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary proper, but the northern parts were in the late medieval Kingdom of Slavonia. The full extent of the territory of the Sanjak of Požega (Hungarian Pozsega) encompassed most of what is today considered to be the region of Slavonia in the Republic of Croatia (fig. 12). The Sanjak of Požega was founded around 1540. Its territory initially included only the *kazas* (jurisdictions of a *kadi*, an Ottoman judge) of Požega, Brod, and Gorjani; but as Ottoman rule spread, the Kaza of Orahovica (before 1545; after 1565, divided into Kazas of Orahovica and Virovitica) appeared. In the early 1550s, the Kaza of Osijek, previously within the Sanjak of Syrmia, became part of the Sanjak of Požega. Four complete *mufassal* defters (detailed registers) of the Sanjak of Požega survive: from 1540 (when it was not yet officially a sanjak), 1545 (the Kaza of Osijek was conscripted almost simultaneously in 1546 as part of the Sanjak of Syrmia), 1561–65, and 1579. In the 1540s, the Kazas of Požega and, especially, Orahovica could be considered a frontier area (*serhad*). Later, in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century, only the northwestern corner of the sanjak (the Kaza of Virovitica and the western part of Orahovica) could be described as such. The sanjak existed until the final reconquest by Habsburg forces in the 1690s.¹⁴



FIGURE 12 The Sanjak of Požega around 1579. © Dino Mujadžević.

GENERAL REMARKS ON POPULATION The pre-Ottoman population of the area was mostly Slavic-speaking Catholic. Before the Ottoman conquest, the Hungarian speakers were dominant in the eastern part of this territory, around Osijek (Hungarian Eszék) and the River Danube. The Ottoman incursions and conquest led to the sharp decline of the indigenous population. Still, the area was primarily repopulated by the immigration of Slavic-speaking Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim populations from Syrmia and the areas south of the River Sava. The bulk of the new population arrived in the 1540s–60s. The population of the sanjak increased drastically between 1540 and 1579 (table 2). In that period, the population rose from around 2,500 in 1540 to a maximum of 12,000 hane in 1565. The number of settlements (i.e., villages, markets, and towns) also increased. However, the enlargement of the sanjak itself should also be taken into consideration as the source of population increase. While the highest number of settlements was reached in 1579, the highest number of hanes per settlement

was recorded in the mufassal census in 1565. Between the 1560s and the 1600s the sanjak lost population, mainly because of the emigration of predominantly Orthodox Christians to the Habsburg territory and other sanjaks. This was caused by changes in the taxation policy in the Sanjak of Požega, which introduced more burdens on the taxpayers. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the influx of a predominantly Catholic population from south of the River Sava probably increased the overall number of inhabitants again. At least during the sixteenth century, the indigenous population (Slavic- and Hungarian-speaking) remained the largest group. Generally, in Ottoman times, this area became even more Slavic-speaking than in the pre-1526 era, while the presence of the Hungarian-speaking population decreased.¹⁵

CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS The Christian population was numerically dominant in the sanjak throughout Ottoman rule. Its portion was around three fourths in the 1560s but decreased in later decades. On the level of kazas, all of them, except for the Požega one, continued to have a Christian majority. Among Christians, the majority was Catholic, with significant Orthodox (especially in Orahovica, Virovitica, and Osijek Kazas) and Protestant (Osijek Kaza) presence. The Orthodox population consisted almost wholly of immigrants from the Sanjaks of Syrmia, Semendire, Zvornik, and Bosnia, many with Vlach background, and their descendants. The Protestant community was, by and large, indigenous. While Catholics were originally a domicile population, the original populace was increasingly supplemented by Catholic newcomers from the *eyalet* (province) of Bosnia. From the second part of the sixteenth century onward, Christians became a minority in towns and markets, especially in the largest ones, Požega and Osijek.

Initially, the Muslim population of the Sanjak of Požega was relatively small and confined to fortified towns and stand-alone forts, as in other parts of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. The mufassal defters of the 1540s do not register Muslim population, except for the holders of land parcels. Therefore, the recorded numbers of Muslims and the overall population, including Muslims, as marked in tables 2 and 3, are unreliable in this period. The number of Muslims was almost certainly at least twice as high as those recorded in the 1540s surveys. Based on the number of personnel manning fortified military outposts (Požega, Kamengrad, Kaptol,

TABLE 2 Population (in hanes) and settlements in the Sanjak of Požega 1540–79; unreliable figures are marked with *

<i>Year of the census</i>	1540	1545	1565	1579
Settlements	297	474	658	724
Hane	2,380*	5,325*	12,207	11,814
Hane/settlement	8*	11*	18–19	16

Source: T.T.d 203–4, 243, 351, 672

TABLE 3 Muslim and Christian households in the Sanjak of Požega and the Kaza of Požega 1540–79; unreliable figures are marked with *

<i>Year of the census</i>	<i>Sanjak of Požega</i>		<i>Kaza of Požega</i>	
	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Christians</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Christians</i>
1540	117*	2,263	79*	539
1545	396	4,930	237	901
1565	3,105	9,102	1,529	1,156
1579	3,502	8,312	1,530	910

Source: T.T.d. 203–4, 243, 351, 672

Brod, Đakovo, Našice, Osijek, Erdut, Gorjani, Valpovo, Poljana, Orahovica, Voćin) and their potential strength, one can only estimate that in 1545 slightly more than one-tenth of the general population was Muslim, which was a very significant portion in this context. Such a high share of Muslims just a couple of years after the Ottoman conquest says a lot about the demographic regression of the Christian population in the early days of the Ottoman presence. The most significant part of the male adult Muslim population in this period was soldiers of various origins.

