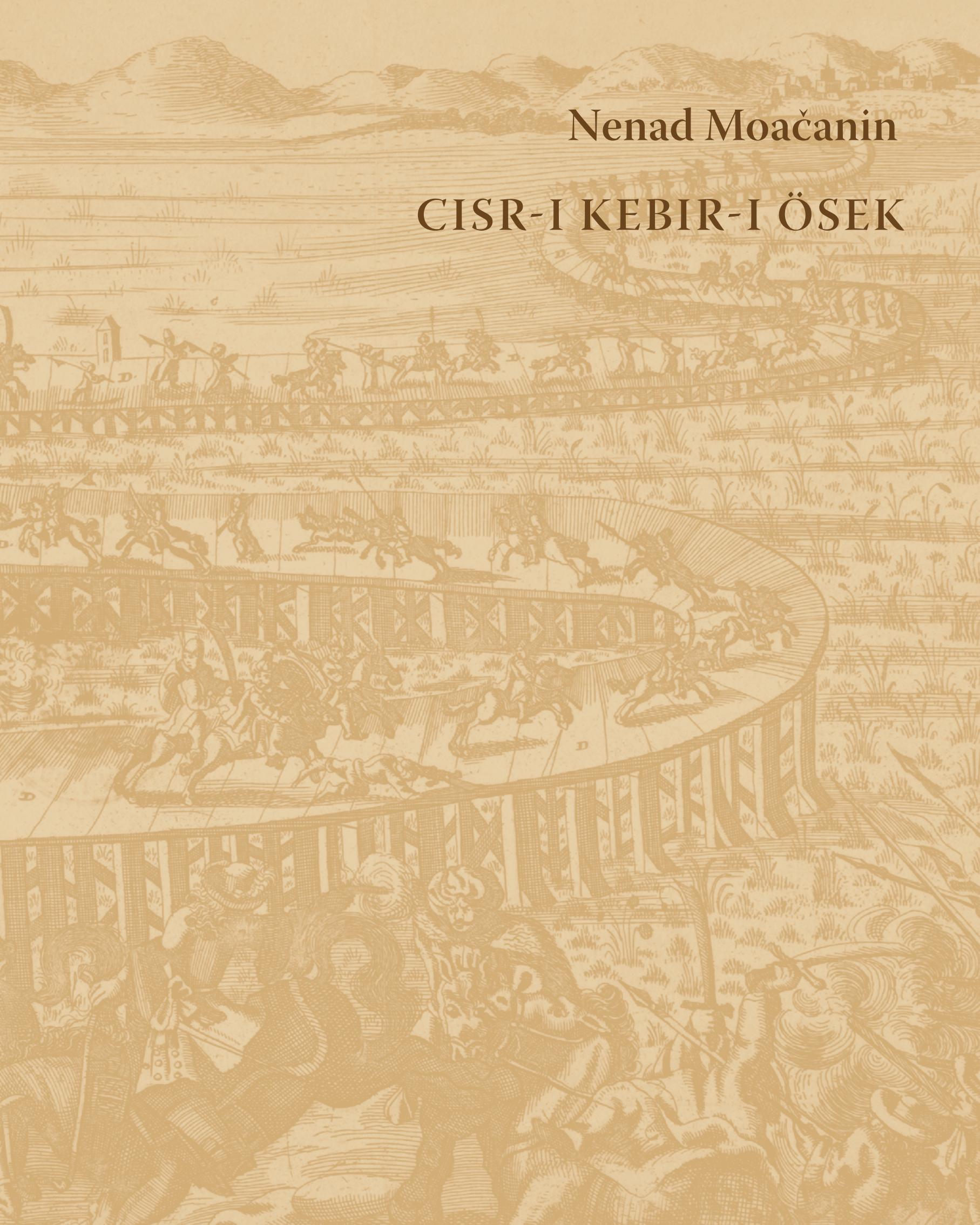


Nenad Moačanin

CISR-I KEBIR-I ÖSEK



VELIKI MOST: PODATCI TURSKIH IZVORA

Na Osijek i okolicu odnosi se velik broj osmanskih dokumenata. Nažalost, izravno se na most odnosi tek dosta mali dio. O vojsci u tvrđavi, pa i u Dardi, riječnom prometu i lađama, plaćama, sajmu, oružju i raznim službama ima mnogo više informacija.

Veliki most za koji se smatra da je podignut po nalogu sultana Sulejmana I. Zakonodavca (po zapadnom računanju – Sulejmana II. Veličanstvenog), ne spominje se mnogo u osmanskim narativnim izvorima. Uz relativno opširan opis i popratne komentare putopisca Evlije Čelebija (1611. – poslije 1682.), spominje ga i nekolicina drugih autora, koje ne treba posebno navoditi, jer se u njih sve svodi na lakonske opaske da se kod Osijeka nalazi most.

Donedavno, poznati i korišteni turski izvori gotovo u cijelosti su bili ograničeni na spomenuti putopis te na stanoviti broj referencija iz arhivske građe.¹

Sada možemo koristiti najnovije izdanje *Putopisa* nastalo prema autografu,² te nešto veći broj novih informacija koje sam prikupio za vrijeme istraživanja arhivske građe u Osmanskom arhivu Predsjedništva vlade (BOA) u Istanbulu (lipanj – rujan/listopad 2012.). U kojoj mjeri novi rezultati, zajedno s dosadašnjima, mogu pomoći da se dođe do odgovora na niz temeljnih pitanja, kao što su pitanje vremena izgradnje, vremena rekonstrukcija, tehničkih karakteristika i smještaja u prostoru i dr.? Osmanski su graditelji sasvim sigurno izrađivali nacрте, no takva se pomagala nisu čuvala. Razni su troškovnici, dnevniciradova i popisi ljudi i materijala sačuvani za mnoge pothvate, pa i za podizanje i popravlanje mostova, no u slučaju Osijeka riječ je samo o nešto malo fragmenata, i to uglavnom iz posljednje faze. Ovdje bih nastojao povezati svoje dosadašnje rezultate s novim nalazima. Pritom treba uzeti u obzir da će neki tekstovi, odnosno zapisi, biti prevedeni, neki sažeto prepričani, a neki prezentirani u djelomičnoj rekonstrukciji zbog teškoća u čitanju.

THE GREAT BRIDGE: FROM THE TURKISH RECORDS

Numerous Ottoman documents refer to Osijek and the surrounding area. Unfortunately, only a small amount refer to it directly. There is much more information about the army in the fortress, even in Darda, about inland navigation and boats, salaries, the fair, weapons and different types of jobs.

The Great Bridge whose construction was ordered by Sultan Suleiman I the Lawgiver (Kanuni), or Suleiman the Magnificent in the West, is not mentioned a lot in Ottoman narrative sources. Besides a detailed description and additional commentaries by traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611 – after 1682), the bridge was also mentioned by several other authors, but it is not necessary to mention them here since they only offer laconic remarks that there is a bridge near Osijek.

Until recently, the known and used Turkish sources were almost entirely limited to the mentioned travelogue and a certain amount of references from the archives.¹

Today the available source we can use is the latest autograph edition of “The Book of Travels”², as well as a slightly larger number of new information which I have gathered during my research in the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archive (BOA) in Istanbul (June – September/October 2012). To what extent can the new findings, together with what we already know, help answer a number of basic questions concerning the bridge, such as the time of construction, the time of reconstruction, technical characteristics and location, etc? Ottoman architects most surely made plans for the buildings they constructed but it was not common to archive such construction aid. There are various cost estimate registers, work logs and lists of people and materials for many undertakings, even for bridge repair and construction, but for Osijek there are only a few fragments, mostly referring to the last phase of the bridge. In this paper I would like to connect the results of the recent research with the new findings. Therefore, what needs to be taken into consideration is that some texts, meaning records, are translated, some summarised, and some presented in a partial reconstruction due to difficulties with reading from the sources.

The first important thing to mention is that as far as Ottoman-Turkish 16th century sources are concerned,

1 EVLIJA ČELEBI, Putopis: odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama. Preveo, uvod i komentar napisao Hazim Šabanović, Sarajevo, 1979. NENAD MOAČANIN, Osijek u turskim izvorima, u: *Povijesni prilozi*, 16 (1997.), 33–56. / EVLIJA ČELEBI, Putopis: odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljama. Translation, introduction and annotations by Hazim Šabanović, Sarajevo, 1979; NENAD MOAČANIN, Osijek u turskim izvorima, in: *Povijesni prilozi*, 16 (1997), 33–56.

2 *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 6. *Kitap: Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 numaralı yazmanın transkripsiyonu – dizini*, (hazırlayanlar) Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, Istanbul, 2002.

Odmah valja napomenuti da, barem što se osmansko-turskih izvora iz 16. stoljeća tiče, nijedan izričito i nedvosmisleno ne govori o gradnji „ceste na stupovima“ u Sulejmanovo doba. Zapravo se svaki put riječ *köprü* (most; katkad *cisr*, most, prijelaz) rabi tako da se bez većih teškoća može shvatiti kao pontonski most. U golemim defterima tipa *keşif* (troškovi izgradnje i popravaka) iz vremena Sulejmanove vladavine koji sadrži troškovnike rekonstrukcijskih radova na utvrdama i prometnim instalacijama diljem Carstva u Europi, Osijeka nema (dok je primjerice zabilježeno popravljavanje pokretnog mosta pred utvrdom u Vukovaru!).³ U tekstu koji slijedi, do razmatranja o vremenu nakon 1600., služim se riječju „most“, no to uključuje niz dvojbi.

