



# **THE LAND OF DRINA IN THE MIDDLE AGES**

**MARIJAN PREMOVIĆ**



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History

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## **The Land of Drina in the Middle Ages**

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# I. INTRODUCTION

The term Land of Drina, as used in this monograph, corresponds to the territory of the medieval župas of Drina, Sutjeska, Drinaljevo, Gvoza, Bistrica, Goražde and Pribud. So far, no monograph in historiography has examined this region. It has only been covered by individual papers – articles and treatises – that looked into specific segments of the medieval history of this space. This book aims to consolidate existing research, expand and synthesize it, and examine it comprehensively and from a multidisciplinary perspective. Additionally, we seek to address several key unresolved questions regarding the social, political, and economic environment of the region during the Middle Ages.

Given the abundance of primary sources, we have tried to define and clarify the following: the geographical position and natural features of the area, medieval župas and their borders, settlements and demographics, political circumstances and economic activities. Finally, we will present a brief conclusion of our research.

The boundaries of the medieval Land of Drina do not correlate with the area known today as Upper Podrinje (*Upper Drina Valley*). Thus, we excluded the territory of Višegrad from the paper, which today belongs to Upper Podrinje, since it was not part of the Land of Drina, nor was it controlled by the Kosača family.

The geographical features of Upper Podrinje have been examined in the studies by Rasim S. Živojević, Dragutin Deroko and Stevan Stanković.<sup>1</sup> For the description

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<sup>1</sup> Rasim S. Živojević, *Goražde u prošlosti i danas* (Sarajevo: Geografsko društvo Bosne i Hercegovine, 1964); Dragutin J. Deroko, *Drina: geografsko-turistička* (Novi Sad: Društvo Fruška gora, 1939); Stevan Stanković, 'Geografski položaj Drine', in *Drina* (Beograd, Srpsko Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2005), 8–20.



of geographical characteristics, we have also consulted travelogues by numerous travellers and explorers who visited the region. These travel journals were created in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Their content substantially compensates for the lack of primary sources from the Middle Ages, seeing as the geographical space and natural environment remained largely unchanged until the start of industrialization. These travel accounts are particularly significant for the reconstruction and establishment of geographic, ethnographic, and various other types of information related to the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup>

The medieval župas of Upper Podrinje were established in broad valleys and basins. They were commonly small in scale because of the natural features of the terrain. A special place in the examination of the meaning of “land” belongs to academic Miloš Blagojević and Professor Siniša Mišić, who concluded in their studies that two or more župas constituted a land. In the upper course of the Drina lay the Land of Drina, which, similarly to most lands in medieval Serbia, never gained independence. The Land of Drina consisted of the following župas and *oblasts* (*areas*): Drina, Sutjeska, Drinaljevo, Gvoza, Bistrica, Goražde and Pribud.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Petar Matković, ‘Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka (II. Putovanje B. Kuripešića, L. Nogarola i B. Ramberta)’, *RAD Jugoslovenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* LVI (1881), 141–233; Radovan Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika* (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 1961); Bogumil Hrabak, ‘Putnici iz hrišćanske Evrope o privrednim prilikama slovenskih zemalja na Balkanu pod Turcima u XVI veku’, *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* VI (1969), 10–49; Siniša Mišić, ‘Polimlje i Potarje u putopisima XVI i XVII veka’, *Glasnik Zavičajnog muzeja* 7 (2010), 19–26.

<sup>3</sup> Siniša Mišić, ‘Zemlja u državi Nemanjića’, *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* 2–3 (1997), 133–146; Miloš Blagojević, ‘Podrinje između srpskih srednjovekovnih država’, in *Drina* (Beograd, Srpsko Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2005), 29–68; Siniša Mišić, ‘Territorial Division and Representatives of the Local Administration in the Medieval Bosnian State in 13(th) and 14(th) Century’, *Beogradski istorijski glasnik* 1 (2010), 69–86.

The main source for defining this area in the Early Middle Ages is the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*.<sup>4</sup> Some information can also be found in sources of foreign origin, primarily Byzantine, which we consulted in the writing of this paper.<sup>5</sup> Our research also relied on invaluable 15<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman sources: *The Collective Defter of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69* and *Individual Defter of the Sanjak of Hercegovina Vilayet 1475/77*.<sup>6</sup> Particularly noteworthy were sources from the Dubrovnik Archive.<sup>7</sup> Primary sources from the Dubrovnik Archive pertaining to Upper Podrinje were published by academic Desanka Kovačević-Kojić in her study *Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja gornjeg Podrinja*.<sup>8</sup> More recently, medieval sources from the Dubrovnik State Archive related to the history of Bosnia were published by Esad Kurtović.<sup>9</sup> Finally, to round out the examination, we referred to synthetic works such as *Istorija Srba*, *Istorija naroda Jugoslavije*, *Istorija*

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<sup>4</sup> Dragana Kunčer, *Gesta regum Sclavorum I* (Beograd, Nikšić: Istorijski Institut, Manastir Ostrog, 2009); Tibor Živković, *Gesta regum Sclavorum 2* (Beograd, Nikšić: Istorijski institut, Manastir Ostrog, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> Božidar Ferjančić, *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije II* (Beograd: Vizantološki institut SANU, 1959); Jovanka Kalić, Božidar Ferjančić, Ninoslava Radošević-Maksimović, *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije IV* (Beograd: Vizantološki institut SANU, 1971).

<sup>6</sup> Ahmed S. Aličić, *Sumarni popis sandžaka Bosna iz 1468/69. godine* (Mostar: Islamski kulturni centar, 2008); Ahmed S. Aličić, *Poimenični popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1985).

<sup>7</sup> Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku (DAD): *Debita Notariae (Deb. Not.)* and *Diversa Cancellariae (Div. Canc.)*; Mihailo Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog arhiva III* (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1967).

<sup>8</sup> Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, 'Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja gornjeg Podrinja', *Naše starine XIV–XV* (1981), 109–125.

<sup>9</sup> Esad Kurtović, *Izvori za historiju srednjovekovne Bosne I: (ispisi iz knjiga zaduženja Državnog arhiva u Dubrovniku 1365-1521)* (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 2017); Esad Kurtović, *Arhivska građa za historiju srednjovekovne Bosne: (ispisi iz knjiga kancelarije Državnog arhiva u Dubrovniku 1341-1526)* (Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, Historijski arhiv, 2019).

*Crne Gore, Istorija srpskog naroda*, which clarify a number of questions relevant to our subject matter.<sup>10</sup>

In chronological terms, this paper covers the period from the arrival of the Slavs to the Balkan Peninsula until the Ottoman conquest of the observed area, and the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The most thorough research of Upper Podrinje thus far has been carried out by Desanka Kovačević-Kojić in the study *Gradska naselja srednjovjekovne bosanske države*, based mainly on material from Dubrovnik. In addition, a series of her treatises was published in a separate collection, many of which refer to the structure of urban settlements in this area.<sup>11</sup>

We based our presentation of settlements and demographics in this region on the data from Ottoman censuses: *Collective Defter of the Sanjak of Bosnia 1468/69* and *Individual Defter of the Sanjak of Herzegovina Vilayet 1475/77*. The defters are an important historical source containing a plethora of data on settlements and their inhabitants, and serve as a good foundation for establishing key facts pertaining to the period shortly before Ottoman rule. They include all types of settlements and various categories of the population. The defters present the actual situation across the basic administrative entities – the *nahiyes*. A thorough examination and comparison of these two Ottoman censuses allow us to discern the form

<sup>10</sup> Bogo Grafenauer, Dušan Perović, Jaroslav Šidak, *Istorija naroda Jugoslavije I* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1953); Zarija Bešić, Draga Garašanin, Milutin Garašanin, Jovan Kovačević, *Istorija Crne Gore. Knj. 1, Od najstarijih vremena do kraja XII vijeka* (Titograd: Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore, 1967); Sima M. Ćirković, Dimitrije Bogdanović, Vojislav Korać, Jovanka Maksimović, Pavle Mijović, *Istorija Crne Gore. Knj. 2, Od kraja XII do kraja XV vijeka. T. 1, Crna Gora u doba Nemanjića* (Titograd: Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore, 1970); Dimitrije Bogdanović, et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda II* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1982).

<sup>11</sup> Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, *Gradska naselja srednjovjekovne bosanske države* (Sarajevo: “Veselin Masleša”, 1978); Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, *Gradski život u Srbiji i Bosni (XIV i XV vijek)* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2007).

of administrative organization, typology of settlements, population movements, agrarian relations, classification of social groups and their status, the tax system, the economy, religious relations, etc. Ottoman defters give us an opportunity to estimate the population by village and *nahiye*. If we take a cautious and retrospective approach, these censuses can significantly contribute to offsetting the deficiency of sources for the reconstruction of settlements and demographics in this area during medieval times. Alongside these primary sources, the study by Hazim Šabanović is indispensable for gaining an overview of the *nahiyes* in the Land of Drina in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup>

Various materials were consulted to present the towns and fortresses in the region. The key documents for examining this topic are the three charters issued to Stefan Vukčić Kosača (in 1444, 1448 and 1454), published by Ludwig von Thallóczy, diplomat and historian from Austro-Hungary. Mihailo Dinić played a vital role in deciphering the towns and toponyms in the charters, presenting the results of his analysis in his prominent study *Zemlje hercega Svetoga Save*. He used the charters as the foundation for an overview of the territory of the herceg's lands, including all their towns and župas. A study by Marko Vego complements Dinić's findings on this subject. In 2010, a comprehensive work was published: *Leksikon gradova i trgova srednjovekovnih srpskih zemalja – prema pisanim izvorima*, edited by S. Mišić. This landmark publication is particularly significant for our topic.<sup>13</sup>

For political circumstances in this area, studies by Mihailo Dinić, Sima Ćirković, Miloš Blagojević, Rade Mihaljčić and

<sup>12</sup> Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk postanak i upravna podela* (Sarajevo: Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine, 1959).

<sup>13</sup> Siniša Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova srednjovekovnih srpskih zemalja – prema pisanim izvorima* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010).

Andrija Veselinović are also noteworthy. Drawing on the extensive material from the Dubrovnik Archive, these studies illuminate the political situation in the region in question.<sup>14</sup>

Along with Serbian medievalists, Bosnian historians have lately shown an interest in this area. In this regard, the recent monograph by Esad Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda bosanski Sandalj Hranić Kosača*, is central for its wealth of information on the history of this region during the rule of Duke Sandalj Hranić.<sup>15</sup> Papers by Sejfidin Isaković and Nina Čuljak also contain valuable insights.<sup>16</sup>

As in all places, nature determined human activities. The characteristic features of the morphology of Upper Podrinje are the Drina Valley itself and the mountains surrounding it. The configuration of the terrain, its geographical features and its climate led to crop cultivation and animal husbandry being the primary activities in the region in the Middle Ages. Studies by Miloš Blagojević and Desanka Kovačević-Kojić are vital for examining the economy.<sup>17</sup> An overview of the area's economy

<sup>14</sup> Mihailo Dinić, *Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku. Istorijско–geografske studije* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1978); Sima Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1964); Sima Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić–Kosača i njegovo doba* (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1964); Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 29–68; Rade Mihaljčić, *Kraj Srpskog carstva I* (Beograd: Srpska školska knjiga, Knowledge, 2001); Andrija Veselinović, 'Granica između Srbije i Bosne u XV veku', in Slavenko Terzić, ed., *Bosna i Hercegovina od srednjeg veka do novijeg vremena* (Beograd, Novi Sad: Istorijски institut SANU, Pravoslavna reč, Beograd, 1995), 87–100; Andrija Veselinović, *Država srpskih despota* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2006).

<sup>15</sup> Esad Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda bosanski Sandalj Hranić Kosača* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2009).

<sup>16</sup> Sejfidin Isaković, 'Tjentište u srednjem vijeku', *Godišnjak BZK "Preporod"* XIII (2013), 349–372; Nina Čuljak, 'Grad Vrtar (Sutiska) na putu Via Drine', *Hercegovina* 4 (2018), 173–199.

<sup>17</sup> Miloš Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Beograd: Istorijски institut, 1973); Miloš Blagojević, *Zemljoradnički zakon: srednjovekovni rukopis* (Beograd: SANU, 2007); Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, 'Privredni raz-

is provided in the Ottoman defter from 1475/77, which addresses core questions about occupations, the economy, and the economic situation of the inhabitants, and in particular agricultural yields and revenues. With the help of Dubrovnik Archive materials, this paper will present the development of trade and the commercial links of this region. The earliest information on commerce and trade routes in this area was unveiled by Konstantin Jireček, who wrote about *trade routes and mines* in 1879. Mihailo Dinić provided further valuable insights prior to the Second World War. In recent decades, trade and market places were examined in the studies by Bogumil Hrabak, D. Kovačević-Kojić, Gavro Škrivanić, Pavo Živković and Esad Kurtović. These works have explored the development and dynamics of trade, and the activity of Dubrovnikan and local merchants in the Middle Ages.<sup>18</sup> The complex question of mining was tackled by Adem Handžić. He researched mining in the territory of Bosnia in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century,

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voj srednjovjekovne bosanske države', in Enver Redžić, ed., *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine I. Društvo i privreda srednjovjekovne bosanske države* (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1987), 89–186.

<sup>18</sup> Konstantin Jireček, 'Trgovački putevi i rudnici Srbije i Bosne u srednjem veku', in Mihailo Dinić, ed., *Zbornik Konstantina Jirečeka I* (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1959), 205–304; Mihailo Dinić, 'Dubrovačka srednjovekovna karavanska trgovina', *Jugoslavenski istorijski časopis* 1–4 (1937), 119–145; Bogumil Hrabak, 'Goražde od XIV do XVI veka', *Jugoslavenski istorijski časopis* 2 (1997), 17–40; Bogumil Hrabak, *Foča do kraja XVIII veka* (Beograd: B. Hrabak, 1999); Desanka Kovačević, *Trgovina u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni* (Sarajevo: Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine, 1961); Gavro Škrivanić, *Putevi u srednjovjekovnoj Srbiji* (Beograd: Turistička štampa, 1974); Pavo Živković, *Utjecaj primorskih gradova na ekonomsko – socijalne promjene u bosanskom društvu u 14. i 15. stoljeću (Pojava građanske klase i novog plemstva)* (Tuzla: Univerzal, 1986); Esad Kurtović, 'Zaduživanja Radoja Dubjevića, trgovca iz Foče', *Bosna franciscana* XIV/25 (2006), 181–190; Esad Kurtović, 'Zlatarići–trgovci iz Goražda', *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja* 33 (2006), 197–210.



providing data relevant to Upper Podrinje for our topic.<sup>19</sup> With the help of available data and sources, we will present other occupations that existed among the population in this region.

From the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Kosačas ruled these lands. The family originated in Upper Podrinje – the village Kosače near Ilovača, some 12 km southwest of Goražde. The reign of the Kosačas was the subject of two collections of papers, compiled from scientific conferences. Particularly valuable are the collections from the fourth Ćorović Conference for Historians in Gacko (September 2000), *Kosače – osnivači Hercegovine (Kosačas – the founders of Herzegovina)*,<sup>20</sup> and *Herceg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača i njegovo doba (Herceg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača and his time)* from the conference held in Mostar in May 2003.<sup>21</sup>

The systematic study of Upper Podrinje began in the 1970s with a multidisciplinary scientific research project titled *Drina u doba Kosača (Drina in the time of the Kosačas)*. This effort led to an extensive examination of the Dubrovnik Archive, fieldwork, archaeological investigations, and excavations. Preliminary results were published in 1981 in the journal *Naše Starine*, but the project was never fully completed.<sup>22</sup>

Our research has the following objectives: to gather all known library materials on the Land of Drina; to collect previously unknown historical sources and classify them; to define the boundaries of the župas and the Land of Drina, and assess its position relative to its surroundings based on historical evidence; to identify and describe the towns and fortresses in

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<sup>19</sup> Adem Handžić, 'Rudnici u Bosni u drugoj polovini XV stoljeća', *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* XXVI (1978), 7–42.

<sup>20</sup> *Kosače – osnivači Hercegovine* (Bileća, Gacko, Beograd: Prosvjeta, Fond "Vladimir i Svetozar Ćorović", 2002).

<sup>21</sup> *Herceg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača i njegovo doba* (Mostar: Bošnjačka zajednica Kulture 'Preporod', Gradsko društvo Mostar, 2005).

<sup>22</sup> 'Drina u doba Kosača', *Naše Starine* XIV–XV (1981), 107–202.

this area; to determine the locations of settlements and compare them to their present-day counterparts; to analyze the population of the region using Ottoman censuses; to examine the political circumstances in this area; to provide an overview of the overall economic environment; and to present the historical development of the region from its earliest mentions to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century based on the above findings.

Before delving into these questions, we collected and classified all available sources relevant to our topic published to date. We investigated these sources in light of achievements of historical science and other pertinent scientific disciplines (archaeology, philology and others). We employed both comparative and synthetic methods, so as to accentuate similarities and differences. Additionally, we utilized statistical methods to present and analyze relevant databases.

In the examination of this region, we also availed ourselves of the available historical, geographical and military maps. The text is accompanied by a number of photographs illustrating objects of special importance for the medieval history of this region. We have also provided tables containing data on settlements and demographics extracted from Ottoman defters.

Our research is motivated by the desire to provide a new contribution to the scientific understanding of medieval Bosnia, and to lay the groundwork for future studies of the Land of Drina during the Middle Ages.



## II. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND NATURAL FEATURES

Historiographical research of an area incorporates its physical properties as determined by geography: terrain, hydrography, climate, and plant and animal life. This is true for Podrinje as well.<sup>23</sup> Geographically, the region is divided into Upper, Middle and Lower Podrinje. According to geographers, Upper Podrinje includes the towns of Foča, Goražde and Višegrad. This region encompasses the Drina River basin located in a small part of present-day Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>24</sup>

Upper Podrinje is characterized by a dense hydrographic network. The Drina originates at the confluence of the rivers Tara and Piva near the village of Šćepan Polje, at the elevation of 433 m above sea level. The basin of the upper course of the river, with a surface area of 10,425 km<sup>2</sup>, makes up 52.27 per cent of the entire Drina basin. The upper section of the river is 92 km long.<sup>25</sup> In this part of the watercourse, the Drina and its tributaries are fed by water descending from the following mountains: Durmitor (2522 m), Maglić (2387 m), Ljubišnja

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<sup>23</sup> Historical geography examines elements such as the population of an area, its ethnic composition, migration, establishment and development of settlements. See: Miloš Blagojević, 'Istorijska geografija i prostor Republike Srpske. Potreba i mogućnost istraživanja', in Drago Branković, ed., *Zbornik sa naučnog skupa Filozofsko-filološke nauke na početku 21. vijeka-problemi i pravci razvoja* – II (Banja Luka: Filozofski fakultet, 2001), 260.

<sup>24</sup> Deroko, *Drina*, 7–16; Slobodan Ristanović, *Reka Drina i Podrinje* (Beograd: Vukan, 2000), 5–8; Stanković, 'Geografski položaj Drine', 12–13; Ljiljana Gavrilović, *Drina sa svojim pritokama*, in *Drina* (Beograd, Srpsko Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2005), 215–225.

<sup>25</sup> Ljiljana Gavrilović, Dušan Đukić, *Reke Srbije* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2002), 48.

(2238 m), Lelija (2032 m), Vučevica (1491 m), Goleš (1492 m), Jahorina (1913 m) and Javor (1526 m). Upper Podrinje also includes limestone mountains in southeastern Bosnia and a part of Stari Vlah.<sup>26</sup>

The Drina cut its upper course through Triassic limestone. The river bed is composed of sandstone, and the terrain features numerous springs and creeks. To the northeast of Goražde, the river carved a valley, forming the prominent Međeđa gorge. This area contains elevated surfaces with limestone ridges characteristic of true karst.<sup>27</sup>

The only notable plains along the Drina in Upper Podrinje are at Foča and Goražde. After them, the river flows into the Međeđa gorge.<sup>28</sup>

Šćepan Polje is a small settlement located on a fluvio-glacial terrace at the elevation of 480 to 500 m. This is the point where the Piva and Tara rivers converge to form the Drina.<sup>29</sup>

*Foča* is situated in the northern reaches of Dinaric karst regions and hills. It is hemmed in by Čelovina (860 m) to the northeast, Gradačka Stijena (899) to the west, Kmur (1509 m) to the south, and Zabrana to the southeast. Between these highlands, the Foča valley is carved out by the convergence of the Drina and Čehotina rivers. To a lesser extent, Foča developed in the lower areas where the rivers widen, leading to erosion and denudation. To a greater extent, the town is situated on the remnants of fluvio-glacial terraces and a lower alluvial

<sup>26</sup> Deroko, *Drina*, 8; Ristanović, *Reka Drina*, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Deroko, *Drina*, 8–12; Ristanović, *Reka Drina*, 5–16; Milorad Vasović, 'Jovan Cvijić o značaju i perspektivama Podrinja', in Stevan Stanković, ed., *Jovan Cvijić i Podrinje* (Loznica: Centar za kulturu "Vuk Karadžić", 2004), 21–25.

<sup>28</sup> Deroko, *Drina*, 12, 145.

<sup>29</sup> Srboľjub Đ. Stamenković, 'Stanovništvo i naselja', in *Drina* (Beograd, Srpsko Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2005), 290.

terrace. Foča rests at the mean elevation of 400 m.<sup>30</sup> The core of medieval Foča emerged on the right bank of the Čehotina.<sup>31</sup>

*Goražde* is located below the eastern slopes of the Jahorina mountain at the elevation of 345 m. The town developed in a broad valley characterized by gentle slopes and round hills, formed by erosion and denudation caused by the Drina and its tributary, Podhranjenski Potok. The terrain features terraces, which are the most preserved in the broad valley floor. The terraces on which the town of Goražde is situated are composed of gravel and fine sand, and are predominantly alluvial.<sup>32</sup>

The *Drina* cut long, deep gorges through mountain ranges, with wide sections at the confluences of the Bistrica and Čehotina at Foča, and at Goražde.<sup>33</sup> The Drina has a composite valley with a series of ravines and broad expanses. Its watershed is augmented by a number of confluent on both its sides. At the start of its course, the Drina flows to the northwest, and is joined by a left tributary, the Sutjeska, at the village of Bastasi. Its course then shifts to the north towards Foča, where it is fed by the Bistrica on the left side and the Čehotina on the right. Downstream from Goražde, at the Ustiprača village, the river accepts the Prača on the left, and further along, the Janjina on the right. At Međeđa, it also receives the Lim on the right.<sup>34</sup>

The *Tara* is the right parent river of the Drina (with 141 km in length). Its source lies beneath the Komovi mountain. From the town of Mojkovac to Šćepan Polje, it forms the deepest

<sup>30</sup> The geographical position of Foča was best explained by Bajo Krivokapić, 'Foča', *Geografski horizonti* 4 (1961), 14–19.

<sup>31</sup> Alija Bejtić, 'Povjest i umjetnost Foče na Drini', *Naše starine* III–IV (1956), 43.

<sup>32</sup> Rasim S. Živojević, *Goražde u prošlosti i danas* (Sarajevo: Geografsko društvo Bosne i Hercegovine, 1964) 7–18.

<sup>33</sup> Ljiljana Gavrilović, *Klima*, in *Drina* (Beograd, Srpsko Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2005), 179–187.

<sup>34</sup> Deroko, *Drina*, 10.



canyon in Europe. The river has few tributaries, with the Sušica and the Draga being the most prominent.<sup>35</sup>

The *Piva* is the left parent river of the Drina (78 km long). It is formed at the confluence of the Komarnica and the stream emerging from the Sinjac spring. Before joining with the Piva, the Komarnica receives water from the rivers Bukovica, Bijela and Tušina. The Piva is the name of the watercourse from the Sinjac wellspring to the confluence with the Tara. Along this course, the Piva accepts a number of branches, including the Vrbnica and the Mratinjski Potok. Most of the river passes through a canyon that reaches the depth of 1100 m below the Piva mountain.<sup>36</sup>

The *Sutjeska* is a left tributary of the Drina (40 km long). Its source is on the Volujak mountain, below Vlasulja peak, at the elevation of 1500 m. Its gorge cuts between Volujak and Maglić to the east, and Zelengora and Treskavica to the west. Its main tributaries are the Jabučnica and Perućica.<sup>37</sup>

The Čehotina originates on the slopes of the Stožer mountain (1380 m), and flows from southeast to northwest. It primarily traverses a gorge and partly a canyon. The main widenings are the basins of Pljevlja and Foča. The branches of the Čehotina are short mountain rivers, with the longest being: the Breznica, Justica, Vezičnica, Voloder, and Skakavac.<sup>38</sup>

The *Prača* emerges from the northern slopes of Jahorina (1462 m) and flows into the Drina after 61 km at the village of Ustiprača. Its valley is deep and narrow, particularly between Kaljani and Mesići. At Ustiprača, the Drina enters the Međeda

<sup>35</sup> Gavrilović, Dukić, *Reke Srbije*, 48–49; Gavrilović, *Drina sa svojim pritokama*, 208–211.

<sup>36</sup> Gavrilović, Dukić, *Reke Srbije*, 49.

<sup>37</sup> Deroko, *Drina*, 94–101; Ristanović, *Reka Drina*, 93–94; Gavrilović, *Drina sa svojim pritokama*, 216–219.

<sup>38</sup> Gavrilović, *Drina sa svojim pritokama*, 216–219.

gorge, a limestone gorge resembling a canyon, which stretches 26 km in length and exceeds 700 m in depth. In this gorge, on the right side, the Drina merges with its largest tributary, the *Lim*. The Drina's parent rivers are abundant in water, making up 80% of its discharge.<sup>39</sup>

The names Drina (*Drinius*) and Tara predate Roman times, and Lim, Piva, Prača and others predate the Slavs' arrival.<sup>40</sup> The wealth of waters in this region has always been a valuable resource for the communities living here. As a result of heavy precipitation, the Drina flooded its valley a number of times. Four catastrophic floods have been recorded after the 15<sup>th</sup> century: in 1667, 1731, 1737 and 1896.<sup>41</sup>

The rich hydrographic network of the Drina has in the past allowed for both external accessibility to the area and its internal transport connectivity. River valleys enabled the creation of roads, and valley widenings provided conditions for the development of settlements and agricultural production.<sup>42</sup> In medieval times, the Drina valley was covered by a network of roads linking the central and eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula with the middle part of the Adriatic coast.

Travelogues from the distant past are invaluable for establishing geographic, topographic, ethnographic, and other information. Most travel narratives in this region were written by French travel writers, diplomats and courtiers. Travellers mostly took the well-known medieval route Dubrovnik – Trebinje – Gacko – Tjentište – Foča – Pljevlja – Prijepolje – Milošev Dol – Sjenica – Novi Pazar, and onward to the east. Less frequently, the route Vrhbosna (Sarajevo) – Hodidjed –

<sup>39</sup> Gavrilović, *Drina sa svojim pritokama*, 221–222.

<sup>40</sup> Dragoslav Srejskić et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruka, 1981), 131.

<sup>41</sup> Deroko, *Drina*, 13; Krivokapić, 'Foča', 17–18.

<sup>42</sup> Deroko, *Drina*, 41–43.

Prača – Goražde – Čajniče – Pljevlja – Prijepolje was used.<sup>43</sup> Travel literature from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries considerably helps to compensate for the lack of primary sources from the previous period. However, travel writers were often scant in their descriptions of settlements, plains, mountains, rivers and the climate. Sometimes they even presented information that was wholly or partially incorrect, which is why we must exercise caution when consulting their writings.

All 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century travel writers who traversed Upper Podrinje mentioned the Drina River and Foča. In 1530, Benedikt Kuripešić wrote in his travelogue that the Lim and the Uvac converged below Priboj and flowed into the Drina. Four years later, in 1534, Venetian diplomat Benedetto Ramberti, travelling from Dubrovnik, noted that the water of the Drina was beautiful.<sup>44</sup> In 1547, travel writer Jean Chesneau, passing through Herzegovina as part of French Ambassador d'Aramon's expedition to Constantinople, remarked that Foča was a settlement in Serbia with developed trade, featuring numerous stores and merchants.<sup>45</sup> When travelling through Foča in 1548, Jacques Gassot depicted it as a large and wealthy village with robust commerce.<sup>46</sup> Paolo Contarini, the Venetian ambassador to Constantinople from 1580 to 1583, wrote in his 1580 travel journal that he crossed the Drina with difficulty, after which he traversed the mountains through rain, snow, and wind.<sup>47</sup> In 1610, the archbishop of Bar and travel writer Marino Bizzi portrayed

<sup>43</sup> Škrivanić, *Putevi*, 48, 120–126; Srđan Rudić, 'Pljevaljski kraj u putopisima 16. veka', *Glasnik Zavičajnog muzeja* 2 (2001), 129–136; Mišić, 'Polimlje i Potarje', 19–26.

<sup>44</sup> Matković, 'Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka', 214.

<sup>45</sup> Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 112; Hrabak, 'Putnici iz hrišćanske Evrope', 37.

<sup>46</sup> Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 114–115.

<sup>47</sup> Petar Matković, 'Dva talijanska putopisa po Balkanskom poluotoku iz XVI veka', *Starine Jugoslovenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* X (1878), 214; Matković, 'Putovanja', 98; S. Mišić, 'Polimlje i Potarje', 24.

Foča as a fair town.<sup>48</sup> Pier Lefevure gave a vivid description of Foča in his travel memoir (1611), writing that the town could be approached by a large wooden bridge over the Drina. The bridge had a single arch, with an abutment on either side. After crossing the bridge, the French expedition passed through a small village of five or six houses and reached the town after an hour and a half of travelling along the riverbank. Another bridge stood there, this one over the Čehotina, a tributary of the Drina. The town was not fortified. It contained some 800 houses that were very low and windowless, and numerous small mosques. Lefevure saw Foča as quite a scenic place.<sup>49</sup> In 1626, French envoy Louis de E-a passed through Foča. An anonymous member of his expedition wrote that the town was five long days away from Dubrovnik. He went on to describe it as a small town with earth and mud houses, situated at the mouth of the Čehotina into the Drina. The writer also noted the surroundings were full of hillocks and vales.<sup>50</sup> There was consensus among travel writers that the trip from Pljevlja to Foča was arduous, as it passed over the Kovač (*Couatz*) mountain.<sup>51</sup> The only means of transport on the Podrinje roads were riding horses and packhorses.<sup>52</sup>

Evliya Çelebi, one of the most notable Ottoman travel writers, journeyed through this area in 1664. During his stay in Foča in 1664 he made some interesting observations. Çelebi wrote that the Drina flowed through the middle of the town,

<sup>48</sup> Dragan R. Nikolić, *Evropski putopisci o Mileševi* (Prijepolje: Polimlje, 1994), 54–55.

<sup>49</sup> Vjekoslav Jelavić, *Kratki francuski putopis kroz Hercegovinu i Novopazaraski sandžak iz godine 1611* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1907), 473–474; Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 159.

<sup>50</sup> Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 173.

<sup>51</sup> Rudić, 'Pljevaljski kraj', 131–133; Mišić, 'Polimlje i Potarje', 23.

<sup>52</sup> Ema Miljković, 'Krstareći osmanskim carstvom: putevi i gradovi', *Teme* 1 (2010), 348–350.

next to a square with many shops. Along its banks were houses of affluent inhabitants. The townsfolk crossed the river by boat. The length of the town measured 4,000 steps along the riverbank. The main part of the settlement was located to the southeast of the river, whereas orchards extended to the north and west. The Ćehotina flowed in from the eastern side of town, and fed into the Drina under the tannery. A bridge of old make stood on the Drina, unusually wide and unsafe for the passage of people, horses, mules and other livestock.<sup>53</sup> All travel writers complained about the poor roads, difficult terrain and inadequate accommodation along the route.

The climate in Upper Podrinje can be classified as valley (*župna*) and humid continental, and in higher reaches – subalpine. In this region, air masses from the Pannonian Basin to the north and the Adriatic Basin to the south converge. Springs are chilly, with uneven precipitation, summers are warm, autumns are rainy, and winters are cold and snowy. During his journey, Ćelebi remarked a number of times that the climate in Foča was quite pleasant.<sup>54</sup>

In the past, the Drina's spacious drainage basin was characterized by an abundant and diverse forest cover. Serbian medieval sources differentiate several types of forest cover: *gaj*, *lug*, *šuma* (today commonly used to mean forest), *gora* (today usually denotes hills or mountains) and *gvozd*.<sup>55</sup> In the Middle Ages, the dense forests of the region made transit hazardous, since bandits would hide in the woods. For this reason, there was a watch in place to ensure a safe journey. We learn of the wealth of forests and the presence of guardsmen from our sources.

<sup>53</sup> Evliya Ćelebi, 'Putopis: odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama II', in Hazim Šabanović, ed., (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973), 10, 151–160, 162, 167–175.

<sup>54</sup> Ćelebi, 'Putopis II', 158, 153, 167.

<sup>55</sup> Siniša Mišić, *Korišćenje unutrašnjih voda u srpskim zemljama srednjeg veka* (Beograd: Utopija, 2007), 29–31.

Cornelis Duplicius de Schepper journeyed to Constantinople as an advisor and secretary to Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in 1533. On this trip, he mentioned a forest along the section of the road between Foča and Pljevlja.<sup>56</sup> In 1534, Benedetto Ramberti wrote that his group encountered three watches en route from Foča to Pljevlja.<sup>57</sup> Upon leaving Foča, the Frenchman Jacques Gassot (1548) and his expedition traversed the forests, which were highly treacherous on account of thieves. Villagers would keep a lookout and bang on drums to signal when the path was clear and travellers could continue their journey.<sup>58</sup> As he was leaving the town, Lefevure described the mountain between Foča and Ustikolina as covered by an oak forest.<sup>59</sup> Çelebi (1664) reported that the mountains surrounding Foča were covered by great woods with huge trees.<sup>60</sup> The dense forests of Podrinje were utilized for timber, the main construction material, which was transported across the Drina on rafts. This manner of exploitation and transport was employed for centuries.<sup>61</sup> When forest cover was denser and human influence weaker, the region was full of animal life. There were many roe deer, red deer, chamois, bears, boars, rabbits, beavers, etc.<sup>62</sup> Lefevure remarked that the mountain region between Foča and Ustikolina was abundant with wildlife, and mentioned in particular turtle doves and rock pigeons.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Hrabak, 'Putnici iz hrišćanske Evrope', 24.

<sup>57</sup> Matković, 'Putovanja', 214.

<sup>58</sup> Mihailo Dinić, 'Tri francuska putopisca XVI veka o našim zemljama', *Go-dišnjica Nikole Čupića* 49 (1940), 88; Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 114–115; Hrabak, 'Putnici iz hrišćanske Evrope', 24.

<sup>59</sup> Jelavić, *Kratki francuski putopis*, 474–475; Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 156–157.

<sup>60</sup> Çelebi, 'Putopis II', 167.

<sup>61</sup> Deroko, *Drina*, 32.

<sup>62</sup> Siniša Mišić, 'Lov u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji', *Istorijski glasnik* 1–2 (1995), 51–66.

<sup>63</sup> Jelavić, *Kratki francuski putopis*, 474; Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 156.



An overview of the geographical features of Upper Podrinje indicates that its medieval population enjoyed highly beneficial natural conditions: favourable terrain, shelter from strong winds, fertile soil, a dense hydrographic network, abundant ores, forests, moisture, expansive mountain pastures, good road connectivity, and notable air currents with clean air. All these characteristics provided the region's inhabitants with favourable living conditions, naturally explaining why Upper Podrinje was settled relatively early.

### III. ŽUPAS AND THE LAND OF DRINA, SETTLEMENTS AND DEMOGRAPHICS

#### III.1. Župas and the Land of Drina

**H**istorical sources and literature mention Drina as a land in the area of Upper Podrinje. The Land of Drina incorporated the župas of Drina, Sutjeska, Drinaljevo, Gvoza, Bistrica, Goražde and Pribud. The names of župas and lands date back to pre-Roman, pre-Slavic and Slavic times, signifying that the Slavs did not settle a vacant land.

Upon arriving in the Balkans, the Slavs inhabited these regions, organizing them as župas. After settling, it is believed that territorial considerations came to outweigh kinship ties. Thus, in its primary meaning, a župa is a “defended and sheltered area of common residence”.<sup>64</sup>

In medieval Serbian and Bosnian states, the župa was the smallest administrative and territorial unit. As a general term, a župa is a tame area with arable land, and a mild and favourable climate conducive to crop cultivation and viticulture. According to some researchers, the word župa came from the Slavs’ original homeland, where it denoted a group of blood relatives living in the same area.<sup>65</sup> Some of the many sheltered basins called župas have retained their names to this day.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Sima Ćirković, Rade Mihaljčić, *Leksikon srpskog srednjeg veka* (Beograd: Knowledge, 1999), 195–197.

<sup>65</sup> Miloš Blagojević, Dejan Medaković, *Istorija srpske državnosti I* (Novi Sad: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 2000), 21–22.

<sup>66</sup> Today’s names of certain areas, such as Nikšićka Župa in Montenegro, Velika Župa near Prijepolje, and Aleksandrovačka Župa in Serbia, retain the original meaning of the word in the Balkans, confirming that two main char-

Župas lay in river valleys and basins, karst fields and cultivated plains. The concept of *župa* existed among all Slavs between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to Stojan Novaković, a *župa* is more of a “geographical and administrative term, and everything that *župas* were said to be were, in reality, villages”. In territorial terms, *župas* varied in scale. Some of them were small river valleys, and others large karst fields (Popovo, Dabar, Nevesinje and others). Many *župas* in Serbia were named after the river valleys across which they extended, sometimes divided into upper and lower *župas* based on the course of the river and slope of the land (Ibar, Polog, Lab and Grbalj). Some were also named after lakes (Plav). Initially, *župas* were self-contained geographical entities. The seat of a *župa* was a town that could not exist in isolation from its near surroundings and wider agricultural hinterland. A *župa*’s population had the obligation to work, to continuously safeguard the town, and to keep it in a good condition through repairs and construction. Boundaries between *župas* were barren hills or forests, where the residents of neighbouring villagers had to keep watch over the roads. In the Middle Ages, the *župa* collectively assumed responsibility for banditry and theft.<sup>67</sup>

The head of a *župa* was a *župan*, an elder from the ranks of the most powerful family. The earliest mention of the title of *župan* in a Slav-inhabited region was in 777 – the *župan* by

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acteristics of *župas* – their specific geographical position and climate – have not changed.

<sup>67</sup> See: Stojan Novaković, *Selo* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1965), 28–40; Konstantin Jireček, *Istorija Srba II* (Beograd: Slovo ljubve, 1978), 4–5; Miloš Blagojević, ‘Grad i župa-međe gradskog društva’, in Jovanka Kalić, Milosav Čolović, ed., *Socijalna struktura srpskih gradskih naselja* (XII–XVIII vek) (Smederevo, Beograd: Muzej u Smederevu, Odeljenje za istoriju Filozofskog fakulteta, 1992), 67–84; Mišić, ‘Zemlja’, 133–134; Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 195–197.

the name of Fiso (*Physso*).<sup>68</sup> The description of the coastal župa of Konavli in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century reveals what made up the territory and parts of a župa: all the villages and people and lands and pastures and waters and mills and income, and everything that belongs to the župa of Konavli with all its margins and borders. Boundaries were represented by marks and symbols.<sup>69</sup>

Medieval written sources contained numerous categories of “lands”. Most often, the term was used to signify the territory of a state (Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian and Hungarian land). It was used to designate historical regions that contained a number of župas, each with precisely defined borders and varying degrees of political independence. These included Pagania (Land of the Narentines), Hum Land, Syrmian Land, Travunia, Bosnia, Zeta and Rascia. Lands were administrative districts consisting of a number of župas. As self-contained geographical entities, they were clearly identifiable in the territorial and administrative organization. A land could comprise the core of a constituent principality (Moravice Land). The best indicator of the significance of lands of medieval Bosnia is the fact that they are mentioned in the titles of Bosnian rulers (Bosnia, Usora, Soli, Hum, Zagorje, Drina, Podrinje). Some of the above medieval lands have persisted as historical regions to this day (Bosnia, Podrinje, Soli).<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Ćirković, Bogdanović, Korać, Maksimović, Mijović, *Istorija Crne Gore II/1*, 302; Rade Mihaljčić, *Vladarske titule oblasnih gospodara. Prilog vladarskoj ideologiji u starijoj srpskoj prošlosti VI* (Beograd: Srpska školska knjiga, Knowledge, 2001), 78–79; Arandel Smiljanić, ‘Titula župana od prvog pomena do kraja XII vijeka’, *Glasnik udruženja arhivskih radnika Republike Srpske* 1 (2009), 100–114; In *De Administrando Imperio*, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus stated that Slavic tribes had no archons (rulers), only old župans. Ferjančić, *Vizantijski izvori II*, 14–15.

