

Vegetation in the Territories of Serbia and Southern Hungary in Travel Accounts (Fifteenth–Seventeenth Centuries)

Aleksandar Krstić¹

Travellers passing through the territory of present-day Serbia between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries used several roads. The section of the well-known Constantinople Road between Buda and Constantinople was travelled the most, while Belgrade was mostly reached from Buda by boat. The corresponding land route was used far less frequently. Travelling back from Constantinople, some travellers would use the land route running across Srem and Baranja to get from Belgrade to Buda and Vienna. While the Buda–Belgrade section stretched across areas of either uniformly flat land or, occasionally, marshlands, the Belgrade–Sofia Road ran through the river valleys and mountainous terrain. This route was used by official European state delegations, primarily those of the Holy Roman Empire, on their diplomatic missions to Constantinople. The mission members left travel accounts or diary entries with descriptions of their travels through southern Hungary and Serbia.² Some travellers made use of the so-called

¹ Institute of History, Belgrade, Serbia.

² O. Zirojević, *Carigradski drum od Beograda do Budima u XVI i XVII veku* [The Constantinople Road from Belgrade to Buda in the 16th and 17th centuries] (Novi Sad: Institut za izučavanje istorije Vojvodine, 1976), 4–9; eadem, O. Zirojević, “Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije (1459–1683)” [The Constantinople Road from Belgrade to Sofia (1459–1683)], *Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije* 7 (1970), 20–41; Z. Konstantinović, *Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Serbien und Montenegro* (München: Verlag R. Oldenburg, 1960), 21–37; S. Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs dans l’empire ottoman (XIV–XVIème siècles). Bibliographie, itinéraire et inventaires des lieux habités* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991), 46–49, passim; M. Popović, *Von Budapest nach Istanbul. Die Via Traiana im Spiegel der Reiseliteratur des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2010); we used the book in its Serbian translation: M. Popović, *Od Budima do Konstantinopolja. Via Traiana u svetlu putopisne literature u periodu od 14. do 16. veka* [From Buda to Constantinople. *Via Traiana* in the light of travel literature from the 14th to the 16th century] (Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga, 2017), 113–117, 130–133, 143–145, 147–162.

“Via Drine,” running from Dubrovnik, through Herzegovina – via Trebinje, Foča, and Goražde, to the Lim river valley. Others would leave Foča for Serbia up the river Čehotina, then across Pljevlja, to Prijepolje. Less often, some travellers would reach Serbia from Bosnia, from the direction of Srebrenica, where they would arrive by the road running from Split. Venetians, also predominantly members of official diplomatic missions, mostly used the maritime road from Venice to Constantinople. They also frequently crossed the sea to Split or Dubrovnik, and took the land road from there onwards.³ As a result of an increased interest of the French public in the Orient and the Ottoman Empire, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the appearance of many travel books and treatises. Their authors included members of diplomatic missions and various state delegations, as well as adventurers travelling to the East. On their journeys, they travelled down the Constantinople Road and other routes connecting the Adriatic coast to the central and eastern areas of the Balkan Peninsula.⁴ In the fifteenth and most of the sixteenth centuries, travellers from England passing through these parts were mostly pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, tradesmen appeared on these travels, as did those who wanted to complete their education in preparation for a career in state service or business, and those driven by an adventurous spirit.⁵ The

³ G. Škrivanić, *Putevi u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Roads in Medieval Serbia] (Beograd: Turistička štampa, 1974), 43–50, 60–61; P. Matković, “Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka. III–V. Putovanje Kornelija Duplicija Šepera g. 1533; Putovanje Jeana Chesneau-a g. 1547.; Putovanje Katarina Zena g. 1550” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Parts III–V. Travels of Corneille Duplicius de Schepper in 1533, Jean Chesneau in 1547 and Caterino Zeno in 1550], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* (hereafter: *Rad JAZU*) 62 (1882): 45–133; idem, “Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka: XIV. Dnevnici o putovanju mletačkih poslanstva u Carigrad: osobito Jakova Sorance od g. 1575. i 1581., i Pavla Kontarina od g. 1580” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part XIV. Diaries on the journeys of the Venetian embassies to Constantinople, especially Jacob Sorance’s in 1575 and 1581, and Paul Contarini’s in 1580], *Rad JAZU* 124 (1895): 1–102; S. Yerasimos, *Les voyageurs*, 38–40.

⁴ R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika XVI–XVII veka* [Belgrade and Serbia in the Writings of French Contemporaries of the 16th–17th Centuries], *Građa za istoriju Beograda* (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv, 1961, 33–108.

⁵ V. Kostić, *Kulturne veze između jugoslavenskih zemalja i Engleske do 1700. godine* [Cultural relations between the Yugoslav lands and England before 1700] (Beograd: SANU, Posebna izdanja, 1972) 271–333; idem, “Stari engleski i škotski putopisci o uslovima putovanja kroz naše zemlje” [Old English and Scottish travel writers on the conditions of travel through our countries], in *Britanski putnici u našim krajevima od sredine XV do početka*

descriptions provided by the Western travellers through the Balkan Peninsula were significantly expanded by the notes left by the well-known Ottoman travel writer Evliya Çelebi on his journeys around these parts in the 1660s.⁶

Western travellers were mostly passing through Hungary and the Balkan countries, and rarely stayed in a single location for more than one day. Depending on the reason for travel, their education, personal interests, or what they experienced on their journeys, different aspects drew their attention. Some travellers recorded the information on the fortresses or ruins thereof, on the towns and settlements that they passed through and stayed in, on the Christian and Muslim religious buildings, or on the remnants of the Roman road and other traces of the ancient past. Some document the information on the food and drink they consumed on the road, as well as their accommodation, weather conditions, or the hardships of travel. Others were interested in the relationships between the Turks and the subjugated Christian populace, as well as the customs and lifestyles of the Turks and the Balkan nations they encountered in their travels. Descriptions of the vegetation along the roads were certainly not the focus of their observations, and many travel writers dedicated little to no attention to that at all. Nonetheless, there were many factors at play that resulted in the travel writers passing through the territory of present-day Serbia between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries leaving mostly summarizing information on

XIX veka [British travellers in our region from the middle of the 15th to the beginning of the 19th century], ed. Z. Leventhal (Gornji Milanovac: Dečje novine, 1989), 20–29.

⁶ Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zilli, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, V. Kitap, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 307 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini* [Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels. Vol. V. Transcription of the Baghdad Manuscript no. 307 of the Topkapi Palace Library with Index], ed. Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman, İ. Sezgin (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001); *VI. Kitap, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini* [Vol. VI. Transcription of the Yerevan Manuscript no. 1457 of the Topkapi Palace Library with Index], ed. S. A. Kahraman, Y. Dağlı (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002); *VII. Kitap, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini* [Vol. VII. Transcription of the Baghdad Manuscript no. 308 of the Topkapi Palace Library with Index], ed. Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman, R. Dankoff (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003); Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis. Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, prevod i komentar H. Šabanović [Travelogue. Excerpts on Yugoslav countries. Translation and comments by H. Šabanović] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1979). On Evliya Çelebi and his work, see also: R. Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Boston–Leiden: Brill, 2004).

vegetation. Some showed considerable interest in the natural resources of the countries under the Ottoman rule, including soil fertility, distribution and level of cultivation of arable land, as well as types of agricultural crops (especially grain and vine). Others were taken by the thick forests that they made their way through, primarily due to the dangers lurking in them (above all the bandits and *hajduks*). Still, others deemed it necessary to inform their readers about what they had eaten and drunk on their journeys, ranging from bread made from different types of grain, through various fruit, to wine. This way, they indirectly left additional first-hand accounts of the crops cultivated in different locations and parts of today's Serbia between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷

On their journeys from Buda to Belgrade, travellers were struck first and foremost by the fortresses and settlements along the banks. However, the Flemish diplomat Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq noted in 1554 that there were many trees along the riverbanks, with trunks, branches, and stumps overhanging the river and posing a danger during sailing, especially in windy weather.⁸ His colleague Antun Vrančić observed the riverbank areas between Buda and Petrovaradin from a boat one year earlier. He also mentions the Danube River bends, forested river islets, and numerous tree trunks in the water, all hindering the navigation. At the time, the consequences of the armed conflicts over many years, the destruction and the depopulation, resulted in the annexation of these areas to the Ottoman state (1526–1541), were still visible. The fields and vineyards were overgrown with weeds and shrubbery, and one could rarely see a farmer working in a field, or livestock grazing, while scenes of desolation were frequent. A Serbian

⁷ Unfortunately, a certain number of travelogue editions were unavailable for me. Therefore, some travel writers and their works are not discussed in this essay.

⁸ *Augerii Gisleinii Busbequii Omnia quae extant* (Basel: Typis Jo. Brandmulleri, 1740), 18–19. About Busbecq, see: Z. von Martels, “On his Majesty’s Service. Augerius Busbequius, Courtier and Diplomat of Maximilian II,” in *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit 19), ed. F. Edelmayr, A. Kohler (München: Verlag R. Oldenburg, 1992), 169–195; R. C. Müller, *Prosopographie der Reisenden und Migranten ins Osmanische Reich (1396–1611). Berichterstatte aus dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, außer burgundische Gebiete und Reichsromania*, II (Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2006), 39–77; J. Novaković Lopušina, *Srbi i jugoistočna Evropa u nizozemskim izvorima do 1918. godine* [Serbs and Southeastern Europe in Dutch Sources until 1918] (Beograd: Revision, 1999), 30–34; M. Popović, *Od Budima do Konstantinopolja*, 77–78.

bargee told the traveller on the occasion that a single village had had more farmers than could now be found in around thirty villages, adding that there were abandoned settlements whose names were lost entirely. Vrančić says that Banoštor in Srem was in ruins and that the vineyards surrounding the fort like a wreath were desolate. He further states that (Sremska) Kamenica used to have 150 brick houses, and that it had only 15 reed ones at that moment. When the Turks took hold of it, they smashed 7,000 barrels of wine, so wine flowed in a stream. (Sremski) Karlovci was also devastated, but had nonetheless suffered less damage, so Vrančić noted fertile fields and vineyards around this town. He adds that the wine from Srem was famous far and wide. As for Fruška Gora, he relates it was famous for the vineyards situated at its foot, while the higher areas of the mountain were overgrown with thick and pleasant forests. He could see only 20 vineyards from the Danube, whereas earlier all the deforested land had been under vineyards, especially the hillocks facing south.⁹ On his way back from Constantinople, after crossing from Belgrade to Srem, Busbecq notices that the grass was so tall there, that a coach, that went before, could hardly be seen by another that came after. For Busbecq, that was a great argument of the goodness of the soil.¹⁰

In 1587, Reinhold Lubenau described the fields downstream from the confluence of the Drava and Danube rivers, where large numbers of livestock used to graze. Speaking of the area of land stretching along the banks of the Danube, he stresses its wealth, estimating that it could feed not only Hungary but also Germany, Croatia, Bosnia, and even Italy. Adding that this area had an abundance of grain and wines, he makes mention of beautiful gardens further downstream, around Erdut in Srem, which had in his day become desolate, as well as the dried-up trees. Near the Petrovaradin fortress, he saw beautiful vineyards. After he describes Belgrade, where the border between Hungary and Serbia used to be, Lubenau speaks in general terms about the wealth of Hungary, so we do

⁹ A. Verancsics, *Összes munkái* [The entire work], Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptorum II (Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd, 1857), 289–295; P. Matković, “Putovanja po balkanskom poluostrvu XVI veka VI. Putovanje Antuna Vrančića g 1553” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part VI. The journey of Antun Vrančić in 1553], *Rad JAZU* 71 (1884): 5–14, 16–17; A. Krstić, “Bačka pod osmanskom vlašću” [Bačka under Ottoman Rule], *Bačka kroz vekove: slojevi kultura Bačke*, ed. Miodrag Matički, Vidojko Jović (Beograd: Vukova zadužbina, 2014), 59–60. On Vrančić see also: R. C. Müller, *Prosopographie*, X, 55–71; M. Popović, *Od Budima do Konstantinopolja*, 76–77.

¹⁰ *Augerii Gisenii Busbequii Omnia quae extant*, 99–100.

not know what actually relates to the area of present-day Vojvodina through which he passed. He mentions ores, which most probably refers to Transylvania, then fowl and game, several species of Hungarian plums, watermelons, potato, Spanish and other types of cherries, and various apples and pears.¹¹ Having arrived in Belgrade ten years earlier (1577), Salomon Schweigger makes similar claims, noting that Hungary was rich in various crops, fruits (apples, pears, plums, melons, pumpkins, cucumbers, etc.), animals, fish, wines, ores, forests, and trees. Rich fields of grain and vineyards could also be referring to the area of present-day Vojvodina.¹²

Describing the journey through Srem from Zemun to Sotin in 1555, Hans Dernschwam recorded that it was a beautiful, flat and fertile area, with vineyards in the direction of the Danube, lying on low, shady hills. Before his arrival in Sotin, he passed through a pleasant flat tract of land, riding across a heath so overgrown that its beautiful tall grass resembled shrubbery.¹³ Some ten years later (1567), Marco Antonio Pigafetta recorded that the land around the village of Mali Karlovci in Srem

¹¹ W. Sahn, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg in Preußen, VI (Königsberg in Preußen, 1915), 116–118, 124–125; the Serbian translation and comments: O. Zirojević, “Rajnold Lubenau o Beogradu i Srbiji 1587. godine” [Reinhold Lubenau about Belgrade and Serbia in 1587], *Godišnjak grada Beograda* 13 (1966): 51–52. About Lubenau, see also: J. Koder, “Early Modern Times Travellers as a Source for the Historical Geography of Byzantium: The Diary of Reinhold Lubenau,” in *Géographie Historique du Monde Méditerranéen* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 7), ed. Hélène Ahrweiler (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1988), 141–148; R. C. Müller, *Prosopographie*, V, 254–304; M. Popović, *Od Budima do Konstantinopolja*, 87–89.