POČETCI

Na početku odlomka o mostu u *Putopisu* u Šabanoviće-
vu je prijevodu skraćena prva rečenica, te glasi: „Postojao je još u hrišćanska vremena“. To je kraćenje izvedeno od strane izdavača tiskanog izdanja 1900. godine. Autograf pak veli da je „most postojao i prije, u nevjerničko vrijeme, ali malo niže, te je služio samo za pješake tako da nisu mogla prelaziti kola, te su ih prevozili lađama.“⁴ Dakle, pretpovijest mosta seže nešto više unazad, vjerojatno do kasnoga srednjeg vijeka. No očito je značajnije takvog prijelaza bilo skromnije, bez vojne namjene, i s mnogo manjom komercijalnom dimenzijom. Pa ipak, pojava mosta može se promatrati u kontekstu promjene u upravljanju skelama na Dunavu i Dravi, kada tijekom 15. stoljeća gospodari takvih prijelaza postaju velikaši, nositelji protuturske obrane, koji stječu posjede u okolicama, pa se promet intenzivira a prihodi se povećavaju.⁵

Iz svega dosad poznatog nameće se zaključak da je Sulejmanov most, ne računajući pohod na Mohač, podizan i rušen najmanje dvaput za njegove vladavine, te još jednom poslije toga, vjerojatno u vrijeme njegova nasljednika Selima II. Prvi je put most kao graditeljski

not one explicitly and unambiguously mentions the construction of a “road on piers” from the time of Suleiman. Each time the word *köprü* (bridge; sometimes *cisr*, bridge, crossing) is used in such a way that it can be without much difficulty understood as pontoon bridge. In large defters called *keşif* (construction and repair expenses) from the time of Suleiman’s rule, which contain cost estimate registers for reconstruction works on fortresses and traffic installations across the Empire in Europe, there is no sign of Osijek (but interestingly, the repair of the drawbridge in front of the Vukovar fortress is noted down!).³ In the following text, until the analysis of the period after 1600, I will be using the word “bridge”, which does not exclude a number of uncertainties.

IN THE BEGINNING

At the beginning of the paragraph about the bridge in “The Book of Travels”, Šabanović’s translation of the first sentence was shortened as follows: “It existed in the Christian times”. This was done by the publisher of the printed edition in 1900. However, according to the autograph, “the bridge existed before as well, in times of the unbelievers, but it was located a bit more downstream and it was used as a footbridge, so carriages couldn’t cross that way so they were transported on boats”.⁴ So, the prehistory of the bridge goes back a bit further, probably to the Late Middle Ages. However, the significance of such a crossing must have been slightly more modest, with no military purpose and with a much lesser commercial dimension. Nevertheless, the appearance of the bridge can be observed in the context of the change in ferry maintenance on the Danube and the Drava, when in the 15th century the keepers of such crossings became the noble bearers of the defence against the Ottomans. They inherited the nearby estates so traffic became heavier and income increased.⁵

From what is known so far the conclusion is that the Suleiman Bridge was, not taking into account the Battle of Mohács, built and destroyed at least twice during his rule, and one more time afterwards, most probably during the reign of his successor Selim II. The bridge was probably constructed for the first time as an architectural project upon the Siege of Vienna in 1532. At least we know that at the beginning of the 1540s it was func-

3 Bařbakanlık Osmanlı Arřivi, Istanbul (Arhiv Predsjedništva vlade; dalje: BOA), Maliye'den Müdevver (dalje: MAD ili MMD), 55, 157, 523. / Bařbakanlık Osmanlı Arřivi, Istanbul (Office of the Prime Minister Ottoman Archives; fthr.: BOA), Maliye'den Müdevver (fthr.: MAD or MMD) 55, 157, 523.

4 *Evllya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 6. *Kitap* (bilj./note 2), 108.

5 PETER ROKAI, „Brodovi“ na Dunavu i pritokama na području južne Ugarske u srednjem veku, u/in: *Plovidba na Dunavu i njegovim pritokama kroz vekove: zbornik radova sa međunarodnog naučnog skupa održanog 5. i 6. juna 1979. godine*, (ur./ed.) Vasa Čubrilović, Beograd, 1983., 139–175.

pothvat vrlo vjerojatno podignut uoči „bečke“ kampa-
nje 1532. Ovo tim prije kad znamo da je barem počet-
kom četrdesetih godina bio u funkciji i morao poslužiti
za pohode 1541. i 1543. No već je 1545. naredeno da se
poruši. Iznova je građen 1566., a već je 1568. dijelom ru-
šen naredbom Bali-bega, a dijelom je propao zbog vre-
menskih neprilika. Vjerojatno se posljednje rušenje, sada
već „svjetskog čuda“, ima pripisati provali Nikole Zrin-
skog 1663., nakon čega je, čini se, brzo vraćen u funkci-
ju jer je u travnju 1665. onuda prolazio novi budimski
paša.⁶ Posljednji popravak je uslijedio u kontekstu po-
sljednog pohoda na Beč 1683. Definitivno je most разо-
ren u habsburškom protuudaru 1686.

Iako podataka o mostu prije 1566. ima, vrlo je neja-
sno kakav je bio, tj. u napasti smo da posumnjamo u po-
stojanje građevine na baranjskoj strani, čini se kao da se
do pohoda na Siget sve svodilo na pontonski most. Za
sušnih ljeta, vojska je mogla bez većih teškoća maršira-
ti na sjever i sjeverozapad, veliki sajam će se pojaviti tek
nakon 1600., a grad je imao svega tristotinjak kuća. Ko-
načnog zaključka nema, no vidjet ćemo da jake indici-
je govore da je nužno razlikovati dvije faze: prvu, kada
je osnovna zadaća premošćivanja Drave u kontekstu
trenutačnih potreba vojnog pohoda, i drugu, kada se
želi osigurati trajni i nesmetani prijelaz u svako doba u
kontekstu gospodarskih potreba ništa manje od vojnih.

U *Mühimme* defteru iz 1545. regist br. 30 kaže: (na-
kon detaljnih uputa smederevskom sandžakbegu u vezi
topova i mosta koji bi trebalo graditi kod Beograda, op.
N. M.) „te koliko ima drvene građe za most⁷ na Dravi,
gdje se čuva, je li sav materijal spreman, a ako nije, ne-
dostaje li što, pa ako je tako, koliko je toga potrebno, ni-
šta ne ostavljajte u dvojbi, o svemu izvijestite i sastavi-
te popis“. Regest dokumenta je zaveden pod datumom
22. siječnja 1545.

6 BOA, MAD. d 18223_00003.

7 Od mosta (?). Oba su čitanja moguća. Ovdje je riječ u najmanju ruku o
pontonskom mostu, izričito je rečeno „na Dravi“ (*nehr-i Drava üzerinde*), a ne
„preko Drave“ (pa možda i dalje). / Of the bridge? Both readings are possible.
This most likely refers to the pontoon bridge, since it was explicitly said “on
the Drava” (*nehr-i Drava üzerinde*), and not “across the Drava” (and perhaps
even further).

8 Možda drvo kojim su bile pokriveno ulice. Grad je stoga već tada možda bio
razvijeniji no što se čini prema katastarskim popisima. / Perhaps the wood
which was used for paving the streets, which could mean that the town was
already more developed than how it seemed from the cadastres.

9 Budimskom (?). / The Buda bridge?

10 A.DNV.MHM.d 005.

11 MAD_d_02775_00664. Inače, Nasuh-beg je proveo sedam godina u
zarobljeništvu u Sigetu. / MAD_d_02775_00664. Moreover, Nasuh-bey spent
seven years in captivity in Szigetvár.

tional and must have been used during the 1541 and 1543
campaigns. However, already in 1545 the order came for
the bridge to be destroyed. It was then rebuilt in 1566
and soon in 1568 it was destroyed, partly on Bali Bey’s
order and partly due to damage caused by severe weath-
er conditions. Probably the last destruction of what had
become a world wonder can be ascribed to Nikola Zrin-
ski when he invaded the bridge in 1663, after which, it
seems, it was functional again very soon because in April,
1665 the new Buda pasha was passing that way.⁶ The last
repairs took place in the context of the last campaign to
Vienna in 1683. Finally, the bridge was destroyed in the
Habsburg defensive in 1686.

Although there is information about the bridge be-
fore 1566, it is unclear what it was like, meaning we can
be led to believe that there was no bridge on the Baran-
ya side, so that until the Siege of Szigetvár the pontoon
bridge was used for all traffic. In summer when every-
thing was dry the army could without any difficul-
ty march towards the north and north-west. The great
fair appeared only after 1600, and the town had alto-
gether around three hundred houses. There is no final
conclusion, but we shall see that there is strong indica-
tion that we can differentiate between two phases of the
bridge: the first phase when the main task was to cross
the Drava in the context of temporary military needs,
and the second phase when, nonetheless, it was neces-
sary to ensure a permanent and undisturbed crossing at
any time in the context of economic needs.

In the *Mühimme* defter from 1545, entry nr. 30 says:
(after the detailed instructions to the Sanjak-bey of Sme-
derevo concerning the cannons and a bridge which
should be constructed near Belgrade) “how much wood
is there for the bridge⁷ on the Drava, where is it stored,
whether all the material is ready, and if not, whether an-
ything is missing, and if so, then how much of what is
missing is required, leave nothing to doubt, report on
everything and make a list”. The record was registered
on the 22nd of January, 1545.

The entry from the 1st of April, 1545 reveals even more
information:

“A command to the sanjak-bey of Smederevo, Toy-
gun-bey:

(...) when the wooden material for the Buda bridge
was inspected, it was established that more than half of
the beams and boards are missing, and that the trees nec-

Pod datumom 1. travnja 1545. nalazimo još obavijesniji regist:

„Zapovijed smederevskom sandžakbegu Toygun begu:

(...) kada je pregledana drvena građa za budimski most, ustanovljeno je da više od polovice balvana i dasaka manjka, a da se stabla potrebna za most sijeku u kadiluku Nijemci u Srijemskom sandžaku. Neka se pošalje pismo i čovjek kadiji da se posiječe i dopremi dovoljno stabala za most, a nakon što se *drvo koje se nalazi u tvrđavi Osijeku⁸ i na mostu⁹* pregleda, od neophodnih elemenata što mostu (budimskom, op. N. M.) nedostaju, hitno neka se onamo dopremi drvo. Neka to učini prikladna osoba. Prije je država bila izviještena o prilika u vezi mostova. Potrebno drvo se siječe i doprema. Neka se izvoli zapovjediti odakle da se pokriju troškovi.“

Tekst je tako stiliziran da sugerira barem djelomičnu „demontažu“ osječkog mosta, ma kakav on bio i ma kako izgledao. Međutim, ostaje otvorenom i mogućnost da se tekst shvati kao da se u Osijeku nalazila tek usklađena građa (!).