The number and social structure of the Muslim population changed dramatically in the next several decades. These transformations resulted from the large immigration wave that brought new urban and rural settlers from Bosnia. The mufassal defters of 1565 and 1579 registered the Muslim population systematically, albeit the garrisons of some of the fortresses along the Drava River were not listed therein. By 1579, Muslims constituted a third of the overall population of the Sanjak of Požega. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Muslims were, as one would expect, still dominant in urban settings, where alongside the Muslim members of the military class lived

a comparatively large Muslim civilian population involved in trade, crafts, and/or agriculture. In the area around the Ottoman-Habsburg border in the Drava River valley, the expansion of the number of forts and their personnel took place, especially around Moslavina, Brezovica, and Virovitica, while in more remote parts of the sanjak, garrisons tended to be disbanded (Brod, Poljana, Gorjani, Erdut) with their units transferred elsewhere. Despite abundant Muslim immigration, it should be noted that a portion of the Muslim population in the Sanjak of Požega was of local origin. The Islamization of Christians was a more common phenomenon in the Sanjak of Požega than in other Ottoman territories north of the Rivers Drava and Danube. Nevertheless, the Islamization was limited and not comparable with the mass Islamization of local population in Bosnia.

In the Kaza of Požega, Muslims were the majority from at least the 1560s onward (table 3). Moreover, in this period, the Muslim rural population represented more than half of all Muslims in the aforementioned kaza. Such a high number of Muslims, in general and rural contexts, respectively, was not present anywhere else in the sanjak. Many exclusively or predominantly Muslim villages were founded or renewed mainly by Muslim rural immigrants from Bosnia. In the Kaza of Požega, by 1579 there were around 80 villages (*karye*) with a Muslim majority, although only 29 had 10 or more Muslim households. All these villages were concentrated in the Požega valley, surrounded by the mountains of Papuk, Psunj, and Krndija, and centered around the town of Požega. This points to the conclusion that these villages may have been founded there en masse on purpose, possibly for security reasons. There were also smaller concentrations of predominantly Muslim villages south of the town Osijek and around the town of Orahovica from the same period. These two additional areas of concentration for rural Muslims comprised only five villages each in 1579. In all other rural settings of the sanjak, Muslims were just a tiny minority, usually holders of estates and the odd villagers.¹⁶

ÇİFTLİKLER As all four mufassal defters for the Sanjak of Požega reveal, most of the population possessed small family farms (table 4). These land parcels were sometimes named *baştine* in sources, but their type was not named explicitly in other cases. *Çiftlikler*, estates of varying sizes with broader property rights than *baştine*s, appeared in significant numbers in the sanjak first in the 1545 census, and continued to rise in the following decades. The same was true for *mezraas* (deserted villages; hamlets), possessed by

TABLE 4 Çiftliks in the Sanjak of Požega 1545–79

	1545		1565		1579	
	Muslims	Christians	Muslims	Christians	Muslims	Christians
Çiftliks	173	6	241	12	362	25

Source: T.T.d. 203–4, 243, 351, 672

individuals and groups. Çiftliks were mainly held by members of higher echelons of the military and bureaucratic class and their descendants—that meant that they were very overwhelmingly in the hands of Muslims. From 1545, most çiftliks were concentrated in the Kaza of Požega (in 1579, more than half of them).

STATE INCOME According to all indicators, state income in the Sanjak of Požega exploded between 1540 and 1579 (table 5). This assessment is also valid if we consider the ever-larger territory of the sanjak. The general rise of the state income has to be attributed primarily to the steady repopulation of the area by settlers from the east and south but also to the increase of certain taxes (pig, sheep, and beehive taxes). The scope of the tithe also broadened. Initially, the amount of wheat that had to be given by a group of households was fixed, but later this tax became proportional to production. It also progressively included more agricultural products. In 1579, a new money tax in the Sanjak of Požega was added for Christian households (*resm-i kapu* [door tax]). State income increased significantly that year. As in Ottoman-controlled Hungary north of the Drava and Danube, in the Sanjak of Požega, a cash tax per household was paid by Christians (similarly to areas north of Drava and Danube, in place of the head/poll tax in other parts of the empire). In the Sanjak of Požega this tax was called *filori* (not to be confused with the Vlach *filori*, which also existed in this sanjak), while

TABLE 5 State income in the Sanjak of Požega 1540–79 (in akçe)