¹² S. Schweigger, *Ein neue Reysbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Nürnberg 1608, 37–38; P. Matković, “Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka XIII. Putopisi Stj. Gerlacha i Sal. Schweigera, ili opisi putovanja carskih poslanstva u Carigrad, naime Davida Ungnada od g. 1573–78. i Joach. Sinzendorfa od g. 1577.” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century, part XIII. Travelogues of St. Gerlach and Sal. Schweigger, or descriptions of the travels of the imperial embassies to Constantinople, namely David Ungnad’s in 1573–1578 and Joach. Sinzendorp’s in 1577], *Rad J.AZU* 116 (1893): 87. About Schweigger see also: R. C. Müller, *Prosopographie*, VIII, 267–320; M. Popović, *Od Budima do Konstantinopolja*, 85–86.

¹³ F. Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam’s Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien* (München–Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1923), 264–265. M. Vlainac, “Iz putopisa Hansa Dernšvama 1553–1555. godine” [From the travelogue of Hans Dernschwam 1553–1555], *Brastvo* 21 (1927): 101. About Dernschwam and his journey see: R. C. Müller, *Prosopographie*, II, 199–220; M. Popović, *Od Budima do Konstantinopolja*, 74–76.

(present-day Karlovčić west of Belgrade)¹⁴ was desolate and cultivated to a minimal degree. Stating that the Roman emperor Probus had sown vineyards on Mount Fruška Gora, Pigafetta notes that the undulating landscape would be beautiful and fertile, were it to be cultivated as it once had been.¹⁵ On his way to Constantinople in 1573, accompanying the emperor's envoy David Ungnad, Stephan Gerlach also states that Fruška Gora was full of vineyards and fields. He notices that in the upper town in Slankamen the gardens were the only thing that was pleasant and worth mentioning. Returning in 1578 from the Ottoman capital, Gerlach crossed from Belgrade to Zemun. He notes that the beautiful Hungarian plains could be seen from there, resembling a large tract of farmland. He also mentions beautiful fields under grain and vineyards situated around the Danube. Travelling further on towards Sremska Mitrovica, he took a beautiful flat road along both cultivated and uncultivated fields. The fields were covered by an abundance of grass, which is why the Serbs had large numbers of livestock. There was also shrubbery in the flatlands by the Sava, but he did not see a single tree on his journey.¹⁶ Melchior Besolt noted in 1584 that good wine was made in Karlovci, of a very beautiful colour, and that he had not had anything better since Vienna.¹⁷

¹⁴ Đ. Kostić, *Reiseberichte über Serbien im Spiegel der Ortsnamen (1539–1740)* (München: LDV, 1998), 31.

¹⁵ "Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette u Carigrad od god. 1567" [The Travelogue of Marco Antonio Pigafetta to Constantinople from 1567], ed. P. Matković, *Starine JAZU* 22 (1890): 183–184. P. Matković, "Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka. X. Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette, ili drugo putovanje Antuna Vrančića u Carigrad 1567. godine" [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part X. Travelogue of Marco Antonio Pigafetta or the second journey of Antun Vrančić to Constantinople in 1567], *Rad JAZU* 100 (1890): 140.

¹⁶ *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tagebuch der von zween glornwürdigsten römischen Kaysern, Maximiliano u. Rudolpho, beyderseits den andern dieses Namens, höchst seeligster Gedächtniss, an die ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten und durch den wohlgebohrnen Herrn Hn. David Ungnad, Freyherrn zu Sonnegk u. Preyburg etc. römisch-kaiserl. Rath, mit würlklicher Erhalt- und Verlängerung des Friedens, zwischen dem ottomanischen u. römischen Kayserthum und demselben angehörigen Landen u. Königreichen etc. glücklichst vollbrachter Gesandtschaft* (Frankfurt am Mayn, 1674), 15, 531–532; P. Matković, "Putovanja XIII", *Rad JAZU* 116 (1893): 14–15, 61–62. On Gerlach and his travel account, see: R. C. Müller, *Prosopographie*, III, 46–122.

¹⁷ M. Besolt, *Deß Wolgeborenen Herrn Heinrichs Herrn von Liechtenstein von Nicolsburg etc ... Reyß auf Constantinopel im 1584. Jar ...* in Leunclavius, *Neuwe Chronica Türckischer nation* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1590), 523. On Melchior Besolt and his journey, see: P. Matković, "Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka. XV. Putopisi Hen. Porša od g. 1579, g., A. Wolfá i Lev. Ryma od g. 1583. i Mel. Besolta od g. 1584" [Travels on the Balkan

Vineyards, good wine, beautiful pastures, and plenty of livestock around Karlovci were also noted by Maximilian Brandstetter in 1608.¹⁸

The French travel writer Quiclet produced an interesting description of Srem, having travelled to Constantinople via Venice and Dubrovnik in 1658. He entered Srem at Sremska Rača travelling from Sarajevo, making his way to Belgrade. From there he journeyed on towards Sofia by the Constantinople Road. Quiclet mentions a thick forest around the river Bosut in Srem, which travellers had to cross very cautiously because of the danger of bandits. After Sremska Mitrovica, Quiclet passed through the village of Šašinci and arrived in the village of Kraljevci. He describes the latter as being fenced in by means of a hedge rather than walls, and that it was surrounded by lovely flatlands and meadows full of horses, oxen, and cows. He emphasizes that he has never seen “such vast, so flat and so beautiful fields.” On his way to Belgrade, he also noted the villages of Putinci and Petrovci, where fields sown with barley, hemp, and “good hay” stretched on either side of the road, and red poppy flowers could be seen from time to time, with colours “transcending the colour of fire.”¹⁹

The English travel writer Edward Browne started in 1668 on a journey from Vienna, through Hungary and southeast Europe, arriving in Belgrade in September 1669. He states that he travelled from Buda to Belgrade over large plains, green swards and unworn roads. The land was blessed with rivers and fish, good horses and bread, and wine. In this way we can draw indirect conclusions about the grain fields and vineyards,

Peninsula during the 16th century. Part XV. Travelogues of Heinrich Porsch from 1579, Andreas Wolf and Levinus Rym from 1583 and Melchior Besolt from 1584], *Rad JAZU* 129 (1896): 43, 53; F. Babinger, “Melchior Besold, ein vergessener Stambulfahrer des 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante* 3 (München: Südosteuropa-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1976), 69–77.

¹⁸ I. Bojničić, “Putovanje carskoga poslanstva u Carigrad g. 1608” [The Journey of the Imperial Embassy to Constantinople in 1608], *Vjesnik kraljevskoga hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskoga arhiva* 12 (1910): 212–213; J. Bogičević, “Putovanje carskog poslanstva u Carigrad 1608. godine” [The Journey of the Imperial Embassy to Constantinople in 1608], *Glasnik Istorijskog društva u Novom Sadu* 4 (1931): 441.

¹⁹ *Les Voyages de M. Quiclet à Constantinople par terre. Enrichis d'Annotatations par le Sieur P. M. L.* (Paris: Pierre Bienfait, 1664), 96–97, 100–104. Parts of Quiclet’s travel account, as well as of the works of other French travel writers from the 16th and 17th centuries making references to Serbia (the French original and the Serbian translation) were published by: R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 192, 436. About Quiclet, see: *Ibidem*, 84–87.

discussed by other travel writers as well. Browne states that no other place in Europe had better bread and that it was very cheap – one could buy for two pence as much bread as for 12 pence in England. He adds that the Srem wines were very strong and good to drink. Dr. Browne also mentions an island near Belgrade, made from the silt of the Sava and Danube rivers,²⁰ where nothing could be seen 35 years before, but at the time of his visit it was full of trees.²¹

On the territory of Srem, Evliya Çelebi mentions vineyards and gardens in Nemci (Nijemci on the Croatian side of the present-day state border), Irig, Grgurevci, the town of Fruška, Sremski Karlovci, Petrovaradin, and Čerević. The town of Rača was situated in an area covered in greenery, and was famous for bread, plums, apples, and grapes. Morović lay in a green field on a flat terrain, and Nemci was also in a large and fertile field full of flowers and greenery. Their bread, butter, honey, and white cherries were very good. Evliya describes Sremska Mitrovica as lying in a field of green, and notes that when cherries were in season, throngs of people gathered in the town, purportedly as many as 40,000 to 50,000. The town (*kasaba*) that he calls Fruška, which may be identified as Vrdnik,²² Evliya describes as lying near the Fruška Gora plateau and being surrounded by vineyards. In addition to trade, viticulture was the main activity of its inhabitants. Evliya makes mention of Sremski Karlovci plums in addition to vineyards. From Sremski Karlovci to Petrovaradin, the road ran through forests and vineyards, villages with large populations and green fields. From Petrovaradin to Čerević, he passed through villages situated on hills with vineyards and gardens. The entire southern side of Čerević was rich in forests and

²⁰ The present-day Veliko ratno ostrvo (“The Great War Island”) is at the confluence of the Danube and Sava rivers in Belgrade.

²¹ E. Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carintia, Carniola, and Friuli: As Also Some Observations on the Gold, Silver, Copper, Quick-silver Mines, Baths, and Mineral Waters in Those Parts: with the Figures of Some Habits and Remarkable Places* (London: Benj. Tooke, 1673), 9–12, 39; the Serbian translation: Z. Levental, *Britanski putnici*, 118–119, 123–134. About Browne, see: N. Moore, “Browne Edward (1644–1708),” in *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Stephen, (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1886) 42–43; K. van Strien, “Browne, Edward (1644–1708),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com (accessed March 21, 2020); V. Kostić, *Kulturne veze*, 289–290.

²² A. Krstić, “Vreme turske vlasti u Sremu” [The Period of Ottoman Rule in Srem], *Srem kroz vekove: slojevi kultura Srema* [Srem throughout the centuries: layers of the Srem cultures], ed. Miodrag Matićki (Beograd: Vukova zadužbina, 2007), 94–95.

vineyards. From Banoštor to Ilok, the road ran through stone-covered terrain, forests, and vineyards. He describes Voćin (present-day Šarengrad in Croatia) as having many vineyards and gardens, adding that the fruit there was so succulent that the plums and apples kept their sweetness long after being picked.²³

The first-hand accounts of the territory of present-day Banat are very rare, as this area was out of the way of diplomatic envoys and other passengers travelling from Vienna to Constantinople. This is why the account made by the Burgundian traveller Bertrandon de la Broquière is precious. Returning from the Holy Land in 1433, he travelled through Serbia and Hungary. Broquière crossed into Pančevo from Belgrade by boat, reaching Bečkerek (Beeskerek, present-day Zrenjanin) and Bečej. There he crossed the river Tisa and journeyed on to Szeged. He notes that from Pančevo onwards he was making his way along the “flattest land” he had ever seen, never seeing a hill or a valley. Between Bečej and Szeged he did not see a single tree except for two small groves hemmed in by rivers. He adds that, due to the lack of wood, the locals used hay and reed which could be found at rivers and in marshland to light a fire.²⁴ Almost two and a half centuries later (1660), Evliya Çelebi relates that flat fields without any stones stretched on north-eastwards from Pančevo towards the village of Seleuš. This area had so much plants and grass that a horseman could lose his bearings there. In the Banat area, Evliya notes gardens and vineyards in Bečej, Bečkerek and Vršac. Vine was sown on

²³ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, VI. Kitap, 102–103, 296–297; VII. Kitap, 54–59; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 354–356, 486–487, 514–526. On agricultural production in the area of Srem, based on contemporary Ottoman sources (tax registers), see: B. W. McGowan, “Food Supply and Taxation on the Middle Danube (1568–1579),” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 1 (1969): 148–150, 168–171, 174, 193–194; N. Lemajić, “Agrarni odnosi i razvoj poljoprivrede u Sremu polovinom 16. veka” [Agrarian relations and development of agriculture in Srem in the middle of the 16th century], *Istraživanja* 15 (2004): 75–103; N. Močaniin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube 1526–1690* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2006), 15–66, 183–193.

²⁴ Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le voyage d'Outremer*, Recueil de voyages et de documents, ed. Charles Schefer and Henri Cordier (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892), 231–232; Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Putovanje preko mora* [The Journey across the Sea], the original text with the Serbian translation and comments of Miodrag Rajičić (Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1950), 146–147. On Broquière and his travel account, see also: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* I, ed. Norbert Angermann et al. (München – Zürich: Lexma Verlag, 1980), 2044; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. I, ed. Alexander Kazhdan (New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 284; M. Popović, *Od Budima do Konstantinopolja*, 51–52.

the eastern slopes of Vršački Breg, below the ruins of the old fort and above the town of Vršac, and the ruby-coloured grapes were delicious. Evliya adds that in Bečkerek (whose Hungarian name he translates into Turkish as “five melons”) the river Begej supplies water to thousands of vineyards and gardens. He mentions that the inhabitants of Bešenova, situated in the Romanian part of present-day Banat, grew watermelons and melons, which points to the possibility that this fruits was also grown in the adjacent settlements of the Banat flatlands. Evliya travelled from Bečkerek to Felnak (Felnac, west of Arad) through fields and forests.²⁵ In Bačka, Evliya Çelebi noted in 1665 that Subotica, Bač, and Sombor were surrounded by vineyards and gardens, adding that melons and watermelons were sold in Sombor.²⁶

Landscapes around Belgrade were described by travellers arriving in this city from three different directions: from Buda, from where one travelled mostly by boat; from the direction of Niš via Grocka; and by a road from Valjevo. Antun Vrančić noted in 1553 the gardens in Belgrade, on the outskirts in the eastern and southern sides of the city. Two decades later, Stephan Gerlach also said that the numerous gardens by the houses in the city and the surrounding area were more beautiful than those in Buda.²⁷ Melchior Besolt noted in 1584 that Belgrade had many gardens, as it was located on the slopes of hillocks, the air there was moderate, and the seasons pleasant. However, when one left Belgrade and made way towards Niš, the land was abandoned and depopulated, with no inhabitants five to six miles off the road.²⁸ In 1616, Adam Wenner noticed that Belgrade was a city situated in a very fertile area

²⁵ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V. Kitap, 201; VII. Kitap, 144, 166; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 95, 539–543.

²⁶ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, VII. Kitap, 139–141; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 530–538; A. Krstić, “Bačka pod osmanskom vlašću”, 73–76.

²⁷ A. Verancsics, *Összes munkái*, 297; *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tagebuch*, 16.