MOST IZ 1566.

O konačnoj (?) izgradnji mosta 1566., osmanski su izvori vrlo oskudni. U *Mühimme* defterima (skraćeni registri carskih naredbi) gdje se inače nalazi mnoštvo podataka u vezi pohoda iz 1566., prvorazrednih podataka takoreći nema, osim što se jednom od požeškog sandžakbega traži da ustanovi je li dovoljno trideset lađa za pontonski mosta na Dravi (13. Zilkade 973/1. lipnja 1566.).¹⁰ Ovaj je zapis promaknuo pozornosti E. Kovačevića, koji je inače u svoj rad uvrstio svu građu iz te zbirke koja se odnosi na posljednji Sulejmanov pohod (pri čemu referencija na most ima dosta, no previše su općenite da bi pojašnjavale ključna pitanja koja nas ovdje zanimaju u vezi mosta). No jedan se duži, obavijesniji zapis nalazi u fondu MAD (defter tipa *Ahkam* – zapovijedi).

Zapis u fondu *Maliyeden Müdevver* predstavlja regist dosad nezamijećene važne naredbe iz AH 973 (Ramazan/travanj 1566.):

Zapovijed je upućena požeškom sandžakbegu Nasuh-begu.¹¹ Budući da je poput postojećeg mosta pred Beogradom važno i potrebno da i „pred“ Osijekom bude most, zapovijeda se neka se na spomenutom mjestu napravi dovoljna količina mostova (!) i lađa. Treba dopre-

essary for the construction of the bridge are cut in the district of Nijemci in the Sanjak of Sylvania. A letter and a man should be sent to the kadı so that enough trees are cut and transported to the bridge, and after the wood *from the fortress in Osijek⁸ and from the bridge⁹* is inspected, for elements which are required for the bridge (the Buda bridge) but missing, the wood needs to be urgently transported to the site. A suitable person should do the job. Before the state received reports concerning situations with bridges. All the wood necessary for construction is cut and delivered. May the order come about how the expense is to be covered.”

The style of the text was such as to suggest at least a partial “dismantling” of the bridge in Osijek, no matter what kind of bridge it was or what it looked like. However, it is possible to interpret the text in a way that it means Osijek only had the stored materials for the construction (!).

THE BRIDGE FROM 1566

Ottoman sources are quite scarce concerning the final (?) construction of the bridge in 1566. *Mühimme* defterleri (summarised versions of imperial orders), where there is usually a lot of information concerning the 1566 campaign, reveal no quality information whatsoever about it, except for one order to the Sanjak-bey of Požega that he should decide whether thirty boats are enough for the pontoon bridge on the Drava (13. Zilkade 973/1st June, 1566).¹⁰ This record somehow escaped the attention of E. Kovačević, who included in his work all the material from that collection relating to Suleiman's last campaign, where there are lots of references to the bridge but they are too general to explain the key issues we are trying to resolve. However, one longer written record can be found in the MAD fund (an *Ahkam* – commandment - type of defter).

The entry from the *Maliyeden Müdevver* fund reveals an abridged copy of a firman which holds an important order from AH 973, unnoticed until now (Ramazan/ April, 1566).

The order was given to the sanjak-bey of Požega, Nasuh-bey.¹¹ Since it was important and necessary that there

miti dovoljno pontona. *Od starog mosta uopće nema drvene građe koja je potrebna za most*, no carski je službenik dopremio sve što je u tu svrhu potrebno. Dopremljene su i za most potrebne daske (podnice), nosači (podne traverze) i užad za vezivanje (?).¹² Na mjestu gdje je ranije napravljen, most pokraj Osijeka je uništen, pa neka se za hitnu izgradnju mosta očekuje carska zapovijed. Osim pontona do 20. dana ovog mjeseca (10. travnja 1566., op. N. M.) dopremljeno je 35 šajki, 35 lađa za provijant i 15 lađa za prijevoz konja te smješteno na rijeku Dravu. Ako Bog da, preostale lađe ne smiju propasti... prema fermanu... (tekst teško čitljiv, op. N. M.). Zapovijed: kad stigne naredba, pontoni koji preostanu od mosta što će biti postavljen na spomenutom mjestu... (tekst u nastavku vrlo oštećen, op. N. M.).

Vrijedi porazmisliti o terminu *ipler* (užad). To nikako ne može značiti „lanci“ o kojima govori Evlija, no opet upućuje na pontone.

Ovu naredbu nadopunjuje zapis u kojem se konstatira da se nigdje drugdje u Požeškom sandžaku ne mogu graditi lađe osim kod Osijeka. Za trošak izgradnje 40 pontona (na „tjesnom mjestu, dužine 160 koraka“), 130 opskrbnih brodova, 20 brodova za prijevoz konja, 56 šajki, te za radnike i tesare poslano je 2 462 dukata. To nije dovoljno, pa je zapovjedeno neka se još novca uzme od prihoda mukata (carina i dr.), harača i filurije.¹³

Uz most je, dakle, osim pontona, morala trajno boraviti boraviti i flotila opskrbnih i borbenih plovila. Spominje se i deset „lađa za prijelaz“ (*geçit gemileri*), vjerojatno kao pričuva za slučaj teškoća s pontonima.¹⁴

O broju kvalificirane i nekvalificirane radne snage koja je tada bila angažirana, ne znamo ništa pouzdano, osim što se u neturskim izvorima spominju vrlo velike brojke, do 25 tisuća ljudi, što djeluje nevjerojatno. Možda ipak nije riječ o jako pretjeranim podacima, jer su krupni pothvati na tim prostorima doista znali zaposliti iznenađujuće brojno ljudstvo. Za usporedbu, 1540. je popravljena požeška tvrđava uz sudjelovanje 28 234 radnika (k tomu još dolazi nepoznati broj prijevoznika).¹⁵ Djelomično se enigma može razriješiti tako da se odbiju osobe označene kao nekvalificirana radna snaga (*čerahori*), zaposlena na sječi stabala, lomljenju kamena, čišćenju prilaznih puteva i slično. To je većina, u požeškom slučaju dvije trećine. Vezano uz Sulejmanov most, veoma je mnogo raje moglo biti zaposleno na sječi u spačvanskim šumama, tako da gradilišta nisu

should be a bridge “before” Osijek, following the example of the existing bridge before Belgrade, the bey was ordered to commission the construction of a sufficient amount of bridges (!) and boats to the mentioned location. Moreover, enough pontoons should be supplied. *There is no sufficient wooden material from the old bridge at all*, but the imperial officer arranged for all the required material to be delivered. There was also a supply of boards for the deck, supports or beams and ropes for mooring (?).¹² The bridge at Osijek was destroyed in the same place where it was earlier built, so an imperial order is to be expected for an urgent bridge construction. In the first twenty days of this month (10th April, 1566) thirty-five chaikas and thirty-five boats were brought to the Drava to carry supplies, as well as fifteen boats for transporting horses. With God’s help the remaining boats must not be ruined... according to the firman... (text is hard to decipher). The command: when the order is issued, the leftover pontoons from the bridge which is to be set up on the mentioned location ... (text in continuation is severely damaged).

The term “*ipler*” (ropes) requires some further consideration. The word can certainly not mean “chains”, as mentioned by Evliya, and still it refers to the pontoons.

This command is supplemented by a written record which says the boats cannot be constructed nowhere else in the Sanjak of Požega but close to Osijek. 2462 ducats was sent for the construction of forty pontoons (on a “narrow location of 160 feet”), a hundred and thirty supply vessels, twenty boats for transporting horses, fifty-six chaikas, including the wages for workmen and shipwrights. However, that amount was insufficient, so there was an order for more money to be taken from mukataa taxes (customs, etc.), the haraç and filori.¹³

Besides the pontoons, along bridge there was always a permanent fleet of supply and battle vessels. Moreover, there is mention of ten “boats for crossing” (*geçit gemileri*), which were probably used as a reserve in case there are any problems with the pontoons.¹⁴

As for the skilled and unskilled work force which was employed at the time, there is no reliable information, except that non-Turkish sources mention very large numbers, up to 25000 people, which sounds improbable. Perhaps these are not too exaggerated data, since big undertakings in the area truly required surprisingly large manpower. In comparison, in 1540 the

ni vidjeli, a da figuriraju na platnim listama u defterima, te tako bitno uvećaju total, koji je potom obavještajnim putevima mogao iskrnuti u neturskim kronikama. Napokon, kako se vidi i iz priložene tablice s podacima o prijevoznicima iz 1687., gotovo je sigurno da su vlasti morale angažirati ljudstvo s prostora mnogo šireg od donje Podravine (cijela Slavonija i Srijem, obližnji dijelovi Bosne i Srbije, sve u okviru Budimskog ejaleta). Ako su građeni „samo“ pješački prilazi, to opet znači zamašne radove s brojnim ljudstvom. Ukupni broj uvećavala je i radna snaga nužna za vojnu logistiku. A i trajanje radova, uz lutanja i premještanja lokacija, protezalo se na dobra tri mjeseca, pa nije teško zamisliti da su veće skupine ljudstva dolazile raditi na smjenu.

Zanimljivo je da je potkraj osmanske vladavine (AH 1097) zabilježen *dodatni* izdatak za popravljavanje mosta u iznosu od 2 500 groša, što bi po službenom tečaju bilo 300 000 akči. Time bi se isplatilo 1 643 majstora. To bi sugeriralo oko tri tjedna rada uz dnevnicu od 9 akči.¹⁶ Dakle, budući da je dodatak morao biti razmjerno nevelik dio ukupnih troškova, radnika je tom prilikom moglo biti i nekoliko puta više, možda i pet do šest tisuća.

