

TEMA: POGRANIČJE HRVATSKE I MAĐARSKE**VEZE IZMEĐU SLAVONIJE I JUŽNE UGARSKE U PRVOJ POLOVICI 19. STOLJEĆA****CONNECTIONS BETWEEN SLAVONIA AND SOUTHERN TRANS-DANUBIA IN THE FIRST PART OF THE 16TH CENTURY****Szabolcs Varga**

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SUMMARY

There were several important connections between Slavonia and Southern Transdanubia in the early modern period. Three groups can be distinguished among them: ecclesiastical and cultural connections; military relationship and those with economic characteristic. The Diocese of Pécs established the closest personal and cultural relationship with the Zagrebian Bishopric within the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Many bishops and canons held offices in both dioceses. These two regions became the centres of Humanism in Hungary due to the geographical vicinity of Rome. Pécs was the hinterland of Slavonia and Požega until 1541 and their fleeing population often took refuge in the town. After 1541 Slavonia provided help for the defence of Pécs and then that of Szigetvár, which contributed to the preservation of Hungarian ethnicity in Tolna and Baranya. Slavonia was also significant for the inhabitants of Transdanubia from an economic point of view because the most important 16th century exports goods of the Kingdom of Hungary, cattle, was driven to Venice on the Slavonian trade routes. As a summary one can state that the close connections between Slavonia and Southern Transdanubia in the first part of the 16th century mutually influenced the two regions.

Key words: Slavonian, Pécs, Szigetvár, Ferdinand, John Szapolyai, Stephan Brodarić, Luka Sekelj

Ključne riječi: slavonski, Pečuh, Siget, Ferdinand, John Szapolyai, Stephan Brodarić, Luka Sekelj

In the past few decades tendencies regarding the mutual influences and connections among different regions as the most important research field have become increasingly strong within

modern historiographical schools.¹ These trends intend to show the uniqueness or on the contrary the general characteristics of the development of certain societies and the states encompassing them with the help of structural and cultural similarities or differences. Central Europe with Croatia and Hungary in particular, is an appropriate field for this kind of research, because there do not exist any other two countries whose fates were so intertwined for centuries. Therefore the examination of spatial and temporal changes of the connections between the two states is adequate both in comparative and in diplomatic historical analyses. Unfortunately the last century was not the age of joint Croatia and Hungary historical research. As Ede Margalits, a prominent Hungarian historian stated at the beginning of the 20th century: »Croatia has almost completely seceded from Hungary... in its sentiment and intellect: we neither understand nor know each other.«² For different reasons, historians in both countries locked themselves in their national historiographies and became their captives.³ However, this unfavourable situation has changed in the past few years and due to the new approach there is an increased interest in each other's history.⁴ Examining the story of cross-border institutions in the early modern period (such as the military frontier or the church) has also had an important role in this process. New research results have revealed that tendencies in church⁵, military⁶ and economic history⁷ cannot be written monographically within the framework of traditional national historiography, and they can be interpreted

¹ Oskar Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization. A History of East Central Europe*. New York, 1952. Jenő Szűcs, *Vázlat Európa három történelmi régiójáról*. [Outline on The Three Historical Regions of Europe] Budapest, 1983. Recently: Endre Sashalmi, *A nyugat-európai államfejlődés vázlat (1000-1700)*. [Outline on the Development of the Western States 1000-1700.] Budapest, 2006.

² Ede Margalits, *Horvát történelmi repertórium I*. [Croatian Historical Repertory vol. 1.] Budapest, 1900., 4.

³ Géza Pálffy, *Egy szlavóniai köznemesi família két ország szolgálatában: A Budróci Budor család a XV-XVIII. században*. [A Slavonian Noble Family in Service of Two Countries: The Budróci Budors in the 15th-18th Centuries] in: *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 115. (2002/4.) footnote 8. For this issue see Szabolcs Varga, *A 15-17. századi horvát történelem kutatásának új irányairól*. [On the New Tendencies of Studying 15th-17th Century Croatian History] in: *Századok* 139. (2005/4) 1035-1047.

⁴ The best example of this is the joint conference held in Zagreb, whose proceedings have already been published in Croatian. *Hrvatsko-mađarski odnosi 1102.-1918. zbornik radova*. Glavni urednik: Milan Kruhek. Zagreb, 2004.

⁵ Antal Molnár: *A hódoltságú katolikus egyháztörténet forrásai*. [Sources of Catholic Church History in the Area under Ottoman Domination] in: *A magyar egyháztörténet-írás forrásadottságai*. Eds. Szabolcs Varga - Lázár Vértési. (= *Seria Historiae Dioecesis Quinqueecclesiensis II.*) Pécs, 2006. 36-47. Idem: *A katolikus egyház a hódolt Dunántúlon*. [The Catholic Church in Transdanubia under the Ottoman Conquest] (= *METEM könyvek* 44.) Budapest, 2003. Idem: *Hrvatski, bosanski i mađarski katolički sustav crkvenih institucija u okupiranim područjima Ugarske*. in: *Hrvatsko-mađarski odnosi 1102-1918. zbornik radova*. Glavni urednik: Dr. Milan Kruhek. Zagreb, 2004. 135-143.

⁶ Géza Pálffy, *O povijesti nastanka zemljovida hrvatsko-slavonskih i ugarskih krajiških utvrda Nicola Angielinija*. in: *Podravina: Časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja* 3. (2004/5.) 45-51. One has to mention that research on the defence system was a hot issue among historians in 19th century, and several noteworthy works were born on the subject. For example Frantisek Vaniček, *Spezialgeschichte der Militärgrenze. I. Band*. Wien, 1875. (the interest for this issue did not wane either in the 20th century. See Günther Erich Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia 1522-1747*. The University of Illinois Press Urlana 1960. and recently Karl Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat. Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft an der kroatisch-slavonischen Militärgrenze (1535-1881)* (= *Zur Kunde Südosteuropas Band II/22*) Wien, 1997. One has to mention, however that these excellent writings did not deal with the functioning of the defence system in its complexity and in several cases they applied the definitions of the military frontier set up in the 18th century in an anachronistic way to tackle the earlier periods as well. Historians' attention has been drawn to these problems by Géza Pálffy, *The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System Against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century)*. in: *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of the Ottoman Conquest*. Eds.: Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor. (= *The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage Politics, Society and Economy*, Eds.: Suraiya Faroqi and Haill Inalcik, Vol. 20.) Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2000. 3-69.

⁷ Ferenc Szakály: *Zur Kontinuitätsfrage der Wirtschaftsstruktur in der Ungarischen Marktflecken unter der Türkenherrschaft*. in: *Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege. Die Vorträge des 1. Internationalen Grazer Symposions zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Südosteuropas (5. bis 10. Oktober 1970)* Hgg. Von Othmar Pickl. (= *Grazer Forschungen zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Band 1*) Graz, 1971. 235-273.

only in a wider context. This has recently drawn historians' attention to the history of the neighbouring countries. Hopefully it is not a passing fervour and there has been a change of paradigms in Central European historiography.

Namely, there is plenty to do. For instance Hungarian historiography knows little about the administration and functioning of late medieval Slavonia, not to mention its relationship with the adjacent regions.⁸ (I would like to indicate we have even less information about late medieval Croatian history and the connections between Croatia and the Kingdom of Hungary). We have scarce knowledge about the urbanisation⁹ of the region and summary works do not deal with Slavonia in general.¹⁰ The structure of the Slavonian counties and the issue of the specific Slavonian nobility have only been outlined broadly.¹¹ However, the general statement claiming Slavonia was a specific province of the Kingdom of Hungary cannot be interpreted without answering these questions.¹² Thus, one has arrived at the fundamental issue how the certain autonomous territories (*regnum Croatiae, Sclavoniae, Dalmatiae, pars Transsylvaniae*¹³, etc.) belonged to the state (*regnum*), i.e. what was the administration of the Kingdom of Hungary like. Nevertheless, I have not finished listing the various research tasks, I have only wanted to show the significance of the problem.

Not only the administration of Slavonia, but the connections of the territory with the Kingdom of Hungary have only been shown mostly in case studies.¹⁴ Moreover, they concern only some

⁸ András Kubinyi, *A Jagelló-kori magyar állam*. [The Hungarian State in the Jagiellonian Era] in: *Történelmi Szemle* 2006/3-4. 287-309.

⁹ The results of Croatian research are almost completely unknown in Hungarian historiography. It is also true for the early modern period. The data relating to Koprivnica, Zagreb or Varaždin are not present in the local historical works. There is only one exception: Zsuzsa Teke, *A zágrábiak gyapjúsövet-behozatala a 16. század közepén*. [The Import of Zagrebian Woollies in the Middle of the 16th Century] in: *Gazdaság, társadalom, történetírás. Emlékkönyv Pach Zsigmond Pál 70. születésnapjára. (Társadalom és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok 6.)* Budapest, 1989. 83-93. She also made use of the data of the documents compilations published Tkalčić

¹⁰ Transylvanian and Slovakian urbanisation is dealt with in several works. For instance Vera Bácskai, *Magyar mezővárosok a XV. században*. [Hungarian Market Towns in the 15th Century] (= *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből. Új sorozat 37.*) Budapest, 1965. Slavonian urbanisation is not mentioned either in Lajos Rúzsás - Jenő Szűcs, *A várostörténeti kutatás helyzete és feladatai*. [The Present State and Tasks of Research on Urbanisation] Különnyomat az MTA Társadalom-Történeti Tudományok Osztálya Közleményei XV. kötet 1-2. számából. Budapest, 1966.

¹¹ Elemér Mályusz, *A magyar rendi állam Hunyadi korában*. [The Hungarian Estate Monarchy under Hunyadi] Budapest, 1958.