²⁸ Melchior Besolt, *Reyß auf Constantinopel im 1584. Jar*, 523; P. Matković, “Putovanja XV”; *Rad JAZU* 129 (1896): 53, 55–56, 60. See also: J. Kalić, “Evropski putopisci o Beogradu” [European travel writers on Belgrade], in *Beograd u delima evropskih putopisaca* [Belgrade in the works of European travel writers], ed. Đ. Kostić (Beograd: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2003)13–16; Đ. Kostić, “Tvrđava, podgrade, grad: nemački pogled na Beograd” [A fortress, a suburb, a town: the German view of Belgrade], *ibidem*, 17–22; E. Miljković-Bojanić, “Putopis i istorijski izvor: Beograd u XVI veku” [An account of travels and historical source: Belgrade in the 16th century], *ibidem*, 46–52.

with beautiful gardens by the houses as large as in Nürnberg.²⁹ Baron Louis Deshayes de Courmenin, who visited Belgrade in 1621, also noted that it was full of gardens, which made the time spent in the city very pleasant. Further, he points out that there was an abundance of all sorts of foodstuffs in Belgrade and the surrounding area.³⁰ Evliya Çelebi calls Belgrade a “heavenly abode,” mentioning beautiful rose gardens and saying that only God knew how many flowers, leaves, and trees there were. Watermills on the Danube ground red, yellow, and white wheat, barley, white beans, fava beans, and millet, and the locals made bread from oat, rye, and buckwheat. Foodstuffs from various places arrived in Belgrade, so everything was cheap – apples, red onion, cucumber, pumpkin, cabbage, leek, and garlic, but rice and sugar were expensive. The garden of a Muslim scholar in Belgrade had apricots, juicy peaches, grapes, plums, pears, cherries, melons, and watermelons. Vineyards stretched from the southeast part of the city to the village of Višnjica, and further on to the fortress of Avala, situated on the mountain south of Belgrade bearing the same name. In the area surrounding Avala, Evliya saw many vineyards, vegetable patches, and beautiful gardens; at a local cemetery, he also saw a tall pistachio tree, which was very rare in Rumelia.³¹

²⁹ Adam Wenner, *Ein gantz new Reysebuch von Prag auß biß gen Constantinopel: das ist: Beschreibung der Legation und Reise, welche von der Roem. Kaey. auch zu Hungarn und Boeheimb, & Koenigl. May. Matthia II. an den Tuerckischen Kaeyser Ahmet, ... : So Anno 1616. angefangen und Anno 1618. gluecklich verricht ...* (Halbmayer, 1622), 27.

³⁰ *Voiage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l'année 1621 par le Sr. D. C.* (Paris: Chez Adrian Taupinart, 1624), 54; Jovan Tomić and Radovan Samardžić argued that the travel account was written by someone from the baron's entourage: J. Tomić, “Opis dva putovanja preko Balkanskog Poluostrva francuskog poslanika de He-a u 1621. i 1626. g. od nepozatog pisca” [Description of two voyages across the Balkan Peninsula by the French envoy des Hayes in 1621 in 1626 from an unknown writer], *Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije* 37 (1900); R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 64–65, 164, 407. See also: G. Tongas, *L'Ambassadeur Louis Deshayes de Courmenin (1600—1632): Les relations de la France avec l'Empire Ottoman, le Danemark, la Suède, la Perse et la Russie* (Paris: Lavergne, 1937).

³¹ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V. Kitap, 199–201; VI. Kitap, 54; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 90–94, 330–331; B. Tezcan Aksu, “Beograd u XVII veku prema viđenju Evlije Čelebije” [Belgrade in the 17th century as seen by Evliya Çelebi], *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* [The Middle Ages in Serbian Science, History, Literature and Arts] VIII, ed. G. Jovanović (Despotovac: Institut za srpski jezik SANU, Biblioteka “Resavska škola” Despotovac, 2017), 61–70. See also: H. Šabanović, “Grad i njegovo stanovništvo u XVI i XVII veku” [The city and its population in the 16th and 17th centuries], in *Istorija*

One of the first passengers to produce a description of Serbia in the fifteenth century was Bertrandon de la Broquière, who passed through its territory in 1433. Broquière travelled along the Južna Morava river valley from Niš to Kruševac, and when he left the river valley, he passed through a thick forest in the mountains, “not too tall or difficult to cross.”³² Broquière probably traversed the slopes of Mount Jastrebac, as he subsequently arrived in Kruševac. After Kruševac, he travelled via Stalać down the Velika Morava valley, noting that he had been riding all day through a big forest and along a road running over hills and valleys. Although this area was forested and mountainous, Broquière noticed that it had a significant number of villages. The Burgundian then arrived in the market town of Nekudim (by the present-day village of Pridvorica near Smederevska Palanka), where one of the residences of the Serbian ruler, Despot Đurađ (George) Branković (1427–1456), was located.³³ Here Broquière met Despot Đurađ, while the latter was out hunting, as the area had groves and rivers suitable for game hunting and falconry. Travelling further towards Belgrade, Broquière passed “many great forests, hills and valleys,” stating that the villages he passed through had “good food, and especially good wine.”³⁴

One hundred and twenty years later, travelling on the Constantinople Road through Serbia, Hans Dernschwam left interesting descriptions of its vegetation, as well as the decline in population levels and land cultivation compared to previous periods. In August 1533, he reached Belgrade by boat, and continued his journey to Constantinople on land. Returning from Constantinople in 1555, Dernschwam notices that area around Belgrade was beautiful and flat; earlier it had had an abundance

Beograda [The History of Belgrade], vol. I, ed. V. Čubrilović (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974), 386–422.

³² Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le voyage d'Outremer*, 204–205; Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Putovanje preko mora*, 126–127.

³³ On Nekudim, see: A. Krstić, “Grad Nekudim i Nekudimska vlast” [The Town of Nekudim and Nekudim’s “Vlast” (County)], *Istorijski časopis* 55 (2007): 101–113; idem, “Srpski gradovi i trgovi u ugarskoj građi iz vremena ‘Duge vojne’ 1443/1444. godine” [Serbian Cities and Market Places in Hungarian Documentary Sources from the Time of the ‘Long Campaign’ (1443–1444)], *Istorijski časopis* 65 (2016): 139–141.

³⁴ Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le voyage d'Outremer*, 206–211; Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Putovanje preko mora*, 128–131; B. Stojkovski, “Bertrandon de la Broquière on Byzantium and Serbia. Richness and Decline in the Age of Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans”, *Byzanz und das Abendland V. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia*, ed. E. Juhász (Budapest: Eötvös-József-Collegium, 2018), 125–128.

of fields and vineyards, but meanwhile it was overgrown like a veritable desert, full of oak shrubs and forests. However, some plot borders could still be discerned.³⁵ In 1573, Stephen Gerlach travelled from Grocka on the Danube to Smederevska Palanka (Ak Kilise)³⁶ across fields, then through a large forest of young oaks, and again across cultivated and uncultivated fields. On his way back from Constantinople in 1578, Gerlach again mentions beautiful fields and a forest of young oak trees between Kolari near Smederevo and Grocka. There were fertile fields and vineyards one mile from Belgrade, with a beautiful area stretching past the forest and shrubbery, as this was the place of confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers.³⁷ In 1596, the English ambassador Edward Barton travelled from Constantinople to Belgrade, and his mission was described by Thomas Glover. He mentions a large flatland half a mile from Belgrade in the direction of Niš, with hawthorn providing a pleasant shade.³⁸ Andreas Wolf, who wrote an account on Baron Paul

³⁵ F. Babinger, *Hans Dernschman's Tagebuch*, 262. Ottoman tax registers (*defters*) provide significant data on agriculture and viticulture in the region of Belgrade during the 16th century. They reveals that inhabitants of almost two hundred villages grew wheat, barley, rye, millet, vines, hemp, cabbage, red onion, garlic and other vegetables. Villagers also paid dues for wood and hay, hives and, in some cases, for orchards and pannage in oak woods: H. Šabanović, *Turski izvori za istoriju Beograda I/1, katastarski popisi Beograda i okoline 1476–1566* [Ottoman sources for the history of Belgrade I-1, cadastral censuses of Belgrade and its surroundings 1476–1566] (Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 1964) 117–577; A. Krstić, “Okolina Beograda u poznom srednjem veku (od početka XV do prvih decenija XVI veka)” [Surrounding Areas of Belgrade in the Late Middle Ages (from the beginning of the 15th to the first decades of the 16th century)], in *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* [The Middle Ages in Serbian Science, History, Literature and Arts], vol. IX, ed. G. Jovanović (Despotovac: Institut za srpski jezik SANU, Biblioteka “Resavska škola”, 2018), 216–220. See also: M. Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Agriculture in Medieval Serbia] (Beograd: Službeni list SCG, 2004²), 81–90; E. Miljković-Bojanić, *Smederevski sandžak (1476–1560). Zemlja, naselja stanovništvo* [The Smederevo Sanjak (1476–1560). Territory, Settlements, Population] (Beograd: Istorijski institut, Službeni glasnik, 2004), 78–96; M. Štećić, “Zemljoradnja i stočarstvo,” in *Šumadija u XV veku* [Agriculture and animal husbandry, in Šumadija in the 15th century], ed. S. Mišić, M. Koprivica (Beograd: Filozofski fakultet, 2018), 243–248, 255, 259–260, 265, 271.

³⁶ Đ. Kostić, *Reiseberichte über Serbien*, 49.

³⁷ *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tagebuch*, 17–18, 527–529; P. Matković, “Putovanja XIII”, *Rad JAZU* 116 (1893): 53–55.

³⁸ T. Glover, “The journey of Edward Barton Esquire, her Majesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signior, otherwise called the Great Turke, in Constantinople, Sultan Mahumet Chan,” in S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol. VIII

von Eitzing's mission to Constantinople in 1583, notes that the area around Belgrade was hilly, almost clay-like, whereas the area near Grocka was flat.³⁹ Louis Deshayes notes that he travelled from Grocka to Kolari across a hilly and forested tract of land in 1621.⁴⁰

Dernschwam notes that the area around Smederevo, although more beautiful and fertile than other parts of Serbia, was mostly uncultivated, but there were beautiful vineyards around the city itself. Vrančić also saw vineyards and orchards on the hills around Smederevo.⁴¹ In 1577, Solomon Schweigger states that there was an abundance of fertile soil between Kolari and Bela Crkva (present-day Smederevska Palanka), which could feed many people and livestock,⁴² while Baron Deshayes adds that the village of Kolari was situated amid a meadow (1621).⁴³ Evliya Çelebi, who visited Smederevo in 1661, notes that the gardens and vineyards there stretched as far as the eye could see. Vineyards were found on hills near the fort of Kulić at the confluence of the Morava and Danube rivers, as well as sweet and succulent white cherries, black plums, and pears (1665). He also mentions that there were a few vineyards around Kolari.⁴⁴

Travelling from Smederevo to Niš in 1533, Dernschwam mentions that they found barley, hay, and wine in the deserted Serbian village of Livada.⁴⁵ He also notes that the area around Jagodina in the Južna Morava valley was overgrown with copse, and mentions a forest through

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 307. The Serbian translation: Z. Levental, *Britanski putnici*, 61. On Glover, see also: V. Kostić, *Kulturne veze*, 396–397.

³⁹ “Wolf Andreas’ von Steinach Edelknabenfahrt nach Constantinopel (1583),” ed. J. von Zehn, *Steiermärkische Geschichtsblätter* II/4 (1881): 207; P. Matković, “Putovanja XV,” *Rad JAZU* 129 (1896): 29.

⁴⁰ *Voïage de Levant*, 65–66; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 169, 412.

⁴¹ F. Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam’s Tagebuch*, 5–6, 260; A. Verancsics, *Összes munkái*, 298; M. Vlajinac, “Iz putopisa Hansa Dernšvama,” 61, 98; P. Matković, “Putovanja VI,” *Rad JAZU* 71 (1884): 20.

⁴² S. Schweigger, *Ein neue Reyssbeschreibung*, 39–40; P. Matković, “Putovanja XIII,” *Rad JAZU* 116 (1893): 88; Đ. Kostić, *Reiseberichte über Serbien*, 52.

⁴³ *Voïage de Levant*, 66; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 169, 412.

⁴⁴ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V. Kitap, 190, 318; VII. Kitap, 168; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 69, 314, 547–548.

⁴⁵ This village, which name means “meadow,” lay by the river Velika Morava near Veliko Orašje, east of Smederevska Palanka: A. Krstić, “Kučevo i Železnik u svetlu osmanskih deftera” [Kučevo and Železnik in the Light of the Ottoman Census Books], *Istorijski časopis* 49 (2003): 143; idem, “Grad Nekudim,” 101.

which he had passed on the way to this settlement. Dernschwam also relates that they stayed in a yard under two big oak trees in one of the neighbouring villages.⁴⁶ His fellow traveller Antun Vrančić writes about the forests in this region as well, noting that they left Smederevo and travelled through beautiful vast areas, with the road surrounded on either side with meadows. They spent the night in the village of Livada in the forest of Lomnica, near the confluence of the Jasenica and Velika Morava rivers. The forest was not wide and overly thick, but it was in fact dangerous because of bandits.⁴⁷ Vrančić was not the only writer mentioning the forest of Lomnica. Narrating at the beginning of the seventeenth century about the war led by Emperor Stefan Dušan against the Hungarian King Louis I in mid-fourteenth century, Ragusan historians Mauro Orbini and Jakob Lukarević noted that the Serbian emperor had retreated with his army behind a large forest of Lomnica and Mount Rudnik, one day of walking from the Danube.⁴⁸

In 1578, Stephen Gerlach continued his journey from Jagodina towards Belgrade over a “high mountain,”⁴⁹ and across a flatland to the left of which there were villages full of grain fields. Travelling through forests and across meadows, he arrived in Batočina. Having climbed a big hill, Gerlach noted that one could see beautiful hillocks, bushes, and valleys, but that there were no villages and that the land was not

⁴⁶ Dernschwam correctly noticed that the name “Jagodina” derives from the Serbian word “jagoda,” which means “strawberry”: F. Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch*, 6–7; M. Vlajinac, “Iz putopisa Hansa Dernšvama,” 61–62.

⁴⁷ A. Verancsics, *Ősszes munkái*, 301–303; P. Matković, “Putovanja VI,” Rad JAZU 71 (1884): 22.