Zaključujemo da između 1545. i 1566. možda uopće nije bilo mosta koji bi bio u trajnijoj i cjelovitijoj funkciji. Gotovo da bismo isto pomislili i u vezi mosta iz 1566., no vijesti neturskih narativnih izvora o gradnji, čini se, otklanjaju sumnju. Naime, pod nadnevkom 9. lipnja 1566. izričito se kaže da se most kod Osijeka neće graditi.¹⁷ U danima oko toga datuma opetovano je naglašavano kako se Drava izlila pa nije moguće djelovati prema prvobitnoj zamisli. Vladala je velika nesigurnost u pogledu prave lokacije; spominjalo se i mjesto

required workforce for rebuilding the Požega fortress was 28234 people (with the addition of an unknown number of wagoneers).¹⁵ The enigma can be partially resolved if we deduct the persons registered as unqualified workforce (*cerahors*), whose jobs were cutting trees, excavating stone, clearing access paths and similar, and they constituted the majority of the employed people (in the case of Požega they were one third of the entire workforce). A lot of people could have been employed on the construction of the Suleiman Bridge, for example people who cut trees in the Spačva forests, so that they were nowhere near the actual construction site but they added to the figures on the payroll in the defters, and therefore they added significantly to the total number of workers, which could have then come up in non-Ottoman chronicles. Finally, as can be seen from the accompanying table with data on the wagoneers from 1687, it is almost certain that the authorities had to have employed people from much broader area than lower Podravina (entire Slavonia and Sylvania, the nearby places in Bosnia and Serbia, all within the realms of the Eyalet of Buda). Even if only pedestrian access pathways were being built, it still meant complex works and a lot of workers. The total number was also increased by workforce required for military logistics. Moreover, the duration of works, with diversions and relocations, could be well up to three months, so it is not hard to imagine that large numbers of people were coming to work in shifts.

It is interesting that towards the end of the Ottoman rule (AH 1097) there is a record concerning an additional expenditure for repairing the bridge which amounted to 2500 gurusēs, which was in the official currency 300000 akçes. This money was used to pay 1643 craftsmen. This would suggest that they worked for three weeks and their daily wage was 9 akçes.¹⁶ Therefore, since the addition must have been quite small amount in comparison with the total cost, there could have been several times more workers, perhaps as many as five to six thousand.

The conclusion is that between 1545 and 1566 there might not have been a bridge with a long lasting or integral function. We could almost think the same for the 1566 bridge, but non-Ottoman narrative sources about construction seem to have dispersed all doubt. Moreover, the entry from 9th June, 1566 explicitly says that the bridge near Osijek will not be constructed.¹⁷ Around that

12 Kada se 1545. govori o budimskom mostu, spominju se i „veliki čavli“ ili klinovi. Ovdje to nije slučaj, no vjerojatno se podrazumijeva u okviru „potrepština“. / In reference to the Buda in 1545 there is mention of large nails or wedges. Here that is not the case but it is probably implied in the frame of all other tools.

13 MAD_d_02775_00686.

14 MAD_d_2775_00019.

15 MAD 523–31.

16 MAD_d_03992_00003. Broj osoba je u dokumentu naknadno precrtan, no to vjerojatno znači da su plaćeni manje, ili da su sredstva pronađena drugdje. / MAD_d_03992_00003. A number of people listed in the document were afterwards crossed out, but that probably means that they were payed less, or that the means were found elsewhere.

17 *Muhimme defterleri: dokumenti o našim krajevima*, (prir./ed.) Ešref Kovačević, Sarajevo, 1985., 154. Autor je vrlo kvalitetno i savjesno rezimirao sadržaje dokumenata, no pritom su često za interpretaciju bitni detalji ispušteni. / The author made a good and thorough abstract of the documents' content, however, due to interpretation some important details were left out.

uzvodno ili nizvodno od Valpova.¹⁸ Možda bi se vrlo kratak rok u kojem se čini da je most ipak izgrađen kod Osijeka mogao shvatiti u svjetlu naredbe pečuškom i mohačkom sandžakbegu da izgrade „pješačke prilaze“ (!) do pontonskog mosta.¹⁹ Kovačević daje sažetak, a izvorni tekst donosi naredbu begovima da naprave *pješačke mostove* do (pontonskog) mosta. Kako je plavljenje nastalo skretanjem toka rijeke od *milju i pol* na baranjsku stranu, taj prostor valja učiniti prohodnim. Zbog toga moraju biti spremne podnice za pješake i topove, te popisani čerahori i veslači. Dakle, nikako 8 km do Darde i samo daske, a ne stupovi, ograde, tornjevi!²⁰ Očito je u tom trenutku normalan marš u pravcu Sigeta bio moguć nakon prijedena 3,2 km.

Posao je bio izvršen u roku od 17 dana.²¹ Preostaje li nam nagađanje da je naposljetku došlo do poprilične improvizacije, „parcijalnog“ mosta, skromnijeg od onog u 17. stoljeću? Umjesto 40 pontona u kasnijim vremenima, sada ih je upotrijebljeno 118. Ovu nejasnoću razrješava Evlijin autograf, jer se vidi da 40 pontona leži na suprotnom kraju, kod Darde, te da je taj prijelaz, koji iznosi 160 koraka, kraći od osječkog.²²

Prvi je most bio na nekom drugom mjestu, možda malo više nizvodno. Vjerojatno se konstatacija da je raniji most bio uništen (točnije: prethodni se most dalo

date it was mentioned many times that the Drava flooded over so it was not possible to act upon the initial idea. There was a lot of insecurity concerning the real location; there was talk of a location upstream or downstream of Valpovo.¹⁸ Perhaps the short period of time required for the construction of the bridge at Osijek could be after all understood in the light of the order which was issued to sanjak-beys of Pécs and Mohács to build pedestrian access pathways (!) which lead to the pontoon bridge.¹⁹ Kovačević provided a summary of the original text which mentions the order to the sanjak-beys to commission *footbridges* to the (pontoon) bridge. Since the flooding occurred due to the river's course diversion of a *mile and a half* towards the Baranya side, the area needed to be made passable. Therefore, decks for infantry and cannons had to be ready, and the cerahors and rowers enrolled. So, under any circumstances the eight kilometres to Darda could not have been crossed only on boards, as opposed to on beams, with trusses and towers!²⁰ Obviously at the time a normal march on Szigetvár was possible after 3.2 kilometres.

The work was finished in seventeen days.²¹ Are we left with making a guess that in the end result was improvisation, construction of a partial bridge, which was in fact much smaller than the one from the 17th century? Instead of forty pontoons which the bridge had later, now there were one hundred and eighteen. The in-clarity here was resolved by Evliya's autograph, since it shows that there were forty pontoons positioned on the opposite side, at Darda, and that this 160-foot crossing is shorter than the crossing at Osijek.²²

The first bridge was on another location, perhaps a bit more downstream. The belief that the earlier bridge was destroyed (more accurately: that an order was issued for its destruction) probably refers to the first bridge which was in use between 1530 and 1545. Does the word “bridges” (a sufficient amount of bridges) suggest that at times a more solid ground was required for support, and since non-Ottoman sources contain expressions such as “ad pontes” or “die Brücken”? On the other hand, could we imagine a bridge as a composition of several parts, which would on its joints have movable parts in cases of emergency, as was suggested by the traveller (in continuation of the text)?

But this Suleiman Bridge for Szigetvár seemed to have been short-lived.

18 5 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*: (973/1565–1566), no. 5, (ed.) Hacı Osman Yıldırım et al., Ankara, 1994., 1912.

19 *Mühimme defterleri* (bilj./note 17), 145.

20 „Amma Drava tugyan üzere oldu, meyli Peçevi ve Mohaç sancakları caniblerine olup bir buçuk milde çıkıp yayılmıştır öte canibinden köprüye degin ayak köprülerini yapmak için Peçevi ve Mohaç beylerine emr-i şerif verildi ki yaya ve top döşemesi için tahtalar hazır olup ve çerahor ve küreççi kulliyen yazılmıştır (...)“ 5 *Numaralı mühimme defteri* (bilj. 18), regist naredbe br. 1797. / 5 *Numaralı mühimme defteri* (note 18), order regist no. 1797.

21 Ova i ostale informacije osmanskih kronika u: ATAYI, Hada'ik'ul-Haka'ik fi tekmlilet'uş-Şakayik, Istanbul, 1989., 163; GELIBOLULU MUSTAFA ALI, Heft Meclis, Istanbul, 1898., 17; LÜTFİ PAŞA, Tevarih-i Al-i Osman, Ankara, 2001., 280–281; MUZAFFER ERENDİL, Topçuluk Tarihi, Ankara, 1988., 71–72; TAYYIB GÖKBİLGİN, Kanûnî Süleyman'ın 1566 Szigetvar Seferi Sebepleri ve Hazırlıkları, u: *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, XVI/21 (1966.), 13. No, Evliya Çelebi navodi samo šest dana za izgradnju: *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 6. *Kitap* (bilj. 2), 108. / This and other information from the Ottoman chronicles in: ATAYI, Hada'ik'ul-Haka'ik fi tekmlilet'uş-Şakayik, Istanbul, 1989., 163; GELIBOLULU MUSTAFA ALI, Heft Meclis, Istanbul, 1898., 17; LÜTFİ PAŞA, Tevarih-i Al-i Osman, Ankara, 2001., 280–281; MUZAFFER ERENDİL, Topçuluk Tarihi, Ankara, 1988., 71–72; TAYYIB GÖKBİLGİN, Kanûnî Süleyman'ın 1566 Szigetvar Seferi Sebepleri ve Hazırlıkları, in: *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, XVI/21 (1966.), 13. However, according to Evliya Çelebi, the construction lasted for six days; *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 6. *Kitap* (note 2), 108.

22 *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 6. *Kitap* (bilj./note 2), 109.