	1540	1545	1565	1579
Tax income (without filori)	181,318	820,125	2,284,423	3,873,118
Tax income per settlement	610	1,730	3,472	5,350
Tax income per hane	76	154	187	328

north of the Sava and Drava it was known as *cizye*. The *filori* is not computed in the table below due to unsystematic recording in available sources. The amount of this tax also grew, as per the *kanunnames* (law codes) of the Sanjak of Požega. The upward trajectory was, in addition to the rise of general income, also present when considering tax income per settlement and tax income per hane in the sanjak.¹⁷

The Sanjak of Szeged

The Sanjak of Szeged (Ottoman Segedin) seems to have been established shortly after the conquest of Buda, as its first governor is mentioned in February 1542, almost a year before the city of Szeged itself was occupied by the Turks (in early 1543). It covered the southern part of the Danube-Tisza interfluvium (fig. 13), where eight subdistricts (*nahiyes*) existed since 1570 (Szeged, Szabadka, Titel, Bács or Bácska, Zombor, Baja, Kalocsa, and Solt); and a further one, the *nahiye* of Hódmezővásárhely, was located on the eastern bank of the Tisza. The territory of the sanjak is now partly in Hungary and partly in Serbia (the autonomous province Vojvodina/Vajdaság). Four complete *mufassal defters* of the sanjak survive: for 1546, 1560, 1570, and 1578.¹⁸ In 1591, during the last big survey of the *vilayet* of Buda, we are informed about the census of both Szeged and Požega; however, the *defters* were never finished or did not survive.¹⁹

GENERAL REMARKS ON POPULATION In 1522, a few years before the Battle of Mohács, the tithe-payers of the counties of Bács and Bodrog (corresponding to the *nahiyes* of Bács, Titel, Baja, and Zombor) were registered, showing that at that time the population was predominantly Hungarian.²⁰ The devastation of the Turkish conquest divided the area ethnically: The Hungarian population in the north remained (in Solt, Kalocsa, and Hódmezővásárhely, and partially in Szeged), while the entire population in the south was replaced by South Slavs (especially in Titel, Bács, Zombor, and Szabadka), who originated mainly from Sarmatia, North Serbia, and Bosnia (Sanjaks of Sirem, Semendire, and İzvornik). Only a few isolated Hungarian communities survived, mainly in river floodplains (like Szond, Küllöd, and Hercegszántó). The territory of the *nahiye* of Baja was largely uninhabited and deserted until 1560, when the first steps were taken to establish Turkish administration here and the area was resettled by Slavic *müsellems* (military peasants). Here too only sporadic Hungarian communities existed (Bátmonostor, Szeremle, Csanád), all near the Danube.²¹



FIGURE 13 The geographical extent of the Sanjak of Szeged. © István Pány.

The Orthodox population of Bácska (in the southern part of the sanjak) cannot be considered homogeneous. The former seat of the archbishop, the town of Bács, had become a Muslim *kasaba* (typical Ottoman town in the countryside), according to the defters. The traveler Evliya Çelebi reveals

its Slavic character: “they are all Bosniaks who speak the *potur* language.”²² About the inhabitants of Zombor he said, “they are not Hungarians but all *eflak* [Vlach] infidels.”²³ Contemporary Hungarian sources call the villages around the town Bács *oláh* (Vlach) villages, in Turkish *eflak köyler*. Many of the Orthodox population of Bácska were Vlachs of Balkan origin. They were Slavicized seminomadic Vlachs from northern Serbia and Bosnia, originally pastoralists and used by the Ottomans as a colonizing force. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the influx of Bunjevci (Hungarian *bunyevec*) from Dalmatia increased the Catholic population.

THE PRESENCE OF A RURAL MUSLIM POPULATION IN THE SANJAK OF SZEGED It is a well-known fact that in Ottoman Hungary Muslims lived almost exclusively in fortified places and larger towns because of the incessant counterattacks and raids by Christians, which penetrated deep into Turkish territory. Hungarian literature used to say that the Muslims were prisoners in their own fortifications. As a result, there is a complete absence of a rural Muslim population on the Hungarian–Ottoman frontier (*serhad*) and in the neighboring sanjaks. That is why the presence of rural Muslims in the Sanjak of Szeged is a critical aspect of the regional differentiation.

The geographical distribution of Muslim villages suggests a conscious strategy: one group is located north of Zombor; the other, opposite Pétervárad, in the area of present-day Novi Sad/Újvidék. In the northwest of Zombor, there is a vital crossing point on the Danube to Baranya County at Kiskőszeg (Batina). On both sides of this river crossing military peasants (*müsellem*, *martolos*, *eflak*) can be found in the villages. The Turkish authorities ensured the security of the countryside by deploying Christian military peasants against the raids by the Hungarian castles Szigetvár and Gyula. The first survey of the sanjak shows that there were no Muslims in this region; they appeared along with the stationing of *müsellems* and *martolos* in the villages around 1560. Probably the inhabitants of the populous Muslim town of Zombor moved here for farming. The fact that none of the villages had its own place of worship (there is no imam listed among the inhabitants) confirms our assumption. An interesting feature of these settlements is that they were all a mixture of Slavs and Muslims, although their composition varied from period to period (see table 7 for Gorna Varyaş, Karga Kori, Bortan, Ocak-i Tatar, Pařiş, and Kiş Varyaş).²⁴ Some Muslim