<sup>69</sup> Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 196.

<sup>70</sup> Miloš Blagojević, ‘Srpsko kraljevstvo i „države“ u delu Danila II’, in Vojislav J. Đurić, ed., *Arhiepiskop Danilo i njegovo doba* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1991), 140–142; Mišić, ‘Zemlja’, 134–146; Ćirkov-

Serbian scholarly literature has long noted that the name Drina referred to a number of different entities. Setting aside the name of the river, there was a medieval historical region called *Drina* surrounding the upper course of the eponymous river, which encapsulated both the župa and Land of Drina.<sup>71</sup> Drina was the preeminent župa in this region, extending from the confluence of the Piva and Tara rivers to the mouth of the Bistrica into the Drina.<sup>72</sup> It was first mentioned in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century as *Drinska županija* in the Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja. The Chronicle recounts that the Magyar leader Kisa ravaged Bosnia during Časlav's rule. Knez Časlav then mustered an army and fought back at *Drinska županija, next to the river* (Drina). The conflict occurred near a place called Civelino, where the Hungarians were defeated. According to the Priest of Duklja, a young man by the name of Tihomil executed Kisa at Časlav's order, for which he was awarded the administration of *Drinska županija and the hand of the daughter of the ban of Rascia*. Civelino is today known as Cvilin, a settlement near Ustikolina. This mention of *Drinska županija* during Časlav's reign represents the first reference to a Serbian župa in the Early Middle Ages. The second mention of *Drinska županija* is also found in the Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja. According to the chronicle, after Dragimir's passing, his widow departed for Rascia to stay with her father, župan Ljutomir. She was in the late stages of pregnancy and was accompanied by her two daughters. Upon arriving in her homeland, she learned that her father had died. Together with her mother, she left for Bosnia, where her uncles resided. On the way to Bosnia, she

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ić, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 235–236; 74; Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 221–222; Mišić, 'Territorial Division', 69–83; Miloš Blagojević, *Srpska državnost u srednjem veku* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 2011), 46.

<sup>71</sup> Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 34.

<sup>72</sup> Mišić, 'Territorial Division', 78.

gave birth to a son at a place called Brusno in *Drinska županija*. Brusno is most likely present-day Brusna, situated 10 km east of Foča.<sup>73</sup> The Chronicle tells us that the župa of Drina included the space around Hoča (Foča) with the settlement of Brusno, and Ustikolina with the village of Civelino.<sup>74</sup> The medieval heart of Hoča (*Hotča*) was situated on the slopes of a hillock, where the clock tower, the square and the Emperor's Mosque can be found today. The name Hoča remained in use until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onward, it began to be replaced by the toponym Foča. It was first referenced in a Dubrovnican contract from 1366 as a market place and caravan post. From then to 1436, it was the final destination of caravans journeying from Dubrovnik to East Bosnia. Its favourable position allowed it to reach a large market.<sup>75</sup> The medieval župa of Drina included the town of Soko,<sup>76</sup> whose remains can still be seen above Šćepan Polje, near the confluence of the Piva and the Tara rivers. The town was situated on a rocky hill, whose peak dominates the surroundings, reaching 927 m above sea level.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Kunčer, *Gesta regum Sclavorum* 1, 89–93, 140–141; Živković, *Gesta regum Sclavorum* 2, 202–204, 274–275; For more on the settlement of Cvilin, see: Marko Vego, *Naselja bosanske srednjovjekovne države* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1957), 27; There is an opinion that the župa of Drina then incorporated Foča, Čajniče and Goražde. Muhamed Hadžijahić, *Povijest Bosne u IX i X stoljeću* (Sarajevo: Preporod, 2004), 133.

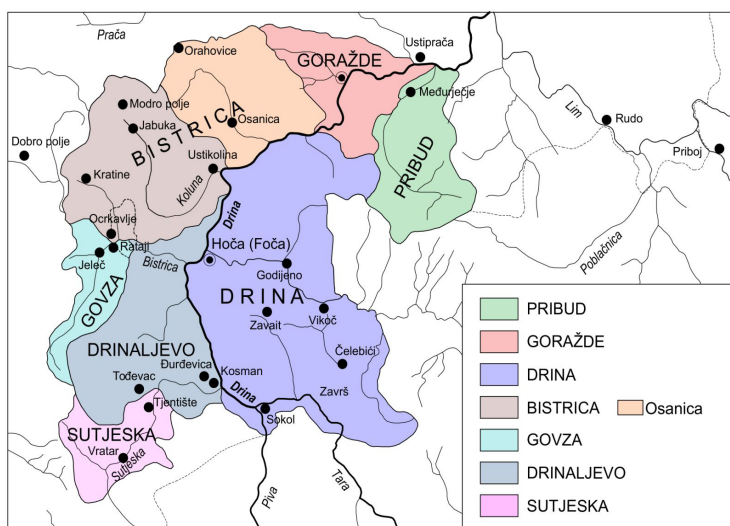
<sup>74</sup> Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 38.

<sup>75</sup> Hrabak, *Foča*, 9, 18–20.

<sup>76</sup> Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 38.

<sup>77</sup> Marko Popović, 'Soko grad nad Šćepan Poljem–zamak sa zadužbinama Kosača–', in Gordana Tomović, ed., *Šćepan Polje i njegove svetinje kroz vje-kove: zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa* (Berane: Svevide, 2010), 17–18.





**Figure 1:** Map of the Land Drina in the Middle Ages

In the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Dubrovnik sources mention the town of Soko. The earliest reference was in 1419, when half of Konavli was ceded to Dubrovnik Republic.<sup>78</sup> In the spring of 1421, Dubrovnikan stonecutter Mihoč Klapotić agreed to travel to Soko with his apprentice to build a church for Sandalj (*messer Sandagl in Sohol per murarli una ghiesia*).<sup>79</sup>

The data on the territory of the medieval župa, i.e. Land of *Drina* is supplemented by sources from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Certainly the most valuable of these were the 1444 and 1454 charters of the King of Aragon and Naples Alfonso V, and the 1448 charter of Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Marica Malović-Đukić, 'Piva u srednjem vijeku', in Jovan R. Bojović, ed. *Četrsto godina manastira Pive* (Titograd: Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore, 1991), 44–45.

<sup>79</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 390, note 1441.

<sup>80</sup> Ludwig Von Thallóczy, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter* (München: Duncker & Humblot, 1914), 359–363, 378–380, 394–400.

During the Middle Ages, like most “lands” of medieval Serbia, Drina did not gain independence. The Land of Drina contained the eponymous župa, along with the župas and *oblasts* of Sutjeska, Drinaljeva, Gvoza, Bistrica, Goražde and Pribud.<sup>81</sup>

The Land of Drina extended from the confluence of the Piva and Tara rivers in the south, downstream along the Drina River, to the Prača River in the north, and was enclosed by tall mountain ranges in the east and west.<sup>82</sup> Soko town above the confluence of the Piva and Tara is mentioned in the charters of Herceg Stefan from 1444, 1448 and 1454: Soko with the principality by the name of Drina – *Sochol con un contato che se chiama Drina* (1444); fortress Soko with the principality of *Striina* (Drina) – *castrum Soco com dominio Strijnon* (1448); town of Falcone with its fortifications and estate, with its principality – *civitate Falcone (Sokol) com suis castellis et cum comitatu suo (=Drina)* (1454). The town’s significance is underscored by its use as a territorial honorific – Stefan Vukčić was named “od Sokola” (of Soko). The above charters indicate that the surroundings of the town of Soko were referred to as Drina.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> For župas and towns in Drina, see: Vego, *Naselja*, 40 (Goražde), 46 (Hoča), 51 (Jeleč), 82 (Novi in Drina), 97 (Pribud), 103 (Samobor), 115 (Tjentište), 116 (Tođevac), 121–122 (Ustikolina), 144 (Bistrica), 153 (Piva); In his study *Zemlje hercega Svetoga Save* M. Dinić stated that Alfonso V’s charter from 1444 informs us about the names of most župas in which the towns lay. Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 195–198; Marko Vego translated Alfonso V’s and Friedrich III’s charters; for the 1444 charter, he reached the position that “the name of a fortress is not always accompanied by the name of a župa, rather the name of an *oblast* with multiple župas, e.g. *oblast Drina*”. Marko Vego, ‘Tri povelje o posjedima hercega Stjepana Vukčića Kosače’, in Pavao Anđelić, ed., *Iz historije srednjovjekovne Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: “Svjetlost”1980), 452–486.

<sup>82</sup> Mišić, ‘Territorial Division’, 78–79.

<sup>83</sup> Vego, ‘Tri povelje’, 466, 469–470, 472, 481, 484; Popović, ‘Soko grad’, 17–21; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 272.

Soko had a castle town situated at Šćepan Polje, known as Podsoko. Dubrovnikan emissaries sent reports from there in the summer of 1428. In October 1435, Duke Stefan referred to Soko as the *glorious court of my highness*. The town played a vital role in Kosačas' lands, as the location of their principal castle and centre.<sup>84</sup>



**Figure 2:** *Soko town above Šćepan Polje*

The layout and organization of župas in the Land of Drina cannot be fully reconstructed due to a lack of source material. The župa of *Sutjeska* is documented in the Dubrovnik archival materials. It lay in the catchment area of the Sutjeska River, left tributary of the Drina, nestled between the mountains of Volujak and Maglić to the east and Zelengora and Treskavica to the west. It was situated along the road that stretched from Dubrovnik to Trebinje, Bileća and Gacko; from Gacko, it descended into the ravine of the Sutjeska. Upon leaving the

<sup>84</sup> Ljubomir Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma I–2* (Beograd, Sremski Karlovci: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1934), 37; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 272.

ravine, the road reached Tjentište and continued to Upper Podrinje. According to the data from the Dubrovnik Archive, *in Sutischa* was mentioned in 1430. In the spring of 1435, a caravan hauling the silver of Dubrovnikan merchants, on its way from Srebrenica, was targeted by bandits *in loco vocato Sutjeska*. The Vratar fortress kept watch of the entrance to the Sutjeska canyon. At this location, Duke Stefan Vukčić set up a customs checkpoint (*in Sutischa*, 12 June 1436), prompting a complaint by Dubrovnik. Vratar in Sutjeska was referenced in historical sources in 1444 (*Vatrato Sucisti, castelo con lo contato*), 1448 (*castrum Bratel cum omnibus pertinentiis suis*), 1452 (*Vratar in Sutischa*) and 1454 (*civitate Vratar cum castris et pertinentiis suis*).<sup>85</sup>

To the northwest of Sutjeska, in the watershed of the Gozba, a right tributary of the Bistrica, there was another župa. Its name Gozba (*feast*) indicated the region was bountiful and fertile. The župa was the location of the castle of Jeleč and its castle town of Podjeleč, mentioned in August 1420. Near it was a medieval market place (*mercatum Gobsa*). Today's village of Govza rests some 2 km south of Jeleč, near Foča. The župa was part of the territory of Vuk Hranić (*Gozbe, contrate Volchi Cranich*, 18 December 1410), Duke Sandalj's younger brother. One of the first notable residents of the Govza župa was Radoslav Nemio, a subject of Vuk Hranić (*Eo quia iam sunt menses quatuor quod ipse Radoslauus accepit vi tria centenaria mellis valoris yperperos decem et octo famulo suo in Gopsa, teritorio Vuchi Cranich*, 30 October 1411). In the 1430s, there were mentions of Šain Žunjević from Jeleč, who excelled in

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<sup>85</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 112; Jireček, 'Trgovački putevi', 289–290, notes 255, 269; Škrivanić, *Putevi*, 47; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 197; Čuljak, 'Grad Vratar', 173–199.

trade. Most researchers believed that the Jeleč in question was this one. However, in his thorough analysis, B. Hrabak determined it to be the Jeleč under the mountain of Rogozna in the Serbian Despotate. The Dubrovnik Archive materials state that Jeleč and Podjeleč were located in the župa of Gvoza, which in broad terms belonged to Bistrica (*de Podiele de Bistrica*). The Jeleč fortress was mentioned in all three charters issued to Stefan Vukčić Kosača in 1444, 1448 and 1454. In the Ottoman census of the *Sanjak* of Bosnia of 1468/69, the *hass* of Isa Bey Ishaković in the Soko *nahiye* included Govza as a settlement, and Jeleč as a bazaar with the income of 8,340 akçe (Ottoman currency).<sup>86</sup>

The medieval župa of *Drinaljevo* was noted in a few sources, largely as inseparable from the fortified town of Tođevac. The town was perched atop the prominent rock called Gradina (870 m) above the left bank of the river Hrčavka, a left tributary of the Sutjeska, at the foot of the Tođevac mountain. For this reason, scientific literature reliably places this župa in the vicinity of the town of Tođevac. The residence of Stefan Vukčić Kosača was situated in this town, as attested by the 1444, 1448 and 1454 charters.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 51; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega* 187–188, 235, note 39; Kovačević-Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 94, 103, 106; Vego, 'Tri povelje', 458., 469, 472, 481, 484; Bogumil Hrabak, 'Rudarstvo Stare Raške feudalnog vremena', *Simpozijum „Seoski dani Sretena Vukosavljevića“ XXIII* (2008), 184–185; Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 64; Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 63, note 208; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 83, 124.

<sup>87</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 116; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 196–197; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 296.



**Figure 3:** *The town of Tođevac, the rocky guard above the Hrčavka*

The earliest reference to Drinaljevo was in 1398. In mid-March 1405, Dubrovnikans sent their emissary Nikola Gunčetić to seek Sandalj Hranić *in terra de Chelmo non pasando Chogniç infin in Drinayeva*. In Drinaljevo, on 15 August 1451, Vladislav Hercegović issued a charter of alliance with Dubrovnik against his father, Herceg Stefan. There is an opinion that the Drinaljevo župa incorporated the settlement with the same name. The župa also included the caravan post of Tjentište at the location where the Sutjeska canyon expands into a wider basin, on the border with the župa of Sutjeska. Knez Vukac Hranić was the ruler of the territory of Tjentište. The house of Herceg Stefan and a lodging area were also said to be located here. The name Tjentište is associated with tents used for sleeping. Dubrovnik records from 20 November 1450 note that this was the location of the customs checkpoint that spurred the reaction of Dubrovnik vis-à-vis Herceg Stefan, for which his mother Katarina was responsible (*gabella de Tintiste*

*la qual asuna soa madre...de Tintiste nui parleremo cum la madre*).<sup>88</sup>

The *Bistrica* župa contained the entire region of the eponymous river to its confluence with the Drina. It was first mentioned in 1365 in connection to the sale of a female slave. In late February 1392, in the minutes of the Dubrovnik Senate (*Consilium Rogatorum*), it was decided that *Brayan et Volchaz Obadichi, fratres Prilep de Bistriza* be accepted as citizens of Dubrovnik. Both the charters of Alfonso V (1444, 1454) and the charter of Frederick III (1448) mentioned the fortress of Ostrovica, and the 1454 charter also references Prilep, both of which are associated with the župa of Bistrica. Ostrovica is identified as the remnants of fortifications on the left bank of the Bistrica, some distance away from Miljevina. It is assumed that Prilep was built on a hill above Miljevina, on the right bank of the Bistrica. Interestingly, no mention of its castle town can be found.<sup>89</sup>

The župa of *Pribud*, documented in the Dubrovnik primary sources and Ottoman sources, contained the territory of the course of the Drina, from the Čehotina to the Prača rivers. Pribud was first referenced in a Dubrovnican source from 1305, as the place where the Dubrovnik caravan was assaulted and robbed (*in un loco lo qual a nome Pribodo*). This župa was the

<sup>88</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 36, 92–93, 115–116; Jireček, ‘Trgovački putevi’, 289, note 255; Škrivanić, *Putevi*, 47; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 196–197; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 104–105; Zdravko Kajmaković, ‘Novi arheološko–arhitektonski spomenici’, *Naše starine* XIV–XV (1981), 144–147; Desanka Kovačević–Kojić, ‘Naselja u zemlji Kosača’, in Radoslav Bratić, ed., *Kosače – osnivači Hercegovine* (Bileća, Gacko, Beograd: Prosvjeta, Fond “Vladimir i Svetozar Ćorović”, 2002), 364; Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 58, 145, note 493; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 216, 296.

<sup>89</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 88, 97, 144; Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog arhiva III*, 38; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 247–248; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 103, 105, note 127; Vego, ‘Tri povelje’, 459, 469, 472, 484; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 207, 226.



location of the town of Samobor, a renowned Kosača stronghold with military and residential functions. Its ruins remain on the rocky peak of the Borovska Planina mountain, above the confluence of the Janjina with the Drina. Three contracts are preserved in the Dubrovnik materials – one from 1397 and two from 1435, which explicitly state that caravans are sent from Dubrovnik to Samobor. A castle town stood below the fortress (*sotto Samobor*), which appears not to have been economically significant. Samobor was the Kosačas' largest castle in the Land of Drina. Its remains are visible to this day, with several recognizable buildings and defensive walls. An emissary of Dubrovnik, de Gondola, visited Samobor in the summer of 1430. In the charters of 1444, 1448 and 1454, it was considered the property of Herceg Stefan Vukčić Kosača. The collective census of the *Sanjak* of Bosnia of 1468/69 counted the town with its garrison, and the area of the former župa is mentioned as the Samobor or Pribud *nahiye*. The Herzegovina *Sanjak* census of 1475/77 lists it under both names.<sup>90</sup>

The Land of Drina also contained *Goražde* with the town of Novi. Goražde developed along a strategically important communication, on the shores of the Drina. It first appeared in the records in 1376, when it was noted that hides from Goražde were exchanged for salt from Dubrovnik. The charters of King Alfonso V from 1444 (*Nonio Gorasdo castello con lo contato*) and 1454 (*civitate Nova in Drina*) reveal the existence of the

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<sup>90</sup> Josip Gelcich, *Monumenta Ragusina, Libri Reformationum, V* (Zagrabiae: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum Meridionalium, 1897), 90; Stevan Delić, 'Samobor kod Drine', *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* IV (1892), 255–269; Hamdija, Kreševljaković, 'Stari bosanski gradovi', *Naše Starine* I (1953), 11; Vego, *Naselja*, 97, 103; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 197–198; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 101–102; Kajmaković, 'Novi arheološko–arhitektonski spomenici', 141–144; Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 46, 63, 125–127; Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 241, 340, 391, 411, 437–438; Mišić, 'Territorial Division', 78.



town of Novi in Goražde. In the census for livestock tax in the 1475/77 defter, the Goražde *nahiye* was listed as the “*županluk*” of Tvrdka, together with the Bistrica *nahiye*, because it had likely previously been ruled by a *župan*.<sup>91</sup>

During the 1340s, locals *de Drina* became involved in trade and started taking out loans from merchants in Dubrovnik. We will list a few sources from the Dubrovnik Archive that reference *de Drina*. Three local men from Drina were recorded as guarantors (1343); Stanul, the brother of Kraislav from *Drina* stated that he had received a sabre from Ivan the stonemason; five men provided guarantees for certain loans of Milten Mataković from *Drina* (1352); Hranko Bogojević from *Drina* repaid the entirety of his debt to Dubrovnikans Miladin Hranislavić and his brother Srđan (1367).<sup>92</sup> Slaves were also mentioned a number of times as originating *de Drina*. Female slaves were typically identified not by their last names, but by their first names, their father’s names, and their places of origin: Trdislava, daughter of Petko from Drina (1374); Stojna, daughter of Mirko from Drina (1376); Maruša, daughter of Radoslav Grubšić from Drina (1382); Gojislava and her daughter Dobroslava from Drina (1393); a Genoese purchasing a slave woman named Zoja from Drina (1393).<sup>93</sup> Young men from this region serving in Dubrovnik were explicitly referred to as *de Drina*.<sup>94</sup> These sources from the Dubrovnik Archive

<sup>91</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 197; Vego, ‘Tri povelje’, 461, 466, 481; Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 208; Hrabak, ‘Goražde od XIV do XVI veka’, 17–39.

<sup>92</sup> Kovačević-Kojić, ‘Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja’, 111–113.

<sup>93</sup> Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog arhiva III*, p. 30, No 75, p. 33, No 83, p. 43, No 106, p. 61, No 156, p. 62, No 157; See: Vuk Vinaver, ‘Trgovina bosanskim robljem tokom XIV veka u Dubrovniku’, *Analitički historijski institut u Dubrovniku II* (1953), 125–146.

<sup>94</sup> Dušanka Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije stanovništva iz južnoslovenskih zemalja u Dubrovniku tokom srednjeg veka* (Novi Sad: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti Ogranak u Novom Sadu, Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu Odsek za istoriju, 1995), 70–73.

confirm that *Drina* maintained its distinctiveness during the Middle Ages. Interestingly, the term *de Drina* is more frequently used than *de Bosna* for certain locations in Upper Podrinje.<sup>95</sup>

It is possible that the term *Drina* refers not only to the region, but also to a market place. The inhabitants of this area were called by a distinct name “Drinjanin” (7 October 1387, *Cheruatusus Pridicobil, Drignanin de Drina*).<sup>96</sup> D. Kovačević-Kojić suggested that the settlement of Drina was actually the original name of Hoča.<sup>97</sup> In his intitution on 29 January 1449, Stefan Vukčić Kosača referred to himself as *Stipan, by God's mercy the Herceg of Hum and Primorje, and Grand Duke the Rusag of Bosnia, Knez of Drina*. This indicates that the Land of Drina persisted as a concept until the Ottomans' arrival in 1465.<sup>98</sup>

The massifs of Jahorina and Treskavica separated the Land of Drina from the Land of Bosnia on the northwestern side, while the peaks of Zelengora and Volujak separated it from Travunia (Trebinje) in the south. North of the Land of Drina, extending from the Prača and downstream along the middle

<sup>95</sup> Kovačević-Kojić, ‘Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja’, 109–125.

<sup>96</sup> Hrvatinić Pridikobil, *Drinjanin from Drina*, promised Miho Menčetić, who had lost a horse to thieves on the Drina, that he or his son would make an effort to recover it. *Div. Canc.* 27, fol. 42, 7 October 1387.

<sup>97</sup> Kovačević-Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 42; We believe that D. Kovačević-Kojić's assumption is justified. We have information to support this: in 1369, brothers Brajko and Miletin Pribojević guaranteed for Nikola *from Drina, from Hoča*, that they would take him to court to answer to Ivan Ogreja. *Div. Canc.* 22, fol. 20, 5 December 1369; After the conquest of Hoča in 1465, the Ottomans founded the Drina *kadiluk* with the seat in Hoča. The *kadiluk* was referred to as Foča from 1483, and as Fočanski *kadiluk* from 1495. This indicates that when sources mention the Drina region, they most often refer to Foča. Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 137.

<sup>98</sup> Rade Mihaljčić, ‘Idejna podloga titule herceg’, in Radoslav Bratić, ed., *Kosače – osnivači Hercegovine* (Bileća, Gacko, Beograd: Prosvjeta, Fond “Vladimir i Svetozar Čorović”, 2002), 323, 340 (the paper states all intitulations of Stefan Vukčić Kosača).

section of the Drina to the Drinjača, lay the Land of Podrinje.<sup>99</sup> Podrinje should not be confused with the Land of Drina, which was quite different, not only in terms of establishment, but also by its territory. Unlike Podrinje, which was founded relatively late, Drina is one of the oldest *oblasts*, which became part of Bosnia after 1373.<sup>100</sup>

Podrinje lay in the middle section of the Drina's watercourse, with the watershed of the Drinjača and its tributaries, and the *oblasts* of Ludmer, Osat and Birač, on the one side, and the Land of Usora and Banovina of Usora and Soli, on the other side.<sup>101</sup> Podrinje was first mentioned as a land in the title of the Bosnian Ban Tvrtko, as noted in the charter of 11 August 1366.<sup>102</sup> It was organized as a distinct territorial and political unit within the Bosnian state.<sup>103</sup> Subsequent Bosnian kings retained the Podrinje region in their titles.<sup>104</sup>

### III.2. Towns and Fortresses

Records of urban settlements in the area of the Land of Drina date back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Valuable information about them was provided by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. The

<sup>99</sup> Podrinje appeared relatively late and should not be equated to today's space of the same name. Blagojević, 'Istorijska geografija i prostor Republike Srpske', 264; Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 39, 43.

<sup>100</sup> Mišić, 'Territorial Division', 78.

<sup>101</sup> Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 39–40; Unlike Podrinje, where Bosnian diplomatic sources mention witnesses, there is no information about them in Drina. Mišić, 'Territorial Division', 79. Cf. Pavao Anđelić, *Studije o teritorijalnopolitickoj organizaciji srednjovjekovne Bosne* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1982), 12, 173–204.

<sup>102</sup> Ban Tvrtko issued a charter to Vukac Hrvatinić, gifting him the town of Soko with the entire župa of Pliva. The text of the charter was published and edited by Jelena Mrgić-Radojčić, 'Povelja bana Tvrtka knezu Vukcu Hrvatiniću (1366)', *Stari srpski arhiv* 2 (2003), 167–184.

<sup>103</sup> Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 43; In his study *Postanak srednjovjekovne bosanske države*, Vego does not mention the existence of the Land of Drina and Land of Podrinje. Marko Vego, *Postanak srednjovjekovne bosanske države* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1982), 51–54 (Podrinje).

<sup>104</sup> Mišić, 'Territorial Division', 77.

Byzantine emperor recognized eight “settled towns”, which he noted as belonging to Christianized Serbia. Their locations have still not been precisely identified. Researchers have differing opinions on the geographical location of these “settled towns”. The town of Međurječje is linked to this area. There is an assumption that it was located near the medieval fortress of Soko, which sat above the confluence of the Piva and Tara rivers, and was constructed during the rise of the Kosača family. There is another Međurječje to the north of Goražde, opposite the confluence of the Prača with the Drina. This is where the towns of Samobor and Novi are located. The exact location of Porphyrogenitus’s Međurječje remains undetermined, but researchers agree that it was located in Upper Podrinje. This town attests to the continuity of urban life in this region.<sup>105</sup>

In this paper, “town” refers to a settlement with a fortress, surrounded by defensive walls, usually situated in a favourable location protected by existing natural features, such as on a ridge, above a river, at the confluence of rivers, or along major roads.<sup>106</sup>

The main documents concerning towns and fortresses are the charters of Stefan Vukčić Kosača, two of which were issued by King Alfonso V of Aragon and one by Emperor Frederick III. The first charter was issued in Naples (*Castelnuovo*) on 19 February 1444. In this charter, Alfonso V recognized all the enumerated possessions of Duke Stefan and accepted him as *suo vero et bono recommendato*, while Stefan acknowledged the king of Aragon as his “older” brother, protector and defender.

<sup>105</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 73 (Međurečje), 82 (Novi in Drina), 103 (Samobor); Ferjančić, *Vizantijski izvori II*, 58; Jireček, ‘Trgovački putevi’, 244; Sima Ćirković, ‘“Naseljeni gradovi” Konstantina Porfirogenita i najstarija teritorijalna organizacija’, *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 37 (1998), 9–32; Popović, ‘Soko grad’, 17–21; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 183–184; Blagojević, *Srpska državnost*, 43–45.

<sup>106</sup> Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 11.

The same was done by Frederick III with the charter issued in 1448. On 1 June 1454, Alfonso made a new charter, whose content was similar to the preceding one from 1444. These charters are a prime source for learning about the possessions of Stefan Vukčić, specifying fortifications (*castra*) and, most often, the names of the associated župas. Many of the fortified towns listed in the charters are located in the Land of Drina.<sup>107</sup>

Fortified towns with military garrisons kept watch over important roads and passes. Their distribution, as recorded in the charters, can be used to reveal the organization of the defensive system. The number of these castles rose in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Many of them were established in the Land of Drina for military and strategic reasons, in response to the collapse of central authority and the rising Ottoman threat. Most of these towns have major strategic significance: they controlled the valley of the upper Drina or defended approaches through the canyons of small rivers feeding into the Drina.<sup>108</sup>

The town of *Soko* is located near the confluence of the Piva and Tara rivers, atop a rocky hill above Šćepan Polje, in the župa and Land of Drina.<sup>109</sup> It was first mentioned in historical sources in 1419, although some believe the castle was built earlier. The construction of Soko coincides with the Kosača family's rise to power. The fortress was accompanied by the castle town below it at Šćepan Polje. The fortress was not fully

<sup>107</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 178–251; Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 75–77; Dušica Minić, 'Nekoliko srednjovekovnih gradova u Srednjem Polimlju', *Simpozijum „Seoski dani Sretena Vukosavljevića“ IV* (1976), 101–110; Vego, 'Tri povelje', 452–486 (with facsimiles of the 1444 and 1448 charters); Dušan Spasić, 'Srednjovekovni utvrđeni gradovi srednjeg Polimlja', *Mileševski zapisi 2* (1997), 35–68; Ruža Ćuk, 'Kosače i Polimlje', in Radoslav Bratić, ed., *Kosače – osnivači Hercegovine* (Bileća, Gacko, Beograd: Prosvjeta, Fond "Vladimir i Svetozar Ćorović", 2002), 383; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 13.

<sup>108</sup> Minić, 'Nekoliko srednjovekovnih gradova', 101–109; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 11–14.

<sup>109</sup> Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 272.

encircled by walls; instead, naturally inaccessible rocks in certain areas served as a substitute for the walls. Access to the fort was on the eastern side, which also featured more defensive walls. The central element of the complex was the Soko castle, which housed the court of the Kosača family. The defences have been partially preserved: massive towers on the east side, part of the fortress on the southeast side, and remains of the walls on the western side. These ruins suggest that the town complex once contained numerous buildings and towers. There were also two stone seats on the castle grounds.<sup>110</sup> At the foot of Soko town, in the middle section of Šćepan Polje, is the Church of Saint Stephan, founded by Grand Duke Sandalj Hranić, which serves as his mausoleum.<sup>111</sup>

Soko played an important role in Kosačas' land. This is where Duke Sandalj issued deeds of donations and charters, received emissaries and stayed in the summer for rest. The town was used as a territorial honorific – Stefan Vukčić was called “od Sokola” (of Soko) after it. Soko was listed as the first town in all three charters issued to Stefan Vukčić Kosača (1444, 1448 and 1454). The charters inform us that the region around the town of Soko was called Drina.<sup>112</sup> Soko was conquered after January 1466. In January 1466, Hungarian commanders John Rozgonyi and John Zagorskyi promised the Dubrovnikans that they would send aid to Soko, which was then still resisting the Ottomans.<sup>113</sup> In the Collective Defter of the Bosnia *Sanjak* of 1468/69, we can see that Knez Radoje Zubčić surrendered

<sup>110</sup> Pavle Mijović, Mirko Kovačević, *Gradovi i utvrđenja u Crnoj Gori* (Beograd, Ulcinj: Arheološki institut, Muzej Ulcinj, 1975), 135–137; Popović, ‘Soko grad’, 19–21.

<sup>111</sup> Popović, ‘Soko grad’, 21–29.

<sup>112</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 195; Vego, ‘Tri povelje’, 455.

<sup>113</sup> Jovan Radonić, *Dubrovačka akta i povelje I/2* (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1934), 670–671; Veljan Atanasovski, *Pad Hercegovine* (Beograd: Narodna knjiga, Istorijски institut, 1979), 114–115.

the Soko fortress to the Ottomans, for which he was awarded villages in the *nahiyes* of Goražde, Soko and Nevesinje.<sup>114</sup> Soon after the Ottoman occupation, Soko was razed.<sup>115</sup>

The *Vratar* fortress was situated on the road that connected Dubrovnik to Trebinje, Bileća and Gacko, before descending into the Sutjeska River gorge. It overlooked the entrance to the Sutjeska gorge between Ninkovići and Suha.<sup>116</sup> According to information in the Dubrovnik Archive, in the spring of 1435, a caravan bearing the silver of Dubrovnikan merchants was robbed on its way from Srebrenica *in castro vohato Vratar*. The castellan of Vratar was Vladislav Mrđeniović, son of Knez Rajko. In late October 1444, another caravan carrying silver was pillaged *in Sutiescha sub Vratar*. The fortress was listed in all three charters issued to Stefan Vukčić Kosača, from 1444 (*Vatrato Sucisti, castelo con lo contato*), 1448 (*castrum Bratel cum omnibus pertinentiis suis*) and 1454 (*civitate Vratar cum castris et pertinentiis suis*). Opposite Vratar was the town of Vratac with a church. The two towns were connected by a suspension bridge. Preserved architecture in the fortress includes the remains of a circular structure and part of a medieval wall 70 cm high, stretching from northwest to southeast.<sup>117</sup>

The fortress of *Boytrynec* was first mentioned in the charter of Frederick III (1448) as the *castrum* of Herceg Stefan Vukčić, located between Vratar and Tođevac. Marko Vego suggested that this name referred to Podrinac and proposed that

<sup>114</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 114.

<sup>115</sup> Popović, 'Soko grad', 19.

<sup>116</sup> Škrivanić, *Putevi*, 45–47.

<sup>117</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 112; Jireček, 'Trgovački putevi', 289–290, notes 255, 269; Škrivanić, *Putevi*, 47; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 197; Novak Mandić–Studo, *Zemlja zvana Gacko I* (Beograd, Gacko: SIB, eksport-import: Srpsko prosvjetno i kulturno društvo Prosvjeta, Skupština opštine, 1995), 452–454; Čuljak, 'Grad Vratar', 173–199.

the fortress should be sought in the župa of Drinaljevo or in the immediate vicinity of Foča, next to the Drina River.<sup>118</sup>

The town of *Tođevac* was erected on the striking hill called Gradina (870 m) above the left bank of the river Hrčavka, a left tributary of the Sutjeska, at the foot of the mountain Tođevac. Scientific literature consistently places this town in the župa of Drinaljevo. It was first mentioned in 1398 in relation to the robbery of a Dubrovnik caravan (*de Tolyavez*).<sup>119</sup> A residence of Stefan Vukčić Kosača was located in the town, as attested by the charters from 1444 (*Toyeuacs Vdrynagliano castello con lo contato*), 1448 (*castrum Stoyewecz*) and 1454 (*civitate Togruam cum castris et pertinentiis suis*).<sup>120</sup> The collective census of the *Sanjak* of Bosnia of 1468/69 noted that the fortress was active after the conquest. Tođevac had a nineteen-man garrison, and was commanded by Ajs from Akovo (Bijelo Polje).<sup>121</sup>

The fortress of *Kozman* (Gradac) is located on the rocks between the right bank of the Sutjeska and left bank of the Drina, at the mouth of the Sutjeska near Pusto Polje. It was first mentioned in the documents by Dubrovnik emissaries in 1430 (*duo vostre fatte di la in Cosman*). Kozman was 109 metres long and three metres wide (along the main tower), and up to 16 metres wide in the middle. The remains of the original fortress include towers and walls, while other identified parts are mainly elements of foundations. The town had an extremely advantageous position, enclosed by the water of the two rivers from three sides. It primarily served as a strategic fortification for the protection of the valley of the Sutjeska and Drina rivers.

<sup>118</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 92–93; Vego, 'Tri povelje', 460; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 127, 216.

<sup>119</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 116; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 104, note 119; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 296.

<sup>120</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 196.

<sup>121</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 228–229, 231, 233, 235–238, 240–242.



Zdravko Kajmaković believes it was used as an outpost to protect the town of Soko.<sup>122</sup>

The fortress of Đurđevac is situated near Kozman, on top of a hill called Đurđevica, to the east of Prijedel, between Tjentište and Foča. The fortress had an irregular circular shape. Its remnants are now difficult to discern. At the centre of the plateau stands a small church dedicated to St. George. Z. Kajmaković identified this fortress with Đurđevac from Middle Podrinje, a claim that is highly disputable.<sup>123</sup>

The fort of *Jeleč* and its castle town of Podjeleč, first referenced in August 1420, belonged to the Gozba župa. They were located on the left bank of the Govza; today, the archaeological remains of the fortifications (Gradine) are preserved there. A ditch cut into the rock surrounded the castle. There were three seats in the territory of the town. Many *stećci* tombstones can be found in the vicinity, indicating the area was quite populated.<sup>124</sup> The Jeleč fortress is mentioned in all three charters issued to Stefan Vukčić Kosača, in 1444, 1448 and 1454.<sup>125</sup> According to the Ottoman census of the Bosnian *Sanjak* in 1468/69, the *hass* of Isa Bey Ishaković in the Soko *nahiye* included Govza as a settlement, while Jeleč was listed as a bazaar with a revenue of 8,340 akçes.<sup>126</sup>

The Pribud župa was the location of the town of *Samobor*, a notable Kosača stronghold with military and residential functions. The remains of the town are situated on the rocky peak of the Borovska Planina mountain, above the confluence of the Janjina with the Drina. Below the stronghold was its castle town

<sup>122</sup> Kajmaković, 'Novi arheološko-arhitektonski spomenici', 144–147.

<sup>123</sup> Kajmaković, 'Novi arheološko-arhitektonski spomenici', 161–162; For Đurđevac in Middle Podrinje, see: Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 243–244.

<sup>124</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 51; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 94, 103, 106; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 124.

<sup>125</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 234–235; Vego, 'Tri povelje', 458, 469, 472, 481, 484.

<sup>126</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 64.

(*sotto Samobor*), which appears not to have been economically significant. Samobor was the largest Kosača fortification in the Land of Drina. Unfortunately, despite its significance, the town has not been fully archaeologically examined. Its remains are still visible and include a number of distinguishable structures, as well as defensive walls. Approach was possible through a gate on the southeast wall, reinforced by a tower. The walls on the southern and eastern sides of the fort only partially enclosed the complex, as the steep cliffs provided protection. The upper portion of the castle, on the north side, is dominated by the keep, one of the most striking and interesting structures in the region. At the centre of the castle was a church, and likely other structures as well. Dubrovnican emissary de Gondola visited Samobor in the summer of 1430.<sup>127</sup> The castle was listed as a possession of Herceg Stefan Vukčić Kosača in the 1444, 1448 and 1454 charters.<sup>128</sup> In the early days of summer of 1465, the sultan's general, Isa Bey Ishaković, occupied Samobor and Prilep in the Land of Drina.<sup>129</sup> However, a complaint from early December 1466 mentioned Matija Domišić from Drina, from a place called Samobor, who was under the jurisdiction of Herceg Vlatko. This suggests the possibility that Herceg Vlatko conquered Samobor and held it for a short period.<sup>130</sup> By the end of 1466, Samobor and the entire Land of Drina were definitively under Ottoman rule.

The collective census of the *Sanjak* of Bosnia of 1468/69 recorded the town with its garrison, and listed the area of the

<sup>127</sup> Gelcich, *Monumenta Ragusina V*, 90; Delić, 'Samobor kod Drine', 255–269; Kreševljaković, 'Stari bosanski gradovi', 11; Vego, *Naselja*, 97, 103; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 101–102; Kajmaković, 'Novi arheološko-arhitektonski spomenici', 141–144; Marko Popović, 'Srednjovekovne tvrđave u Bosni i Hercegovini', *Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine* 1 (1995), 37, 40, 48.

<sup>128</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 197–198.

<sup>129</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 44; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 260.

<sup>130</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, 'Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja', 125.

former župa as the *nahiye* of Samobor or Pribud. The census also states that Isa Balija was among those who surrendered the stronghold of Samobor and converted to Islam, for which he was awarded a *timar* in the Samobor *nahiye*. The defter does not mention his name before conversion.<sup>131</sup> The document also indicates the fortress was active after the conquest, listing it together with a garrison. The castle dizdar was Timurtašev and his deputies: Isa and Kara Ishak. The garrison consisted of 69 members, who came from various areas: Ibrahim from Strumica, Ismail from Šehirkoj, Hizir from Samokov, Ibrahim from Toplica, Evrenos from Strumica, Hizir from Prilep, Junus from Trabzon, Iljas from Šehirkoj, Mustafa from Trepča, etc.<sup>132</sup>

Both charters of Alfonso V (1444, 1454) and Frederick III's charter (1448) mentioned the fort of *Ostrovica*, which is linked to the Bistrica župa. Ostrovica is identified as the remains of a fort on the left bank of the Bistrica, some distance away from Miljevina.<sup>133</sup>

The Bistrica župa contained the fortress of *Prilep*. It was first recorded in 1392 in the minutes of the Dubrovnik Senate (*Consilium Rogatorum*). Prilep was included only in Alfonso V's second charter from 1454, between Jeleč and Vratar (*civitate Prilep com pertinentiis suis*). It is assumed to have been located on top of a hill above Miljevina, on the right bank of the Bistrica.<sup>134</sup>

The town of *Novi* was mentioned in King Alfonso V's charters from 1444 (*Nonio Gorasdo castello con lo contato*)

<sup>131</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 125.

