

Mujadžević / Koller / Rohdewald (eds.)

Interregional Mobilities in (Post)Ottoman Contexts

The Cases of Slavonia and Bosnia



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Stefan Rohdewald, Stephan Conermann und Albrecht Fuess

Dino Mujadžević / Markus Koller /
Stefan Rohdewald (eds.)

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Introduction

The volume *Interregional Mobilities in (Post)Ottoman Contexts: The Cases of Slavonia and Bosnia* results from research that brought together a team of scholars to examine the historical interconnectedness between two regions in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was enabled by the institutional cooperation project *Regional Translocality in Historical Perspective: The Case of Slavonia and Bosnia*, funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation within its Group Linkage Program (*Institutspartnerschaften*) for the period from 2022 to 2025. This research project aimed to establish a partnership between the Department for the History of Slavonia, Srijem, and Baranja of the Croatian Institute of History in Slavonski Brod, the Center for Mediterranean Studies at Ruhr University Bochum, and the Chair for Eastern and Southeast European History at the University of Leipzig.

The project's particular emphasis has been on transboundary interaction, exchange, and communication between Slavonia and Bosnia, as well as between locations in these two regions, from the 15th to the 20th centuries. Although the focus of this project was regional and microregional, it is worth noting that the research on interactions between Slavonia and Bosnia – during much of the period under investigation here, which was also divided and united by Hungarian, Habsburg, and Ottoman state/imperial borders – also addressed broader historical issues. Notably, it dealt with the historical porosity of state/imperial borders¹ – some of which have, long after their official disappearance, continued to influence translocal phenomena in the area as *Phantomgrenzen*² – and more significant internal transregional dynamics within those states and empires situated in

1 This concept has been discussed from different perspectives; among many other publications, see Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, *Borderlands* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa Press, 2007) and Rozita Dimova, *Border Porosities. Movements of People, Objects, and Ideas in the Southern Balkans* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021).

2 For this concept, see Béatrice von Hirschhausen et al., ed., *Phantomgrenzen: Räume und Akteure in der Zeit neu denken* (Göttingen: Wallenstein Verlag, 2015).

Southeast Europe and the neighboring parts of Central Europe.³ As part of the project, a conference titled “Historical Interactions between Slavonia and Bosnia” was held from September 28 to 29, 2023, in Slavonski Brod, situated near the border between the two regions under analysis, Slavonia and Bosnia.⁴

The volume standing before you includes papers delivered at the Slavonski Brod conference by members of the Humboldt project and further colleagues working on this region. Contributions of several scholars who did not participate in this conference are also included. The volume aims to provide insights into current research on various mobility phenomena, including individual and population movements, as well as the exchange of goods and ideas/knowledge between neighboring regions, Slavonia and Bosnia, and other areas in the surrounding regions. The concept of translocality inspires the contributions to this volume, as we find it more fitting and analytically precise for our goal than, for example, the previously widely used notions of transnationality and transnational. The concept of translocality is frequently discussed within the framework of the global history approach and has become increasingly popular. According to Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, there are two dimensions to the concept of translocality. In the descriptive sense, it refers to phenomena that result from a multitude of circulations and transfers. It designates outcomes of movements of people, goods, and knowledge across distances and boundaries. In the research sense, it emphasizes that interaction, exchange, and communication between places, actors, and concepts have far more diverse and often contradictory outcomes than previous research on transfers assumed. This conceptual framework addresses the circulation of people and goods, as well as the simultaneous transfer and convergence of culture and knowledge between local contexts. Translocality has garnered considerable attention, primarily within the fields of geography, anthropology, sociology, as well as cultural and area studies.⁵

The methodological and theoretical approaches associated with the concept of translocality have recently been discussed in detail, for example, in the context of the DFG Priority Program *Transottomanica – Eastern European-Ottoman-Persian*

3 For more on the project, see “Regional Translocality in Historical Perspective,” Croatian Institute of History, Department for the History of Slavonia, Srijem and Baranja, accessed on February 24, 2025, <https://hipsb.hr/en/ustroj/projekti/regional-translocality-in-historical-perspective-the-case-of-slavonia-and-bosnia/>.

4 About the conference, see “Historical interaction between Slavonia and Bosnia (15th–20th centuries). Conference Programme and Summaries of Accepted Papers,” accessed on February 24, 2025, <https://hipsb.hr/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/knjizica-sazetaka.pdf>.

5 Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen. “Introduction. ‘Translocality’: An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies,” in *The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, eds. Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen (Brill: Boston – Leiden, 2010), 1–21; C. Greiner and P. Sakdapolrak, “Translocality: Concepts, applications and emerging research perspectives,” *Geography Compass* 7, no. 5 (2013): 373–84, with bibliography.