¹² One cannot learn any more from the recent works aimed to be used by university students, either. István Draskóczy, *A tizenötödik század története*. [The 15th Century] Budapest, 2000. illetve Gyula Kristó - Pál Engel - András Kubinyi: *Magyarország története 1301-1526*. [Hungarian History from 1301 to 1526]. Budapest, 1998. 353-356. The relevant chapters were written by András Kubinyi.

¹³ It would be worth dealing with the question raised by Elemér Mályusz again to learn how the status of Slavonia and Transylvania was similar and different during the Middle Ages. The administration of Transylvania in the late Middle Ages has recently been dealt with in Teréz Oborni, *From Province to Principality: Continuity and Change in Transylvania in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century*. in: *Fight Against the Turk in Central-Europe in the First Half of the 16th Century*. Edited by István Zombori. Budapest, 2004. 165- 181

¹⁴ Dénes Sokcsevits, *Magyar múlt horvát szemmel*. [Hungarian Past from Croatian Point of View] Budapest, 2004. is a striking exception.

aspects of the extremely varied relations¹⁵. The most detailed studies deal with the different members of the Zrinski family highly esteemed by both nations and the history of the Wesselényi Conspiracy.¹⁶ In the second half of the 20th century scholarly interest grew for peasantry as a social class. Due to this interest Vera Zimányi has written the history of the serfs of the Rohonc-Szalónak manor, which had a lot of Croatian references¹⁷, too, because a significant number of Croatians migrated from the Croatian and Slavonian areas exposed to Ottoman attacks to the western areas of Transdanubia in the 16th century.¹⁸ After studying big landowners and peasants, in the 1990s historians started to deal with the northern migration of the Croatian-Slavonian gentry and their settlement and role in the Kingdom of Hungary¹⁹. However, their integration has not been written monographically so far. Hungarian research into the border castles and the fortified towns of the region is another deficiency and up to this point neither the Croatian results have been properly integrated into Hungarian historiography. Nevertheless it would be important to know whether the processes observed in Hungary were similar south of the River Drava.²⁰

Mainly the Osmanists are dependent on one another's research results, since the Hungarian area under Ottoman rule cannot be separated from Slavonia, Srijem (Srijem) and Požega because the ottoman administration also rendered the province in its unity. Those people who had excelled themselves in the Slavonian theatre of war held important positions north of the Drava. A representative example is Ulama Pasha²¹ or Kasim Bey²² who served on both borderlands for a long time. Fortunately, Osmanists know one another's works and Hungarian osmanistic studies considers the reconstruction of the events of the territories south of the Drava as its task.²³

¹⁵ The 15th century Slavonian events have been placed in a national context several times by Tamás Pálosfalvi, *Cilleiek és Tallóciak: Küzdelem Szlavóniáért (1440-1448)* [Cilleis and Tallóci: A Strife for Slavonia (1440-1448)] in: Századok 134. (2000.) 49-66. Idem: *Vitovec János. Egy zsoldoskarrier a 15. századi Magyarországon.* [Johann Vitovec. Career of a Mercenary in the 15th Century Hungary] in: Századok 135. (2001) 428-472. Idem: *Slavonski banovi u 15. stoljeću.* in: hrvatsko-mađarski odnosi 1102-1918. zbornik radova. Glavni urednik: Dr. Milan Kruhek. Zagreb, 2004. 45-51. The status of Slavonia within the early modern Kingdom of Hungary has been defined by Géza Pálffy, *Hrvatska i Slavonija u sklopu Ugarske Kraljevine u 16. i. 17. st. (s posebnim osvrtom na političke, vojne i društvene odnose)* in: hrvatsko-mađarski odnosi 1102-1918. zbornik radova. Glavni urednik: Dr. Milan Kruhek. Zagreb, 2004. 113-125. Idem: *Jedan od temeljnih izvora hrvatske povijesti: pozivnica zajedničkog Hrvatsko-slavonskog sabora iz 1558.* godine. in: Zbornik odsjeka za povijesne znanosti zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU. 23. (2005.) 47-61.

¹⁶ Further detailed bibliography can be found in Géza Pálffy, *Horvátország és Szlavónia a XVI-XVII. századi Magyar Királyságban.* [Croatia and Slavonia within 16th - 17th Century the Kingdom of Hungary] in: Fons IX. (2002/1-3.) (= Tanulmányok a 60 éves Gecsényi Lajos tiszteletére) Budapest, 2002. 107-123.

¹⁷ Vera Zimányi, *Der Bauernstand der Herrschaft Güssing im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert.* (= Burgenländische Forschungen. 46.) Eisenstadt, 1962.

¹⁸ Mirko Valentić, *Gradišćanski Hrvati od XVI stoljeća do danas.* Zagreb, 1970 has been fundamental up to present The latest important historical work on the Croatian migration is Géza Pálffy - Miljenko Pandžić - Felix Tobler, *Ausgewählte Dokumente zur Migration der Burgenländischen Kroaten im 16. Jahrhundert/Odabrani dokumenti o seobi Gradišćanskih Hrvata u 16. stoljeću.* Eisenstadt / Željezno, 1999.

¹⁹ Géza Pálffy, *Plemićka obitelj Budor iz Budrovca u razdoblju od 15. do 18. stoljeća.* in: Podravina: Časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja 2. (2003/3.) 5-75.

²⁰ The best example is the history of Koprivnica. Hrvoje Petrić, *Koprivnica u 17. stoljeću. Okoliš, demografske, društvene i gospodarske promjene u pograničnom gradu.* (= Bibliotheca historia Croatica Knjiga 36.) Meridijani, Samobor, 2005.

²¹ Géza Dávid, *Egy távolról jött oszmán főember a magyar végeken: Ulama bég.* [A High-ranking Ottoman from Far Away. Ulama bey] in: Keletkutatás 2002-2006. 62-83.

²² Géza Dávid, *Kászim vojvoda. bég és pasa. I-II.* [Kasim Vayvoda, Bey and Pasha vols. 1-2.] in: Keletkutatás 1993. ősz 53-67. Keletkutatás 1996.tavaszi 41-57. Ferenc Szakály, *Az első dunántúli szandzsák és megszervezője, Kászim bég.* [The First Transdanubian Sanjak and Its Founder, Kasim Bey] in: Keletkutatás 1995. tavasz. 23-43.

²³ Géza Dávid, *Kászim pasa eszéki mecsetje, iskolája és fürdője.* [Kasim Pasha's Mosque, School and Bath in Osijek] in: Keletkutatás 2002-2006. 184-189.

Summarising, there are many unexplored fields regarding the medieval and the early modern connections between Slavonia and the Kingdom of Hungary. In the study I am going to deal with a narrower region (Southern Transdanubia) and a shorter period (the first part of the 16th century). The latter was the most intensive period of the Ottoman Conquest. As the Ottoman Empire established similar systems in the occupied Slavonia and Southern Transdanubia, I am going to handle them together. However, the Ottoman conquest also produced parallel processes in those parts of the regions which were retained by the Christians, thus an interesting interdependence can be traced among them.²⁴ (I would like to indicate that apart from the territory of the medieval Slavonia I also include Požega for the sake of the better understanding. Nevertheless, I am not going to deal with the counties of Zala and Somogy in Southern Transdanubia, because I have not done any basic research on them, and their analysis would exceed the scope of this work).

Three groups can be distinguished within the connections between Baranya (Baranja) and Slavonia at the beginning of the early modern period: the ecclesiastic and cultural relations, the economic connections, and those with military characteristic. While the influences in the first two groups were bi-directional and enriching, military connections were something else. Pécs (Pečuj) served as a hinterland for Požega before 1543, and the significance of the town was also felt south of the Drava. In turn, the Slavonian area retained by the Christians (*ostaci ostataka*) provided great military help for Southern Transdanubia during the Ottoman rule. I am going to analyse these connections one-by-one in my study.

Within the medieval Kingdom of Hungary the Diocese of Pécs had the strongest personal and cultural connections with the Diocese of Zagreb. It was not by chance that Janus Pannonius²⁵ fleeing from King Matthias in 1471 found refuge in the castle of Medvedgrad near Zagreb with the help of the Zagrebian bishop, Osvát Laki Thúz (Osvald Tuz). Apart from the geographical vicinity, it might have cultural reasons, too. It is notable that the relationship between the adjacent Diocese of Veszprém and Zagreb was not so flourishing. It is well-known that many bishops of Pécs were later promoted²⁶ to be that of Zagreb, but there were not so strong personal relations with any other diocese. The bishops' list reveals that after the fall of the town in 1543, the bishops of Pécs showed a preference for the richer Zagrebian bishopric as the next step of their career. From the middle of the 16th century the bishops of Pécs lost their diocese, their title became a ceremonious one, their income decreased to minimum and in reality they became titular

²⁴ Ferenc Szakály, *A dél-dunántúli hadszíntér 1526-1543*. [The Southern Transdanubian Seat of War 1526-1543] in: Pécs a törökkorban. (= Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 7.) Ed. Ferenc Szakály. Pécs, 1999. 17-50.

²⁵ Janus Pannonius died in the castle of Medvedgrad and was buried in the Paulite monastery of Remetinec. From here his grave was taken to a place unknown for a long time. An intact grave of a bishop was found in the crypt of the cathedral in Pécs at the beginning of the 1990s. It is likely to have the mortal remains of Janus Pannonius. It is in line with Bonfini's account according to which King Matthias forgave Janus and allowed his coffin to be buried in Pécs. Gábor Kárpáti, *Janus Pannonius feltételezett sírhelye?* [The Supposed Grave of Janus Pannonius] in: Janus Pannonius és a humanista irodalmi hagyomány. Eds. László Jankovich - Gábor Kecskeméti. Pécs, 1998. 41-51.

