

THE SANCAKBEGIS OF POZSEGA (POŽEGA, POJEGA) IN THE 16TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

Little attention has been paid so far to the district governors of Pozsega. Using mainly Ottoman archival documents an almost complete list of *sancakbegis* appointed there can be assembled. The length of their service, the place they came from, their annual income, and occasionally their family background are detectable.

My old friend, Nenad Moaćanin has clarified several important details of Ottoman military progress in Slavonia.¹ He emphasized that there followed a period of time when Ottoman domination was not yet stable in the region after the town of Pozsega (Croatian Požega, Ottoman Pojega) was occupied² in 1537. The precise time of the fall of the castle is disputed. Accepting Ive Mažuran's assertion³ Fazileta Cviko-Hafizović gives an exact day: 15 January.⁴ This date is explicitly referred to by Ferenc Tahy in two of his letters of 4 and 5 February 1537 just some days af-

¹ Nenad Moaćanin, "Osječki ili požeški sandžak," in *Zbornik Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Istraživačkog centra Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*. Volumen 12. (Zagreb: 1982), 35–40. Idem, "Granice i upravna podjela požeškog sandžaka," in *Zbornik zavoda za povijesne znanosti IC JAZU u Zagrebu*. Volumen 13. (Zagreb: 1983), 107–18. Idem, "Ratovanje i osnivanje upravnih jedinica u srednjoj Slavoniji 1536–1541," in *Zbornik radova simpozija o vojnim krajinama do 1699, Beograd 1987*. Naučni skupovi Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, knj. XLVIII, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka, knj. 12.)/"Kriegsführung und Gründung der Verwaltungseinheiten in Mittelslavonien 1536–1541," in *Die Militärgrenzen in den jugoslawischen Ländern der Neuzeit bis zum Frieden von Karlowitz 1699*. (Wissenschaftliche Konferenzen, Bd. XLVIII, Klasse für Geschichtswissenschaften, Bd. 12.) (Belgrade: 1989), 115–24.

² Similarly, when Buda (Ottoman Budun, Budin) was subjugated by the Sultan, years had to pass until the territories south of her could be controlled and the first *defters* prepared in 1545–1546, as I pointed out in my "Incomes and Possessions of the *Beglerbegis* of Buda in the Sixteenth Century," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps. Süleymân the Magnificent and His Time*, publiés par /ed. by Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992), 385, 388 and Idem, "Buda (Budin) vilayeti'nin ilk timar sahipleri," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi. Prof. Cengiz Orhonlu Hatıra Sayısı* 12 (1982–1998): 57–61.

³ Ive Mažuran, "Požega i požeška kotlina za turske vladavine," in *Požega, 1227–1977*, glavni urednik Marijan Strbašić (Slavonska Požega: 1977), 164.

⁴ Fazileta Cviko-Hafizović, "Grad Požega kao sjedište Požeškog sandžaka – urbani i privredni razvoj u 16. stoljeću," *Povijesni prilozi, Institut za suvremenu povijest Zagreb* 13 (1994): 31. See also in her collected essays: Fazileta Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak i osmanska Slavonija. Sabrane rasprave*. (Bibliotheca Croatica: Slavonica, Sirmiensia et Baranyensia. Studije. Knjiga 21.) (Zagreb–Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest, Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2016), 98.

ter the event took place therefore it seems acceptable.⁵ The vaguely formulated account of an Ottoman chronicler, Bostan (erroneously published as Ferdi) about armed activity in the winter of H. 943/1536–1537 can also be interpreted as a proof of this assumption.⁶ On the other hand, December 1537 is also mentioned as a possibility.⁷ As against this, in Hungarian historiography the year 1536 occasionally appears, on the basis of a document republished, without indicating its original location by Vjekoslav Klaić.⁸ The source in question is a letter written in Várad (later Hungarian Nagyvárad, Romanian Oradea, Ottoman Varad) by Johan Wese (Johannes van Weeze), archbishop of Lund, on 20 August 1536 which informs the emperor about Ottoman advancement in Slavonia. Pozsega, however, is not mentioned in the text at all, which renders its testimony irrelevant or at least questionable. Neither Szakály, nor Margalits noticed that the report had been published – among others – by Mihály Hatvani.⁹