Mobility Dynamics.⁶ However, the individual studies not only examined different forms of mobility between individual spaces or empires,⁷ but also focused on factors that restricted or completely prevented translocality. In the context of Ottoman and Southeast European history, the translocality approach is increasingly employed in studies that examine urban history within a global framework, with a particular focus on the movement of people and ideas.⁸ Especially interesting is the convergence between the translocality approach and environmental history. Natural conditions significantly influence the development of cities, and rivers often play an essential role. The interaction between urban and river history is a significant field of research in environmental history, which has evolved into one of the most vibrant disciplines within the historical sciences.⁹ In this context, rivers are repeatedly discussed as spaces that are influenced by local/regional or global dynamics on the one hand. On the other hand, rivers can also be understood as actors with their own agency.¹⁰ In recent years, these aspects have increasingly been explored in the context of the history of Southeast Europe. This is particularly true when rivers flowed through imperial or state border areas or were defined as borders.¹¹ There are also examples of the deployment of the concept of translocality in the cultural and religious history of the Ottoman Balkans.¹²

6 Stefan Rohdewald, "Mobilität/Migration: Herstellung transosmanischer Gesellschaften durch räumliche Bewegungen," in *Transottomanica – Osteuropäisch-osmanisch-persische Mobilitäts-dynamiken*, eds. Stefan Rohdewald et al. (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2019), 59–82; <https://www.transottomanica.de/de>.

7 Daniel Hedinger and Nadin Heé, "Transimperial History – Connectivity, Cooperation and Competition," *Journal of Modern European History*, 16, no. 4 (2018): 429–52.

8 Ulrike Freitag et al., eds., *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2011); Ulrike Freitag and Nora Lafi, eds., *Urban Governance under the Ottomans* (London: Routledge, 2014); Grigor Boykov, *Ottoman Plovdiv. Space, Architecture, and Population (14th–17th Centuries)* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2024); Janine Marie Calic, *The Great Cauldron. A History of Southeastern Europe* (Cambridge/Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 2019).

9 J.R. McNeill and Erin Stewart Mauldin, eds., *A Companion to Global Environmental History* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

10 For such an approach, see, for example, Robert Ivermee, *Hooghly. The Global History of a River* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2020).

11 Luminita Gatejel, *Engineering the Lower Danube. Technology and International Cooperation in an Imperial Borderland* (Budapest: Budapest University Press, 2022); Gábor Ágoston, "Where Environmental and Frontier Studies Meet. Rivers, Forests, Marshes and Forts along the Ottoman–Habsburg Frontier in Hungary," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 156 (2009): 57–79.

12 David Henig, "Tracing creative moments: The emergence of translocal dervish cults in Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Focaal. European Journal of Anthropology* 69, no. 2 (2014): 97–110; Sara Kuehn, "Multiplication, Translocation and Adaptation: Şarī Şaltūq's Multiple Embodied Localities Throughout the Balkans," in *Constructing and Contesting Holy Places in Medieval Islam and Beyond*, eds. Andreas Görke and Mattia Guidetti (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2023), 221–56.

The Regions and Periods under Analysis

The volume assembles historical research on mobilities between Slavonia (comprising the northeastern parts of the Republic of Croatia) and Bosnia (consisting of the northern and central parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina) – two neighboring and historically heavily interconnected regions that are today delimited by the EU, and state and regional borders along the Sava River – and their consequences in the time timespan between 15th and 20th centuries.

The area today known as Slavonia – historically, this territory has undergone various name changes – is primarily a lowland region situated between the Ilova, Drava, and Sava rivers. It belongs to the natural geographical region of the Pannonian Basin, which encompasses a lowland area that includes all of Hungary and large parts of neighboring countries, such as Croatia, Serbia, Romania, Slovakia, and Austria. On the other hand, Bosnia, to its south, is a hilly and mountainous area that mainly belongs to the so-called natural geographical Dinaric region. That region is, of course, dominated by the Dinaric mountain range, also known as the Dinaric Alps. The Pannonian and Dinaric natural geographical regions are connected by a contact zone known as the Peripannonical zone, which is located in Bosnia. The Peripannonical zone comprises an 80 km deep belt located south of the Sava River. That is the geographical backdrop of our research.

Socio-culturally, Slavonia has been a crossroads of major influences throughout history, originating in Central Europe (Hungarian and Habsburg influences) and Southeast Europe (Byzantine and Ottoman influences, often via Bosnia). Bosnia itself is generally regarded as a quintessential Southeastern European Balkan historical region with significant influences from Byzantine tradition and Ottoman–Islamic culture. In addition to the research of historical interactions between Slavonia and Bosnia, the volume was open to the research of comparative cases of historical interaction between regions in other parts of Southeast Europe and adjacent areas (such as the between regions in the Pannonian Basin and those south of Sava and Danube rivers) as well as to theoretical contributions that are relevant for the research of translocal connections between regions.