²⁶ Pavao Gregorijanec (pečuški biskup 1548-1550; zagrebački biskup 1550-1557.), Juraj Drašković (1557-1563; 1563-1578.) Ivan Kranjčić iz Moslavine (1568-1578; 1578-1584.), Nikola Zelnicaj Stepanić (1596-1598; 1598-1602.) Petar Domitrović (1608-1611; 1611-1628.) Franjo Ergelski (1608; 1628-1637.) Benedikt Vinković (1630-1637; 1637-1642.) were among them. I have used the following publications for the data: *A Pécsi Egyházmegye schemetizmusa* [The Schematism of the Diocese of Pécs] Pécs, 1981. 152-153.; *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*. Juraj Batelja et alii. Zagreb, 1995.

bishops.²⁷ Their appointment to the Zagrebian episcopal see and later the titles »bishop of Győr« (Đur)²⁸ and »archbishop of Kalocsa« meant the rise of their career.

Beside the bishops, the canons of the chapter also maintained close relationships. Out of them 20 held benefices in both chapters between 1345 and 1526.²⁹ Two of the canons of Pécs were born in Koprivnica³⁰ and many of them came from Slavonia according to their names.³¹ Although the data is inaccurate in many cases, it is obvious that several members of the chapter of Pécs were of Slavonian origin and also received benefices in Zagreb.

However, it is worth wondering that in the second half of the 15th century there were not any members of the ecclesiastic middle layer who turned up in both places. The legal uncertainties over the possession of the Zagrebian bishopric which arose in the stormy period around King Matthias's accession to the throne might be the reason for that. Janus Pannonius occupied Vaskaszentmárton that belonged to Zagreb and in 1481 it was still among the estates of Zsigmond Ernuszt, (Sigismund Ernušt Čakovečki) the successor of the poet bishop.³² The Zagrebian bishops received the incomes of the abbey of Pécsvárad from the 1460s and their honorific title »governor of the abbey« also contributed to the lack of the dual benefices.³³ It offended the bishops of Pécs because they would have managed the abbey willingly. Furthermore, the Laki Thúz family also sided with János Vitéz and Janus Pannonius in their conspiracy against King Matthias in 1471, thus the ruler paid attention to the limitation of Bishop Osvát's power. It might have been a reason for the loyal Zsigmond Ernuszt's appointment (1473-1505) to the episcopal see of Pécs. In the first part of the 16th century Tamás Bakócz's (Toma Bakač) policy and later the wartime events did not allow the middle layers of the church to reinforce their relationship.

Nevertheless, the connections between the two dioceses might be regarded remarkably extensive in the studied period. The basically peaceful relationship is supported by the fact that the

²⁷ Since the Hungarian episcopate never failed to appoint the bishops of the areas under Ottoman rule, these offices (the bishops of Pécs, Vác, Csanád, Eger, Veszprém) did not become mere titles even when they were not controlled in reality. Joachim Bahlcke, *A »Magyar Korona püspökei« Adalék az egyház társadalom- és alkotmánytörténetéhez.* [The »Bishops of the Hungarian Crown« Data on the Social and Constitutional History of the Church] in: *Történelmi Szemle* 2006/1-2. 1-25.

²⁸ In reality only Juraj Drašković was able to fill in all these sees, he was the archbishop of Kalocsa from 1574, the bishop of Győr from 1578, and he was also cardinal until his death on 31 January 1587.

²⁹ Tamás Fedeles, *Egyházi kapcsolatok Pécs és Zágráb között. (Pécsi kanonokok a zágrábi székeskáptalanban, 1345-1526)* [Church Connections between Pécs and Zagreb (The Canons of Pécs in the Zagrebian Cathedral Chapter 1345-1526)] in: *Egyháztörténet* 6. (2005/2.) <http://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/tartalom12.htm>

³⁰ Determining the origins according to names is always a bit uncertain. Péter Kaproncai was a canon from 1438 to 1445 and András Kaproncai held canonical benefice between 1493-1508 and was the priest in Szentgyörgy in the meantime in the county of Körös. Tamás Fedeles, *A pécsi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő középkorban. (1354-1526)* [The Personal Composition of the Cathedral Chapter of Pécs in the Late Middle Ages] (= *Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből* 17.) Pécs, 2005. 390-391.

³¹ According to the abovementioned data collection 14 canons came from the areas south of the Drava, but in several cases their Slavonian origin or canonical benefice was questionable. Later research might clarify these points. The data collection reveals that one person was born in Varaždin *lbid.* 372; and two people were born in Zagreb and in Szentgyörgy *lbid.* 456; 467; and 449., while 3 canons came from Požega, 2 from Gara, and 1 from Orbova and Našice. *lbid.* Map I.

³² István Tringli, *Az 1481. évi szlavóniai közgyűlés.* [The Slavonian General Assembly in 1481] in: *Tanulmányok Borsa Iván tiszteletére.* Ed. Enikő Csukovits. Budapest, 1998. 304.

³³ Osvát Laki Thúz was mentioned as the governor of the abbey of Pécsvárad as early as 1470. Tamás Kófalvi, *A pécsváradai konvent hiteleshelyi oklevéltára. 1254-1526.* [The Charter Collection of the Abbey of Pécsvárad As A Place of Authentication 1254-1526.] Szeged, 2006. Register 78. Giving one of the richest Benedictine abbey to the bishop was part of King Matthias's policy on the monastic orders. With this step he attempted to secure the income of the significant estate for himself or his supporters. For more details see András Kubinyi, *Mátyás király és a monasztikus rendek.* [King Matthias and the Monastic Orders] in: *Mons Sacer* 996-1996. Pannonhalma 1000 éve I. Ed. Imre Takács. Pannonhalma, 1996. 538-544.

inventory compiled in the Zagrebian cathedral in 1502 mentioned a gilded casule granted to the church by the bishop of Pécs Zsigmond Ernuszt.³⁴

Apart from geographical vicinity there might have been other reasons for the close relationship between the dioceses of Pécs and Zagreb. From the late Middle Ages Italy was the centre of the Christian world and the road to Rome from the Kingdom of Hungary ran across Zagreb. The Eternal City had a greater impact on the population of the neighbouring territories, such as the dioceses of Pécs and Zagreb, than that of the northern and eastern areas. Much more people travelled to Rome from the abovementioned two territories than from the other areas, which is indicated by the petitions preserved in the archives of the *Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica*.³⁵ According to these documents 652 petitions arrived from the Zagrebian bishopric and 377 requests came from the Diocese of Pécs. The former constitutes 22 % of all the documents, while the latter makes up 13 % of them.³⁶ Returning from Rome people brought Italian culture and spread Humanism in the upper ecclesiastic and lay classes of the Kingdom of Hungary. It contributed to the position of Pécs as the most important Humanist centre beside the royal court in the first decades of the 16th century. The bishop of Pécs György Szatmáry (1505-1521) set up a Humanist circle around himself and it maintained close relationship with Slavonian and Italian territories.³⁷ István Brodarics (Stjepan Brodarić), who held the office of the provost of Pécs between 1524-1526, also belonged to this group and he was the one who gave the authentic account of the eyewitness of the battle of Mohács. Bálint Hagymási, a native of Varaždin, was another member of the group and was educated in Italy on the expenses of the bishop from 1505 to 1516. He wrote his famous work »*A Short Writing of Praise and Blame of Wine and Water*« in Pécs, too.

Due to the high level of intellectual culture there operated an excellent school in the town and many students attended the institution also from the areas south of the Drava. The abovementioned István Brodarics also went to this school, as well as György Husz who was captured in 1532 near Rasinja in the county of Križevci by the Ottomans withdrawing from Kiseg (Güns, Kőszeg) and, although not voluntarily, became a significant traveller for posterity.³⁸

The benefices of the chapter and those of the canons also remained important after the battle of Mohács. Both rulers granted the office of the provost of Pécs that guaranteed reasonable financial income during the years of the civil war. Albert Peregi, whose activity is to be detailed below, was one of the most well-known provosts devoted to Ferdinand. During his provosty John Szapolyai«s (Zápolya, Ivan Zapolja) secretary and papal envoy was Nicolaus Bogantius, archdeacon of Pécs and at the same time appointed to be the bishop of Duvnjska by Paul III in 1536.³⁹

Apart from the institutions managed by priests, monastic orders also established intensive relationships between the two regions. The Dominican order is a typical example of it. At the beginning

³⁴ Ivan B. Tkalčić: *Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. Grada Zagreba prijestolnice kraljevine dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonske / Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*. Svezak XI. Zagreb, 1906.184.

³⁵ György Kasztellánfy also visited Rome and brought an indulgence. MOL DF 268 184. I have found the data on the CD on medieval charters published by the Archives of Somogy County. John Korbáviai (Johannes Torquatus) was also in the Eternal City for similar reasons in 1512. Ivan Črnić, *Nekoliko južnih Sloviena zapisanih od 1478 do 1520 godine u braštinu sv. Duha u Rimu*. in: *Starine* 15. (1883.) 176.

³⁶ Gabriella Erdélyi, *A »Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica« hivatala és magyar kérvényei a15-16. században II.* [The Office of the *Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica* and its Requests in Hungarian in the 15th and 16th Centuries] in: *Levéltári Közlemények* 76. (2005/1.) 82.

³⁷ Péter Farbaky, *Szatmáry György a mecénás* [György Szatmáry, the Maecenas] (= *Művészettörténet füzetek* 27.) Budapest, 2002.

³⁸ Ede Margalits, vol. 1. 559. Lajos Tardy, *Rabok, követek, kalmárok az oszmán birodalomról*. [Prisoners, Envoys, Merchants About the Ottoman Empire] Budapest, 1977. 208-270.