In spite of the lack of full integration of the neighbourhood, at the beginning of 1538 or so a *sancak* was created here,¹⁰ the earliest on the south-western territory of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Obviously, a district governor was also appointed at the same time. While the exact date of his starting service in Pozsega cannot

⁵ Ferdo Šišić, *Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium*. XXXVI. *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae Dalmatiae Slavoniae*. II. (Zagreb: 1915), 11, No. 6, 12, No. 7.

⁶ *Török történetírők*. II., ford. etc. József Thúry. (Budapest: 1896), 95. It is to be noted that another Turkish annalist, Celalzade Mustafa, narrates the capture of Pozsega during the 1532 campaign: Ibid. 219.

⁷ Nenad Moačanin, “Pojeđa,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 34 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2007), 307.

⁸ V. K., “Kako su Turci osvojili Požegu?” *Vienac* XXI/52 (1889): 829. This short publication was summarised by Ede Margalits, *Horvát történelmi repertórium*. II. (Budapest: 1902), 739, No. 314 (misdated for October!) and cited by Ferenc Szakály, “A dél-dunántúli hadszíntér, 1526–1543,” in *Pécs a török korban*, szerk. Ferenc Szakály (and József Vonyó). (Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből, 7.) (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 1999), 35, note 72.

⁹ Mihály Hatvani, *Magyar történelmi okmánytár a Brüsseli Országos Levéltárból és a Burgundi Könyvtárból*. I. 1441–1538. (Monumenta Historiae Hungarica/Magyar történelmi emlékek. Első osztály: okmánytárak, 1.) (Pest: 1857), 357–364, No. 145, here 363–364.

¹⁰ Szabolcs Varga argues that there was a practical reason for calling into life this district. He wrote: “After the fall of Pozsega the most important crossing point [in the region] was the ferry on the Száva (Croatian Sava) at Gradiske (Serbian Bosanska Gradiška) on the territory of Béla Abbey (Croatian Bijela) where constant clashes took place. This was where the troops of the beg of Szendrő (Serbian Smederevo, Ottoman Semendire) and Belgrade passed; to widen the bridgehead, the Ottoman military leadership at some point in early 1538 organized the *sancak* of Pozsega from the area between Ivánka (Croatian Ivankovo) and Kobas (Croatian Slavonski Kobaš).” Cf. Szabolcs Varga, “Nádasdy Tamás horvát-szlávon bántása (1537–1539)” *Századok* 144 (2010): 814. (His reference goes back to a letter dated on 30 January, 1538 and sent by Péter Keglevics/Petar Keglević od Bužima and Tamás Nádasdy to Ferdinand I which was published by Šišić, *Monumenta*, 160. I quote the relevant passage: “*Preter hec scribit nobis Stephanus Skelanawycz, cesarem Thurcarum adiecisse ditioni zanczyakatus Samandriensis ... totam terram usque ad Iwanka; ab Iwanka vero usque ad Kobas dedisse pro nouo zanchyakuatu ...*”

be specified there is no hesitation about the person: he was Arslan *beg*,¹¹ one of the sons of Yahyapaşazade Mehmed, the conqueror of Pozsega. Undoubtedly, his task must have been a difficult one: to extend the frontiers as much as possible, to pacify the areas having been taken into possession earlier, and to have the first registers of the *sancak* prepared. In this, he and his subordinates were quite successful, an exceptional *defter* (preserved in two parts) was ready by the beginning of November 1540.¹² The initial page of this register contains the earliest Ottoman archival reference to Arslan *beg*, *sancakbegi* of Pozsega. This is an additional remark from 28 November 1540 which is about the renewal of his diploma (*berat*).¹³ I think there is no need to doubt almost contemporary Ottoman tradition which puts Arslan's appointment to the event when the happy news of Hans Katzianer's defeat in October 1537 arrived at Istanbul.¹⁴ Here the sum total of his *bases* is also indicated; they were far from being high, amounting to 204.114 *akçe*, hardly exceeding the minimum normally granted to a district governor in European territories. The very same figure appears in the list prepared when he left the post in favour of Murad *beg* on 18 September 1541.¹⁵ The enumeration in question is instructive as it shows that Arslan's revenues (which passed to his follower) were almost

