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DRAGO ROKSANDIĆ  
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**CONSTRUCTING BORDER  
SOCIETIES  
ON THE  
TRIPLEX CONFINIUM**

INTERNATIONAL PROJECT CONFERENCE PAPERS 2  
“PLAN AND PRACTICE. HOW TO CONSTRUCT A BORDER SOCIETY?  
THE TRIPLEX CONFINIUM C. 1700–1750”  
(GRAZ, DECEMBER 9–12, 1998)

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**HABSBURG MILITARY CONSCRIPTION AND  
CHANGING REALITIES OF THE TRIPLEX CONFINIUM  
(16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)**

**ABSTRACT**

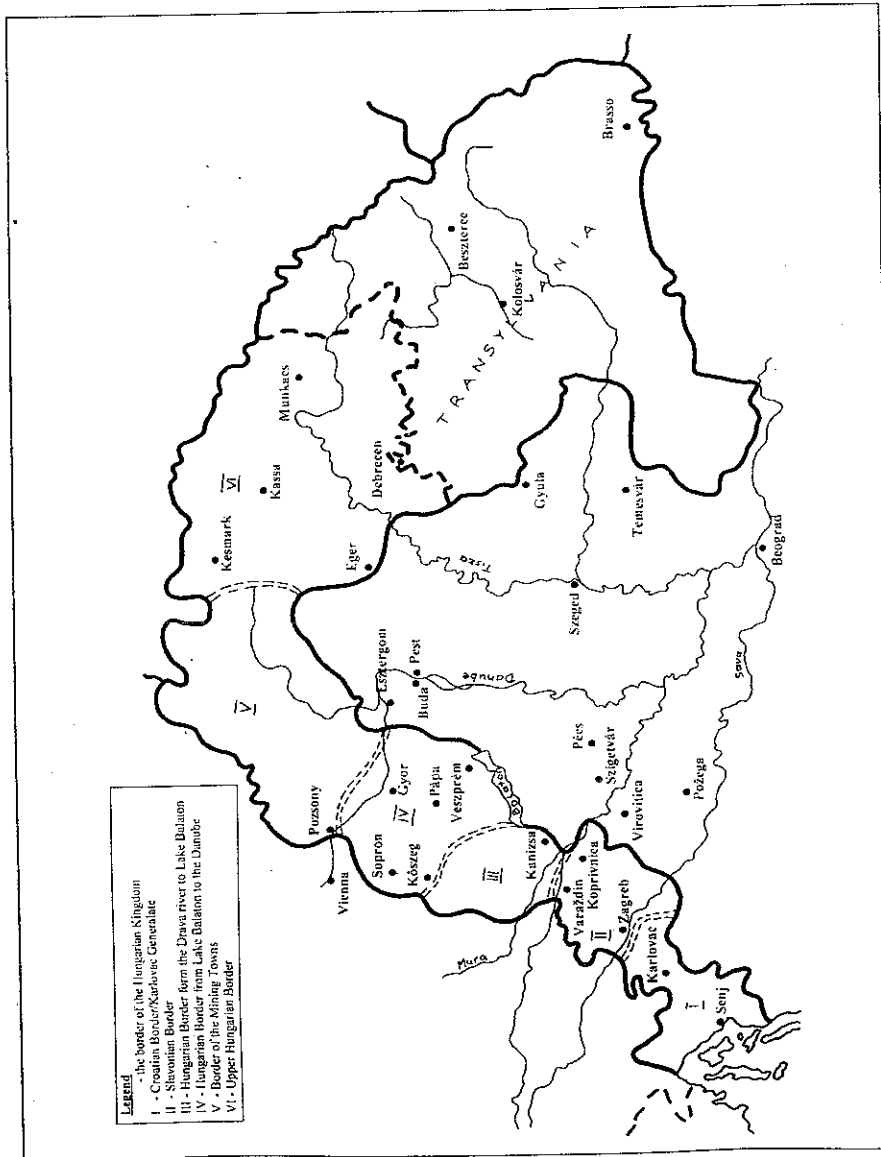
*The authors examine and statistically elaborate Habsburg Military conscriptions of the paid and unpaid army from 1573 until 1735, analysing the quantity, organisation and development of military structures on the Habsburg side of the Triplex Confinium. The authors are especially interested in how the tactics and strategies of the Imperial powers, which clashed on the Triplex Confinium, particularly those of the Habsburgs, reflect the number of paid and unpaid military formations on the Triplex Confinium. How did those tactics and strategies influence the spatial and quantitative distribution and the quality of armaments of the military along the borderline? Who were the soldiers, with respect to their ethnic background, who were actually engaged in military operations on all three sides of the border? Consequently, the authors also compare source data collected on the Habsburg side to the Ottoman and Venetian circumstances of the time known from printed sources and literature.*

**INTRODUCTION**

The Triplex Confinium – the Triple Border – was not just a mere frontier line. It was a zone of incessant conflict between the Habsburg Empire, the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire conducted on the territory of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia from the fifteenth until the eighteenth century.

Expanding their power the Ottomans challenged both the Venetian Republic and the Habsburg Monarchy, yet, both of the latter, in spite of the fact that they should have been natural allies, following the logic of Christian solidarity, quarrelled among themselves too. After the last major Ottoman offensive in this region, in the 1520s and 1530s, the limits of influence of the three imperial powers were largely set down but the official delimitation was not made until the Karlovac Peace Treaty in 1699. However, the Triplex Confinium remained a

**Map 1: Sections of the Croatian-Slavonian-Hungarian Military Border Opposing the Ottoman Empire in the Second Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century.**  
 Made by Nataša Štefanec after Pamleny, Ervin (ed.). *A History of Hungary*. Budapest, 1973, 125.



**Map 2: Fortresses in the Karlovac Generalate According to the Habsburg Military Conscription From 1573.** Made by Nataša Štefanec.



Nataša Štefanec

rather unstable, unsettled zone, characterised by constant skirmishes and small war. Furthermore, the Triplex Confinium was just one of the regions where these imperial powers clashed so that every one of them, following their current interests, attached different importance to this battlefield and acted here accordingly; from the 1570s until 1670s mainly trying to maintain the balance of power.<sup>1</sup>

The Habsburg side or the entire Croatian-Slavonian-Hungarian Border was divided into six sections (See Map 1). Every section was further divided into captaincies with their headquarters and system of castles and fortified places. A similar system of captaincies organised into sanjaks existed on the Ottoman side. As one can appreciate from Map 2, the Habsburg part of the Triplex Confinium was the section adjacent to the Adriatic Sea, called the Karlovac Generalate.<sup>2</sup> Opposite it were the sanjaks of Bosna and Klis. On the Venetian side, territory was divided into cities and islands with their accompanying lands, each having its own defence system which did not correspond to the Ottoman and Habsburg military systems.

Because of the constant modification of military structures on all sides of the Triplex Confinium and the changing importance of this part of the border in the eyes of the three imperial powers, every attempt to clarify events and processes on one side should be perceived and undertaken comparatively. Additionally, besides particular imperial aspirations, one should take into consideration the interests, aspirations and possibilities of the administrative and political structures in the Kingdom of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia, as well as those of the domestic population and refugees who, either passed through the Border territory, or remained there in military services, often changing sides. Those latter aspects were also among the crucial ones in the war.