⁴⁸ Mauro Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi* (Pesaro: G. Concordia, 1601), 262–263; Giacomo di Pietro Luccari, *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Rausa libri quatro* (Venezia, 1605), 57. During the late 15th and the 16th centuries, there was a large territorial administrative unit (*nahiye*) in the Smederevo Sanjak named Lomnica: A. Aličić, *Turski katastarski popisi nekih područja zapadne Srbije (XV i XVI vek)* [Ottoman cadastral censuses of some areas of western Serbia (15th and 16th centuries)], vol. I (Čačak: Međuopštinski istorijski arhiv, 1984), 16–20; D. Bojanić, *Turski zakoni i zakonski propisi iz XV i XVI veka za smederevsku, kruševačku i vidinsku oblast* [Ottoman laws and regulations from the 15th and the 16th centuries for the Smederevo, Kruševac and Vidin regions] (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1974), 28, 93; E. Miljković-Bojanić, *Smederevske sandžake*, 51; A. Krstić, “Grad Nekudim,” 101.

⁴⁹ This was actually the low-lying hilly area near Bagrdan, forming the Bagrdan Gorge that Velika Morava flows through. In the 17th century, A. Pouillet and Quiclet mention it as Mount *Deveh Bayri*, overgrown with thick forests: R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskib savremenika*, 196, 212, 440, 458; O. Zirojević, “Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije,” 26.

cultivated. From there, they reached a flat wetland, arriving in the village of Velika Palanka (Ak Kilise or Bela Crkva, present-day Smederevska Palanka). In 1573, he mentions dangers on the way through the woods between Smederevska Palanka and Jagodina because of robbers.⁵⁰ The travel account of Andreas Wolf (1583) mentions that they hunted a bear near Bive Palanka (Velika, i.e. Smederevska Palanka), and made their way towards Jagodina through shrubbery and forests.⁵¹ Travelling from Belgrade to Niš in 1587, Reinhold Lubenau noted passing across pastures, over big mountains, and through a forest between Mala Palanka (Grocka on the Danube) and Velika (Smederevska) Palanka. Once he passed the “high mountain” (at Bagrdan), he reached Jagodina, situated in a flatland.⁵² According to Louis Deshayes’ travel account (1621), it took six hours to get from Kolari to Hasan Pasha’s Palanka (Smederevska Palanka), the road leading through a forest, and twelve and a half more hours through another forest to reach Jagodina.⁵³ The forests around Jagodina are discussed by the later travel writers, Quietlet (1658) and Edward Browne (1688/89), noting that they were so large and dangerous due to wolves and bandits.⁵⁴ Evliya Çelebi says that Hasan Pasha’s Palanka lay in a fertile valley full of greenery. In 1661, he also described the dangers posed by bandits on the road from Jagodina to Smederevo, stretching across hills and through forests.⁵⁵

Returning from Constantinople in 1555, Dernschwam mentions a large fertile flatland with fields and a few vineyards not far from Niš going northwards. Further towards Jagodina, the soil was also fertile, but the land was desolate and overgrown. In some places, the forests were so large and unsafe that guardsmen with drums were positioned on hills

⁵⁰ *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tagebuch*, 18, 526; P. Matković, “Putovanja XIII,” *Rad JAZU* 116 (1893): 52.

⁵¹ “Wolf Andreas’ von Steinach Edelknabenfahrt nach Constantinopel (1583),” 207–208; P. Matković, “Putovanja XV,” *Rad JAZU* 129 (1896): 30–31; Đ. Kostić, *Reiseberichte über Serbien*, 56.

⁵² Lubenau erroneously calls the Avala fortress Grocka and uses the name Mala Palanka for Grocka: W. Sahn, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, 126–127; cf. O. Zirojević, “Rajnold Lubenau o Beogradu i Srbiji,” 56, 62, notes 54, 57.

⁵³ *Voiage de Levant*, 66; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskib savremenika*, 169–170, 413–414.

⁵⁴ E. Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels*, 42; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskib savremenika*, 196, 440.

⁵⁵ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V. Kitap, 190, 316; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 69, 311.

by the road, signalling that the passage was safe.⁵⁶ Passing through abandoned villages, Dernschwam noted that there was nothing there except old holes that had once been used as granaries. He saw neglected vineyards, but also well-developed ones, low and large like the vineyards around Vienna by the Danube. The forests had plenty of wild and old vines, testifying to the fact that these parts had been cultivated before. Going further northwards, after crossing the river Morava, he again saw a forested flatland, and fields and low vineyards in the villages. In some places, the vineyards had been converted to fields. The land was covered in groves all around the road, making it unsafe to travel.⁵⁷

On his way back from Constantinople in 1578, Stephan Gerlach noted that on the section of the road between Niš and Ražanj one had to pass through shrubbery, over hills and through valleys. Two and a half decades earlier, Vrančić cites that Ražanj was located below forested hillocks.⁵⁸ The English traveller Peter Mundy also mentions a large forest near Ražanj in 1620.⁵⁹ According to Gerlach, the road then went on through shrubbery and sporadically cultivated areas of land. When the passengers climbed to a stretch of elevated ground, they saw before them a large valley full of grain fields and meadows. Travelling on, they reached Paraćin, which was surrounded by lush fields of grain and gardens.⁶⁰ After he and his fellow travellers passed by a small forest and crossed the river Morava, they arrived in Jagodina, where they were given good wine by the Hungarian locals. During his first stay in Jagodina in 1573, Gerlach notes that it was a beautiful place due to its gardens.⁶¹ Marco Antonio

⁵⁶ They were the *derbencis* (pass guards), cf. O. Zirojević, “Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije,” 97–108; eadem, *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbiji 1459–1683* [Ottoman military system in Serbia 1459–1683] (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1974), 176–183.

⁵⁷ F. Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch*, 258.

⁵⁸ A. Verancsics, *Összes munkái*, 304–305; P. Matković, “Putovanja VI,” 23.

⁵⁹ *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, vol. I. Travels in Europe (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1907), 70; the Serbian translation: Z. Levental, *Britanski putnici*, 79.

⁶⁰ Gerlach describes this section of the road in a similar way when he travelled to Constantinople in 1573: *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tagebuch*, 18, 524–525.

⁶¹ *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tagebuch*, 18, 525. According to Hans Dernschwam, Hungarians were brought to Jagodina to settle there by Derviş Bey, the first governor of the Szeged Sancak: F. Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch*, 6, 259. These Hungarians were also recorded on Derviş Bey's estate in Jagodina in the *defters* of the Smederevo Sancak in the second half of the 16th century, see: O. Zirojević, “Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije”, 138–139; eadem, “Rajnold Lubenau o Beogradu i Srbiji,” 62, note

Pigafetta notes that they were served unleavened bread in the Ravanica monastery near Čuprija in 1567. The bread was half-baked and hard to eat, although it was made from good white flour.⁶² On their way to Constantinople in 1572, a member of Ungrad's deputation noted that in Paraćin three monks of the Ravanica monastery brought them a lamb, sauerkraut, and wine. They travelled to the Bovan settlement through deep valleys, a veritable "robber forest" and fields. Further on towards Niš lay another "robber forest," hills and valleys.⁶³

Marco Antonio Pigafetta saw many rice fields near Jagodina and Aleksinac in 1567.⁶⁴ An anonymous author accompanying the emperor's envoy Karel Rijm on his journey to Constantinople (1571) also recorded that rice was grown near Jagodina. He described the fields as very flat and divided up by furrows to ensure that the rice was watered at all times. Further on towards Niš, he mentions a tract of flat land with abundant wheat and other crops, as well as good wines from the vineyards growing in the valley edges and on hills situated on the far end of Niš.⁶⁵ The travel

61; G. David, "A Life on the Marches, the Career of Derviş bey," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54:4 (2001): 417–420, 424.

62 Pigafetta says this kind of bread is eaten all over Bulgaria: "Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette," 180–181. It is a kind of unleavened bread called *pogača*, which was widely used in Serbia and other south-Slavonic countries. Hans Dernschwam described how it was made: F. Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch*, 8, 128.

63 *Beschreibung einer Legation und Reise von Wien aus Ostereich auff Constantinopel, durch den wohlgeborenen Herrn, Hern David Ungnaden, Freyherrn zu Sonneck und Pfandsherrn auff Bleyburgk, auss Römischer Keyserlichen Majestät befehlig uncl Abforderungen an den türckischen keyser, anno 72 verrichtet*, ed. Franciscus Omichius (Güstrow, 1582), 24; P. Matković, "Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka XII. Opis putovanja dvaju carskih poslanstva u Carigrad: K. Ryma godine 1571 i D. Ungnada godine 1572" [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part XII. Description of the journey of two imperial embassies to Constantinople: K. Rym's in 1571 and D. Ungnad's in 1572], *Rad JAZU* 112 (1892): 217.

64 "Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette," 179–180.

65 S. de Vriendt, *Reyse van Bruussee vut Brabant te Constantinopels in Thracyen en Reyse van Weenen in Hoosteryc te Constantinopels in Thracyen: twee reisjournaals uit de jaren 1570-1585* (Gent: Secr. van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor taal- en letterkunde, 1971). The book was unavailable to me, quoted according to the Serbian translation of J. Novaković Lopošina, *Srbi i jugoistočna Evropa*, 227–228; P. Matković, "Putovanja XII," *Rad JAZU* 112 (1892): 175. About Karel Rijm and his journey, see also: F. Babinger, "Der flämische Staatsmann Karel Rijm (1533–1584) und sein verschollenes türkisches Tagebuch," in *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, vol. III (München: Südosteuropa-Verlags-gesellschaft, 1976), 277–285; R. C. Müller, *Prosopographie*, VIII, 29–46; M. Popović, *Od Budima do Konstantinopolja*, 84–85.

account of David Ungnad's mission (1572) notes rice fields around Paraćin, while a Dutch traveller (1583) mentions rice fields around Jagodina. After passing Paraćin, he describes a beautiful flat field on one side of the valley, and a nice grove on the other.⁶⁶ As early as the 1430s, Bertrandon de la Broquière noted that rice was grown around Niš. The rice fields around Niš are also mentioned by Stephan Gerlach, who writes that Niš was located in a large flatland with meadows, vineyards, and fields of grain.⁶⁷ Salomon Schweigger notes that the land around Niš and in the Nišava river valley was beautiful but unpopulated. There were no forests, only scattered oak trees.⁶⁸ Louis Deshayes, who visited these parts in 1621, also noticed rice fields around Niš, pointing out that the red rice was "nowhere near as good as the white one." Travelling from Paraćin to Niš, he passed through a hilly and much forested area. This traveller notes that the land was fertile, but that the locals did not dare farm it, as the Turks took everything away from them.⁶⁹ Evliya Çelebi describes the area around Ražanj as very forested, and writes that he crossed mountains covered in a thick forest on his way to Paraćin. In 1660, he saw several vineyards in Ražanj, and vineyards and gardens in

⁶⁶ *Beschreibung einer Legation*, 24; S. de Vriendt, *Twee reizjournals*, according to J. Novaković Lopušina, *Srbi i jugoistočna Evropa*, 233; P. Matković, "Putovanja XV," *Rad JAZU* 129 (1896): 30–31. About Levinus Rijn and the travel account attributed to him, see also: R. C. Müller, *Prosopographie*, VIII, 47–50; M. Popović, *Od Budima do Konstantinopolja*, 86–87.

⁶⁷ Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le voyage d'Outremer*, 204; Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Putovanje preko mora*, 126–127; *Stephan Gerlachs des Aeltern Tagebuch*, 19, 524; P. Matković, "Putovanja XIII," *Rad JAZU* 116 (1893): 50; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 172, 412; B. Stojkovski, "Bertrandon de la Broquière," 125. On rice cultivation around Niš and on other locations in Serbia, see: O. Zirojević, *Tursko vojno uređenje*, 214–215; D. Bojanić, "Niš do Velikog rata 1683." [Niš up to the Great Turkish War in 1683], in *Istorija Niša I. Od najstarijih vremena do oslobođenja od Turaka 1878. godine* [The History of Niš. Vol. I. From the earliest times to the liberation from the Turks in 1878], ed. Danica Milić (Beograd: Istorijski institut; Niš: Gradina, 1983), 122–123; A. Krstić, *Ponišavlje u XV veku* [The Nišava Region in the 15th century] (Beograd: C-print, 2001), 83; M. Koprivica, "Niška oblast od 1428. godine do polovine 16. veka" [The district of Niš from 1428 to the middle of the 16th century]. *Braničevski glasnik* 5 (2008): 98–100; D. Amedoski, "Introduction of Rice Culture in the Central Balkans," in *State and Society in the Balkans before and after Establishment of Ottoman Rule*, ed. S. Rudić and S. Aslantaş (Belgrade: Institute of History – Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Turkish Cultural Centre Belgrade, 2017), 235–253.

⁶⁸ S. Schweigger, *Ein neue Reysbeschreibung*, 41; P. Matković, "Putovanja XIII," *Rad JAZU* 116 (1893): 88–89.

⁶⁹ *Voiage de Levant*, 69–72; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 171–172, 414–415.

Paraćin. He also notes that the land around Paraćin was very fertile and the climate pleasant, that the outing spots and hunting grounds were rich and that rice had been grown there before. However, as in his view the populace had no talent for land cultivation, the land was desolate and uncultivated. Evliya Çelebi notes that he passed through thick forests and lines of trees on the road from Paraćin, across the bridge on the Morava at Ćuprija, and all the way to Jagodina. This town also had many vineyards, vegetable patches, and gardens.⁷⁰

The observations of Serbia by two English travel writers who passed through its territory in the seventeenth century, 25 years apart, are interesting. John Burbury travelled through Serbia in 1664 and Edward Browne in 1688/89. Browne describes Serbia as a fertile and beautiful land, with flatlands, forests, and hills likely containing good metal ores. There were also hearty people, good horses, wines, and rivers, and “if it were in the Christians hands of the temper of those in the Western part of Europe, it might make a very flourishing country.”⁷¹ John Burbury’s view is that the tyrannical Turkish rule joined hands with the laziness and pride of the natives, and that this resulted in their lands being so desolate that one could barely see a single village during an entire day of travel. He also notes seeing vast forests and fields with rich and fertile soil, which was in such a poor state that it could at best be used for pasture. He also relates that he saw land under grain only sporadically.⁷²

Travelling on from Niš to Sofia in 1553, Vrančić notes that a flatland lay from Niš onwards, but that one quickly entered the Kunovica Gorge. It was long, rocky, narrow and with many dangerous bends. His fellow traveller Hans Dernschwam relates that the hills around Niš were high and barren, and the hillocks that had once had fields and vineyards were at that time entirely desolate and overgrown. He then mentions that wheat, barley, and millet were grown around Pirot, and that one could see the abandoned vineyards. As mentioned above, on his way back from Constantinople (1555), Dernschwam provides more detailed description of the area through which he travelled. He notes, for instance, that the

⁷⁰ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V. Kitap, 189–190; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 65–66, 68.