¹¹ About his career see Sándor Takáts, "Oroszlán basa," *Történelmi Szemle* 4 (1915): 51–70 (outdated, with some interesting details); Claudia Römer, "On Some Hâşş-Estates Illegally Claimed by Arslan Paşa, Beglerbegi of Buda, 1565–1566," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. by Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1994), 297; Markus Köhbach, *Die Eroberung von Füleki durch die Osmanen 1554. Eine historisch-quellenkritische Studie zur osmanischen Expansion im östlichen Mitteleuropa*. (Zur Kunde Südosteuropas, II/18. Hrsg. von Horst Haselsteiner.) (Wien–Köln–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1994), 220–24, note 107. Additional data on his places of office are offered in: Géza Dávid, "Macaristan'da yönetici Osmanlı aileleri," *OTAM* 38 (2015 güz): 18.

¹² Namely Istanbul, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Tapu defteri 204, 203. They were described by Fazileta Cviko, "O najstarijem popisu požeškog sandžaka," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* XXXIV (1982/83 [1985]): 129–35. See also Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 35–42. The material of the *kaza* of Pozsega was published by Nenad Moačanin, *Požega i Požeština u sklopu Osmanlijskog carstva (1537.–1691.)* (Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap, 1997), 117–50.

¹³ Tapu defteri 204, p. 1. I use original parts of this *defter* and some other documents in this article from the courtesy of Éva Simon, who with the financial support of OTKA No. 108919 had a copy prepared of them which are now preserved in the Hungarian National Archives (hereinafter: OTKA).

¹⁴ Antal Gévay, *A' budai pasák* (Bécs: Strauss Antal' özvegye', 1841), 10, No. 14. (= Anton von Gévay, "Versuch eines chronologischen Verzeichnisses der türkischen Statthalter von Ofen," *Der österreichische Geschichtsforscher* 2 (1841): 60–61, No. 14.)

¹⁵ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Maliyeden müdevver defter 34, ff. 678^{r-v} (f. 678^r = OTKA). Murad's appointment was mentioned by Hafizović (*Požeški sandžak*, 13, note 14., 36), using an additional remark from Tapu defteri 204, p. 1. which gives the very same day. This date, however, has not become common knowledge. *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, e. g. indicates 1542 as starting year of his office in Pozsega: "Tardić, Murat-beg," accessed 15 June 2019, <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=60449>. An Ottoman annalist, Kâtib Mehmed zaim also made a mistake in this connection, stating that he became the *beg* of Pojega in 1543. Cf. *Török történetírók*, II. 383.