³⁹ Dominik Mandić, *Duvnjska biskupija od XIV.-XVII. stoljeća*. in: *Croatia Sacra* 5. (1935.) 37.

of the 16th century the profession of how to build an organ was taught in the Dominicans« friary in Pécs. Johannes Stek, who was regarded as an acknowledged expert, also worked here. In 1517 he was invited to Zagreb to restore the organ, which he did willingly.⁴⁰ The connections between the members of the order in Pécs and in Zagreb lived through the battle of Mohács. A surviving monk of the burnt friary in Pécs, Stephan brother, was transferred to the Zagrebian monastery.⁴¹

Pécs was considered to be the intellectual centre of the region at the end of the Middle Ages. Its influence extended over Slavonia, too. Slavonian nobles willingly called on jurists from the town to settle their disputes. For instance, Ivan Tahi the latter provost of Vrana hired the lawyer doctor Michael, provost of Pécs to handle his case. Although he was not successful since Michael responded in the count in a way that was completely the opposite they had agreed on, the vast majority might have been satisfied with their legal experts.⁴² Being an impartial platform, the Diocese of Pécs could also give a lot of assistance in religious disputes. When the prebendars of Zagreb sued János Bocskai, Pope Alexander VI called on Miklós and György Bodó, canons of Pécs, to carry on the investigation.⁴³

The civil war and the recurring Ottoman devastation after the battle of Mohács hindered the connections to develop further. Pécs became the hinterland of the territories over the River Drava which suffered serious damage. The treasures of the Bosnian chapter, originally kept in Đakovo, were sent to Pécs in 1537, and the priests of Požega fled to the town at the same time. Master Nicolaus, the Bosnian lector took the treasures (with the chapter«s seal among them) to Pécs and handed them over to János Gyöngyösi, canon and provost.⁴⁴

The Ottomans occupied Pécs in 1543. The priests had to flee from the territory, thus religious connections discontinued for long decades. Pécs became a centre of Ottoman public administration, which resulted in the eradication of the Catholic Church organisation. During the 17th century the state of affairs changed and Catholic missionaries reappeared in the region. Founding a friary in Pécs, the Jesuits coming from Zagreb and Međimurska were the most significant out of them. They started to recatholicise the inhabitants of Baranya.⁴⁵ Thus, because of the missionaries« arrival across Slavonia, the areas south of the Drava had an important role in the survival of Catholicism in Baranya.

The next part of my essay is going to focus on the analysis of the military connections between the two regions. Before the battle of Mohács the ruler obliged Baranya to contribute to the defence of Slavonia with victuals and taxes. Many Besides, the nobles of Baranya had to make war in defence of Croatia and Slavonia on several occasions.⁴⁶ In 1525 military groups from Baranya

⁴⁰ Kilián Szigeti, *Pécs orgonistái és orgonaépítői a késő középkorban*. [The Organists and Organ Builders of Pécs in the Late Middle Ages] in: *Baranyai Helytörténetírás 1974-1975*. Pécs, 1976. 14-16.

⁴¹ Ferenc Szakály, *Mezőváros és reformáció. Tanulmányok a korai magyar polgárosodás kérdéséhez*. [Market Towns and Reformation. Studies on the Early Development of Hungarian Middle Classes] (= *Humanizmus és reformáció* 23.) Budapest, 1995. 44.

⁴² MOL DF 268 267. I have found the data on the CD on medieval charters published by the Archives of Somogy County.

⁴³ György Bónis, *Szentszéki regeszták. Iratok az egyházi bíraskodás történetéhez a középkori Magyarországon*. [Registers of the Holy See. Documents for the History of Church Jurisdiction in Medieval Hungary] (= *Jogtörténeti Tár* 1/1.) Budapest, 1997. Register 3705.

⁴⁴ Géza Entz, *A pécsi székesegyház kincseinek sorsa*. [The Fate of the Treasures of the Cathedral of Pécs] *Pannonia* 7. (1941-1942.) 334.

⁴⁵ For a summary see Antal Molnár, *A katolikus egyház a hódolt Dunántúlon*. [The Catholic Church in Transdanubia Under Ottoman Rule] (= *Metem Könyvek* 44.) Budapest, 2003. Its review in English is going to be published in Podravina.

⁴⁶ On 8 March 1467 Pál Baróthy from Zerdahel protested that during his participation in the ruler«s campaign in Croatia Vince, the abbey of Iván had been dismissed without asking his opinion. György Bónis, 1997. Register 3061.

also participated in the campaign launched for the relief of Jajca, and the county provided the greatest part of victuals and logistics.

The whole state of affairs changed in the autumn of 1526 when only Krsto Frankopan disposed over a significant army. He was late for the battle of Mohács, and his army of 500 soldiers remained intact.⁴⁷ Thus, the Southern Transdanubian counties regarded him as their protector against the plundering Ottoman troops. Moreover, the nobles in the counties of Baranya, Tolna, Zala and Somogy unanimously asked him to be their defender (*tutor et defensor*). It was also due to the Croatian count known to be an excellent commander that John Szapolyai was elected as king of Hungary against Ferdinand by Southern Transdanubian and Slavonian nobles.⁴⁸ The similar situation of the two regions can be recognised in the fact that while Croatian nobles acknowledged Ferdinand their ruler on 1 January 1527, Slavonian and Southern Transdanubian counties gathered round Szapolyai. Their decision might be supported by several reasons, but only being aware of the events in Hungary allows one to understand the dual election of Croatia and Slavonia.⁴⁹ The right decision of the Slavonian nobility was justified when the Bosnian Ottoman troops kept devastating Croatia in 1526 and 1527 but left Slavonia intact since the sultan considered Ferdinand as his main enemy.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the sudden death of Krsto Frankopan hindered the pacification of the region. As a consequence, Szapolyai's rule seriously weakened in both territories, which resulted in the increase of Ferdinand's influence and the frequent invasions of the Ottoman troops on the frontier. Thus, a bloody civil war began which lasted until 1538 when the Treaty of Várad was signed.

The history of the civil war is still unexplored since the work of Gábor Barta was not continued in Hungary and Croatian historiography has not paid attention to the Slavonian acts of Szapolyai's supporters. The difficulties mentioned in the introduction do not allow either parties to reconstruct and assess Ferdinand and Szapolyai's conflict in the region. It is true despite the fact that there have been many excellent documents compilations for more than a century and the vast majority of the sources related to the issue is well-known.⁵¹

Looking over the published sources some statements can be made on the relationship between Slavonian and Southern Transdanubia. John Szapolyai could only have a firm support in Slavonia when he controlled Pécs at the same time, because the road from Buda to Zagreb ran across the town. For instance, after the defeat of Szapolyai in 1527 Slavonia and Southern Transdanubia changed sides. However, the campaign led by the sultan in the same year proved that Ferdinand was not able to defend his subjects. It strengthened the influence of those who expected Szapolyai and his friendly politics towards the Ottomans to restore the peace in the country. Nevertheless, the armistice between Szapolyai and Ferdinand in 1530 inspired the Slavonian and Southern Transdanubian big landowners to circumvent the two rulers and take the control of their life into their own hands. They participated at the kingless diets several times but they were not succe-

⁴⁷ The monographic description of the events is in Pál Jászay, *A magyar nemzet napjai a mohácsi vész után*. [The Days of the Hungarian Nation After the Battle of Mohács] Pest, 1846.

⁴⁸ Gábor Barta, *Konzolidációs kísérlet Magyarországon a mohácsi csatavesztés után. (Szapolyai John kormányzása 1526. november - 1527. augusztus.)* [An Attempt at Consolidation in Hungary After the Lost Battle of Mohács (John Szapolyai's Government November 1526 - August 1527)] in: *Századok* 1977. 635-680.

⁴⁹ For more details see Szabolcs Varga, *Osmanische Expansion und Kroatiens Neupositionierung zum Königreich Ungarn im 16. Jahrhundert.* (manuscript)

⁵⁰ Gábor Barta, *Az elfelejtett hadszíntér 1526-1528.* [A Forgotten Theatre of War] in: *Történelmi Szemle* 37. (1995/1.) 1-33.

⁵¹ Smaller family and town archives may have important documents related to the issue. A typical example is Sopron, where a colleague of mine, Péter Dominkovits have found several documents written in the 1530s which he has sent me. I would like to thank him for his help.

ssful.⁵² Finally, Suleyman«s campaign in 1532, which reinforced Szapolyai«s influence in the region in a spectacular way, terminated these efforts.⁵³ Following his obtaining of Southern Transdanubia, Szapolyai strongly supported his Slavonian followers as well, whose leader was the Zagrebian bishop Šimun Erdődy and the bailiff of Virovitice János Bánffy of Alsóindva (Donja Lendava). The king even arranged a military expedition to support them, and Tamás Nádasdy asked also Pécs for soldiers to besiege Zagreb and Varaždin.⁵⁴ So as to accomplish the plan Szapolyai appointed his experienced diplomat, the Humanist prelate Stjepan Brodarić to be the bishop of Pécs. His Southern Slav origin and his devotion to the king as well as his excellent Slavonian relationship were in favour of him. In August 1532 he participated in the Slavonian regional diet summoned by bishop Erdődy as Szapolyai«s envoy. However, despite his efforts Brodarics could not make everybody accept Szapolyai«s primacy. Therefore, in the summer of 1533 the king himself arrived in Pécs to make the area support him. The limitations of his power became obvious, because the governor Lodovico Gritti«s son escorted him and Kasim Pasha with his 200 soldiers from Srijem provided his guards.⁵⁵ The Viennese court also kept an eye on Szapolyai«s stay in the town and they sent several spies to Pécs. According to them Szapolyai in fact wanted to settle the dispute between Šimun Erdődy and János Bánffy of Alsóindva to strengthen his own Slavonian party.⁵⁶ However, his efforts were in vain because Bánffy died soon afterwards and Erdődy changed sides. As a consequence, Szapolyai«s faction broke up in the region. The Ottoman campaign launched in 1536 redrew the map and brought important changes into the state of affairs of the two adjacent territories.