⁷¹ E. Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels*, 40.

⁷² J. Burbury, *A Relation of a Journey of the Right Honourable, My Lord, Henry Howard, from London to Vienna, and Thence to Constantinople in the Company of His Excellency Count Lesley* (London: T. Collins, I. Ford and S. Hickman, 1671), 113–114; the Serbian translation: Z. Levental, *Britanski putnici*, 102.

population in the area around Caribrod (present-day Dimitrovgrad) paid their tithe in barley and wheat, and that Novo Selo, around six miles away from Caribrod, was in a beautiful area with plenty of grain and many vineyards, although most of the vineyards were neglected. Further on towards Niš, there was a beautiful area with valleys and hills strewn with fields of grain. There were also tracts of red, oily clay-like soil, covered in groves.⁷³

Stephan Gerlach was returning from Constantinople in the entourage of the emperor's envoy David Ungnad in 1578. They entered the territory of present-day Serbia in late June, having reached a vast field surrounded on all sides by high hills (in the area of Caribrod). There they met the local Christians, who brought them food for sale: bread, cheese, milk, and strawberries. Travelling on across a beautiful and fertile field, they arrived in Pirot, around which lay vast and nice fields under grain, and to the right of which was a mountain with vineyards and beautiful gardens. Having left Pirot, they then climbed a high mountain (Kunovica) and saw before them a several-mile long, wide, and beautiful valley, with a stream rich with fish and with land under orchards and grain. In the village of Kuru Česma (near Bela Palanka), Gerlach attended the service in an Orthodox church situated on a hill and surrounded by trees. They reached the flatland of Niš passing through forests, bushes and hills.⁷⁴ The difficulties of travelling from Niš to Sofia are a topic discussed also by the travel account describing the journey of Karel Rijm (1571). It notes the difficult climb to Kunovica, where there was a constant sound of the drums announcing that the area was safe for travel. He mentions much livestock on the mountain, which means the area was suitable for grazing.⁷⁵ In 1584, Melchior Besolt wrote on the same area that from Niš one travelled across high hills and mountains, arriving in Pirot, which

⁷³ A. Verancsics, *Összes munkái*, 311–312; F. Babinger, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch*, 12–14, 255–256. P. Matković, "Putovanja VI," *Rad JAZU* 71 (1884): 30.

⁷⁴ On his way to Constantinople in 1573, Gerlach describes the same section of the road in a very similar manner: *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tagebuch*, 19, 521–524; P. Matković, "Putovanja XIII," *Rad JAZU* 116 (1893): 48–50. On the Kuru Česma (Klisurica) village, see also: O. Zirojević, "Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije," 183–184.

⁷⁵ An almost identical description can be found in the travel account attributed to Levinus Rijm (1583): S. de Vriendt, *Twee reisjournaals*, according to J. Novaković Lopušina, *Srbi i jugoistočna Evropa*, 228, 233; P. Matković, "Putovanja XII," *Rad JAZU* 112 (1892): 176.

was situated in the flatlands.⁷⁶ Reinhold Lubenau also states that he travelled over a high rocky mountain on the way from Niš to Pirot.⁷⁷

Venetian travellers also described the section of the road between Niš and Caribrod. Caterino Zeno, who travelled from Split to Constantinople in 1550, notes that hillocks and fields around Niš were well cultivated; the plain is full of beautiful villages, built of wood. After Niš, they travelled through the “Cerovich” forest, where guardman kept watch of the road.⁷⁸ After passing through a valley between hills, which were called Suva Planina (*Sutta montagnà*), and over the villages of Novo Selo and Suva Klisura, where everything was in abundance, they came to the forest near the village of Kuru Česma (*fontana sutta*). After that, they came in the Nišava river valley (around Pirot), which was, according to Zeno, named “Zamise” or “yellow forest” (*bosco žallo*). After passing Caribrod they travelled through the forest of the Ježevica Gorge to Sofia.⁷⁹

Travelling from Dubrovnik to Constantinople via Novi Pazar and Toplica in 1581, the Venetian diplomatic mission of Paolo Contarini arrived in Niš. The description of the travel was provided by an anonymous member of the delegation. He describes Niš as lying on a fertile flatland surrounded by mountains on one side, and on the other by beautiful hillocks with vineyards which would have been more fertile if cultivated better.⁸⁰ Travelling on from Niš to Sofia, the mission passed through a fertile field in the Nišava river valley, after which they entered

⁷⁶ Melchior Besolt, *Reyß auf Constantinopel im 1584. Jar*, 526; P. Matković, “Putovanja XV,” *Rad JAZU* 129 (1896): 32, 61–62.

⁷⁷ W. Sahn, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, 132–133; O. Zirojević, “Rajold Lubenau o Beogradu i Srbiji,” 58–59.

⁷⁸ If the forest name was accurately written and did not refer to Kunovica, it was an oak forest (“cer” is a type of oak – *Quercus cerris*). On the other hand, Kunovica Mount was also named after its forests – “kun” is Montpellier maple (*Acer monspessulanum*).

⁷⁹ “Descrizione del viazo di Constantinopoli 1550 de ser Catharin Zen, ambassador straordinario a sultan Soliman, e suo ritorno,” ed. P. Matković, *Starine JAZU* 10 (1878): 209–210; P. Matković, “Putovanja V,” 101–104.

⁸⁰ *Diario Del Viaggio Da Venezia a Costantinopoli Di Paolo Contarini Che Andava Bailo Per La Repubblica Veneta Alla Porta Ottona Nel 1580: Ora Per La Prima Volia Pubblicato* (Venezia, 1856), 23; P. Matković, “Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka: XIV. Dnevnici o putovanju mletačkih poslanstva u Carigrad: osobito Jakova Sorance od g. 1575. i 1581., i Pavla Kontarina od g. 1580” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part XIV. Diaries on the journeys of the Venetian embassies to Constantinople, especially Jacob Sorance’s in 1575 and 1581, and Paul Contarini’s in 1580], *Rad JAZU* 124 (1895): 67–68.

the narrow Kunovica valley, where they took rest near the village with the same name. There they saw an ox cart transporting rice to Hungary. They went on through this fertile valley between beautiful uncultivated mountains, which according to the travel writer made up the border with Bulgaria. As they made their way along the Mount Kunovica side, they descended to the small town of Klisura (near Bela Palanka). From there the mission travelled over a rocky and barren hillock and, after 18 miles, reached a beautiful but mostly uncultivated valley. From there they entered the flat Nišava valley, which took them to the town of Pirot. From the Pirot valley they crossed into another flatland, hemmed in by mountains and broken up by rivers and streams, and went down into the deep, rocky, and barren Dragoman valley, fenced in by forest-topped mountains.⁸¹ The travel account of Louis Deshayes notes that after the descent from the mountains covered with forests, one arrived in Pirot, situated in a fertile flatland.⁸² Describing Niš and Pirot, Evliya Çelebi observes in general terms that the towns were surrounded by vineyards and gardens.⁸³

Very few travel writers passed through north-eastern Serbia. Evliya Çelebi travelled through this area in 1665, when he visited Hram (Ram), Golubac and Kladovo. Describing these settlements and their fortresses on the Danube banks, he notes that they had a pleasant climate and beautiful vineyards and gardens. Having reached the Soko Banja spa below Mount Ozren in 1663, Evliya noted that there were many vineyards and gardens there, emphasizing that the area had tasty and succulent pears.⁸⁴

It has already been noted that some travellers and official delegations travelling to Constantinople used the road leading from Dubrovnik, via Herzegovina, to the Drina river valley. Benedict Kuripečić (Curipeschitz) entered Serbia near Priboj in 1530, and reached Nova Varoš having crossed “the high and rocky mountain by the name of Kamenica”. From there he reached the river Uvac, and travelled by Brezovo Brdo (“Birch

⁸¹ *Diario Del Viaggio Da Venezia a Costantinopoli Di Paolo Contarini*, 24–25; P. Matković, “Putovanja XIV,” *Rad JAZU* 124 (1895): 84–85. Vrančić’s description of the same section of the road is similar, cf. A. Verancsics, *Összes munkái*, 314.

⁸² *Voiage de Levant*, 73; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskib savremenika*, 172, 412.

⁸³ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V. Kitap, 187–189; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 61, 63.

⁸⁴ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, VI. Kitap, 100; VII. Kitap, 167–168, 175; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 350, 547, 551–552.

Hill”), Novi Pazar, and Mount Rogozna, arriving in Zvečan and Kosovska Mitrovica. Kuripečić mostly describes fortresses or their ruins visible from the road. Speaking about the so-called Upper Bosnia, which, based on the Ottoman administrative division at the time, stretched from Vrhbosna (Sarajevo) to Zvečan and Mitrovica, Kuripečić relates that there were many pastures and plateaus hemmed in by barren hills. These descriptions correspond to both the present-day eastern Bosnia and south-western Serbia. He notes that vine was grown around Višegrad and Novi Pazar. Kuripečić observes that the local populace did not cultivate the land by the road as the Turks took their yield by force and did not pay for it. This was why people stayed away from roads and chose fertile pastures for cultivation purposes instead. His diplomatic mission arrived in the nicely cultivated field of Topolnica (in the Kriva Reka river valley) via the Field of Kosovo, the towns of Vučitrn, Priština, Novo Brdo, and several villages. From there they made their way to Vranje, and then reached Surdulica by a road running at the foot of high hills. Travelling on over the high mountain of Čemernik, they descended to the valley, reaching the village of Strezimirovci (near the present-day border between Serbia and Bulgaria). Unfortunately, Kuripečić does not provide any details on the vegetation in the areas that he passed through; rather, he only notes at the end of his descriptions of the journeys through Serbia that this land, although it had several high mountains, was very fertile and had an abundance of various kinds of grain. He describes the Field of Kosovo as relatively flat and full of big villages and well-cultivated fields. From Strezimirovci, Kuripečić took across a beautiful and well-cultivated field of Znepolje towards Sofia.⁸⁵ Travelling from Sofia in 1582, Jean Palerne Forésien mentions the forest at the foot of Čemernik and the guardsmen beating the drums to signal that the forest was safe to pass through.⁸⁶

Jacques Gassot, who entered Serbia from Herzegovina in 1548, relates that he travelled from Foča to the Mileševa monastery (near

⁸⁵ Benedict Curipeschitz, *Itinerarium Wegrays Kün. May. potschaft gen Constantinopel zu dem Türckischen Kayser Soleyman. Anno XXX, 1531*, 26–35, 39–41; the Serbian translation: B. Kuripečić, *Putopis kroz Bosnu, Srbiju, Bugarsku i Rumeliju 1530*, trans. Đ. Pejanović (Beograd: Čigoja, 2001), 31–43.

⁸⁶ *Peregrinations du S. Jean Palerne Foresien, Secretaire de François de Valois Duc d'Anjou...* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1606), 504–506; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 137–139, 380–382.

Prijepolje) through forests that were dangerous on account of bandits. This was why local villagers were exempted from paying any taxes, as they kept their watch on the road. They would beat the drums and thus signal to the travellers that the road was safe.⁸⁷ A decade and a half before Gassot, Corneille Duplicius de Schepper traveled in the opposite direction. After passing Sjenica and crossing the river Uvac, he arrived at the monastery of Mileševa over a forested mountain.⁸⁸ In 1582, Jean Palerne Forésien also mentions large forests on the road from the Mileševa monastery to Bosnia.⁸⁹ Jacques Gassot passed through Novi Pazar and over “Srebrna Planina,” i.e. Mount Kopaonik – which was difficult to cross and also a mining site where great quantities of silver ore were extracted – reaching Niš and travelling on towards Sofia.⁹⁰

Travelling in early 1573 in cold and snowy weather from Foča, via Čajniče, Pljevlja, Prijepolje, Mileševa, Uvac, Novi Pazar, Banjska, Zvečan, Mitrovica, Vučitrn, Lipljan, and Kačanik to Skopje, Philippe Du Fresne-Canaye did not pay any heed to the vegetation in the valleys and mountains that he crossed. Nonetheless, he appears to have had a liking for fruit. For instance, he noted coming across many excellent pears of “bergamotte” variety in Čajniče in eastern Herzegovina, and described (Kosovska) Mitrovica as a nice town in a flatland with an incredible amount of fruit, but did not specify what kinds exactly. He also mentions that good wine could be found in a village between Vučitrn and Lipljan. On the way from Kačanik to Skopje, Du Fresne-Canaye and his fellow travellers passed through the Kačanik Gorge, going down uneven meandering paths, through the narrow glens and thick forests.⁹¹ Evliya

⁸⁷ They were *derbençi* pass guards, cf. note 55. See also: S. Rudić, “Pljevaljski kraj u putopisima XVI veka” [The Pljevlja Area in Travel Accounts of the 16th Century], *Glasinik Zavičajnog muzeja Pljevlja* 2 (2001): 134–135.

⁸⁸ *Missions diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper, dit Scepperus: ambassadeur de Christiern II, de Charles V, de Ferdinand Ier et de Marie, reine de Hongrie, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, de 1523 a 1555*, eds. J. de Saint-Genois, G. A. de Schepper (Brussel: M. Hayez, 1856) 198–199; J. Novaković Lopušina, *Srbi i jugoistočna Evropa*, 217.

⁸⁹ *Peregrinations du S. Jean Palerne Foresien*, 508–509; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 137–139, 380–382.

⁹⁰ J. Gassot, *Le Discours du Voyage de Venise a Constantinople, contenant la querele du grand Seigneur contre le Sophi: avec elegante description de plusieurs lieux, villes, et citez de la Grece, et choses admirables en icelle* (Paris, 1550), 6–7; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 114, 358–359.