<sup>132</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 227–240.

<sup>133</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 88, 97, 144; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 248; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 105, note 127; Vego, 'Tri povelje', 459, 469, 472, 484; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 207.

<sup>134</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 97, 144; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 247; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 105, note 127; Vego, 'Tri povelje', 459, 469, 472, 484; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 226.

and 1454 (*civitate Nova in Drina*). The town was located close to the Church of St. George and the Gradina site, where visible remains today confirm its historical presence.<sup>135</sup>

The town of *Osanički* was situated in the river valley of the Osanica, a left tributary of the Drina. It lay near the village of Osanica, with the Gradac hill looming above. *Osanički* was listed in both charters of Alfonso V (1444, 1454) and the charter of Frederick III (1448).<sup>136</sup> In the Ottoman defter of 1468/69, the village of Osanica was recorded as Dolna Osonica in the Osanica *nahiye*, which lay in the watershed of the eponymous river, between the Bistrica and Goražde *nahije*.<sup>137</sup>

We learn of the town of *Žir* from the charters issued to Stefan Vukčić Kosača, where it is listed as *castrum Syr* (1448) and *civitate Zur* (1454). It is not mentioned in Alfonso V's charter from 1444.<sup>138</sup> Stefan Vukčić likely won *Žir* in the period between 1444 and 1448.<sup>139</sup> The exact location of the town has not been reliably established. There are three opinions regarding its position. Đoko Malezić assumes that the town of *Žir* was in fact Gradina near Goražde.<sup>140</sup> M. Dinić believes the town must have been somewhere in Podrinje.<sup>141</sup> It is also possible that *Žir* was located in the area of the village of Kasidol, on the right bank of the Ustibar, near Goleš in Hercegovina, which contains the hamlet of *Žirča*. Near this hamlet, some ruins can be found, along with the settlement of *Crkvište*.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 97.

<sup>136</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 250–251; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 206.

<sup>137</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 65–66.

<sup>138</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 251.

<sup>139</sup> Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 108–109.

<sup>140</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 143.

<sup>141</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 251.

<sup>142</sup> Vukman Šalipurović, 'Neka pitanja granice Bosne i Hercegovine i Despotovine u XIV i XV veku i mesta i položaja nekih srednjovekovnih gradova u Srednjem Polimlju', *Simpozijum „Seoski dani Sretena Vukosavljevića“ VII* (1979), 199; Spasić, 'Srednjovekovni utvrđeni gradovi', 63.

The fortress of *Osip* was most likely situated somewhere in Podrinje. The first written records of *Osip* appear in a Dubrovnik document from 1435. The fort was mentioned in all three charters issued to Stefan Vukčić Kosača (1444, 1448, 1454).<sup>143</sup> The individual defter of 1475/77 listed the village of *Osip* in the Bistrica *nahiye*.<sup>144</sup>

During Ottoman conquests, many fortifications in this region were destroyed. The collective census of the *Sanjak* of Bosnia from 1468/69 listed only two manned forts in the Land of Drina: Samobor and Tođevac. Other castles in this area were abandoned and destroyed by the Ottomans. The Ottoman state, with its main attack force withdrawing, chose to maintain only strategically important fortifications.<sup>145</sup>

### III.3. Settlements and Demographics

#### III.3.1. Data from Ottoman Defters

The Ottoman invasion in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries does not appear to have caused any major population disruptions or movements in this area. Even after the Ottomans conclusively conquered it in 1466, no significant demographic changes ensued, and population continuity was uninterrupted. This is evidenced by the fact that the names of nearly all settlements in the *župas* and the Land of Drina remained unchanged. After taking control of the area, the Ottomans carried out censuses and established a new administrative system. During this process, they retained most of the earlier toponyms, while altering others either partially or entirely.

For the history of the Middle Ages, Ottoman census (cadastre) defters (*tahrîr defterleri*) hold great importance. They

<sup>143</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 201; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 206.

<sup>144</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 268.

<sup>145</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 222–242.

incorporated all types of settlements and various categories of the population. There were two kinds of *defters*: detailed (individual; *müfassal*) and summary (collective; *icmâl, mücmel*). *Müfassal* defters provided detailed information on individuals, including the names of all household heads, and specified all sources of feudal income in the censused area. In contrast, *icmâl* defters were collective or summary censuses that listed the names of settlements, the number of houses in each, and classified feudal income into *hasses*, *zeamets* and *timars*.<sup>146</sup> The following defters contain valuable information on settlements and demographics of this area: *the Collective Defter of the Bosnia Sanjak*, started on 26 January 1468 and completed on 12 May 1469;<sup>147</sup> and *the Individual Defter of the Sanjak of Herzegovina Vilayet*, started in 1475 and completed by the end of 1477.<sup>148</sup> These censuses, combined with the retroactive method, thoroughly compensate for the deficiency of information for the reconstruction of settlements and demographics in the Middle Ages. The defters present the actual situation in the administrative units – *nahiyes*. The word *nahiye* comes from the Arabic word *nahiya* (nāhī), which means side, part, region, area. In the Ottoman state, *nahiyes* were the basic administrative entities that composed *sanjaks*. Often,

<sup>146</sup> There is a substantial body of research on the Ottoman censuses; here, we present only the following selection: Hazim Šabanović, *Krajište Isa – bega Ishakovića, Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1964), XXI–LVI (Introduction); Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 150–151; Amina Kupusović, ‘Defteri Hercegovačkog sandžaka u arhivu Orijentalnog instituta u Sarajevu’, in Munib Maglajić, ed., *Zbornik radova: naučni skup herceg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača i njegovo doba* (Mostar: Bošnjačka zajednica Kulture ‘Preporod’, Gradsko društvo Mostar, 2005), 69–74; Ema Miljković, ‘Osmanske popisne knjige defteri kao izvori za istorijsku demografiju – mogućnosti istraživanja, tačnost pokazatelja i metodološke nedoumice’, *Teme* 1 (2010), 363–373.

<sup>147</sup> Hatice Oruç, ‘15. Yüzyılda Bosna Sancağı ve İdari Dağılımı’, *OTAM* 18 (2006), 254; The original defter manuscript is kept in the Municipal Library of Istanbul as Muallim Cevdet Yazmalari No 0097. The defter was recently prepared and published by Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, XI–XXV.

<sup>148</sup> The original defter manuscript is kept in the Government Archives of Turkey as 05. Aličić, *Poimenični*, I–III (Introduction).

a *nahiye* was a natural geographical area that named after its centre, such as a municipality, town, large village, fortress, or the nearest river.<sup>149</sup> Given that the censuses were conducted for fiscal purposes, it is logical to assume that Ottoman authorities had a strong interest in identifying all taxpayers. Therefore, the quality of the registration data on taxpayers certainly was likely to be high.<sup>150</sup>

The *defters* provide an opportunity to estimate the population of villages and *nahiyes*. They contain information on heads of households, approximate population figures, their ethnicity, and movements. However, estimates are hampered by the fact that the censuses did not include individuals who were exempt from taxes for various reasons (such as falconers or paramilitaries – *derbenci*). Consequently, the *defters* allow for the examination of the listed population but do not account for the total population of a cadastral area. The censuses did not include the entire Muslim population either. Population was classified into married couples, males and widows.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>149</sup> For more on the importance of Ottoman census books as historical sources, see: Miljković, 'Osmanske popisne knjige', 363–373.

<sup>150</sup> For every census, the Porte would establish a census committee consisting of an *emin* (census taker) and a *katib* (scribe). The *emin* and *katib* were reputable, trusted and educated officers. The committee enlisted the help of local authorities and respectable locals to perform its duty of listing all data on *vilayets*, common villagers (*rayah*), the sovereign power's decisions pertaining to *rayah*, tax revenues, *timar* revenues, number of residents exempt from fiscal obligations, and *waqf* and *mülk* information. The sultan did not permit even the smallest details to be overlooked in the census. If omissions did occur, they were met with severe penalties, while the *emin* and *katib* guaranteed the reliability of the census. For the Collective *Defter* of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69, the *emin* was Ays-bey and the *katib* was Ahmed. For the Individual *Defter* of the Sanjak of Herzegovina Vilayet 1475/77, the administrator of the census was Melvan Vildan, and the scribe Pir Muhamed. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega*, XXX–XXXIV (Introduction); Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, I–V, 2; Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, XV–XVI (Introduction); Miljković, 'Osmanske popisne knjige', 365–366.

<sup>151</sup> Miroslav Rašević, 'Demografske prilike i stanovništvo', in Miloš Macura, ed., *Naselja i stanovništvo u oblasti Brankovića 1455. godine* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Službeni glasnik, 2001), 425–428; Siniša Mišić,

Estimates of household size in the Middle Ages vary among scholars. Some suggest an average of 3.5 to 7 members per household, while others estimate 4 to 5 members. M. Rašević argues for 4.4 members per household.<sup>152</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan asserts that the average household size was 5,<sup>153</sup> and Nejat Göyünc – 3 to 5.<sup>154</sup> The most methodologically sound estimate is that the average household size was 5 when headed by a man, and 2.5 when headed by a widow.<sup>155</sup> Single men listed in the censuses were multiplied by the coefficient 1, and monks were treated as single men, despite some having married and had children before entering monastic life. This approximation revealed trends in population size and movement.<sup>156</sup> Household heads had to pay an annual Ispençe (tax per capita, personal tax) of 25 akçes. Single-member households paid lower taxes than others, and households headed by widows were exempt from any taxation except Ispençe, which equalled 6 akçes per annum. The low number of widows in the defters suggests that, due to challenging life circumstances, widowed women often remarried to improve their situation.<sup>157</sup>

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‘Naseljnost Polimlja u srednjem veku’, *Mileševski zapisi* 6 (2005), 70–76.

<sup>152</sup> Rašević, ‘Demografske prilike’, 428; See: Jusuf Mulić, ‘Prilog istraživanju mogućnosti procjenjivanja broja stanovnika u Bosni i Hercegovini u vrijeme osmanske vladavine’, *Hercegovina* 13–14 (2001), 42–46.

<sup>153</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, ‘Türkiye’de imparatorluk Devrinin Büyük Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri ve Hakana Mahsus istatistik Defterler’, *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* II/1–2 (1941), 21.

<sup>154</sup> Nejat Göyünc, ‘Hâne Deyimi Hakkında’, *I.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979), 331–348.

<sup>155</sup> Mišić, ‘Naseljnost’, 70–76.

<sup>156</sup> Rašević, ‘Demografske prilike’, 430. The first item in the defter listed the names of taxpayers, while the second item contained the names of their fathers or relatives as identifiers. Unlike Serbian and Bosnian rulers’ charters, which did not include women’s names, the defters included the names of widow taxpayers.

<sup>157</sup> Miloš Jovanović, ‘Tačnost podataka i kontrola’, in Miloš Macura, ed., *Naselja i stanovništvo u oblasti Brankovića 1455. godine* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Službeni glasnik, 2001), 279–289; Miljković, ‘Osmanske popisne knjige’, 367–368.



After conquering the Bosnian king's lands, the territory of the Kovačevićs, and parts of Herceg Stefan's land, the Ottomans joined those areas with the previously occupied regions that had belonged to the Branković family, to form the *Bosnian Sanjak*. The first sanjak-bey of the *Sanjak* of Bosnia was Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey. The sanjak-bey's seat was first in Jajce, and later in Sarajevo. During the census of the Bosnian *Sanjak* in 1468/69, the Ottomans maintained the previous territorial divisions between the Bosnian king and Bosnian feudal lords. Prior to this, the land of Stefan Kosača (*Vilayet Hersek*) had been established as a separate *sanjak*. The territory of the Pavlović lands retained its name even after the Ottoman occupation (*Vilayet Pavli*). In administrative and territorial terms, Upper Podrinje was divided into two *vilayets*: Pavli and Hersek. These *vilayets* incorporated administrative units called *nahiyes*, which generally corresponded to the areas of former župas. *Vilayet Pavli*, or Pavlović lands, included only Višegrad and Dobrun, with the seat of the *kadiluk* in Višegrad. In terms of judicial administration, *Vilayet Hersek*, or the Herceg's land, was divided in two *kadiluks*: Drina and Blagaj. In this area, the *kadiluk* of Drina included the *nahiyes* of Samobor and Bohorić, with its seat in Hoča. The *kadiluk* of Blagaj contained the following *nahiyes* in the Land of Drina: Hoča, Goražde, Bistrica, Zagorje, Osanica, Tođevac and Soko, with the town of Blagaj in Hum serving as the seat of this *kadiluk*.<sup>158</sup>

After the Ottoman conquest of this region, the land was proclaimed state property and, as in other conquered parts, its supreme ruler was the sultan. Estates were categorised as either *hass*, *zeamet* or *timar*. *Hass* holders included the sultan, viziers, beylerbeys, sanjak-beys, defterdars and marksmen. According to a classification from around 1516, the annual revenue of a

<sup>158</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 114–143.

*hass* surpassed 100,000 akçes. *Zeamet* holders were alaybeys, timar kiayas, timar defterdars, Imperial Divan clerks, chaushes (çavuşes) and soubashis. The annual *zeamet* revenue ranged between 20,000 and 100,000 akçes. A *timar* was an estate granted to its holder to collect annual revenue no greater than 19,999 akçes. It was not granted for life and could not be inherited; rather, it was given as compensation for the military service of the timariot (its holder). Additionally, the timariot was responsible for supervising his *timar* territory and the peasants living within it. The *baştinas* (inheritable plots of arable land) of the peasants who lived on a *timar*, *zeamet* or *hass* had an important role in the *timar* system. The defters listed chifliks, mezras (small villages), *hass* farmland, meadows, orchards and vineyards.<sup>159</sup>

The *Soko nahiye* was named after the medieval town of Soko, whose remains can today be found below Šćepan Polje, near the confluence of the Piva and Tara.<sup>160</sup> The centre of the *nahiye* was located in Hoča (Foča).<sup>161</sup> Between 1465 and 1469, a Cyrillic-script census of the imperial *hass* of Hoča was conducted, encompassing lands on both sides of the Čehotina River. On its right side were the following estates: the field at Kišin, the metropolitan's estate, the metropolitan's yard (although the name of the metropolitanate was not stated, it

<sup>159</sup> For more on the basics of the Ottoman feudal system, see: Nedim Filipović, 'Pogled na osmanski feudalizam (sa naročitim obzirom na agrarne odnose)', *Godišnjak istoriskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* IV (1952), 35–50; Olga Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbiji (1459–1683)* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1974), 102–105; Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 729–730; Miloš Macura, 'Osmanski feudalizam', in Miloš Macura, ed., *Naselja i stanovništvo u oblasti Brankovića 1455. godine* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti: Službeni glasnik, 2001), 476–484; 515–517; Ema Miljković–Bojanić, 'Turski feudalni sistem na Balkanu', in Miloš Macura, ed., *Naselja i stanovništvo u oblasti Brankovića 1455. godine* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Službeni glasnik, 2001), 533–539.

<sup>160</sup> Popović, 'Soko grad', 17–21.

<sup>161</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 138.

was the Mileševa Metropolitanate), Batev Do, the Moišić baština, and Brajko Branošević's estate. On the left side, the land was divided into hayfields, estates, docks, vineyards and fields. The census included a list of names and most of the individuals' surnames. The *hass* was home to 15 landowners and 102 inhabitants who were granted land to cultivate. Many of the surnames on the list are reminiscent of village and hamlet names in the Foča region.<sup>162</sup>

In the collective census of the Bosnia *Sanjak* of 1468/69, the *hass* of Isa Bey Ishaković consisted of four villages and three bazaars: Hvoča, Jelač and Goražde. The Hvoča bazaar was registered as having four hamlets – mezras, 192 households, 70 single men and four widows. Total revenue from trade tax, niyabet, ferry tax, tithe and Ispençe amounted to 39,000 akçes. Jeleč was counted as having 59 households and 18 single men. The Goražde bazaar contained 144 houses with 115 single men – a considerably high number. This bazaar yielded a revenue of 19,000 akçes to the mirliva's *hass*. The *nahiye* census also included the Đorđo church with five monks and an income of 160 akçes.<sup>163</sup> This information from the defter pertains to the Church of St. George at Sopotnica near Goražde.<sup>164</sup>

The count included 19 *timars* belonging to nobles, 13 *timars* of soldiers of the fortress Samobor, and one *timar* of a

<sup>162</sup> Risto Jeremić, 'Has Hoča: jedan stari popis ljudi i zemalja', *Glasnik Srpskog geografskog društva* 11 (1925), 94–102; For the metropolitan and monks, see: Marija Janković, 'Crkvena organizacija na teritoriji Kosača', in Radoslav Bratić, ed., *Kosače – osnivači Hercegovine* (Bileća, Gacko, Beograd: Prosvjete, Fond "Vladimir i Svetozar Ćorović", 2002), 501.

<sup>163</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 63–64.

<sup>164</sup> Đorđe Mazalić, 'Hercegova crkva kod Goražda i okolne starine', *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* LII (1940), 27–42; Dragan Vojvodić, 'Ktitorska djelatnost Stjepana Vukčića Kosače', in Gordana Tomović, ed., *Šćepan Polje i njegove svetinje kroz vjekove: zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa* (Berane: Svevide, 2010), 62–63.

guard of the Todevac fort. One *timar* holder was the kadi of the *kadiluk* of Drina, Mevlana Eminudin. His possessions included two villages with the total revenue of 4,097 akçes. Some of the *timar* holders in this *nahiye* were Christians: Vladislav Gostić, Radivoj Oprašić, Knez Hrvaš and his sons Stepan and Radonja, Tvrtko, son of Čavli, and his brother. This census recorded that a certain Knez Radoje had surrendered the town of Soko, and received an estate as an award for aiding the Turks. The *timar* holders in the *nahiye* who converted to Islam included: Mehmedija, new Muslim, Ismail, new Muslim, and Sulejman, son of Radič.

The soldiers of the fortress of Samobor came from various areas: Hamza from Timurhisar, Ismail from Serres, Karadža from Monteshe, Ismail from Radomir, Hamza from Kyustendil, Hamza from Din, Ibrahim from Toplica, Karadoz from Plovdiv, Hamza from Sofia, Hasan from Niš, etc. The census of the *nahiye* included: three bazaars, one church, 80 villages, 1,181 households, 465 single adult men, and eight Muslims, for a total of 6,390 persons and revenue of 147,904 akçes. The defter also included 12 deserted settlements, whose inhabitants had likely abandoned their homes to flee war and Ottoman conquests.<sup>165</sup>

The Soko *nahiye* was situated in Upper Podrinje. It extended from Šćepan Polje in the south to the mouth of the Prača into the Drina in the north. The villages of the *nahiye* were dispersed on both sides of the Drina, in its tributaries' valleys, and along its sides. The *nahiye* was framed by the mountains of Zelengora, Treskavica, Jahorina, Vučevica, Kovač, Ljubišnja, Obzir, Pivska Planina, and Maglić.

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<sup>165</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 63–64, 113–118, 124–126, 129, 131, 141, 228, 230–235, 237–238, 253.

**Table 1:** *Collective census of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69*

<i>Soko nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>Isa Bey's hass</b> Part of Papratno	Papratno, settlement in the territory of Foča	34	17	/	2842	187
Didova	Not identified	34	17	/	2842	187
Bunova	Bunovi, settlement in the territory of Foča	37	5	/	4510	190
Bazaar of Jelač	Jeleč, settlement in the territory of Foča	59	18	/	8340	313
Gobza	Govza, settlement in the territory of Foča	11	9	/	1518	64
Part of Gorne Oglečevo	Gornje Oglečevo in the territory of Foča	2	/	/	269	10
Bazaar of Hvoča with 4 mezras	Today's town of Foča	192	70	4	39000	1040
Bazaar of Goražde	Today's town of Goražde	144	115	/	19000	835
Đorđo Church	The church was located in Donje Brdo in Goražde	/	5	/	160	5
Gorna Trebeševa	Trebeševo, village in the territory of Goražde	26	14	/	5225	144
Žuža	Žužel, village in the territory of Goražde	12	8	/	2060	68
<b>Timar settlements</b> Susečno	Susječno, settlement in the territory of Foča	33	3	2	4809	173
Trbušica	Trbušče, settlement in the territory of Foča	31	8	/	2414	163
Dolna Brda	Donja Brda, village in the territory of Goražde	21	10	/	2887	115
Pavšinica	Not identified	10	1	/	786	51
Silo	Not identified	2	4	/	1000	14

Suhodolak	Eponymous site in Goražde	19	/	/	1066	95
Luditniča	Not identified	12	5	/	750	65
Dragočava	Eponymous settlement in the territory of Foča	18	3	/	2297	93
Mazoča	Mazoče, settlement in the territory of Foča	5	3	/	1346	28
Dragleva	Possibly the village of Dragulji in the territory of Goražde	9	3	/	767	48
Kozarevina	Kozarevina, settlement in the territory of Foča	7	5	/	675	40
Straševa	Straže, hamlet in the village of Bučje in the territory of Goražde	5	1	/	381	26
Zlatibor	Zlatni Bor, settlement in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	50	/
Part of Saš	Most likely a hamlet of the village of Bučje in the territory of Goražde	/	/	/	55	/
Dobruneva	Not identified	/	/	/	80	/
Resišta	Not identified	3	/	/	/	15
Radenić	Possibly the village of Radovići in the territory of Rudo	6	2	/	222	32
Gorna Oglečeva	Oglečevo, settlement in the territory of Foča	5	/	/	470	25
Brezovica	Brezovica, settlement in the territory of Ustikolina	/	/	/	140	/
Bjeliš	Bjeliš, hamlet in the territory of Foča	10	10	/	2737	60

Lašča	Lašiči, hamlet in the territory of Ustikolina	4	1	/	1482	21
Budičić	Budišići, settlement in the territory of Foča	17	/	/	1657	85
Dolna Polića	Donje Poljice, settlement in the territory of Foča	2	/	/	170	10
Mezra of Kuta	Kuta, village in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	30	/
Bilašnica	Possibly the settlement of Bjelešići in the territory of Foča	9	4	/	1322	49
Part of Gornji Lulič	Ljuljevina, settlement in the territory of Goražde	5	6	/	760	31
Trenčino	Trebičine, settlement in the territory of Foča	5	1	/	417	26
Kuti	Kuti, village in the territory of Foča	3	2	/	704	17
Part of Štovići	Štovići, settlement in the territory of Foča	4	2	/	946	22
Ribar	Ribari, hamlet in the territory of Ustikolina	8	3	/	753	43
Vladikova	Village and hamlet of Vladikovi in the territory of Foča	7	1	/	514	36
Part of Prosina	Prosine, settlement in the territory of Foča	6	3	/	1192	33
Dolna Oštro	Oštro in the territory of Goražde	1	/	/	50	5
Part of Saš	Saš, village in the territory of Foča	8	/	/	494	40
Bastasi	Eponymous settlement in the territory of Foča	11	4	/	712	59

Jaseni	Jasenovo, hamlet in the territory of Miljevina	/	/	/	/	/
Požareva	Požarevo, hamlet in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	700	/
Dolna Oglečeva	Oglečeva, settlement in the territory of Goražde	27	3	/	2738	138
Part of Zavodište	Zavodište, village in the territory of Foča	13	/	/	1359	65
Melina	Meljeni, settlement in the territory of Foča	3	1	/	574	16
Vikoča	Vikoč, settlement in the territory of Foča	25	18	/	1631	143
Gorna Brda	Gornja Brda, settlement in the territory of Foča	8	3	/	1958	43
<i>Timar</i> settlements of soldiers of the Samobor fortress Podpeće	Potpeće, village in the territory of Foča	7	1	/	794	36
Kožitneva	Koženin, hamlet in the village of Mrdelići near Foča	5	/	/	525	25
Žužel	Žuželo, village in the territory of Goražde	5	/	/	1033	25
Grab	Eponymous village in the territory of Goražde	9	9	/	1198	54
Vukoviće	Not identified	3	1	/	323	16
Budna	Budanj, village in the territory of Foča	19	8	2	1494	108
Dolna Pol(j)ic	Poljice, village in the area of Miljevina in Foča	13	6	/	910	71
Part of the village of Papratno	Papratno, Donje and Gornje, village in the territory of Foča	15	5	/	3418	80



Prvinić	Prvinići, village in the territory of Foča	9	/	/	881	45
Stipanova Pola	Šćepan Polje, settlement on the border between Republika Srpska and Montenegro	14	3	/	740	73
Part of Prosine	Prosine, hamlet in the settlement of Miljevina in the territory of Foča	7	3	/	1837	38
Trošina	Trošanj, hamlet in the settlement of Mješaj in the territory of Foča	6	1	/	200	31
Zavodišta	Zavodište, village in the territory of Foča	30	4	/	3251	154
Vrudak	Not identified	11	3	/	571	58
Bol(j)aradina	Boljeradina, village in the territory of Foča	11	/	/	1932	55
Part of Štovići	Štovići, village in the territory of Foča	51	19	/	5282	274
Ocrkavje	Ocrkavlje, village in the area of Miljevina near Foča	19	8	/	1466	103
Dolna Kučina	Kučino, village in the territory of Goražde	14	2	/	1755	72
Part of Pavšanica	Not identified	4	1	/	567	21
<b>Timar settlements of soldiers of the Todevac fortress</b> Krmaluša	Krmaluša, village in the area of Miljevina, in the territory of Foča	8	1	/	535	41
Ječmišta	Ječmište, village in the area of Čelebići near Goražde	8	2	/	525	42
<b>Part of the Soko nahije, deserted villages</b> Vrbnica	Vrbnica, village in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	/	/

Ravasino	Not identified	/	/	/	/	/
Popov Most	Eponymous village in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	/	/
Damovina	Polje, hamlet in the village of Popov Most in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	/	/
Visikač	Possibly the hamlet of Visikovići in the village of Kratine in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	/	/
Putovica(ča)	Possibly the village of Putovići in the territory of Foča, in the vicinity of Ustikolina	/	/	/	/	/
Lupoglava	Not identified	/	/	/	/	/
Gorna Makalja	Makalj, settlement in the territory of Rudo	/	/	/	/	/
Brodčica	Not identified	/	/	/	/	/
Suha	Tjentište in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	/	/
Radovica	One of the villages named Radovići in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	/	/
<b>Total: 80 villages, 5 mezas, 3 bazaars, 1 church</b>		<b>1,181</b>	<b>465</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>147,904</b>	<b>6,390</b>

The *Bistrica nahiye* was, in fact, the same as the župa of Bistrica.<sup>166</sup> It covered the entire area of the eponymous river to its confluence with the Drina, south of Foča, and some villages below Jahorina to Goražde and Rogatica. In the *nahiye* of Bistrica, the bazaar of Ustikolina belonged to the administrator of the Bosnian *Sanjak*, Isa Bey Ishaković. According to the census, this bazaar had 60 households with 21 single adults,

<sup>166</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 140.

bringing in a revenue of 13,930 akçes to the mirliva's *hass*. The *hass* also contained a part of the village of Milotine near Foča.<sup>167</sup> In the lands of Herceg Stefan, there were a number of settlements populated by Krstjani, adherents of the Bosnian Church. This part of the village of Milotine was recorded as being inhabited only by Krstjani. Thanks to the tax relief they enjoyed, they were listed separately in the census, and explicitly named *Krstjani*.<sup>168</sup>

The count of the *nahiye* also registered 21 *timars* of nobles, 13 *timars* of soldiers of the fortress of Samobor and four *timars* of soldiers of Tođevac. Some *timar* holders were Serbs: Vukić Desničić and his brother, Tvrtko and his brothers, Pavko and Stepan, Radivoj son of Brka, Radoj Divčić, Radivoj Oprašić, and Vukić Nenković. There were also two *timar* holders who had converted to Islam: Mehmedija, new Muslim, and Karađoz, new Muslim. The census of the *nahiye* recorded: 1 bazaar, 79 settlements, 782 households, 237 single men, 1 Muslim, a total of 4,149 persons and the total revenue of 78,288 akçes. Finally, craftsmen's settlements, masons and smiths were listed separately (17 persons). All of them were exempt from paying Ispençe, haraç, and other state taxes because of their special engagement for the needs of military fortifications.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 66.

<sup>168</sup> For more on the Bosnian Church, Krstjani and members of their religious hierarchy, see: Sima Ćirković, 'Bosanska crkva u bosanskoj crkvi', in Enver Redžić, ed., *Prilozi za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine I. Društvo i privreda srednjovjekovne bosanske države* (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1987), 195–253; Pejo Ćošković, *Crkva bosanska u XV stoljeću* (Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2005), 53–56, 257–258; Ivica Puljić, 'Crkvene prilike u zemljama hercega Stjepana Vukčića Kosače', in Franjo Šanjek, ed., *Fenomen "krstjani" u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu* (Sarajevo, Zagreb: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, Hrvatski institut za povijest Zagreb, 2005), 263–265; Nenad Močanin, 'Bosansko-humski krstjani u turskim vrelima (napomene)', in Franjo Šanjek, ed., *Fenomen "krstjani" u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni i Humu* (Sarajevo, Zagreb: Institut za istoriju u Sarajevu, Hrvatski institut za povijest Zagreb, 2005), 407–411.

<sup>169</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 109, 114, 130, 132, 134–135, 141, 229, 234–235, 237–242, 245.

**Table 2:** *Collective census of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69*

<i>Bistrica nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>Isa Bey's hass</b> Part of Milotina	Settlement in the territory of Foča	11	/	/	1462	55
Bazaar of Ustikolina	Eponymous village near Foča	60	21	/	13930	321
Part of Podgrade	Village in the territory of Ustikolina	2	/	/	/	10
<b>Timar settlements</b> Zadub	Not identified	/	/	/	24	/
Part of Strganica	Today's village of Strganci in the territory of Ustikolina	9	4	/	147	49
Part of Zabor	Eponymous village in the territory of Ustikolina	9	2	/	978	47
Part of Lokve	Lokve, village in the territory of Ustikolina	7	4	/	1577	39
Part of Bilošević (Bjeloševica)	Not identified	2	2	/	890	12
Rusjip	Not identified	22	5	/	2664	115
Dolna Žešča	Donje Žešće, village in the territory of Foča	11	3	/	1886	58
Part of Strganič	Strganci, settlement in the territory of Ustikolina	2	/	/	160	10
Part of Jasenov	Jasenovo, settlement in the territory of Ustikolina	1	/	/	50	5
Sirica	Sjerice, settlement in the territory of Miljevina near Foča	4	/	/	200	20
Capa	Cape, village in the territory of Ustikolina	40	2	/	2524	202

Part of Daničići	Daničići, village in the territory of Foča	5	4	/	588	29
Rđavac	Not identified	15	5	/	1470	80
Gorna Žešča	Gornje Žešče, village in the territory of Ustikolina	20	5	/	1896	105
Gorna Milotina	Eponymous village in the territory of Ustikolina	12	1	/	618	61
Dolna Kosova	Hamlet in the territory of Ustikolina	6	1	/	44	31
Part of Vrbica	Vrbica, hamlet in the settlement Ustikolina	4	/	/	244	20
Sredna Milotina	Milotina, village in the territory of Ustikolina	/	/	/	/	/
Part of Dolna Milotina	Milotina, village in the territory of Ustikolina	2	/	/	160	10
Uništa	Uništa, hamlet in the village of Veleniči in the territory of Foča	1	/	/	50	5
Part of Kruševa	Kruševo, village in the territory of Foča	2	/	/	200	10
Mirinovići (Dolna Staneva)	Mirjanovići, settlement in the territory of Ustikolina	/	/	/	/	/
Uzbiće	Not identified	4	1	/	384	21
Part of Kruševo	Kruševo, settlement in the territory of Foča	3	/	/	644	15
Nastrani	Not identified	11	3	/	1017	58
Petojevići	Petojević, village in the territory of Foča	13	5	/	750	70
Radenović	Radenovići, village in the territory of Goražde	10	/	/	414	50
Gorna Staneva	Stanjevo Brdo, village in the territory of Miljevin at Foča	10	2	/	687	52
Dolna Žileva	Site in the territory of Goražde and Foča	13	2	/	640	67
Lalića	Laljica, hamlet in the village of Slavičići in the territory of Foča	34	4	/	2649	174

Part of Prosimlje	Prosine, settlement in the territory of Goražde	4	2	/	335	22
Part of Pleševica	Plješevica, village in Rogatica	2	2	/	812	12
Srbotina	Eponymous village in the territory of Miljevina near Foča	7	1	/	675	36
Zagorica	Possibly the hamlet of Zagorice in the territory of Miljevina near Foča	7	3	/	580	38
Kolun	Eponymous settlement in the territory of Foča	24	8	/	1583	128
Boranica	Borajnice, settlement in the territory of Foča	6	3	/	610	33
<b>Timar settlements of soldiers of the Samobor fortress</b> Gorna Rašica	Raošnica, hamlet in the territory of Goražde	2	/	/	100	10
Podkolun	Possibly the village of Kolun in the territory of Miljevina near Foča	19	10	/	1007	105
Gorna Kosova	Kosova, settlement in the territory of Ustikolina near Foča	6	1	/	2270	31
Rataj	Rataja, village in the area of Miljevina near Foča	13	3	/	962	68
Ok(g)lavac	Oglavak, hamlet in the area of Miljevina near Foča	4	1	/	295	21
Podbrež (Kramede)	Not identified	6	2	/	350	32
Divanje	Not identified	29	9	/	2718	154
Part of the village of Kremino	Kremin, village in the area of Ustikolina	5	/	/	250	25
Jasenova	Jasenovo, village in the area of Miljevina at Foča	12	2	/	873	62

Zabor	Eponymous village in the area of Ustikolina	6	2	/	950	32
Part of Strganac	Strganci, village in the area of Ustikolina	18	4	/	2094	94
Part of Lokva	There are numerous settlements with this name in Upper Podrinje	12	6	/	800	66
Tubac	Tupci, village in the vicinity of Čajniče	8	5	/	1250	45
Part of Pleševica	The village of Pilješevica was most likely somewhere around Rogatica	3	/	/	656	15
Part of Lokva	Lokve, village in the territory of Foča	10	1	/	252	51
Sokolica	Sokolica, village in the territory of Rogatica	1	/	/	315	5
G(k)remino	Not identified	17	8	/	2171	93
Dolna Črešnica	Trešnjica, hamlet in the village of Gornja Bukovica in the territory of Goražde	4	3	/	765	23
Crvice	Crvice, settlement in Ilovača near Goražde	8	1	/	774	41
Vinino	Eponymous village in Miljevinu near Foča	5	/	/	300	25
Crnac Potok	Not identified	3	/	/	150	15
Sokolac	Sokolica, village in the territory of Rogatica	1	/	/	50	5
Srni(et)ca	Not identified	4	/	/	200	20
<b>Timar settlements of soldiers of the Tođevac fortress Izbično</b>	Eponymous village of Izbično in the area of Miljevinu near Foča	29	17	/	2726	162
Prsimla	Prosina, hamlet in the area of Miljevinu near Foča	30	5	/	1659	155
Mrežnica	Mrežica, village in the territory of Foča	50	19	1	4107	271

Želeva	Željeva, village in Ustikolina	16	2	/	1054	82
Podg(k)rada	Podgrade, village in the area of Ustikolina near Foča	14	4	/	1257	74
Daničić	Daničići, village in the territory of Foča and Miljevin	9	3	/	966	48
Mravijac	Mravijac, village in the territory of Goražde	7	2	/	600	37
Tupač	Possibly the village of Tupačići in Goražde	7	3	/	613	38
Sučević	Not identified	7	/	/	280	35
Part of Pl(j)eševica	Plješevica, village in Rogatica	11	5	/	1168	60
Gorna Žešča	Žešča, village in the territory of Foča	6	4	/	531	34
Dolna Žešča	Žešča, village in the territory of Foča	5	3	/	233	28
<b>Craftsmen's settlements</b> Part of Sočice	Sočice, village in the territory of Rogatica	/	1	/	/	1
Part of Prosiml(j)e	Prosimlje, village in the area of Miljevin near Foča	/	1	/	/	1
Kolun	Eponymous village in the territory of Foča	/	7	/	/	7
Part of Lalica	Laljica, hamlet in the village of Slavičići in the territory of Foča	/	2	/	/	2
Part of Krebča	Kreča, village in the area of Ilovača near Goražde	/	5	/	/	5
Part of Poda	Poda, village in the territory of Goražde	/	1	/	/	1
<b>Tota: 79 villages, 1 bazaar</b>		<b>782</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>78,288</b>	<b>4,149</b>



The *Goražde nahiye* developed along a strategically important route next to the Drina River.<sup>170</sup> According to the 1468/69 census, Isa Bey's *hass* in the *nahiye* of Goražde contained four villages and 32 households, listed three single men, and generated a revenue of 5,487 akçes for the mirliva's *hass*. The count included 12 *timar* holders and seven *timars* of soldiers of the Samobor fortress. The following *timar* holders were Christians: Stepko, Radan, Radoje, Vukić Pretržan, Radič, Vladislav, Knez Radoje, Vukić son of Ivaniš, Vuk Negurić, and Knez Radivoj. Interestingly, some *timars* in this *nahiye* were jointly held by Christians and Muslims: the *timar* of Jusuf Radasalić, Rustem Tušina, Vlatko Mušić, Skender Ravatović and Vukmir, and the *timar* of Kasin and Ratko. Besides the inhabited settlements, there were 3 temporarily deserted *mezras*. *Timar* holders who manned the Samobor fortress came from many different places: Skender from Yambol, Ismail from Vranje, Karađoz from Sofia, Jusuf from Laz, Hizir from Smederevo, Hizir from Prilep, Junus from Trabzon, Iljas from Šehirkoj and Hamza from Kostandin. The census of the *nahiye* recorded a total of 39 settlements, 288 households, 71 single men, 3 Muslims, for a total of 1,518 inhabitants and a revenue of 31,664 akçes.<sup>171</sup>

The villages of the Goražde *nahiye* were located in the valley of the Drina, along its tributaries and their banks. The villages were dispersed on both sides of the Drina – on the western side from the foot of Jahorina, and on the eastern – from Kovač and Vučevica.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 32.

<sup>171</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 64–65, 118–121, 128–130, 230, 233–237, 239.

<sup>172</sup> *Sekcija Goražde* (526): interno, 1:100000 (Beograd: Vojnogeoграфski institut, 1971).