communities were not sustainable: by 1578 Gorna Varyaş and Kiş Varyaş were inhabited exclusively by Slavs. It seems that the Christians in the villages felt no urge to convert to Islam. Karga Korı (medieval Rég) proved to be the only true Muslim settlement, settled entirely by Muslims in 1570 and 1578. Karga Korı existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as Praedium Karakoria/Karankoria (exclusively with a Christian Slav population), and it was known in 1746 that its inhabitants served the Ottomans as *excubiae* (watchmen).²⁵

The second group of Muslim settlements was located in the area northwest of present-day Novi Sad/Újvidék, opposite the Ottoman stronghold of (Petro)Varadin/Pétervárad. At first glance, it is clear that their existence is associated with the populous Muslim city of Pétervárad. Saylova (medieval Szajol) was in the immediate vicinity of the crossing point on the Danube to Varadin. Here, already in 1522, some Slavic settlers, probably Syrmian

TABLE 6 Population (in hanes) and settlements in the Sanjak of Szeged 1546–78

	1546	1560	1570	1578
Settlements	259	620	779	737
Hane	3,635	8,387	11,003	10,776
Hane/settlement	14	13	14	14.5

Source: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Turcs Suppl. 76/a, T.T.d 332, 554, 572

TABLE 7 Muslim villages in the Sanjak of Szeged

Name of Village	1560 (hane)		1570 (hane)		1578 (hane)	
	Slavs	Muslims	Slavs	Muslims	Slavs	Muslims
Gorna Varyaş	14	2	46	9	27	–
Karga Korı	1	11	–	22	–	20
Bortan	13	5	9	7	5	6
Ocak-i Tatar	11	3	30	8	16	12
Pariş	9	6	36	12	8	15
Kiş Varyaş	11	–	9	19	3	–
Saylova	10	–	–	19	–	19
Dënöş Falu	–	63	–	81	–	92
Şimon D'ela	13	–	–	10	–	21
İrijaç	3	1	–	24	–	46

Source: T.T.d 332, 554, 572

Note: The table includes just regular Muslim taxpayers; additionally, some military peasants lived in the villages (müsellem, martolos).

refugees, appeared among the inhabitants of the Hungarian settlement block. The case of İrijaç (medieval Iregd) sheds light on the evolution of the rural Muslim settlements. A Muslim, Alagöz Eynehan, led the Christian Slav inhabitants in 1560; still he was called *primikür* (the usual term for a headman of Slavic villages). He is the first man listed for the exclusively Muslim village in 1570 (without giving him any title). Finally, in 1578, he was promoted to *kethüda* (the usual term for headman of Muslim settlements) and was responsible for a population that had doubled in size.

Dənöş Falu (medieval Dienes or Dénes Falva) is the area's most interesting and challenging village in several respects. It was the most significant rural settlement in 1578 of the nahiye of Baç, with a population of 92 hanes. Despite its Muslim population, it kept its original Hungarian name in the vernacular ö-dialect (Gyenös instead of Gyenes/Dénes), for some unknown reason. In 1560, it was headed by a *primikür*, Tur Ali, and a *kethüda*, Hamza Hüseyin, and it even had an imam. The presence of Muslim *primikürs* clearly confirms that the rural Muslim communities were established by the conversion of the original Slavic inhabitants and continued to be led by their former *primikürs*. Ten years later, a new *primikür*, Sefer Davud, was appointed to govern the purely Muslim village in addition to the *kethüda*. Finally, the census of 1578 gives the most complete picture of the development of the village. At that time, the three most important people in the village, and therefore the first to be mentioned in the register, were the staff of a mosque: Yahya al-hatip ve imam (he was at the same time the imam and the *hatip* [public preacher]); Mahmud el-mü'ezzin (one who calls Muslims to prayer); and İsa al-kayyim (mosque caretaker), followed by the *kethüda*.²⁶ The evidence of the presence of a village mosque is a unique phenomenon.²⁷ It served the neighboring villages of Şimon D'ela and especially İrijaç, where no religious personnel lived.