23 Tj. za prijevoz na drugu stranu rijeke. 7 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*: (975–976/1567–1569), no. II, (ed.) Hacı Osman Yıldırım et al., Ankara, 1997., 2323. No, 1565. je za prijevoz služilo deset lađa! (MAD_d_ 2775_076). / Meaning for transport across to the other side of the river. 7 *Numaralı mühimme defteri*: (975–976/1567–1569), no. II, (ed.) Hacı Osman Yıldırım et al., Ankara, 1997., 2323. But in 1565 ten boats were used for transport! (MAD_d_ 2775_076).

uništiti) odnosi na prvi most koji je bio u funkciji od oko 1530. do 1545. Sugerira li spomen „mostova“ („dovoljna količina mostova“) da se mjestimično tražilo oslanjanje na čvršće tlo, tim prije što se u neturskim izvorima susreću izrazi *ad pontes*, ili *die Brücken*? Alternativno, možemo li zamisliti most kao „kompoziciju“ od više dijelova, gdje bi se na spojnica u slučaju nužde podizali pokretni dijelovi, kako (niže) sugerira putopisac?

No ovaj „sigetski“ Sulejmanov most kao da je bio vrlo kratka vijeka.

Očito nakon pada Sigeta, bivši požeški sandžakbeg Hasan (Husein?; naredba je 1568. upućena aktualnom upravitelju Bali-begu Malkočeviću) dao je porušiti dio novog Sulejmanova mosta („mosta podignutog za prelaženje vojske“). „Potom je nadošla zima i ostalo su uništile poplave, te je 80 lađa ostalo u blatu.“ Sulejmanov je most dakle propao nedugo nakon izgradnje! Dalje se govori o potrebi popravljanja „osječkih tvrđava“ (sic!; vjerojatno one od opeke i palanke-podgrađa) te se konstatira da „boravak (radnika?) nije moguć kad se močvara raširi, pa trunu i na njima (ladama, op. N. M.) se ne radi. Neke (?) brodove drže „begovi i janjičari“ i zato što se prema carskoj zapovijedi čuvaju u tvrđavi njih 65 obrađuju kalafati, njih 30 je dopremljeno „odozgo“ (nizvodno) a njih se 35 čuva blizu tvrđave Osijek. Tri je broda oštetio led, a onima koje se kalafata zamijenjena su kormila, klupe pa i ponešto drugo. Dva broda služe kao skela, njih pet je od jelovine i pripadaju trgovcima, kao i njih još deset, pa su ih vlasnici preuzeli i na njima zarađuju. Nedavno je izgrađeno još 60 brodova i poslano za Budim.²³

Prema podatku o deset lađa koje služe za prijevoz 1565., naspram samo dvije nakon stradanja mosta 1568., također možemo pretpostaviti da doista do sigetske kampanje mosta kolosalnih razmjera preko močvara nije bilo.

TREĆI MOST (MEHMED III.? AHMED I.?)

Sasvim je nejasno je li treći most građen odmah, ili mnogo kasnije, sve negdje do 1610. kada se pojavljuje prvi likovni prikaz, a 1616. prvi arhivski podatak da postoji. U katastarskom defteru iz 1579. nema mu traga, a šteta koju su prometnoj instalaciji nanijeli hajduci 1599., ne znači nužno da je bila riječ o mostu kakav će poslije impresionirati putnike. Čini se kao da su mostovi iz Sulej-

Obviously, after the fall of Szigetvár, the former sanjak-bey of Požega, Hasan, (Husein? The order was in 1568 passed on to the incumbent Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey) had a part of the new Suleiman Bridge pulled down (“the bridge constructed as the army crossing”). “Then winter came and the rest was destroyed by the floods, and eighty boats were stuck in the mud”. The Suleiman Bridge was, therefore, in ruins soon after it was built! There is further information about the need to repair “fortresses in Osijek” (sic!; probably those which were made of brick and the suburb palanka), and it is believed that (workers?) couldn’t have “stayed” in the area when the wetland expanded, so the (boats) rotted and no more work was done on them. Some (?) boats were guarded by “beys and Janissaries” and, because they were by the imperial order kept in the fortress, sixty-five of them were the boatbuilders’ responsibility, thirty were brought from “above” (downstream), and another thirty-five of them are guarded near the Osijek fortress. Three boats were damaged by ice and the ones under caulking had to have steering wheels, seats and a few other parts replaced. Two boats were used as a ferry, five are made of fir and belong to the merchants, as well as ten others, so the owners maintain them and use them for business. Recently sixty more boats were built and sent to Buda.²³

According to the data about the ten boats used for transport in 1565, as opposed to only two after the bridge was destroyed in 1568, we can assume that really until the Szigetvár campaign there was no bridge of colossal dimensions across the wetlands.

THE THIRD BRIDGE (MEHMED III? AHMED I)

It is entirely unclear whether the third bridge was built straight away, or much later, until 1610 when it was first depicted in a drawing and 1616 when it was first recorded in the archives. There is no sign of it, though, in the cadastral defter from 1579, and the damage caused by the hajduks in 1599 does not necessarily mean it was a kind of bridge which would impress travellers. It looks like

manova doba imali primarno vojnu namjenu, pa i da su bili skromniji graditeljski pothvat od onoga što je vidio Evlija. Bilo bi logično očekivati da je konačan izgled most dobio poslije stabilizacije prilika nakon tzv. Dugog rata (1591. – 1606.) kad je povećana komercijalna aktivnost, uspostavljen velik sajam blizu početka mosta itd. U tom smislu bi se prikaz iz 1610. mogao odnositi na takoreći netom podignuti, „pravi“ veliki most.

Većina arhivskih podataka o mostu iz 17. stoljeća odnosi se na posljednju fazu, tj. vrijeme priprema za pohod 1683. ili neposredno uoči napuštanja Osijeka.

EVLIJIN OPIS

Putopisac Evlija Čelebi opisao je most (podignut najranije poslije 1580., a vjerojatno u godinama poslije pada Kaniže od 1600. do 1610.) na način koji u Šabanovićevu prijevodu dosta zbunjuje, no držim da se alternativnim čitanjem može učiniti prihvatljivijim. Evlija je, naravno, kao i svatko u njegovo vrijeme, pripisivao most, takav kakav je vidio, sultanu Sulejmanu, i to još u vremenu mohačkog pohoda. Vjerovao je da je radove obavila vojska pod zapovjedništvom velikog vezira Ibrahim-paše; u vezi prvog prelaska osmanske vojske preko Drave, to je dakako točno. Ovdje bih donio sažetak s komentarom i upozorenjem na nužne promjene.

Dužina: dva sata hoda. Sa svih strana hrastovi stupovi (koje „jedva obuhvate dva čovjeka“). S vanjske strane ograde prolazi za pješake, širina dva hvata. Točnije: po jedan hvat sa svake strane.²⁴ Vrata na oba kraja mosta, tornjevi za odmor putnika i podizanje dijela mosta u dužini od deset koraka nisu plod nesnalaženja i fantazije turskog putopisca. Evlija ne kaže da se tornjevi (ne „kiosci“, op. H. Š.) nalaze „na sredini mosta“ (ovo je točan

the bridges from Suleiman’s time had primarily a military function, even if they were architecturally more modest than what Evliya recorded in his travels. It would be logical to expect that the bridge achieved its final appearance after the period of stabilisation, meaning after the Long War (1591 – 1606) when commercial activities increased, when the big fair was established close to the entrance on the bridge, etc. With regard to that, the 1610 depiction of the bridge could also refer to the newly built “real” bridge.

Most archived records concerning the bridge from the 17th century refer to the last phase, the time of preparation for the 1683 campaign or just before leaving Osijek.

EVLIYA’S DESCRIPTION

Travel writer Evliya Çelebi described the bridge (constructed after 1580 the earliest, and probably at the time after the fall of Kaniža, 1600 – 1610) in a way which is quite confusing in Šabanović’s translation, but I believe an alternative interpretation can make the text more acceptable. Evliya ascribed the bridge, as he saw it, to Sultan Suleiman, just like everyone else in his time, already at the time of the campaign to Mohács. He believed the work was undertaken by the army under the command of the Grand Vizier Pargalı Ibrahim Pasha; with regard to the first crossing of the Ottoman army across the Drava this is of course correct information. Here I would like to insert a summary with a commentary and a note about the required changes:

Length: two hours on foot. All around – beams made of oak (which “even two men can hardly embrace”). On the outside rail there are pedestrian passageways, two fathoms wide. More precisely: one fathom on each side.²⁴ Doors on both sides of the bridge, towers to accommodate weary travellers and a part of the bridge which rises for the length of ten feet are not the result of an un-resourceful and fantasy-prone Ottoman travel writer. Evliya does not state that there are towers (not “kiosks”, H.Š.) in “the centre of the bridge” (in translation), rather that they *stand* as a resting place for travellers passing on the left and the right side of the bridge *as opposed to the centre of the bridge* (an imaginary line along the length of the entire bridge). These would, therefore, be watchtowers in the non-Ottoman reports (the author writes nothing of these constructions).²⁵ The writ-

24 Ovo ne bi proturječilo neturskim izvorima koji govore o širini mosta od dvanaest koraka ili devet metara. MILAN VLAJINAC, Rečnik naših starih mera: u toku vekova, sv. III, Beograd, 1968, str. 440–441, natuknica „kola (kao mjera za širinu)“. / This does not contrast the non-Ottoman sources which say the width of the bridge was twelve feet or nine metres. MILAN VLAJINAC, Rečnik naših starih mera: u toku vekova, vol. III, Beograd, 1968, pg. 440–441, entry word “carriage (as a measurement for width)”.

25 EVLIJA ÇELEBI / EVLIYA ÇELEBI (bilj./note 1), 373; *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 6. *Kitap* (bilj./note 2), 108.