During the medieval period, when the regions under investigation were periodically influenced by Hungarian rule, contemporary Slavonian space remained for the most part an integral part of Hungary. Only its smaller portion belonged to the Kingdom of Slavonia, which was also under the Hungarian Crown. In contrast, medieval Bosnia was claimed and sometimes controlled as a vassal of the Hungarian kingdom. However, the Ottomans became a decisive factor in relations between Bosnia and what is now Slavonia in the early 1400s. The volume's focus primarily lies on the historical timespan between the 15th and 20th centuries, during which Slavonia, as well as Southeast Europe and neighboring Danubian regions, in one way or another, dealt with the direct and indirect influence of

the Ottoman Empire. Thus, this volume will focus especially on the decisive factor of the Ottoman legacy in the context of the development and continuities (or discontinuities) of regional interconnectedness.

During this long period of investigation, both regions were, to varying degrees, directly influenced by the presence of the Ottoman Empire and its rivalry with the Hungarian Kingdom, as well as the Habsburg Monarchy, later known as Austria-Hungary. Even later, the legacy of the Ottoman Empire, particularly the delineation of regional borders and socio-cultural differences between Slavonia and Bosnia, continued to influence their interactions. In Slavonia, one of the most critical outcomes of Ottoman rule and the Ottoman–Habsburg wars during the 16th and 17th centuries was a series of migratory waves that drastically changed its population through the immigration of Muslim, Orthodox, and Catholic populations from Bosnia and other parts of Southeast Europe. At the end of the 17th century, the retreat of Ottoman rule led to the complete departure of the Muslim population. This also enabled Habsburg authorities to resettle the area with Catholic South Slavic, German, and other populations. These developments also had a profound impact on Bosnia. Especially during the period from the mid-15th to the end of the 17th century, the Bosnian population, comprising Muslims, Orthodox, and Catholics, as well as exiles, soldiers, and settlers, migrated to neighboring areas, including Slavonia. After the Ottoman defeat at Vienna in 1683, Bosnia also became the center of Muslim re-migration under duress from Slavonia.

The Bosnian–Slavonian relations in the period under analysis can be divided into the following periods:

- a) the era of Ottoman incursions and conquests in the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. The Ottomans gradually took both regions – the main part of the medieval kingdom of Bosnia came under Ottoman rule by 1463, but some regions remained under Christian rule until the 1520s; Slavonia was also annexed to the Ottoman realm in several waves between 1525 and 1552.
- b) the era of Ottoman rule over both regions from the mid-16th century to the end of the 17th century. The Ottomans united the two regions of our interest more firmly within their realm during most of the 16th and 17th centuries, even administratively integrating them within the boundaries of the Bosnian province (*eyālet*) for a long while. This situation broadened the scope of interactions, exchange, and communication across the Sava River.
- c) the era of the Habsburg (Slavonian side)–Ottoman (Bosnian side) border in the valley of the Sava River from 1699 to 1878. After the Habsburg reconquest of what is now Slavonia and incursions into the Balkans in the late 17th century, as well as during the period of Habsburg control of large parts of northern Bosnia in the first half of the 18th century, relations between the two regions often persisted through migration. During the period between the stabilization of the Habsburg–Ottoman border on the Sava in 1739 and the Austro-Hungarian occupation of

Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, interactions between the two regions decreased but continued, often through trade.

- d) the post-Ottoman era after both regions were reunited under the Austro-Hungarian administration, from 1878 onwards (with Ottoman nominal rule in Bosnia until 1908). Between 1918 and 1991, both Bosnia and Slavonia were united within two South Slavic states, as well as within the WWII Independent State of Croatia.

Various aspects of the interactions between the spaces known today as Slavonia and Bosnia have been studied by Croatian and Bosnian historians and other authors. The medieval period particularly attracted the attention of scholars. Major studies of Bosnian medieval history, in general and especially in the context of its relationship with Hungary, often discuss various aspects of mobilities and other connections between Slavonia and Bosnia.¹³ Historical works focusing on northern Bosnian regions during that era have also shed light on this.¹⁴ Additionally, the topic of mobilities between the two regions under analysis has been particularly investigated in studies on nobility family relations,¹⁵ as well as church relations and religious interactions during the medieval period.¹⁶

13 For example, see Sima Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države* (Beograd: SKZ, 1964); Pavao Anđelić, *Studije o teritorijalno-političkoj organizaciji srednjovekovne Bosne* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1982); Nada Klaić, *Srednjovekovna Bosna: politički položaj bosanskih vladara do Tvrtkove krunidbe (1377. g.)* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1989); Želimir Puljić and Franjo Topić, eds., *Kršćanstvo srednjovekovne Bosne. Radovi Simpozija povodom 9 stoljeća spominjanja bosanske biskupije, 1089.–1989* (Sarajevo: Vrhbosanska visoka teološka škola, 1991); Ančić, Mladen. *Putanja klatna. Ugarsko-hrvatsko kraljevstvo i Bosna u XIV. Stoljeću* (Zadar-Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru; Mostar: Stećak/ ZIRAL, 1997); Lovrenović, Dubravko. *Na klizištu povijesti. Sveta kruna ugarska i sveta kruna bosanska, 1387–1463.* (Zagreb; Sarajevo: Synopsis, 2006).