⁹¹ *Le Voyage du Levant de Philippe du Fresne-Canaye (1573)*, ed. H. Hauser (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), 27–33, 221–223; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih*

Çelebi observed many gardens and vineyards in the area of Kosovo and Metohija, which were flourishing owing to a pleasant climate, and made specific mention of those in Banjska, Vučitrn, Priština, and Kačanik.⁹²

The travel writer who described the new Venetian bailo Paolo Contarini's journey to Constantinople in 1580 provides a detailed account of travelling from Dubrovnik to Pljevlja, mentioning mountains overgrown with pine forests. On the other hand, the journey through Serbia to the slopes of Mount Kopaonik is described in insufficient detail. He mentions the Mileševa monastery as having a good income in the form of bread, wine, and livestock.⁹³ Six years earlier, in 1574, Pierre Lescalopier notes that he ate a green onion soup in the Mileševa monastery, which indirectly suggests that this vegetable was grown in the vegetable patches of the monastery.⁹⁴ Travelling on from Mileševa, Contarini's travel writer mentions a few times that they went across a

savremenika, 128–129, 372–373. Ottoman *defters* of the 15th and 16th centuries reveals the structure of agricultural production of the area of Kosovo and Metohija. Cereals were grown in most rural settlements of that area, primarily wheat, but also barley, oats, rye, millet, and in some cases spelt. The majority of villages had vineyards and there were orchards in many settlements. Walnut was the only type of fruit directly mentioned in the *defters*. In some villages, dues were paid of lentils, bitter vetch and broad beans. Villagers also paid dues of cabbage, red onion, garlic and other vegetables grown in the gardens, of flax, wood, hay and hives: *Oblast Brankovića. Opširni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine* [The Region of Branković. Detailed cadastral register from 1455], ed. H. Hadžibegić, A. Handžić, E. Kovačević (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1972); T. Katić, *Opširni popis Prizrenskog sandžaka iz 1571. godine* [Detailed register of the Prizren Sancak from 1571] (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2010); B. Hrabak, "Poljoprivredna proizvodnja Kosova i susjednih krajeva sredinom XV veka" [Agricultural production of Kosovo and neighbouring areas in the middle of the 15th century], *Glas Srpske akademine nauka i umetnosti* 290, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, vol. 1 (1974): 33–73. This area was characterized by oak and beech forests, and spruce forests in high mountains: J. Cvejić, "Šume u Oblasti Brankovića polovinom XV veka" [Forests in the Region of Branković in the mid-15th century], in *Naselja i stanovništvo Oblasti Brankovića 1455. godine* [Settlements and population of the Region of Branković in 1455], ed M. Macura (Beograd: SANU, Službeni glasnik, 2001), 149–163.

⁹² *Enliya Çelebi Seyabatnâmesi*, V. Kitap, 291–295; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 276–279.

⁹³ *Diario Del Viaggio Da Venezia a Costantinopoli Di Paolo Contarini*, 17–19; P. Matković, "Putovanja XIV," *Rad JAZU* 124 (1895): 64–66. See also: O. Zirojević, "Turski izvori XV i XVI veka o posedima manastira Mileševa" [Ottoman sources of the 15th and the 16th centuries on estates of the Mileševa monastery], *Zograf* 18 (1987): 76–78.

⁹⁴ E. Cleray, "Le voyage de Pierre Lescalopier 'Parisien' de Venise à Constantinople, l'an 1574," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 35 (1921): 21–55; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 135, 378.

“snow-covered mountain.” They reached Novi Pazar via the Raška river valley, crossed the river Ibar, and covered six miles across Mount Kopaonik, which is where the writer saw the most beautiful pastures and plentiful waters. Having crossed Kopaonik, characterized as “the silver mountain,” the mission made their descent through the forest and an uncultivated area, reaching the Toplica river valley. The road running along the river Toplica led through the valley and across beautiful meadows, surrounded by forests and mountains. The travel writer describes the Toplica river valley as beautiful and fertile, with many vineyards located on hillsides. Travelling on over the slopes of Mount Jastrebac towards Niš, they came across a barren and rocky, mostly hilly area. The traveller describes the village of Gornja Draguša (near Blace) as lying in a poorly cultivated flatland, and the neighbouring village of Svarče as affording the best grazing for horses. As they made their way towards the Južna Morava, they saw a succession of hillocks, fields, and good pastures. He mentions the village of Hreljinci (present-day Reljinac north of Prokuplje), situated in a beautiful flatland, where they saw many storks in fields and meadows.⁹⁵ In 1534, Corneille de Schepper mentions pleasant valley along the river Toplica, well-populated and overgrown with vineyards. Passing through the valley of Toplica in 1550, Caterino Zeno saw many roses, violets, and other flowers along the way.⁹⁶

The French travel writer Le Fevre provided a more detailed description of this road, accompanying the royal ambassador De Sansy on his journey to the East in 1611. The diplomatic mission arrived in Serbia from Foča. Le Fevre describes the area between Foča and Prijepolje as full of game, fruit, and grain, whereas mountains were overgrown with oak forests. In the direction of Prijepolje the road went down the hills completely covered with forests. At the Mileševa monastery, the monks served them damson plums. They travelled on over the slopes of Mount Jadovnik, which was entirely covered in trees. Then they passed over another mountain (i.e. over the slopes of Mount Zlatar around the village of Aljinovići), which did not have a single tree and was completely barren, arriving in a large field called Sjenica, which the river Uvac flowed through. He describes the Field of Sjenica as six

⁹⁵ *Diario Del Viaggio Da Venezia a Costantinopoli Di Paolo Contarini*, 19–23; P. Matković, “Putovanja XIV,” *Rad JAZU* 124 (1895), 66–68.

⁹⁶ *Missions diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper*, 197; Caterino Zeno, “Descrizione del viazo di Constantinopoli,” 208–209.

miles wide and surrounded by mountains. Making their way across the Pešter Plateau towards Novi Pazar, they had lunch in the village of Rogatac, situated in a field that the Ljudska stream flowed through. Le Fevre notes that there were forests in this area, and that the remaining soil was good and suitable for cultivation. However, regardless of the fact that it was fertile, the soil was not cultivated; rather, it was sparsely populated, with about ten houses spread out across the mountain. He notes that good wine was made in this area. Observing Novi Pazar, Le Fevre notes that poplar trees grew between houses in the town. He notes that “this tree is grown with pleasure, always planted in large numbers by the side of their mosques as decorations.”⁹⁷ Benedict Kuripečić discussed the vineyards near Novi Pazar almost a century before.⁹⁸ In the second half of the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi also mentioned gardens and vineyards around Nova Varoš, Prijepolje, Mileševa, and Novi Pazar. He points out that the climate in Novi Pazar was very pleasant, and that there were 48 types of apples and 35 types of pears, adding that he saw many orchards in Priboj.⁹⁹

Travelling on down the Raška river valley, Le Fevre relates that a mountain half-covered in young oak trees rose on either side of the field. The soil was good, and it was a shame that it had not been cultivated much, suitable as it was for growing grain with high yields. There was also vine, which was strewn across the slopes of the mountain facing south. Similar to other travel writers, Le Fevre opined that the land was insufficiently cultivated due to negligence and laziness – only what was needed was cultivated, while the rest was left to lie fallow. Having left the Raška river valley near the village of Banja, the mission climbed Mount Rogozna, which was entirely covered in forests. They set up camp in the village of Bare on the other side of the mountain, where the cook was preparing food in a garden the entire night. Travelling on across the forested slopes of Rogozna, they crossed the river Ibar, and climbed Mount Kopaonik. In the Ibar river valley, the soil was cultivated well,

⁹⁷ R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 156–159, 400–403. See also: E. C. Antoche, “Un ambassadeur français à la Porte ottomane : Achille de Harlay, baron de Sancy et de la Mole (1611–1619),” in *Istoria ca datorie: omagiu academicianului Ioan-Aurel Pop la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*, ed. I. Bolovan, O. Ghitta (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2015), 750.

⁹⁸ Benedict Curipeschitz, *Itinerarium*, 31.

⁹⁹ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V. Kitap, 289–291; VI. Kitap, 248–250; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 264–267, 393–396.

and there were some vineyards on the mountain sides. Le Fevre describes Kopaonik as covered in forests and tall, straight trees. He relates that they had lunch on a small plateau, which was really pleasant owing to the beech forest shade.¹⁰⁰ As they travelled in August, they certainly appreciated the shade. The travel writer notes that all the mountains were visible as far as the eye could see from the bare high peaks of Kopaonik. Le Fevre found it difficult to descend from Kopaonik by a road running through a beautiful beech forest, which covered the surrounding slopes as well as those of all neighbouring mountains. Going further eastwards through an area overgrown with tall trees and brushwood, which made the road unsafe with the threat of bandits, the French mission reached the river Toplica. They crossed Lepa Gora Mountain, left behind the forest, and came across a fertile field full of grain and vine in the Toplica region. Le Fevre describes the area around the town of Prokuplje as being hemmed in by two mountains entirely covered in forests (i.e. Jastrebac in the north and Vidojevica and Pasjača in the south), rich with vine, and with chernozem that was good for grain.¹⁰¹

The description of the route from Herzegovina to Niš was also provided by a travel account concerning the journey of the envoy Louis Deshayes de Courmenin from Dubrovnik to Constantinople in 1626. The part of the travel account relating to these regions contains many well-known facts. The high French delegation entered Serbia from the direction of Pljevlja. Having left the Pljevlja area, they made their way through forests and across hilly land, which made this route unsafe with the threat of bandits. When they left the mountains, they arrived in the Mileševa monastery. The travel writer mentions Sjenica, which he describes as having an abundance of hay and grass. After Kopaonik, they entered the Tesna Toplica (“Narrow Toplica”) mountains, but the road did not follow the mountain but a narrow valley that took seven hours to cross. The mountains rising above the valley were covered in forests, “which made them very pleasant.” Once they left the mountain area, they

¹⁰⁰ In 1534, Corneille de Schepper mentions that they refreshed themselves on Kopaonik at a spring they found under the trees: *Missions diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper*, 197.

¹⁰¹ R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 160–161, 403–405. After he crossed the Ibar, likely near Jarinje, where a ferry was available, Le Fevre made his way across Kopaonik, following the route of the village of Blaževo – Merćez (the Toplica crossing) – Više Selo – Grgure – Tulari – Prokuplje.

entered a tract of open land, called Ravna Toplica (“Flat Toplica”). From there carts and carriages were available for travel. Prokuplje lay in a vast flatland rich with grain.¹⁰²

Visiting Toplica in 1661, Evliya Çelebi describes Kuršumlja as being surrounded by gardens and vineyards. From Kuršumlja to Kruševac he travelled across the plateau and Mount Jastrebac, noting big and tall trees. Evliya Çelebi relates that in Kruševac the climate was pleasant, and the town itself, situated on the west and north side of the fortress, had vineyards and gardens. The surrounding area was also strewn with vineyards on hospitable, low-lying hills.¹⁰³

There is not much data on the vegetation in western Serbia in the travel accounts in the period between the fifteenth and seventeenth century, as this particular route was less frequently used. One of the few people who passed through there was the above-mentioned Peter Mundy. In early June 1620, he started off from Belgrade towards Valjevo, noting that he was travelling across a field. From Valjevo to the Drina Mundy probably took the Jablanica river valley and then crossed Mount Medvednik, continuing along the Ljuboviđa river valley. After Valjevo, a stretch of thick forests followed, so the travellers made their descent across pleasant mountains that exceeded in height and beauty any that Mundy had seen until then. The hills were not steep, rising gently and gradually, and the land at the peak was as fertile as at the foot. The area was rich with springs but deserted, covered in weeds and forests of unusually tall oak, maple, and other kinds of trees. Occasionally one saw soil cultivated by poor Christians, as well as very rudimentary animal husbandry. Peter Mundy then made his descent down a steep slope, with a river flowing between the rocks and a stone bridge over it. By the riverbank (most likely of the river Ljuboviđa) they found ripe strawberries of the kind “as none of our company ever saw the like” so that they could pick them by the handful, as well as plenty of wild apples and cherries. There was a place where the earth was covered in a kind of

¹⁰² R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 173–175, 417–419.

¹⁰³ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V. Kitap, 316; Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis*, 309–310. On Kuršumlja, Prokuplje and Kruševac at that period, see: D. Amedoski–V. Petrović, *Gradska naselja Kruševačkog sandžaka (XV–XVI vek)* [Urban Settlements of the Sanjak of Kruševac (15th–16th Centuries)] (Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2018), passim.

a wild rose, of a beautiful colour and scent, growing on short stalks close to the ground.¹⁰⁴

Several years later, in 1624, the French travel writer Louis Gédoyne "Le Turc" passed by this road, but from the direction of Bosnia. He entered Serbia from the direction of Srebrenica, and probably took the same road as Peter Mundy. Louis Gédoyne mentions high mountains and rich valleys, decked with large fir tree and other kinds of beautiful forests, as well as the many gardens of Valjevo. From Valjevo to Belgrade the road stretched through a wide flatland. He travelled in January, and this was probably why the area did not leave an impression on him.¹⁰⁵ Spending more time in Belgrade, unable to travel on account of snow, he wrote a few letters that he sent to France. In one of them he says: "Our princes sleep and languish, and when they do wake, it is in order to fight over an acre of land or a passage through some valley, not knowing that these plentiful lands, fertile, rich, and vast, could satisfy their ambition, provide all with a rich share, and bring actual titles that they could take pride in."¹⁰⁶

A few decades later, Evliya Çelebi notes that on the road from Belgrade to Valjevo one travelled through a forested area. He made his way from Belgrade, via the village of Rušanj, to the village of Lisović in 1662, crossing many pastures, and travelled on to Ljig through forests and across mountains. Passing through the area around Valjevo on his second journey in 1664, Evliya relates that he crossed the Crna Gora plateau (present-day Valjevska Podgorina) from Slavkovića (near Ljig) to Ovčar Banja. With his fellow travellers he observed trees so tall that "each tree seemed to rise to the heavens," and the trees were so thick that it took ten people quite a bit of effort to encircle the entire tree trunk. He describes the Ovčar Banja spa in the Ovčar-Kablar Gorge as located near mountains rich with trees, adding that when watermelons were in season as many as 40,000 to 50,000 people gathered at the fairs there. Describing Čačak and Požega, Evliya mentions their gardens and vineyards. Discussing the town of Rudnik situated on the mountain bearing the same name in central Serbia, Evliya Çelebi notes that it was

¹⁰⁴ *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, vol. I, 78–80.