The events of the campaign in Požega in 1536 clearly indicated the interdependence of the two regions. In that year both sides of the River Drava were put into a critical position. A massive Ottoman campaign began in the areas south of the Drava and by the end of the year almost the whole county of Požega came under Ottoman domination.⁵⁷ However, the population«s active help for the invaders due to of their living amid fears continuously was even more formidable. The castle of Požega was handed over to the bey of Smederevo by the fugitive inhabitants themselves.⁵⁸ By that time the Ottoman tactics of the soldiers« behaving in an acceptable way in the conquered territories had become ripe. They could make the population believe that the sultan«s friendship was a true political alternative and living under his rule meant peace. This was further enhanced by Szapolyai who had warned the country of Požega well in advance to surrender or else they would be perished. Due to the continuous ravages of the former years, the incompeten-

⁵² The minutes of these diets were published by Vilmos Fraknoi, *Magyar Országgyűlési Emlékek / Monumenta Comitalia Regni Hungariae I. (1526-1536.)* Budapest, 1874. 309-429.

⁵³ The events of the war can be followed in Gertrud Gerhartl, *Die Niederlage der Türken am Steinfeld 1532.* (= Militärgeschichtliche Schriftenreihe 26.) Wien, 1981. Its ideological background is revealed in Gábor Ágoston, *Ideológia, propaganda és oszmán pragmatizmus: A Habsburg-Oszmán nagyhatalmi vetélkedés és a közép-európai konfrontáció.* [Ideology, Propaganda and Ottoman Pragmatism: The Habsburg-Ottoman Rivalry and the Central European Confrontation] in: *Történelmi Szemle* 45. (2003/1-2.) 1-25. The Effects of the Campaign on Hungary is assessed in Ferenc Szakály, *Lodovico Gritti in Hungary 1529-1534. A Historical Insight into the Beginnings of Turo-Habsburgian Rivalry.* (= *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 197.) Budapest, 1995.

⁵⁴ Gábor Kujáni, *Brodarics István levelezése 1508-1538.* [The Correspondence of István Brodarics 1508-1538] in: *Történelmi Társulat* 1908. 280-281.

⁵⁵ Ferenc Szakály, 1999. 31.

⁵⁶ Béla Iványi, *Buda és Pest sorsdöntő évei (1526-1541).* [The Crucial Years of Buda and Pest (1526-1541)] in: *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* IX. (1941.) 46-47.

⁵⁷ For the events of the campaign see Nada Klaić, »Ostaci ostataka« Hrvatske i Slavonije u XVI st. (od mohačke bitke do seljačke bune 1573. g.) in: *Arhivski Vjesnik* 16. (1973) 253-325. and Ive Mažuran, *Turska osvajanja u Slavoniji (1526-1552)* in: *Osječki Zbornik* VI. (1958.) 93-135.

⁵⁸ Ede Margalits, *Horvát történelmi repertorium II.* [Croatian Historical Repertory vol. 2.] Budapest, 1902. 739.

ce of the two rulers and the bloody civil war the inhabitants looked forward to the conquerors in hope of a better life.⁵⁹ Those who were afraid of the Ottomans moved northward. Several members of the chapters of Požega and Bosnia went to Pécs in 1536 and many desperate refugees arrived in the town, too. According to reports from the town itself, the citizens overtly looked forward to the Ottomans, which might have been the influence of the survivors from Požega.⁶⁰ In the next years this atmosphere was not unique. For instance, Fruzsina Kasztellánfi (Kaštelanović) from Sv. Duh (Szentlélek) asked the Apostolic See to make his engagement with János Velikei break off because her fiancé had become a traitor and had ravaged Christian territories together with the Ottomans and had even assisted with his native town, Velike«s surrender to them.⁶¹

Finally, Szapolyai was able to come to terms with Bálint Török, the biggest landowner of Transdanubia, which consolidated the state of affairs. Nevertheless, the noble made the king pay heavy price for his support. Török«s cousin, György Sulyok was appointed the bishop of Pécs and Brodarics had to be satisfied with being the bishop of Vác. It clearly indicated that by that time Szapolyai had realised his loss of Slavonia and he focused on preserving Southern Transdanubia. It was also the reason for Török«s being appointed captain-general of Transdanubia, which definitely made the region gather round him.⁶² In support of Szapolyai Török took part in the catastrophic defeat of the Christian troops near Osijek in November 1537. Starting against Katzianer he concentrated his troops around Pécs and also provided the Ottoman army with fodder and foodstuffs.⁶³

The battle of Osijek showed that Slavonia was Ferdinand«s area of influence and he did everything he could to forge a true faction out of his disappointed subjects. In doing so he could rely on the provost of Pécs, Albert Peregi, whose life is still lesser-known by historians. In those years he was the one who introduced Slavonian matters to the king and he was a representative of Ferdinand together with Nikola Jurišić at the Slavonian regional diet held in the autumn of 1537.⁶⁴ Ferdinand«s holding of Slavonia was set in the Treaty of Várad and the movement led by Hans Katzianer and Bálint Török aimed at handing over the region to the Ottomans with the help of Szapolyai could not change the state of affairs, either.

However, the fall of Buda in 1541 brought some changes. Following the death of Szapolyai Transdanubian areas had also come under the primacy of Ferdinand. As a consequence, Southern Transdanubia and its centre Pécs had become an operational area.

The strategy of the Ottoman military leadership changed in 1541 because the Ottomans wanted to take up their quarters permanently in the country. Thus, the troops left behind spent the winter in Hungary, which enabled them to start military actions as early as possible. Due to the new perception, the Ottomans built up the castle of Szekszárd in the county of Tolna and also the sancak of Mohács was established at the beginning of 1542 at the latest. Its leader became the Croatian Kasim Pasha.⁶⁵ There is no way to give the precise location of the new sancak, since its

⁵⁹ Gábor Barta, *A törökös ideológia kezdetei Magyarországon*. [The Beginnings of the Ottoman-friendly Ideology in Hungary] in: *Keletkutatás* 1987. tavasz 8-19.

⁶⁰ Vince Bunyitay et alii, *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából III. kötet. (1535-1541.)* [Church Historical Memories from the Age of Reformation in Hungary vol. 3.] Budapest, 1906. 112-113.

⁶¹ Gabriella Erdélyi, 2005. 73. That year Velike was captured only temporarily by the Ottomans. Finally it fell in 1544.

⁶² József Bessenyei, *A Héttorony foglya*. [The Prisoner of the Yedikule] Budapest, 1986. 66-67.

⁶³ József Bessenyei, *Enyingi Török Bálint*. [Bálint Török of Enying] Budapest, 1994. 141.

⁶⁴ Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyar Országgyűlési Emlékek / Monumenta Comitalia Regni Hungariae II. (1537-1545.)* Budapest, 1875. 176.

⁶⁵ Géza Dávid, *Mohács-Pécs 16. századi bégjei*. [The 16th Century Beys of Mohács-Pécs] in: *Pécs a törökkorban* (=Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 7.) Ed. Szakály Ferenc. Pécs, 1999. 57

borders were modified continuously. It was described vividly by the head of the new district himself stating he was »*penes Danubium citra Drawam ac Tholna Dei gratia zanchak*«. ⁶⁶

Kasim's appointment to this position proved to be a good choice. Due to his career in the region he was perfectly aware of the local state of affairs. He started the so far unknown castle sieges in the territory, the aim of which was to widen the area under Ottoman rule in Transdanubia in order to secure the road connecting Sriem and Buda. For the sake of it the Ottoman forces had occupied Földvár, Kalocsa, Tolna, Szekeső and Zombor from the autumn of 1541 to the spring of 1542. ⁶⁷ Thus, the Ottoman military attendance became permanent in Transdanubia.

There was a close cooperation from the beginning between the sancak of Mohács-Szekszárd and that of Požega ⁶⁸ which had been established in 1537 in the areas south of the Drava. The two districts attempted to encircle the more and more shrinking territories of Southern Transdanubia. Since the main Ottoman line of bearing was Vienna, the invaders had to secure the waterway on the Danube. From 1541 onwards the most important task of the troops led by Kasim was to widen the borders of the Ottoman territory in the middle of the Kingdom of Hungary so that sailing should be safe on the Danube. As a result skirmishes broke out one after the other in the region and the Ottoman troops occupied the castles of Našice, Daróc, Sv. Nikola (Szentmiklós), Orahovica (Rahóca) in the county of Požega as early as the beginning of 1542. ⁶⁹ However, Kasim's task was more difficult north of the Drava because the military frontiers set up in Tolna and Baranya stood on the defence permanently. The Ottoman military leadership recognised that without possessing the most important fortress (in this case Pécs) it was impossible for them to control either Požega or Southern Transdanubia. It was also known by the Christians therefore they did everything they could to strengthen the town whose makings were fundamentally unfavourable. ⁷⁰

Nevertheless, the fortification and provision of Pécs with war materials could only be accomplished by waterway. Since the Danube was controlled by Buda, the endangered castle in Baranya could only be supplied on the Mura or from the upper region of the Drava. Therefore keeping the castle was only possible with Slavonian assistance. Slavonian troops paid by the Stirian estates arrived in Pécs as early as the beginning of 1542 under the leadership of Lukács Székely (Luka Zekel). ⁷¹ Besides, there is evidence about arrival of ironware and gunpowder. Székely knew the Slavonian borderland very well and the fact that he became the captain of the castle indicated the importance of the town. The exact date of his appointment is unknown. The local chapter and the town council mentioned him as *Regiae Maiestatis capitaneus* on 17 February 1542 and Ferdinand himself wrote about him as »*consiliarius noster, supremus tricesimarum nostrarum Slavoniensium exactor et arcis et civitatis nostrae Quinqueelesiensis capitaneus*«

⁶⁶ Ferenc Szakály, 1999. 38.