**Table 3:** *Collective census of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69*

<i>Goražde nahije</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>Isa Bey's hass</b> Dolna Šovšić	Dolna Šovšić, settlement in the territory of Goražde	14	/	/	1868	70
Kostenik	Eponymous settlement in the territory of Goražde	7	1	/	2018	36
Miholja Brda	Not identified	9	1	/	1376	46
Dolna Brda	Donja Brda, settlement in the territory of Goražde	2	1	/	225	11
<b>Timar settlements</b> (I)griševa	Probably the village of Igrište in the territory of Vikoč	12	/	/	/	60
Rebča	The hamlet of Repča today exists in the village of Grubojevići in the territory of Foča	3	/	/	/	15
Česteva	There is an area called Čestin between Foča and Pljevlja	4	/	/	/	20
Dolna Zaselak	Donji Zaselak, settlement in the territory of Goražde	3	/	/	120	15
Vikoč	Vikoč, settlement in the territory of Foča	8	4	/	986	44
Part of Gornj Polič	Gornje Poljice, settlement in the territory of Foča	3	1	/	220	16
Skorupani	Hamlet of the village of Hadžići in the territory of Goražde	3	3	/	325	18
Ćura	Ćurevo, settlement in the territory of Goražde	13	2	/	801	67

Krasnica	Today's village of Krasnica, hamlet of the village of Zupčići in the territory of Goražde	2	/	/	100	10
Dolna Oštro	Not identified	1	/	/	50	5
Potpeće	Eponymous settlement in the territory of Foča	11	6	/	3328	61
Zakmur	Eponymous settlement in the territory of Foča	10	6	/	1272	56
Gnjile	Not identified	4	/	/	150	20
Part of Prosine	Prosine, hamlet of Miljevin	6	2	/	300	32
Ćurevo	Ćurevo, settlement in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	50	/
Mezra of Ples	Possibly the settlement of Ples in Miljevin	/	/	/	/	/
Kruščica	Kršćica, village located in the territory of Foča	3	2	/	225	17
Kunovo	Kunovo, settlement in the territory of Foča	20	3	/	1297	103
Mezra of Črešnica	Trešnjica, settlement in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	310	/
Part of Lamoč Potok	Glamoč, village in the territory of Goražde	4	1	/	859	21
Meleni	Probably today's village of Meljeni in the territory of Foča	2	/	/	/	10
Dolna Kopač	Kopači, settlement near Goražde	19	5	/	2567	100
Part of Završ	Završje, village near Goražde	5	3	/	485	28

Part of Dlamoč Potok	Glamoč, village in the territory of Goražde	12	2	/	2161	62
Part of the village of Završ	Završje, village in the territory of Goražde	3	1	/	319	16
Duga Vas	Possibly the settlement of Duga Njiva in Miljevinia	22	5	/	1070	115
Part of Sredna Brda	Gornja and Donja Brda, villages in the territory of Goražde	/	/	/	460	/
Mezra of Slatina and village of Meljine	Miljeno, village in the territory of Goražde	/	/	/	100	/
<b>Timar settlements of soldiers of the Samobor fortress</b> Gorna Brda	Gornja Brda, village in the territory of Goražde	7	4	/	610	39
Gorna Črešnica	Trešnjica, village in the territory of Goražde	6	2	/	738	32
Sopodnica	Gornja and Donja Sopotnica, villages in the territory of Goražde	5	3	/	1328	28
Metilje	Possibly Gornji and Donji Osov in the territory of Rogatica	8	/	3	1401	47
Part of Završ	Završje, village in the territory of Goražde	1	2	/	109	7
Sredna Brda	Donja and Gornja Brda, villages in the territory of Goražde	11	3	/	920	58
Kalajana	Kalajana, hamlet in the village of Čelebići in the territory of Foča	29	6	/	2376	151

Ušanovica	Ušanovići, settlement in the territory of Goražde	10	1	/	720	51
Part of Konjbaba	Konjbaba, village in the territory of Goražde	6	1	/	420	31
<b>Total: 39 villages, 3 mezras</b>		<b>288</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>31,664</b>	<b>1,518</b>

The *nahiye* of *Samobor* or *Pribud*<sup>173</sup> is mentioned in the 1468/69 census under both names. Pribud was named after the eponymous župa, and Samobor after the fortified town of Samobor,<sup>174</sup> the largest medieval stronghold in the Land of Drina. The ruins of the fort remain visible, consisting of a number of discernible structures and defensive walls.<sup>175</sup> In this *nahiye*, the sultan's *hass* included the bazaar of Čajniče, which was an iron mine, along with the villages of Mrković, Klušćić and Krdžava, also locations of iron mines.<sup>176</sup> The Ottoman authorities, in their occupation of Bosnia, had specific interests in mining operations. The data on these mines are also listed in the census of 1475/77, confirming their continued activity. In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, iron was in high demand and eagerly sought after.<sup>177</sup> The *hass* of the administrator of the Bosnian *Sanjak*, Isa Bey Ishaković, contained 9 villages in the Samobor *nahiye*. Military and civil officers held 8 *timars*. Among the holders was Isa Balija, listed as one of those who surrendered the fortress of Samobor and converted to Islam; his name prior to the conversion is not mentioned. Some *timars* were held by Islamicized Christians

<sup>173</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 139.

<sup>174</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 97; Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 139.

<sup>175</sup> Kajmaković, 'Novi arheološko-arhitektonski spomenici', 141–144.

<sup>176</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 46.

<sup>177</sup> Handžić, 'Rudnici u Bosni', 9–11.

in the military and civil administration of the Ottomans: Hamza, new Muslim, and Ajs, new Muslim. *Timar* holders also included members of the former class of nobles: Knez Hrvaš and his sons Stepan and Radonja, Radivoj Zemilić, Vukosav son of Radivoje, and Stipan Pogubančić, who managed to retain their *baštinas* and holdings by adapting to the Ottoman *timar* system.<sup>178</sup>

Sandalj Hranić would often stay in Samobor, which later became one of the main towns in the herceg's Podrinje. The fortress and its castle town (*sotto Samobor*) are mentioned in a Dubrovnikan source from 1423.<sup>179</sup>



**Figure 4:** *The town of Samobor*

The castle remained in use after the Ottoman conquest, as indicated by *defter*, which records it as manned. The castle *dizdar* was named Timurtašev, and his deputies were Isa and Kara Ishak. The garrison consisted of 69 members from various regions: Ibrahim from Strumica, Ismail from Šehirköj,

<sup>178</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 63, 125–127.

<sup>179</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 101.

Hizir from Samokov, Ibrahim from Toplica, Evrenos from Strumica, Hizir from Prilep, Junus from Trabzon, Iljas from Šehirkoj, Mustafa from Trepča, Hamza from Laz, Hamza from Timurhisar, Ismail from Serres, Širmerd from Plovdiv, Atmadža from Plovdiv, Hamza from Nevgerič, Iljas from Nevgerič, and Karadža from Monteshe, among others.

In the lands of Herceg Stefan, there were a number of settlements inhabited solely by Krstjani: in the village Rastok, nine homes belonging to the members of the Bosnian Church were registered. This informs us that adherents of this church endured even after its abolition. There were also 6 smiths and carpenters serving the fortress of Samobor.

This population category was exempt from paying Ispençe, haraç, and other state taxes. In territorial terms, the *nahiye* encompassed parts of the villages in Goražde, Čajniče and Rudo. The Samobor *nahiye* included 61 settlements and 1 bazaar, with 831 households, 222 single adult men, and 1 Muslim. The total number of inhabitants was 4,379, and the cumulative revenue 62,830 akçes.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 63, 121, 125–128, 227–229, 231–234, 237, 240, 244.

**Table 4:** *Collective census of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69*

<i>Samobor nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>The sultan's hass</b> Bazaar of Čajniče	Town in East Bosnia	190	5	/	/	955
Mrković	Mrkovići, settlement in the territory of Čajniče	18	4	/	/	94
Klušćić	Klušćići, settlement in the territory of Čajniče	7	/	/	/	35
Kržava	Village in the territory of Pljevlja	88	14	/	/	454
<b>Isa Bey's hass</b> Gorna Blizna	Today's village of Gornja Blizna in the territory of Rudo	32	26	/	5280	186
Vran Potok	Vran Potok, settlement in the territory of Goražde	10	2	/	1883	52
Podkalac	Kalac, village in the territory of Goražde	4	2	/	240	22
Kolibka	Kolijevke, settlement in the territory of Goražde	11	3	/	1450	58
Malin Potok	Possibly the village of Potoci in the territory of Pljevlja	16	14	/	2729	94
Gorna Lušca	Not identified	40	35	/	7954	235
Dolna Lušca	Not identified	9	2	/	1387	47
Miljena	Miljeno, settlement in the territory of Čajniče	10	4	/	1520	54
Prgovišta (Prigošta)	Settlement in the territory of Drina near Goražde	22	5	/	1698	115
<b>Timar settlements</b> Dolna Kamen	Kamene, settlement in the territory of Goražde	6	/	/	347	30
Gorna Bateva	Gornje Batevo, settlement in the territory of Čajniče	6	2	/	645	32
Part of Bateva	Gornje Batevo, settlement in the territory of Čajniče	7	4	/	801	39



Gorna Kamen	Gornji Kamen, settlement in the territory of Čajniče	4	/	/	200	20
Kaoštica	Kaoštica, settlement in the territory of Goražde	14	5	/	3861	75
Popov Dol	Popov Dol, settlement in the territory of Goražde	6	/	/	332	30
Sredna Bogoševac	Srednji Bogoševac, settlement in the territory of Goražde	2	/	/	100	10
Dvorišta	Dvorišta, settlement in the territory of Čajniče	/	/	/	/	/
Ska	Not identified	11	/	/	550	55
Terbosilje	Eponymous settlement in the territory of Rudo	/	/	/	620	/
Bezđani	Not identified	4	/	/	328	20
Sredna Bučina	Buče, village in the territory of Goražde	5	/	/	288	25
Part of Bilino	Biljin, settlement in the territory of Goražde	3	3	/	225	18
Gorna Šušnk(ć)	Šovšići, settlement in the territory of Goražde	3	2	/	525	17
Dolna Bateva	Donje Batevo, settlement in the territory of Čajniče	10	3	/	545	53
Part of the village of Meleni	Melin, settlement in the territory of Goražde	/	/	/	40	/
Mezra of Odska	Odska, settlement in the territory of Goražde	/	/	/	/	/
<b>Soldiers of the Samobor fortress, <i>timar</i> settlements</b> Dolna Blizna	Blizna, village in the territory of Rudo	5	1	/	200	26
Crnetina Gornja	Crnetići in the territory of Ustikolina	2	/	/	100	10
Icka (cka)	Not identified	7	3	/	500	38
Međureč	Međurječje, village in the territory of Rudo	30	8	/	3041	158
Dubrava	Dubrave, hamlet in the territory of Rudo	8	/	/	934	40

Dolna Bučja	Bučje, village in the territory of Goražde	20	4	/	1581	104
Zakalje	Hamlet in the territory of Goražde	14	12	/	1458	82
Crna Niva	Possibly the hamlet of Velika Njiva in the village of Borobići in Rudo	10	3	/	707	53
Dolna Medošević	Medoševići, village in the territory of Čajniče	6	/	/	525	30
Dolna Bezujna	Bezujno, village in the territory of Čajniče	22	6	/	2409	116
Gorna Bezujna	Bezujno, village in the territory of Čajniče	4	2	/	398	22
Part of Klak	Klak, village in the territory of Čajniče	11	3	/	987	58
Vrnjak	Vrnjak, hamlet in the territory of Borik near Goražde	8	2	/	779	42
G(o)lužino	Gložin, village in the territory of Čajniče	3	/	/	175	15
Borjana	Not identified	10	2	/	629	52
Part of Klak	Klak, village in the territory of Čajniče	12	2	/	554	62
Dolna Njegoševica	Not identified	6	2	/	350	32
Bilino	Biljin, village in the territory of Goražde	4	1	1	838	23
Batova	Batovo, village in the territory of Čajniče	5	2	/	594	27
Rastok	Not identified	9	/	/	630	45
Part of Kložin	Not identified	4	2	/	412	22
Slavopodnica	Not identified	4	1	/	685	21
Zapotočje	Hamlet in the village of Mazoče in the territory of Foča	6	1	/	705	31
Slatina	Slatina, village in the territory of Goražde	14	5	/	1164	75
Gorna Kopač	Kopači in the territory of Goražde	18	2	/	2481	92
Ustuprača	Ustuprača in the territory of Goražde	5	1	/	687	26

Brezovica	Brezovica in the territory of Čajniče	4	2	/	397	22
Dolna Kopač	Kopači, settlement at Goražde	19	6	/	2839	101
Gorna Bogoševac	Possibly the settlement of Bogušići near Goražde	18	2	/	1013	92
Gorna Kopač	The territory of Kopači near Goražde	5	6	/	1510	31
<b>Craftsmen's settlements</b> Part of Dolna Bogoševac	Bogušići, settlement near Goražde	/	2	/	/	2
Part of Gorna Bučja	Bučje, village in the territory of Goražde	/	2	/	/	2
Part of the village of Rudnik	Not identified	/	2	/	/	2
<b>Total: 61 villages, 1 bazaar, 1 mezra</b>		<b>831</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>62,830</b>	<b>4,379</b>

The *Osanica nahiye* lay in the basin of the Osanica River, between the *nahiyes* of Bistrica and Goražde.<sup>181</sup> In the *nahiye* of Osanica, 9 villages belonged to Isa Bey's *hass*. Military and civil officers held 9 *timars*. Members of the Samobor fortress garrison held 14 *timars* in the surrounding villages. The crew of the Tođevac fortress crew held 2 *timars*. *Timar* holders included Christians and new Muslims: Jusuf and his brother Vladislav, Mehmedija, new Muslim, Stepan, Vučić Nenковиć, Sulejman, new Muslim, and Ibrahim son of Vraneš. At the end of the defter, 2 specialized carpenters' villages (with 5 persons in total) were also noted. The final count contained: 57 villages, 530 households, 134 single men, a total of 2,789 inhabitants and a revenue of 59,209 akçes.<sup>182</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 140.

<sup>182</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 65–66, 87, 133, 139, 143, 228–230, 232–234, 236–

**Table 5:** *Collective census of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69*

<i>Osanica nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
Isa Bey's <i>hass</i> Ćavari	Not identified	32	4	/	3310	164
G(k)omijonica (Mirvić)	Mirvići, village in the territory of Goražde	24	4	/	1696	124
Žanić	Not identified	6	1	/	244	31
Dolna Svinica	Svinjica, settlement in the territory of Foča	13	4	/	820	69
Klužica	Klušci, village in the territory of Goražde	1	/	/	50	5
Bratinja	Bratinje, village in the territory of Goražde	5	/	/	1646	25
Zebina Šuma	Zebina Šuma, settlement in the territory of Foča	19	4	/	2971	99
Brod	Brod, settlement in the territory of Foča	9	1	/	5757	46
Potr(o)kuša	Potrkuša, settlement in the territory of Goražde	13	2	/	3560	67
Kalica	Kalac, settlement in the territory of Goražde	5	1	/	586	26
Dolna Osonica	Osanica, village in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	8	3	/	580	43
Part of Bratila	Bratinje, village in the territory of Goražde	/	/	/	120	/

<i>Timar</i> settlements Bratila	Bratinje, village in the territory of Goražde	/	/	/	120	/
Gorna Lubiša	Not identified	10	4	/	1570	54
Bukovica	Bukovica, village in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	4	1	/	671	21
Petral(j)	Not identified	11	3	/	1404	58
Strniša	Not identified	19	10	/	1888	105
Mezra of Priseda	Priseda, hamlet in the territory of Višegrad	/	/	/	200	/
Završ	Završje, village in the territory of Goražde	39	/	/	2452	195
Part of Morovci	Morovac, hamlet in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	4	2	/	400	22
Mezra of Brezačina	Brezje, village in the territory of Goražde	/	/	/	/	/
Part of the mezra of Brezačina	Brezje, village in the territory of Goražde	7	/	/	/	35
Vranić	Vranići, village in the territory of Goražde	5	4	/	885	29
Dolne Osoje	Osoje, hamlet in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	/	/
Zaselje	Zaselje is part of the village of Osanica in the territory of Goražde	4	/	/	/	20

<i>Timar settlements of soldiers of the Samobor fortress</i> Kraboriš	The village of Kraboriš is located in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	3	2	/	200	17
Pušino	Pušine, hamlet in the village of Bratiš in the territory of Goražde	14	/	/	966	70
Izgar	Izgari, hamlet in the territory of Ilovača at Goražde	4	1	/	265	21
Petrovica	Eponymous hamlet in the village of Bošin in the territory of Hadžići near Goražde	10	2	/	875	52
Bezmilja	Bezmilje, village in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	10	5	/	1158	55
Dolna L(j)ubuša	Ljubuša, village in the territory of Goražde	10	/	/	785	50
Lipa	Lipe, hamlet in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	4	/	/	200	20
Kudelevina	Possibly the hamlet of Kuvalje in the village of Krstac in the territory of Foča	10	1	/	379	51
Mirviča	Possibly the village of Mirvići in the territory of Goražde	10	4	/	1086	54
Lokvica	Lokvice, village in Ustikolina	1	/	/	50	5
Bežan	Not identified	5	1	/	275	26

Susjek	Site in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	4	2	/	329	22
Kremeševa	Kremeševo, hamlet of the village of Kola in the territory of Goražde	13	7	/	1902	72
Zadobro	Not identified	12	4	/	1229	64
Morovac	Morinac, hamlet in the village of Hadžići in the territory of Goražde	4	/	/	384	20
Bogović (Trudan(j))	Bogavići, village in the territory of Foča	7	5	/	550	40
Tešnica	Tješnjići, hamlet in the village of Crvica in the territory of Goražde	3	/	/	150	15
Budovina	Budovine, hamlet in the village of Ratkovići in the territory of Foča	11	4	/	577	59
Morinac	Eponymous village in the territory of Goražde	7	4	/	856	39
Zabrađe	Eponymous hamlet in the territory of Foča	7	/	/	350	35
Krstac	Eponymous village in the territory of Foča	6	6	/	935	36
Gorna Bratiš	Eponymous village in the territory of Foča	15	7	/	1382	82
Dolna Bahova	Bahovo, village in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	6	4	/	702	34

Gorna Svinca	Svinjica, village in the territory of Foča	16	7	/	1893	87
Slatina	Eponymous village in the territory of Goražde	15	6	/	2815	81
<b>Timar settlements of soldiers of the Todevac fortress</b> Gorna Bahova	Bahovo, village in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	8	2	/	909	42
Viduhova	Vranci, hamlet in Ilovača near Goražde	14	2	/	854	72
Šemihova	Veliko and Malo Šemihovo in Ilovača near Goražde	5	1	/	504	26
Petravala	Not identified	3	1	/	300	16
Vlavica	Not identified	1	/	/	75	5
Mazlina	Mazlina, village in the territory of Ustikolina	10	/	/	392	50
Rešetnica	Rešetnica, village in the territory of Goražde	34	6	/	3911	176
Dolna Bratiš	Bratiš, village at Goražde	10	2	/	1041	52
<b>Craftsmen's settlements</b> Part of the village of Petral(j)	Not identified	/	2	/	/	2
Part of the village of Dolna Lebša	Not identified	/	3	/	/	3
<b>Total: 57 villages, 3 mezras</b>		<b>530</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>/</b>	<b>59,209</b>	<b>2,789</b>



The *Tođevac nahiye* was named after the medieval stronghold of the same name, located at the foot of the Tođevac mountain, near the present-day settlement of Tođevac. The town was first mentioned in 1398. It was used as a residence by Sandalj Hranić and Stefan Vukčić Kosača.<sup>183</sup> Only two *timars* were listed in the *Tođevac nahiye*. One was held by Branivoj Gavčić and Hamza, and the other by ghulam Hizir-Agina. The census accounted for 3 villages, 28 households, 8 single men, a total of 148 inhabitants and revenue of 1.825 akçes.<sup>184</sup>

**Table 7:** *Collective census of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69*

<i>Tođevac nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>Timar settlements</b>						
Unac	Uvac, village in the territory of Rudo	2	/	/	100	10
Selišta	There is a hamlet called Selišta in the territory of Foča, but this location is not certain	21	5	/	1450	110
Mrkalo	Mrkalje, village in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	5	3	/	275	28
<b>Total: 3 villages</b>		<b>28</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>/</b>	<b>1,825</b>	<b>148</b>

The *Bohorići nahiye* covered a small area and contained only 4 villages. It was located around the source of the

<sup>183</sup> Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 296.

<sup>184</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 135, 143.

Poblačnica, left tributary of the Lim.<sup>185</sup> The census of the *nahiye* listed: 2 *timars*, 3 inhabited villages, 1 deserted village, 24 households, 5 single adult men, a total of 125 inhabitants and a revenue of 1,325 akçes.<sup>186</sup>

**Table 8:** *Collective census of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69*

<i>Bohorić nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b><i>Timar settlements</i></b> Kračeva	Not identified	/	/	/	50	/
Završ	Završje, village in the territory of Goražde	15	/	/	750	75
Babina Brda	Possibly one of the sites with this name in the area of Ustikolina and Goražde	5	1	/	275	26
Štakorin	Not identified	4	4	/	300	24
<b>Total: 4 villages</b>		<b>24</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>/</b>	<b>1,375</b>	<b>125</b>

The *Zagorje nahiye* was named after the area stretching between the upper Neretva and Drina rivers. It contained 4 villages in Upper Podrinje. Its location was identified as lying between today's Foča and Goražde. The count of the *nahiye* included 1 *timar*, 38 households, 8 single adults and 1 Muslim, for a total of 200 persons and a revenue of 4,308 akçes.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>185</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 139.

<sup>186</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 126, 128–129.

<sup>187</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 119, 132, 135–136.

**Table 9:** *Collective census of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69*

<i>Zagorje nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>Timar settlements</b> Dolna Košara	Košare, hamlet in the village of Konjsko Polje in the territory of Foča	6	2	/	1558	32
Ocrkavje	Today's Ocrkavlje in the territory of Miljevin	6	2	/	830	32
Part of Završ	Završje, village in the territory of Goražde	2	/	/	120	10
Odrača	Drača, village in the territory of Jeleč in Foča	24	4	1	1800	126
<b>Total: 4 villages</b>		<b>38</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4,308</b>	<b>200</b>

The *Višegrad nahiye* belonged to the Pavlović *vilayet*, taking its name from the Višegrad fort situated at the confluence of the Rzav and Drina rivers. The fort was first mentioned in 1407.<sup>188</sup> The *nahiye* included villages in the territories of Rudo and Foča. According to the defter information, a part of the *nahiye* was the possession of Mehmed, son of Karači. The census of the area counted 1 *timar*, 11 villages, 86 households, 14 single adult men, a total of 444 persons and a revenue of 9,897 akçes.<sup>189</sup>

<sup>188</sup> Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 73–74; See: Milan Vasić, 'Zemlja Pavlovića u svetlu turskih izvora', in Milan Vasić, ed., *Zemlja Pavlovića—srednji vijek i period turske vladavine* (Banja Luka: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Republike Srpske, 2003), 310–311.

<sup>189</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 38–40, 110.

**Table 10:** *Collective census of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69*

<i>Višegrad nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>The sultan's hass</b> Setihova	Setihova, settlement in the territory of Rudo	25	6	/	3789	131
Strumica	Strmica, settlement in the territory of Rudo	27	4	/	4141	139
Dugovječa	Dugovječ, settlement in the territory of Rudo	5	/	/	250	25
Međurječ	Međurječje, settlement in the territory of Rudo	12	1	/	1038	61
Slatina	Slatina, settlement in the territory of Rudo	3	1	/	180	16
Zamerišta	Zamršten, village in the territory of Foča	4	2	/	499	22
Kožetić	Kožetin, settlement in the territory of Mrdelići in Ustikolina	/	/	/	/	/
<b>Timar settlements</b> Part of the village of Mijoč	Mioče, settlement in the territory of Rudo	4	/	/	/	20
Part of Vranovina	Vranovina, hamlet in the village of Danilović in the territory of Rudo	3	/	/	/	15
Part of Međurječje	Međurječje, settlement in the territory of Rudo	2	/	/	/	10
Part of Biševići	Biševići, settlement in the territory of Rudo	1	/	/	/	5
<b>Total: 11 villages</b>		<b>86</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>/</b>	<b>9,897</b>	<b>444</b>

The *Bukovik nahiye* was a small territorial unit incorporating a part of villages around Rudo, Foča and Čajniče.

The *nahiye* contained 2 *timars* of Ottoman military and civil officers. Additionally, there were two *timars* owned by soldiers manning the fortress of Samobor: Ibrahim from Nikopol, Hizir from Prilep, Junus from Trabzon, and Iljas from Šehirkoj. The census recorded 7 villages, 35 households, 18 single adult men, totalling 186 persons, and a revenue of 3,381 akçes.<sup>190</sup>

**Table 11:** *Collective census of the Bosnia Sanjak 1468/69*

<i>Bukovik nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b><i>Timar settlements</i></b> Babić	Babići, settlement in the territory of Foča	10	/	/	1350	50
Lug	Lug, hamlet in the territory of Foča	2	/	/	100	10
<b><i>Timar settlements of soldiers of the Samobor fortress</i></b> Gorna Uzašno	Not identified	6	4	/	686	34
Rosul(j)a	Rosulje, hamlet in the village of Past in the territory of Rudo	4	2	/	405	22
Selišta	Selišta, hamlet in the village of Trnavci near Rudo	4	3	/	521	23
Drin	Drina, village in the territory of Čajniče	/	/	/	/	/
Zadubje	Zadub, hamlet in the village of Bunovi in the territory of Foča	9	2	/	705	47
<b>Total: 7 villages</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>/</b>	<b>3,767</b>	<b>186</b>

On 16 January 1470, the Ottomans established the *Sanjak of Herzegovina* from the conquered territories in Herzegovina,

<sup>190</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 115, 121, 236–237.

which had temporarily been part of the Bosnian *Sanjak*. As *Vilayet* Hersek was transformed into a proper *sanjak*, Herzegovina was divided into three smaller *vilayets*: Drina, Blagaj, and Mileševo or Prijepolje. Each of these *vilayets* represented a single *kadiluk*. The name *Vilayet* Hersek is mentioned in the sources until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; for example, there is a document signed by the kadi in Drina in “*Vilayet* Hersek”.<sup>191</sup>

The seat of the *Drina kadiluk* was in Hoča, leading to it being referred to as the *kadiluk* of Foča (first time on 24 May 1483). The *Drina kadiluk* included the following *nahiyes* in this region: Soko, Samobor, Tođevac, Bistrica, Goražde, Osanica and Zagorje.<sup>192</sup> These *nahiyes* were also listed in the collective census of the *Sanjak* of Bosnia in 1468/69.

The first census of Herzegovina as a distinct administrative unit began in 1475 and wrapped up on 7–16 December 1477 (Individual Defter of the *Sanjak* of Herzegovina *Vilayet*, original title: *Derter-i esami sancak-i vilayet Hersek*). While it does not cover the entirety of Herzegovina (since some small parts had not yet been occupied), this defter provides invaluable information about the changes that had occurred since the census of the Bosnian *Sanjak* in 1468/69. Like the earlier censuses, it contains data on the possessions of the Ottoman state, feudal revenues, distribution of revenues to state officers, tax liabilities of the population, and voynuks. Additionally, the defter provides insight into villages, deserted settlements, types of land holdings that brought in income, population in households, single men and widows. It also has information about socioeconomic relations, political relations, the status

<sup>191</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 156–157; Smajo Halilović, ‘Prilog podsećanju na formiranje Hercegovačkog sandžaka i njegov teritorijalni razvoj’, *Hercegovina* 15–16 (2003), 17–22.

<sup>192</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 157.

of the population, toponomastics, onomastics, religion, and economic output.<sup>193</sup>

In the 1475/77 census of the *Soko nahiye*, Hoča was listed as the principal town. It was noted in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century as a market place for Dubrovnikans and local merchants, and an important trading post. The defter listed Hoča as a bazaar that included the mahalles belonging to: Ivan, Radivoje son of Vuk, Radonja son of Bošnjak, Vukić son of Rac. The bazaar contained 227 households, 55 single men, 5 widows and 3 Muslims, and a total of 1,204 persons. According to these data, we may conclude that Hoča was a settlement with the status of a market place, where the main occupation was agriculture.<sup>194</sup> Some twenty years earlier, in the Collective Cadastral Defter of the Land of Isa Bey Ishaković of 1455, Hoča was labelled as a military camp.<sup>195</sup> Hoča was the seat of the *kadiluk* of Drina until 1483, when it was renamed the *kadiluk* of Foča. Revenues from the Hoča bazaar contributed 41,292 akçes to the sanjak-bey's *hass*. The *hass* in question also contained the bazaar of Jeleč, whose census listed 81 households and 15 single adult men.<sup>196</sup>

In the village of Didevo, which was also part of the sanjak-bey's *hass*, one of the vineyards was given to gost Radin

<sup>193</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, I–III (Introduction).

<sup>194</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 171–175; Ottoman travel writer Evliya Çelebi visited Foča nearly two centuries after the census and remarked that it was a large town with 2,610 houses along the Drina River. These houses were covered with slabs and curved roof tiles, built of solid material, and were one or two stories high. The *nahiyas* of this *kadiluk* contained seventy-seven villages. Çelebi, 'Putopis II', 167–175; In 1626, Catholic cleric Atanas Grgičević visited Foča and described it as having between 300 and 400 houses, with small surrounding villages. This gave the impression that the area was densely populated and had up to 600 houses. Hrabak, *Foča*, 105.

<sup>195</sup> Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega*, 68, 110.

<sup>196</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 175–176.

(Krstjani) at the order of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror.<sup>197</sup> The *hass* also contained 2 villages with 97 households. *Timar* holders who were part of the Ottoman military and civil administration included: Sinan, the serasker of Soko, Kukanj, Mileševa and Samobor, Svrak Jusuf, Husein, Amea-aga, kadi of Drina, Ali-beg, Jusuf ghulam Mehmed-Čelebija, Hasan, brother of Mahmud Garočić, Murat son of Arab, Hizir and Ilijas, and others. Other *timars* were held by local nobles: Knez Herak, Duke Grgur, Vuk son of Vraneš, Hrvatin, Stepan, Radonja, Radivoj son of Vuk, and Dobri son of Streza. The census also refers to Radivoje son of Rupčić, an *infidel* who surrendered the fortress of Soko and was awarded a *timar* for his assistance. Knez Radoje held a *mezra* with four vineyards, a pasture and a mill. He was also mentioned in the 1468/69 defter.<sup>198</sup>

The crews of the fortresses of Ljubuški, Ključ, Klobuk and Samobor held *timars* in the Soko *nahiye*. The Ljubuški fort is located in the Trebižat River valley, and was recorded in the charter of Alfonso V of Aragon as the possession of Herceg Stefan. The town had military significance, and was counted as part of the *nahiye* of the Land of Hum in 1475/77.<sup>199</sup> The following soldiers of this fortress held *timars* in the villages of the Soko *nahiye*: Hamza from Dimotika, Jusuf and Balaban from Timurhisar.<sup>200</sup> The Ključ stronghold is located on the

<sup>197</sup> For more on *gost Radin*, see: Čošković, *Crkva bosanska*, 11, 14, 26–27, 29, 34, 36–37, 39, 55–56, 60–61, 114, 117, 154, 158–159, 165–166, 169, 172–173, 175–197, 213–214, 218–225, 230, 241, 243–244, 253–256, 259, 261–262, 265, 271–273, 277–282, 285–286, 295–296, 300–310, 317–318, 320–322, 331, 334, 336, 339, 345–346, 349–365, 382, 393, 399, 421–422, 449.

<sup>198</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični*, 171–178, 212–220, 223–231, 235–237, 240, 242–244, 246, 251, 253, 256–257, 261–266, 271, 277, 281, 283–284, 286, 300–301, 313, 315, 320, 323, 325, 330, 343, 361–365, 371, 378.

<sup>199</sup> Siniša Mišić, *Humska zemlja u srednjem veku* (Beograd: DBR International Publishing, 1996), 107–108, 146–147; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 172.

<sup>200</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 410–411.



farthest southwestern slope of the Babe mountain, below Rudo Brdo (1167 m). In its vicinity was Cernica, to which it was tightly linked in the Middle Ages. The town was erected by Duke Sandalj, who on occasion used it as his capital. It later became one of Herceg Stefan's favoured towns. The Ottomans conquered this castle in 1468.<sup>201</sup> Its dizdar was granted a *timar* from the sultan's *hass*, which contained two villages in this *nahiye*. Other holders were: Hamza from Sofia, Hizir from Timurhisar, Ahmed, Karađoz from Sofia, Jusuf from Kruševac, Hamza from Toplica and Alija from Timurhisar. The total revenue of the *timar* settlements equalled 8,613 akçes.<sup>202</sup> The Klobuk fortress was located in the medieval župa of Vrm, to the east of Lastva. It was first mentioned in 1280. The town's strategic position led to frequent changes of its rulers. While there is no precise information on when it ultimately fell into Ottoman hands (neither the town nor the surrounding župa were included in the census of the Bosnian *Sanjak* of 1468/69), it certainly occurred before 1475/77.<sup>203</sup> The soldiers in this fortress who held villages in the Soko *nahiye* came from various parts of the empire: Ibrahim and Evrenos from Strumica, Hamza from Kyustendil, Ilijas from Šehirköj, etc.<sup>204</sup>

The crew manning the Samobor stronghold held 5 *timars* in 6 villages. The total value of these *timars* in the villages of the Soko *nahiye* equalled 5,662 akçes.<sup>205</sup> In the village of Nagrad, the census listed, among others: Bratić, brother of Radmilo, and Bratovac, his brother, who were tasked with repairing the fortifications. The defter noted the presence of Krstjani in the

<sup>201</sup> There is another medieval town of Ključ on the Sana River. For the main literature and sources, see: Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 129–130.

<sup>202</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 421, 425–434.

<sup>203</sup> Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 127–128.

<sup>204</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 508–509, 516, 518, 529.

<sup>205</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 542–547, 565, 570.

Soko *nahiye*, specifically in the villages of Gornja Slatina and Humska. Chiftliks were recorded in some villages. Two of them are particularly interesting: the chiftlik of the Dubrovnikan Živan, and that of Barak. The census stated that the late Isa Bey had granted Živan land to build his house; this land, known as Džabulka, had previously belonged to the church. He had also given Živan the land called Međurečje, between the Drina and Čehotina rivers, for cultivation. The records indicated that during the census-taking, the construction of Muslim houses had begun in the territory of Međurečje, marking the formation of Hoča as an Islamic-Oriental settlement. Meanwhile, Živan was given a vineyard as compensation for the land in Međurečje. Barak's chiftlik consisted of two abandoned vineyards, a plot of land, a garden, and a field. The borders stated in the defter indicate that the chiftlik was located behind the Hoča bazaar. This reveals the existence of uninhabited areas between public buildings, where were sometimes cultivated.<sup>206</sup> The census of the *nahiye* counted more than 20 parts of villages where voynuk reserves were stationed.<sup>207</sup>

As the accompanying table shows, the census of the entire Soko *nahiye* included: 2 bazaars with 4 mahalles, 117 villages, 2,053 households, 339 single men, 7 widows, 69 Muslims, totalling 10,679 persons, and a revenue of 139,044 akçes.

<sup>206</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 174, 363; Hrabak, Foča, 40–41; Hatidža Čar-Drnda, 'Grad Foča na razmeđu dviju civilizacija', *Hercegovina* 15–16 (2003), 50–51; The establishment of the Muslim settlement in Foča influenced the Islamization of the town and its surroundings. Nedim Filipović, 'Napomene o islamizaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini u XV vijeku', *Godišnjak* VII/5 (1970), 150.

<sup>207</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 171–182, 212–220, 223–231, 235–237, 240, 242–244, 246, 251, 253, 256–257, 261–266, 271, 277, 281, 283–284, 286, 300–301, 313, 315, 320, 323, 325, 330, 343, 361–365, 371, 378–379, 411, 421, 425–434, 508–509, 516, 518, 529, 542–547, 565, 570, 599–606.

**Table 12:** *Defter of the Sanjak of Herzegovina Vilayet of 1475/77*

<i>Soko nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>Sanjak-bey's hass</b> Bazaar of Hvača with 4 mahalles	Today's town of Foča	227	55	5	3	41292	1205
Bazaar of Jeleč	Jeleč, settlement in the territory of Foča	81	15	/	/	8673	420
Didevo	Not identified	80	9	/	/	10248	409
<b>Timar settlements</b> Poljaradovina	Eponymous village in Foča	28	3	/	1	1003	144
Silo	Not identified	17	3	/	/	/	88
Part of Mijoska	Not identified	10	/	/	/	/	50
Part of Gračanica	Not identified	1	/	/	/	/	5
Part of Dobroselca	Not identified	3	/	/	/	/	15
Kosatica	Not identified	3	/	/	/	/	15
Part of Gornji Pulahi	Pulahe, hamlet in Goražde	1	/	/	/	/	5
Part of Orahovo	Not identified	7	/	/	/	141	35
Part of Resište	Not identified	1	/	/	/	/	5
Part of Kostrev	Not identified	3	/	/	/	/	15
Part of Prvotić	Not identified	1	/	/	/	/	5
Suhodolak	Not identified	2	/	/	/	/	10
Part of Zadušna	Not identified	1	/	/	/	/	5
Part of Gornja Zagornica	Zagorice, settlement in Foča	2	/	/	/	/	10
Papratno	Not identified	4	/	/	/	/	20
Part of Krstac	Not identified	3	1	/	/	/	16

Part of Dolnja and Gornja Prodol	Not identified	9	/	/	1	184	46
Part of Mitaj	Not identified	5	/	/	/	/	25
Part of Gornja Vlašica	Not identified	3	1	/	/	/	16
Part of Zagon	Not identified	2	/	/	/	/	10
Part of Zadubja	Not identified	2	/	/	/	/	10
Part of Belovina	Not identified	4	/	/	/	/	20
Part of Tmur	Tmur, hamlet in Rudo	8	2	/	/	/	42
Part of Resište	Not identified	6	2	/	/	/	32
Part of Haljevina	Not identified	3	1	/	/	/	16
Part of Krčevina	Possibly Krčevine in Rudo	5	3	/	/	/	18
Part of Gorica	Not identified	4	/	/	/	235	20
Part of Gore	Not identified	1	/	/	/	/	5
Part of Vragolovine	Not identified	1	/	/	/	/	5
Part of Kruševo	Not identified	1	/	/	/	/	5
Part of Selo	Not identified	4	1	/	/	/	21
Dolnje Dobrovaljevine	Not identified	1	/	/	/	/	5
Part of Trebčina	Not identified	6	/	/	/	/	30
Part of Cvilin	Not identified	3	/	/	/	/	15
Part of Jasenovo	Not identified	2	/	/	/	/	10
Zajelje	Not identified	6	6	/	/	132	36
Kosman	Eponymous village in Foča	11	2	/	1	/	58
Part of Gornje Oštro	Not identified	7	3	/	2	100	40
Part of Dolnja Brda	Not identified	3	7	/	/	/	22

Part of Gornja Kučina	Not identified	7	2	/	/	/	37
Donja Slatina	Slatina, village in Foča	2	/	/	/	/	10
Part of Strane	Not identified	7	3	/	1	87	39
Ćure	Ćurevo, village in Foča	19	1	/	/	421	96
Strijani	Not identified	16	2	/	/	515	82
Mazoča	Mazoče, settlement in Foča	33	3	/	/	946	168
Vragolove	Vragolovi, settlement in Rogatica	19	2	/	1	695	98
Humska	Humska, settlement in Foča	20	2	/	/	1091	102
Suhodlak	Not identified	37	3	/	7	1955	195
Dolnja Brda	Donja Brda, settlement in the territory of Goražde	28	9	/	3	3436	152
Jošanica	Not identified	107	11	/	13	4536	559
Part of the village of Trpušće	Today's village of Trbušće in Foča	37	15	/	/	1474	200
Dragočevo	Settlement in the territory of Foča	28	6	/	/	1542	146
Gornje Oglečevo	Gornje Oglečevo in the territory of Foča	19	1	/	3	1387	99
Radenići	Radajići village in Goražde	10	2	/	1	881	53
Brezovica	Eponymous village in Goražde	21	5	/	/	585	110
Ostojići (Pelješ)	Not identified	6	1	/	/	1050	31

Part of Štović	Štović, village in Foča	46	5	/	/	2540	235
Part of Gornja Polica	Not identified	4	/	/	/	135	20
Kunovo	Kunovo, settlement in the territory of Foča	35	4	/	7	1921	186
Ćurevo	Ćurevo, village in Foča	22	5	/	/	1759	115
Saš	Hamlet of the village of Bučje in the territory of Foča	5	/	/	/	336	25
Straševo	Not identified	10	/	/	/	322	50
Dolnje Oštro	Oštro in the territory of Goražde	2	/	/	/	185	10
Kosatica	Not identified	1	/	/	/	75	5
Zlatibor	Today's Zlatni Bor in Foča	/	/	/	/	50	/
Donje Oglečevo	Oglečeva, settlement in the territory of Goražde	71	9	/	2	4311	366
Crna Njiva	Not identified	12	4	/	/	322	64
Kožitno	Today's Kožetin in Foča	4	2	/	/	296	22
Ocernica	Not identified	20	3	/	1	415	104
Lug	Hamlet in Rudo	5	/	/	1	378	26
Part of the village of Trušina	Trusina, village in Nevesinje	17	3	/	1	1004	89
Ocrkavlje	Ocrkavlje in the territory of Miljevinina near Foča	34	3	/	/	998	173
Part of Papratno	Papratno Dolnje, village in Foča	28	6	/	/	1748	146

Ječmište	Ječmište, village in the territory of Čelebići near Goražde	7	2	/	3	427	40
Part of Vikoč	Village in Foča	60	7	/	/	1579	307
Gornja Brda	Brda, village in Foča	21	4	/	/	1927	109
Požarevo	Hamlet in Foča	7	/	/	/	256	35
Prekalj	Not identified	11	1	/	/	500	56
Kruščice	The village of Krščica is located in the territory of Foča	8	3	/	/	296	43
Bjeliš	Bjeliš, hamlet in the territory of Foča	23	3	/	1	3484	119
Melene	Possibly Meljena in Foča	13	3	/	/	546	68
Part of Štovići	Štovići, village in the territory of Foča	41	/	/	/	2799	205
Part of Saš	Most probably a hamlet of the village of Bučje in the territory of Foča	3	/	/	/	296	15
Trošne	Not identified	6	/	/	/	442	30
Žuželo	Eponymous village in Goražde	28	2	/	/	1687	142
Basti	Not identified	/	/	/	/	84	/
Gornja Gnjila	Not identified	11	1	/	/	403	56
Budovine	Budovine, hamlet in the village of Ratkovići in the territory of Foča	36	10	1	1	1700	193

Tvrđak	Not identified	17	1	/	/	792	86
<b><i>Timars of soldiers of the Ljubuški fortress</i></b> Basači	Not identified	14	/	/	/	750	70
<b><i>Timars of the Ključ fortress</i></b> Donje Poljice	Poljice, village in Foča	2	/	/	/	306	10
Lašice	Not identified	13	2	/	/	615	67
Mrkulja	Mrkalje, village in Foča	7	2	/	/	260	37
Part of Sušična	Not identified	27	10	/	/	934	145
Kozarovina	Today a village in Foča	9	3	/	/	500	48
Part of Susečno	Susječno, settlement in the territory of Foča	32	4	1	/	958	166
Budičići	Budišići, village in Čelebić in Foča	9	1	/	1	1318	47
Part of Gunja	Today a hamlet in Ustikolina near Goražde	/	/	/	/	45	/
Podpeće	Eponymous settlement in the territory of Foča	25	4	/	/	1541	129
Trpušča	Trbušče, village in Foča	12	3	/	/	881	63
Zakmur	Eponymous settlement in the territory of Foča	62	7	/	/	1010	317
Part of Vikoč	Vikoč, settlement in the territory of Foča	13	2	/	2	245	69



<i>Timars of soldiers of the Klobuk fortress</i> Stipanova Polja	Šćepan Polje, settlement on the border between Republika Srpska and Montenegro	35	4	/	/	1371	179
Donje Potpeće	Eponymous settlement in the territory of Foča	10	2	/	1	667	53
Part of Zavodište	Not identified	48	3	/	3	1519	246
Part of Donje Poljice	Today's village of Poljice in Foča	31	10	/	3	869	168
Krmaluša	Krmaluša in Miljevina near Goražde	7	2	/	/	1363	37
<i>Timars of soldiers of the Samobor fortress</i> Prosine	Prosine in Miljevina	13	3	/	/	1445	68
Grab	Eponymous village in the territory of Goražde	29	5	/	1	1201	151
Part of Zavodište	Zavodište, village in the territory of Foča	17	3	/	1	1608	89
Resište	Not identified	8	3	/	1	815	44
Donje Kućine	Today's village of Kućino in the territory of Goražde	15	1	/	1	687	77
Pirotići	Probably Birotići, a village in Foča	11	2	/	1	1362	58

<b>Craftsmen's settlements</b> Part of Nagrad	Not identified	2	/	/	/	/	10
<b>Seized possessions</b> Donje Zastro	Zastro, village in the territory of Foča	6	/	/	/	152	30
Klobučarići	Probably Klobučari in Ustikolina	/	/	/	/	/	/
<b>Total: 117 villages, 2 bazaars</b>		<b>2,053</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>139,044</b>	<b>10,679</b>

In the census for livestock tax in the 1475/77 defter, the *Goražde nahiye* was recorded as the “*županluk*” of Tvrdka, together with the Bistrica and Osanica *nahiyes*, because it had likely previously been ruled by a *župan*. The three *nahiyes* incorporated 24 villages. According to the individual census, the sanjak-bey's *hass* in the *Goražde nahiye* included *only Goražde*, which was spatially divided into four residential entities: the Mahalle of Radič son of Crna, Mahalle of Radonja son of Radohna, Mahalle of Vukosav son of Obrad, and Mahalle of Vlahoje son of Radič. In the vicinity of *Goražde* lay the village of Dolnji Ševšići, part of the sanjak-bey's *hass*. Additionally, the defter registered the chiftlik of Kučuk Iljaz and Radič, to be jointly held and subject to tithe, as well as the *mezra* of Gornja Košara. Some settlements of the *Goražde nahiye* – 9 in total – were included in *timars* – land granted as compensation for military service. *Timar* holders included: the Drina kadi, Radivoj son of Ivaniš, Jusuf ghulam Mehmed Čelebija, Hasan brother of Mahmud Garočić, Vuk son of Vranješ, and others. The Samobor fortress was one of the major strategically significant fortifications in the Herzegovina *Sanjak*. It was manned by Ottoman officers and commanders who held *timars*

in the villages of the Goražde *nahiye*. The defter listed 7 *timars* of Samobor soldiers and 1 *timar* of Klobuk soldiers. The population of villages was classified into descriptive categories, which included: *siromah* (poor), *došlac*, *prišlac* (both meaning new settlers) and *star* (old). The census of the *nahiye* counted: 32 villages, 525 households, 82 single adult men, 1 widow, 12 Muslims, a total of 2,721 inhabitants, and the total revenue of 44,607 akes.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 191–196, 250, 269–270, 277, 302, 312, 314, 327, 331–332, 346, 350, 364, 368–369, 383, 513, 538, 552, 554–556, 560, 566, 568, 608.