¹⁰⁵ *Journal et correspondance de Gédoyne "le Turc", consul de France à Alep 1623–1625*. Ouvrage publié pour la Société d'histoire diplomatique par A. Boppe (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1909), 42–43; R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 177, 421.

¹⁰⁶ R. Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskih savremenika*, 181–182, 426.

situated on the western drop-off of the cliff below the fortress, rising above the fertile valley full of vineyards and gardens. In Užice, in addition to the vineyards and gardens, he was particularly struck by the greenery of a *musalla* (an enclosed area in the open air, used for a Muslim common prayer). Plane trees, lindens, poplars, weeping willows, spruces, cypresses, and laurel grew in this *musalla* by the river Đetina, and beautiful fragrances added to the enjoyment of the believers.¹⁰⁷

The travel writers who left notes on the vegetation in Serbia between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries travelled on roads that were already known well. They note that the area of present-day Vojvodina was a flatland with fields under grain, grass, and vine on the slopes of Fruška Gora, but without forests. The area between Belgrade and Niš had an undulating and forested terrain, for the most part without detailed information on the forest type. On occasion the information is provided that it was oak tree forests. The vegetation in this section of the road has changed the most in the present day. Between Aleksinac and Niš, vineyards are mentioned in addition to fields under grain, and rice fields around Jagodina, Aleksinac, and Niš. The road from Niš to Caribrod (present-day Dimitrovgrad) was mostly difficult for the travellers, which was the main impression they were left with. Only a few travel writers mention forests or the rich valley near Pirot, with fields under grain, with some noting vineyards as well. Forests and pastures were prevalent from Valjevo towards the Drina too. The road leading from Prijepolje, via Sjenica, Novi Pazar, the slopes of Kopaonik and Toplica to Niš was covered in forests and pastures; some travellers mention vine around Novi Pazar. Toplica was a fertile area, with fields of grain and vineyards, whereas the travel accounts have very little data on the vegetation in the area of Kosovo and Metohija. Based on what the travellers ate and drank, only an indirect conclusion can be drawn that grain fields and vineyards were prevalent there. This conclusion can be confirmed by the data provided by the Ottoman tax registers (*defters*). Only a few travel writers mention what fruit they ate or the type of forest they passed through. The common impression of the Western travellers was that the land was

¹⁰⁷ *Evljya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V. Kitap, 221; VI. Kitap, 55, 239, 244, 246; *Evljya Çelebi, Putopis*, 97, 333–334, 378–383, 386; D. Bojanić-Lukač, “Les mousallas dans la ville balkanique,” in *La culture urbaine des Balkans (XV^e–XIX^e siècles)* 3, ed. V. Han, Recueil de travaux, Colloque international, Belgrade, 1989 (Belgrade: Institute des études balkaniques, 1991), 76.

insufficiently cultivated, even “desolate” at times, and that its resources were insufficiently used, which some ascribed to the treatment of the subjugated populace by the Ottoman authorities, and others to the laziness of the locals.

References

Primary sources

- Aličić, Ahmed. *Turski katastarski popisi nekib područja zapadne Srbije (XV i XVI vek)* [Ottoman cadastral censuses of some areas of western Serbia (15th and 16th century)]. Vol. I. Čačak: Međuopštinski istorijski arhiv, 1984.
- Babinger, Franz. *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*. München–Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1923.
- Besolt, Melchior. *Deß Wolgeborenen Herrn Heinrichs Herrn von Liechtenstein von Nicolsburg etc. Röm. Keys. Maiest. Abgesandten etc. Reyß auf Constantinopel im 1584. Jar beschrieben durch Melchior Befolt*. In: Leunclavius, Johannes. *Neuwe Chronica Türckischer nation*. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1590.
- Bojanić, Dušanka. *Turski zakoni i zakonski propisi iz XV i XVI veka za smederevsku, kruševačku i vidinsku oblast* [Ottoman laws and regulations from the 15th and 16th centuries for the Smederevo, Kruševac and Vidin regions]. Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1974.
- Bojničić, Ivan. “Putovanje carskoga poslanstva u Carigrad g. 1608” [The Journey of the Imperial Embassy to Constantinople in 1608]. *Vjesnik kraljevskega hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskoga arhiva* 12 (1910): 205–226.
- Brandstetter, Maximilian. “Itinerarium oder Reisebeschreibung.” In *Adam Freiherrn zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel. Ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606)*, ed. Nehring, Karl (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 78). München: Oldenbourg, 1983.
- La Broquière, Bertrandon de. *Le voyage d'Outremer*, Recueil de voyages et de documents, ed. Charles Schefer and Henri Cordier. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892.
- La Brokijer, Bertrandon de. *Putovanje preko mora* [The Journey across the Sea], the original text with the Serbain translation and comments of Miodrag Rajčić. Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1950.

- Brown, Edward. *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli: As Also Some Observations on the Gold, Silver, Copper, Quick-silver Mines, Baths, and Mineral Waters in Those Parts: with the Figures of Some Habits and Remarkable Places*. London: Benj. Tooke, 1673.
- Burbury, John. *A Relation of a Journey of the Right Honourable, My Lord, Henry Howard, from London to Vienna, and Thence to Constantinople in the Company of His Excellency Count Lesley*. London: T. Collins, I. Ford and S. Hickman, 1671.
- Busbeq, Augier Ghislain de. *Augerii Gisleinii Busbequii Omnia quae extant*. Basel: Typis Jo. Brandmulleri, 1740.
- Cleray, Edmond. "Le voyage de Pierre Lescapier 'Parisien' de Venise à Constantinople, l'an 1574." *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 35 (1921): 21-55.
- Contarini, Paolo. *Diario Del Viaggio Da Venezia a Costantinopoli Di Paolo Contarini Che Andavo Bailo Per La Repubblica Veneta Alla Porta Ottona Nel 1580: Ora Per La Prima Volta Pubblicato*. Venezia, 1856.
- Curipeschitz, Benedict. *Itinerarium Wegraysz Kün. May. potschaft gen Constantinopel zu dem Türkischen Kayser Soleyman. Anno XXX, 1531*.
- [Deshayes, Louis, Baron de Courmenin]. *Voiage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l'année 1621 par le Sr. D. C*. Paris: Chez Adrian Taupinart, 1624.
- Evlîyâ Çelebi b. Dervîş Mehemed Zillî. *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, V. Kitap, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 307 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini* [Evlîyâ Çelebi's Book of Travels. Vol. V. Transcription of the Baghdad Manuscript no. 307 of the Topkapı Palace Library with Index], ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, İbrahim Sezgin. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001.
- . *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, VI. Kitap, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Revan 1457 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini* [Evlîyâ Çelebi's Book of Travels. Vol. VI. Transcription of the Yerevan Manuscript no. 1457 of the Topkapı Palace Library with Index], ed. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002.
- . *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi, VII. Kitap, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini* [Evlîyâ Çelebi's Book of Travels. Vol. VII. Transcription of the Baghdad Manuscript no. 308 of the Topkapı Palace Library with Index], ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003.

- Evlija Čelebi. *Putopis. Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, prevod i komentar Hazim Šabanović [Travelogue. Excerpts on Yugoslav countries. Translation and comments by Hazim Šabanović]. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1979.
- Fresne-Canaye, Philippe du. *Le voyage du Levant (1573)*, ed. M. Henri Hauser. Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie 16. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897.
- Gassot, Jacques. *Le Discours du Voyage de Venise a Constantinople, contenant la querele du grand Seigneur contre le Sophi: avec elegante description de plusieurs lieux, villes, et citez de la Grece, et choses admirables en icelle*. Paris, 1550.
- Gerlach, Stephan. *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tagebuch der von zween glorwürdigsten römischen Kaysern, Maximiliano u. Rudolpho, beyderseits den andern dieses Namens, höchst seeligster Gedächtniss, an die ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten und durch den wohlgebohrnen Herrn Hn. David Ungnad, Freyherrn zu Sonnegk u. Preyburg etc. römisch-kaiserl. Rath, mit wirklicher Erhalt- und Verlängerung des Friedens, zwischen dem ottomanischen u. römischen Kayserthum und demselben angehörigen Landen u. Königreichen etc. glücklichst vollbrachter Gesandtschaft*. Frankfurt am Mayn, 1674.
- Glover, Thomas. "The journey of Edward Barton Esquire, her Majesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signior, otherwise called the Great Turke, in Constantinople, Sultan Mahumet Chan." In *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others*, ed. Samuel Purchas, vol. VIII, 304–320. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Journal et correspondance de Gédoyne le "Turc", consul de France à Alep 1623—1625*. Ouvrage publié pour la Société d'histoire diplomatique par A. Boppe. Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1909.
- Katić, Tatjana. *Opširni popis Prizrenskog sandžaka iz 1571. godine* [Detailed register of the Prizren Sancak from 1571]. Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2010.
- Kuripešić, Benedikt. *Putopis kroz Bosnu, Srbiju, Bugarsku i Rumeliju 1530*. [Travels through Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Rumelia in 1530], trans. Đ. Pejanović. Beograd: Čigoja, 2001.
- Les Voyages de M. Quiclet à Constantinople par terre. Enrichis d'Annotatations par le Sieur P. M. L.* Paris: Pierre Bienfait, 1664.
- Luccari, Giacomo di Pietro. *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Rausa libri quatro*. Venezia, 1605.

- Missions diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper, dit Scepperus: ambassadeur de Christiern II, de Charles V, de Ferdinand Ier et de Marie, reine de Hongrie, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, de 1523 a 1555*, eds. M. leBon de Saint-Genois, Gerrit Antonius Yssel de Schepper. Brussel: M. Hayez, 1856.
- Mundy, Peter. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*. Vol. I. Travels in Europe. Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1907.
- Oblast Brankovića. Opširni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine* [The Region of Branković. Detailed cadastral register from 1455], ed. Hamid Hadžibegić, Adem Handžić, Ešref Kovačević. Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1972.
- Omichius, Franciscus, ed. *Beschreibung einer Legation und Reise von Wien aus Ostereich auff Constantinopel, durch den wohlgeborenen Herrn, Hern David Ungnaden, Freyherrn zu Sonneck und Pfandsberrn auff Bleyburgk, aus Römischer Keyserlichen Majestiit befehlig uncl Abforderungen an den türckischen keyser, anno 72 verrichtet*. Güstrow, 1582.
- Orbini, Mauro. *Il regno degli Slavi*. Pesaro: G. Concordia, 1601.
- Peregrinations du S. Jean Palerne Foresien, Secretaire de François de Valois Duc d'Anjou...* . Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1606.
- Pigafetta, Marco Antonio. “Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette u Carigrad od god. 1567” [The Travelogue of Marco Antonio Pigafetta to Constantinople from 1567], ed. Petar Matković. *Starine JAZU* 22 (1890): 68–194.
- Sahm, Wilhelm, ed. *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenan, Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg in Preußen, VI. Königsberg in Preußen*, 1915.
- Samardžić, Radovan. *Beograd i Srbija u spisima francuskib savremenika XVI–XVII veka* [Belgrade and Serbia in the Writings of French Contemporaries of the 16th–17th Centuries], Građa za istoriju Beograda. Beograd: Istorijski arhiv, 1961.
- Schweigger, Salomon. *Ein neue Reysbeschreibung auss Teutchild nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*. Nürnberg, 1608.
- Šabanović, Hazim. *Turski izvori za istoriju Beograda I/1, katastarski popisi Beograda i okoline 1476–1566* [Ottoman sources for the history of Belgrade I-1, cadastral censuses of Belgrade and its surroundings 1476–1566]. Beograd: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 1964.
- Tomić, Jovan. “Opis dva putovanja preko Balkanskog Poluostrva francuskog poslanika de He-a u 1621. i 1626. g. od nepozatog pisca”

- [Description of two voyages across the Balkan Peninsula by the French envoy des Hayes in 1621 in 1626 from an unknown writer]. *Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije* 37 (1900).
- Verancsics, Antal. *Összes munkái* [The entire work], ed. Szalay László, Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptorum II. Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd, 1857.
- Wenner, Adam. *Ein ganz new Reysebuch von Prag auß biß gen Constantinopel: das ist: Beschreibung der Legation und Reise, welche von der Roem. Kaey. auch zu Hungarn und Boeheimb, & Koenigl. May. Matthia II. an den Tuerckischen Kaeyser Abmet, ... : So Anno 1616. angefangen und Anno 1618. gluecklich verricht ...* Halbmayr, 1622.
- “Wolf Andreas’ von Steinach Edelknabenfahrt nach Constantinopel (1583),” ed. J. von Zehn, *Steiermärkische Geschichtsblätter* 2:4 (1881): 193–234.
- Zeno, Caterino. “Descrizione del viazo di Constantinopoli 1550 de ser Catharin Zen, ambassador straordinario a sultan Soliman, e suo ritorno,” ed. P. Matković. *Starine JAZU* 10 (1878): 203–256.

Secondary works

- Amedoski, Dragana. “Introduction of Rice Culture in the Central Balkans.” In *State and Society in the Balkans before and after Establishment of Ottoman Rule*, ed. Srđan Rudić and Selim Aslantaş, 235–256. Belgrade: Institute of History – Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Turkish Cultural Centre Belgrade, 2017.
- . Petrović, Vladeta. *Gradska naselja Kruševačkog sandžaka (XV–XVI vek)* [Urban Settlements of the Sanjak of Kruševac (15th–16th Centuries)]. Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2018.
- Angermann Norbert et al., ed. *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. I. München – Zürich: Lexma Verlag, 1980.
- Antoche, Emanuel Constantin. “Un ambassadeur français à la Porte ottomane: Achille de Harlay, baron de Sancy et de la Mole (1611–1619).” In *Istoria ca datorie: omagiu academicianului Ioan-Aurel Pop la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*, ed. Ioan Bolovan, Ovidiu Ghitta, 747–460. Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2015.
- Babinger, Franz. “Der flämische Staatsmann Karel Rijm (1533–1584) und sein verschollenes türkisches Tagebuch.” In *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, vol. III, 277–285. München: Südosteuropa-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1976.