14 For example, see Pavo Živković, *Studije iz povijesti Bosanske Posavine, Usore i Soli* (Osijek: HKD Napredak – Podružnica Osijek, 2000); Pejo Ćošković, *Susret sa zagubljenom poviješću: područje Bosanske Gradiške u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb: Vikarijat Banjalučke biskupije – Zagreb, 2001); Jelena Mrgić, *Severna Bosna: 13–16. vek* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2008).

15 For example, see Ludwig von Thallóczy, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter*, trans. Franz Eckhart (München; Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1914); Stanko Andrić, “O obitelji bosanskoga protukralja Radivoja Ostojića.” In *Stjepan Tomašević (1461.–1463.): slom srednjovekovnoga Bosanskog Kraljevstva*, ed. Ante Birin (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2013), 109–32.; *idem*, “Sablasti u samostanu: jedna epizoda iz ugarsko-bosanske franjevačke povijesti,” *Gordogan* 43–44 (1997): 3–27; *idem*, “Mjesto svadbe bana Tvrtka I i franjevački samostan ‘sveti Ilija’,” *Scrinia Slavonica* 4 (2004): 107–16; Karbić, Marija. *Plemički rod Borića bana* (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica u Slavonskom Brodu, 2013).

16 For example, see Krunoslav Draganović, “Katolička crkva u sredovječnoj Bosni,” in *Poviest hrvatskih zemalja Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do godine 1463.*, vol. 1 (Sarajevo: Napredak, 1942), 740–63; Miroslav Brandt, “Susret viklifizma s bogomilstvom u Srijemu.”

The movements of people, ideas, and things between the two regions in the 16th and 17th centuries, with a heavy emphasis on the Ottoman rule or presence, have been addressed in major studies or anthologies on Bosnian, Croatian, or Slavonian history,¹⁷ but also in contributions investigating the role of the Ottoman military commanders and elite in Bosnian–Slavonian interactions,¹⁸ migrations to Slavonia from Bosnia and other regions south of the Sava,¹⁹ and the Catholic Church.²⁰

With respect to the history of the 18th and 19th centuries, a few new topics emerged, including the border regime and military operations along the Sava River, as well as the links between Bosnian Franciscans and church educational institutions north of the Sava River.²¹ Bosnian–Slavonian ties in the period from 1878 until the 1990s, during which both regions were part of the same state, have been researched in the framework of the studies that analyzed daily temporary and permanent migrations, state-sanctioned colonization, and refugee move-

Starohrvatska prosvjeta 3, no. 5 (1956): 33–64; Ive Mažuran, “Đakovo i bosansko-đakovačka biskupija od 1239. do 1536. godine,” *Diacovensia*, 3, no. 1 (1995): 107–56.

- 17 For example, see Tade Smičiklas, *Dvjestogodišnjica oslobođenja Slavonije*, 2 vols (Zagreb: JAZU, 1891); Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk* (Sarajevo: Oslobođenje, 1959); Gunther Erich Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522–1747* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1960); Ešref Kovačević, *Granice Bosanskog pašaluka prema Austriji i Mletačkoj Republici po odredbama Karlovačkog mira* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973); Dragutin Pavličević, ed., *Vojna krajina: povijesni pregled – historiografija – rasprave* (Zagreb: SNL; Odjel za hrvatsku povijest, 1984); Mirko Valentić, *Vojna Krajina* (Zagreb: SN Liber, 1984); Enes Pelidija, *Bosanski ejalet od Karlovačkog do Požarevačkog mira 1699–1718*. (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1989); Ive Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo* (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1998); Nenad Močanin, *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine* (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica u Slavanskom Brodu, 2001); Fazileta Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak i osmanska Slavonija. Sabrane rasprave* (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica u Slavanskom Brodu, 2016); Galib Šljivo, *Historija Bosne i Hercegovine 1788–1878*, 12 vols. (Tešanj: Planjax, 2016).
- 18 Nedim Zahirović, “Die Familie Memibegović in Ungarn, Slawonien und Kroatien in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts,” in *Ein Raum im Wandel: Die osmanisch-habsburgische Grenzregion vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. Norbert Spannberger and Szabolcs Varga (Franz Steiner: Stuttgart 2014), 75–86; Dino Mujadžević, “Osmanska osvajanja u Slavoniji 1552. u svjetlu osmanskih arhivskih izvora,” *Povijesni prilozi* 28 (2009): 89–107; *idem*, “Požeški i bosanski sandžakbeg Ulama-beg,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 60 (2011): 251–58.
- 19 For example, see Aleksa Ivić, *Migracije Srba u Slavoniju* (Subotica: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1926); Stjepan Pavičić, *Podrijetlo hrvatskih i srpskih naselja i govora u Slavoniji* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1953); Mirko Marković, *Slavonija: povijest naselja i podrijetlo stanovništva* (Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2002); Skenderović, Robert. *Najstarija matična knjiga brodske župe Presvetog Trojstva: (1701.–1735)* (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica u Slavanskom Brodu, Slavonski Brod, 2012); Vojin Dabić, *Mala Vlaška: Prilog istoriji srpskog naroda u Slavoniji od XVI do XVIII veka* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2020).
- 20 For example, see Josip Buturac, *Katolička crkva u Slavoniji za turskoga vladanja* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1970).
- 21 For example, see Rudolf Barišić, *Bosanski Ugri: institucionalna povijest franjevačkog školovanja: 1785.–1849.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2021).