26 Ibidem. „Ve bu cisrin ta’mir ü termîmine Pojağa paşası ve Mihaç sancaklarının cem’i re’âyaları amârına me’mûrlardır kim bir kazığı batakdâ çürüse ve memerr-i nâs olan dõşeme direkleri eskise ol ân deđiřdirüp gayri direk korlar.“

27 MAD_d_08479, 190. Takoder/Also A.DVNS.ŠKT.d.10.

prijevod), nego da oni *stoje* kao odmorište putnicima koji se kreću lijevom i desnom stranom mosta *u odnosu na njegovu sredinu* (zamišljenu liniju po dužini čitavog mosta). To su dakle „stražarnice“ u neturskim izvještajima (o takvim objektima pisac ništa ne govori).²⁵ O podizanju mosta u dužini od deset koraka pisac zatim govori ovako: „Odavde je pokretno oko deset koraka mosta“ („računajući od tih kioska“ uopće ne piše i prevoditelj je dodatak prema domišljanju). Gdje je to „ovdje“? „Odavde“ se može odnositi samo na jednu točku, a ne na mnogo njih, kao da je kod svakog tornja dio mosta pokretan. Slijedi rečenica: „Na ovom mjestu borave gradski vojnici i od trgovaca koji dolaze i odlaze ubiru badž kao državni prihod.“ Riječ je dakle o jednoj ili o obje „jake kapije“ *pontonskog mosta*, vjerojatno na oba kraja, i kod Osijeka, i kod Darde. Kad bi se „odavde“ i „na ovom mjestu“ odnosilo na dvadesetak ili više „stražarnica“, čitava bi posada morala na most, a trgovci bi, dok stignu do drugog kraja, zamalo ostali bez imovine.

Evliya daje i jednu vrlo zanimljivu opasku koja donosi i jedan nevažan tehnički detalj: „Za popravljavanje ovog mosta zadužena je raja sandžaka požeškog paše i Mohača, pa kada jedan stup u močvari istrune, odnosno *oblice podloge* za kretanje ljudi („svijeta“) postanu trošne, istog trena ih mijenjaju i stavljaju drugu oblicu (prut, štap, kolac).“ Prema podacima koji se ovdje također spominju (vidi dolje), mogla je biti riječ o daskama, no konačan sud zasad ne možemo donijeti.²⁶

SLUŽBE, ČUVANJE, ODRŽAVANJE I OSTALO

Nešto jasniju sliku možemo steći o opsegu radova na održavanju i popravljanju mosta. Tako je dostupan jedini izravni spomen radova na samom velikom mostu (i to neposredno prije propasti) iz 28. ožujka 1687. Kadija Srebrenice poslao je pismo – raja srebreničkog kadiluka došla je na sud: 200 osoba pod općom mobilizacijom zaduženo je *iznova* graditi osječki most u dužini od 200 aršina, no oni to ne mogu izvršiti.

Sačuvan je i popis plaćenih radnika i volovskih zaprega za službu na osječkom mostu iz raznih kadiluka temeljem deftera vezira Hasan-paše na datum 30. svibnja 1687.²⁷

er then says the following about the ten-feet rising of the bridge: “From here around ten feet of the bridge is movable” (“measuring from those kiosks” is not written and the translator’s insertion is invented). Where is this location referred to as “here”? “From here” can only refer to one position, and not more, as if the bridge can be raised at every tower. The sentence which follows “This is the place where the town’s soldiers stand and collect tariffs for the state from the merchants.” So, the reference must be to one or both “strong gates” of the *pontoon bridge*, probably on both ends, both in Osijek and in Darda. If “from here” and “this is the place” referred to around twenty or more “watchtowers”, the entire crew would have had to stay on the bridge, and the merchants would almost be left without their assets by the time they reached the other end.

Furthermore, Evliya made a very interesting comment, which brings about one significant technical detail: “The people in charge of repairs on this bridge are those working under the pashas of Požega and Mohács sanjaks, so when a pier in the swamp underneath the bridge becomes rotten, meaning when the *base cylinders* which support the pedestrian deck (“the crowds”) become frail, they immediately have to replace it with another cylinder (post, pole, bar). According to the data also mentioned here (see below), these could have been boards as well, but the final conclusion cannot be reached for now.”²⁶

POSITIONS, GUARDING, MAINTENANCE AND ELSE

It is possible to get a somewhat clearer idea of the scope of work done on the construction of the bridge and the repairs. There is only one direct mention of the construction works on the great bridge (just before it was destroyed) from 28th March, 1687. The kadı of Srebrenica sent a letter: the people of the Srebrenica district came to the court: under general mobilization 200 people are in charge of *rebuilding* the bridge in Osijek, the length of which should be 200 arshins, but they cannot carry out the order.

There is a preserved list of paid workers and oxen for undertakings on the Osijek bridge from different districts based on Vizier Hasan-pasha’s defter dated 30th May, 1687.²⁷

KADILUK	PLAĆENI RADNICI (ČERAHORI) / PAYED WORKERS (CERAHORS)	KOLA / CARTS
Mitrovica	59	15
Grgurevci	9	3
Cernik	100	14
Požega	96	20
Brod	50	9
Rača	9	2
Šabac	144	48
Birče	59	0
Đakovo	55	15
Loznica/Krupanj	60	20
Nijemci	101	28
Zvornik	50	10
Bijeljina	20	5
Višegrad	15	0
Bosanski Brod + Travnik	15	0
Travnik	6	1
Tešanj s vakufima / Tešanj with waqfs	41	5
Srebrenica	60	10
Rogatica	30	0
Ukupno / In total	979	205

Razlika između brojki u slučaju Srebreničkog kadiluka (200 spram 60) upućuje na vjerojatnost da je u raznim oblicima vršenje službe moglo biti nametnuto ukupnom broju obveznika koji je vjerojatno dostizao i više tisuća osoba.

To bi potkrijepio i podatak o troškovima iz 1579. prema kojem je valjalo namaknuti 300 000 akči, što znači do 2 000 pojedinačnih dnevica u mjesec dana.

Most je bio na jedan sasvim osobit način povezan s komunalnim potrebama grada Osijeka. Sačuvana je zapovijed Aliju,²⁸ čuvaru osječkog mosta, i osječkom kadiji, datirana 8. kolovoza 1683., koja kaže: Stanovnici kasa-be Osijek poslali su na dvor čovjeka s predstavkom: pri-

The difference in figures in the case of Srebrenica district (200 as opposed to 60) points to a possibility that work could have been in different ways imposed on a total number of subjects, which probably came to several thousand people.

To support this there is an expenditure record from 1579 according to which the works required 300000 akçes, which means up to 2000 individual daily wages in a month.

The bridge was in one very specific way connected to Osijek's communal needs. The records hold an order issued to Ali²⁸, the keeper of the Osijek bridge, and the Osijek kadi, dated 8th August, 1683, which goes as

je su „oduvijek“ stanovnici kasabe Osijek gradili most²⁹ unutar grada poput ulice. No budući da je ove godine, zbog učestalosti prolaženja islamske vojske, spomenuti most postao previše ružičan, sada je, na zamolbu da se izda naredba o čuvanju drvene građe uklonjene s velikog mosta, zapovjedbno – kako bi stanovnici rečenog kadiluka (!) gradili spomenuti most na uobičajeni način ras-hodovanim starim daskama s velikog mosta koje treba čuvati na zaštićenom mjestu – da se za popravak mosta odstranjene stare daske s velikog mosta unutar rečene kasabe čuva na broju na zaštićenom mjestu. O poplo-čavanju gradskih ulica daskom govori i Evliya Çelebi, ali ne zna da je barem dijelom za to „reciklirana“ istrošena građa s velikog mosta.

Oko 1679. dvaput je spomenuto 60 čerahora raje koje predvodi mimar-baša (obično se prevodi kao „glavni in-žinjer“, no možda bi bilo prikladnije reći „palir“) Ahmed, a popravljaju osječki most i k tomu od Jurjeva do Mitro-va dana „čuvaju (neke druge?) mostove.“³⁰ Tada se od njih tražilo da dođu popravljati most kod Isakče blizu ušća Dunava u Crno more. Sveukupno je takvih specijalizira-nih radnika moralo biti mnogo više, jer su naredbe stili-zirane tako da sugeriraju kako tek treba odrediti tih 60 osoba, jer jednom je adresat požeški muteselim, a drugi put kadije, „čehaje“ (pretpostavljamo da je riječ o kne-zovima) i svi iskusni prvaci – eksperti (vilajetski ajani te *iş erleri*). Moguće je da je dosta naselja i obitelji mosta-raz iz starih poreznih popisa zadržano u takvom statusu.

U istočnoj Slavoniji je bilo i manjih mostova na pro-metnim pravcima jug – sjever (možda najpoznatiji pre-ko Vuke; krajem 16. stoljeća mostovi su spomenuti na 14 lokacija). Da bi se njih popravilo i osposobilo za pro-lazak vojske do Osijeka, bilo je potrebno u Požeškom sandžaku angažirati stotinu visoko kvalificiranih maj-stora (*ustad neccarlar*).³¹ I ovdje je bio nadležan mi-mar-baša Ahmed.

Zanimljiva je i zapovijed kadijama, eminima i službe-nicima na Savi kako se ne bi stvarala velika gužva. Islam-ska vojska će prelaziti osječkim mostom, pa neka se spri-ječi da bez naredbe prelaze konjanici ili pješaci. (Svim kadijama, eminima i službenicima na obalama Dunava i Drave od Osijeka do Beograda. Godina 1685.)³²

follows: “The dwellers of the Osijek *kasaba* have sent a man with a petition to the court: before, the inhabitants of the *kasaba* of Osijek “always” used to build a bridge²⁹ inside the city, as if it was a street. But since this year, due to frequent passing of the Islamic army, the bridge in question has become too damaged. So, after the re-quest to issue an order for the upkeep of the wooden construction removed from the *great* bridge, it was or-dered – so that the inhabitants of the said district (!) would build the mentioned bridge in their usual way by using the old boards from the *great* bridge, which need to be stored somewhere safe – that the old boards from the *great* bridge should be kept and numbered on a safe place inside the mentioned *kasaba*.” Evliya Çelebi also wrote about paving the town’s streets with boards, but he didn’t know that it was at least partly the “recycled” damaged material of the great bridge.

Around 1679 the records mention a group of 60 cera-hors twice. They were locals and supervised by Ahmed mimarbashi, which is usually translated as “chief ar-chitect”, but here it would perhaps be more suitable to use the term “foreman”, or perhaps “construction su-pervisor”. They were repairing the bridge in Osijek and, moreover, from Saint George’s Day to Saint Demetrius’ Day they were “guarding (some other?) bridges”.³⁰ At the time they were asked to repair the bridge at Isaac-ća, close to the confluence of the Danube in the Black Sea. In total there must have been many more such spe-cialised payed workers because the orders were made so as to suggest that those 60 people are yet to be ap-pointed, because on one occasion the addressee was the Požega mütesellim, the other time it was a kadi, “kethü-da” (meaning deputy; we can assume they were knezes) and all of them were experienced – experts (the ayans of the vilayet and *iş erleri*). There is a possibility that many settlements and families of bridgekeepers from old tax lists kept that status.