- . “Melchior Besold, ein vergessener Stambulfahrer des 16. Jahrhundert.” In *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante* 3, 69–77. München: Südosteuropa-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1976.
- Blagojević, Miloš. *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Agriculture in Medieval Serbia]. Beograd: Službeni list SCG, 2004.
- Bojanić-Lukač, Dušanka. “Les mousallas dans la ville balkanique.” In *La culture urbaine des Balkans (XV^e–XIX^e siècles)* 3, ed. Verena Han, Recueil de travaux, Colloque international, Belgrade, 1989, 73–86. Belgrade: Institute des etudes balkaniques, 1991.
- Božanić, Snežana. “From Agrarian History: on Lentils and Fava Beans in Medieval Serbia until the End of the 15th Century.” *Istraživanja. Journal of Historical Researches* 30 (2019): 69–86.
- Carrington, Dorothy, ed. *The Traveller’s Eye*. London: Pilot Press, 1947.
- Cvejić, Jasminka. “Šume u Oblasti Brankovića polovinom XV veka” [Forests in the Region of Branković in the mid-15th century]. In *Naselja i stanovništvo Oblasti Brankovića 1455. godine* [Settlements and population of the Region of Branković in 1455], ed M. Macura, 149–163. Beograd: SANU, Službeni glasnik, 2001.
- Dankoff, Robert. *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi*. Boston–Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- David, Géza. “A Life on the Marches: the Career of Derviş bey.” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54:4 (2001): 411–426.
- Hrabak, Bogumil. “Poljoprivredna proizvodnja Kosova i susednih krajeva sredinom XV veka” [Agricultural production of Kosovo and neighboring areas in the middle of the 15th century]. *Glas Srpske akademine nauka i umetnosti* 290, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, vol. 1 (1974): 33–73.
- Istorija Niša I. Od najstarijih vremena do oslobođenja od Turaka 1878. godine* [The History of Niš, vol. I. From the earliest times to the liberation from the Turks in 1878], ed. Danica Milić. Beograd: Istorijski institut; Niš: Gradina, 1983.
- Kalić, Jovanka. “Evropski putopisci o Beogradu” [European travel writers on Belgrade]. In *Beograd u delima evropskih putopisaca* [Belgrade in the works of European travel writers], ed. Đorđe Kostić, 9–16. Beograd: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2003.
- Kazhdan, Alexander, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. I. New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

- Koder, Johannes. "Early Modern Times Travellers as a Source for the Historical Geography of Byzantium: The Diary of Reinhold Lubenau." *Géographie Historique du Monde Méditerranéen (Byzantina Sorbonensia 7)*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler, 141–148. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1988.
- Konstantinović, Zoran. *Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Serbien und Montenegro*. München: Verlag R. Oldenburg, 1960.
- Koprivica, Marija. "Niška oblast od 1428. godine do polovine 16. veka" [The district of Niš from 1428 to the middle of the 16th century]. *Braničevski glasnik* 5 (2008): 1–133.
- Kostić, Đorđe. *Reiseberichte über Serbien im Spiegel der Ortsnamen (1539–1740)*. München: LDV – Liliana Djeković Verlag, 1998.
- . "Tvrdava, podgrađe, grad: nemački pogled na Beograd" [A fortress, a suburb, a town: the German view of Belgrade]. In *Beograd u delima evropskih putopisaca* [Belgrade in the works of European travel writers], ed. Đorđe Kostić, 17–30. Beograd: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2003.
- Kostić, Veselin. *Kulturne veze između jugoslovenskih zemalja i Engleske do 1700. godine* [Cultural relations between the Yugoslav lands and England before 1700]. Beograd: SANU, Posebna izdanja, 1972.
- . "Stari engleski i škotski putopisci o uslovima putovanja kroz naše zemlje" [Old English and Scottish travel writers on the conditions of travel through our countries]. In: Levental, Zdenko. *Britanski putnici u našim krajevima od sredine XV do početka XIX veka* [British travelers in our region from the middle of the 15th to the beginning of the 19th century]. Gornji Milanovac: Dečje novine, 1989.
- Krstić, Aleksandar. "Bačka pod osmanskom vlašću" [Bačka under Ottoman Rule], *Bačka kroz vekove: slojevi kultura Bačke*, ed. Miodrag Maticki, Vidojko Jović, 55–86. Beograd: Vukova zadužbina, 2014.
- . "Grad Nekudim i Nekudimska vlast" [The Town of Nekudim and Nekudim's County (*Vlast*)]. *Istorijski časopis* 55 (2007): 101–113.
- . "Kučevo i Železnik u svetlu osmanskih deftera" [Kučevo and Železnik in the Light of the Ottoman Census Books]. *Istorijski časopis* 49 (2003): 139–162.
- . "Okolina Beograda u poznom srednjem veku (od početka XV do prvih decenija XVI veka)" [Surrounding Areas of Belgrade in the Late Middle Ages (from the beginning of the 15th to the first decades of the 16th century)]. In *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* [The Middle Ages in Serbian Science, History, Literature and

- Arts], vol. IX, ed. Gordana Jovanović, 197–222. Despotovac: Institut za srpski jezik SANU, Biblioteka “Resavska škola,” 2018.
- . *Ponišavlje u XV veku* [The Nišava Region in the 15th century]. Beograd: C-print, 2001.
- . “Srpski gradovi i trgovi u ugarskoj građi iz vremena ‘Duge vojne’ 1443/1444. godine” [Serbian Cities and Market Places in Hungarian Documentary Sources from the Time of the ‘Long Campaign’ (1443–1444)]. *Istorijski časopis* 65 (2016): 113–146.
- . “Vreme turske vlasti u Sremu” [The Period of Ottoman Rule in Srem]. In *Srem kroz vekove: slojevi kultura Srema* [Srem throughout the centuries: layers of the Srem cultures], ed. Miodrag Maticki, 75–101. Beograd: Vukova zadužbina, 2007.
- Lemajić, Nenad. “Agrarni odnosi i razvoj poljoprivrede u Sremu polovinom 16. veka” [Agrarian relations and development of agriculture in Srem in the middle of the 16th century]. *Istraživanja* 15 (2004): 75–103.
- Martels, Zweder von. “On his Majesty’s Service. Augerius Busbequius, Courtier and Diplomat of Maximilian II.” In *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrbundert* (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit 19), ed. Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler, 169–195. München: Verlag R. Oldenburg, 1992.
- Matković, Petar. “Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka. III–V. Putovanje Kornelija Duplicia Šepera g. 1533; Putovanje Jeana Chesneau-a g. 1547; Putovanje Katarina Zena g. 1550” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Parts III–V. Travels of Corneille Duplicius de Schepper in 1533, Jean Chesneau in 1547 and Caterino Zeno in 1550]. *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* (hereafter: *Rad JAZU*) 62 (1882): 45–133.
- . “Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka. VI. Putovanje Antuna Vrančića g 1553” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part VI. The journey of Antun Vrančić in 1553]. *Rad JAZU* 71 (1884): 1–60.
- . “Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka. X. Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette, ili drugo putovanje Antuna Vrančića u Carigrad 1567. godine” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part X. Travelogue of Marco Antonio Pigafetta or the second journey of Antun Vrančić to Constantinople in 1567]. *Rad JAZU* 100 (1890): 65–168.

- . “Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka XII. Opis putovanja dvaju carskih poslanstva u Carigrad: K. Ryma godine 1571 i D. Ungnada godine 1572” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part XII. Description of the journey of two imperial embassies to Constantinople: K. Rym’s in 1571 and D. Ungnad’s in 1572]. *Rad JAZU* 112 (1892): 154–243.
- . “Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka. XIII. Putopisi Stj. Gerlacha i Sal. Schweigera, ili opisi putovanja carskih poslanstva u Carigrad, naime Davida Ungnada od g. 1573–78. i Joach. Sinzendorfa od g. 1577” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part XIII. Travelogues of St. Gerlach and Sal. Schweigger, or descriptions of the travels of the imperial embassies to Constantinople, namely David Ungnad’s in 1573–1578 and Joach. Sinzendorf’s in 1577]. *Rad JAZU* 116 (1893): 1–112.
- . “Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka: XIV. Dnevnici o putovanju mletačkih poslanstva u Carigrad: osobito Jakova Sorance od g. 1575. i 1581, i Pavla Kontarina od g. 1580” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part XIV. Diaries on the journeys of the Venetian embassies to Constantinople, especially Jacob Sorance’s in 1575 and 1581, and Paul Contarini’s in 1580]. *Rad JAZU* 124 (1895): 1–102.
- . “Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka. XV. Putopisi Hen. Porša od g. 1579, g., A. Wolfa i Lev. Ryma od g. 1583. i Mel. Besolta od g. 1584.” [Travels on the Balkan Peninsula during the 16th century. Part XV. Travelogues of Heinrich Porsch from 1579, Andreas Wolf and Levinus Rym from 1583 and Melchior Besolt from 1584]. *Rad JAZU* 129 (1896): 1–89.
- McGowan, Bruce W. “Food Supply and Taxation on the Middle Danube (1568–1579).” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 1 (1969): 139–196.
- Miljković-Bojanić, Ema. “Putopisi i istorijski izvor: Beograd u XVI veku” [An account of travels and historical source: Belgrade in the 16th century]. In *Beograd u delima evropskih putopisaca* [Belgrade in the works of European travel writers], ed. Đorđe Kostić, 45–53. Beograd: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2003.
- . *Smederevski sandžak (1476–1560). Zemlja, naselja stanovništvo* [The Smederevo Sanjak (1476–1560). Territory, Settlements, Population]. Beograd: Istorijski institut, Službeni glasnik, 2004.

- Moačanin, Nenad. *Town and Country on the Middle Danube 1526–1690*. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Moore, Norman. “Browne Edward (1644-1708).” In *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen, 42–43 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1886).
- Müller, Ralf C. *Prosopographie der Reisenden und Migranten ins Osmanische Reich (1396–1611). Berichterstatter aus dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, außer burgundische Gebiete und Reichsromania (A–Z)*, vol. I–IX. Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2006.
- Novaković Lopusina, Jelica. *Srbi i jugoistočna Evropa u nizozemskim izvorima do 1918. godine* [Serbs and Southeastern Europe in Dutch Sources until 1918]. Beograd: Revision, 1999.
- Popović, Mihailo. *Od Budima do Konstantinopolja. Via Traiana u svetlu putopisne literature u periodu od 14. do 16. veka* [From Buda to Constantinople. *Via Traiana* in the light of travel literature from the 14th to the 16th century]. Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga, 2017.
- . *Von Budapest nach Istanbul. Die Via Traiana im Spiegel der Reiseliteratur des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2010.
- Rudić, Srđan. “Pljevaljski kraj u putopisima XVI veka” [The Pljevlja Area in Travel Accounts of 16th Century]. *Glasnik Zavičajnog muzeja Pljevlja* 2 (2001): 129–137.
- Stojkovski, Boris. “Bertrandon de la Broquière on Byzantium and Serbia. Richness and Decline in the Age of Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans.” *Byzanz und das Abendland V. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia*, ed. Erika Juhász, 115–131. Budapest: Eötvös-József-Collegium, 2018.
- Strien, Kees van. “Browne, Edward (1644–1708).” In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, <https://www.oxforddnb.com> (accessed March 21, 2020).
- Šabanović, Hazim. “Grad i njegovo stanovništvo u XVI i XVII veku” [The city and its population in the 16th and 17th centuries]. In *Istorija Beograda I. Stari, srednji i novi vek* [The History of Belgrade, vol. I. Ancient history, Middle Ages, Early Modern Period], ed. Vasa Čubrilović, 386–422. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1974.
- Škrivanić, Gavro. *Putevi u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Roads in Medieval Serbia]. Beograd: Turistička štampa, 1974.
- Štetić, Marina. “Zemljoradnja i stočarstvo.” In *Šumadija u XV veku* [Agriculture and animal husbandry, in Šumadija in the 15th Century], ed. Siniša Mišić, Marija Koprivica, 231–271. Beograd: Filozofski fakultet, 2018.

- Tezcan Aksu, Belgin. “Beograd u XVII veku prema viđenju Evlije Čelebije” [Belgrade in the 17th century as seen by Evliya Çelebi]. In *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* [The Middle Ages in Serbian Science, History, Literature and Arts], vol. VIII, ed. Gordana Jovanović, 61–70. Despotovac: Institut za srpski jezik SANU, Biblioteka “Resavska škola” Despotovac, 2017.
- Tongas, Gérard. *L’Ambassadeur Louis Deshayes de Cormenin (1600—1632): Les relations de la France avec l’Empire Ottoman, le Danemark, la Suède, la Perse et la Russie*. Paris: Lavergne, 1937.
- Vlajinac, Milan. “Iz putopisa Hansa Dernšvama 1553–1555. godine” [From the travelogue of Hans Dernschwam 1553–1555]. *Brastvo* 21 (1927): 56–103.
- Yerasimos, Stéphane. *Les voyageurs dans l’empire ottoman (XIV-XVIème siècles). Bibliographie, itinéraire et inventaires des lieux habités*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991.
- Zirojević, Olga. “Beleške Evlije Čelebije o naseljima na putu od Beograda do Budima u svetlu savremenih izvora” [Notes of Evliya Çelebi about the settlements on the road from Belgrade to Buda in the light of contemporary sources]. In *Turci u Podunavlju* [The Turks in the Danube region], vol. I, 185–190. Pančevo: Istorijski arhiv, 2008.
- . “Rajnold Lubenau o Beogradu i Srbiji 1587. godine” [Reinhold Lubenau about Belgrade and Serbia in 1587]. *Godišnjak grada Beograda* 13 (1966): 49–63.
- . *Carigradski drum od Beograda do Budima u XVI i XVII veku* [The Constantinople Road from Belgrade to Buda in the 16th and 17th centuries]. Novi Sad: Institut za izučavanje istorije Vojvodine, 1976.
- . “Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije (1459–1683)” [The Constantinople Road from Belgrade to Sofia (1459–1683)]. *Zbornik Istorijskog muzeja Srbije* 7 (1970): 3–195.
- . “Turski izvori XV i XVI veka o posedima manastira Mileševa” [Ottoman sources of the 15th and the 16th centuries on estates of the Mileševa monastery]. *Zograf* 18 (1987): 76–78.
- . *Tursko vojno uređenje u Srbiji 1459–1683* [Ottoman military system in Serbia 1459–1683]. Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1974.