⁶⁷ Klára Hegyi, *Pécs török katonasága*. [The Ottoman Soldiers of Pécs] in: Pécs a törökkorban (=Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 7.) Ed. Szakály Ferenc. Pécs, 1999. 1999. 89

⁶⁸ Géza Dávid, 1995. 55.

⁶⁹ These castles were captured by the Ottomans before 7 February 1542. Their guards left them. Vince Bunyitay et alii, *Egyháztörténelmi emlékek a magyarországi hitújítás korából IV. kötet. (1542-1547.)* [Church Historical Memories from the Age of Reformation in Hungary vol. 4. (1542-1547)] Budapest, 1909. 11.

⁷⁰ Pécs could not be defended against an enemy outnumbering the guards for a long time. From the north there was the Tettye-domb (Tettye Hill) from where one can have a look at the town and there was not a river to help the defence. The town was rather big, thus a high number of soldiers should have been stationed here. Besides, its walls were low and thin, and there were few possibilities to strengthen them.

⁷¹ Géza Pálffy, *A Bajcsavárig vezető út: A stájer rendek részvétele a Dél-Dunántúl törökellenes határvédelmében a XVI. században*. [The Road Leading to Bajcsavár: The Stirian Estates' Participation in the Frontier Defence of Southern Transdanubia Against the Ottomans in the 16th Century] in: *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 116. (2003/2.) 469-470. According to a draft originally they planned to keep more armed soldiers in Pécs.

on 10 June. However, a document dated on 8 December 1542 did not mention his office in Pécs.⁷² Székely was not the only one responsible for the town. He shared the tasks with the bishop of Pécs, Szaniszló Váraljai. This choice was not a lucky one because the debates on their jurisdiction often led to friction between the two commanders. Székely's frequent absence from the town also contributed to the conflict because he could make the nobles of Tolna and Baranya accept his decisions only with difficulty. The most important reason for his dismissal might have been the significant Ottoman success achieved in this period in the weakened Slavonia. As a result there was an urgent need for people familiar with the area.⁷³

Székely's departure was not followed by the failure of Stirian assistance. In 1542 the province sent 5,000 thalers for the salary of 200 cavalymen and 30 footsoldiers, together with 6,000 cannonballs and several tons of gunpowder.⁷⁴

A high number of royal soldiers remained in the town even after Lukács Székely's resignation. At any rate Christoph Zoppel, a supporter of Ferdinand, paid a one-month salary for 90 cavalymen and 100 footsoldiers in April 1543. The name of their leader is unknown.⁷⁵ Apart from them there were other soldiers in the town, too. The most powerful ones out of them were in a troop paid by Szaniszló Váraljai. According to a muster carried out in 1543 Váraljai kept 170 cavalymen on his own expenses and he also had footsoldiers.⁷⁶ The bishop asked Ferdinand to pay for 100 soldiers out of them but it is not clear whether the ruler took over them. Tamás Nádasdy, who had been appointed captain-general of Transdanubia one year earlier, stationed a significant army in the town as well.⁷⁷ He could keep soldiers from his own income as well as those paid by the Royal Chamber. His 110 cavalymen led by Ivan Alapić and 75 other headed by János Paksy obviously got their payment from the Chamber.⁷⁸ At the beginning of 1543 several Slavonian nobles stayed in Pécs, for example Ferenc Bocskai of Rasinja and Menyhért Kasztellánfy. The majority of Alapić's soldiers must have come from areas south of the Drava.⁷⁹

The big landowners shared the burden of the defence. While the bishop of Pécs controlled the southern borderland, Imre Werbőczy whose estates lay in Tolna looked to the eastern frontier. Their strength is shown by the fact that Hungarian troops could succeed even in 1543. Murad sancakbey of Požega attacked Valpovo with cannons looted by Kasim in Orahovica⁸⁰, but soldiers from Pécs and Siklós launched a counter-attack and relieved the castle. It was an important success considering the state of affairs.⁸¹

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Thus Székely has to be acquitted of the charges by Miklós Istvánffy who stated that »Ferdinand when he took over the town three years ago appointed Lukács Székely, the son of Jakab, the governor to collect gold rather than defend it... but Lukács went to Gréc [Grác] for his own business to get a reasonable sum of money, and was not there.« *Istvánffy Miklós magyarok dolgairól írt históriája Tállyai Pál XVII. századi fordításában II.* [Miklós Istvánffy's History of the Hungarians« Affairs in the 17th Century Translation of Pál Tállyai vol. 2.] Redacted by Benits Péter. Budapest, 2001. 91.

⁷⁴ Ferenc Szakály, *Pécs török uralom alá kerülésének történetéhez.* [On the History of the Ottoman Conquest of Pécs] in: In Memoriam Barta Gábor. Tanulmányok Barta Gábor emlékére. Ed. Lengvári István. Pécs, 1996. 158.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 154.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 153.

⁷⁷ For Tamás Nádasdy's captaincy-general see Géza Pálffy, *Nádasdy Tamás, a Dunántúl főkapitánya (1542-1546 és 1548-1552).* [Tamás Nádasdy, the Captain-General of Transdanubia (1542-1546 and 1548-1552)] in: Nádasdy Tamás (1498-1562) Tudományos Emléklülés: Sárvár, 1998. szeptember 10-11. Sárvár, 1999. 29-54.

⁷⁸ Ferenc Szakály, 1996. 155-156.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ It was the castle of László Móré and several Christians were imprisoned here before 1543. Farkas Batthyány (Wolfgang Batthyán) was released by Kasim. Géza Dávid, 1999. 57.

⁸¹ Ibid.

At the same time the sultan started a new campaign against Hungary. His aim was to seize Pécs, Székesfehérvár and Esztergom so as to widen the territory under Ottoman rule and perchance to occupy Vienna.⁸² Thus, Pécs became one of the targets of the campaign, while Slavonia escaped because it lay outside the way of the invading army. Ferdinand could not gather a powerful army against the sultan and as a consequence the captains of the castles lying in the operational area had to shift for themselves. Many of them bravely stood up against the enemy and delayed the Ottoman troops for at least some days. However, Pécs made another decision. Its guards cut and ran and Kasim Bey could conquer it on 5 July 1543 the latest. At that time the much weaker castle of Siklós still held out.⁸³

It is very difficult for historians to find an appropriate explanation for this act because of the considerable force stationed in the town in the spring of 1543. In his work Miklós Istvánffy placed the blame on Székely, but he was obviously wrong. Many factors contributed to this outcome and the cowardice of the soldiers did not give a reason for it. As Ferenc Szakály pointed out when studying the further careers of those serving in the castle, none of them was condemned for their conduct and several soldiers pursued great careers and became appreciated members of the borderland society.⁸⁴

The bishop of Pécs wrote a letter on 28 July in which he stated he decided on flight because he had considered his troops as inadequate for the defence and had not been able to make the others stay. It could be more or less true although it is not clear who left the castle first. Petar Keglević reported as early as 10 June he had seen Ivan Alapić with his soldiers passing Koprivnica 3 days before and he informed Keglević that Váraljai and the other soldiers staying in Pécs had been convinced that the sultan had been on his way towards the town.⁸⁵ Thus, the defenders began to depart well before the arrival of the main Ottoman force, which caused panic among the citizens. A desperate flight started in June 1543. Several inhabitants set off northward while others settled in Koprivnica in Slavonia.⁸⁶

It is likely that the events of Slavonia could explain the conduct of the defenders of Pécs. The Bosnian Ulama Pasha occupied Čazma before 25 April while Murad and Kasim conquered Atina and Belostyina, an estate of the Keglevich family. It meant that the Ottomans took over a relatively large Christian area.⁸⁷ Then the main force occupied Valpovo on 23 June. These losses might have made Pál Istvánffy vicecomes of Baranya write that 12,000 people had already yielded the Ottomans and he was afraid the whole of the neighbouring peasants would change sides.⁸⁸ The dread of 1536 might have swept over the inhabitants of Pécs once again and led to the flight full of apocalyptic elements.⁸⁹

The castle of Sziget took over the role of Pécs afterwards. Sámuel Budina in his work written in 1568 dealt with the events in the fortress which he described as »*the history of Szigetvár, the*

⁸² Vince Bunyitay et alii, 1909. 267.

⁸³ Ferenc Szakály, 1999. 47.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 48.

⁸⁵ Emilij Laszowski, *Monumenta Habsburgica Regni Croatiae, Dalmatia, Slavoniae. III.* (= Monumenta Spectantia Historia Slavorum Meridionalium 40.) JAZU Zagreb, 1917. 141.

⁸⁶ The judge of Pécs complained that János Alapy, Ferenc Bocskai and others plundered the wagons of the chapter and other inhabitants of Pécs. Ferenc Szakály, 1995. 62.

⁸⁷ Ferenc Szakály, 1999. 43.

⁸⁸ Ferenc Szakály, 1995. 40.

⁸⁹ Anna Hobardanec, katalin Csehi and Sklana Dominican nuns fled to Sziget by a cart and finally settled in Varaždin after having been plundered by both the soldiers of the bishop and those of the king. Ibid. 62.

*most powerful castle in Slavonia...which, being fortified by both artificially and by nature, lies on the border of Slavonia in a place surrounded by marshes.*⁹⁰

The soldiers stationed in Sziget did not let the conquerors pacify the occupied territories in Southern Transdanubia and made the Ottoman garrisons between the Drava and the Sava be on the guard all the time.⁹¹ Until Sziget held out, the Ottomans could not control their new territories completely because the castle hindered the cooperation between the sancak of Mohács and that of Požega. Sziget«s being the only fortress in the region, it could control the waterways of the Danube and the Drava such as the military road running to Buda. Therefore both parties regarded the fortress as the key of Southern Transdanubia. Besides, the castle could easily keep an eye on the events going on south of the Drava.