ments to Croatia in general and Slavonia in particular, which often included population from Bosnia.²² It is also clear that there is a growing body of research on historical mobilities and associated phenomena across other regions of Southeast Europe.²³

Contributions to the Volume

As previously stressed, the contributions in this volume examine different forms of historical mobilities between Slavonia and Bosnia across the period under analysis, but also include similar cases of historical interconnectedness in neighboring regions of Southeast Europe and adjacent areas.

In the 15th century, the Hungarian kingdom and the Ottoman Empire sought to expand their spheres of influence in this region, and the Kingdom of Bosnia had to establish its political position between the two empires, particularly in the 1450s and the early 1460s. Recent research has increasingly focused on local elites involved in transregional or transimperial networks and playing a significant role in the political and military activities of both empires.²⁴

The contribution *To Salvage a Kingdom: Bosnia in the Political Strategies of Bishop John Vitez* by Tomislav Matić sheds light on a high-ranking Catholic clergyman who wielded strong influence at the court of the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus. His article describes several attempts by Bishop John Vitez to preserve the kingdom of Bosnia in the Hungarian sphere of influence. After its fall (1463), Vitez sought Venetian support for the Hungarian king's military campaigns against the Ottomans. However, Matthias Corvinus did not rely solely on military measures.

22 For example, see Viktor Horvat, *Nutarnje seobe i kretanje Hrvata: posljedice dinamike društvenih procesa* (Zagreb: Hrvatska državna tiskara, 1942); Ivo Nejašmić, "Osnovne značajke unutarnje migracije stanovništva Hrvatske 1880–1981," *Migracijske teme*, 8., no. 2 (1992): 141–66; Ivan Lajić and Mario Bara, *Ratovi, kolonizacije i nacionalna struktura Slavonije u dvadesetom stoljeću* (Zagreb: Institut za migracije i narodnosti, 2009); Dragutin Babić and Filip Škiljan, "Socijalna integracija useljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine (Bošnjaci, Hrvati) u Hrvatskoj," in *Migracije iz Bosne i Hercegovine*, eds. Mirza Emirhafizović et al. (Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu, Fakultet političkih nauka; Institut za društvena istraživanja; Ministarstvo za ljudska prava i izbjeglice, 2013), 5–103; Vladimir Geiger, "Skica za povijest Nijemaca i Austrijanaca u BiH s posebnim osvrtom na njihovu sudbinu tijekom II svjetskog rata i u poraću." *Hercegovina: Časopis za kulturno i povijesno nasljeđe*, 26, no. 1 (2015): 265–97.

23 For example, see Nenad Stefanov, *Die Erfindung der Grenzen auf dem Balkan. Von einer spätosmanischen Region zu nationalstaatlichen Peripherien: Pirot und Caribrod 1856–1989* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017); Rozita Dimova, *Border Porosities: Movements of People, Objects, and Ideas in the Southern Balkans* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021).

24 Oliver Jens Schmitt, ed., *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans. Interpretations and Research Debates* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016).

The article by Davor Salihović, titled *The Kingdom of Bosnia of Nicholas of Ilok, 1471–1477*, describes the installation of the baron Nicholas of Ilok as king of Bosnia by the Hungarian ruler in late 1471. This nobleman was very familiar with the political situation in this area because his offices and estates were concentrated in large part in Slavonia and the contiguous areas along the Sava. The Hungarian king sought to maintain his influence in the fallen kingdom.

The transition to Ottoman rule also affected ecclesiastical structures and trans-local contacts, as illustrated by the history of the Franciscan Order in this region. Rudolf Barišić describes in his article *From a Part of the Province to a Haven for Students – Slavonia from the Perspective of the Bosnian Franciscans* the administrative development of the order, which was able to extend its jurisdiction to the area between Buda and the Adriatic Sea during Ottoman rule. However, the geopolitical changes in the 17th and 18th centuries brought significant changes to the administrative organization of the Franciscan province, which, after the Peace Treaty of Sremski Karlovci, fell under the jurisdiction of three different political empires. The author argues that this might have been the main reason why, in 1735, the monasteries in Dalmatia were organized as the Province of Holy Redeemer, and in 1757, the area north of the Sava River became the Province of St. John of Capistrano.