**Table 13:** *Defter of the Sanjak of Herzegovina Vilayet of 1475/77*

<i>Goražde nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>Sanjak-bey's hass</b> Goražde and its 5 mahalles	Today's town of Goražde	197	30	/	/	23712	1015
Donji Ševšići	Village in Goražde	13	3	/	/	37	68
<b>Timar settlements</b> Gornji Kopač	Kopači, village in Foča	16	3	/	/	750	83
Dolnji Zaselak	Not identified	4	/	/	/	241	20
Popov Dol	Not identified	4	1	/	/	143	21
Češnjeva	Not identified	4	1	/	/	297	21
Hatilje	Not identified	10	2	/	1	892	53
Ozbilje	Not identified	7	/	/	/	1025	35
Lamoč Potok	Glamoč, village in the territory of Goražde	6	3	/	/	298	33
Griševac	Not identified	10	2	/	/	561	52
Odrica	Not identified	28	1	/	2	1497	143
Sopotnica	Today's Sopotnica Donja in Goražde	14	1	/	3	1064	74
Part of Lamoč Potok	Glamoč, village in the territory of Goražde	20	2	/	/	1506	102
Gornja Brda	Not identified	11	3	/	1	740	59
Part of Gornji Bratiš	Village in Foča	1	/	/	3	56	8
Mezra of Črešnica	Probably Trešnjica, hamlet in Foča	3	/	/	/	165	15
Duga Vas	Not identified	20	5	/	/	1069	105
Riže	Not identified	5	/	1	/	162	27

<i>Timar</i> settlements of soldiers of the Klobuk fortress G. Črešnica	Trešnjica, village in the territory of Goražde	7	/	/	/	921	35
<i>Timar</i> settlements of soldiers of the Samobor fortress Hlapino	Not identified	42	6	/	/	1780	216
Visičine	Not identified	3	/	/	/	/	15
Donji Kopači	Not identified	25	5	/	/	1580	130
Završ	Završje, village in the territory of Goražde	5	/	/	/	/	25
Srednja Brda	Donja and Gornja Brda, villages in the territory of Goražde	12	3	/	/	940	63
Vinino	Hamlet in Miljevina near Foča	6	3	/	1	365	34
Crvice	Crvice, settlement in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	10	1	/	1	499	52
Ušanovići	Ušanovići, settlement in the territory of Goražde	11	1	/	/	467	56
Part of Konjbaba	Eponymous village in the territory of Goražde	7	2	/	/	360	37

Part of the village of Gornji Šušnjik	Not identified	/	/	/	/	4	/
Part of Donja Črešnica	Trešnjica, hamlet in the village of Gornja Bukvica in the territory of Goražde	8	3	/	/	642	43
Part of Završ	Završje, village in the territory of Goražde	3	1	/	/	1177	16
Krstac	Krstac, village in the territory of Foča	13	/	/	/	1463	65
<b>Seized possessions</b> Part of Srednja Brda	Possibly the village of Brda in Ustikolina	/	/	/	/	194	/
<b>Total: 32 villages, 1 mezza</b>		<b>525</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>44,607</b>	<b>2,721</b>

In the census of the Bosnian *Sanjak* of 1468/69, the *Osanica nahiye* belonged to the *kadiluk* of Blagaj. With the establishment of the *Sanjak* of Herzegovina in 1470, it became part of the *kadiluk* of Drina. According to the 1475/77 census, the sanjak-bey's *hass* included: 7 villages with 204 households, 40 single adult men, 1 widow and 11 Muslims. Military and civil officers of the Ottoman administration held *timars* in the *Osanica nahiye*. Among their holders were: Ibrahim, Husein son of Isabalija, gunner Hizir, Radivoje son of Vuk, Ahmed from Karahisar, Jusuf and Skender, and others. Another timariot was Knez Herak. Seven *timars* belonged to the soldiers of the Klobuk fortress and six to those of the Samobor fortress. Two villages in the *nahiye* were counted as soldier reserves,

generating 5 akçes from penalties.<sup>209</sup> The village of Srbotina was also called Krstjan, indicating that adherents of the Bosnian Church must have lived here at an earlier time. Traces of their presence can be seen in Vukosav being listed as the son of a Krstjani. Their habitation was also confirmed in the villages of Zebina Šuma, Zadobra, Petralj and Gornje Svinjce.<sup>210</sup> Carpenters were registered in parts of the villages of Ljubuša and Nebralja. They were exempt from paying taxes but were obligated to perform carpentry repairs for the Ottomans. The census of the *nahiye* accounted for 49 villages, 610 households, 119 single adult men, 2 widows and 58 Muslims, with a total population of 3,228 persons and a total revenue of 49,584 akçes.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 196–200, 285–286, 291, 318, 324, 326, 328, 335–336, 341–346, 372, 374, 381–384, 509, 512, 514–515, 526, 528, 534–535, 543, 558, 564, 568, 589.

<sup>210</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 201, 342, 382–383, 537; Čošković, *Crkva bosanska*, 55, 259.

<sup>211</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 600–601, 608.

**Table 14:** *Defter of the Sanjak of Herzegovina Vilayet of 1475/77*

<i>Osanica nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>Sanjak-bey's hass</b> Govzi	Govza, village in Foča	83	17	/	6	14408	438
Gomijonica (Mirvići)	Mirvići, village in Goražde	39	6	/	2	2037	203
Žunići	Not identified	11	1	/	/	552	56
Dolnje Svinjci	Not identified	15	3	/	2	893	80
Bratinje	Bratinje, village in the territory of Goražde	4	/	/	/	570	20
Potruša	Eponymous village in Goražde	16	3	/	1	1401	84
Kalica	Kalac, settlement in the territory of Goražde	8	4	/	/	824	44
Zebina Šuma	Zebina Šuma, settlement in the territory of Foča	28	4	1	/	2684	146
<b>Timar settlements</b> Bukovik (Tvrdun)	Today a village in Rudo	12	2	/	12	1676	74
Crnac Potok	Possibly the hamlet of Crnci in Foča	4	1	/	/	108	21
Bukovica	Hamlet in Foča	10	/	/	3	687	53
Gornji Bratiš	Bratiš, village near Foča	16	9	/	4	1186	93
Šimčanica	Not identified	10	3	/	1	417	54
Gornja and Donja Ljubuša	Ljubuša, hamlet in Foča	16	3	/	/	1479	83
Petravide	Not identified	6	2	/	/	348	32
Moravac	Eponymous hamlet in Goražde	8	2	/	/	204	42



Part of Brezačina	Brezje, village in the territory of Goražde	8	1	/	/	736	41
Dolnje Bahovo	Present-day village of Bahovo in Foča	7	2	/	8	451	45
Zadobra	Not identified	16	/	/	3	2037	83
Part of Moravac	Hamlet in Goražde	5	3	/	/	264	28
Šušnjići	Not identified	3	/	/	/	/	15
Mravijac	Mravijac, village in the territory of Goražde	16	1	/	/	867	81
Lukovica	Not identified	1	/	/	/	/	5
Bežanj	Not identified	5	/	/	/	/	25
Mazlina	Not identified	11	3	/	/	432	55
Vranjići	Vranjići, village in Goražde	10	2	/	/	683	52
Petralj	Not identified	19	1	/	/	859	96
Donja Žabinošuma	Not identified	11	1	/	1	1767	57
Srbotina	Village in Foča	9	3	/	/	420	48
<b>Timar settlements of soldiers of the Klobuk fortress Kremitšno</b>	Not identified	20	3	/	1	1024	104
Gornje Batevo	Batovo, village in Čajniče	8	4	/	/	/	44
Slatina	Today a village in Foča	22	4	/	/	1867	114
Morinac	Eponymous village in Goražde	7	/	/	3	596	38
Donja Ljubuša	Ljubuša, hamlet in Goražde	15	3	/	2	1336	80
Strane	Not identified	5	2	/	/	339	27
Donje Bratinje	Bratinje, village in the territory of Goražde	10	/	/	5	723	55

<b>Timar settlements of the Samobor fortress</b> Petrovica	Eponymous hamlet in the village of Bošin in the territory of Hadžići near Goražde	18	3	/	/	367	93
Bezimlje	Not identified	14	8	/	/	697	78
Gornje Svinjce	Not identified	23	5	/	3	1203	123
Pušine	Today a hamlet in Foča	15	3	1	1	449	81
Žuželo	Today a village in Goražde	5	2	/	/	990	27
Izgari	Village in Ilovača near Goražde	8	1	/	/	216	41
Kotlovine	Possibly the hamlet of Kotline in Rudo	4	3	/	/	150	23
Kraboriše	Kraboriš, village in the territory of Ilovača near Goražde	6	/	/	/	12	30
Krstac	Krstac, village in the territory of Foča	13	/	/	/	1463	65
Part of Tješnica	A place called Tješnići exists today in Ilovača near Goražde	2	/	/	/	14	10
<b>Craftsmen's settlements</b> Donja Ljubuša	Ljubuša, hamlet in Goražde	3	/	/	/	/	15
Part of Nebralje	Not identified	2	/	/	/	/	10
<b>Seized possessions</b> Valjevac	Not identified	3	1	/	/	148	16
<b>Total: 49 villages</b>		<b>610</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>49,584</b>	<b>3,228</b>

The Defter of the Herzegovina *Sanjak* of 1475/77 recorded the iron mines of the Čajniče bazaar, Križevo, Mrkojič and Klušćić in the *Samobor nahiye* as belonging to the sultan's *hass*. The same mines were listed in the Defter of the Bosnian *Sanjak* of 1468/69. The census of Čajniče counted 194 households, 10

single adult men and a jamaat of 6 Muslims. The total annual revenue of the imperial *hass* amounted to 74,278 akçes. Census data indicates that the mines were bustling with activity. On the river Janjina, there were six operational mechanical forges, each paying a tax of 150 akçes. In Čajniče there were also 415 melting furnaces, each subject to a tax of 8 akçes. The number of houses in the mining town of Križevo rose by 26 from the 1468/69 census. Mining output also increased – there were 313 melting furnaces and 10 mechanical forges. State revenue came at 8,554 akçes. The settlements of Mrkojič and Kržava were small mining communities with a total state revenue of just 1,765 akçes.<sup>212</sup> In the Samobor *nahiye*, the sanjak-bey's *hass* contained 10 villages, 293 households, 32 single adult men and 12 Muslims. This *nahiye* yielded a revenue of 27,813 akçes for the mirliva's *hass*. Only 7 *timars*, encompassing 12 villages, were recorded. The census-taker noted that Isa Bey had given the village of Seličani to the crew of the Samobor fortress in exchange for a settlement of one hundred houses, where 16 vineyards were registered. The only soldiers holding *timars* in the Samobor *nahiye* were those stationed at the Samobor fortress. Most of them came from other regions; they included Islamicized Bulgarians and Albanians, mainly listed by their place of origin. In the *nahiye* of Samobor, Krstjani lived in a few villages: Prigošte, Rastok, Gornja Blizna and Donji Kopači. The defter also lists three specialized craftsmen's villages, where there were 4 carpenters, 4 smiths and 2 gunsmiths. This population category was engaged for the purposes of the fortress of Samobor. The census of the *nahiye* included in total: 1 bazaar, 58 villages, 1,186 households, 142 single adult men, 2 widows and 39 Muslims – a total of 6,116 persons and a revenue of 72,900 akçes.<sup>213</sup>

<sup>212</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 3–8; Handžić, 'Rudnici u Bosni', 36–37.

<sup>213</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 3–8, 182–189, 253, 265, 280, 282, 285–286, 317–322, 333, 344, 357, 530, 533, 535, 537–540, 542–545, 548–550, 552, 555–557, 560–568, 570–572, 599, 607, 609–611.

**Table 15:** *Defter of the Sanjak of Herzegovina Vilayet of 1475/77*

<i>Samobor nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
Sultan's <i>hass</i> Bazaar of Čajniče	Today's town of Čajniče in East Bosnia	194	10	/	6	5151	986
Klušćići	Glušćići, village in Čajniče	6	/	/	/	489	30
Mrkojič	Mrkojevići, village in Goražde	21	/	/	/	2243	105
Kržava	Kržava, village in the territory of Pljevlja	114	10	/	1	3109	581
Sanjak bey's <i>hass</i> Gornja Lušca	Not identified	108	14	/	3	9764	557
Dolnja Lušca	Not identified	20	4	/	/	2437	104
Kolibka	Not identified	23	2	/	/	2165	117
Melene	Today's hamlet of Meljeni in Foča	26	2	/	2	2353	134
Gornja and Donja Bijoska	Not identified	13	/	/	6	1393	71
Vranji Potok	Settlement near Foča	16	1	/	/	2205	81
Injino	Not identified	19	/	/	/	1617	95
Grubat	Not identified	5	1	/	/	504	26
Podkalac	Kalac, village in the territory of Goražde	7	2	/	1	867	38
Prigošte	Prigošta, hamlet in Višegrad	36	6	/	/	4505	186

<i>Timar settle- ments</i>							
Seličani	Not identified	14	2	/	1	2100	73
Kaoštica	Kaoštica, set- tlement in the territory of Goražde	30	1	/	/	1430	151
Srdna Njegočevac	Possibly the village of Bogoševac in Goražde	5	/	/	/	235	25
Dolnji Miroševci	Mirušići, hamlet in Foča	8	9	/	/	420	49
Part of Klak	Village in Ča- jniče	13	2	/	/	265	67
Part of Bilin	Biljin, settlement in the territory of Goražde	8	/	/	1	545	41
Rastok	Not identified	7	/	/	/	653	35
Dolnja Bateva	Possibly the village of Batovo in Čajniče	9	2	/	/	327	47
Part of Bilin	Biljin, settlement in the territory of Goražde	3	1	/	2	380	18
Međurječje	Today's Međur- ječje in Rudo	32	6	/	2	2138	168
Brezovica	A village called Brezovica exists in Čajniče, but so does a place with the same name in Rudo	5	2	/	/	380	27
Part of Klužin	Gložin, village in Čajniče	5	/	/	/	340	25

<b>Timar settlements of soldiers of the Samobor fortress</b> Crne Bare	Possibly the hamlet of Bare in Ustikolina	3	/	/	2	364	17
Donja Blizna	Blizna, village in Rudo	8	2	/	1	354	43
Gornja Blizna	Blizna, village in Rudo	62	8	/	/	4068	318
Donji Kamen	Not identified	8	2	/	/	354	42
Gornji Kamen	Not identified	7	3	/	/	525	38
Prvanj	Not identified	6	/	/	/	502	30
Zakalje	Eponymous village in Goražde	24	3	/	/	1233	123
Donje Bučje	The village of Bučje is located in Goražde	22	9	/	/	1083	119
Slaobodnica	Not identified	8	/	/	1	636	41
Ustiprača	Today's Ustiprača	11	3	/	/	691	58
Borajno	Not identified	18	1	/	2	416	93
Vranjak	Today's Vranjak, hamlet in Borike	9	1	/	/	448	46
Gložino	Village in Čajniče	5	2	/	/	233	27
Vukovine	Not identified	10	3	2	3	387	61
Part of Gornje Batevo	Batovo, village in Čajniče	20	/	/	/	594	100
Dvorište	Dvorište, village in Rudo	5	1	/	/	291	26
Part of Icko	Not identified	11	2	/	/	490	57
Part of Srednje Batovo	Batovo, village in Čajniče	19	2	/	/	662	97

Gornji Kopači	Village near Goražde	22	2	/	/	2084	112
Zadotoci	Not identified	9	2	/	/	547	47
Trosilje	Not identified	11	3	/	/	1077	58
G. Božovine	Božovići, village in Rudo	8	1	/	/	473	41
Donji Kopači	Village near Goražde	17	1	/	/	1454	86
Gornji Njegoševac	Bogoševac, village in Goražde	19	3	/	1	970	99
Slatina	Slatina, settlement in the territory of Rudo	18	3	/	3	1305	96
Donje Brezujno	Not identified	35	6	/	1	1604	182
Part of Klak	Eponymous village in Goražde	14	/	/	/	495	70
<b>Seized possessions</b> Završ	Završje, village in Goražde	6	/	/	/	142	30
Part of Presina	Prosine, village in Miljevina	10	2	/	/	312	52
Part of Borajina	Not identified	6	/	/	/	281	30
<b>Craftsmen's settlements</b> Part of Donji Njegoševac	Possibly the village of Bogoševac in Goražde	2	/	/	/	/	10
Part of Gornje Bučje	The village of Bučje is located in Goražde	4	/	/	/	/	20
Part of Rudnik	Not identified	2	/	/	/	/	10
<b>Total: 58 villages, 1 bazaar</b>		<b>1,186</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>72,090</b>	<b>6,116</b>

In the *Bistrica nahiye*, the bazaar of Ustikolina belonged to the sanjak-bey's *hass*. The 1475/77 census recorded 82 households with 11 single adult men in this bazaar, and the revenue of 11,331 akçes, which is 2,599 akçes less than in the 1468/69 census. A part of the village of Dolnja Milotina was also listed as belonging to the sanjak-bey's *hass* with 9 households and a total revenue of 1,664 akçes. Most inhabitants of this part of the village were Krstjani. The *nahiye* contained 43 villages across 22 *timars*. Some of the *timar* holders were: Suvruk Jusuf, Husein, Ahmed-aga, Ishak-paša, Kara Jusuf, the kadi of Mileševa, and others. The census of the village of Osip mentions the sultan's order that çaşnigir Mustafa and his brother Bajazit hold the baştina known as Završ, as well as the vineyard and "vineyard workers" in this village. The soldiers of the Klobuk fortress held 11 *timars*, while those from Samobor held 2 *timars*. In addition to their *timars*, some garrison members were private owners of other assets, such as mills, vineyards, pastures, etc. Craftsmen were also recorded in this *nahiye*, in parts of the villages of Lašce (2 ironworkers), Zagorani (1 mason), Poda (1 ironworker), Kljuni (7 masons), Prosimlje (5 masons) and Timokrajići (5 masons). The census of the Bistrica *nahiye* included 1 bazaar, 70 settlements, 1,005 households, 127 single adult men, 3 widows, 109 Muslims, totalling 5,253 persons and a revenue of 67,987 akçes.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 190–191, 234, 241, 245, 247, 267–268, 270, 272–274, 279, 287, 291, 307, 311, 319, 323, 327–330, 332, 335, 346, 348, 364, 373–374, 376, 378, 383, 386, 507, 510–511, 513–514, 517–518, 521, 525–528, 533, 572, 599–600, 608–609.



**Table 16:** *Defter of the Sanjak of Herzegovina Vilayet of 1475/77*

<i>Bistrica nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>Sanjak-bey's hass</b> Bazaar or Ustikolina	Today's Ustikolina near Goražde	82	11	/	/	11331	421
Part of Donja Milotina	Eponymous village in Foča	9	/	/	/	1664	45
<b>Timar settlements</b> Podbrežje (Krečevo)	Possibly the village of Krečak in Foča	8	1	/	/	706	41
Lalica	Ljaljica, village in Foča	34	2	/	6	1020	178
Radenovići	Radenovići, village in the territory of Goražde	13	3	/	1	595	69
Gorna Žešće	Žešće, village in Foča	24	3	/	3	1556	126
Zadub	Zadub, hamlet in the village of Bunovi in the territory of Foča	7	/	/	/	749	35
Rdavac	Not identified	/	/	/	/	/	/
Dolnja Pleševica	Today's village of Plješevica in Goražde	2	1	/	2	502	13
Osip	Not identified	28	5	/	1	1161	146
Dolna Žešće	Not identified	12	4	/	3	1060	67
Part of Straganac	Not identified	3	/	/	/	108	15
Part of Jasenovo	Jasenovo, village in the territory of Miljevinina near Foča	1	/	/	/	106	5

Part of Lokva	There are several settlements called Lokva in the territories of Foča and Goražde	19	3	/	/	821	98
Part of Strganci	Strganci, village in the territory of Ustikolina near Goražde	11	/	/	/	825	55
Part of Zabor	Eponymous village near Ustikolina	16	/	/	1	770	81
Divanje	Not identified	40	3	/	14	2181	217
Donje Stanjevo	Stanjevo Brdo, village in Goražde	/	/	/	/	48	/
Starnjište	Not identified	4	/	/	/	1358	20
Dolnje Koševo	Not identified	9	/	1	/	717	47
Srednja Milotina	Settlement in the territory of Foča	2	/	/	2	100	12
Dolnji Hrtar	Hrtar, village in Višegrad	3	2	/	/	281	17
Sjerče	Today's village of Sjerice in Foča	5	3	/	/	141	28
Kljuna	Today a village in Foča	36	8	/	2	1221	190
Marevo	Today there are Veliko and Malo Marevo in Foča	12	/	/	8	1309	68
Cape	Eponymous hamlet in Ustikolina–Goražde	37	10	/	/	1620	195

Part of Donje Stanjevo	Not identified	6	1	/	/	684	31
Dolnje Žiljevo	Today's village of Željevo in Foča	4	2	1	5	1317	29
Batača	Not identified	15	3	/	/	668	78
Part of Vrbica	Eponymous village in Foča	7	/	/	/	335	35
Mirinkovići	Village in Foča	6	1	/	/	456	31
Izbići	Izbići, village in Foča	4	/	/	/	494	20
Part of Kruševo	Kruševo, settlement in the territory of Foča	1	/	/	/	275	5
Gornji Šušnjići	Not identified	4	/	/	/	584	20
Zagorica	Zagorice, village in Foča	15	/	/	1	514	76
Part of Pleševica	Plješevica in Goražde	1	/	/	3	708	8
Oglavac	Oglavak, hamlet in Foča	4	/	/	/	977	20
Rataj	Today's village of Rataja in Foča	16	2	/	1	611	83
Kremino	Today's Kremin in Foča	9	2	/	/	320	47
Podgrađe	Eponymous village near Ustikolina	18	2	/	1	1065	93
Part of Pleševica	Today's village of Plješevica in Goražde	13	4	/	10	1717	79
Borenica	Borjanica, hamlet in Foča	11	2	/	4	266	61
Divanje	Not identified	40	3	/	14	2181	203
Sučevica	Not identified	14	1	/	/	150	71

Part of Zabor	Eponymous village near Ustikolina	7	/	/	/	559	35
Stanjevo	Not identified	8	2	/	3	319	45
Stranjište	Not identified	4	/	/	/	1358	20
Kunjak	Not identified	6	/	/	/	290	30
<b>Timar settlements of the Klobuk fortress Mrežica</b>	Mrežica, village in the territory of Foča	99	11	/	2	4824	508
Part of Lokve	Lokve, village in the territory of Foča	15	3	/	4	1155	82
Part of Bešovica	Not identified	2	/	/	2	385	12
Žiljevo	Not identified	17	2	/	/	1335	87
Petovići	Today's village in Prača–Goražde	24	3	/	/	1148	123
Part of Bukva	Today's hamlet in Foča	14	/	/	3	491	73
Budovine	Budovine, hamlet in the village of Ratkovići in the territory of Foča	16	3	/	/	1046	83
Stragance	Not identified	30	4	/	6	1589	160
Part of Gornja Žešča	Gornja Žešča, village in the territory of Foča	8	/	/	/	723	40
Jasenovo	Jasenovo, village in Goražde	18	/	/	2	1178	92
Daničići	Daničići, village in the territory of Foča	12	3	/	1	1113	64

Mravijac	Mravijac, village in the territory of Goražde	9	/	/	/	246	45
Gornja Kosova	Today's hamlet of Kosova in Ustikolina– Goražde	10	3	/	/	695	53
Donje Žešće	Not identified	7	2	1	4	1115	43
<b>Timar settlements of the Samobor fortress Kremin</b>	Village of Kremin in the territory of Ustikolina near Goražde	27	2	/	/	1305	137
Zabrade	Probably the hamlet of Zabrde in Foča	46	7	/	/	1751	237
<b>Seized possessions</b> Part of Sokolica	Not identified	1	/	/	/	90	5
Kruševo	Kruševo, village in the territory of Foča	/	/	/	/	/	/
<b>Craftsmen's villages</b> Part of Lašča	Lašćići, hamlet in Ustikolina	2	/	/	/	/	10
Part of Zagorani	Not identified	1	/	/	/	/	5
Part of Kljuni	Not identified	7	/	/	/	/	35
Part of Prosimlje	Not identified	5	/	/	/	/	25
Part of Timokrajići	Not identified	5	/	/	/	/	25
<b>Total: 1 bazaar, 70 villages</b>		<b>1,005</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>67,987</b>	<b>5,253</b>

The 1475/77 census recorded just 1 *timar* in the *Todevac nahiye*, belonging to Hamza from Sofia, a soldier of the Ključ fortress, who enjoyed revenues of the village of Tjentište, listed as *derbend* and exempt from all extraordinary and state charges. Total revenues of this *timar* measured 819 akçes. In Todevac there was also a craftsmen's village of gunmakers, specialized for the purposes of the military fortification. The census of this small *nahiye* counted just 2 villages, 28 households, 3 single adult men, 2 Muslims, and the total revenue of 819 akçes. The defter listed few crewmen of the Todevac fortress. The reason for their low numbers could be the weakening of the material basis, related to the diminishment of their offensive role, since the Todevac fortress was no longer located near the Ottoman border area.<sup>215</sup>

**Table 17:** *Defter of the Sanjak of Herzegovina Vilayet of 1475/77*

<i>Todevac nahiye</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of households</i>	<i>Number of single men</i>	<i>Number of widows</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Total revenue</i>	<i>Population</i>
<b>Timar of soldiers of the Ključ fortress</b> Tjentište	Today's village in Foča	25	3	/	2	819	130
<b>Craftsmen's settlements</b> Part of Sopot Luk	Not identified	3	/	/	/	/	15
<b>Total: 2 villages</b>		<b>28</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>/</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>819</b>	<b>145</b>

From the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, the natural population increase in the Land of Drina began to wane due to wars, famines, and epidemics. Plague, an umbrella term used for various dangerous

<sup>215</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 425–426, 599.

diseases, posed a significant threat to people. Mortality was highest in densely populated urban environments. Plague epidemics were frequent in Hoča. For example, in the summer of 1453, Dubrovnikan merchants declared they would not visit the Drina region – specifically Hoča and Goražde – because of the poor health situation in the area. The Hoča district was again struck by disease in 1467.<sup>216</sup> Even though his account was written a full century later, British travel writer Henry Ostel noted that plague was ravaging Foča when he passed through in 1585.<sup>217</sup>

The Defter of the *Sanjak* of Bosnia of 1468/69 recorded the total population of 20,328 in the Land of Drina. The *nahiye* of Soko was the most populous, with 6,390 inhabitants, and Bohorići was the least populous, with just 125. Ottoman material reveals that the network of settlements in this area consisted of several towns and numerous villages, most of which were small (6 to 20 houses) and medium-sized (21 to 80 houses), with those above 81 households being rare. A comparison with the data from the census of the Herzegovina *Sanjak*, carried out between seven and nine years later, shows changes in the demographics, though most small and medium-sized villages remained unchanged. According to the 1475/77 census, the total population in the area reached 28,142. The Soko *nahiye* had the most inhabitants: its 117 villages and two bazaars were home to 10,679 people, almost twice as many as in the census of 1468/69. The 1475/77 defter indicates a marked population increase.

<sup>216</sup> Sima Ćirković, Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, 'Zdravstvene prilike u srednjovjekovnoj bosanskoj državi', *Acta historica medicinae pharmaciae et veterinariae* X/2 (1970), 94; Hrabak, *Foča*, 153; Budimir Pavlović, 'Socijalno-epidemijske prilike u oblasti Brankovića sredinom XV veka', in Miloš Macura, ed., *Naselja i stanovništvo u oblasti Brankovića 1455. godine* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti: Službeni glasnik, 2001), 464–466.

<sup>217</sup> Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 139; Mišić, 'Polimlje i Potarje', 23–24.

An active village was one that played a dominant role in accommodating and sustaining the population. Such a village was surrounded by agricultural land, enabling its inhabitants to produce food and other essential goods, thereby supporting its growth and self-sufficiency, as described by Miloš Macura.<sup>218</sup> When comparing data, we should take into account that the census of the Bosnian *Sanjak* was conducted three to four years after most of the surveyed region was conquered (1466), during a difficult post-war period, while the census of Herzegovina was carried out around a decade later. The conflicts between Herceg Stefan and his sons, Bosnian leaders, the Republic of Dubrovnik, and ultimately the Ottomans, undoubtedly had a negative impact on the demographics of settlements in this area. Damage and destruction were commonplace: houses, buildings, property, plantations, and crops were destroyed or burned. During the Ottoman conquests, a part of the inhabitants of this area perished, while others were enslaved or migrated, leaving many villages deserted.

In the census of the Bosnian *Sanjak* of 1468/69, the end of the defter contains a list of deserted villages in *Vilayet Hersek*; in a part of the Soko *nahiye*, there were as many as 12. A decade later, with no further wars or significant emigration, the Ottomans resettled these abandoned villages with new inhabitants, reducing the number of vacant villages to just a few by the 1475/77 census.

For the demographics of this area, it is important to note that the Collective Defter of the Bosnian *Sanjak* and the Herzegovina Defter mention a certain number of newcomers

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<sup>218</sup> Macura, Miloš, 'Naselja i naseljenost', in Miloš Macura, ed., *Naselja i stanovništvo u oblasti Brankovića 1455. godine* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Službeni glasnik, 2001), 207.



and widows, pointing to both the desolation and revival of settlements in this space.<sup>219</sup>

The defters also reveal that a number of voynuks, members of a special military order, were registered in some villages and their parts. The institution of voynuks was of Slavic origin. They were a privileged military social class, embraced by the Ottomans after the Battle of Maritsa in 1371. Voynuks included local Christians, petty nobility, and Vlachs, and were primarily engaged in defending the border or conducting reconnaissance in the border areas of neighbouring countries. For their service, voynuks were allowed to keep baştinas and were exempt from paying state and feudal taxes. They were still obligated to pay spear tax (16 akçes, and additional 6 akçes if they embarked on conquests), penalties for minor offences, tax on imports of wine barrels, and sheep tax if they owned more than 100 sheep. If voynuks failed to fulfil their military obligations, they were subject to corporal punishment. Yamaks – voynuks' assistants – were recruited from the ranks of their sons, brothers and relatives, and also enjoyed some tax reliefs. The lowest-ranking voynuk units were called spears (*koplja*). Voynuks were organized into small units, with 2 to 7 yamak assistants. The lowest-ranking voynuk leaders were lagators, while higher ranks were called çeribaşas or seraskers, and voynuk sanjak-beys. Lagators had two to three times as many yamaks as regular soldiers.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>219</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*; Aličić, *Sumarni popis*; See: Milan Vasić, 'Uticaj ratova na naselja i privredu osmanskog graničnog područja u Srbiji i Bosni: (1480–1536)', *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu* 6 (1970/1971), 461–466; Dušanka Bojanić, 'O nekim odrednicama seoskog stanovništva jugoslovenskih zemalja u turskim popisnim knjigama XV veka', *Simpozijum „Seoski dani Sretena Vukosavljevića“* III (1976), 73–80; Macura, 'Naselja', 192–211, 259–260; Pavo Živković, *Iz srednjovjekovne povijesti Bosne i Huma* (Osijek: Hrvatsko Kulturno Društvo "Napredak"), 270–277.

<sup>220</sup> See: Branislav Đurđev, 'O vojnucima, sa osvrtom na razvoj turskog feudalizma i na pitanje bosanskog aganluka', *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* II (1947), 75–137; Bogo Grafenauer, Branislav Đurđev, Jorjo Tadić, *Istorija naroda Ju-*

The 1468/69 defter recorded voynuks who were not on active duty but were part of the reserve troops. Voynuks were registered in 2 households in a part of the village of Maleni in the Goražde *nahiye*, and in 2 households in a part of the village of Podgrađe in the Bistrica *nahiye*. These reserve troops held *baştinas*, which were treated as voynuk *timars*. However, the census noted changes in a part of the voynuk reserve, *because these voynuks' timars had deteriorated*, according to Hamza Bey's letters. The state no longer had a need for this reserve, so their *baştinas* were transferred to the serasker's *timar*, while the voynuks were downgraded to common rayah.<sup>221</sup>

The Herzegovina *Sanjak* defter of 1475/77 recorded voynuks in almost all *nahiyes*. Many voynuks were situated in the *timar* of çeribaşas Sinan and Mahmud. No voynuks in active service were registered in this area – all of them were reserve forces.

In the *nahiye* of Goražde, the voynuk reserve was counted in a village of 3 houses, while for 2 villages, no houses were noted, but only a tax penalty revenue of 5 akçes.<sup>222</sup>

A voynuk reserve was recorded in the Soko *nahiye*, in the *timar* of çeribaşa Sinan: 146 households, 34 single men, 4 Muslims, with the revenue of 1,143 akçes and voynuk fines of 594 akçes.<sup>223</sup>

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*goslavije II* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1960), 75; Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje*, 162–169; Miljković–Bojanić, 'Turski feudalni sistem', 542; Bogumil Hrabak, 'Vojnuci u Trgovištu (Rožaju), Bihoru, Budimlji, Peći i Klopotniku 1485. godine', *Novopazarški zbornik* 30 (2007), 83–89; Voynuks wore black outfits without exception. Such uniforms were also mandatory for their assistants – *yamaks*. The *katun-nama* states that if a voynuk was summoned for a campaign, he had to come to Istanbul with a horse and a scythe. Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), 22.

<sup>221</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 129–130.

<sup>222</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 350, 383.

<sup>223</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 223–231.

The census of the Samobor *nahiye* listed voynuk reserves associated with çeribaşa Sinan in 10 villages with 52 households and 2 single men.<sup>224</sup>

In the *nahiye* of Bistrica, there was a voynuk reserve associated with çeribaşa Mahmud: 24 villages with 84 households and 7 Muslims. Residents of a part of these villages were listed as belonging to the *timar* of Knez Herak.<sup>225</sup>

In the Osanica *nahiye*, the voynuk reserve was listed in 3 villages with 13 households and 5 single men.<sup>226</sup>

Based on the above data, we may conclude that voynuks were not exclusive residents of villages; instead, they inhabited parts of villages. Additionally, no active voynuks were mentioned. The number of houses in the villages in question is also quite low. The obligations of the voynuks from this area to the sanjak-bey, as their military superior, are unknown to us; they were likely not extensive. In the *Sanjak* of Vidin, each soldier's spear would pay his sanjak-bey 2 akçes per annum. The names of the voynuks suggest that they could be related within a village; for example, some may have been brothers, while others were uncles with nephews or cousins. Although there is no precise data on the locations where the voynuks from this area performed their military service, it is evident that they represented a remainder of reserves, either from previous campaigns or in preparation for future actions. The presence of voynuk units in this area is a clear indicator that the Ottoman authorities swiftly utilized medieval warriors and free petty lords to further their interests.<sup>227</sup>

<sup>224</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 357–359, 610–611.

<sup>225</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 349–351, 357–359, 375.

<sup>226</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 343, 568, 589.

<sup>227</sup> See: Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje*, 162–169; Hrabak, 'Vojnuci', 83–89.

## IV. POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES

### IV.1. Early History of the Land of Drina

A discussion of the earliest medieval history of Upper Podrinje and other areas in Bosnia must be prefaced with the disclaimer that the early medieval period in this region remains largely unexamined on account a lack of historical sources.