The medievalist András Kubinyi developed a system of criteria for classifying settlements with urban functions in the Kingdom of Hungary based on their ecclesiastical and economic importance. In his classification, Dienesfalva was placed in Group VI (average agricultural towns and villages with the character of rural towns).²⁸ This classification was not correct in the light of medieval data: Dienesfalva was just a below-average village; even its existence was known only from the name of local nobility.²⁹ Obviously, he was taking into account the Ottoman data of the sixteenth century, when Dienesfalva was the biggest and most important village of the former

Bács County. It seems that the Muslim village was a relevant marketplace of the area: in 1578 the defter reports that fairs were held every Friday, and on certain holidays (the fourth Sunday of Lent, the Ascension of Christ, the birthday of the Virgin Mary [September 8], and St. Demeter's Day [October 26]). It is clear that the medieval fairs survived here, except that in the Middle Ages they were held in the neighboring *oppidum* (provincial town) of Gyála,³⁰ which is identical to Ottoman Şimon D'ela. By the way, that significant oppidum was classified by Kubinyi in Group VII (insignificant rural towns and villages with a central function). The fact that settlements transformed into Muslim villages during the Ottoman era retained their former market function with fairs held on Christian holidays is absolutely unparalleled. Şimon D'ela was called Somolya in the eighteenth century.³¹ In 1770 it was described as "Somolya, where cattle fairs are held these days" (*Somolya, ubi nunc Nundinae Pecuariae celebrari solent*).³² This shows the continuity of a medieval marketplace despite the constant changes in population (with the influx of Hungarians, Balkan Slavs, Muslims, Serbians, and finally Germans in the 1770s).

ÇİFTLİKLERİN SANJAK OF SZEGED As expected, çiftlikler in the Sanjak of Szeged were a sporadic phenomenon, appearing only in some of the above-mentioned Muslim villages (Karga Kori and D'enöş Falu had several çiftlikler) and on the outskirts of large Muslim centers, such as Zombor and Bács. Most of them were held by soldiers of the local garrisons, but there are a number of peculiarities to be noted. In the village of Derzs near Bács, a Muslim monk, Riza dede, owned a church ruin called Szentház (Holy House) (*kilise-i Senthaz*), together with a meadow and fields, as a çiftlik in 1570. None of the handful of çiftlikler were held by Slavs; for this reason it is a special case that a Christian, Matyaş el-cüнди (*cüнди* means an upper-class *timariot*, or horseman), owned the deserted place Negyven in the nahiye of Kalocsa as a çiftlik. His background is revealed with the help of several defterler: His father was András Vransity, who served the Ottomans as a soldier in 1547, and Negyven was part of his military prebend.³³ In the Hungarian town of Kalocsa, he was registered in the first place in Kis ucca (Small Street) together with Mátyás and his brother Pál; they were illustrious citizens of the town. The fact that Negyven was passed on to his son shows the hereditary nature of the çiftlikler, which is an essential advantage over regular *timar* estates. Later, in 1578, Mátyás was the owner of another

kind of privileged property, a *baştine* in Berkefölde (also in the *nahiye* of Kalocsa). The *defter* records show that only a handful of people had disposition over *baştines* in the *sanjak*, mainly in the *nahiye* of Kalocsa—where without exception Hungarians, probably the former landlords, held them: For example, at Miske the *baştines* of Albert, Tomás, and Mihály Barátnak are registered. It is known that the medieval Barátnakház was in the proximity of the village Miske; thus we can conclude that the Barátnak family moved to the neighboring village, and the Ottoman administration permitted them to keep their former lands.³⁴ Similarly, in the villages of Szentbenedek and Terhely we find the *baştine-i papasan* (*baştine* of the priests), which means that the Hungarian clerics here were privileged to own their former estates. In the *nahiyes* with Slavic populations this kind of land tenure of the former landlords is completely unknown: *baştines* were given exclusively to the *primikürs* of the villages during the resettlement of the *nahiye* of Baja in the 1560s. None of the Slavic peasants had any kind of privileged land such as *baştine* or *çiftlik*. Here the registers do not even use the word *baştine*; instead, the community leaders pay a lump sum (*maktu*) on an undesignated land. However, the daybook registers (*ruznamçe defterleri*) used the term *baştine* in the appointments of the same persons (for all kinds of military peasants: *primikür*, *knez*, *martolos*, *müsellem*).

A special, Hungarian type of settlement form was *szállás* (Ottoman *salaş*), applied by the *defters* for animal-breeding farms. They appear in abundance in the vicinity of large towns, such as Szabadka and Szeged; but some villages in the subdistricts of Kalocsa, Szabadka, and Szeged also show several *szállás*. *Defters* are quite inconsistent in surveying these farms. According to the register of 1570 there were 61 *szállás* in the area of Szabadka, but in the next survey (1578) there were only a few of them registered in a *mezraa* of Szabadka (*Cserszállás*). The numerous *szállás* of Szeged were not even recorded in the registers of 1546–70, but in 1578 we find 65 *szállás* around the city with the names of their Hungarian owners.³⁵

STATE INCOME State revenue in the *sanjak* exploded between 1546 and 1578, although its territory remained the same (except for one *nahiye*, Csongrád, which was separated) (table 8). The increase was due to the repopulation of Bácska by settlers from Bosnia and northern Serbia, as well as the sedentarization of the seminomadic population (called *haymanes*) of the area.