## AIMS AND FOCUSES

The aim of the work is to investigate the functioning of the Habsburg side of the Triplex Confinium, including how its military structure related to the indigenous population. Moreover, the paper aims at comparing the functioning of the Habsburg side of the Triplex to the Ottoman and Venetian side, whenever possible. The research was primarily based on unpublished conscription of paid and

<sup>1</sup> Only after Lepanto (1571) did the Ottomans start to be seriously challenged, which culminated in 1699.

<sup>2</sup> Until c. 1579 this section was called the Croatian Border and was divided into the Croatian Border (Hrvatska krajina) and the Maritime Border (Primorska krajina, *Mör Gränze*), but from around 1579 on, the name Karlovac Generalate came ever more often into use. It consisted of four Captaincies: Captaincies of Bihać, Senj, Ogulin and Otočac. From the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the system was restructured. Karlovac Generalate was divided into three Head Captaincies: Karlovac, Žumberak & Slunj and Senj and five Captaincies: Turanj, Barilović, Tounj, Ogulin and Otočac. The Hungarian Border in general was divided into six sections: a) the Croatian Border/Karlovac Generalate; b) the Slavonian Border; c) the Hungarian Border from the Drava river to Lake Balaton; d) the Hungarian Border from Lake Balaton to the Danube; e) the Border of the Mining Towns; f) the Upper Hungarian Border.

unpaid military forces in the Karlovac Generalate, dating from 1573 to 1732.<sup>3</sup> Published sources were also used, especially in uncovering the Venetian and Ottoman situations.

The paper attempted to tackle five problems. First, to investigate who were the people that were actually involved into the war, primarily from the Habsburg side of the Triplex Confinium, but also from the Venetian and Ottoman sides. Namely, in what way the Inner-Austrian Estates participated in the defence and what forces they had at their disposal in their confrontation with the Ottomans and the Venetian Republic, since they prevalingly financed the border and appointed the majority of the officers on the border from 1578.<sup>4</sup> The second aim was to investigate to what extent military conscriptions as official documents of the Inner-Austrian War Council reflect the real, concrete structures of power on the border, comparing the given data with known examples from the Ottoman and Venetian sides. The third intention was to observe how deeply geo-strategic changes on the Triplex over these 160 years affected the organisation of military forces and, fourth, what it meant to take over the financing of the military on this section of the border. As a fifth, the essay uses the conscription of paid and unpaid armed force on the Habsburg and Ottoman sides – if only a partial representation of the size and status of forces at their disposal – as a means of approaching the density and spatial distribution of forces in Karlovac Generalate and in bordering sanjaks.

## 1/

In the year 1577, against less than 2000 enlisted paid soldiers (mercenaries) on the Croatian Border, there stood more than 3500 Ottomans. The modest number of mercenaries paid by the Inner-Austrian Estates on the Croatian side of the Border remained the same over the next 160 years. Besides, in 1577, there was much more cavalry on the Ottoman side of the Border (more than 1530 horses, as against 158 on the Croatian side). According to these figures, the

<sup>3</sup> List of military conscriptions that were transcribed, statistically elaborated and used in this paper:

1. Vienna. Kriegsarchiv (further KA). Alte Feldakten (further AFA). 1573-11-1;
2. KA, AFA, 1577-8-2 (partially published in Radoslav Lopašić. *Spomenici Hrvatske krajine (Acta confinitii Croatici). 1409-1610*. Vol. 1. Zagreb, 1884.);
3. The conscription of the Ottoman military from 1577 published in Lopašić, 1884, 44-48;
4. The conscription from the year 1657 published in Franz Vaniček. *Spezialgeschichte der Militärgrenze*. Vol. 1. Wien, 1875;
5. Vienna, KA, Hofkriegsrath, Expedit, 1710-VI-2199; 1721-I-457.
- 6, 7, 8, 9. Hrvatski državni arhiv. Karlovačka General Komanda. Uvezani spisi. Vol. 1-2. Conscriptions from 1701, 1725, 1730 and 1732.

In the text which follows I will refer to them only by the year of issue, not mentioning them in footnotes.

<sup>4</sup> In 1578, it was decided that the Inner-Austrian Estates (ruled by Archduke Karl, Ferdinand, etc. presiding in Graz) would take over the financing of the Croatian and Slavonian Border. The Croatian Border (later Karlovac Generalate) was financed by the Carniolan and Carinthian Estates and the Slavonian Border by the Styrian Estates. The authority over the Hungarian Border ultimately rested to Archduke Ernst, presiding in Vienna.

reorganisation on the Habsburg side of the Border seemed imperative. Nevertheless, even after the great plans announced with the Brücker Libel in 1578, neither the number of soldiers nor the structure of the military forces substantially changed. The announced increase in the number of mercenaries to around 3700 people,<sup>5</sup> (this meant nearly twice as many paid soldiers) was never accomplished, not even until 1730s, when the number of effective paid soldiers fluctuated around 1500 men. On the basis of this data, we can ask to what extent military conscriptions reflect the real power relations on the border. In other words, were the paid military forces on the Habsburg side of the Triplex Confinium sufficient for the defence of the border and, consequently, who and in what status actually led the war on the Habsburg side of the border?

There are several different sources and notions providing answers to this question.

A/ From the sixteenth century onwards, the main discussion in every session of the Croatian-Slavonian Diet was conducted over two issues. First, over the redistribution of already scarce tax revenues for the payment of military forces in the counties of the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom and over the possibilities of provisioning military garrisons in the fortresses of the Kingdom, including help to those maintained by contributions from the Inner-Austrian Estates.<sup>6</sup> Since the majority of participants in the sessions of the Croatian Diet belonged to the lesser nobility, we could conclude that this stratum also participated in the war in at least three ways.<sup>7</sup> They ensured partial financial support to the Austrian and non-Austrian fortress garrisons, they guaranteed equipment for the prescribed number of soldiers from their estates, and, thirdly, they partially participated in the military actions themselves with their own troops. Besides, the lesser nobility that fled or was expelled from conquered territories was often either in-

<sup>5</sup> From the conscription made in August 1577 it can be seen that almost every fortress needed more soldiers, especially the better equipped German soldiers known as *teutsche knechte*, but also the *haramia* (infantry), *hussars* (cavalry) and *arcubusiers* (personal guard). The amount of required supplements was exactly stipulated for every fortress. For example:

<i>"Hauptmanschaft Wihizsch, an jezo</i>	
<i>husarische Pfärdt</i> .....	58
<i>Teutsche Knecht</i> .....	100
<i>Haramia</i> .....	126
<i>Zubestercken mit hussarn</i> .....	50
<i>Arcubusier</i> .....	100
<i>Teutschen Knechten</i> .....	50
<i>Sockboll an jezo haramia</i> .....	12
<i>Zubestergcken mit</i> .....	18, etc."
KA, AFA, 1577-8-2.	

Nevertheless, from the conscription made in 1657 it can be seen that the numbers remained the same as in 1577.

<sup>6</sup> Ferdo Šišić. *Hrvatski saborski spisi. (Acta comitialia regni...)*. Vol. III-IV. Zagreb, 1916-1917. and Ivan Erceg. *Šišićeve bilješke za povijest Hrvatskih sabora u XVI stoljeću (Notes made by Šišić for the history of Croatian Diets in the 16<sup>th</sup> century)*. Zagreb, 1954.