The Slavs arrived on the Balkan Peninsula between the early 6<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. From the 620s onward, Slavs became permanent inhabitants of Upper Podrinje, where the living conditions were favourable. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the learned Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus noted that Slavs had settled this area during the reign of Emperor Heraclius (610–641).<sup>228</sup>

Ethnic interaction in this region began in the earliest recorded times. First the Illyrians intermingled with the autochthonous folk, then the Romans with the Illyrians, and finally the Slavs with Romanized and non-Romanized peoples. This area was Slavicized relatively early.<sup>229</sup>

Slavic tribes were organized in clans, tribes and župas independent from the Byzantine Empire. Byzantine sources do not contain information about certain areas in the Balkans

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<sup>228</sup> For more details about the settling of Serbs, see: Ferjančić, *Vizantijski izvori II*, 47–49; Srejšević et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 144–145; The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja confirms that Slavs (Serbs) reached the Balkans during Heraklion's times. Tibor Živković, *Južni Sloveni pod vizantijskom vlašću (600–1025)* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, Službeni glasnik, 2002), 274–301; Blagojević, *Srpska državnost*, 20–22.

<sup>229</sup> Tibor Živković, 'Etničke promene na teritoriji današnje Srbije u periodu od VI do X veka', *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU XLV* (1997), 89–99.

during the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>230</sup> Frankish scholar Einhard wrote in the Royal Frankish Annals (*Annales regni Francorum*) that after an uprising against the Franks failed in 822, Ljudevit Posavski was forced to flee to the Serbs, *a people said to hold a major portion of Dalmatia*. He took refuge with one of the Serbian leaders. This indicates that Serbs ruled a large section of the former Roman province of Dalmatia in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>231</sup>

The first Serb state was established in the region that included “areas along the Lim and Upper Drina, together with the Piva and Tara rivers, and the valley and upper course of the West Morava”.<sup>232</sup> Therefore, the region examined by this study was also part of that state. Serbs took an interest in this space because of the fertile soil in the valleys of the Lim and Drina rivers, and the mountainous terrain, which was well-suited for animal husbandry.<sup>233</sup>

During this period, the political history of this area cannot be separated from the Serbian state. Still, it is difficult to reconstruct the details of the region’s past due to a lack of written sources.<sup>234</sup> In the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, Serbian lands were hit hard by the conflicts between the Bulgarians and Byzantines.

<sup>230</sup> Živković, *Južni Sloveni*, 300–301, 322.

<sup>231</sup> This was the first mention of Serbs in the Balkan Peninsula. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 39; Srejović et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 160; Tibor Živković, ‘O severnim granicama Srbije u ranom srednjem veku’, *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* 71–72 (2001), 12–13; Blagojević, ‘Podrinje’, 31; Tibor Živković, *Portreti srpskih vladara: (IX–XII vek)* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2006), 19; Blagojević, *Srpska državnost*, 51; Tibor Živković, ‘The Origin of the Royal Frankish Annalist’s Information about the Serbs in Dalmatia’, in Srđan Rudić, ed., *Spomenica akademika Sime Ćirkovića* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2011), 380–398.

<sup>232</sup> Konstantin Jireček, *Istorija Srba I* (Beograd: Slovo ljubve, 1978), 64, 68.

<sup>233</sup> For the territorial distribution of Serbian states in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, see: Miloš Blagojević et al., *Istorijski atlas* (Beograd: Republički geodetski zavod, JP Zavod za udžbenike, 2011), 35.

<sup>234</sup> For more on Upper Podrinje as part of Serbia, see: Hrabak, *Foča*, 17; Blagojević, ‘Podrinje’, 29–44; Mišić, ‘Territorial Division’, 78.

During the rule of Bulgarian Emperor Simeon (893–927), Bulgaria conquered Serbia and controlled it from 924 to 927. Upper Podrinje, along with the entirety of Serbian lands, was part of the Bulgarian Empire.<sup>235</sup>

Serbian Knez Časlav Klonimirović (c. 927/28 to c. 950), taking advantage of the turmoil in Bulgaria after the death of Emperor Simeon in 927, managed to escape captivity and establish rule over his own land. Časlav recognized the supreme authority of the Byzantine Empire, then ruled by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. By all accounts, Rascia, and with it, Upper Podrinje, entered a rare stage of peaceful development, which lasted until the end of Knez Časlav's reign. This period was interspersed with the occasional conflict between Bulgarians and Byzantines, which involved Serbia, contrary to Knez Časlav's will. In the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century, Magyar raids became more frequent.<sup>236</sup>

The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja noted that the Magyar leader Kisa ravaged and pillaged Bosnia during Časlav's time. The Priest of Duklja wrote that Knez Časlav gathered an army to mount a defence in *Drinska županija, next to the river (Drina)*. The battle was joined near a place called Civelino, and the Magyars were defeated. According to the Priest of Duklja, a young man by the name of Tihomil executed Kisa at Časlav's order, and was awarded the administration of *Drinska županija and the hand of the daughter of the ban of Rascia*. Civelino is now known as the settlement of Cvilin near Ustikolina. This mention of *Drinska županija* during Časlav's reign represents the first recorded reference to a župa in Upper Podrinje during the Early Middle Ages. The second mention of

<sup>235</sup> Grafenauer, Perović, Šidak, *Istorija naroda Jugoslavije I*, 235–236; Srejo-  
vić et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 158–160.

<sup>236</sup> Srejo-  
vić et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 160–161; Živković, *Južni Sloveni*,  
420–421.

*Drinska županija* is also found in the Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja. According to the priest, after Dragimir's passing, his widow went to Rascia to stay with her father, župan Ljutimir. She was in the late stages of pregnancy and was accompanied by her two daughters. Upon arrival at her homeland, she learned that her father had died. Together with her mother, she left for Bosnia, where her uncles resided. On the road to Bosnia, she gave birth to a son at a place called Brusno in *Drinska županija*. Brusno is most likely present-day Brusna, situated 10 km east of Foča.<sup>237</sup> The Chronicle states that the župa of Drina included the area around Foča with the settlement of Brusno, and Ustikolina with the village of Civelino. The territory of Upper Podrinje belonged to the župa – or Land – of Drina.<sup>238</sup> Časlav died around the year 950, fighting the Magyars in Srem, in the plains south of the Sava River.<sup>239</sup>

According to the Priest of Duklja, with Časlav's passing, the power of Serbia waned. The throne passed to Tihomil, who dared not assume the position of king and instead settled for the title of grand župan. The priest's writings are exceedingly unclear, making it hard to draw any reliable conclusions.<sup>240</sup>

We have no knowledge of the ensuing circumstances; Rascia likely recognized the authority of Byzantine rulers. During the rule of Emperor Basil II (from 976, and ruling independently from 985 to 1025), the Upper Drina region shared in the fate of the other parts of Rascia.<sup>241</sup> For the early period,

<sup>237</sup> Kunčer, *Gesta regum Sclavorum* 1, 89–93, 140–141; Živković, *Gesta regum Sclavorum* 2, 202–204, 274–275; For more on the settlements of Cvilin and Brusno, see: Vego, *Naselja*, 27; Relja Novaković, *Gdje se nalazila Srbija od VII do XII veka* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, Narodna knjiga, 1981), 122; Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 34.

<sup>238</sup> Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 34.

<sup>239</sup> Srećević et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda* I, 166.

<sup>240</sup> Živković, *Južni Sloveni*, 299–301.

<sup>241</sup> Žarko Šćepanović, *Srednje Polimlje i Potarje. Istorijsko-etnološka rasprava* (Beograd: Etnografski institut SANU, 1979), 25.

the information on territorial, i.e. clan/tribe districts in Upper Podrinje, is available only for the župa of Drina. In *On the Governance of the Empire (De Administrando Imperio)*, chapter 32, Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus wrote that there were eight “settled towns” in Christianized Serbia, though their exact locations have not been determined. Researchers have differing opinions on the locations of these “settled towns”. The town of Međurječje is associated with this area. There is an assumption that it was located near the medieval town of Soko, established at the confluence of the Piva and Tara rivers during the rise of the Kosača family. There is another Međurječje to the north of Goražde, opposite the confluence of the Prača with the Drina. This region is also the location of the towns of Samobor and Novi. While its precise location has not yet been identified, researchers agree that Porphyrogenitus’s Međurječje was in the territory of Upper Podrinje. This settled town indicates that urban life persisted continuously in this area.<sup>242</sup>

At the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (998), Bulgarian Tsar Samuel launched a major campaign in which he subjugated Bosnia.<sup>243</sup> After the death of Jovan Vladimir in 1016, Byzantine Emperor Basil II mustered a large army and conquered the entire territory of Bulgaria, Rascia, Bosnia and Dalmatia.<sup>244</sup> After the Byzantine Empire took over, Samuel’s former state was for the most part divided into themes.<sup>245</sup> Upper Podrinje remained outside of

<sup>242</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 73 (Međurečje), 82 (Novi in Drina), 103 (Samobor); Ferjančić, *Vizantijski izvori II*, 58; Jireček, “Trgovački putevi”, 244; Ćirković, “Naseljeni gradovi”, 9–32; Popović, “Soko grad”, 17–21; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 183–184; Blagojević, *Srpska državnost*, 43–45.

<sup>243</sup> Srđan Pirivatrić, *Samuilova država: obim i karakter* (Beograd: Vizantološki institut Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, 1997), 112–115; Živković, *Portreti*, 69–71.

<sup>244</sup> Živković, *Južni Sloveni*, 429.

<sup>245</sup> Šćepanović, *Srednje Polimlje*, 24–25; Srejski et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 166–169, 170–172, 181.



the theme system, since the Byzantine border ended with the Accursed Mountains in the southeast.<sup>246</sup>

In the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, this area became part of Duklja, ruled by the Vojislavljević dynasty. Rascia was seized around 1083/84, after which Bosnia was also taken over. According to the Priest of Duklja, Constantine Bodin put a loyal man in charge of Bosnia, Knez Stefan.<sup>247</sup> There are no available historical sources to precisely recount the events that followed. As a result, some developments can only be inferred indirectly, based on the situation in Rascia.

During the great Byzantine–Hungarian War (1127–1129), the population of Upper Podrinje likely rose up against the Byzantine Empire. As the war ended with Hungary's defeat, the empire punished the anti-Byzantine movement among the Serbs with looting, pillaging, taking prisoners and transporting them to Asia Minor. This region likely did not evade Byzantine retribution.<sup>248</sup>

In the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, Serbia joined a broad alliance against the Byzantine Empire.<sup>249</sup> Byzantine writer Joannes Kinnamos described the fighting between Manuel I Komnenos and the Serbs. In his description, a river “by the name of Drina flows from somewhere up above and separates Bosnia from the rest of Serbia”. The border did not extend along the entire Drina, and lay instead in its middle course.<sup>250</sup> This division is in

<sup>246</sup> Srejović et al., 170–173.

<sup>247</sup> Ćirković, *Istorija*, 41; Bešić, Garašanin, Garašanin, Kovačević, *Istorija Crne Gore I*, 396; Živković, *Portreti* 97, 106–107.

<sup>248</sup> Srejović et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 200.

<sup>249</sup> Blagojević, *Srpska državnost*, 98.

<sup>250</sup> Vladimir Ćorović, ‘Teritorijalni razvoj bosanske države u srednjem veku’, *Pristupna akademska besjeda pročitana na svečanom skupu S. K. Akademije* (1935), 10; Kalić, Ferjančić, Radošević-Maksimović, *Vizantijski izvori IV*, 26–38; Blagojević, ‘Podrinje’, 37.

concordance with the Priest of Duklja's depiction of Serbia as a land divided into Rascia and Bosnia.<sup>251</sup>

## IV.2. The Land of Drina under Regional Lords

In Upper Podrinje, the Slavs organized territorial districts, with the primary territorial unit being the *župa*. The canyons in the upper course of the Drina are interspersed with a number of valleys and basins, which influenced the formation of *župas* in the Middle Ages. *Župas* were established in broad river valleys. In Upper Podrinje, there are two such valleys – the basins of Foča and Goražde, which are followed by the Međeđa gorge. In the upper course of the river lay the Land of Drina, containing the *župas* and *oblasts* of Drina, Sutjeska, Drinaljevo, Gvoza, Bistrica, Goražde and Pribud.<sup>252</sup>

From 1282 to 1299, Serbian King Milutin and his brother Dragutin lived in harmony and cooperation. However, Dragutin disapproved of the peace treaty that Milutin signed with the Byzantine Empire (1299) and of his marriage to the Byzantine Princess Simonida. He openly opposed Milutin because the Byzantines were eager to ensure that Milutin and Simonida would have offspring. Open war between the brothers Dragutin and Milutin erupted no later than 1301. There is incomplete information about the conflict: we learn about it from Dubrovnican merchants who found themselves in Dragutin's land, explaining that they were unable to pass through the territory of King Milutin. In the spring of 1302, merchants were recalled to Dubrovnik due to rumours of war and turbulence inland. The territory of Upper Podrinje was not spared by the

<sup>251</sup> Kunčer, *Gesta regum Sclavorum* 1, 59; Živković, *Gesta regum Sclavorum* 2, 149, 153; See: Živković, 'O severnim granicama Srbije', 10; Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 36–37.

<sup>252</sup> Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 38; Mišić, 'Territorial Division', 78–79.

clashes. The insecurity and anarchy is best explained by the journey of a Dubrovnik caravan in 1305, which was attacked three times on its way from Dubrovnik to Drina – at Trebinje, at Gacko, and in Upper Podrinje, in the župa of Pribud (*in un loco lo qual a nome Pribodo*). Passing through Serbia in 1308, an anonymous writer noted the ongoing war and discord between the brothers. The civil war lasted, with brief interruptions, until 1313, when the relations between Dragutin and Milutin finally stabilized.<sup>253</sup>

In 1322, after the fall of Ban Mladen II Šubić of Bribir, Stjepan II Kotromanić (1322–1353) became the ban of Bosnia and the strongest western neighbour and adversary of Serbia. Stjepan II was an energetic and authoritative statesman. By 1324, he had occupied the areas of Usora and Soli, as well as the valley of the lower Neretva and Krajna, between the mouths of the Neretva and Cetina rivers. He aspired to further expand the borders of the Bosnian state. Scholar Pribisav remarked in a charter that Ban Stefan held the territory *from the Sava to the sea, and from the Cetina to the Drina*. The Drina River, from the Međeđa gorge to its confluence, marked the border between the state of Bosnia and the Nemanjić state.<sup>254</sup>

In the Church of St. Nicholas in the Dabar župa in Lower Polimlje (today's municipality of Priboj), several tombstones have been preserved. One of them bears an inscription saying that *veliki čelnik* Dimitrije, who died on 6 March 1349, held Dabar, Drina and Gacko with Rudine.<sup>255</sup> There were several

<sup>253</sup> Gelcich, *Monumenta Ragusina V*, 90; Mihailo Dinić, 'Uz raspravu „Oblast kralja Dragutina posle Deževe”', *Istorijski časopis III* (1951–1952), 249–251; Srejović et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 449–455, 460.

<sup>254</sup> Miloš Blagojević, 'Severna granica bosanske države u XIV veku', in Slavenko Terzić, ed., *Bosna i Hercegovina od srednjeg veka do novijeg vremena* (Beograd, Novi Sad: Istorijski institut SANU, Pravoslavna reč, Beograd, 1995), 60; Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 41.

<sup>255</sup> The text of the inscription is somewhat damaged, see: Mirjana Šakota,

čelniks in the Serbian medieval state; Dimitrije served as veliki čelnik in the court of Serbian King and later Emperor Dušan (1331–1355), most likely from 1340, taking over from Oliver, who became grand duke. The veliki čelnik was a highly trusted person responsible for ensuring the security of the castle, protecting the ruler, and safeguarding all other state- and ruler-related interests. He would have had a number of soldiers and halls at his disposal. It should be pointed out that individuals bearing this title are rarely mentioned; after Dimitrije, it appears that no one else was honoured with this title in Emperor Dušan's court. The inscription in question indicates that during Dušan's rule, the role of veliki čelnik gained in importance, and that he was even entrusted with the administration of certain areas.<sup>256</sup> There is a reasonable assumption that čelnik Dimitrije should be identified as Hrvatin, brother of Vojin, who belonged to the first generation of the Serbian noble family Vojinović.<sup>257</sup>

The feudal anarchy that ensued in the Serbian Empire after the death of Emperor Dušan (1355) impacted the social and political circumstances in Upper Podrinje as well. Emperor Uroš I ascended the throne on 20 December 1355; the state he inherited, while large, was heterogeneous and highly complex. Powerful lords rose to prominence soon after. The effects of their conflicts would reach Upper Podrinje. Although they continued to align themselves with Emperor Uroš, some nobles increasingly acted with greater independence. One such noble

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‘Prilozi poznavanju manastira Banje kod Priboja’, *Saopštenja IX* (1970), 37–42; Gordana Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilčkih natpisa na Balkanu* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1974), 61–60, No 42.

<sup>256</sup> For more on čelniks, see: Miloš Blagojević, *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama* (Beograd: Službeni list, 1997), 208–215, 223–245.

<sup>257</sup> Mirjana Šakota, *Riznica manastira Banje kod Priboja* (Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1981), 16; Gordana Tomović, ‘Vojinovići’, in Srđan Rudić, ed., *Spomenica akademika Sime Ćirkovića* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2011), 355–365.

family resided in the Land of Drina: the mighty Vojinović family, sons of Duke Vojin (who held Gacko), one of the most prominent lords from the time of Stefan of Dečani.<sup>258</sup>

The Vojinovići were held in high regard by Stefan Dušan. Vojin's eldest son Miloš (early 14<sup>th</sup> century–1333) was a *stavilac* (cup-bearer) in King Dušan's court. He was mentioned in 1332 in negotiations with Dubrovnik. Vojin's second son Altoman (early 14<sup>th</sup> century–1359) governed the area around the town of Čestin in Gruža. Altoman rose in ranks to the title of grand župan. He was last mentioned in Dubrovnican archival records in 1359. The first reference to Vojin's third son Vojislav (early 14<sup>th</sup> century–25 October 1363) was made in 1333, when he visited Dubrovnik as Dušan's emissary to discuss the Saint Demetrius tax (fee of 2,000 perperas paid by the Dubrovnicians for free trade in the Serbian Empire). Rising in ranks from *stavilac*, he reached the position of knez. A record from 1345 notes that his possessions included the settlement of Svinjarevo near Dubrovnik. During Emperor Uroš's reign, he rose to become one of the most powerful figures in Serbia, and by the end of his life, he was the most influential feudal lord.<sup>259</sup> From written sources, we can see that he called himself the knez of Hum, and he was also graced with the title of great duke.<sup>260</sup>

Vojislav Vojinović took over the territory formerly held by čelnik Dimitrije, including Dabar, Drina, Gacko, and Rudine, by 1359 at the latest. By 1363, his domain had expanded to cover

<sup>258</sup> Srejović et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 566–570, 578; Mihaljčić, *Kraj Srpskog carstva I*, 39–40.

<sup>259</sup> Mihailo Dinić, *O Nikoli Altomanoviću* (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1932), 3–6; Tomović, 'Vojinovići', 356–359.

<sup>260</sup> Miloš Blagojević, 'Veliki knez i zemaljski knez', *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 41 (2004), 311.

Konavli, Dračevica, Trebinje, Sjenica,<sup>261</sup> and Zvečan.<sup>262</sup> The details of how most of these areas came under this lord's control remain unknown. Knez Vojislav died on 25 October 1363. He was interred in the Monastery of Saint Nicholas in Banja. The epitaph on the gravestone on the floor of the monastery's naos reveals that Vojislav used the name *Stefan* and the title of *grand knez of all Serbian, Greek and coastal lands*.<sup>263</sup> The name and title were assumed from the Nemanjić dynasty, clearly revealing Vojislav Vojinović's political ambition.<sup>264</sup>

Knez Vojislav was succeeded by his wife Gojislava and their two young sons. As a widow, she lived in Konavli, and maintained good relations with Dubrovnik.<sup>265</sup> Yet, from 1366, Vojislav's nephew, the young and highly ambitious župan Nikola Altomanović (son of Altoman), lord of Rudnik, began to assert himself. Conflict between them soon followed. Nikola defeated Gojislava, and brought all the lands from Rudnik to Dubrovnik under his rule by November 1368.<sup>266</sup> He quickly proceeded to occupy Piva, Popovo and Budimlja,<sup>267</sup> establishing himself as the most powerful regional lord in Serbia within a short period.

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<sup>261</sup> Srejšević et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 578; Mihaljčić, *Kraj Srpskog carstva I*, 42–43; Tomović, 'Vojinovići', 361.

<sup>262</sup> On 15 July 1363, Emperor Uroš issued a charter detailing the exchange of the župa of Zvečan for the town and župa of Brvenik between Knez Vojislav and čelnik Musa. The exchange, initiated by Knez Vojislav, allowed him to consolidate his holdings. Marko Šuica, 'Povelja cara Uroša o zameni poseda između kneza Vojislava i čelnika Muse', *Stari srpski arhiv* 2 (2003), 143–166.

<sup>263</sup> Šakota, 'Prilozi', 43–44; Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilčkih natpisa*, 74, No 58.

<sup>264</sup> Srejšević et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 582.

<sup>265</sup> Mihaljčić, *Kraj Srpskog carstva I*, 143; Tomović, 'Vojinovići', 360.

<sup>266</sup> Dinić, *O Nikoli Altomanoviću*, 7–10; Nikola was most probably joined by the forces of the feudal lord Miltenović (who rebelled against the Bosnian Ban Tvrtko) in the attack against Gojislava. Mihaljčić, *Kraj Srpskog carstva I*, 141–146.

<sup>267</sup> Tomović, 'Vojinovići', 362.

Nikola intended to create a state that would incorporate not only Rascia and Travunia, but also other core Serbian lands, which set him in opposition to other regional lords. A tripartite alliance was formed between Nikola I Garai (Hungarian lord), Serbian Knez Lazar and Bosnian Ban Tvrtko I. Their forces invaded the lands of Nikola Altomanović in 1373. We learn of these conflicts primarily from Mavro Orbini, a Dubrovnikan chronicler, in his work *Kingdom of the Slavs*. According to his account, Nikola withdrew to his fortress of Užice, where he was imprisoned and blinded.<sup>268</sup> This marked the end of his political career, as he lost all the territories under his rule.<sup>269</sup>

Župan Nikola's loss of political relevance had major, far-reaching implications in Upper Podrinje and the Serbian state as a whole. The largest Serbian feudal territory was divided among the victors. Knez Lazar and Ban Tvrtko, along with the Lords of Zeta, the Balšićs, split a substantial portion of župan Nikola's lands. The Bosnian ban acquired the entire Land of Drina, Lower Polimlje (the Lim Valley), part of Middle Polimlje including the Monastery Mileševa and the town of Prijepolje, Gacko, the middle courses of the Piva and Tara rivers, and the Čehotina and Rzav valleys. The acquisition of a significant portion of the old Nemanjić lands was of immense political and economic importance for the further development of the Bosnian state.<sup>270</sup>

<sup>268</sup> Dinić, *O Nikoli Altomanoviću*, 25–27; Mavro Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slovena* (Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 1968), 122–123; Mihaljčić, *Kraj Srpskog carstva I*, 246–249; Bogdanović, et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda II*, 26; Marko Šuica, *Nemirno doba srpskog srednjeg veka. Vlastela srpskih oblasnih gospodara* (Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 2000), 82–84 (vlastela župana Nikole Altomanovića, Obrad Zorka); Blagojević, *Srpska državnost*, 284.

<sup>269</sup> The blinded župan Nikola was most likely allowed to retain a small area to govern. A Dubrovnikan source from 1395 mentioned Nikola in relation to trade with Dubrovnikan merchants. After his political downfall, he led a quiet life until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Dinić, *O Nikoli Altomanoviću*, 29–31.

<sup>270</sup> Ćirković, *Istorija*, 135; Dinić, *Srpske zemlje*, 68; Šalipurović, 'Neka pitanja granice', 196; Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 44.

In 1377, Bosnian Ban Tvrtko I seized the coastal župas of Trebinje, Konavli and Dračevica, and possibly even Slansko Primorje, from the Balšićs.<sup>271</sup> Though Tvrtko became master of a major part of former Nemanjić lands, the idea of a unified state persisted. In one of his charters, Đurađ I Balšić noted the possibility for someone to be emperor of Serbia and its feudal lords. Bosnian Ban Tvrtko was in the best position to restore the Serbian state, as he ruled over a unified territory and belonged to the esteemed Kotromanić family. His legal claim was rooted in his kinship with the Nemanjićs: his grandfather Stjepan married Jelisaveta, daughter of King Dragutin (1276–1282) in 1284.<sup>272</sup> Tvrtko's coronation as king was recorded in the arenga of the charter for the Dubrovnikans of 10 April 1378, written in the halls of Trstivnica by logothete Vladoja from Rascia. The coronation took place on 26 October 1377. Tvrtko declared himself King of Serbia, Bosnia, Primorje and Zapadne Strane (*Western lands*). Most researchers accept Mavro Orbini's account that Tvrtko's coronation occurred in Mileševa.<sup>273</sup> However, some scholars believe Orbini may have been mistaken, suggesting that Tvrtko was actually crowned at the assembly in Mile, near the town of Visoko.<sup>274</sup> More recently, an opinion has emerged that the location could have been Mileševka near Trebinje.<sup>275</sup> The

<sup>271</sup> Bogdanović, et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda II*, 26.

<sup>272</sup> Jireček, *Istorija Srba I*, 320; Ćirković, *Istorija*, 75, 136.

<sup>273</sup> See: Nikola Radojčić, *Obred krunisanja bosanskoga kralja Tvrtka I: prilog istoriji krunisanja srpskih vladara u srednjem veku* (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1948), 79–82; Bogdanović, et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda II*, 7; Sima Ćirković, 'Sugubi venac', in Vlastimir Đokić, ed., *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici* (Beograd: Equilibrium, 1997), 277–305; Sima Ćirković, 'Mileševa i Bosna', in Vojislav J. Đurić, ed., *Mileševa u istoriji srpskog naroda* (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1987), 136–147; Blagojević, *Srpska državnost*, 291–292.

<sup>274</sup> Đuro Basler, 'Proglašenje Bosne kraljevinom 1377. godine', *Prilozi* 11–12 (1975–1976), 49–63.

<sup>275</sup> Živojin Andrejić, 'O krunisanju sugubim vencem bosanskog kralja Tvrtka I Kotromanića', *Tribunia* 12 (2009), 188–193.



Mileševa Monastery was located in Tvrtko's territory. It was held in high esteem because of the cult of St. Sava. Tvrtko was crowned in the Orthodox Christian fashion. His crown, a double wreath, symbolizes the territories of Serbia and Bosnia under his rule. The title of his coronation first proclaimed him king of Serbia, followed by king of Bosnia. The extent of Serbian lands he inherited and conquered justified his coronation in the eyes of his contemporaries.<sup>276</sup>

By assuming the title of king, Tvrtko adopted the name Stefan to accentuate the connection between his state and the Nemanjić dynasty. All of his successors who ruled Bosnia would also bear the ruler's name of Stefan. Tvrtko adopted the titles and dignities of the Nemanjić royal court. Dubrovnikans recognized him as the successor to the Serbian rulers and agreed to pay the Saint Demetrius tax, a fee of 2,000 perperas which they began paying to the Bosnian kings from 1377. The Hungarian king and Republic of Dubrovnik recognized his title. Despite these recognitions, he did not garner the support of the Serbian Church, which deliberately overlooked him as the king of Serbia and Bosnia. Even with the strength of his state, Tvrtko failed to restore the Serbian state to its former borders. By the end of the Bosnian state, only the Serbian name in the title of Bosnian kings remained.<sup>277</sup>

In the 1380s, the Ottomans intensified their advances into the Balkans. In 1388, the Ottoman army surged into Bosnia, instilling fear and panic with its overwhelming power. It is reported that Ottoman commander Shahin launched an attack on King Tvrtko's lands on the suggestion of Đurađ II Balšić. Ottoman forces reached as far as Bileća, where Duke Vlatko Vuković, supreme commander of the Bosnian army, was waiting

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<sup>276</sup> Ćirković, 'Sugubi venac', 278–282.

<sup>277</sup> Ćirković, 'Sugubi venac', 278–282.

for them. The Turks were defeated in the Battle of Bileća on 27 August 1388, and Shahin fled.<sup>278</sup>

Following these defeats, the Ottoman Sultan Murad I decided to finally reckon with Knez Lazar and King Tvrtko. The decisive battle took place on 15 June 1389 on the Kosovo Field. The main Serbian force was led by Knez Lazar, who mobilized the most soldiers. He managed to win the support of most of the nobility for the war against the Turks. Vuk Branković joined the knez with a unit from his lands.<sup>279</sup> Seeing himself as the restorer of the Serbian state, King Tvrtko committed to protecting the lands of “his forebears, the Serbian lords”. He sent his forces under the command of the distinguished Duke Vlatko Vuković. His army included feudal lords from the Land of Drina.<sup>280</sup> In the Battle of Kosovo, Knez Lazar, Sultan Murad, and his son Yakub lost their lives, while Vuk Branković and Vlatko Vuković survived. Looking at the battle from a purely military perspective, one would call the outcome a “draw”.<sup>281</sup> Upon seeing the sultan’s demise and the Ottomans’ retreat, Duke Vlatko projected an image of the Serbs’ victory. He informed King Tvrtko of this, which constituted the basis of

<sup>278</sup> Vladimir Ćorović, *Historija Bosne* (Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1940), 324–325; Ćirković, *Istorija*, 157–158; Đuro Tošić, ‘Rodonačelnik plemena Kosača–vojvoda Vlatko Vuković’, in Radoslav Bratić, ed., *Kosače – osnivači Hercegovine* (Bileća, Gacko, Beograd: Prosvjeta, Fond “Vladimir i Svetozar Ćorović”, 2002), 247. M. Orbini stated that before the Battle of Bileća, the Ottomans were defeated by Tvrtko’s captains Vlatko Vuković and Radič Stanković at Rudine. Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slovena*, 190.

<sup>279</sup> Bogdanović, et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda II*, 43; Miloš Blagojević, ‘O izdaji i neveri Vuka Brankovića’, *Zbornik Matice srpske za istoriju* 79–80 (2009), 27–28.

<sup>280</sup> Ćirković, *Istorija*, 159–160; Historical sources confirm that a part of the Bosnian nobility died in battle, while others were enslaved, such as Vlač and Stjepan from the Zlatonosović family from Podrinje. Tošić, ‘Rodonačelnik plemena Kosača’, 248–249; Blagojević, ‘Podrinje’, 45; For more on the Zlatonosović family, see: Jelena Mrgić, *Severna Bosna (13–16. vek)* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2008), 93–95, 102, 119.

<sup>281</sup> Blagojević, *Srpska državnost*, 311.

Tvrtko's letters to his neighbours, boasting of their side's victory. However, the consequences of the Battle of Kosovo for Knez Lazar's lands were catastrophic, while the Ottoman grip was steadily closing in on Tvrtko's territory.<sup>282</sup>

### **IV.3. The Land of Drina under Kosača Rule – Ottoman Conquest**

The sudden death of Bosnian King Tvrtko in March 1391 brought about major shifts in Bosnia. King Dabiša (1391–1395) succeeded Tvrtko, but was king of Serbia in title only: during his reign, the Bosnian state showed signs of decline, seen predominantly in the rising independence of feudal lords.<sup>283</sup> One of the most prominent lords in the hierarchy was the Bosnian Duke Vlatko Vuković, who continued to hold confidence in Dabiša's court as well. He was the first well-known member of the Kosača family. It is established that he held the Land of Drina.<sup>284</sup> For his loyal service, King Tvrtko awarded him territories around the southeast borders of the Bosnian state, which used to belong to Nikola Altomanović. Thus, the possessions of Vlatko Vuković came to include Lower Polimlje and a part of Middle Polimlje with the Monastery Mileševa and Prijepolje.<sup>285</sup> In the Land of Hum, the Sanković brothers acted independently of King Dabiša, selling the entirety of Konavli and the Soko fortress to the Dubrovnikans in April 1391. Although the Bosnian king and state assembly responded sluggishly, their reaction was fiercely decisive. Duke Vlatko and Knez Pavle Radenović invaded Konavli in December 1391 and expelled the

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<sup>282</sup> Đuro Tošić, 'Bosna i Turci od Kosovske do Angorske bitke', *Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine* 1 (1995), 87; Tošić, 'Rodonačelnik plemena Kosača', 249.

<sup>283</sup> Ćirković, *Istorija*, 169–171.

<sup>284</sup> Tošić, 'Rodonačelnik plemena Kosača', 243, 253.

<sup>285</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 37–42.

Sankovićs. Instead of returning the župa to Dabiša, they divided it among themselves.<sup>286</sup> Duke Vlatko acquired the eastern half of Konavli and the župa of Dračevica, thereby expanding his territory and integrating it with the Land of Drina.<sup>287</sup>

However, Duke Vlatko was not destined for more independent action and new successes; in early 1392 he fell gravely ill and died before 6 March 1393.<sup>288</sup> Duke Vlatko was succeeded by his nephew, Sandalj Hranić, who was first mentioned on 15 April 1392 as a witness in the charter of Bosnian King Stjepan Dabiša to Duke Hrvoje. The sources in the Dubrovnik Archive refer to him in October 1393.<sup>289</sup> The origin of the Kosača family, including notable members such as Vlatko and Sandalj, is traced to Upper Podrinje, specifically the village of Kosače near Ilovača, approximately 12 km southwest of Goražde. This village, situated in the area of the Osanica, a left tributary of the Drina, still exists today.<sup>290</sup> The first Dubrovnican source concerning the Kosačas is related to Goražde (*in Gorasde ad forum vlachi de Cosača*, 1 May 1379).<sup>291</sup> This supports the claim that their place of origin was Kosače near Goražde.<sup>292</sup>

King Dabiša died in 1395, and was succeeded by his wife, Queen Dowager Jelena (1395–1398).<sup>293</sup> The queen's weakness in relation to feudal lords was already apparent at the time of her accession. At this time, three major Bosnian lords rose in power: Hrvoje Vukčić, Sandalj Hranić and Pavle Radenović.

<sup>286</sup> Mišić, *Humska zemlja*, 73–74.

<sup>287</sup> Blagojević, 'Podrinje', 53; Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 42.

<sup>288</sup> Tošić, 'Rodonačelnik plemena Kosača', 253–254.

<sup>289</sup> For more details about the first mentions of Sandalj Hranić in historical sources, see: Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 20–28.

<sup>290</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 29–30.

<sup>291</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 182.

<sup>292</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 31.

<sup>293</sup> Ćorović, *Historija Bosne*, 353.

The queen relied on them as advisors to support her rule.<sup>294</sup> Due to their power and influence on the state leadership of Bosnia (*rusag of Bosnia*), these lords called themselves *the lords of rusag*. It was remarked that Bosnian feudal lords “never stopped seeing their areas as part of the Bosnian state. Even when they openly opposed the king, they considered themselves part of the Bosnian rusag and listed their rusag titles in their charters.”<sup>295</sup>

Sandalj inherited the title of duke and his extensive possessions from his uncle Vlatko Vuković, positioning him among the principal feudal lords from the outset. By inheriting a part of Polimlje, he came into contact with the Turks via a border territory previously held by Vuk Branković. It is likely that he actively participated in the resistance against the Ottomans. Duke Sandalj had two younger brothers, Vuk and Vukac, both bearing the title of knez and owning territories in the Land of Drina. Vukac held the territory of Tjentište,<sup>296</sup> while Vuk controlled Jeleč and the market place of Gvoza (*mercatum Gobsa*) on the eponymous river, a right tributary of the Bistrica.<sup>297</sup> After Vuk’s passing in 1424, it is reliably recorded that the Jeleč area was inherited by Vukac, as confirmed by a document dated 10 November 1427 that refers to the subjects of Vukac, described as *dicti Vuchote de Podielaz homines comitis Volchaç Cranich*.<sup>298</sup>

Sandalj’s most significant vassals included several noble families, among which the Vardić family was particularly prominent, holding territories in the Land of Drina.<sup>299</sup> In the first

<sup>294</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 82.

<sup>295</sup> For more details about the *lords of rusag*, see: Sima Ćirković, ‘Rusaška gospoda’, in Vlastimir Đokić, ed., *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici* (Beograd: Equilibrium, 1997), 306–312.

<sup>296</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 57–63, 80.

<sup>297</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 187–188.

<sup>298</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 57.

<sup>299</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 262, 341, 379, 411.

half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the title of knez (*prince*), as holder of local authority, existed in Hoča, Goražde, Ustikolina, Sutjeska, Soko and Tjentište. Knezes were appointed from the ranks of the Kosača family.<sup>300</sup> In the Land of Drina, the most noteworthy towns with military and residential functions were Soko, in the land between the Piva and Tara rivers, and Samobor in Pribud, to the east of Goražde. The former of the two was used as a territorial honorific – Stefan Vukčić was named “of Soko” after it.<sup>301</sup>

In the 1410s, regional lords came into conflict. The most powerful lord in Bosnia, Hrvoje Vukčić, launched an attack on Sandalj’s lands in 1413. This prompted King Sigismund to outlaw Hrvoje and command both Hungarian lords and Sandalj to launch an attack against him. Threatened from all sides, Hrvoje looked to the Ottomans for aid. In the summer of 1414, they carried out a major incursion into Bosnia, leading to prolonged conflicts and new political divisions. Sandalj’s territory was not spared – by early June 1414, he had been driven back. Turkish raids persisted into early April 1415, led by Shah Melek.<sup>302</sup> At this time, it is likely that Sandalj paid the Ottomans to secure the freedom to govern his lands.<sup>303</sup> Some also believe that the Ottomans stayed in Hoča and Čajniče for an extended period in 1415.<sup>304</sup>

<sup>300</sup> For more details about the knezes, see: Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, ‘O knezovima u gradskim naseljima srednjovjekovne Bosne’, in Tibor Živković, ed., *Gradski život u Srbiji i Bosni (XIV i XV vijek)* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2007), 277–291.

<sup>301</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 182–183, 195; Blagojević, ‘Podrinje’, 57.

<sup>302</sup> For more details, see: Ćirković, *Istorija*, 240–242; Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 199–204; Neven Isailović, Aleksandar Jakovljević, ‘Šah Melek (prilog istoriji turskih upada u Bosnu 1414. i 1415. godine)’, in Srđan Rudić, ed., *Spomenica akademika Sime Ćirkovića* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2011), 441–462.

<sup>303</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 206.

<sup>304</sup> Safvet-beg Bašić-Redžepagić, *Kratka uputa u prošlost Bosne i Hercegovine (od g. 1463. – 1850.)* (Sarajevo: Vlastita naklada, 1900), 8.

In August 1415, King Ostoja and Duke Sandalj orchestrated a conspiracy against Knez Pavle Radenović. During the *stanak* (assembly) the king and feudal lords held in Sutjeska, Sandalj and Pavle exchanged accusations of treason. According to an eyewitness account by Dubrovnik emissary Ivan Gundulić, Knez Pavle was captured and executed under false pretences near a place called Parina Poljana in the vicinity of Sutjeska in late August 1415.<sup>305</sup> Hrvoje Vukčić died the following year, leaving Duke Sandalj Hranić as the strongest regional lord in Bosnia.<sup>306</sup>

This time, the Pavlović family requested Ottoman assistance. Together with the Turks, they attacked Sandalj's lands in 1416 and 1417, ultimately conquering Konavli with their help. In 1418, Sandalj acceded to cooperation with the Ottomans, and made peace with the Pavlovićs, facilitated by their mediation. He then became a vassal of both King Sigismund and the Ottoman sultan. The conclusion of the fight between the Kosačas and Pavlovićs ended a long-running period of military strife among Bosnia's feudal lords, setting the stage for a period of relative peace.<sup>307</sup>

Duke Sandalj passed away in March 1435.<sup>308</sup> He was buried in the Church of St. Stefan at Šćepan Polje, which he had built.<sup>309</sup> Sandalj was succeeded by his nephew Stefan Vukčić, son of Knez Vukac Hranić, who received and governed

<sup>305</sup> Ćorović, *Historija Bosne*, 417; Đuro Tošić, 'Pismo dubrovačkog poslanika Ivana Gundulića o smrti kneza Pavla Radenovića', in Milan Vasić, ed., *Zemlja Pavlovića—srednji vijek i period turske vladavine* (Banja Luka: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Republike Srpske, 2003), 357–366; Boris Nilević, 'Poslednji Pavlovići – Bosna sredinom XV stoljeća', *Historijska traganja* 5 (2010), 13–14.

<sup>306</sup> Ćorović, *Historija Bosne*, 418–419.

<sup>307</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 214–217.

<sup>308</sup> Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 10; Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 329–331.