exclusively collected from other people's prebends, two of them died, one resigned, one vanished, and two received another *timar* elsewhere and none of them from his own *sancak*!¹⁶ The first 12 villages constituted perhaps his own previous income, reaching a sum of 38.793 *akçe*.¹⁷ The next 16 settlements had belonged to a certain Dimiški *beg*, who had deceased, with a total of 49.778 *akçe*. (I could not find any further information about him.) Then came Ferhad *kethüda* who also died (28.000 *akçe*) and Ahmed *miralay* whose place of activity and mode of depriving him from his sources of revenue is not specified (12.379 *akçe*). Mehmed *beg* bin Kasım *beg*,¹⁸ who had abdicated, contributed with 25.986, while Hasan *beg* bin Mustafa *beg*,¹⁹ who had been granted another *timar*, with 9.302 *akçe*. The next item, 15.042 *akçe*, came from Piri bin Uçmaz, who was a "guide" (*kılağuz*) and who "had vanished". The last two persons were ordinary *timar*-holders (10.618 and 6.300 *akçe*), the latter was compensated by a prebend elsewhere. Some of the settlements assigned to Arslan *beg* were quite remote (300 to 400 kms) from his seat, belonging *e.g.* to the *nahiyes* of Lepaniç (Serbian Lepenica), Lefçe (the Levač region), Lomniç (Serbian Lomniča), Rudnik, and Valyeva (Serbian Valjevo, old Hungarian name Macsó) in the *sancak* of Szendrő. Even if we know that the Yahyapaşa clan was well rooted in this latter area it must have caused difficulties to remain in contact with those concerned, either the population or the delegated tax-collectors. All this clearly shows that the situation was far from being settled and the treasury faced serious problems in assembling the sources reaching the sum Arslan deserved. But this phenomenon was not exceptional in the frontier zone and probably occurred again and again when a remote castle without its *hinterland* was first taken into possession; the governors of Buda faced the same situation in the 1540's.²⁰

Arslan's way led to Prizren,²¹ and his successor, Murad *beg*, took over his sources of revenue. Since during his service in Klis (Hungarian Klissza, Ottoman Kilis) from 1537 onwards he reached a higher level of income than his predecessor which

¹⁶ A curious contradiction can also be detected: in the 1540 register (p. 1.) we find a village which was appended to Arslan's revenues from the Sultan's estates on 2 January 1541 (*der dest-i Arslan beg mirliiva, ber vech-i zamime, ber muceb-i tezkere-i emin-i defter. Fi 4 ramazan sene 947.*), but it does not appear in the *ruznamçe* entry in question. An even earlier similar remark from 28 November 1540 indicates that Pozsega itself passed into the hands of Arslan: once again there is no sign of it in the list (cf. Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 13, note 14.)

¹⁷ Adding up the respective figures we only come to 37.723 *akçe*.

¹⁸ It cannot be excluded that he is identical with one of the key figures of the period being active mostly on Hungarian territories. See my "Kasım Voyvoda, Bey ve Paşa." *Ankara Üniversitesi Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 35/60 (2016): 291–330, but I did not encounter his son(s). He is first referred to as *beg*, namely that of Eszék on 16 September 1541. *Idem*, 297.

¹⁹ I could not identify the father, though he must have been an influential person but with a very common name.

²⁰ Cf. my above-mentioned article: "Incomes and Possessions," 386 (a map showing the location of the *bases* of the *beglerbegis* of Buda between 1542 and 1584).

²¹ *Maliyeden müdevver defter* 34, f. 427^a.

was further raised by a total of 55.000 *akçe* as a reward of his excellence on two occasions, the treasury had to find additional money. A part of the missing amount was assigned to him from the *kaza* of Eszék (Croatian Osijek, Ottoman Ösek). The list of the new places given to him is curious: in the first subgroup merely the town of Eszék appears with a – quite low – concrete sum (5.505 *akçe*) while solely the names of further sixteen villages are recorded followed by the term *hasil* ('result', 'produce') of firewood (*hime*), if I read it correctly, in the value of 11.558 *akçe*. This practice goes on with some variations. The grand total is 84.598 *akçe* but if we add up all the items of this section, we come to a much lower value: 27.729 *akçe*. It is another unusual characteristic of Murad's income that he pocketed 56.288 *akçe* in cash (*ber vech-i nakd*) from imperial *hases* in the *liva* of Pozsega.²² It is difficult to tell what proportion of the ruler's local revenues were involved but if we consider that the 24 villages categorized as *hassa-i hümayun* in the *defter* of 1540 did not produce more than 67.046 *akçe*, it seems to be a fairly high percentage.