In eastern Slavonia there were smaller bridges as well on the traffic routes south – north (perhaps the most fa-mous one was the bridge across the River Vuka; at the end of the 16th century bridges were mentioned on four-teen locations). In order to fix them and make prepara-tions so that the army could cross them and get to Osi-jek, it was necessary to hire a hundred highly qualified cferrysmen (*ustad neccarlar*) in the sanjak of Požega.³¹ Here too the man in charge was Ahmed mimarbashi.

28 BOA, MAD_d_03130_00036.

29 Prijelaz popločan daskama. / A crossing decked with boards.

30 BOA, Mühimme defterleri 97.

31 MAD_d_02931_00035.

Na početku mosta, vjerojatno pontonskog, nalazili su se i topovi, vjerojatno kao paradni primjerci, posebice „veliki Sulejmanov top“ koji spominju putnici, smješten onamo nakon što se 1529. zaglavio u mulju. 1685. u jeku velikog rata odvezen je u Beograd, te mu je daljnja sudbina nepoznata.³³

It is also interesting to mention the order which was given to kadis, emins and officials on the Sava in order to avoid crowds. The Islamic army would be crossing the bridge so both people on horseback and pedestrians were not allowed to cross without an order. This was a notice to all kadis, emins and other officials on the banks of the Danube and the Drava from Osijek to Belgrade in the year of 1685.³²

At the beginning of the bridge, probably the pontoon one, there were cannons, possibly the parade examples for show, especially “the great Suleiman cannon” mentioned by travellers, which was transferred there after it had got stuck in mud in 1529. In 1685 when the war was raging it was taken to Belgrade and its further destiny is unknown.³³

GOSPODARSKA FUNKCIJA

Nekoliko pitanja u vezi gospodarske uloge velikog mosta još je otvoreno. Ponajprije to je problem odnosa skel i carine (đumruka) te mostarine kao posebne dažbine. Možemo li tumačiti upis o skeli, tj. carini u defteru iz 1579. kao da se odnosi na most?³⁴ Evlija kaže da se na mostu od trgovaca ubirao badž, rabeći najopćenitiji termin. Badž, dosta neodređeni pojam, „pristojba“ naprosto, najčešće se javlja kao *bac-i siyah*, što se može nazvati (i prevesti) kao „kopnena carina“, za razliku od „vodene“ ili đumruka.³⁵ Badž se mogao ubirati posvuda, i u gradu i na selu, a đumruk samo na pristaništima gdje je prolazila roba u međudržavnom ili barem interregionalnom prometu. Badž ima poglavito karakter uvozne, a đumruk izvozne i tranzitne carine.³⁶ Prema primjerima za ugarske gradove iz ovog razdoblja kao i prema samom kanunu za osječku skelu u popisu iz 1579., termin badž se *češće* spominje kod naplate od *živežnih namirnica*, a đumruk u slučaju *žive stoke i ostale robe*. Velik broj lađa dovezio je u Osijek i iz njega odvezio veće količine žita, žive stoke, vina, oružja i ratnog materijala te druge robe koju se sigurno nije moralo a uvijek se nije ni moglo prebacivati preko mosta. I za Budim se više isplatilo slati tovaru Dunavom, a za odredišta nizvodno na Dunavu pogotovo most nije mogao igrati osobitu ulogu. Pristanište kao mjesto gdje se roba „vezuje i odvezuje“ i plaća đumruk, nije nužno moralo biti uz most (kadikad se u defterskim upisima kod visine prihoda

ECONOMIC FUNCTION

There are still several open questions concerning the economic function of the great bridge. First of all, the problem refers to the relation between the ferry and the custom (gümrük) and the bridge toll as a separate duty. Can we interpret the entry about the ferry custom from the 1579 defter so that it refers to the bridge?³⁴ Evliya says the merchants had to pay “baç” when crossing the bridge, using the most general term. The *baç*, this really ambiguous term, or simply “duty”, usually appeared as *bac-i siyah*, which can be translated as “land custom” as opposed to “water custom” or *gümrük*.³⁵ *Baç* could be collected anywhere, in towns, villages, and *gümrük* only at the docks where goods crossed international borders or at least regional borders. The *baç* is mostly a type of import custom, while the *gümrük* is export and transit custom.³⁶ According to examples from Hungarian towns of the time, as well as according to the kanun for the ferry at Osijek from the 1579 list, the term *baç* is *more commonly* used for charges made on *food and beverages*, and *gümrük* for *live cattle and other merchandise*. There were many boats which transported, to and from Osijek, large quantities of wheat, livestock, wine, weapons and warfare materials, as well as other types of goods which wasn't always necessary, or possible, to transport across the bridge. It was more cost effective to ship goods to Buda via the Danube, for example, and for destinations downstream the bridge definitely

navodi „brod s carinom“, pri čemu je prva riječ skela). Ako se pak to događalo na prilazu pontonskom mostu, u čemu bi bilo neke logike s obzirom na blizinu čaršije, bazara i panadura, opet bi bila riječ o dva različita tipa dažbine, načina transporta, vrste i mjesta prijelaza. Dravu kod Osijeka morala su prelaziti velika stada stoke, a njih teško da se uvijek i u cijelosti – ako se to uopće i činilo – gonilo preko pontonskog mosta, užeg od drvene „ceste na stupovima“ i bez izravne veze s njom.³⁷ Prema tome, izgradnja mosta je otvorila nove mogućnosti za kopneni promet, ali nije bitno djelovala na opseg aktivnosti na pristaništu. Ondje se volumen prometa mogao i povećati. pontonski je most mogao preuzeti veći dio aktivnosti skele u vidu prijevoza na drugu obalu izražen pojmom *resm-i ‘öbur*, no teško da je prijevoz lađama sasvim prestao. U kanun-nami iz 1579. u opisu pristojbe, *resm-i ‘öbur* jedva da se shvaća kao prijelaz mostom. Potkraj osmanske vlasti spomenut je đumruk od prijelaza te đumruk općenito u slučaju nezakonitog ubiranja na skeli od trgovaca koji donose salitru.³⁸ Iz podataka koji postoje za 1620. i 1674. godinu vidljivo je da je promet na Dravi, povezan s dunavskom plovidbom, još uvijek donosio dosta veću dobit od kopnenog (110 500 akči maltarine na mostu, tj. badž o kojem govori Evlija).³⁹ No most je mogao donijeti i mnogo više, osobito u vrijeme prodaje veće količine roblja. Godine 1663. spomenut je iznos godišnjeg prihoda od mukate „mosta s pripadnostima“ od 400 000 akči. Ta su se sredstva trošila za plaće posade Pečuha, a i za čuvare samog mosta. Ovaj je iznos moguće objasniti jedino tako da se gore spomenuta maltarina shvati kao kvartalni iznos. dio svo-

couldn't have been of much use. The place where goods were “packed or unpacked” and where merchants payed gümrük for it did not necessarily have to be by a bridge (sometimes the defter entries showing the amount of the tax also note “customs boats”, where the first word is ferry). If this, however, was taking place at the entrance of the pontoon bridge, which would have made sense since the centre, the market and the fair were close, there would still have been two types of tax, ways of transport, types and locations of the crossing. There must have been huge herds of cattle crossing the Drava at Osijek, and they would hardly ever, if ever at all, use the pontoon bridge, narrower than the “road on piers” and without direct contact with it.³⁷ Therefore, the construction of the bridge opened up new possibilities for land traffic, but it did not significantly influence the scope of activity at the docks. There the amount of business could have enlarged. The pontoon bridge could have taken over a larger part of the ferry activity, such as transport to the opposite bank, which was termed *resm-i ‘öbur*, but the boat traffic did not entirely die down. In the 1579 kanun-name the description of the term *resm-i ‘öbur* is hardly considered as a bridge crossing. Towards the end of the Ottoman rule there were two gümrüks, one connected to the crossing and the other general one in case there was illegal tax collecting on the ferry from the merchants who used to trade in saltpeter.³⁸ It is clear from the existing data from 1620 and 1674 that the traffic on the Drava, connected with the Danube navigation, still brought in much more profit than the land traffic (110500 akçes of toll on the bridge, or baç which Evliya talked about).³⁹

32 A.DVNS.ŞKT.d.10.

33 IE.ML. 1203 – 3.

34 *Popis sandžaka Požege 1579. godine*, (ur./ed.) Stjepan Sršan, Osijek 2001., 237.

35 Oba termina uključuju i podvrste kao što su pazarni badž, panadurski badž, *resm-i sergi* (pristojba za izlaganje robe) i sl. odnosno *resm-i ‘öbur* i *resm-i geçit* (taksa za prijelaz u komercijalne svrhe te taksa za prijelaz lokalnoga mjesnog stanovništva radi sakupljanja drva, paše i sl.) kao podvrste đumruka. Usp. *tricesima* i *telonium*. / Both terms include sub-taxes such as market badž, fair badž, *resm-i sergi* (a fee for displaying goods) and similar, like *resm-i ‘öbur* and *resm-i geçit* (a crossing fee for commercial purposes and a fee for local inhabitants for wood, grazing, etc.) as a subdivision of gümrük. Compare *tricesima* and *telonium*.

36 O svemu detaljnije govorim u radu NENAD MOAČANIN, Bâc and Gümrük on the Middle Danube, 1540–1614: terminological elucidations, in: *CIÉPO Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Komitesi: VII. Sempozyumu bildirileri: Peç, 7–11 Eylül 1986 / CIÉPO Comité International d'Études Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes, VII Symposium Actes*, (yayına hazırlayanlar) Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Ankara, 1994., 463–467. / For a more detailed explanation look in NENAD MOAČANIN, Bâc and Gümrük on the Middle Danube, 1540–1614: Terminological Elucidations, in: *CIÉPO Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Araştırmaları Uluslararası Komitesi: VII. Sempozyumu bildirileri: Peç, 7–11 Eylül 1986 / CIÉPO Comité International d'Études Pré-Ottomanes et*

Ottomanes, VII Symposium Actes, (yayına hazırlayanlar) Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Ankara, 1994., 463–467.