TABLE 8 Tax income in the Sanjak of Szeged 1546–78

	1546	1560	1570	1578
Tax income	887,741	2,562,075	4,048,131	4,840,083
Tax income per settlement	3,427	4,132	5,196	6,567
Tax income per hane	244	309	367	449

The peak of the repopulation process took place between 1546 and 1570, but in the interior of the Hungarian Great Plain the settlement network remained sparse and some areas were kept uninhabited with low income for the state.³⁶

Comparison

The Sanjak of Szeged had a larger territory, roughly 50 percent more, than the Sanjak of Požega at its full extent after 1565. According to the mufassal censuses of the mid-1540s and late 1570s, the Sanjak of Požega had more registered households than the Szeged one—46 and 10 percent more, respectively. The population density per square kilometer was considerably higher in the Sanjak of Požega. In 1545, the Sanjak of Požega had significantly more settlements than the Sanjak of Szeged did in 1546; but by 1579, both had approximately similar numbers of settlements. While in the mid-1540s state income from both sanjaks was approximately similar, by the late 1570s the Sanjak of Szeged produced more income.

Nevertheless, tax per hane and settlement indicators were generally lower in the Sanjak of Požega than in the Sanjak of Szeged. This could be explained by several factors that were different in these sanjaks. In the Sanjak of Požega the *resm-i kapu* was not introduced until 1579. Also, in the Sanjak of Požega lived a much larger Muslim population, not liable to pay *filori* and *resm-i kapu*, and a significant number of the Christian *reaya* (nonmilitary peasant taxpayers) were paying lump sums (*bedel-i öşr*), instead of regular taxes. All this could have led to smaller income per hane and per settlement in the second half of the sixteenth century compared to the Sanjak of Szeged. The *filori* tax per Christian household was paid in the Sanjak of Požega during the sixteenth century, just as its equivalent, *cizye*, was paid in the Sanjak of Szeged.

The Sanjak of Požega stood out among all other Ottoman territorial possessions north of the Rivers Sava and Danube in one particular

aspect. It was the sanjak with the most considerable portion of the Muslim population among all sanjaks previously belonging to the Hungarian Kingdom. Moreover, it was also unique due to a large rural Muslim population that could not be found north of Sava and Danube. In addition, the share of the Islamized local population was relatively high compared to other sanjaks in Hungarian territories. Such a high concentration of Muslim population in the Sanjak of Požega was enabled by the closeness and good connections with Bosnia, where by the mid-sixteenth century Muslims were a large part of the population. In comparison, the Sanjak of Szeged was relatively far and isolated from areas where significant concentrations of Muslims, especially as a rural population, resided. Concerning the presence of Muslims, the Sanjak of Szeged was more typical for Hungary under Ottoman rule. It had a relatively small Muslim population in general, and a minimal Muslim presence in rural areas. In the Sanjak of Szeged, there were very few *çiftlik*s, whereas they existed in much greater numbers in the Sanjak of Požega. The greater concentration of *çiftlik*s there is a result of a much larger body of Muslims belonging to the military class. In both sanjaks, a majority of Muslims were not Turkish speakers but mostly Islamicized Slavs or their descendants. Most Muslims in both sanjaks had immigrant backgrounds from the areas south of the Rivers Sava and Danube. Conversion of the pre-Ottoman local population seems to have been limited in the Sanjak of Požega and insignificant in the Sanjak of Szeged. Most of the Christian Slavic population in the Sanjak of Požega was indigenous, while in the Sanjak of Szeged this population entirely consisted of immigrants and their descendants.

Final Remarks

This study aims to present the possibilities of researching the territorial differences between the regions in the territory of the sixteenth-century erstwhile Hungarian Kingdom. It focuses on comparing two larger zones (the Habsburg-Ottoman border zone and the Ottoman interior) based on the new methods and regional approach adapted. In the first part, we have focused on the area of the sixteenth-century condominium in Hungary, a typical dually ruled frontier. Here we have demonstrated the possibilities of the parallel use of sources from the Christian and Ottoman sides. This section

has also proved that Ottoman sanjaks and other administrative units could be approached by the researchers in the framework of a much larger area, as well as of heterogeneous entities analyzed on the microlevel of settlements. Such an approach was enabled by mainly Ottoman serial data on settlements, individuals, and households, and the amounts and types of paid taxes that were all collected in the “Database of Ottoman Registers.” This has allowed for the analysis of both intraregional and interregional differences. The second section deals with settlements, landholdings, and demographic and state-income data of two sanjaks from the 1540s until the 1690s, Požega and Szeged, firmly located in the interior of Ottoman territory. The two sanjaks had several different features, but the most important seems to be the different presence of Muslims, which also significantly influenced the state tax income. This article has also shown that a series of indicators can be derived from the data of the Hungarian and Ottoman registers with special relevance to the social and economic history of the area. The project “Database of Ottoman Registers” will soon be extended to other subprovinces.³⁷

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NOTES

1. E 158 Conscriptioes Portarum, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [Central Archive of the Hungarian National Archives], Budapest (hereafter MNL OL); Tapu-Tahrir defterleri 441, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi [The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office], İstanbul (hereafter BOA TT.d).

2. Éva Sz. Simon, "A szülejmáni béke: A magyarországi oszmán adóösszeírások és a magyar-oszmán békekötések összefüggései" [Suleiman's peace: the connections between Ottoman-Hungarian peace treaties and Ottoman tax censuses in Hungary], *Aetas* 33, no. 4 (2018): 53–72.