I think it is worth translating the explanatory part of the entry containing Murad beg's prebends: "The *hases* above amounting to 204.114^{*23} *akçe* became vacant from the assignment (*tahvil*) of Arslan *beg*. In the *kaza* of Ösek in the *sancak* of Semendire²⁴ *hases* amounting to 84.598* *akçe* became vacant and 56.288* *akçe* was also allocated in cash from the *hases* of the ruler, the refuge of the universe, in the *liva* mentioned [likely Pojega]. [All these] were accumulated reaching the sum 345.000* *akçe*. The above-mentioned [Murad *beg*] who had been the *sancakbegi* of Kilis with 301.000* *akçe* and to whom the named *liva* was granted on 27 *cemaziül-evvel* 948 (18 September 1541), received an order for a raise (*terakki*) of 30.000* *akçe* on the last nine days of *cemaziül-ahir* of the same year (12–20 October 1541) and a noble order for a raise of 15.000* *akçe* on the last ten days of *zi'l-hicce* of the same year (7–16 April 1542), thus his *hases*, together with the raises, reached 345.000* *akçe*. The *beglerbegi* of Budin reported to the Threshold of Felicity that "the *defter* of the *liva* mentioned²⁵ is not present here"²⁶ therefore it was ordered that his certificate (*tezkere*) should be issued (*ihrac olunmak*) by the exalted Porte, a certificate was given for an illustrious diploma (*berat*). Dated on 12 September 1542."²⁷

²² The pertinent additional note reads like this: "It was ordered that Murad beg's extant deficit of 56.288* *akçe* be completed from the [sultan's] *hases* of Pojega. On 18 January 1543. It should be noted into his diploma."

²³ Figures with an asterisk are in *siyakat* in the original.

²⁴ This confirms Močanin's view ("Osječki ili požeški sandžak," 40) where he states: "das Gebiet von Syrmien hinweg bis Osijek war bis etwa 1541/43 als Grenzmark dem Sandschak Smederevo direkt unterstellt."

²⁵ It is not quite clear if the reference is to Szendrő or Pozsega.

²⁶ This statement is another proof that the *vilayet* of Buda has not yet been fully organized by this time.

²⁷ Maliyeden müdevver defter 34, f. 679^v.

As it has often been referred to, Murad was a faithful servant and even friend of Hüsrev beg.²⁸ Murad, a new Muslim, assisted his master as a *kethüda*²⁹ or *voyvoda*,³⁰ denoting more or less the same duty. Their relationship must have been quite warm since Hüsrev made Murad “*voyvoda*” *mütevelli* (guardian) of his pious foundations in 1531.³¹ It remains a question how he could supervise the *vakf* in practice, since from 1537 he was employed as district governor in considerably remote Klis and then in Pozsega. Murad’s role in capturing Valpó (Croatian Valpovo, Ottoman Valpova) belongs to the best known details of his life.³² The chronicler Muradî (published as Sinan çavuş by Thúry) attributes a report to him in which he summarized the circumstances of the siege.³³ The letter can be regarded authentic as we know similar documents from the period.³⁴

Murad’s life ended soon: the chronogram on his *türbe* in Sarajevo suggests H. 952/15 March 1545–3 March 1546. Both Truhelka and Sikirić erroneously converted the year as 1544.³⁵ However, the chronogram is also incorrect (or denotes to another occasion, like, perhaps, the opening of the mausoleum after Murad’s remains were transported there³⁶) since he died in H. 951. This is evidenced by an order of the Imperial Council written on 9 *zi’l-kade* 951/22 January 1545 where he is mentioned as having died recently and thus no more able to prepare wood for bridge construction as having been prescribed.³⁷ Fazileta Hafizović came to another

²⁸ About his life see – among others – Ćiro Truhelka, “Gazi Husrefbeg, njegov život i njegovo doba,” *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* XXIV/1 (1912): 91–234; Behija Zlatar, *Gazi Husrev-beg*. (Orijentalni institut. Posebna izdanja, XXXII.) (Sarajevo: 2010).