<sup>7</sup> A large number of Croatian and Slavonian nobility was impoverished and economically ruined and magnates such as Zrinski, Frankopan, Erdödy, eventually Bathany sent their deputies, but almost never participated in the sessions of the Croatian Diet by themselves. See Erceg, for every session of the Croatian diet after the 1550s.

cluded in the military forces of Croatian and Slavonian magnates as officers or was recruited into fortress garrisons maintained by the Inner-Austrian Estates.

B/ In the sixteenth century, the lower strata of society, as serfs, peasants and burgers were often summoned with the call for insurrection when a major Ottoman offensive threatened. The entire territory of Croatia was included in these calls.<sup>8</sup>

C/ A significant number of paid horsemen in the service of the Croatian-Slavonian nobility that appear in the conscription from 1573 were not mentioned at all in any later conscription.<sup>9</sup> Thus, one more significant part of the frontier military forces escapes our direct insight after 1573. However, it is clear from numerous archival sources that at least those powerful magnates like the Zrinski and Frankopan families preserved important numbers of their own soldiers on the border until 1671. Some of those forces should have been maintained by the Inner-Austrian Estates, although such salaries were rarely disbursed.<sup>10</sup>

D/ Furthermore, the Croatian-Slavonian Diet, the king himself and the War Council in Graz were included in fierce disputes incited by the complaints of Croatian noblemen against the settlement of Uskoks, Vlachs, fugitives, immigrants etc., on the territory of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia.<sup>11</sup> They would cross over from the Ottoman side of the border to the noblemen's estates, often invited by the Inner-Austrian War Council, even the King himself, who wanted to ensure the army that would not have to be paid at all. From the end of the sixteenth century, these processes became especially dramatic and noblemen could rarely dispute the King's decision. As a result the role of the unpaid frontiersmen, recruited among all kinds of immigrants on the border,

<sup>8</sup> Adamček, Josip – Kampuš, Ivan. *Popisi i obračuni poreza u Hrvatskoj u XV. i XVI. stoljeću (Tax conscriptions and tax accounts in Croatia in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century)*. Zagreb, 1976, I-XIX.

<sup>9</sup> "Volgen die 467 Pfardt an der Crabattischen Grantzen  
*Auff herrn Grafen von Serin 75 Pfardt Monatlichen* ..... 358 f  
*Auff des junngen Grafen von Tersaz 38*  
*und des alten Grafen 10 Pfardt Monatlich* ..... 225 f  
*Auff des Grafen von Blagey 75 Pfardt Monatlich* ..... 358 f  
*Auff des Crainerischen Kriegs,Raths 75 Pfard Monatlich* ..... 358 f  
*Auf des von Weichsberg 80 Schuzen Pfard Monatlich* ..... 474 f  
*Aufs Tadiolouitsch 38 Pfardt Monatlich* ..... 185 f  
*Aufs Grezi 38 Pfardt, der auch samst*  
*Des Quartier und Waachtmaister Ambt versicher Monatlich* .... 205 f  
*Auf Hauptman Däna 38 Pfardt Mona[tlich]* ..... 185 f  
*Auf dise 467 Pfardt Monatlich* ..... 2348 f"  
 KA, AFA, 1573-11-1.

<sup>10</sup> During the 17<sup>th</sup> century Zrinski still had personal troops. In the beginning of 1647 Petar Zrinski was delegated the position of captain of the Uskoks from Zumberak under one condition. He should collect 6 platoons of soldiers every three months and incorporate them into the Emperor's army. In 1746 Nikola joined the Emperor's army in the Thirty Years War with 300 of his own soldiers for which he was supposed to be paid. *Posljednji Zrinski i Frankopani (The last Zrinski and Frankopans)*. *Zbornik radova*. Zagreb, 1908, 1-4.

<sup>11</sup> Lopašić, 1884, 154, 293, 296, 308, 310, 313, etc.

started to increase. In return for their military service they obtained a parcel of land, mostly noblemen's land.<sup>12</sup>

E/ Moreover, in the Captaincy of Senj, from the sixteenth century there were many (usually well over a thousand) fugitives, mostly Uskoks, ready to enrol in Habsburg military service whenever the official authorities would express a need for them. According to conscription records from 1573 and 1577, the garrison in Senj, which was the main stronghold of the Maritime Border, consisted of around 200 paid Uskoks that were included in the regularly financed Habsburg military force. Other Uskoks, in some periods up to 2000 of them, dwelled in Senj or its surrounding waiting to be invited to participate in actions and raids both on Venetian and Ottoman territories. Most of them (around 90%) had fled from the Ottoman territory.<sup>13</sup> They were not paid by the Habsburgs and lived out of war booty, participating in numerous skirmishes along the Border, known as "small war" or *mali rat*.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, both of these groups of Uskoks were, despite the fact that they served the Habsburgs, known as bandits and pirates on the Venetian side. Nevertheless, even Venetian officials recognised their indisputable military prowess and bravery and often engaged them in their own service.<sup>15</sup> When describing the potential of Split, one of the largest Venetian cities in Dalmatia, to defend itself, Giustiniani claims: "There exists one mediocre company containing 38 Italian infantry-men and another one with 25 Uskoks, who are exquisite people and capable of accomplishing everything, but, they are surely bandits, born for theft. Once discharged, they do not know how to live so that they go to Senj and become murderers, which incessantly so importune Your Excellency (the Doge of Venice – S. L. and N. Š.)."<sup>16</sup>

But, as far as robbery and raids are concerned, the Uskoks of Senj were not an isolated phenomenon on the Military Border.<sup>17</sup> Almost the whole society of

<sup>12</sup> See Karl Kaser. *Freier Bauer und Soldat. Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft in der kroatisch-slawonischen Militärgrenze (1535.–1881.)*. Graz, 1986.

<sup>13</sup> Catherine Wendy Bracewell. *Senjski uskoci: piratstvo, razbojništvo i sveti rat na Jadranu u šesnaestom stoljeću (The Uskoks of Senj. Piracy, Banditry and Holy War in the Sixteenth-century Adriatic)*. Zagreb, 1997, 60.

<sup>14</sup> At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century they were almost starving, being too numerous, and unable to live only out of plunder. They were further endangered by the Long War (1593–1606) so that the constant increase in the number of Uskoks gradually ceased. Bracewell, 61–63.

<sup>15</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Uskoks were perceived in many ways. For Habsburgs in whose military service they served, they incarnated the *Antemurale Christianitatis*. Venetian considered them pirates, outlaws and bandits. For the local population they were embodiment of courage and bravery. Despite the fact that in many cases Uskok raids endangered them too, they remained the embodiment of hope that Ottomans could be successfully fought against. Primarily because of the latter they considered themselves as heroes embodying at the same time a strong sense of honour. Also see Bracewell.

The Croatian nobility had an ambivalent attitude towards them. They fought and complained against the Uskoks to the War Council in Graz or to the King himself. But often they sheltered them and even participated in the plunder of Venetian ships. Like, for example, the Zrinski family that possessed a southern part of the Croatian coast with its own harbours and who competed fiercely with Venetian merchants. KA, Croatia, 1579, February, 13; 1578, June, 56; 1579, May, 39; Croatia, 1582, June, 49; 1582, September, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Antun Giustiniani. "Izveštaj o Dalmaciji Antuna Giustiniana godine 1575 (The report on Dalmatia written by Antun Giustiniani in 1575)." in Vicko Solitro. *Povijesni dokumenti o Istri i Dalmaciji (Historical documents on Istria and Dalmatia)*. Split, 1989, 103.