Nevertheless, Sziget would not have been able to accomplish its task without getting new supplies because the continuous skirmishes devastated the neighbouring countryside which could no longer feed the castle.⁹² From 1554 onwards Slavonia«s conscription was frequently allocated to supply Sziget. The cannons of the castle were repaired in the cannon foundry in Alsóindva and several of the artillerymen came from Slavonia or were considered to be of Southern Slav origin. The most famous soldiers out of them were the heroes of the siege of 1556, the Dalmatian Jacobus Tobolics and the Serbian Lázár who contributed to the victory to the best of their knowledge. Despite the soldiers«s valour Sziget was more and more in need of the support of Slavonian troops headed by the Croatian-Slavonian. Dalmatian ban. Croatian troops also participated in the battles in 1555 and 1556.

However, not only the Christian side could exploit the cooperation between the two regions. The sancakbey of Požega launched joint attacks with the head of the sancak of Mohács in the summer of 1552 when 300 cavalymen arrived in Sv. Nikola from Pécs so as to join Ulama Pasha«s army to look out for the borderland while Gradiška was renovated after having been burnt down by Slavonian troops.⁹³ In 1555 Tojgun, the Pasha of Buda wanted to capture the forts in Somogy in order to encircle Sziget. In the meantime the sancakbey of Požega launched an attack on Velike to hinder the assistance of the Christian troops.⁹⁴ The Ottomans also attacked Sziget to prevent its soldiers from helping the neighbouring forts.

Although only the army of the sancak of Buda participated in the campaign and according to László Kerecsényi (Ladislav Kereczeny), the captain of Sziget only 3,000 Ottoman warriors

⁹⁰ *Budina Sámuel históriája magyarul és latinul Szigetvár 1566. évi ostromáról.* [Sámuel Budina«s History of the Siege of Szigetvár in 1566 in Hungarian and in Latin] Translated and footnoted by Imre Molnár. The translation was compared to the original by Berényiné Révész Mária. (= Szigetvári Várbaráti Kör kiadványai 6.) Szigetvár, 1978. 5-6.

⁹¹ For the history of Sziget see the recent work of Szabolcs Varga, *Szigetvár története 1526-1566.* [The History of Szigetvár 1526-1566] in: *Szigetvár története. Tanulmányok a város múltjából.* Eds. Sándor Bősze - László Ravazdi. Szigetvár, 2006. 45-93.

⁹² The sources related to the supply of the castle were collected and published in Hungarian by György Timár, *Királyi Sziget. Sziget várgazdaságának iratai 1546-1565.* [The Royal Sziget. The Economic Documents of the Castle of Sziget 1546-1565.] Pécs, 1989.

⁹³ Monumenta Habsburgica III. 449. For the Slavonian events of the campaign in 1552 see Géza Dávid - Pál Fodor, »Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való« A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1544-1545, 1552) [»The Affairs of the State are Supreme« The Orders of the Ottoman Imperial Council Pertaining to Hungary (1544-1545, 1552)] (= História könyvtár. Okmánytárak 1.) Budapest, 2005. 207-665.

⁹⁴ Miklós Barabás, *Zrínyi Miklós a szigetvári hős életére vonatkozó levelek és okiratok I. kötet. Levelek. 1535-1565.* [Letters and Documents Related to the Life of Miklós Zrínyi, the Hero of Szigetvár vol. 1. Letters 1535-1565.] (= Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Magyar történelmi emlékek I.: Diplomataria XXIX.) Budapest, 1898. 311-312. 8 September 1555 From Miklós Zrínyi to István Zichy.

were usable out of the 7,000⁹⁵ the first phase of the offensive was successful. Around 20 September Tojgun captured Kaposvár, and as a consequence Mesztegyő, Pácód and Korotna surrendered. András Báthory's fort Babócsa was the next target of the campaign. 250 soldiers guarded it under the leadership of István Selpi and János Budasith.⁹⁶ The castle held out for six days but then the Ottomans managed to breach the wall and the guards not being able to defend the fort any more handed it over. However, the campaign did not manage to achieve its goal because the Pasha could not capture Sziget that year. The failure meant Tojgun's substitution with the warlike Ali Pasha. He was entrusted with the task to occupy Sziget and then conquer the remaining areas in Southern Transdanubia and Slavonia.

Ali arrived in Pécs from Istanbul on 9 June 1556 and brought the armies of the sancaks of Bosnia, Požega and Belgrade which were later joined by the beys of Pécs, Babócsa, Koppány and Szolnok. Since they could gather a more powerful army than Tojgun a year before, the aim of the campaign became modified. Apart from Sziget they planned to capture Berzence, Csurgó and Kanizsa as well. They started a coordinated attack and also besieged two Croatian castles of ban Miklós Zrínyi, Novi and Kosztajnica under the leadership of Malkocs Bey who had been appointed after the death of Ulama.

The Ottomans arrived in Sziget on 11 June and started to besiege the castle on the very day. The fortress was defended by 2,000 soldiers⁹⁷ and the new captain Marko Horváth considered 200 inhabitants as being useful in the attack.⁹⁸ The Ottoman army consisted of no more than 10,000 soldiers and making use of the experience of the last campaign they also took nine cannons and a large number of work force. The siege lasted 42 days and the defenders were to surrender when Ali Pasha suddenly terminated the attack. Being informed about a gathering Christian he set off towards Babócsa to join battle with Tamás Nádasdy's Hungarian and Croatian troops which were joined by Sforza Pallavicini's Austrian, Stirian and Czech imperial soldiers. The Christian army had attempted to make the Ottomans stop the siege of Sziget so that Horváth's soldiers could get a breathing space. Thus they besieged Babócsa and fought a 2-day battle with the Ottomans on 24-25 July. Although Babócsa was not captured, Ali had to give up his plans to occupy Sziget and withdrew to Pécs without success.

Ali's defeat resulted in the Hungarians taking over the lead in this seat of war. They burnt Szentlőrinc on 7 August and then Hercegszöllős in September.⁹⁹ In the meantime Ferdinand himself arrived in Kanizsa with 12,000 soldiers and it was the first time when the Christian army outnumbered the Ottomans in the region. Cooperating with the main force the ban, Miklós Zrínyi and Sforza Pallavicini recaptured and stormed Korotna, which had been considerably reinforced formerly, and considering it as indefensible they destroyed it. The fall of Korotna made the Ottoman garrisons of Sellye, Drávaszentmárton and Kapos flee and Babócsa surrendered as well. The Ottoman military leadership had recognised that without Sziget these little forts were untenable thus the Ottomans themselves gave them up.

⁹⁵ András Komáromy, *Kerecsényi László levelei Nádasdy Tamáshoz. 1553-1562.* [László Kerecsényi's Letters to Tamás Nádasdy. 1553-1562.] in: *Történelmi Tár* 1906. 131-132. 26 September 1555

⁹⁶ Miklós Istvánffy, vol. 2. 2001. 235.

⁹⁷ For the siege in 1556 see Lajos Bende, *Sziget 1556. évi ostroma.* [The Siege of Sziget in 1556] in: *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 15. (1968.) 281-309.

⁹⁸ Ferenc Szakály, *Egy végvári kapitány hétköznapijai. (Horváth Márk szigeti kapitány levelezése Nádasdy Tamás nádorral és szervitoraival, 1556-1561)* [The Everyday Life of a Captain on the Borderlands. (Márk Horváth, the Captain of Sziget's Correspondence with the Palatinus Tamás Nádasdy and His Servitors, 1556-1561)] in: *Somogy Megye Múltjából* 18.(1987.) 121.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 53.

Nevertheless, the Christian military leadership also had to draw the lesson after the 1556 campaign. The troops headed by different leaders were indispensable to succeed in the region, including even the troops of the Slavonian borderland. However, their absence weakened the frontier and the two most important castles of the border, Novi and Kosztajnica were captured by the enemy in a short time. The Viennese leadership could not wage war on several fronts simultaneously at that time but the Ottoman troops could compensate for their failures in other regions.

The defenders of Sziget were uplifted by their success and in January 1560 cleared away the dangerous forts beyond the Drava. They devastated the churches in Gradiška and in Hercegszöllős and while returning they joined battle with the Ottoman troops chasing them. The Christian troops could win over the Ottomans in the battle.¹⁰⁰

In the following weeks the area became the scene of grim battles. The infantrymen from Sziget were able to overcome the Ottomans of Pécs. Due to their strength the Hungarian soldiers could even ravage Szekszárd in the Ottoman territory on 11 November because its inhabitants did not want to obey them. They also set fire to Zombor in the following summer and foraged the sancak of Požega again. In the spring of 1561 they attacked Mohács and set fire to the church where the Ottomans had fled to.¹⁰¹ So as to avoid further ravages the Ottomans settled vojniks in three formerly devastated villages between Baja and Zombor.¹⁰²

In March 1562 the new captain of Sziget, Nikola Zrinski's soldiers marauded as far as Pécs where they captured 60 Ottomans.¹⁰³ As a consequence the Ottoman military leadership decided to build the castle of Moslavine (Monoszló) south of the Drava to hinder the enemy from controlling the conquered parts of Slavonia. Arslan, the bey of Požega was entrusted with the task. Zrínyi crossed the Drava in secret and defeated the bey's troops near Moslavine at the end of March.¹⁰⁴ Then the Hungarians destroyed and burnt the castle, filled in the moats and captured several battering cannons.¹⁰⁵ The soldiers of Sziget kept troubling the Ottomans and seriously endangered their supplies on the Danube.