²⁹ *Török történetírók*, II. 383. (Kâtib Mehmed *zaim*.)

³⁰ *Török történetírók*, II. 99. (Bostan/Ferdi.)

³¹ Cf. Truhelka, “Gazi Husrefbeg,” 196, 208, 215; Šaćir Sikirić, *Derviskolostorok és szent sirok Boszniában*. *Turán* (1918): 587.

³² Besides the narrative sources, his participation in the 1543 campaign is corroborated by archival evidence. See Mehmet İpçioğlu, “Kanuni Süleyman’ın Estergom (Esztergom) seferi 1543. Yeni bir kaynak,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* X (1990): 143.

³³ *Török történetírók*, II. 296–297.

³⁴ Second Vizier Pertev *paşa* e. g. forwarded two *arz* to the centre during the blockade of Gyula in 1566. See Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi E. 2232, 2359. Cited by Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A Gyulai szandzsák 1567. és 1579. évi összehírása*. (Forráskiadványok a Békés Megyei Levéltárból, 10.) (Békéscsaba: Békés Megyei Levéltár, 1982), 6, notes 10 and 11.

³⁵ Truhelka, “Gazi Husrefbeg,” 166; Sikirić, “Derviskolostorok,” 589.

³⁶ Sikirić, “Derviskolostorok,” 587.

³⁷ Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, „Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való.” *A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1544–1545, 1552)*. *Affairs of State Are Supreme. The Orders of the Ottoman Imperial Council Pertaining to Hungary (1544–1545, 1552)* (Budapest: História, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 8, No. 2. Though the first register was published by Halil Sahillioğlu, *Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi H. 951-952 tarihli ve E-12321 numaralı mühimme defteri*. (Osmanlı Devleti ve medeniyeti tarihi serisi, 7.) (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2002), I cite our improved edition with more explanatory notes. The same refers to the rest of *mühimme* quotations; I used the original texts except for some cases when I do not have a copy.

conclusion in this respect based on a piece of information in Mažuran's overview of Ottoman rule in Pozsega which allegedly refers to Murad to be in life and ready to go to Zagorje at the beginning of May 1545.³⁸ Using an entry dated 26 May 1545 in the first *defter* of Pozsega where only the year of the next *sancakbegi's* appointment is specified, she concluded that Murad died in mid-May.³⁹ I am inclined to accept the testimony of the *mühimme defteri* and put his departure some months earlier (more likely to the end of 1544 or to the very beginning of 1545).

The above-mentioned command names the new district governor of Pozsega. He was called Bali and had been active in Vidin from the same day as his deceased colleague in his own place with an income of 300.000 *akçe*.⁴⁰ To our luck, the additional remark of the 1540 Pozsega *defter* informs us about his descent: his father was Dur Ali (Turali) *beg* and his grandfather Malkoç *beg* a leading figure of the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.⁴¹ By this time, Bali's yearly "salary", including 30.000 *akçe* raise, had reached 405.000* *akçe* which can be considered a pretty sum.

On 25 March 1547 he was followed by an even more influential person, Ulama former *sanacakbegi* of Bosnia (Ottoman Bosna). His adventurous life started in Eastern Anatolia. He was an offspring of the Tekeli clan which played a significant role in the emergence of the Safavid dynasty in Iran. After having participated in the Şahkulu uprising in 1511, he escaped to Persian-ruled territories. Here he first served in the court of the Shah, than as the governor of Azerbaijan. On losing favour, he returned to the Ottomans. He assaulted Bitlis in 1530-1531, became the *beglerbegi* of Tebriz and then fled to Van. Around 1537 he filled the post of the *mirliva* of Shkodër (Ottoman İskenderiye), then from an unknown date until 2 July 1541 that of Vlorë (Italian Valona, Ottoman Avlonya). Twelve days later he received district of Bosnia⁴² for a quite long period of time: more than five and a half years.⁴³

³⁸ Mažuran, "Požega i požeška kotlina," 175. I could not figure out which source of Mažuran's could confirm this assertion.