<sup>17</sup> Moreover, Uskoks, as one part of the Croatian military society, were just one of the variants of free military frontier communities that stretched along the frontier between Islam and Christen-

the border was in some way involved in the "small war." This was a means of survival enforced by the harsh living conditions on the very border.<sup>18</sup> Uskoks became a social phenomenon, but they were just one part of a unique kind of society; a border society or militarised society firmly attached to long-lasting border zones, those almost incessant warfare zones between great imperial powers in the early modern period. Uskoks were the most celebrated protagonists because of their number and organisation. Furthermore, the far-reaching consequences of their actions gave them special importance. They plundered vessels (especially Venetian) along the coasts of the Adriatic Sea up until the island of Krk to the north and to Slano (Dubrovnik) to the south.<sup>19</sup> They regularly made incursions into the Ottoman hinterland. Living on the littoral but penetrating the hinterland they were present on every side of the Triplex Confinium, whether that be the sea, on the plain or in the mountains. They in a way embodied the complex geographical and ideological archetype of the Triplex Confinium, which made them special and worth remembering.<sup>20</sup>

Hence, even before the Habsburg and Inner-Austrian Estates started to actively participate in the anti-Ottoman defence of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, the late-medieval Croatian society mobilised in numerous ways all its human potentials, often the lower strata, too. On the other hand, even among mercenaries that appeared in the Inner-Austrian military conscriptions, there was a majority of indigenous soldiers, too. This especially comes to the surface in General Rabatta's list of *Teutsche Fändl* and *Musquetirer* from 1709, where one can observe a prevailing number of indigenous surnames among the troops that exist on the border from the sixteenth century as *Teutsche Knechte* and who should be of German origin.<sup>21</sup> Most of those "Ger-

dom up to Crimea and Caucasus. They were similar to the Barbary corsairs of Algiers and Tunis that fought under the Ottoman flag etc. These communities were mainly in military service and had an ideological basis for their actions that was in most cases the preservation of a religious identity which could justify robbery as holy war, and present the Uskoks as the *Antemurale Christianitatis*. Bracewell, 14. For more on the ideological justification of the Uskoks activities see Bracewell.

<sup>18</sup> See more in Drago Roksandić. "Kordunska 'Slunjska ploča' – Prostor na granicama, migracije bez kraja (The 'Slunj plain' of Kordun – a border region, endless migrations)." in Milan Mesić. *Vanjske migracije i društveni razvitak (Exterior migrations and social development)*. Zagreb, 1991, 64.

<sup>19</sup> *Pomorska enciklopedija*. Vol. 7. Zagreb, 1961, 698.

<sup>20</sup> After 1617 (Peace Treaty of Madrid), the Uskoks had to leave Senj, partially because they were not so important to the Habsburgs any more.

From the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century conflicts among frontiersmen on Habsburg side (Uskoks included) began to take place. Newcomers were continuously causing conflicts because of the lack of arable land. To possess a piece of land became important as soon as this region ceased to be at the very frontier line, and the same land was neglected for years since frontiersmen, usually cattle-breeder, were not used to cultivate it. Finally, as a consequence of new living conditions, the ideological basis of Uskok activities had to change accordingly. More on Senj community at the end of 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century see Drago Roksandić. "Bune u Senju i Primorskoj krajini (Riots in Senj and the Maritime border)." in *Radovi Instituta za brvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu*. Vol. 15. 1982, Zagreb, 33–106, here 51.

<sup>21</sup> In example, in 1709 under *Teutsche Fändl* there are 14 soldiers, 8 with Slavic names and 2 with Italian surnames (Petter VukasBouitsch, Jure Tomlenouitsch, Lucas Vrananin, Petter Vuhšitsch, Illia Vusšitsch, Juriza and Lorenz Locatelli, etc.). Stipendiati in the Carlstädter Generalate on December 15, 1709. Fragment of the Report Written by Count Joseph Rabatta, Commander-in-Chief of the Karlovac Generalate. Vienna, KA, Hofkriegsrath, Expedit, 1710-VI-2199; 1721-I-457.



mans" included in the defence of the Karlovac Generalate (less than 200 in over 160 years) assimilated during the centuries or were substituted by Croats.

## 2/

One can notice that there existed a whole spectrum of military formations in the war beside the paid soldiers stationed in fortresses. Similar conditions also prevailed on the Venetian side, in Dalmatia.

In the sixteenth century, mercenaries paid by the Venetian Republic were just a symbolic force. They were stationed in the larger cities of Venetian Dalmatia. Sometimes these cities, like Zadar and Split, were only a mile-and-a-half far away from Ottoman garrisons. Mercenary troops consisted of *stradioti*, cavalry of Greek origin, as well as Croatian cavalry, Uskoks (whether from Poljice or Senj) and infantry. The largest garrisons were stationed in Zadar (over 800 men), Šibenik (over 150 men) and Split (over 60 men). In addition to 37 *stradioti*, the Trogir community kept in pay large numbers of Uskoks from Poljice. Yet, these Uskoks rarely dwelled on Venetian territory, preferring to live in "Turkish lands," according to Giustiniani.<sup>22</sup> In general, mercenaries were rarely paid on time and, as on the Habsburg side, were often remunerated in kind. Throughout the sixteenth century, Venetian possessions in Dalmatia were reduced to cities, retaining only in rare cases a tiny belt of hinterland that was to ensure the cultivation of comestibles for their inhabitants. These possessions were ever more pushed towards the sea, exposing themselves to pirates of all kinds and moreover being obliged to participate in military formations of the Venetians.

The majority of the military forces of the Republic consisted of volunteers recruited in Dalmatia itself (so-called *černide*). Consisting of indigenous people, they existed already from the beginning of the sixteenth century, but their systematic organisation and training began around the 1550s.<sup>23</sup> The adult male population, usually between the ages of 20 to 50 years, was obliged to join the *černide*.<sup>24</sup> Refugees from the Ottoman territory often joined these troops, too. In 1565, from around 7200 inhabitants in Zadar and surroundings (Giustiniani's report from 1575 mentions numbers very close to Šime Peričić) more than 2000 were armed and ready to fight against the Ottomans. In 1580, in Šibenik, there were more than 1300 soldiers organised in the *černide*. Hence, they were a sig-

<sup>22</sup> According to the report of the Venetian dispatcher A. Giustiniani, from 1575 the mercenaries were stationed in Budva, Kotor, Korčula, Hvar, Brač, Omiš, Split, Trogir, Šibenik, Zadar, Nin, Novi-grad, Pag, Rab, Krk, Cres and Osor. Sometimes these cities were only a mile and a half distant from Ottoman garrisons, like in Zadar. Solitro, 87-135.

<sup>23</sup> Šime Peričić. "Vojna krajina u Dalmaciji (The Military border in Dalmatia)." in Vasa Čubrilović (ed.), *Vojne krajine u jugoslavenskim zemljama u novom veku do karlovačkog mira 1699 (Military borders in Yugoslav countries in the early modern period until the Carlovitz Peace Treaty in 1699)*. Papers from the conference on Military Borders in Jugoslavian countries held on April 24-25 1986. Beograd, 1989, 169-215.