3. Ferenc Szakály, "Egy 'világtörténeti curiosum': Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban" [A "world-historical curiosum": Hungarian taxation under Ottoman rule], *Valóság* 22, no. 5 (1979): 23–37; Ferenc Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban* [Hungarian taxation under Turkish rule] (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981); Antal Molnár, *Magyar hódoltság, horvát hódoltság: Magyar és horvát katolikus egyházi intézmények az oszmán uralom alatt* [Hungarian conquest, Croatian conquest: Hungarian and Croatian Catholic Church institutions under Ottoman rule] (BTK TTI, 2019), 25–78.

4. Database of Ottoman Registers, adatbazisokonline.mnl.gov.hu/adatbazis/oszman. The database was developed by the Research Group for Ottoman Studies of the National Archives of Hungary and HUN-REN, Institute of History, with the support of the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (K 132609, 149648, and ADVANCED 149648). Dino Mujadžević's research was carried out as part of the project "Izvori za povijest istočne Hrvatske" (380-01-02-23-42, IPIH), funded by the European Union NextGenerationEU program; and the project "Regional Translocality in Historical Perspective: The Case of Slavonia and Bosnia," funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.

5. In the first phase of the project, which has been running since 2014, sixteenth-century data from the Sanjaks of Hatvan, Fülek, Mohács, Görösgal, Pécs, and Szigetvár were processed. In the second phase, sixteenth-century defters of the Sanjaks of Szeged, Szekcső, Szekszárd, Simontornya, and Koppány were processed, covering almost 50 percent of present-day Hungary. In the new research phase, which will start in 2025, sixteenth-century data from the Sanjaks of Buda, Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Szécsény, Nógrád, and Szolnok will be added to the database. As a result of the present project, the database will be extended to nineteen sanjaks, which will provide information on almost 70 percent of the Hungarian territories of the Ottoman Empire, and 100 percent of the *vilayet* of Buda.

6. Sz. Simon, "A szülejmáni béke."

7. Beatrix F. Romhányi, *A Historical Geographical Atlas of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (11th–16th Centuries)* (Martin Opitz, 2024).

8. 593, 585, 676, BOA TT.d; Cod. Turc. 138, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; E 158 tom. 3, 39, 47, 54, MNL OL.

9. Note that settlement density is not equal to population density, but, as mentioned, we have no exact population data for the Ottoman or for the medieval era.

10. The exception was the area of Harsány and Siklós, whose settlements appear again in the tax register of 1696.

11. Initially, the cizye tax was paid by any person who had 300 akçe worth of movable property in addition to his house or vineyard. Gyula Káldy-Nagy pointed to a further factor affecting the results of the comparative studies when he demonstrated that by 1570 the rules

for imposing Ottoman state taxes had changed. The range of taxpayers was extended, and it was no longer only the wealthy classes who paid the *cizye* but all heads of families. Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Harács-szedők és ráják: Török világ a XVI. századi Magyarországon* [Plunderers and *reayas*: Turkish world in sixteenth-century Hungary] (Akadémiai, 1970), 195.

12. Heath W. Lowry, “The Ottoman *tahrir defterleri* as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations,” in *Türkische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte von 1071 bis 1920: Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses* [Turkish economic and social history from 1071 to 1920: proceedings of the fourth international congress], ed. Hans Georg Majer und Raoul Motika (Harrassowitz, 1995), 183–96.

13. Géza Dávid, “Magyarország népessége a 16–17. században” [The population of Hungary in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries], in *Magyarország történeti demográfiája (896–1995): Millecentenárium előadások* [Historical demography of Hungary (896–1995): lectures for the 1100th anniversary] (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1997), 141–71.

14. For the Ottoman incursions, territorial expansion, and development of administrative units in the region later to become the Sanjak of Požega, see Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo* [Croats and the Ottoman Empire] (Golden Marketing, 1998), 103–5, 116–17; Dino Mujadžević, “Osmanska osvajanja u Slavoniji 152. u svjetlu osmanskih arhivskih izvora” [Ottoman conquests in Slavonia in the light of Ottoman archival sources], *Povijesni prilozi* 28, no. 36 (2009): 89–108; Géza Dávid, “The Sancakbegis of Pozsega (Požega, Pojeja) in the 16th Century,” in *Life on the Ottoman Border: Essays in Honour of Nenad Moačanin*, ed. Vjeran Kursar (Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu – FF Press, 2022), 31–60. For Ottoman censuses in the sanjak, see 203–204, 243, 351, 672, BOA TT.d. All data discussed and presented in tables in this part of the article was taken from these sources.

15. For demographic developments in the Sanjak of Požega in general, see Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526–1690* (Brill, 2006); Gábor Demeter, Beatrix F. Romhányi, Miklós Fóti, et al., “Towards a New Historical Geography: The Possibilities of GIS-Aided Historical Statistics and Fine-Scale, Longue Durée and Supranational Comparisons in Croatian History,” *Review of Croatian History* 20, no. 1 (2024): 141–78, <https://doi.org/10.22586/rch.v20i1.33994>.