The territorial expansion of the Bosnian Franciscan province into the regions of Slavonia, Syrmia, Baranya, and Bačka in the first half of the 17th century is discussed in Robert Skenderović's contribution, *Spreading of Pastoral Activities of Franciscans of Bosnia and Argentina in Slavonia and Hungary in the first half of the 17th century*. The author focuses not only on the mechanisms of this expansion, as exemplified by the Franciscan friars' takeover of parishes previously held by priests. Rather, he argues, that this process also had an ecclesiastical–political dimension when a “bishop of Bosna Argentina” was appointed. The article outlines several translocal and transregional dynamics, including instances where the Ragusan church hierarchy supported priests against the Franciscan monks, as well as the increasing involvement of the Habsburg, Croatian, and Hungarian estates in these developments.

Those administrative changes were a tool to create new spaces. Such a perspective is taken by Mario Šain's article *Spatiality of Religion and Rule: Exploring Bosnia and Slavonia in the 18th Century* which analyzes the relationships between religious spaces and spaces of rule, primarily referring to the Franciscan province of Bosna Argentina (*Bosna Srebrena*) and the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Karlovci. He focuses mainly on the period after the peace treaty of Karlovci (1699), when religious spaces spanned across spaces of rule throughout the 18th century and created different forms of translocal mobility.

Many publications on the medieval and early modern history of spaces of rule address the function of political borders and the extent to which they truly desig-

nate the territorial limits of those spaces. In his article *Perpetual Peace, Borders, and Statehood: Temporal and Spatial Limits of Imperial Regional Securitization in Transottoman Competition*, Stefan Rohdewald addresses central issues in relevant historiographical discussions: the idea of perpetual peace treaties and the concept of fixed borders. Both aspects are closely related to each other, especially when it comes to transformations of early modern concepts of statehood. Stefan Rohdewald argues that the discussions so far have taken a very Eurocentric perspective, which has excluded relevant developments in the empires of Eastern Europe and the “Near and Middle East,” such as the Ottoman Empire, Persia, or the Muscovy Empire. Therefore, Stefan Rohdewald follows a transottoman approach in order to obtain new insights into the consolidation of modern statehood during the early modern period and the 19th century.

In the 1520s, the Ottomans conquered the Sava region, and this area remained under their control until the 1680s. Dino Mujadžević analyzes, in his contribution, *The 16th Century Immigration of Bosnian Muslims to the Eastern Sava-Drava-Danube Interfluve*, the migration of Muslim population groups from Bosnia into the eastern part of the Sava-Drava-Danube Interfluve, which corresponds to the territory of Slavonia and Syrmia in modern terms. Based on Ottoman registers and other sources, the author demonstrates that the Ottoman administration implemented a policy of repopulation by encouraging settlement by Christians and Muslims from areas south of the Sava River and the lower reaches of the Danube in the Pannonian Basin. In this process, the fertile Požega valley became the center of the Muslim rural population. Repopulation was part of a set of mechanisms designed to strengthen control over a newly conquered territory. Another mechanism was to integrate local elites into the Ottoman administration.

Elma Korić refers in her article *Translocal “Kinship” Relations and Mobility in Ottoman Borderland: Members of the Sokolović Family on the Ottoman Serhat from the Danube to the Adriatic Sea* to the famous Sokolović family that built up strong networks throughout the Ottoman Empire. She concentrates on the activities and translocal structures of the Sokolovići in Ottoman Hungary and Bosnia, where members of this family held influential positions. The article by Elma Korić highlights the significance of households within Ottoman administrative structures.

The contribution *Militarized Reâya: Instrumentalization of the Military Violence in the Ottoman–Habsburg Frontiers, 1664–1699* by Barbaros Köksal emphasizes the key role of patronage-based *ümerâ kapuları* (military households) – which integrated the compulsory mobilization of the population under the state-declared policy of *nefir-i âmm* (general mobilization) – the *reaya* into the Ottoman military structures. Barbaros Köksal also describes various forms of violence in the Ottoman-Habsburg border area carried out by members of *ümerâ kapuları*.

During Ottoman rule, numerous settlements along the Sava River were equipped with docks (*iskele*), which facilitated trade, transportation, and military logistics. The contribution *The Sava River Crossings in the 16th and 17th Centuries* by Okan Büyüktapu and Anđelko Vlašić describes the economic activities in the river docks, which generated a significant amount of tax revenues. Besides, the article gives a detailed overview of the trade routes that crossed the Sava River during Ottoman rule. During the Great Turkish War (1683–1699), the Ottomans were forced to withdraw from the northern shores of the Sava River, and, de facto, from 1691 onwards (de jure after the Peace Treaty of Sremski Karlovci in 1699), the Sava became a de facto border river.