<sup>24</sup> The lists of soldiers were made for every city or island as was the case in the Venetian Terraferma. Nevertheless, although the character of the service was obligatory and unpaid, it was emphasised all the time that participation in the *černide* was voluntary. Venetian authorities counted on the patriotic feelings of Dalmatians in joining those formations. Peričić, 184-185.

nificant force when compared to the mercenaries, especially when from the first quarter of the seventeenth century their military skills and organisation as a product of training became more than satisfactory.<sup>25</sup> They existed until the eighteenth century. Later on, from the year 1699, when Venice acquired new lands in the hinterland, populated mostly by Morlachs, Morlachs began to constitute the majority of the Venetian army. The size of the Venetian *černide* and mercenaries manifest a conspicuous structural compatibility when compared to the Habsburg paid and unpaid military.

On the Ottoman side the situation differed in organisational terms. All soldiers (*neferi*) were appointed by the sultan's written order, the so-called *berat*. The position of a soldier was hereditary or could be transferred during a period of armistice or peace from father to son or to the closest relative. The one who wanted to enter the army had to submit a request to officials.<sup>26</sup> Although soldiers were supposed to be paid monthly, salaries often came late. The military were regularly paid for one-year period in return, from the money levied by taxation. If salaries were late, soldiers often leased them. A hereditary and financially contractual character of Ottoman army service in fortified captaincies came as a consequence of their invading status until 1683, according to Hamdija Kreševljaković.

Furthermore, although on the Ottoman side indigenous people were also the most numerous part of the army, the character of the "small war" should be perceived slightly different. On the Venetian and Habsburg sides it was an existential need that imposed the necessity of plundering and raiding. On the Ottoman side, a "small war" was one of the well known military techniques that ensured a "cleansing" of a territory, the expulsion of domestic population and an easier occupation of the area concerned.<sup>27</sup> The collection of war booty was not the only purpose of such warfare. This aspect of the "small war" only became a necessity for the Habsburg side from the second half of the seventeenth century, along with the beginning of their military advances into Ottoman held territories.

We can therefore conclude that the basic military force on all three sides of the border, whether paid or unpaid, were indigenous people or refugees from different areas of the border hinterland. Mercenaries, that is, conscripted and paid military forces constituted a significantly lesser part of military formations on both Venetian and Habsburg sides of the *Triplex Confinium*. It means that we can only partially grasp the concrete number and conditions of the military on the border for a certain period. The data extracted out of conscription records, therefore, must be compared to other documents too.

<sup>25</sup> Peričić, 179.

<sup>26</sup> Regarding the organisation of the Ottoman army, see Hamdija Kreševljaković. *Kapetanije u Bosni i Hercegovini (Captaincies in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*. Sarajevo, 1980, 22, 32-36.

<sup>27</sup> This feature of the Ottoman warfare is in detail explained in Caroline Finkel. *The Administration of Warfare: the Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593-1606*. Wien, 1988. Furthermore, she states that the Ottoman state ensured supplies for the military expeditions along the way so that they did not have to pillage Ottoman-held territories (unlike the European mercenaries who destroyed the area they passed through; authors' note), and when the military reached the borderline then it willingly approved plundering across the border. Ottomans even attempted to engage Tartars along the borderlines of the Empire that could serve as plundering units. But, at the same time, they had to restrain these Tartars from attacking the Ottoman subjects. Finkel, 1988, 97-109.

3/

But, conscription can clearly illustrate another issue. The Habsburg policy on this part of the Border was characterised by the stagnation of the number and equipment of the paid military, despite the centuries of geo-strategic changes on the Border.

As it was said, the border was until the 1670s defended by all social strata of the Kingdom, including the aristocracy, the lesser nobility, and people of different legal status included in skirmishes and attending the often summoned insurrections. Moreover, Ottoman incursions were in the sixteenth century deeper and fiercer, reaching as far as Carniola and Styria, too. Until the seventeenth century the Croatian lesser nobility had little economic power, which made it impossible for them to finance or equip soldiers whom they were obliged to sustain proportionally to the quantity of land (*sessio*) they possessed. The Croatian Diet, severely afflicted with a lack of money and human potential, lost a lot of its authority, too. Therefore, the responsibility for organising and financing defence was gradually transferred to the Inner-Austrian Estates, while military forces included mainly newly settled population.

The question of **unpaid frontiersmen** enters the discussion along with the more numerous settlements of Vlachs at the end of the sixteenth century on the estates of the Zrinski and Frankopan families in Croatia and Slavonia. The financial capability of the Inner-Austrian Estates was not sufficient for the up-keep and recruitment of new mercenaries so that the system began to promote unpaid military forces compensated by land tenure. Although this process was not consequently carried out, as it was in the case of the Varaždin Generalate, the Inner-Austrian Estates managed to settle a significant numbers of Vlachs in the Karlovac Generalate, too. Conscriptions records from 1725 and 1732, which number the unpaid military, confirm that unpaid frontiersmen were a much more significant part of the military on the Croatian side of the Border, even three times more numerous than the paid military. The number of unpaid horseman alone was close to the total number of paid military. Out of 7000 unpaid soldiers there were 2500 horsemen. After the liberation of Lika and Krbava at the end of the seventeenth century the defence system completely excluded paid military forces, and began to be based exclusively on unpaid forces, frontiersmen that carried out military duties in exchange for land. Karl Kaser calls them peasant soldiers (*Freier Bauer und Soldat*).

For the Croatian side of the *Triplex Confinium* this meant that, in contrast to the sixteenth century when the entire territory of Croatia was included in the anti-Ottoman defence, a special belt was created – Military Croatia. Civil Croatia, which from now on lay deeper in the hinterland, was more or less left in peace. This was not so much because of the strength of the defence-belt but, due to the fact that after the Long War (1593–1606), the focus of fighting transferred to the north, towards Graz and Vienna, passing over the Pannonian plain.

Hence, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, after the end of the Long War and after Senj was “pacified” by the provisions of the peace treaty of Madrid (1617), the border towards the Ottoman Empire stabilised and Ottoman interests were directed to northeast. Besides, after the fall of Pounje around

1558 and Bihać in 1592, the main role in the defence of the Inner-Austrian lands and Croatia appertained to Karlovac (built in 1579) that, as a well fortified stronghold, dissuaded Ottomans from any serious invasion in this direction. Moreover, although the border against the Ottomans was by no means a stabile border, even Slunj, the most exposed fortress on the Croatian border, remained unconquered, both due to the natural configuration of the terrain and the defending role of Karlovac.<sup>28</sup>

For the territory of Military Croatia what resulted was the entrenchment of the “small war” and border skirmishes, while actions on a larger scale were absent. Interests and forces willing to shift the border were lacking on all three sides of the Triplex for a long period. Besides, unpaid frontiersmen turned the “small war” and particularly plundering into the very basis of their existence, especially due to the irregular and mostly insufficient incomes from their land. The war was led by traditional means in a traditional way. The use of any kind of more developed military techniques failed to take place. These processes benefited the Habsburgs and their expenditure policy on the border. As a result, any better weaponry from the sixteenth century was too expensive and, in fact, considered not necessary, which leads us to the next point.