<sup>309</sup> Popović, 'Soko grad', 21–23.

the Jeleč estate after the death of his father in 1432.<sup>310</sup> Stefan Vukčić's inheritance included not only vast territories and complex alliances, but also adversaries eager to take advantage of Sandalj's death. As a result, he was soon faced with attacks by King Sigismund and Radoslav Pavlović. This time it was Stefan who asked the Ottomans for help in defending his domain. The war between Radoslav and Stefan continued, with interruptions, until 1439. In the beginning, Radoslav enjoyed greater success – there are reliable sources that Jeleč town in the Land of Drina came into his possession. After initial setbacks, Duke Stefan recaptured Jeleč in early 1438 (*Radencho Obiacich loqual fo de Bossina de sotto Jellez et fo homo de Radossavo Paulovich. Et adesso quello paixe sie de Stipan Vocçich*, 4 May 1438) and won Trebinje from Pavlovićs, which he eventually had to relinquish. By June 1439, peace was reached with the Pavlovićs, and the renewal of the marriage between Radoslav and Stefan's sister Teodora was arranged.<sup>311</sup> Serbian Despot Đurađ Branković took advantage of the commotion: an agreement signed between Vlachs and Dubrovnikan merchants on 26 July 1435 states that their destination was *usque Pripoglie districtum Sclavonie*. Still, it seems that Prijepolje was part of the Despotate for only a short while.<sup>312</sup> By mid-1439, Stefan managed to restore his uncle's legacy, and Kosačas' enemies realized they were facing a decisive, energetic heir of Duke Sandalj. During this time, the Ottomans spent a few years in Hoča. Dubrovnikan sources inform us that in April 1443 the Turks plundered several merchants. They targeted another Dubrovnikan merchant a year later, before being forced to leave Hoča in 1444.<sup>313</sup>

<sup>310</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 59.

<sup>311</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 194; Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 8–39.

<sup>312</sup> Ćuk, 'Kosače i Polimlje', 383.

<sup>313</sup> Hrabak, *Foča*, 20–21.



The death of King Tvrtko II in the autumn of 1443 was followed by a period of extreme hostilities between the new king, Stefan Tomaš, and Duke Stefan Vukčić, who further deepened his links with the Ottomans. King Tomaš allied himself to Ivaniš Pavlović in Bosnia, as well as with Venice, the most natural ally, being itself at war with the Kosačas. The Venetians expelled the duke from Lower Zeta, and King Tomaš and Duke Ivaniš were joined by Duke Sladoje Semković and the Radivojević family. In early January 1444, the coalition made great gains against Duke Stefan. The allies managed to push him back to the Neretva Valley, and in February 1444 gained control of Drijeva.<sup>314</sup> In such a difficult situation, Stefan Vukčić was compelled to seek an ally and protector elsewhere. He turned to Alfonso V, King of Aragon and Naples, seeking his support with the Holy Roman emperor and Christian rulers, and offered to become his vassal. King Alfonso agreed to advocate for the restoration of Stefan's lands with Emperor Frederick III, Venice, and Bosnian King Tvrtko. The most significant document resulting from these negotiations is the charter issued in Naples (*Castelnuovo*) on 19 February 1444, by which Alfonso V recognized all listed possessions of Duke Stefan, and accepted him as *suo vero et bono recommendato*, while Stefan recognized the king of Aragon as his "older" brother, protector and defender. Frederick III did the same in another charter issued in 1448. On 1 June 1454, Alfonso V issued a new charter with content similar as the 1444 charter. These charters are a supreme source of information on Stefan Vukčić's possessions. They listed his fortifications (*castra*), and in most cases provided the names of

<sup>314</sup> Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 71–75; Midhat Spahić, 'Odnosi hercega Stjepana Vukčića Kosače i kralja Stjepana Tomaša', in Munib Maglajić, ed., *Zbornik radova: naučni skup herceg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača i njegovo doba* (Mostar: Bošnjačka zajednica Kulture 'Preporod', Gradsko društvo Mostar, 2005), 78.

the associated župas. Many fortified towns listed in the charters are located in the Land of Drina. Numerous new castles were built in response to the collapse of central authority and the rising Ottoman threat, while existing ones were renewed. Most castles were strategically positioned above the upper course of the Drina, while others overlooked the approaches through the canyons of smaller rivers feeding into the Drina.<sup>315</sup>

Rapprochement was reached in the spring of 1446, strengthened by the marriage between King Tomaš and Katalina, daughter of Stefan Vukčić. This event was obviously driven by mutual interest, with both lords welcoming a period of peace and stability in Bosnia.<sup>316</sup> Calm and unity, however, lasted only two years. The strained relations between King Tomaš and Despot Đurađ over Srebrenica sparked new conflicts. Duke Stefan abandoned the king and sided with the despot. In mid-September 1448, Thomas Kantakouzenos, Despot Đurađ's brother-in-law, invaded Bosnia at the head of the Serbian army and defeated the Bosnian forces. Serbs conquered Srebrenica, as well as Višegrad and its surroundings. In this conflict, the despot was aided by the units of Stefan Vukčić, waging war against his son-in-law.<sup>317</sup>

Having parted ways with the king, Stefan had reason to formally declare his position in the Bosnian state, by taking the title of herceg in the first half of October 1448. This title was held in high regard throughout Europe, and was considered second in rank only to the king. Stefan Vukčić declared himself herceg and began using the title: *Stipan, by God's mercy the*

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<sup>315</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 178–251; Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 75–77; Vego, 'Tri povelje', 452–486 (with facsimiles of the 1444 and 1448 charters); Ćuk, 'Kosače i Polimlje', 383; Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 13.

<sup>316</sup> Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 92–93; Spahić, 'Odnosi hercega Stjepana', 79.

<sup>317</sup> Veselinović, 'Granica', 98–99.

*Herceg of Hum and Primorje, Grand Duke of the Bosnian Rusag, and Knez of Drina*. This appellation expressed the independence of Stefan Vukčić, and established the unique title of *Herceg of St. Sava* (*duh Sancti Sabbae*). This form of address refers to him as the *Lord of Hum and Primorje* first, and *Knez of Drina* second. The title informed his contemporaries of the areas comprising his territory. It also placed special emphasis on the cult of St. Sava, underscoring, through reference to Monastery Mileševa (where Sava's relics lay), the link between his lands and the old Serbian state and the Nemanjić dynasty. Stefan Vukčić associated his state in particular with the Land of Hum. Not only was Hum a prominent region in Kosača lands, but there was an additional reason to link the title of *herceg* to it – in 1190 and 1191, Hum was governed by none other than St. Sava himself, known then as Rastko Nemanjić, Prince and Lord of Hum. The territorial identifier *Prince of Drina* referred to Kosača family holdings in Upper Podrinje. This reveals that the idea of the Land of Drina persisted until the arrival of the Ottomans in 1465. The title *Herceg of St. Sava* depicted Sava, the Serbian saint, as the patron of the Kosačas and their domain. The herceg's lands would come to be called Herzegovina, a name that would endure to this day.<sup>318</sup>

In late June 1451, following a series of disagreements, war broke out between Herceg Stefan and Dubrovnik.<sup>319</sup> Dubrovnians garnered the support of all influential rulers, including even the herceg's wife and his son Vladislav. On

<sup>318</sup> Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 106–108; Ćirković, 'Mileševa i Bosna', 176–177; Mišić, *Humska zemlja*, 93–94; Mihaljčić, 'Idejna podloga titule herceg', 308–335 (the paper states all the titles); Siniša Mišić, 'Kosače – gospođa humska', in Radoslav Bratić, ed., *Kosače – osnivači Hercegovine* (Bileća, Gacko, Beograd: Prosvjeta, Fond "Vladimir i Svetožar Ćorović", 2002), 342–348.

<sup>319</sup> Dubravko Lovrenović, *Na klizištu povijesti (sveta kruna ugarska i sveta krana bosanska) 1387–1463* (Zagreb, Sarajevo: Synopsis, 2006), 304–308.

15 August 1451, Vladislav issued a charter of alliance with Dubrovnik against the herceg in Drinaljevo. In late March 1452, he entered open war against his father. On the very first day, Vladislav won Blagaj, Tođevac, Vratar in Sutjeska and two towns on the Neretva, and soon also conquered Vjenačac in Nevesinje, Imotski, Kruševac and Novi in Luka. In late 1452, the herceg received Ottoman assistance and started launching his own attacks. The coalition against Stefan disintegrated as its members could not agree on the division of the occupied territories. In April 1453, Vladislav and the herceg made peace.<sup>320</sup>

In June 1459, the Ottomans captured Smederevo, formally bringing the Serbian Despotate to an end.<sup>321</sup> Their next target was Bosnia, including the Kosača territories, which lay in their westward path. In 1459 and 1460, the Turks ravaged Bosnia; Kosača lands did not escape their raids. On 18 November 1459, the Ottomans set fire to the Mileševa Monastery, amid a campaign to harrying all lands up to the border with Dubrovnik.<sup>322</sup> The herceg realized then that the Ottomans posed the greatest immediate threat, and would continue opposing them to the end of his days. He did not reconcile with King Tomaš until late 1461. However, his son Vladislav rebelled once more, asking for his share of the territory from the Porte as well. In early 1463, the Turks prepared for a large-scale invasion led by Sultan Mehmed II. The army moved through Skopje, Kosovo and Sjenica, descending upon the Drina in the regions of the Pavlović and Kovačević families and occupying them. During this conquest, the Ottomans invaded almost the entire territory of Bosnia. The sultan's conquest impacted the herceg's

<sup>320</sup> Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 154–176.

<sup>321</sup> Veselinović, *Država*, 99–109.

<sup>322</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 36; S. Ćirković, *Istorija*, 321–323.

land less severely than it did Bosnia. The Land of Drina was assailed in early 1463, when the Turks defeated Herceg Stefan on the Breznica River, close to the present-day town of Pljevlja. In the autumn of 1463, the herceg gave a third of his territory to his son Vladislav. Stefan retained the Land of Drina, Lower Polimlje and Prijepolje with the Mileševa Monastery.<sup>323</sup>

In early 1465, as the relations between father and son soured yet again, the defensive power of Herceg Stefan weakened. Recognizing the threat to his towns in Polimlje and Upper Podrinje, Stefan reached an agreement with Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus. The forts of Mileševski Soko, Tođevac and Samobor would be manned by Hungarian garrisons, with their upkeep covered by Matthias Corvinus. In return, Stefan would receive possessions in Hungary. The implementation of the agreement was entrusted to Imre Szapolyai and Jan Vitovec, who were required to man the towns in question with 15,000 soldiers, while King Matthias would prevent the Ottoman invasion of Bosnia from Belgrade. However, the plan did not materialize. In the early summer of 1465, the sultan's commander Isa Bey Ishaković outpaced them and launched an attack on the herceg's lands. In their conquests, the Ottomans paid no heed to whose territories they were taking – Stefan's or Vladislav's.<sup>324</sup> In the Land of Drina, they gained Samobor and Prilep,<sup>325</sup> while Soko town held out for a time. In January 1466, Hungarian commanders John Rozgonyi and John Zagorskyi

<sup>323</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 38–39; Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 238–261; Ćirković, *Istorija*, 323–333.

<sup>324</sup> Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 262–263; Atanasovski, *Pad Hercegovine*, 12–13; Ema Miljković-Bojanić, 'Kraj vladavine Kosača i prve godine osmanske vlasti u Hercegovini', in Radoslav Bratić, ed., *Kosače-osnivači Hercegovine* (Bileća, Gacko, Beograd: Prosvjeta, Fond "Vladimir i Svetožar Ćorović", 2002), 390–391.

<sup>325</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 44; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 260; Atanasovski, *Pad Hercegovine*, 13.

were promising the Dubrovnikans that they would send aid to Soko, which was still putting up resistance to the Ottomans. The fall of Soko surely ensued after January 1466.<sup>326</sup> A complaint from early December 1466 mentioned Matija Domišić from Drina, the town of Samobor, under the jurisdiction of Herceg Vlatko. This suggests the possibility that Herceg Vlatko won Samobor and held it for a short period.<sup>327</sup> However, by the end of 1466, the entire Land of Drina was definitively in Ottoman hands.

The Collective Defter of the Bosnian *Sanjak* of 1468/69 informs us of instances where towns in the Land of Drina were surrendered to the Ottomans. The defter states that Knez Radoje Zubčić ceded the fortress of Soko, and was in turn awarded villages in the *nahiyes* of Goražde, Soko and Nevesinje by the Porte. The census also notes that Isa Balija was among those who surrendered the Samobor stronghold and converted to Islam, for which he was granted a *timar* in the Samobor *nahiye*. His name before the conversion is not mentioned.<sup>328</sup> The Ottomans occupied most of the herceg's lands and drove him back to a narrow strip around Novi and the mouth of the Neretva. Wearied by war, Herceg Stefan passed away on 22 May 1466.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> *per ipsorum annuali censu more alias consueto obligamur ad castra sue serenitatis, puta: Pochytel, Zokol et Clwcz et victualia necessaria pro susten-tatione gencium in eiusdem castris per nos construendis fecimus comparare* (12 January 1466). Radonić, *Dubrovačka akta i povelje* I/2, 670–671; Ata-nasovski, *Pad Hercegovine*, 114–115.

<sup>327</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, 'Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja', 125.

<sup>328</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 114, 125.

<sup>329</sup> Ćirković, *Herceg Stefan Vukčić*, 263–267; On 21 May 1466, one day before his death, Herceg Stefan drafted his will, which he dictated to the Metropoli-tan of Mileševa, David, in the presence of gost Radin and treasurer Pribislav Vukotić. For more details, see: Atanasije Jevtić, 'O hercegu Stefanu Kosači (1435–1466) i njegovom testamentu', in Gordana Tomović, ed., *Šćepan Polje i njegove svetinje kroz vjekove: zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa* (Berane: Svevide, 2010), 143–149.

After conquering the territories of the Bosnian king, the Kovačević family, and parts of Herceg Stefan's lands, the Ottomans transformed them into *vilayets*, which they joined to the earlier *vilayets* in the Branković lands and in Bosnia, and established the *Sanjak of Bosnia* from those territories. They kept the old toponyms for the census-taking and administrative purposes. The area governed by Herceg Stefan and his sons was called *Vilayet Hersek*. In administrative terms, *Vilayet Hersek*, or the Herceg's Land, was divided into two *kadiluks*: Drina and Blagaj. The Drina *kadiluk* consisted of the *nahiyes* of Mileševa, Samobor and Bohorić. The seat of the Drina kadi was in Hoča. The *kadiluk* of Blagaj consisted of Hoča, Goražde, Bistrica, Zagorje, Osanica, Točevac, Soko and Kukanj. Its seat was the town of Blagaj in Hum.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 114–143; Hatidža Čar–Drnda, 'Oblast hercega Stjepana Kosače prema podacima popisa iz 1468/69.', in Munib Maglajić, ed., *Zbornik radova: naučni skup herceg Stjepan Vukčić Kosača i njegovo doba* (Mostar: Bošnjačka zajednica Kulture 'Preporod', Gradsko društvo Mostar, 2005), 61–66.

## V. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

### V.1. Crop Cultivation

As in all places, nature dictated human activity here as well. Still, man did his best to subdue nature and shape it to his needs, to varying degrees of success, which certainly depended on social circumstances as well. Prominent features of the terrain in Upper Podrinje include the Drina valley and the mountains that encircle it. Besides tall mountains, the region is characterized by a series of low, hilly regions and small plains. Narrow valleys with expanded sections stretch along both banks of the Drina, filled with meadows, pastures and forests, as well as vales and depressions favourable for agriculture. The configuration of the terrain, its geographical and climatic conditions pushed crop cultivation and animal husbandry to the forefront of the medieval economy.

In terms of land utilization, we assume that the agrarian system in this area was similar to those in many parts of medieval Bosnia. Essentially, after a field was used for two or more years, it would be fallowed until its nutrients naturally recovered. Commonly, a third of the land would be fallowing while two-thirds were planted. This practice is known as the three-field system, where one section is left fallow and two are cultivated. A multi-field system was also used. Land was tilled by ox-drawn ploughs.<sup>331</sup>

The fertile valley of the upper Drina exported grains to Dubrovnik. For example, in September 1383, Dubrovnican authorities granted Tripo de Bista permission to transport wheat and other cereals from Goražde to Slano in Dubrovnik

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<sup>331</sup> Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 237–241.



territory, from where he could ship them by water to his desired destination. A contract dated 17 November 1473 stated that Stjepan Sirinić from Goražde would deliver 300 loads of wheat to Dubrovnik.<sup>332</sup>

In the collective defter of the Bosnian *Sanjak* of 1468/69, the institution of “feudal reserve” was incorporated in the *timar* system, known as *hassa* land. Some of the holders of these old *baştinas* were Christians, such as Vuk and Radivoj Oprašić in the Soko *nahiye*.<sup>333</sup> The individual defter of the Herzegovina *Sanjak* of 1475/77 gives us an insight into the crop production in this area. Thanks to the defter, we know the types of agricultural crops that were planted. The individual defter listed the tithe for all cereals, which the residents would pay in kind. These figures were accompanied by their value in akçes.

The above defter reveals that the food crops planted in this area included barley, millet, rye, and vegetables. Cereals were sowed in fields of varying sizes. Barley, a crop related to wheat, was sowed as a winter and spring variety. It was usually consumed by the lower social strata. Tithe for barley was listed for almost all settlements in the Land of Drina. Millet is one of the oldest cereals cultivated in the Balkans. It was planted as a spring crop, with a short growing period of merely three months. In the Middle Ages, two types of millet were used: common millet (*millium*) and proso millet (*panicum*), which was of somewhat higher quality. Millet was grown in small quantities, though it was present in many settlements in the region. Production of millet flour required the grinding of grains. Regardless of whether it was ground, millet was cooked in water

<sup>332</sup> Mihailo Dinić, *Odluke veća Dubrovačke republike I* (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1951), 385; Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 33; Kovačević-Kojić, ‘Privredni razvoj’, 96.

<sup>333</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 117, 140–141, and throughout.

or milk before consumption, creating a kind of porridge that was considered a delicacy in those times.<sup>334</sup> Earlier cultivation of millet is indicated by the toponym Prosine (settlement in the vicinity of Foča).<sup>335</sup> Over the past two centuries, the production of this crop has waned. Rye, as a winter hardy crop, was sowed in autumn and harvested in summer. Very low amounts were actually planted compared to the other plants mentioned above.<sup>336</sup> Travel writers remarked on the fruitfulness of this area. In 1611, Lefevure described the mountain region between Foča and Ustikolina as fertile and rich in grains.<sup>337</sup>

Cereal cultivation required the construction of mills for grinding the grains into flour. Rivers and streams in Upper Podrinje generally had sufficient water in all seasons. Mills could be built on the Drina, Sutjeska, Čehotina and other smaller waters. The collective census of 1468/69 listed 18 *hassa* mills and 5 *hassa* dilapidated mills in this area.<sup>338</sup> Interestingly, in the mezra of Košara in the Goražde *nahiye*, 1 *hassa* millstone was registered.<sup>339</sup> This kind of watermill was most commonly used with small rivers and streams. Watermills harnessed hydropower: water from the river or stream was channelled through a dam and directed through a flume to a horizontal waterwheel. The wheel, connected to the millstone by a shaft, powered the millstone, which ground the grains falling onto it. Folk called this kind of watermill a *potočara* (*stream mill*).<sup>340</sup> The 1475/77 defter listed the most mills in the *nahiyes* of Samobor (56) and Soko (40), indicating high population density

<sup>334</sup> Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja*, 101–103, note 87.

<sup>335</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 118.

<sup>336</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, 'Privredni razvoj', 125.

<sup>337</sup> Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 156.

<sup>338</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*.

<sup>339</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 67.

<sup>340</sup> Mišić, *Korišćenje unutrašnjih voda*, 113–114.

and grain production. In the Samobor *nahiye*, there was one mill for every 14.83 houses, and in Soko, one for every 51.32 houses. The tax for watermills operating for half the year was 15 akçes, and for those that worked year-round – 30 akçes.<sup>341</sup>

Besides grains, farmers in Upper Podrinje grew legumes in their fields. Lentils were recorded only in the village of Dragočevo in the Soko *nahiye*, where a tithe of 20 akçes was paid to the Ottomans. Conversely, fava beans were a highly prominent legume in this area. Fava juice was believed to have medicinal properties and was used to treat certain diseases. In the defter, fava was not listed only in the *nahiye* of Todevac. Beans were grown in 24 settlements (revenue of 345 akçes). Multiple locations separately noted tithe for black beans.<sup>342</sup>

Flax was the primary industrial crop and was as crucial in the Middle Ages as cotton is today. Nearly all agricultural households produced a quantity of flaxen thread for their own purposes, which was used to weave linen, sheets, towels, and clothing. Flax threads were processed into thin fabrics. In medieval times, they were highly valued and traded alongside other products. In the Herzegovina *Sanjak* census of 1475/77, this crop was subject to tithe. In akçes, tax on flax equalled, by *nahiye*: Soko – 1,129, Samobor – 660, Osanica – 633, Bistrica – 439, and Goražde – 325.<sup>343</sup> Flax cultivation was certainly more developed prior to the ravages and conquest by the Ottomans. The cultivation of flax (*lan*) is reflected in the toponym Lanište.

One of the main agricultural tools was the hoe, used in agriculture from its very beginnings to this day. Other tools

<sup>341</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*; Olga Zirojević, 'Mlinovi u vreme turske vladavine (od XV do XVIII veka)', *Simpozijum „Seoski dani Sretena Vukosavljevića“* VI (1978), 153–161; Mišić, *Korišćenje unutrašnjih voda*, 113–128.

<sup>342</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*.

<sup>343</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*; Siniša Mišić, 'Gajenje i prerada lana i konoplje u Srbiji XIV–XVI veka', *Istorijski časopis XXXIX* (1994), 47–57.

included the pickaxe, scythe, sickle and billhook. The main carving and cutting tools were the knife and axe, which found applications in agriculture as well. Land surfaces were tilled with the ard and the plough. The ard has been used for cultivation for a long time, and was the main tool for this job in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The plough was introduced to the Land of Drina in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The only iron part of the ard was the ploughshare, while the plough also had a coulter. The plough was the most widely used tilling tool in the Middle Ages. It was primarily drawn by two oxen. In medieval times, metal ploughshares were often stolen due to a scarcity of iron, while wood was plentiful.

Some villages faced a shortage of arable land, prompting the farmers to expand their fields at the expense of forest vegetation. This is reflected in the names of the village of Krčevine (*clearing, deforesting*) in the Soko *nahiye*, and the field of Krčevine in the Goražde *nahiye*. Cultivated land obtained in this way was called *laz* or *lazina*.<sup>344</sup> Every farmer's house in the Land of Drina was accompanied by arable land for growing vegetables. These gardens were essential for the sustenance and survival of farming families. The main vegetables included: cabbage, red onion, garlic, *bostan*, leek, radish and peppers.<sup>345</sup> The extent of vegetable farming in this area is confirmed by the individual defter of 1475/77, which shows that almost all villages paid *bostan* tax. *Bostan* referred to not only watermelons and melons (for which the word is used today), but also various other vegetables. Tithe for red onion amounted to 11 akçes and for garlic – 20 akçes. Vegetable farming was crucial because

<sup>344</sup> Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja*, 79–83; Kovačević–Kojić, 'Privredni razvoj', 122–123; For the meaning of the word *laz*, see: Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 360–361.

<sup>345</sup> Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja*, 169–174; Srejskić et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 360.

it provided variety in the otherwise monotonous diet of the population.<sup>346</sup>

The climate in the region was conducive to fruit cultivation. Yet, people grew fruit just enough to meet their nutritional needs. Even so, it constituted an important component of the diet, as it was consumed on a daily basis from July to late October, helping to save bread. The most widely grown fruits were walnuts, cherries, pears, plums, apples, quinces, and others.<sup>347</sup> The collective census from 1468/69 recorded the following on *hassa* estates: *hassa* walnuts, *hassa* cherries, *hassa* pears, *hassa* apples and *hassa* plums.<sup>348</sup> Walnuts were the most widely grown, both for their easy maintenance and the durability of their fruit throughout the year. The 1475/77 defter recorded the highest fruit taxes in the villages of Zdobra (Osanica) – 72 akçe and Gornja Lušca (Samobor) – 52 akçe. Fruit farming was less developed than vegetable cultivation in the entire Herceg's Land. The designation *fruit* in the census does not clearly specify the fruit in question. For this reason, along with the fruit tax, the census separately included tithe for walnuts, cherries, pears and apples.<sup>349</sup>

Travel writers in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the early decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century remarked that Upper Podrinje was a fruit growing region. In 1573, French diplomat Philippe de La Canaye wrote that pears in Čajniče were excellent. While traveling from Foča to Čajniče, the archbishop of Bar (1610) remarked passing through rows of fruit trees,

<sup>346</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*; Kovačević–Kojić, 'Privredni razvoj', 126–127.

<sup>347</sup> Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 104.

<sup>348</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*.

<sup>349</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 174–175, 197, and throughout; Kovačević–Kojić, 'Privredni razvoj', 127; Bogumil Hrabak, 'Poljoprivreda Bosne i Hercegovine 1463–1700. godine', in Slavenko Terzić, ed., *Bosna i Hercegovina od srednjeg veka do novijeg vremena* (Beograd, Novi Sad: Istorijski institut SANU, Pravoslavna reč, Beograd, 1995), 198.

particularly emphasizing the rich yield of hazelnuts and apples. Lefevure wrote that the mountainous area between Foča and Ustikolina was abundant in fruit. In 1664, Turkish travel writer Evliya Çelebi reported seeing fruits in the vicinity of Foča and Prijepolje.<sup>350</sup>

Viticulture was developed well before the Ottomans arrived. Grape cultivation thrived due to natural conditions, such as numerous sunny slopes, dolomitic limestone soil, and ample sunshine. In this region, there were two varieties of grapes: red and white. In the Middle Ages, wine was the best known and most elegant drink.<sup>351</sup> The collective defter of 1468/69 informs us of vineyards as part of *hassa* estates in the area.<sup>352</sup> The individual defter of 1475/77 specifies the quantity of must (sweet, unfermented grape juice) that each village was required to deliver, measured in *medras* (Ottoman unit, around 16 litres). Tithe was listed in kind and in akçes. Over two hundred medras were recorded for the villages of Foča (788), Didevo (593), Goražde (530), Ustikolina (350), and Gvozi (300). The census specifically noted over 10 settlements paying tithe for vineyards, attesting to the extensive cultivation of grapes.<sup>353</sup>

Travel journals from later periods indicate that viticulture remained prevalent. French travel writer Lefevure mentioned that the mountain between Foča and Ustikolina was fertile and

<sup>350</sup> Franjo Rački, 'Izvjestaj barskog nadbiskupa Marina Bizzia o svojem putovanju god. 1610. po Arbanaškoj i staroj Srbiji', *Starine Jugoslovenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* XX (1888), 127; Çelebi, 'Putopis II', 167, 173; Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 128, 156; Hrabak, 'Putnici iz hrišćanske Evrope', 21.

<sup>351</sup> Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 81–82, 517–518.

<sup>352</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*.

<sup>353</sup> It is interesting to note that in the village of Didevo (Soko), which was part of the sanjak-bey's *hassa*, one vineyard was given to gost Radin (Krstjani) at the order of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror. Aličić, *Poimenični popis*; Kovačević–Kojić, 'Privredni razvoj', 129–130; Hrabak, 'Poljoprivreda Bosne i Hercegovine', 198.

that some vines were grown there.<sup>354</sup> Evliya Çelebi also noted that Foča had 26,000 dunams (2,600 hectares) of vineyards.<sup>355</sup>

Another common activity in this area during medieval times was beekeeping. The main products of beekeeping were honey and beeswax. Honey was used as a sugar substitute and was not only enjoyed as a treat but also valued as medicine. Furthermore, it was utilized in the preparation of mead, an alcoholic beverage. Beeswax was most commonly rendered by melting the honeycomb drained of honey, and then filtering it through a cloth or screen. Beeswax was predominantly used for the production of candles, widely used for lighting. Beeswax was used for other purposes as well, such as crafting seals and in medicine. All of this led people to own at least a few beehives. The foundation of early beekeeping lay in the woods, meadows, pastures, and fruit trees, whose flowers and fruits provided ample nectar and pollen to sustain numerous bee colonies. The meadows of Podrinje are abundant in various honey plants: black locust, St. John's wort, sage, germander, etc.<sup>356</sup> Tithe was charged evenly for old and young swarms, as the former had considerably more wax and honey than the young colonies. In the Middle Ages, it was a well-known and widespread obligation to take every tenth beehive as a tithe.<sup>357</sup>

<sup>354</sup> Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija*, 156.

<sup>355</sup> Çelebi, 'Putopis II', 10, 153, 156, 173.

<sup>356</sup> Beekeeping was a significant aspect of economic development in medieval times, and the Slavs recognized the benefits of bees early on. For more details, see: Relja V. Katić, *Medicina kod Srba u srednjem veku* (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1958), 156, 161–162; Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 103–104, 387–388, 606–608; Olga Zirojević, 'Jelo i piće', in Aleksandar Fotić, ed., *Privatni život u srpskim zemljama u osvit modernog doba* (Beograd: Clio, 2005), 250–251; Esad Kurtović, 'Iz historije pčelarstva u srednjem vijeku (košnice, pčele i med na uzgoju i u pljačkama u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom zaleđu)', *Prilozi* 39 (2010), 11–12.

<sup>357</sup> Blagojević, *Zemljoradnički zakon*, 273, 292.

In the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, beeswax gained in importance as an export commodity.<sup>358</sup> There were two types for sale: *cere crude* (raw) and *cere fine* (refined), which differed in price and quality. According to a contract signed on 12 December 1402, Vlachs Herak Milošević and Vukac Ponošević agreed with Dubrovnican merchants Vojhna Tikojević and Stojko Miletić to deliver 25 loads of beeswax from Hoča to Dubrovnik at the price of 4.5 perperas per load. Dubrovnican contracts indicate that high quantities of beeswax were exported from the Land of Drina to Dubrovnik, suggesting that beekeeping was highly developed.<sup>359</sup> This is also confirmed by the Ottoman defter of 1475/77, which recorded tithe for most villages. It was particularly prevalent in Hoča and Goražde – for example, beehive tax was twice as the tax for pigs. Great numbers of beehives were noted in the villages of Bučje (400), Papratno (233) and Bjeliš (206).<sup>360</sup>

The rivers in this area were favourable for fish, thanks to the nutrient-rich water descending from impervious, fertile surfaces. In the Drina, with its consistently high water levels throughout the seasons, there are plenty of various fish species. Medieval population in this area relied on fishing, as evidenced by toponyms that reflect the prevalence of fish (*riba*), such as Ribari, Ribljak, Ribarnica, Klenje near Foča, Štuke, Škobalj, and Zaribnjak near Goražde.<sup>361</sup>

The Ottoman defter of 1468/69 recorded an abandoned fish pond as a *hassa* estate in the settlement of Suhodolak (in the territory of Goražde), and half a fish pond in the village

<sup>358</sup> Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 56, 60, 121–122, 128, 173–174.

<sup>359</sup> Desanka Kovačević-Kojić, 'O izvozu voska iz srednjovjekovne Srbije i Bosne preko Dubrovnika', *Istorijski časopis* XVIII (1971), 143–153; Kovačević-Kojić, 'Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja', 114–125.

<sup>360</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*.

<sup>361</sup> Deroko, *Drina*, 24; Mišić, *Korišćenje unutrašnjih voda*, 21, 99.



of Dolna Medved (the settlement of Mededa on the Drina).<sup>362</sup> The Herzegovina defter of 1475/77 listed several fish ponds in this area. A fish pond in the Osanica *nahiye*, in the village of Potrkuša (eponymous village in Goražde), yielded a tax of 70 akçes. The fish pond near Ustikolina earned a revenue of 41 akçes. The Hvača market place (Foča) paid a fishery tax of 70 akçes. The village of Prigošte (near Višegrad) in the Samobor *nahiye* paid a tax of 55 akçes for two fish ponds. These ponds were inherited by Ottoman sipahis as part of feudal estates.<sup>363</sup> In his writings from 1664, the famous Turkish travel writer Çelebi noted the abundance of fish in the Drina. He mentioned that there were two public kitchens in Foča where meals were made from 40 kinds of fish from the Drina, which were celebrated as renowned specialties.<sup>364</sup>

Hunting was another common activity. Various game was hunted: roe deer, chamois, bear, buffalo, boar, red deer, etc. For the ruling class, hunting was a pastime; for the serfs – an obligation. Game was hunted for the meat, which was part of the diet, and for the furs and pelts used for clothes.<sup>365</sup> The individual census of 1475/77 listed a village called Vukovine (Samobor), named after the wolf (*vuk*), a menace in the Middle Ages.<sup>366</sup> In 1611, Lefevure wrote in his travel journal that the mountain area between Foča and Ustikolina was brimming with wildlife, noting in particular turtle doves and rock doves. The presence of numerous species of animals is an indicator of the healthy natural environment in the Land of Drina.

<sup>362</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 38, 115.

<sup>363</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 175, 189, 200; Hrabak, 'Poljoprivreda Bosne i Hercegovine', 190–191; Mišić, *Korišćenje unutrašnjih voda*, 99.

<sup>364</sup> Çelebi, 'Putopis II', 173.

<sup>365</sup> Mišić, 'Lov u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji', 51–66; Mišić, *Korišćenje unutrašnjih voda*, 21, 99.

<sup>366</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 223, 544; Mišić, 'Lov u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji', 53.

## V.2. Animal Husbandry

In terms of terrain configuration, Upper Podrinje is a predominantly hilly and mountainous region. Its spacious mountains, pastures, forests, rivers and streams make it quite favourable for the development of animal husbandry. Meadows and pastures stretch along rivers and streams, as well as in villages on glades and mountains. In medieval times, a terrain was designated as a mountain if it was situated at a substantial altitude (around 1000 or more metres above sea level) and included pastures. On such mountains, herds of sheep and other livestock could find plenty of food from spring to autumn.<sup>367</sup>

Livestock breeding had a number of benefits: livestock products such as milk, cheese, kaymak, butter, and meat were featured in everyday diet, while wool, furs and hides were used for clothing. Tilling was performed with the help of animals, mainly oxen.<sup>368</sup> Livestock was also traded, as documented in the archival materials, which mention above all exports of horses. Merchants from Hoča and Goražde sold horses in Dubrovnik.<sup>369</sup> The most commonly bred livestock included cattle, sheep and goats, animals that could endure long journeys. In addition, goat farming was lucrative because goats were easy to maintain – for a large part of the year, no food had to be prepared for them. Many deciduous forests in the area provided the main sources of sustenance for goats. The number of cattle was dependent on the ability to maintain it, which was determined mainly on the

<sup>367</sup> Miloš Blagojević, 'Planine i pašnjaci u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji (XIII i XIV vek)', *Istorijski glasnik* 2–3 (Beograd), 10–12, note 10. Mountain pastures were subject to ownership. Article 81 of Dušan's Code refers to mountains owned by the emperor, the church, and feudal lords. Nikola Radojčić, *Zakonik cara Stefana Dušana: 1349. i 1354.* (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1960), 58, 112.

<sup>368</sup> Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 710–714.

<sup>369</sup> Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 175, note 69. In the first several decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, significant improvements in animal husbandry are evident from the increased exports of hides. Kovačević–Kojić, 'Privredni razvoj', 176.

available grazing land. The pastures in Upper Podrinje provided ample forage for cattle. The breed of cattle was the Busha, small in size and weight – from 100 to 200 kilograms – and well-suited of movement in steep and hilly terrain. However, its number was lower compared to other livestock. Poultry was also raised, with chickens being the most common, and geese and ducks less frequently.<sup>370</sup> The approximate livestock count of a household can be surmised from the complaint by Stanica Ratkova against the brothers Božidar, Vukča and Mluš Miokanić from Popovo, who stole 4 oxen, 10 sheep and 10 goats from Stanica's niece Ivana.<sup>371</sup> Water was a key element in the breeding of livestock. This region is full of lush rivers, water sources, streams and springs, which was certainly favourable for animal breeding.

A meadow is a piece of land, either small or large, covered with grass. Grass was the primary diet of livestock, either fresh or dried, in the form of hay. The upper valley of the Drina contained plentiful hay meadows. The extent of animal husbandry can be gauged by the oat tax, as oats were primarily grown to feed horses. In this area, as in medieval Bosnia, special attention was paid to horse breeding. Small mountain horses were the most prevalent, as a hardy and resilient breed requiring modest sustenance. Horses were let to graze near settlements, and would be taken to the stable in the evening and fed with oats. Tithe for oat in the individual defter was registered in nearly all settlements, suggesting a formidable number of horses. Horses were quite significant for the transport of cargo, and were the main driver of caravan trade.<sup>372</sup>

<sup>370</sup> Relja V. Katić, *Stočarstvo srednjovekovne Srbije* (Beograd: SANU, 1978), 44–58; Ćirković, Mihaljčić, *Leksikon*, 519–520.

<sup>371</sup> Mišić, *Humska zemlja*, 203.

<sup>372</sup> Katić, *Stočarstvo*, 114–125; Hrabak, 'Poljoprivreda Bosne i Hercegovine', 190.

Pig farming was developed in Upper Podrinje. Pigs were released into village meadows and groves to feed on vegetation, acorns, and beech nuts.<sup>373</sup> There were two varieties of pigs: black and white.<sup>374</sup> Apart from domestic use, they were traded, as they were bred in quantities exceeding local needs. Pigs were sold in Dubrovnik, in market places, and towns.<sup>375</sup> Pig farming persisted during Ottoman reign, as confirmed by the information in the individual defter. Pig tax covered numerous villages in this area. In the territory of Foča, the toponym Svinjica indicates that pig (*svinja*) breeding was carried out in the past. Although Muslim law prohibits pig farming and pork consumption among Muslims, Christians were permitted to breed pigs and eat pork.<sup>376</sup>

### V.3. Trade Routes and Commerce

The valley of the Drina and its tributaries, coupled with overall terrain configuration, provided suitable conditions for transport, resulting in a caravan network covering entire Upper Podrinje. Since ancient times, this area has been an important crossroads in the Balkan Peninsula, connecting the central and eastern parts of the Balkans with the middle part of the Adriatic coast and the Pannonian Basin.

Well-trodden roads linked Dubrovnik to the Balkan hinterland. From Dubrovnik, goods were most often dispatched to Upper Podrinje by the Drina route (*via Drine*), which the Dubrovnikans called *via Bosne*, and sometimes also *via voivode*

<sup>373</sup> Katić, *Stočarstvo*, 59–60; In years of famine, acorns were often a staple of the medieval diet. Petar Vlahović, 'Ishrana kod Srba u posebnim prilikama', *Simpozijum „Seoski dani Sretena Vukosavljevića“ XVIII* (1998), 129–130.

<sup>374</sup> Hrabak, 'Poljoprivreda Bosne i Hercegovine', 188.

<sup>375</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, 'Privredni razvoj', 133–134.

<sup>376</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*; Hrabak, 'Poljoprivreda Bosne i Hercegovine', 188.

*Sandagl*. The road extended from Dubrovnik to Trebinje, Bileća, Gacko, crossed the Čemerno pass and descended into the Sutjeska canyon, protected by the Vratar fortress. Upon exiting the ravine, it reached Tjentište, stretched along the left bank of the Drina until the village of Brod, where it shifted to the right bank, where it stayed until Hoča. The significance of Hoča as a waypoint and crossroads is reflected in another name for the road – *via Goze*. From Hoča, one road forked toward Pljevlja and Prijepolje along the Čehotina, while the main Drina route continued through the Drina valley, to Ustikolina, Goražde and Samobor, where different paths could be taken: to Vrhbosna in the west, or Višegrad and Srebrenica in the north.<sup>377</sup>

The valley of the upper Drina marked the end of the first stage of the route extending from the sea to Serbia interior, which caravans and their crews took.<sup>378</sup> Caravans departing for Podrinje counted 40 to 90 horses, and as many men. In times of trouble, or when the cargo was especially valuable, the caravan guard was significantly larger.<sup>379</sup>

The dethroning of Župan Nikola (1373) brought about momentous and far-reaching changes in the Land of Drina, Polimlje and old Rascia. The largest feudal area of Serbia was divided between Knez Lazar and Bosnian Ban Tvrtko. The Serbian state lost the Land of Drina with its market places. However, the shift of authority did not hamper economic development. On the contrary, when this area joined the Bosnian

<sup>377</sup> For more information on roads, see: Dinić, 'Dubrovačka srednjovekovna karavanska trgovina', 125; Jireček, 'Trgovački putevi', 275–276, 282–292, 300; Škrivanić, *Putevi*, 43–50, 67–68, 124–126; Srejšević et al., *Istorija srpskog naroda I*, 366–367; Miloš Blagojević, 'Pregled istorijske geografije srednjovekovne Srbije', *Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije* 20 (1983), 106–107; Miloš Luković, 'Trase srednjovekovnih puteva na durmitorskom području', in Gordana Tomović, ed., *Šćepan Polje i njegove svetinje kroz vjekove: zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa* (Berane: Svevide, 2010), 171–194.