³⁹ Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 36.

⁴⁰ Maliyeden müdevver defter 34, f. 241^r. Before Vidin, he had served in Akkerman.

⁴¹ Fahamettin Başar, Malkoçoğulları, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 27 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), 538. – He or another Malkoç, however, was never the *beg* of Pozsega as it is suggested in Károly Jung's article citing a sentence from Vido Latković (who borrowed it from Svetislav Stefanović), "A „rác módú” éneklés, avagy egy Tinódi-locus karrierje a délszláv folklorisztikában," *Hungarológiai Közlemények. A Bölcsészettudományi Kar Magyar Tanszékének Folyóirata. Bányai János 70. születésnapjára* 40 (2009, no. 3) = Új folyam 10, no. 3: 18.

⁴² For the details see: Géza Dávid, "Egy távolról jött oszmán főember a magyar végeken: Ulama bég," *Keletkutatás* (2002. ősz–2006. tavasz): 62–82; Köhbach, *Die Eroberung von Füle*, 42–44, note 42, 44–46, note 44. A partial life-story was published by Dino Mujadžević, "Bosanski i požeški sandžakbeg Ulama-beg," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 60 (2010): 251–58.

⁴³ Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk*, (Sarajevo: 1982), 90 spoke about eleven and a half years which is an exaggeration.

The respective entry of his appointment to Pozsega contains some interesting details about the composition of his income and the expansion of the *sancak*: “Ordered to Ulama *beg*, the former *beg* of Bosna. With its equivalent (namely with the same sum which he had possessed at his previous post). His present *hases* are 400.000. Reportedly, Ulama *beg* had had an additional 100.000 *akçe hases* on the other side of the Sava when he had been the *beg* of Bosna; with this [surplus] it will be 500.000. His outstanding 220.000 [*akçe*] should be completed from newly opening places and from places which will be opened (conquered) in the future. It was ordered that the castle of Gradiška and its neighbourhood be appended to the *sancak* of Pojega.”⁴⁴ Two details are worth attention: Ulama’s high prebend and the territorial growth of the district.

One year later, however, an unexpected change occurred in his life: on 20 March 1548 he became the *beglerbegi* of Erzurum.⁴⁵ In my interpretation while earlier he had been intentionally transferred into the European parts of the Empire to avoid his mischief-making in the East again, on the eve of a new campaign against Iran in 1548, his local knowledge and personal connections seemed vital for the Ottoman high command. True, he was appointed the provincial governor of Karaman in September of the same year but this did probably not alter his position within the military hierarchy deployed against the Shah. When his experiences and acquaintances were no more needed he was sent back to the Western hemisphere of the Sultanate.

Regrettably, I have no data about the *mirlivas* of Pozsega between the above-mentioned date (20 March 1548) and 10 December 1549. On this latter day Mehmed Han was lucky enough to become the head of the “*sancak* of Pojega and Ösek”.⁴⁶ He deserved 700.000 *akçe* annually, an almost astronomic figure, which shows that he was really an exceptional person. Indeed, he was the cousin of Selim I, their common grandfather being the emir of Zulkadır, Alaüddevlé Bozkurd. Mehmed Han governed Erzurum as its first *beglerbegi* between 1535 and 1539.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 208, p. 18. Cited by Feridun Emecen and İlhan Şahin, “Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından 957–958 (1550–1551) tarihli sancak tevcih defteri,” *Belgeler* 23 (1999): 61.