37 Primjerice, stoka dognana bilo sa slavonske strane za prodaju negdje u Ugarskoj ili još dalje, bilo s baranjske strane za stočni sajam koji se zasigurno održavao izvan zidova varoši, morala bi najprije „defilirati“ kroz palanku (usp. nacrt iz 1688.) pa opet iz nje napolje. Prijevoz na mjesto sučelice završetku „ceste na stupovima“ doima se jednostavnijim rješenjem. / For example, the cattle herded either from the Slavonian side, to be sold somewhere in Hungary or further away, or the Baranya side for the cattle fair, which was surely taking place outside the varos walls, had to have been “defiled” through the palanka first (comp. Plan from 1688) and again out of the palanka. Transport to place opposite the end of the “road on piers” seems like a simpler solution.

38 Kao *gümrük-i ‘öbur*, 110 500 akči. BOA, MMD 3289, 114; BOA, KK Evamir-i Maliye 2470, 109 iz 1681. godine. Emiri koji su upravljali tim poslovima kao zakupnici carinskih prihoda, često su činili nezakonitosti, ubirući carinu i na državne zalih namirnica (primjerice, od riže). / *As gümrük-i ‘öbur*, 110500 akçes. BOA, MMD 3289, 114; BOA, KK Evamir-i Maliye 2470, 109 from 1681. Emirs, who governed these businesses as the collectors of customs duties, often committed illegal acts, such as collecting duty on state food supplies (for example rice).

39 Prihod od osječke mukate, bilj. 44; BOA, MMD 3289, 4. / Income collected from the Osijek mukataa, note 44; BOA, MMD 3289, 4.

te od takse za prijelaz mogao je i dalje potjecati od prijevoza preko rijeke. Skelu su uzimale u zakup najrazličitije osobe, obično pripadnici vojničkog staleža, ali ne uvijek.⁴⁰ U svakom ćemo slučaju zaključiti da su most, prijelaz Drave lađama, te skela (pristanište) tvorili u velikoj mjeri organsku cjelinu.

ZAKLJUČAK

Most kakav je ostao prikazan na ilustracijama iz 17. stoljeća te opisan u nizu izvještaja, ne može se sa sigurnošću pripisati sigetskoj kampanji sultana Sulejmana Zakonodavca (Veličanstvenog). U najboljem slučaju, sačuvani izvori iz 16. stoljeća daju naslutiti da je bilo radova na prilaznim putovima u smislu izrade nogostupa. Tako zasad preostaje radna hipoteza o izgradnji „svjetskog čuda“ u vremenu nakon što je nastupilo mirnije razdoblje poslije Žitvatoročkog mira 1606., najranije u vezi s padom Kaniže 1600. ili odmah nakon toga. Doduše, Evlija kaže da „sada“ most pripada zadužbinama sultana Sulejmana, no objekt je mogao biti uključen u kompleks Sulejmanovih zadužbina i kasnije.⁴¹ Izvan konteksta velikih pohoda, podatci o gradnji mostova nisu tako lako dospjevali u zbirke regesta carskih naredaba, a još manje u narativne izvore. Takav je most dobio veliku ulogu u civilnom komercijalnom životu, pod upravom novoutemeljenog ejaleta Kaniža. U svakom slučaju, istraživanje razdoblja oko 1600. godine ostaje izazov za budućnost.

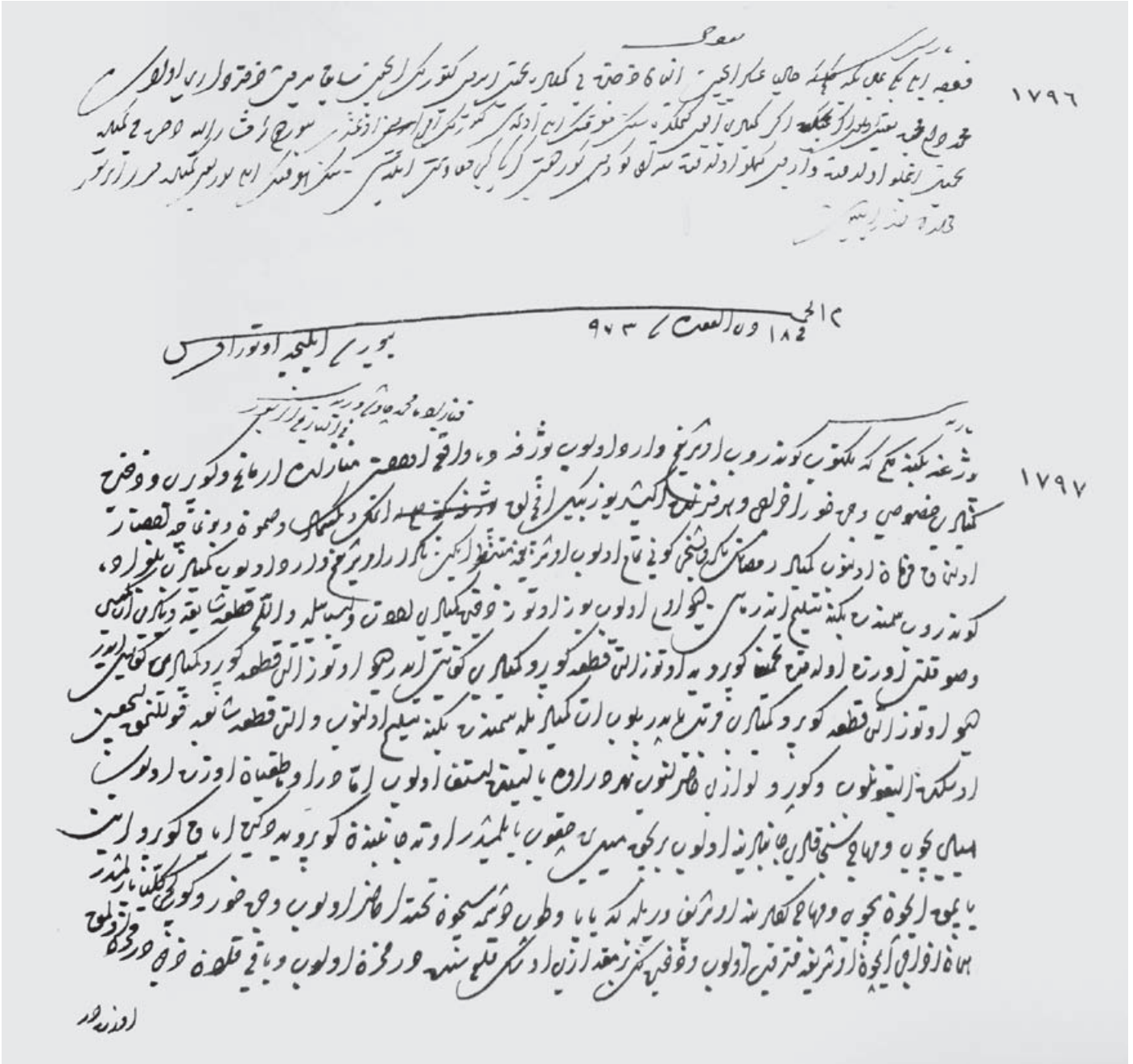
However, the bridge could earn much more, especially when there were large slave markets taking place. In 1663 there was mention of the amount of annual income collected from the mukataa of the “bridge and its belongings”, which amounted to 400000 akçes. Those means were spent for paying the Pécs garrison, as well as for paying the bridge keepers. This is the only possible explanation for the amount, that the above mentioned toll be understood as a quartal amount. A part of the amount payed for the crossing could have still come from transport across the river. The ferry was often hired by all sorts of different people, commonly the members of the army, but not always.⁴⁰ All in all, the conclusion is that the bridge, boat crossing and the ferry (the docks) were largely one organic whole.

CONCLUSION

The bridge, as it was depicted on 17th-century illustrations, and described in numerous records, cannot be with certainty prescribed to the Szigetvár campaign of Suleiman the Magnificent (the Lawgiver). At best, the preserved sources from the 16th century give reason to think that some sort of work was taking place at the access paths, such as perhaps building a pavement. So for now, the hypothesis is that the construction of this “wonder of the world” took place after the the Peace of Zsitvatorok was established in 1606, the earliest upon the fall of Kaniža in 1600, or immediately afterwards. However, Evliya said that “now” the bridge belongs to Sultan Suleiman’s waqfs, but the building might have been included in the later complex of his waqfs as well.⁴¹ Outside of the contexts of great campaigns, information concerning the construction of bridges did not so easily enter into collections of imperial orders, and even less so into narrative sources. Such a bridge played a huge part in civilian – commercial life, and it was governed by a newly established eyalet of Kaniža. In any case, research into the period around the year 1600 remains a true future challenge.

40 1566. emin-zakupnik bio je stanovnik varoši Ács Pista. BOA, Maliye 2775, 19004. / Emin-tenant was resident of Ács Pista varos in 1566. BOA, Maliye 2775, 19004.

41 Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, 6. *Kitap* (bilj./note 2), 108.



Zapovijed pečuškom i mohačkom sandžakbegu od 6. lipnja 1566. da izgrade prilaze, odnosno „mostove-nogostupe“ (sic! *ayak köprüler*) do pontonskog mosta preko terena koji je poplavila Drava izlivanjem iz korita s devijacijom od milju i pol. Te „mostove“ treba pokriti daskom kako bi prešlo pješništvo i topovi. / The command to the Pécs and Mohács sanjak-beys on the 6th June, 1566 to build access, “pavement-bridges” (sic! *ayak köprüler*) to the pontoon bridge across the terrain flooded by the River Drava as it overflowed its banks with a deviation of a mile and a half. The bridges had to be decked with boards to enable passage for infantry and cannons.