Milan Vrbanus' article *Bosnian Merchants in the Slavonian "Thirtieth" Customs Offices in the First Three Decades of the 18th Century* focuses on the trading activities of merchants from Bosnia after the peace treaty of Sremski Karlovci, when the Habsburg Monarchy began to reorganize the financial institutions in the newly conquered territories of Slavonia. Their officials had to inspect goods delivered to the "thirtieth" customs offices and to maintain records of the 'thirtieth' customs. Milan Vrbanus analyzes the records of the "thirtieth" customs offices in Požega, Pakrac, Brod, Rača, Mitrovica, and Petrovaradin to obtain valuable information about the merchants and the goods traded between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires.

Both empires established a new mobility regime along the border, which is discussed by Florian Riedler and Nenad Stefanov. Their article *Belgrade and Zemun in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg–Ottoman Mobility Regime* picks up the question of how this regime affected the border city of Belgrade and Zemun situated on the Habsburg side of the border. Ottoman Belgrade again became a mobility hub and a center of local and international trade. The authors shed light not only on merchants or diplomats crossing the border. They are also interested in mobile subaltern groups, such as criminals or fishermen, who crossed the border informally. Those examples make clear that the border area was also a trans-local contact zone where people on both sides established or maintained various channels of communication.

The article *Frontier Letters: An Insight into Cross-Border Contacts on the Military Frontier* by Filip Šimunjak is based on letters written by Habsburg and Ottoman subjects in the 16th and 17th centuries. They give deep insights into personal relationships, commercial activities, or discussions about the situation of captives.

Cross-border communication also played an important role, for example, when rumors spread about a possible outbreak of war. This was the case before the outbreak of the "Dubica War," which is the focus of the article *A War Penetrates Society: Fear of War in Bosnia in the Run-up to the "Dubica War" (1787–1791)* by Markus Koller. In the 1780s, tensions and military skirmishes in the Sava-Una region and Montenegro escalated, sparking growing fears among the

population that war was imminent. The contribution aims to describe the growing fear of war across various milieus of Bosnian society leading up to the outbreak of the “Dubica War” in 1787.

Cross-border communication remained an essential channel for the transfer of ideas, as the article *Spreading the Socialist Seed*: *Transfers of Socialist Ideas Between Croatian and Bosnian Workers from the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century to the Aftermath of the First World War* by Ana Rajković Pejić shows. She focuses on migrant workers who were indispensable to the development of socialism in the South Slavic territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. They brought subversive workers’ press from Budapest, Zürich, and other cities into Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina.

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Tomislav Matić

To Salvage a Kingdom: Bosnia in the Political Strategies of Bishop John Vitez¹

The Kingdom of Bosnia was facing pressure from its two powerful neighbors, the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary, in the late 1450s and the early 1460s. This period covered the last years of the reign of King Stephen Tomaš and the entire reign of King Stephen Tomašević. During that time, Bishop John Vitez was one of the key decision makers at the court of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. He was involved in several schemes whose goal was to retain Bosnia in the Hungarian sphere of influence. He was privy to the plan of uniting Bosnia with what was left of the Despotate of Serbia in 1459, which ended in the disastrous loss of Smederevo to the Ottomans. Later, he participated in the reconciliation of King Stephen Tomašević with King Matthias, in the years after Stephen's scandalous coronation. Judging by his actions, Vitez's goal was to direct the Kingdom of Hungary towards peace with its Christian neighbors and confront the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans. This involved keeping the limitrophe states, which included Bosnia, allied to Hungary. After the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia in 1463, this strategy was replaced with one of outright conquest of the parts of Bosnia required for the successful defense from Ottoman incursions. Vitez was the contact person between the Hungarian court and the Republic of Venice and was an important factor in the alliance that these two powers entered into in September 1463. This enabled Venetian funds to finance Hungarian expansion in Bosnia. This expansion mostly ended with the campaign of 1464, and Vitez's attention shifted to other areas of interest.

Introduction

The last years of the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia were a turbulent era marked by many influential persons with different plans regarding the kingdom's survival or demise. The goal of this paper will be to present the actions of one of these per-

¹ This research was carried out as part of the project "Communities, Communication, and Social Networks in the Croatian Middle Ages and Early Modern Times," funded by the European Union – NextGenerationEU program (380-01-02-23-40).

sons, Bishop John Vitez of Oradea (d. 1472), an influential politician of the Kingdom of Hungary and one of the leading men of the early reign of King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–1490). As we will see, understanding his actions will be crucial for explaining the Kingdom of Hungary's strategies regarding Bosnia in the 1450s and 1460s. This distinguished politician was known by his contemporaries to have been of Slavonian descent.² Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who became Pope Pius II in 1458, wrote that both Vitez and his nephew, the acclaimed poet, Janus Pannonius, were native Slavonians, i.e., natives of contemporary Slavonia.³ The contemporary writer, Vespasiano da Bisticci, called them both *Ischiavi*.⁴

The timescale of the events which we will focus on will be the final years of the medieval Kingdom of Bosnia, more precisely, the years 1458–1464. We will consider how Vitez's actions helped shape them and how they fit into general strategies that might be assumed to have underpinned his decisions. The developments in question are the attempts to preserve the Kotromanić rule in Bosnia, which involved a dynastic union with Serbia, and a reconciliation between Hungarian rulers and the kings of Bosnia after the falling out in the last years of Stephen Tomaš's and the first year of Stephen Tomašević's reign. This period was marked by attempts to find a place for Bosnia in the turbulent political configuration of the era. All of these were significant events that shaped the local political landscape.