4/

Not only were the unpaid frontiersmen badly armed. The same tendency can be perceived in the military forces paid by the Inner-Austrian Estates. From the 1570s and for the next 160 years, the larger part of the paid military consisted of Croatian infantry, *baramije*. The number of hussars and better-equipped infantry, *Teutsche Knechte*, was negligible and they were stationed only in some headquarters of the captaincies. Furthermore, they were fully equipped only during the time of large-scale war operations, which meant that armours, heavy armament and better weaponry were stockpiled in armouries, like Graz, over the seventeenth century. When this equipment was finally needed in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, it was already old-fashioned.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, as far as Croatia and Slavonia are concerned, from the sixteenth century armour

<sup>28</sup> Regarding the tactical importance and role of the Slunj fortress and Slunj plain during Ottoman attacks from the 15<sup>th</sup> until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, see the refined analysis of Roksandić, 1991, 63–66.

<sup>29</sup> The development of weaponry, armoury and military clothing in western Europe underwent significant changes already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, becoming more destructive, lighter and more uniformed. Furthermore, military tactics and strategies followed this development as explained in detail in Jeremy Black. *A Military Revolution? Military Change and European Society 1550–1800*. Houndmills–Basingstoke–Hampshire–London, 1991, 20–34; Geoffrey Parker. *The Military Revolution. Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800*. Cambridge, 1992 (1988), 6–81. Moreover, European armies started to rapidly increase in size. Parker, 1992, 45–46. Almost none of these changes reached the Triplex Confinium. Features like Renaissance fortresses and great field battles which prevailed in early modern western and central European warfare were not present in the Triplex Confinium area, both due to the configuration of the terrain and to the absence of great military formations in this region of “small actions” inclining to maintain a status quo. See also Jeremy Black. *European Warfare 1660–1815*. London, 1994; Jeremy Black. *War and the World. Military Power and the Fate of Continents*. New Haven–London, 1998; Michael Duffy (ed.). *The Military Revolution and the State, 1500–1800*. Exeter, 1980; Bernhard R. Kroener. – Ralf Pröve (ed.). *Krieg und Frieden. Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich, 1996.

was just sporadically used, usually just those parts that did not hinder an infantryman's mobility.<sup>30</sup> Taking this into consideration, the Habsburg army could hardly make any more significant offensive break-throughs than re-conquering the Lika and Krbava and some additional territories at the end of the seventeenth century. The number of the heavy artillery was insignificant during the whole period (10–30 pieces of artillery on the Habsburg side).<sup>31</sup> From the perspective of military technique, improvements almost completely lacked. The Inner-Austrian Estates were not interested in any more considerable financial involvement on the Military Border.

But, it was not just the case on the Habsburg side. The introduction of military innovations was a slow process on the Ottoman side, too, but this should be further investigated. All in all, it was a rather static state of affairs in military terms, shadowed by the military events on the Pannonian plain and directed towards the "small war."

## 5/

On the basis of a systematic investigation of the number of paid and unpaid frontiersmen in the Karlovac Generalate, one can obtain quite a precise insight into the density and distribution of forces along its rim. (See tables attached to the text.) The first change in affairs was a result of the fall of the Bihać captaincy in 1592. At the time, while it still existed the most numerous forces were stationed in Bihać, including cavalry.<sup>32</sup> Bihać was followed by Senj as the second most exposed captaincy facing the Ottomans. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the fall of Bihać and the entrenchment of the border area followed by the building of the Karlovac fortress, the majority of paid military was concentrated around Karlovac in the border area closer to the interior of Croatia. In numbers it meant that out of 2000 paid soldiers more than 1100 of them were transferred and stationed in captaincies further away from the borderline. This process led to the condensation of the paid military in the relative security of Karlovac and the entrenchment of the unpaid frontiersmen (over 7000 of them) on the very borderline of the Military Border, mostly around Ogulin, Otočac and Senj (see tables of unpaid military). There were much smaller units of the unpaid military in the area close to Karlovac.

According to these figures, the number of unpaid frontiersmen, including cavalry, increased rapidly, providing better opposition to Ottoman forces. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the population inhabiting the border area was therefore entrusted the main defence role, independently as to whether it was indigenous troops (in the sources known as Kranjci, Hungarians, Croats) or newcomers from the Ottoman or Venetian area (Vlachs, Uskoks, Bunjevci, etc.) This additionally supports the hypothesis that the paid military had a more organisational and symbolic role on the border.

<sup>30</sup> Desanka Nikolić. *Odevanje graničara Vojne krajine u XVII i XIX veku (Clothing of Military border frontiersmen in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries)*. Beograd, 1978, 28–33.

<sup>31</sup> Data taken from military conscriptions numbered in the first footnote.

<sup>32</sup> KA, AFA, 1573-11-1; 1577-8-2.

## CONCLUSION

In sum, on the basis of the conscription records of the paid and unpaid military forces on the border in the period from the last third of the sixteenth century until the 1730s, we can conclude that:

1/ In spite of the significant role of the Inner-Austrian Estates in the financing of the border, the paid military constituted a lesser part of the military forces on the Habsburg side of the *Triplex Confinium* from the sixteenth until the eighteenth century. The share of the paid military forces was equally minor on Venetian and Habsburg sides of the *Triplex Confinium*. Only on the Ottoman side of the *Triplex Confinium* did there exist a completely organised and financed military where every soldier had to be approved by the Sultan himself. The majority of the active military on all three sides consisted of indigenous population and fugitives. This meant that on every side of the *Triplex Confinium* the population of the same or similar ethnic background was involved in centuries-long military operations. But, these aspects of border life remain to be explored.<sup>33</sup>

After the Croatian nobility prevalingly suffered economic ruination from the 1560s, the Inner-Austrian Estates completely took over the military organisation, especially along with the establishment of sharper borders between Provincial (or Civil) and Military Croatia. On the Venetian side the organisation of indigenous population into a voluntary troop corps, the *černide*, was transferred from the Venetian *terraferma*. The *černide* as unpaid military, as well as Morlachs later in the seventeenth century, constituted the strongest and most sizeable pillar of the Venetian defence against the Ottomans.

2/ Moreover, one has to emphasise that the number of paid military on the Habsburg side remained relatively constant during the period under consideration. The number of unpaid frontiersmen increased with the exclusion of a greater part of Croatian territory from the immediate border zone distinguishing Civil from Military Croatia.

3/ The stagnation in the number of paid military along with the occurrence of more severe fighting towards northern borders rendered military innovations on the Triple Border almost unnecessary. After the Long War this area became the region of a "small war," remarkable for the plundering and absence of any tactically and strategically more significant actions.

4/ The majority of the paid military forces was before the fall of the Captaincy of Bihać stationed in the most exposed fortresses (Bihać and Senj). With the fall of the Captaincy of Bihać its military forces that were the largest in the area were transferred to the inner part of the Border, close to Karlovac. The very borderline was almost exclusively inhabited by unpaid military, especially the areas of Lika and Krbava as well as Senj, Otočac and Ogulin.

<sup>33</sup> See Miroslav Bertoša. *Jedna zemlja, jedan rat. Istra 1615/1618 (One country, one war. Istria 1615–1618)*. Pula, 1986. For the case-study of Istria in the Uskok War, Bertoša argues that wars led on the territory of the Military Border (or wider early-modern Croatian Kingdom) were actually civil wars, since populations of a similar ethnic background participated in war against each other, divided by artificial imperial frontier lines, imposed from above. See also Miroslav Bertoša. *Zlikovci i prognanici. Socijalno razbojništvo u Istri u XVII. i XVIII. stoljeću (Villains and refugees. Social banditry in Istria in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries)*. Pula, 1989.