In the meantime Sziget became stronger and stronger owing to its supply from Slavonia. The Ottoman military leadership wanted to end this situation and launched a new campaign against the fortress in 1566. The old sultan himself headed the army and the captains of the adjacent forts were helpless in face of the great number of the Ottomans. Sziget fell after a long siege on 7 September in absence of a relieving troop but it has been still a nice example of Croatian-Hungarian comradeship.¹⁰⁶ Since then a long period full of strives terminated in the military connections between Slavonia and Southern Transdanubia with the fall of the fortress. However, there was a close cooperation in the management of the military frontiers of Kanizsa and Slavonia in the later decades as well.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 113.

¹⁰¹ Klára Hegyi, *Mohács török vára*. [The Ottoman Castle of Mohács] in: *Népek együttélése Dél-Pannóniában. Tanulmányok Szita László 70. születésnapjára*. Eds. István Lengvári - József Vonyó. Pécs, 2003. 160.

¹⁰² Klára Hegyi, *Magyar és balkáni katonaparasztok a budai vilájet déli szandzsákjaiban*. [Hungarian and Balkanian Vojniks in the Southern Sancaks of the Vilayet of Buda] in: *Századok* 135. (2001/6.) 1279-1280.

¹⁰³ Kálmán Benda, *Zrínyi Miklós a szigetvári hős*. [Nikola Zrinski, the Hero of Szigetvár] in: *Szigetvári Emlékkönyv. Szigetvár 1566. évi ostromának 400. évfordulójára*. Budapest, 1966. 47.

¹⁰⁴ »... discussing, Ferenc Tahy with many strong and experienced people and his brother-in-law, Farkas Perneszy, the captain of Babócsa attempted to hide their journey as much as it was possible, crossed the Drava between Babócsa and Tamási with 1,000 cavalymen and 2,000 footsoldiers armed with rifles and hurried to meet the enemy«. Miklós Istvánffy, vol. 2. 323.

¹⁰⁵ Miklós Barabás, 1898. 597.

¹⁰⁶ Although it is out of the scope of the topic, it is worth mentioning that several soldiers of the castles of the Croatian borderland fought in Southern Transdanubia until the expulsion of the Ottomans. For instance they took part in the 1664 campaign of Nikolaus Zrinski or in the liberation of Pécs in 1686.

In the final part of my essay I am going to outline the economic interdependence between the two regions. Despite the recurring struggles the 16th century was an economic heyday in the territory. In contempt of the dangers the inhabitants of the wealthy market towns in Southern Transdanubia drove large numbers of cattle and took wine and cowhide to the markets of Western Europe. These trade routes ran in the valleys of the Danube and the Vág towards Germany or in the south west towards Italian and Bavarian town. The entries of the Slavonian customs registers¹⁰⁷ reveal that the size of the trade conducted in Southern Transdanubian trade routes matched with the one conducted on the Danube. Moreover, a significant part of the commercial transactions with Southern German towns was declared at Slavonian customs posts. Although the explored period was the 1540s it is unlikely to have very different patterns in the previous decades.¹⁰⁸

Beside the Southern German region, Venice was the most important market, where 13,000 cattle were driven a year on the so-called Italian route. Even during the civil war the two rival kings left trade unlimited and the Kingdom of Hungary functioned as a unified market. It is supported by the fact that in 1527 John Szapolyai granted permission to Ferenc Batthyány, a supporter of Ferdinand, to export cattle and participate in salt trade.¹⁰⁹ The merchants of Zagreb and Pettau were also involved in cattle trade therefore they were interested in uninterrupted commerce. As a consequence, a strong interdependence formed between the two regions.

Zagreb and Pécs were the two most important centres of international trade in the territory and many Italian merchants chose to settle in them. Data from as early as 1542 suggests that the traders in Pécs used the Italian route and there lived an Italian merchant in the town who ran into debt.¹¹⁰ The most important Zagrebian trader family, the Pásztor, also came from Italy¹¹¹. The two towns had a role mainly in the organisation of trade in the region. Cattle raised around Szeged and Debrecen were taken over by the merchants of Pécs in Bába or Kalocsa and were driven westward to Venice. (Zagrebian traders also participated in cattle trade.)¹¹² The Italian incomes were essential for the merchants of the two towns¹¹³. The close relationship between the two places is indicated by the fact that Zagreb asked the mayor of Pécs, Farkas Schreiber to support their cause at Ferdinand.¹¹⁴ Schreiber was a pragmatic merchant who changed lines in accordance with the changes

¹⁰⁷ Othmar Pickl, *Die Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege auf den Handel zwischen Ungarn und Italien im 16. Jahrhundert*. in: Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege. Die Vorträge des 1. Internationalen Grazer Symposiums zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Südosteuropas (5. bis 10. Oktober 1970) Hgg. Von Othmar Pickl. (= Grazer Forschungen zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Band 1) Graz, 1971. especially 88-92.

¹⁰⁸ András Kubinyi, *Pécs gazdasági jelentősége és városiassága a késő-középkorban*. [The Economic Significance and the Urban Status of Pécs in the Late Middle Ages] in: Pécs szerepe a Mohács előtti Magyarországon. (= Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 9.) Ed. Márta Font. Pécs, 1991. 18.

¹⁰⁹ Gábor Barta, 1977. 664.

¹¹⁰ András Kubinyi, *A későközépkori magyarországi városi fejlődés vitás kérdései*. [The debated Issues of Urbanisation in Late Medieval Hungary] in: Régészet és várostörténet tudományos konferencia. Dunántúli dolgozatok (C) Történettudományi sorozat 3. Pécs, 2001. 49.

¹¹¹ »Ego, Johanna Sowan Pastor de Florentia tricesimato et inhabitator civitatis Montisgrecensis« Zagreb, 20 August 1503. Ivan Krst Tkalčić, *Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. Grada Zagreba prijestolnice kraljevine dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonske / Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*. Svezak III. Zagreb, 1896. 22.

¹¹² Eighty cattle of Gáspár Pásztor were taken by the Zagrebian bishop Simon Erdődy in 1531. Emilij Laszowski, *Monumenta Habsburgica Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Slavoniae. II.* (= Monumenta Spectantia Historia Slavorum Meridionalium 38.) JAZU Zagreb, 1916. 29.

¹¹³ For the influence of cattle trade on the region see Ferenc Szakály, *A Dél-Dunántúl külkereskedelmi útvonalai a XVI. század derekán*. [The Southern Transdanubian International Trade Routes in the Middle of the 16th Century] in: Somogy Megye Múltjából 4. Ed. Kanyar József. Kaposvár, 1973. 55-112.

¹¹⁴ Krst Tkalčić, *Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. Grada Zagreba prijestolnice kraljevine dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonske / Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*. Svezak XII. Zagreb, 1929. 226.

in the balance of forces if the town«s or his own interests demanded it. So as to preserve uninterrupted trade the merchants of Pécs started to back Szapolyai in 1532 and their Zagrebian colleagues must have followed their example. From 1532 onward Szapolyai controlled western trade and his major advisor, György Fráter (who was termed the »*biggest merchant of wine, grain, cattle, sheep, wool and leather*« in a contemporary source) allowed only the traders keeping friends with him to continue their work. Thus, Farkas Schreiber lent great sums to Fráter and Pál Bornemissza who stated that a very »lobby of Pécs« gathered round the Friar. Ferdinand«s not retaliating Schreiber«s treachery in 1541 clearly indicated his influence and the importance of Pécs.

The citizens of Pettau considered the security of the Southern Transdanubian trade route fundamental therefore they decided to provide Pécs with a certain sum of money for its defence against the Ottomans¹¹⁵. Thus foreign commercial firms had their own commercial agents in the town even after the Ottomans conquered it. From 1545 on Raguzan merchants also settled in Pécs¹¹⁶. Its economic prosperity continued until the end of the 16th century and only the Fifteen Years War (often called the Long War) terminated the flourishing connections. The 17th century was again the age of cultural and ecclesiastic development within the two regions but their presentation is out of the scope of this study.

As a summary we can claim that there were close connections between Slavonia and Southern Transdanubia in the first part of the 16th century and they greatly influenced each other«s development. Being an intellectual centre, Pécs«s impact could be felt even south of the Drava and the royal court could control the territory through the town. After the fall of Pécs, in the era of the Ottoman conquest, Slavonia became the Christian hinterland of Southern Transdanubia. Plundering Christian troops as well as Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries arrived in Baranya from Slavonia. The latter contributed to the survival of Christian population in the area north of the Drava. Thus, the »*Ostaci ostataka*« enabled the preservation of Christian identity in the occupied region.

SAŽETAK

Nekoliko je važnih veza između Slavonije i južnog Podunavlja u ranome modernom dobu. Možemo ih razvrstati u tri osnovne grupe: crkvene i kulturalne veze, vojne i veze ekonomskoga karaktera. Pečujska je dijeceza uspostavila bliske osobne i kulturalne veze sa Zagrebačkom biskupijom unutar srednjovjekovne Kraljevine Mađarske. Mnogi su biskupi i kanonici obavljali službu u obje dijeceze. Ova su dva područja bila centri humanističkoga pokreta u Mađarskoj zbog geografske blizine Rima. Pečuh (Pecs) je bio zaleđe Slavonije i Požege do 1541. godine te je njihovo stanovništvo često nalazilo utočište u gradu. Nakon 1541. godine Slavonija je pružala pomoć za obranu Pečuha, a poslije i za obranu Sigeta (Szigetvar), što je pridonijelo očuvanju mađarskoga entiteta u Tolni i Baranji. Slavonija je bila vrlo važna i s ekonomskog stajališta za stanovnike Podunavlja jer se najvažnije izvozno dobro Kraljevine Mađarske u 16. stoljeću, stoka, prevozilo do Venecije preko slavonskih trgovačkih putova. Ukratko, možemo reći da su bliske veze između Slavonije i Podunavlja u prvoj polovici 16. stoljeća uzajamno utjecale na obje regije.

¹¹⁵ Ferenc Szakály, 1995. 54.

¹¹⁶ Antal Molnár, 2003. 27.