The last part of our analysis will study the period after the first Ottoman conquest of the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463. We will follow Vitez's participation in diplomatic and military endeavors in 1463 and 1464, which differed considerably from the previous wrangling with the political status of Bosnia. We will finish with the Hungarian military campaign of 1464 because, after that, no significant data can be found that would indicate Vitez's further participation in Bosnian affairs. While tracing Vitez's actions, we will present the events chronologically, with the context necessary for understanding the situation in which they occurred. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire, the crusading ambitions of the papacy, and the varying fortunes of the Kingdom of Hungary provided for a difficult political

2 Regarding John Vitez's family, see Tomislav Matić, *Bishop John Vitez and Early Renaissance Central Europe. A Humanist Kingmaker* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2022), 5–16.

3 Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Opera quae extant omnia* (Basel, 1571), 392.

4 Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, vol. 1, ed. Aulo Greco (Florence: Istituto nazionale di studi sul rinascimento, 1970), 319, 327. See also Tanja Trška, "Ivan Vitez od Sredne i Jan Panonije iz perspektive talijanskog humanizma: Vespasiano da Bisticci i Ischiavi" [Janos Vitez and Janus Pannonius Through the Eyes of Italian Humanism: Vespasiano da Bisticci and Ischiavi], in *800 godina slobodnog kraljevskog grada Varaždina 1209.–2009: Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog 3. i 4. prosinca 2009. godine u Varaždinu*, eds. Miroslav Šicel and Slobodan Kaštela (Zagreb / Varaždin: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni rad u Varaždinu / Grad Varaždin, Varaždinska županija, 2009), 609–18.

landscape in which an individual had to carefully consider their options and possibilities.

An Attempted Bosnian–Serbian Union

To explain the place that Bosnia occupied in contemporary strategies, it is necessary to understand the role which it played in the massive conflict between the Kingdom of Hungary (including the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia) and the Ottoman Empire. According to the well-aged analysis of Ferenc Szakályi, this conflict had, for the first two-thirds of the 15th century, mostly consisted of vying for control of the smaller, limitrophe states in the Balkans.⁵ These states, primarily Wallachia, Serbia, and Bosnia, would serve either as defensive buffers or as staging areas for offensive campaigns, and it was important for the main combatants to secure their allegiance or submission. Generally speaking, although control of them swung back and forth, the Kingdom of Hungary was successful in either maintaining or reestablishing it until after the Siege of Belgrade in 1456. This was when the Ottomans concentrated much effort on systematically dismantling these states and the Hungarian strategy that relied on them. With the 1463 conquest of the Kingdom of Bosnia, this process was completed, and Hungarian rulers were forced to develop new defensive strategies. These became increasingly onerous and were compounded by the fact that the kingdom was forced to wage war on its own soil.⁶

The relations between Bosnian and Hungarian rulers were marked by distrust, and Bosnia itself was fragmented and fraught with infighting. Nevertheless, as its position was strategically important, it was necessary for Hungarian rulers to impose their control over it, either by treaty or by force.⁷ For decades, it was standard procedure for them to periodically reassert their overlordship by waging military campaigns and placing pliable members of the local elite on the throne. Incidentally, Bosnia became especially relevant to the Hungarian anti-Ottoman war effort precisely at the time when John Vitez was in a position to influence state policy.⁸ The accession of King Matthias Corvinus in 1458 brought Vitez inside the

5 Ferenc Szakályi, "Phases of Turco-Hungarian Warfare before the Battle of Mohács (1365–1526)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33 (1979): 76–98.

6 Tamas Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács: A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389–1526* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 39–43.

7 Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis*, 15.

8 Pálosfalvi went as far as identifying him as the author of the Hungarian state policy during the early years of King Matthias's reign; see Tamas Pálosfalvi, "The Political Background in Hungary of the Campaign of Jajce in 1463," in Ante Birin, ed., *Stjepan Tomašević (1461.–1463.): slom srednjovjekovnoga Bosanskog Kraljevstva. Zbornik radova sa Znanstvenog skupa održanog 11. i 12. studenog 2011. godine u Jajcu* [Stephen Tomašević (1461–1463): Fall of the Medieval King-