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## CONSCRIPTION DATA

## TABLES

The Conscription Records of the Paid Military on the Croatian Military Border in 1573

	Infantry (Croatian)	Infantry (German)	Cavalry	Post horses
Zrin	125			
Gvozdansko	80			
Vranograč	40			
Gradec	12			
Novigrad n.U.	8			
Mutnica	11			
Hrastovica-Captaincy (H)	100	20		
Blinja (H)	32			
Vinodol (H)	15			
Bojna (H)	20			
Gora (H)	10			
Ajtić (H)	14			
Mašin (H)	8			
Gradec (H)	20			
Greda (H)	10			
Bihać-Captaincy (B)	170	80	58	
Ripač (B)	62			
Sokol (B)	12			
Izačić (B)	20			
Brekovica & Toplička kula (B)	21			
Ostrožac (B)	39			
Tržac (B)	20			
Drežnik (B)	20			
Stijena (B)	12			
Cazin (B)	40			
Krstinja (B)	10			
Donja Kladuša (B)	10			
Gornja Kladuša (B)	10			

Bužim (B)	24			
Podzvzd (B)	10			
Peć (B)	16			
Hresno (B)	10			
Cetin (B)	10			
Šturlić (B)	8			
Blagaj (B)	10			
Ogulin-Captaincy (O)	20			
Modruš (O)	12			
Dabar (O)	30			
Jesenica (O)	30			
Plaški (O)	12			
Sveti Juraj (O)	10			
Tounj (O)	12			
Slunj-fortezza (O)	10			
Slunj (O)	10			
Kremen (O)	10			
Kastel (O)	6			
Senj-Captaincy (S)	220			
Senj-fortezza (S)	24			
Otočas (S)	60			
Brinje (S)	40			
Bilog (S)	6			
Ledenice (S)	10			
Trsat (S)	4			
Rijeka (S)	10			
Count Zrinski		75		
Count Frankopan Tržački Sr		10		
Count Frankopan Tržački Jr		38		
Count Blagajski		75		
Carniolan War Council		75		
Weichsberg		80		
Tadiolović		38		
Grezi		38		
Commander in Chief Dána		38		
Ljubljana	8			
Črnomelj			4	
Žužemberk			2	
Scattered in woods and hills	510			
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1893</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>525</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>2524</b>		

**Conscription of the Paid Military on the  
Croatian Military Border in 1577**

	Infantry (Croatian)	Infantry (German)	Cavalry
Hrastovica captaincy (H)	100	20	
Vinodol (H)	15		
Blinja (H)	32		
Bihac captaincy (B)	126	100	58
Sokol (B)	12		
Ripač (B)	62		
Brekovica (B)	15		
Ostrožac (B)	40		
Toplička kula (B)	6		
Izačić (B)	20		
Blagaj (B)	40		
Krstinja (B)	10		
Hresno (B)	50		50
Vrnograč (B)	40		
Donja Kladuša (B)	10		
Cetin (B)	10		
Perna (B)	50		
Gornja Kladuša (B)	10		
Peći (B)	16		
Sveti Juraj (B)	10		
Šturlić (B)	8		
Gvozdansko (B)	60		
Pedalj (B)	100		
Zrin (B)	120		
Srednji Gradac (B)	12		
Mutnica (B)	15		
Gora (B)	10		
Ajtić (B)	14		
Mašin (B)	8		
Greda (B)	20		
Bojna (B)	20		
Ogulin captaincy (O)	20		
Modruš (O)	12		
Plaški (O)	12		
Svetica (O)	10		
Sveti Juraj (O)	10		
Tounj (O)	27		
Ključ (O)	12		
Jesenica (O)	35		
Drežnik (O)	20		
Tržac (O)	20		
Slunj (O)	20		
Hojsić (O)			

Senj captaincy (S)	200	40	
Brinje (S)	40		
Brlog (S)	6		
Prozor i Bag (S)	60		
Otočac (S)	60		
Dabar (S)	35		
Rijeka (S)	10		
Trsat (S)			
Ledenice (S)	10		
Ljubljana	8		
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1688</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>1956</b>	

**Ottoman forces opposite to the  
Croatian Military Border in 1577**

	Infantry	Cavalry	Martolosen
Udbina	500	300	
Krupa	400	300	
Kostajnica	200	400	50
Novigrad	200	200	
Ostrvica	150	60	
Bužim	130	50	
Cazin	130	50	
Bunić	100	100	
Boričevac	100	70	
Kamengrad			
Belaj			
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1910</b>	<b>1530</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>3490</b>	

**Conscription of the Paid Military on the  
Croatian Military Border in 1657**

	Command	Deutsche Knechte	Infantry	Cavalry	Artillery
Karlovac-OH*	5	254		204	13
Turanj-H**		10	124		
Barilović-H			84		
Žumberak & Slunj-OH			200		
Tounj-H			81		
Oštarija-voivodschaft			21		
Kamensko-voivodschaft			28		
Ogulin-H			221		
Otočac-H			236		
Senj-OH		71	228		8
<b>Totals</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>335</b>	<b>1223</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Total</b>			<b>1783+5</b>		

\* Oberhauptmannschaft

\*\* Hauptmannschaft

**Conscription of the Paid Military on the  
Croatian Military Border in 1701**

	Command	Infantry	Deutsche Knechte	Cavalry (arquebusiers & hussars)	Artillery
Karlovac-OH	5		252	204	13
Križanić-Turanj-H		62	10		
Vražić		49			
Radojšić		13			
Barilović-H-incl. Skrad		84			
Žumberak & Slunj-OH		24			
Slunj		93			
Velemerić & Janjač		87			
Tounj-H					
Tounj		81			
Oštarije		21			
Kamensko		28			
Ogulin-H					
Ogulin		67			
Modruš		51			
Otok		24			
Ponor		7			
Novi Kaštel (Dobrinčić)		30			
Gojak		38			
Debica & Delnice		4			
Otočac-H					
Otočac		129			
Otočac-fortezza		22			
Prozor		20			
Brinje		65			
Senj-OH					
Senj (+ waldwachter)		129	111		8
Senj-fortezza			16		
Ledenice		17			
Rijeka		18			
Trsat		4			
<b>Totals</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1167</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Total</b>			<b>1786</b>		

**Conscription of the Paid Military on the  
Croatian Military Border in 1709**

	Deutsche Knechte	Infantry (haramia, uskoks)	Cavalry (arquebusiers & hussars)	Artillery (Cannons)
Karlovac-RH	208		200	13
Križanić Turanj-H		59		
Vražić		60		

<b>Barilović-H</b>	10	43		
Skrad		34		
<b>Žumberak &amp; Slunj-RH</b>				
Slunj	9	78		
Janjač		66		
Velemerić		37		
<b>Tounj-H</b>	8	50		
Orljak		19		
Oštarije		19		
Kamensko		25		
<b>Ogulin-H</b>	13	40		
Gomirje		48		
Otok		22		
Ponor		7		
Novi Kaštel		29		
Gojak		37		
Debica & Delnice		2		
<b>Otočac-H</b>		112		
Otočac-fortezza		17		
Prozor		19		
Brinje		62		
<b>Senj (+ waldwachter)-OH</b>	100	111	9	
Senj-fortezza	15			
Rijeka		18		
Trsat		12		
Ledenice		15		
<b>Totals</b>	<b>363</b>	<b>1041</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>1625</b>		