16. For the development of the Muslim population in the sixteenth century see Dino Mujadžević, “The 16th-Century Immigration of Bosnian Muslims to the Eastern Sava-Drava-Danube Interfluve,” in “Interregional Mobilities in (Post)Ottoman Contexts: The Cases of Slavonia and Bosnia,” unpublished manuscript.

17. For state income in the Sanjak of Požega see also Demeter, Romhányi, Fóti, et al., “Towards a New Historical Geography.”

18. See Ms. Turcs Suppl. 76/a, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; 332, 554, 572, BOA TT.d. All data presented in the tables were taken from these sources.

19. On the last major land survey of the empire and the farewell to the *tahrir* system, see Pál Fodor, *The Business of State: Ottoman Finance Administration and Ruling Elites in Transition (1580s–1615)* (Klaus Schwarz, 2018), 236–86, esp. 240–41.

20. István Szabó, *Bács, Bodrog és Csongrád megye dézsmalajstromai 1522-ből* [Tithe lists of Bács, Bodrog, and Csongrád Counties from 1522] (Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954).

21. Miklós Fóti, “Népességcsere és migráció Bács és Bodrog vármegyékben a 16. században” [Population change and migration in Bács and Bodrog counties in the sixteenth century], *Történelmi Szemle* 67, no. 2 (2025): 241–82.

22. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Robert Dankoff, eds., *Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zilli: Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, VII. Kitap: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini* [Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zilli: The Book of Travels of Evliyâ Çelebi, book 7: the transcription and index of the manuscript Bağdat 308 of the Library of the Topkapı Sarayı] (Yapı Kredi, 2003), 136. *Potur*: from Slavic *poturčenjak*, literally a Turkicized person, who wears Turkish clothes and behaves like a Turk.

23. Dağlı, Kahraman, and Dankoff, *Evliyâ Çelebi*, 135.

24. On the identification of these settlements, see Miklós Fóti and István Pánya, *Bodrog vármegye településhálózatának rekonstrukciója a török defterek alapján: A zombori és a bajai nahiye települései 1578-ban* [Reconstruction of the settlement network of Bodrog County according to the Turkish defters: the settlements of the nahiye of Zombor and Baja in 1578] (Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet – Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2022); Miklós Fóti, *The Mufasssal Tahrir Defteri of the Sanjak of Segedin (1578): Text and Index* (Research Centre for the Humanities, 2023).

25. E 156 – a. – Fasc. 065. – No. 096, MNL OL.

26. Fóti, *Mufasssal Tahrir Defteri*, 275.

27. There is only one example of the clear existence of a village mosque in Bácska: a depiction of a mosque with a minaret in the village of Mošorin (nahiye of Titel) from 1698, made at the time of the expulsion of the Turks. HIIIc 285/25, Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum Hadtörténeti Térképtára [Military History Map Collection of the Military History Institute and Museum]. The location of Mošorin was quite comparable to the two groups of Muslim villages described: It was only a few kilometers from the Turkish fortress of Titel at a crossing point on the River Tisza.

28. András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* [Urban development and market network in the medieval Great Plain and on its edges] (Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 96.

29. E.g., 1473: DL 34030, MNL OL; 1512: DL 47005, MNL OL.

30. 1408: Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis, X/4* [Hungarian ecclesiastic and civil diplomatic codex, vol. 10, bk. 4] (Buda, 1841), 672; 1482: DL 18693 (oppidum Gyala with annual fair), MNL OL.

31. E 156 – a. – Fasc. 158. – No. 024/11, MNL OL.

32. OL E 156 – a. – Fasc. 102. – No. 022/3, MNL OL: *Tabula demonstrans praedia et diverticula dominio Futak incorporate* [Table showing farms and small villages incorporated into the domain of Futak].

33. Miklós Fóti and István Pánya, “Adatok Kalocsa késő középkori-hódoltságkori helyrajzához és történetéhez” [Data on the late medieval and Ottoman topography and history of Kalocsa], *Cumania* 30 (2023): 445–466, esp. 450–51.

34. Fóti and Pánya, “Adatok Kalocsa,” 452.

35. They were only included in the replicate of the survey. 570, BOA TT.d. At the end of the defter there is a list of taxes entitled *Defter-i rüsum-i tapu-i arazi der liva-i Segedin* which gives a detailed account of land parcels—szállás, çiftlik, *zemins*, meadows, and vineyards of the sanjak.

36. It was called *Bács megye deserta* by contemporaries.

37. The data from the Sanjak of Szolnok will enable researchers to map a section of the unknown Transylvanian border of the Ottoman Empire, while the data on the Sanjak of Esztergom will provide an insight into one of the northernmost parts of the frontier, deep in the territory of present-day Slovakia, where the Ottomans came closest to the Hungarian capital of the time, Pozsony. The database will also be broadened to include materials from earlier surveys of the Sanjak of Požega.