<sup>378</sup> S. Ćirković, *Prijepolje u srednjem veku*, 214–215

<sup>379</sup> Dinić, 'Dubrovačka srednjovekovna karavanska trgovina', 141–144.

state, it experienced an economic boom. It is certain that there were market places in the upper Drina course in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. A market place was an open-type settlement where the exchange of goods took place. Market places can be classified into monastery market places, mining market places, urban market places in old towns, and caravan market places, which arose around caravan posts. In terms of continuity of use, they can be divided into permanent, weekly, and annual market places. In this region, market places were caravan posts where people and livestock could rest during their long journeys.<sup>380</sup>

The Dubrovnik Archive keeps many contracts on the transfer of goods from Dubrovnik to Podrinje. Sources often name certain locations in Upper Podrinje as *de Drina*. In the 1340s and 1350s, Dubrovnik sources recorded that inhabitants *de Drina* were engaged in trade and procurement of goods, and were taking out loans in Dubrovnik.<sup>381</sup> Perhaps the name *Drina* does not denote only the area, but also the market place. Residents of this region were referred to by the name *Drinjanin/Drignanin* (7 October 1387, *heruatunus Pridicobil, Drignanin de Drina*).<sup>382</sup> Academic D. Kovačević-Kojić presumed that the settlement referred to as *Drina* should be understood as the original name of Hoča (Foča).<sup>383</sup> This is confirmed by a record from 1369 stating that the brothers Brajko and Miletin

<sup>380</sup> Kovačević-Kojić, 'Privredni razvoj', 110–111.

<sup>381</sup> Kovačević-Kojić, 'Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja', 109–125; Kurtović, *Izori a historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne I*, 3–6, 41, 222, 240, 336, 358, 434.

<sup>382</sup> Hrvatini Pridikobil, *Drinjanin* from Drina, promised Miho Menčetić, whose horse had been stolen on the Drina, that he or his son would make an effort to recover it. *Div. anc.* 27, fol. 42, 7 October 1387.

<sup>383</sup> Kovačević-Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 42. Documents refer to Hoča as: Choča, Coča, Chočča, Chocia, Coza, Choza, Chozza, Cozzia, Cogia, Goče, Cotza. Kurtović, *Izori za historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne I*, 52, 56, 60, 64–65, 73, 80–81, 84, 91, 94–95, 107, 108, 112, 116, 117–118, 123, 127–128, 133, 141–146, 151, 154–156, 162, 165–166.

Pribojević guaranteed that they would bring Nikola *of the Drina, from Hoča* to answer to Ivan OGREJA before the court.<sup>384</sup> After conquering Hoča in 1465, the Ottomans established the Drina *kadiluk* with the seat in Hoča. From 1483, the *kadiluk* was referred to as Foča, and from 1495 – the *kadiluk* of Foča. This is another indicator that in the sources, the term Drina most frequently referred to Hoča.<sup>385</sup>

In the Land of Drina, Hoča was first mentioned as a market place and caravan post in a Dubrovnican contract from 1366. From that time until 1436, it was the final destination of Dubrovnik caravans in eastern Bosnia. Its favourable position made it well-suited for a broad market.<sup>386</sup>

On Gradac hill, located on the left bank of the Drina, there was a fortress (the exact time of construction unknown), which was certainly built subsequently to protect Hoča. An archival note from 1453 mentioned two debtors *de sotto Choc* – from the Hoča castle town.<sup>387</sup> The castle town was likely built in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Valuable testimonies of the bustling caravan activity and the surge in trade in Hoča in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries are found in the records of the Dubrovnik office and notary public. Scattered information may also be found in other books of the Dubrovnik Archive. The main traders in Hoča were the Dubrovnians, although locals also participated in the trade. Hoča experienced rapid development of its own merchant class, whose members often borrowed from Dubrovnican merchants at the start of their careers, especially between 1396 and 1453.<sup>388</sup> The residents of Hoča took out loans in Dubrovnik to

<sup>384</sup> *Div. Canc.* 27, fol. 42, 7 October 1387.

<sup>385</sup> Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, 137.

<sup>386</sup> Hrabak, *Foča*, 18–20.

<sup>387</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 90.

<sup>388</sup> For more information about the borrowing of merchants from Hoča, see the

purchase goods, and repaid their debts through deliveries of raw materials. For example, Dubrovnican Damjan Sorkočević often lent money to merchants from Hoča in exchange for beeswax.<sup>389</sup> By examining the ledger of the Dubrovnik municipality (1400–1453), Professor D. Kovačević-Kojić concluded that 82 merchants from Hoča borrowed the sum total of 7,222 ducats and 4,058 perperas.<sup>390</sup> This amount indicates that Hoča had evolved from a local marketplace into the trading hub of the Land of Drina.

The first Dubrovnicans settled in Hoča in 1402. By 1465, there were 95 permanent residents from Dubrovnik. Their presence greatly impacted the trade, procurements and business of the locals. From the 1450s, their activity subsided because of the encroaching Ottoman threat.<sup>391</sup>

The main commodity traded by caravans by the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century was salt. The primary product and export of Hoča was beeswax. Surplus grain and other agricultural products from the Land of Drina would be brought to Hoča. In the first decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Hočans traded in beeswax, skins and other livestock products, dye, lead and silver, and imported large quantities of wool, salt and fabrics. In most contracts on the transport of goods, Hoča was the final destination of caravans, while two contracts mentioned it as one of the towns (along with Goražde and Prijepolje) where the caravans were sent. From the 1470s, Dubrovnik documents noted a decline in Hoča trade.<sup>392</sup> In the Foča region, the name of today's village

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table overview in: Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 113–114; Kovačević-Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 168–170.

<sup>389</sup> Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 60.

<sup>390</sup> Particularly prominent were seven businessmen with loans ranging from 300 to 1,000 ducats. Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 108, 113, 125.

<sup>391</sup> Hrabak, *Foča*, 34.

<sup>392</sup> Kovačević-Kojić, 'Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja', 113–123; Hrabak, *Foča*, 32–33.



of Bastasi is a reminder of the medieval way of organizing transport and transfer of goods.

A frequent occurrence was for a trader to move from a small to a large market place and vice versa. For example, Radosav Sorčić, mentioned as a Hočan in 1396, was noted as a merchant from Ustikolina just two years prior. After 1440, Tvrdiša Mirušковиć from Hoča was referred to as a trader in Goražde.<sup>393</sup>

Some of the prominent merchants in Hoča were: Radoje Dubijević,<sup>394</sup> the Crijeptović brothers (Rade, Radivoj, Radijenko), Obrad and Dabiživ Nartičić, Radosav Brajković, Milj Božičković, Bogdan Bogčinović, Radosav Mirković, and others.<sup>395</sup>

Downstream from Hoča was the caravan post and market place of Goražde. The word Goražde is etymologically derived from the old Slavic name Gorazd.<sup>396</sup> It was first mentioned in 1376, when it was recorded that hides from Goražde were traded for Dubrovnikan salt.<sup>397</sup> Hides were an important export commodity. In a contract dated 1 May 1379, six Vlachs from the *katun* of Kresojević agreed to deliver 100 salmas of salt (1 salma is equal to 127 kg) from Dubrovnik to Zoran Milgostić and Miladin Hranislavić in Prača or *Gorasde ad forum vlachi de Cosača*.<sup>398</sup> In the 1380s and 1390s, Vlachs shipped salt from the coast to Goražde.<sup>399</sup> Out of all the market places in the Bosnian

<sup>393</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 188.

<sup>394</sup> Esad Kurtović, 'Zaduživanja Radoja Dubjevića, trgovca iz Foče', *Bosna franciscana* XIV/25 (2006), 181–190.

<sup>395</sup> Živković, *Utjecaj primorskih gradova*, 96; Kurtović, *Izvori za historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne I*; Kurtović, *Arhivska građa za historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne*.

<sup>396</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 44, note 65.

<sup>397</sup> Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 32.

<sup>398</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 31.

<sup>399</sup> Milena Gecić, 'Dubrovačka trgovina solju u XIV veku', *Zbornik Filozofsk-*

state, most salt caravans went to Goražde, which became a major centre for the trade of this commodity. In the summer of 1443, as many as 442 loads of salt were sent to Goražde.<sup>400</sup>

Merchants from Goražde did not appear in the sources until 1420.<sup>401</sup> They visited Dubrovnik to conduct trade as well as other financial transactions, such as taking out loans from Dubrovnikan merchants and broadcloth manufacturers. Individuals usually borrowed business capital at the start of their trading careers. One-third of all loans involved the Dubrovnik broadcloth manufacturer and trader, Petar Pandela, who helped Goraždan merchants to expand their budding businesses.<sup>402</sup> In the period from 1420 to 1463, a total of 44 merchants from Goražde took out loans. However, they did not borrow continuously, every year. There were a total of 118 loans, amounting to 4,735 ducats and 2,052 perperas. Some merchants operated with capital exceeding 1,000 ducats.<sup>403</sup> The significance of Goražde surpassed its locale, as it engaged in broader trade. Interestingly, while Dubrovnikans travelled to and passed through Goražde, they did not settle there as they did in Hoča, despite the town's market development.<sup>404</sup>

Despite the guarantees given by rulers and regional lords, merchants were often intercepted on the roads, where their

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*og fakulteta* III (1955), 142.

<sup>400</sup> Kovačević, *Trgovina*, 32.

<sup>401</sup> Dubrovnikan documents refer to Goražde as: *Gorasda*, *Gorasde*, *Gorasdi*, *Isgorasda*, *Corasda*. Kurtović, *Izvori za historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne I*, 22–23, 84, 86–87, 90, 96, 100, 105, 108–109, 112, 117, 119–120, 122–126, 129, 131–132, 135, 138–139, 146–147, 151, 154–164, 170, 176, 181, 183–184, 190.

<sup>402</sup> Dušanka Dinić–Knežević, 'Petar Pantela–trgovac i suknar u Dubrovniku', *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* XIII/1 (1970), 125–137; Hrabak, 'Goražde od XIV do XVI veka', 18.

<sup>403</sup> Hrabak, 'Goražde od XIV do XVI veka', 18; Kurtović, *Izvori za historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne I*.

<sup>404</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 90; Kovačević–Kojić, 'Naselja u zemlji Kosača', 366.

goods were forcibly seized. Records of this can be found in the series *Lamenta de foris* on criminal charges concerning offences committed outside Dubrovnik. For example, in February 1449, Radoje Vinarić stole a horse from Stijepo N. Crijević during his stay in Goražde, on his trip to Smederevo. Six years later, Vukac Tvrdisalić stole three silver coins from a certain Gunčetić at the customs before Goražde.<sup>405</sup>

Prominent Goraždan merchant families included: Zlatarić,<sup>406</sup> Obradović, Ljubavić, Vukosalić, Pribisaljčić, Radosalić, Stojasalić and Bogosaljić.<sup>407</sup>

There are indications that members of the Kosača family sold their surplus products in Goražde. Contracts often stipulate that goods should be delivered *in Gorasde ad forum voivode Sandagl* or *ad forum Gorasde*. In time, trade turnover in Goražde increased, and the town established its own customs in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A contract from 1452 mentioned that Herceg Stefan Vukčić Kosača charged customs duties near Goražde (*Applicuisse apre Gorasde et vellet solvere gambell guam soluitur cherceg Stefano*).<sup>408</sup>

Merchants from Hoča and Goražde joined in associations to increase their success in beeswax trade. Apart from beeswax, Goraždans exported leather, surplus grain from the surroundings, lead, silver, horses, etc. Fabrics produced in Dubrovnik were the main import commodity. Following the 1450s, trade activity of Goraždan merchants diminished. The activity of local and Dubrovnikan merchants gives the impression that Goražde was economically less developed than Hoča.<sup>409</sup>

<sup>405</sup> Hrabak, 'Goražde od XIV do XVI veka', 22.

<sup>406</sup> Esad Kurtović, 'Zlatarići–trgovci iz Goražda', *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja* 33 (2006), 197–210.

<sup>407</sup> For more details, see: Živković, *Utjecaj primorskih gradova*, 73–93.

<sup>408</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 44, 91, note 26.

<sup>409</sup> Hrabak, 'Goražde od XIV do XVI veka', 20–25.

Between Hoča and Goražde lay the Ustikolina market place, first mentioned in the sources in 1392.<sup>410</sup> At nearly all times, the market place belonged to the Pavlović family rather than the Kosačas. Compared to other market places in the eastern part of the Bosnian state, the Dubrovnikans arrived quite early in Ustikolina. Knez Pavle Radenović established a salt market place here, where customs duties were levied. In the period from 1402 to 1404, Ustikolina received a number of caravans. From the 1420s, the market place declined, with most of its trade shifting to Hoča.<sup>411</sup>

One of the less frequented caravan posts in the Land of Drina was Tjentište on the Sutjeska, named after tents.<sup>412</sup> It was first mentioned on 15 February 1418, when *Radoe Dubieuich et Veselcus de Tintista* signed a loan agreement (116 ducats) with the Dubrovnikan Mihael Sorkočević.<sup>413</sup> The Dubrovnik archival materials name several Dubrovnikan merchants in the territory of Tjentište. From 1400 to 1463, thirteen local merchants took out loans. The total debt amounted to 918 ducats and 489 perperas.<sup>414</sup> These merchants had quite modest reach and capital. The only notable exception was Radašin Radaković, whose loan slightly exceeded 100 ducats.<sup>415</sup> Information from the documents suggests that Tjentište was only beginning to develop the characteristics of a permanent settlement.<sup>416</sup>

<sup>410</sup> Kurtović, *Izvori za historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne I*, 32.

<sup>411</sup> Dinić, 'Dubrovačka srednjovjekovna karavanska trgovina', 126; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 92; Muamer Hodžić, 'Pazar Ustikolina i sedmični pazarni dan u 16. stoljeću', *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 69 (2020), 288–390.

<sup>412</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 93.

<sup>413</sup> *Debita Notariae*, XIII, fol. 14, 15 February 1418.

<sup>414</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 93–94, 108; Isaković, 'Tjentište', 349–372; Kurtović, *Izvori za historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne I*, 71–72, 135, 170, 219–220, 238, 260, 262, 269, 272, 287, 289, 291.

<sup>415</sup> Živković, *Utjecaj primorskih gradova*, 148–150.

<sup>416</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, 'Naselja u zemlji Kosača', 364.

An archival note from 1450 mentions a customs office at Tjentište, which prompted a response from the Dubrovnikans directed at Herceg Stefan, with his mother Katarina being held responsible (*gabella de Tintiste la qual asuna soa madre...de Tintiste nui parleremo cum la madre*).<sup>417</sup> All caravans departing from Dubrovnik to Foča, Ustikolina, Goražde or Višegrad had to pass through Tjentište. As a result, the settlement offered accommodation for people, storage space for cargo, and stables for horses. The favourable position of Tjentište attracted bandits intending to rob the passengers of their coin, gold, silver, tin, or weapons. We learn this from the complaints of Dubrovnikan merchants to Dubrovnik city authorities.<sup>418</sup>

Intense trade between the Land of Drina and Dubrovnik, and the movement of caravans and merchants in both directions, helped to improve the economic environment. In addition to the above settlements, the following fortresses were used as small caravan checkpoints: Soko, Vratar, Todevac, Jeleč, Samobor, as well as their castle towns.<sup>419</sup>

The town of Soko is located near the confluence of the Piva and Tara rivers, on a rocky hill above Šćepan Polje.<sup>420</sup> It played an important role in the Kosačas' land: this was where Duke Sandalj issued deeds of donations and charters, received emissaries and stayed in the summer for rest. Soko was accompanied by the castle town of Podsoko at Šćepan Polje,<sup>421</sup> first mentioned on 27 May 1428 (*de subtus Sochoľ*).<sup>422</sup> Podsoko was often cited in relation to Dubrovnikan emissaries.<sup>423</sup> Notary

<sup>417</sup> Mandić–Studo, *Zemlja zvana Gacko I*, 454–455; Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 58, note 181.

<sup>418</sup> Isaković, 'Tjentište', 349–372.

<sup>419</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, 'Privredni razvoj', 175–177.

<sup>420</sup> Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 272.

<sup>421</sup> Jireček, 'Trgovački putevi', 244, 252; Popović, 'Soko grad', 17–21.

<sup>422</sup> *Debita Notariae XIV*, fol. 192, 27 May 1428.

<sup>423</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 195.

documents refer to merchant Nahod Bogčaić *de subtus Sochol* as a man of *voiuode Sandagl*.<sup>424</sup> From 1428 to 1434, he borrowed money three times, in the total amount of 268 perperas and one groschen.<sup>425</sup> In the period from 1447 to 1455, three young men from Podsoko came to Dubrovnik to learn crafts.<sup>426</sup> Soko was far from the main trading routes, which is why its castle town was less economically developed.<sup>427</sup>

The Vratar fortress was situated along the road that extended from Dubrovnik to Trebinje, Bileća and Gacko before descending into the Sutjeska gorge. It protected the entrance into the canyon between Ninkovići and Suha.<sup>428</sup> According to records from the Dubrovnik Archive, a Dubrovnikan caravan bearing silver from Srebrenica in May 1435 was robbed *in castro vohato Vratar*. Below the fortification, the castle town of Podvratar emerged and became quite active, allowing some residents to engage in trade. In 1436, Duke Stefan Vukčić established a customs checkpoint here, prompting a complaint by the Dubrovnikans. In late October 1444, another silver-bearing caravan was pillaged here. These thefts suggest that merchant activity and movement through Podvratar were considerable.<sup>429</sup>

The medieval town of Tođevac was erected on a prominent rock – Gradina (870 m) above the left bank of the Hrčavka, a left tributary of the Sutjeska, at the foot of the Tođevac mountain.<sup>430</sup> The Tođevac castle town was first mentioned in 1398 in relation to the robbery of a Dubrovnik caravan (*Caravanus sub castro*

<sup>424</sup> *Deb. Not.* XIV, fol. 192, 27 May 1428.

<sup>425</sup> *Deb. Not.* XIV, fol. 192, 27 May 1428; *Deb. Not.* XVI, fol. 53, 9–19 June 1433; *Deb. Not.* XVI, fol. 219, 26 May 1434.

<sup>426</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, 'Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja', 122–124.

<sup>427</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, 'Naselja u zemlji Kosača', 365.

<sup>428</sup> Škrivanić, *Putevi*, 45–47.

<sup>429</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 112; Jireček, 'Trgovački putevi', 289–290, note 255, 269; Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 197; Mandić–Studo, *Zemlja zvana Gacko I*, 452–454.

<sup>430</sup> Mišić, *Leksikon gradova i trgova*, 296.

*de Tolyavez*). It appears that the Dubrovnikans only passed through Todevac without staying, and that its castle town failed to develop into a more prominent settlement.<sup>431</sup>

The župa of Gozba contained the fort of Jeleč and the castle town of Podjeleč. The first reference to it was made in August 1420, in a complaint against Vukota Obradović concerning the sale of salt (*loco dicto Jeleč emisset certam salis quantitatem ab accusatori predicto*).<sup>432</sup> A medieval market place (*mercatum Gobsa*) was located in its vicinity. The local name Podjeleč passed into Latin Dubrovnican sources, indicating its high level of development. Dubrovnik documents mention around a dozen people from Podjeleč in connection with some minor transactions.<sup>433</sup> During the 1430s, Šain Žunjević from Jeleč distinguished himself as a trader. Most researchers believed it to be this Jeleč, but B. Hrabak's thorough analysis established that the Jeleč in question was located under the mountain of Rogozna in the Despotate.<sup>434</sup>

The town of Samobor, a famous Kosača fortress with military and residential functions, was located in the Pribud župa. Its remains can be found on the rocky peak of the Borovska Planina mountain, above the mouth of the river Janjina into the Drina.<sup>435</sup> Dubrovnik materials contain three contracts (one from 1397 and two from 1435) explicitly stating that caravans from Dubrovnik were sent to Samobor.<sup>436</sup> Below the stronghold was a castle town (*sotto Samobor*), which appears not to have been economically noteworthy.<sup>437</sup>

<sup>431</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 104, note 119.

<sup>432</sup> Kurtović, *Veliki vojvoda*, 64, note 210.

<sup>433</sup> Dinić, *Zemlje hercega*, 187–188, 235, note 39; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 94, 103, 106.

<sup>434</sup> Hrabak, 'Rudarstvo', 184–185.

<sup>435</sup> Delić, 'Samobor kod Drine', 255–269.

<sup>436</sup> Dinić, 'Dubrovačka srednjovekovna karavanska trgovina', 126, note 10.

<sup>437</sup> Vego, *Naselja*, 103; Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 101–102.

The aforementioned castle towns varied in significance or level of development. Most of them remained at the village level, though their economic activities began to push them toward becoming urban settlements.<sup>438</sup> With the exception of Ustikolina, which was ruled by the Pavlovićs, all of the above market places and caravan posts, fortresses and castle towns were under the dominion of the mighty Kosača family. The economic rise of Podrinje reflected the strong urbanization process in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>439</sup>

The establishment of an impressive number of caravan posts and market places, both large and small, coincided with the robust economic development of Dubrovnik and the Kosača territories in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Despite shifting borders and changing rulers, the region's economic growth continued steadily.

#### V.4. Mining

There are no records of mines in Upper Podrinje in the archival material. Hoča was not mentioned as a mining settlement, although it played an important role in the trade of metals (silver, lead). In the Foča region, the village name Saš is reminiscent of Saxon miners, while the toponym Podpeč (*under furnace*) is suggestive of smelting.<sup>440</sup> However, without written sources or archaeological research, it is very hard to determine whether these toponyms originate from the Middle Ages or the Ottoman period.<sup>441</sup>

<sup>438</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, 'Naselja u zemlji Kosača', 365.

<sup>439</sup> Desanka Kovačević–Kojić, 'Pljevlja u urbanizaciji Polimlja i Gornjeg Podrinja', *Glasnik zavičajnog muzeja* 2 (2001), 21–25.

<sup>440</sup> Bejtić, 'Povjest i umjetnost', 28; Hrabak, *Foča*, 19.

<sup>441</sup> Siniša Mišić, 'Toponomastika kao izvor za istorijsku geografiju (primjer Pljevaljskog kraja)', *Glasnik Zavičajnog muzeja* 2 (2001), 33.



Iron production was considerable in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, driven by high demand for the metal.<sup>442</sup> According to the collective census of the *Sanjak* of Bosnia of 1468/69, the sultan's *hass* in the Samobor *nahiye* contained the bazaar of Čajniče, which was an iron mine, along with the villages of Mrković, Klušćić and Kržava, also locations of iron mines.<sup>443</sup> In their conquest of Bosnia, the Ottomans showed particular interest in maintaining the ongoing mining operations, largely continuing to exploit ore with the existing workforce and terminology.<sup>444</sup>

Data on mines included in the individual defter of 1475/77 further confirm the activity of the iron mines in question. The sultan's *hass* included the iron mines of Čajniče bazaar, Križevo, Mrkojič and Klušćić. The census of Čajniče counted 194 households, 10 single adult men and a jamaat of 6 Muslims, while the total annual revenue of this imperial *hass* amounted to 74,278 akçes. Census data indicate that the mine was bustling with activity. On the river Janjina there were six mechanical forges, each paying a tax of 150 akçes. In Čajniče there were 415 melting furnaces, each of which was taxed with 8 akçes. The number of houses in the mining town of Križevo rose by 26 compared to the previous census (1468/69). Mining output also increased – in 1475/77, there were 313 operational melting furnaces and 10 mechanical forges, while state revenue came at 8,554 akçes. Imperial mines of Mrkojič and Klušćić were small mining settlements with a total state revenue of just 1,765 akçes.<sup>445</sup> We have no information on their further activity until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>442</sup> Handžić, 'Rudnici u Bosni', 9–11.

<sup>443</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 46.

<sup>444</sup> Handžić, 'Rudnici u Bosni', 9.

<sup>445</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 3–8; Handžić, 'Rudnici u Bosni', 36–37.

### V.5. Other Occupations

In addition to crop cultivation, animal husbandry, trade, and mining, people in Upper Podrinje engaged in various other occupations. These additional professions are documented in Dubrovnican sources, chrysobulls, and Ottoman defters from 1468/69 and 1475/77. Another valuable source is toponomastic information, which is sometimes the only trace of the medieval origin of a village.

Numerous craftsmen must have been present in the region to meet local demands, including blacksmiths, saddlers, potters, carpenters, stonemasons, tanners, leatherworkers, and others. Smithing was the most prolific trade in this area. Blacksmiths produced metal parts of tools and weapons. Their activity was essential for the other trades and professions, as well as for the military.<sup>446</sup> Sources often list them just as smiths, without specifying the specialization, which could be: swordsmith, armourer, bowyer, woodworker, ironworker, knifemaker, etc.<sup>447</sup> For example, Dubrovnican documents mention smiths Radohna Utišenović from Samobor and Bogosalić from Tjentište.<sup>448</sup> Many crafts performed by entire villages left their mark on those settlements' names, representing a special group of sources.<sup>449</sup> In this area, many villages preserved names linked to smithing (*kovanje*): Kovačica, Kovač-brdo, Kovačevine, Kovačevo brdo, Kovačići, etc.<sup>450</sup>

<sup>446</sup> Veselinović, *Država*, 198–199; Aleksandra Fostikov, 'Kovački zanat na tlu srednjovekovne Srbije', *Beogradski istorijski glasnik* 3 (2012), 112–115.

<sup>447</sup> Fostikov, 'Kovački zanat', 110–111.

<sup>448</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 209, note 35.

<sup>449</sup> Gordana Tomović, 'Srednjovekovna majstorska sela na razmeđu seoskog i gradskog društva', in Tibor Živković, ed., *Srpsko selo – mogućnosti i dalji pravci istraživanja* (Beograd, Sirogojno: Istorijski institut SANU, Muzej na otvorenom "Staro selo", 2003), 7–17.

<sup>450</sup> For more information about smithing, see: Fostikov, 'Kovački zanat', 105–121.

The development of urban settlements contributed to the advancement of crafts and trades. From the 1370s onward, we encounter numerous contracts in the Dubrovnikan notary public on the departure of young men from Goražde, Hoča, Podsoko and Drina<sup>451</sup> to Dubrovnik to apprentice with Dubrovnikan craftsmen.<sup>452</sup> These youths would learn to become cobblers (*caligarius*), skimmers (*pelliparius*), tailors (*sortore*), smiths (*fabri*, *ferrarij*), and weavers (*textores*), among others. When young men from the Land of Drina travelled to Dubrovnik to work under a craftsman, contracts would stipulate the conditions of their employment, and specify the master's obligations. The master was usually required to provide his apprentice with accommodation, food and clothing, as well as the necessary tools. In return, the apprentice would serve his master well. The duration of apprenticeship depended on the young man's age and agreement between the two sides. Some young men would come to Dubrovnik from Goražde to learn trades. From 1440 to 1453, Dubrovnikan documents name four such youths. Of the textile masters, Radonja Tihoradović from Goražde should be noted. In October 1440, Chancellor Nikola Raskov employed him for one year, requiring him to start work at eight o'clock and work the entire day for a daily wage of two groschen. This is one of the rare contracts to include the start of the workday. Penalty for any absence from work would equal four groschen per day. Some of the trainees in Dubrovnik hailed from Hoča. Between 1454 and 1470, five contracts involving Hočans for the study of crafts were recorded, each lasting from two to six years.

<sup>451</sup> Kovačević-Kojić, 'Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja', 111–125.

<sup>452</sup> After the deadly plague of 1348, Dubrovnik authorities took measures to revive the economy. In May 1348, they invited masters of all professions, promising them a premium of five perperas per annum and exempting them from all duties, except customs duties, if they committed to working there for at least five years. For more information, see: Dinić-Knežević, *Migracije*, 59–60.

The strong demand for labour led broadcloth manufacturers to pay even novices who had yet to learn the trade. According to a contract dated 9 March 1459, Ratko Stojković, a broadcloth trimmer, took on Cvetko Radojević from Hoča for the duration of five years and the salary of 15 perperas, agreeing also to give him some items of clothing. Three young men from Podsoko learned trades in Dubrovnik between 1447 and 1455, under common terms. From 1381 to 1465, many contracts (15) have been concluded with young men “from Drina”. The contracts explicitly refer to them as *de Drina*. Besides the above professions, sailing skills were also taught. In November 1409, mariner Gojislav Milošević took Dobrašin Radić from Drina as an apprentice. The young man agreed to sail for four years wherever the mariner ordered, in return for food and clothing. His payment at the end of the contract would be determined by the estimates of two experienced sailors (one chosen by Gojislav, the other by Dobrašin). Some young men from this region specialized in textile manufacturing, as dyers, wool combers, and cloth trimmers. Most novices stayed until the end of the contract, when their master would award their years of work with ten to fifteen perperas, and quite often the tools of the trade. Young people would seldom return to their place of origin, opting instead to stay in the more attractive business environment of Dubrovnik.<sup>453</sup>

The growth in trade in Upper Podrinje paralleled the development of crafts, which also entailed the arrival of foreign inhabitants, most often residents of Dubrovnik. Dubrovnican sources mention their goldsmiths in Hoča and Goražde,

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<sup>453</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, ‘Arhivsko-istorijska istraživanja’, 111–125; Dinić–Knežević, *Migracije*, 59–108; Desanka Kovačević–Kojić, ‘Prilog proučavanju zanatstva u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni’, in Tibor Živković, ed., *Gradski život u Srbiji i Bosni (XIV i XV vijek)* (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2007), 362–364.

signifying that precious metals were worked there.<sup>454</sup> The centre of gold mining in Middle Podrinje was in the town of Srebrenica, nearby.<sup>455</sup> Radoje Pribisalić from Goražde started his two-year apprenticeship as a goldsmith in 1476. Records for Hoča include Stjepan Stojsalić and Jakša, who worked with gold, and Vladan Radojević, mentioned as a tailor. Several broadcloth trimmers came from Dubrovnik to Hoča in 1444 and 1446. The barber Dmtar Božidarov also worked there, though he was more engaged in trade than in his original profession.<sup>456</sup> In Prijepolje, they referred to cobblers by the German word *schuster* (šuster).<sup>457</sup>

The Ottoman defters from 1468/69 and 1475/77 contain lists of craftsmen's villages in this area in their final sections. In 1468/69, in the *nahiye* of *Bistrica*, there were craftsmen's settlements of stonemasons and smiths (17 persons). Given their significance for the army and the overall economy, the Ottomans exempted them from paying *Ispençe*, *haraç*, and all other state taxes. These settlements were engaged in particular for the purposes of military fortifications.<sup>458</sup> If craftsmen stopped performing their trade, or carrying out their obligations, they would lose the privileged status and be subject to tax.

In the *nahiye* of *Samobor*, for the purposes of the Samobor castle, six smiths and carpenters were listed.<sup>459</sup> Two carpenters' settlements (five persons) were recorded in the *Osanica nahiye*.<sup>460</sup>

<sup>454</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 202.

<sup>455</sup> For more information about the medieval mine and market place of Srebrenica, see: Desanka Kovačević–Kojić, *Srednjovjekovna Srebrenica: XIV–XV vijek* (Beograd: SANU, 2010).

<sup>456</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, *Gradska naselja*, 202, 210; Hrabak, *Foča*, 31, notes 10, 75.

<sup>457</sup> Kovačević–Kojić, 'Privredni razvoj', 165, 185.

<sup>458</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 245.

<sup>459</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 244.

<sup>460</sup> Aličić, *Sumarni popis*, 245.

The individual defter of 1475/77 counted three specialized craftsmen's villages in the *Samobor nahiye*: carpenters (four persons), blacksmiths (four persons), and gunsmiths (two persons). This population category was engaged for the needs of the Samobor castle.<sup>461</sup>

In the *Bistrica nahiye*, craftsmen were recorded in parts of villages: Lašce (ironworkers, 2 persons), Zagorani (stonemasons, one person), Poda (ironworkers, one person), Kljuni (stonemasons, seven persons), Prosimlje (stonemasons, five persons) and Timokrajići (stonemasons, five persons).<sup>462</sup>

In a part of the village of Nagrad in the *Soko nahiye*, Bratić and Bratovac were registered as “zemberekčija”<sup>463</sup> – a gunsmith working on guns with springs (*zemberek*).<sup>464</sup>

In the *Osanica nahiye*, carpenters were counted in parts of the villages of Ljubuša and Nebralja.<sup>465</sup>

A specialized craftsmen's village of gunsmiths was located in the *Tođevac nahiye*. This village served the needs of the military fort of Tođevac.<sup>466</sup> Ottoman sources indicate the prevalence of blacksmiths, stonemasons, carpenters, woodworkers, gunsmiths and ironworkers.

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<sup>461</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 599.

<sup>462</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 599–600.

<sup>463</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 599.

<sup>464</sup> Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1979), 651.

<sup>465</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 600–601.

<sup>466</sup> Aličić, *Poimenični popis*, 599.



## VI. CONCLUSION

The paper has discussed the geographical position and natural features of the Land of Drina, its župas, settlements, demographics, towns, fortresses, political circumstances and, finally, economic activities of its medieval population.

Based on the available materials and information from extensive relevant literature, we will present conclusions on the main points of this subject, which we classified across different chapters.

In geographical terms, the main features of the terrain in this area include its geological complexity, the tectonically predisposed valleys of the Drina, small vales of its tributaries, dominant mountains, and morphological forms of various sizes and characteristics. Medieval population in this region enjoyed quite favourable natural conditions: suitable terrain, shelter from winds, humid continental climate, plenty of sunny surfaces, arable land, a dense hydrographic network, good road connectivity, forests, an abundance of moisture, spacious mountain pastures and a healthy natural environment. These features provided favourable living conditions, naturally leading to the early settlement of these territories.

In the upper course of the Drina River lay the Land of Drina, which consisted of the following župas and *oblasts*: Drina, Sutjeska, Drinaljevo, Gvoza, Bistrica, Goražde and Pribud. Urban settlements have been mentioned here from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and valuable information about them was provided by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. By all accounts, his town of Međurječje was situated here, attesting to the continuity of urban life in this area.



The most important documents on towns and strongholds in the Land of Drina are the charters issued to Stefan Vukčić Kosača – two were issued by the King of Aragon and Naples Alfonso V (1444, 1454), and one by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1448). The distribution of towns in these charters allows us to glean the organization of the defensive system of the lands of Herceg Stefan, along with all the fortifications and their garrisons, which protected the main routes and passes in his territory. Their number increased in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Many strongholds were built in Upper Podrinje for military and strategic reasons, as a consequence of the breakdown of central authority and the growing Ottoman threat. Most of them were strategically significant for controlling the upper course of the Drina, and guarding entrances into the canyons of small rivers flowing into the Drina in this area. The following towns and strongholds were discussed in particular: Soko town, Vratar, Boytrynec, Tođevac, Kozman (Gradac), Đurđevac, Jeleč, Samobor, Ostrovica, Prilep, Novi town, Osanički town, Žir and Osip.

Ottoman defters are a precious historical source rich with information on settlements and demographics, offering a solid foundation for establishing basic facts and assumptions. The information is included in two defters: the Collective Defter of the *Sanjak* of Bosnia from 1468/69, and the Individual Defter of the *Sanjak* of Herzegovina *Vilayet* from 1475/77. The data in these censuses have considerably offset the lack of sources for the reconstruction of settlements and demographics in pre-Ottoman medieval times. They reveal that many villages listed in the defters exhibit continuity from the Middle Ages to the modern era.

The territorial bounds of the first Serbian state in the Early Middle Ages incorporated Upper Podrinje. The Chronicle of the

Priest of Duklja notes the existence of *Drinska županija* during the reign of the Serbian ruler Časlav. In the 1340s, veliki čelnik Dimitrije governed Drina. After his passing in 1349, the Land of Drina was acquired by the Knez of Hum, Vojislav Vojinović, before it passed on to župan Nikola Altomanović in 1368. However, he was deposed in 1373, bringing about major, far-reaching changes in Upper Podrinje and the Serbian state as a whole. Bosnian Ban Tvrtko I Kotromanić gained control of the Land of Drina, Lower Polimlje, and a part of Middle Polimlje with the Mileševa Monastery and Prijepolje. The sudden death of Bosnian King Tvrtko in March 1391 ignited major changes in Bosnia. Duke Vlatko Vuković assumed the administration of the Land of Drina. This area would remain a possession of the Kosača family until its fall to the Ottomans. In the early summer of 1465, the sultan's general Isa Bey Ishaković began the conquest of the herceg's lands. In the Land of Drina, he captured Samobor and Prilep. Soko town held out for a time, although it was surely conquered by the Turks after January 1466. A complaint from early December 1466 suggests the possibility that Herceg Vlatko had occupied Samobor and held it for a short time. Regardless, by the end of 1466 the entire Land of Drina was definitively under Ottoman rule. Historical literature has not presented this fact before.

Terrain configuration and other natural conditions in this area determined the professions performed by the people: their main activities included crop cultivation and animal husbandry. Based on duties from the Ottoman census of the Herzegovina *Sanjak* of 1475/77, we learn the types of food crops planted in these lands: barley, millet, rye, and vegetables. The only industrial crop was flax. Rivers and streams were lined with numerous watermills for grinding cereals. In the 1475/77 defter, the most mills were listed in the *nahiyes* of Samobor (56) and

Soko (40), indicating both the population density and the high grain output of those *nahiyes*. The region's common fruits included walnuts, cherries, pears, apples, and others. In the above census, every village paid *bostan* tax – *bostan* referred to not just watermelon and melon (today's meaning of the word), but also various vegetables. Vegetables played an important role by providing variety in the otherwise monotonous diet of the population. Viticulture was also present, albeit less so. Beekeeping was a prominent profession. Nearly all villages were listed as having a number of beehives, as revealed by the collection of tithe. Dubrovnican contracts inform us that high quantities of beeswax were exported to this city from Hoča and Goražde.

Pig farming was highly developed in this region. It persisted even during Ottoman rule, as shown by the data from the individual defter.

Thanks to a favourable geographical and strategic position, the road network in this area was well-developed. High volume of trade between the Land of Drina and Dubrovnik, and the movement of caravans and merchants in both directions, contributed to the improvement of the economic environment. Old Serbian market places on the Drina – Hoča and Goražde – became part of the Bosnian state in 1373. The change of government did not halt their economic growth; in reality, it accelerated. One of the less visited caravan posts was Tjentište on the Sutjeska. Other locations used as caravan posts were the fortified towns of Soko, Vratar, Tođevac, Jeleč and Samobor, as well as their castle towns. These castle towns did not have equal economic importance, or boast the same level of development. Most of them remained at the level of villages, although their economies started to push them toward becoming urban settlements. Market places in the Land of Drina were open-

type settlements. It appears that a fortress was subsequently constructed only in Hoča to protect it, considering its level of development. The economic rise of Podrinje was accompanied by a robust urbanization process in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

According to archival materials, there were no mines in Upper Podrinje prior to Ottoman conquests. During Ottoman reign, there were four active iron mines in this region: Čajniče, Mrković, Kluščić, and Kržava in the Samobor *nahiye*.

Apart from the main activities (crop cultivation, animal husbandry, trade and mining), the population in this area engaged in other professions. Young men from Goražde, Hoča, Podsoko and Drina would go to Dubrovnik to study crafts, and became cobblers, skinnners, tanners, tailors, smiths, etc. Contracts stipulated the conditions under which apprentices would be taken on, and defined their obligations. It was common for the master to provide his apprentice with lodging, food and clothing, as well as the required tools. Novices were in turn obliged to dutifully serve their masters. Time to learn a skill depended on the apprentice's age and the agreement between the two sides. These youths would seldom return to their places of origin, instead staying in the more attractive business environment of Dubrovnik. The closing sections of Ottoman defters from 1468/69 and 1475/77 contained lists of craftsmen's villages: villages of blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, woodworkers, and others. These sources reveal the prevalence of certain trades in this region.

Collected systematized material on this region in the Middle Ages, as presented in this monograph, provides a wealth of new information about life, work, settlements, demographics, political conditions, and the economy in Upper Podrinje. Some debated questions have been resolved without completely

exhausting the potential for further research of the medieval Land of Drina. Nevertheless, it provides a strong incentive for continued study of the area.

## VII. SOURCES AND LITERATURE

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