**Conscription of the Unpaid Military on the  
Croatian Military Border in 1725**

	Infantry	Cavalry
<b>Karlovac-OH</b>		
Tržić	73	80
Bilaj	49	35
Dubravice	36	27
Erdelj	50	14
Ponikve	44	13
<b>Križanić Turanj-H</b>		
stright Vojnić	87	34
Krstinja	44	32
Tušilović	43	3
<b>Barilović-H</b>		
Đudački	178	88
Skrad	72	51
Perjásica	137	52
Klokoč	45	

<b>Slunj-OH</b>		
Blagaj	44	27
Sveti Nikola	16	18
Kremen	9	6
Velemerić	17	
Ladevac	55	12
<b>Žumberak-OH</b>		
12 Vovvodschaften	423	
<b>Tounj-H</b>	138	
<b>Ogulin-H</b>		
Ogulin	161	25
Moravice	24	44
Gomirje	12	2
Vrhovsko	10	3
Drežnica	25	9
Plaški	118	37
Otok	22	5
Oštarije	138	13
Modruš	31	9
Jesenica	32	10
Gornja Mrežnica	38	
<b>Otočac-H</b>		
Sinac	78	8
Lešće	86	23
Prozor, Dobrave (?), Spilnić	102	19
Švica, Polica, Kompolje	101	20
Vilići	157	78
Brlóg	99	48
Vrhovine	95	43
<b>Senj-OH</b>		
Brinje	128	78
Stajnica i Jezerane	25	23
Lučane	55	38
Dabar	33	19
Vlaški Kosinj	49	59
Gornji Kosinj	39	22
Donji Kosinj	28	17
Ledenice	42	21
Sveti Juraj	28	32
Jablanac	61	6
Krmpote	68	
<b>Lika &amp; Krbava-OH</b>		
<b>Udbina-H</b>	161	170
<b>Perušić-H</b>	73	137
<b>Bunić-H</b>	116	171
<b>Lovinac-H</b>	124	122
<b>Ribnik-H</b>	41	39
<b>Novi &amp; Divoselo-H</b>	77	72

Bilaj & Ostrovica-H	44	31
Gračac-H	93	90
Medak-H	35	76
Mogorić & Vrebac-H	68	77
Podlapac, Mekinjar & Jošane-H	94	173
Zrmanja & Popina-H	52	87
Pazarište-porkulabia	147	47
Komić-porkulabia	21	21
Široka Kula-porkulabia	37	41
Knežija, Smiljan & Podgorje-pork.	106	61
<b>Totals</b>	<b>4734</b>	<b>2618</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>7352</b>	

**Conscription of the Paid Military on the  
Croatian Military Border in 1730**

	Infantry Croatian	Infantry German	Cavalry Croatian	Cavalry German	Artillery
Karlovac-RH		196	74	78	12
Križanić Turanj-HC	58	10			
Vražić	47				
Radošić	12				
Barilović-HC	69				
Skrad-incl. in Barilović					
Žumberak & Slunj-RH	80	8			
Velemerić	37				
Janjač	42				
Tounj-HC	65	8			
Orljak-incl. In Tounj					
Kamensko	25				
Oštarija	18				
Ogulin-HC	36	13			1
Gomirje	47				
Otok	22				
Ponor	7				
Novi Kaštel	29				
Gojak	34				
Debica	4				
Otočac-HC	127				2
Brinje	56				1
Prozor	19				
Senj-RH	116	84			8
Rijeka & Trsat		20			
Ledenice	14				
<b>Totals</b>	<b>964</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>1479</b>			

**Conscription of the Unpaid Military on the  
Croatian Military Border in 1732**

	Number of soldiers
Tržić	686
Križanić Turanj	431
Barilović	715
Žumberak & Slunj	766
Tounj	185
Ogulin	1185
Otočac	1162
Senj	1568
<b>Total</b>	<b>6698</b>

**Comprehensive list of the Paid Military on the  
Croatian Military Border in 1657, 1701, 1709 and 1730**

	1657	1701	1709	1730
Karlovac-OH	471	474	421	370
Križanić Turanj-H	134	134	129	117
Barilović-H	84	84	77	69
Žumberak & Slunj-OH	200	204	190	167
Tounj-H	130	130	121	116
Ogulin-H	221	221	198	193
Otočac-H	236	236	210	205
Senj-RC	307	303	280	242
<b>Total</b>	<b>1783</b>	<b>1786</b>	<b>1625</b>	<b>1479</b>

**Comprehensive list of the Paid Infantry and Cavalry  
on the Croatian Military Border in 1573 and 1577**

	1573 - Infantry	1577 - Infantry	1573 - Cavalry	1577 - Cavalry
Hrastovica captaincy	249	167		
Bihać captaincy	614	964	58	158
Ogulin captaincy	142	198		
Senj captaincy	374	461		
Noble Corps			467	
Scattered, mostly Uskoks	510			
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1889</b>	<b>1790</b>	<b>525</b>	<b>158</b>



**Comprehensive list of the Unpaid Military on the  
Croatian Military Border in 1725 and 1732**

	1725	1732
Karlovac (1725) or Tržić (1732)	421	686
Križanić Turanj	243	431
Barilović	623	715
Žumberak & Slunj	627	766
Tounj	138	185
Ogulin	768	1185
Otočac	957	1162
Senj	871	1568
Lika & Krbava	2704	
<b>Total</b>	<b>7352</b>	<b>6698</b>

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**THE "TRIPLEX CONFINIUM"  
IN HABSBURG-VENETIAN RELATIONS AT  
THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

**ABSTRACT**

*On the basis of extensive archival research in Graz, the author attempts to present the new border realities as reflected in relations between the Imperial powers and the regions of both Lika and Krbava and the northern Adriatic. Particular attention is given to the interdependencies of several processes and activities constituting the new realities on the border, like the salt trade (including smuggling, etc.), misunderstandings regarding the borderlines, suspicions regarding the intentions of the "other", etc. All these turned to be problems which determined the complex nature of the "Triplex Confinium" even before it was constituted in legal terms.*

**1. INTRODUCTION: THE WAR OF VIENNA (1683–1699)**

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century there was a significant clash in central and southeastern Europe. A large Ottoman army (c. 250,000 people) under the command of Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa protruded into Central Europe and in July 1683 started the siege of Vienna. In September, after two month of fierce fighting, due to the resistance of the city and the Polish intervention, the Ottoman attack was terminated. In the decisive battle with the German-Polish army under the command of Charles of Lorraine and the Polish King Jan Sobieski III (1674–1696) on Kahlenberg near Vienna (September 12), the Ottoman army experienced a disastrous defeat. In 1684 under the patronage of Pope Innocence XI (1676–1689) the anti-Ottoman coalition – the Holy League – was founded. The founding members were the Habsburg Monarchy, Poland and Venice. In 1686 Russia joined in. The united Christian army started a widespread offensive which incited popular uprisings against Ottoman rule in Dalmatia, Lika and Slavonia. This was the beginning of the Vienna War (1683–1699). The Christian-Ottoman war was long and bitter. Ever more fragile, Ottoman armies unsuccessfully strove to prevent Christian attacks, losing battle after battle. Finally, the assaults of the Christian coalition supported by uprisings in Croatia and other