⁴⁵ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 1864, p. 80. Cited by Dündar Aydın, *Erzurum Beylerbeyliği ve teşkilâtı. Kuruluş ve genişleme devri (1535–1566)*. (Türk Tarih Kurum yayınları, VII/151.) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 169, note 31. – According to news reaching Europe, he remained unsuccessful, was wounded and in his anger, Süleyman wanted him to be killed. Cf. *Austro-Turcica. Diplomatische Akten des habsburgischen Gesandtschaftsverkehrs mit der Hohen Pforte im Zeitalter Süleymans des Prächtigen*, bearbeitet von Srećko M. Džaja unter Mitarbeit von Günter Weiß, in Verbindung mit Mathias Bernath hrsg. von Karl Nehring. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, 95.) (München: R. Oldenbourg: 1995), 261, No. 89; 267–268, No. 92; E[rnest] Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*. I. (Paris, Emprimerie nationale, 1848), 96.

⁴⁶ Emecen and Şahin, “Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından,” 61.

⁴⁷ Cf. J. H. Mordtmann and Mükrimin H. Yinanç, “Dulkadırlılar,” in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. III. (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1988 [reprint]), 660–61. Aydın, *Erzurum Beylerbeyliği*, 87–91.

He arrived with Ulama to Rumelia, accompanied by Velican, Kamber and “Deriel” *begs* as Miklós Istvánffy, the great Hungarian humanist annalist maintains.⁴⁸ Out of them, Velican and Kamber became high level dignitaries, but we know nothing about “Deriel” because his name is unidentifiable. It can be ascertained, however, that this Eastern “maffia” played an important role in this area for several years.

Here we have a somewhat mysterious detail: the list kept in Istanbul speaks about Yahya *beg* as previous district governor of Pozsega when he was charged with the administration of Szerém (Serbian Srem, Croatian Srijem, Ottoman Sirem) on 11 January 1550,⁴⁹ while we cannot find him under the heading “Pojega”, moreover, respective changes can be accurately followed in entries of other *sancaks* relevant to us. We could say that there is a misunderstanding here had the *tapu defteri* of 1561 not contained reference to his pious foundation and mosque in the town.⁵⁰

Be as it was, on 19 May 1550 Ahmed *beg*, the son of Yahyapaşa (whose family did not probably wish to lose their influence in the region) was to arrive at Pozsega after he had served in Egypt, an explicitly remote territory (this rarely happened to actual administrators⁵¹); he was entitled to 300.000 *akçe hases*.⁵² However, he was even less fortunate than his predecessor, since he had to abandon his office to give way to Ulama on 14 September 1550. As a former provincial governor it is not a miracle that his annual income was set at 600.000 *akçe*.⁵³ Not much later than one year, on 10 October 1551 Mehmed Han returned from Zvornik⁵⁴ (Ottoman İzvornik) to Pozsega with the same high revenues as previously, while Ulama was sent to the new *sancak* – named after three smaller castles – of Csanád (Romanian Cenad, Ottoman Çenad), Becse (later Hungarian Törökbecse, Serbian Novi Bečej,

⁴⁸ Nicolai Isthvanfi Pannoni, *Historiarum de rebus ungaricis, libri XXXIV* (Coloniae Agrippinae: Antonius Hieratus, 1622), 240.

⁴⁹ Emecen and Şahin, “Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından,” 62. In this latter capacity he was instructed by the Sultan between 30 March-8 April to examine actions against the peace. See Ernst Dieter Petritsch, *Regesten der osmanischen Dokumente im Österreichischen Staatsarchiv. Band 1. (1480–1574)*. (Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergänzungsband, 10/1.) ([Wien]: 1991), 62, No. 128.

⁵⁰ Moaçanin, *Požega i Požeština*, 236, 252; Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 111–12.

⁵¹ Metin I. Kunt, *The Sultan’s Servants. The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550–1650*. (The Modern Middle East Series, 14.) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 69.

⁵² Emecen and Şahin, “Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından,” 61. (They also cite Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 209, p. 49 where the same date is indicated.)

⁵³ Ibid. Confirmed by an entry in Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 209, p. 96. Both documents refer to his previous post as *beglerbegi* of Karaman.

⁵⁴ Interesting details about Mehmed Han’s men’s illegal activity can be found in a firman of 1560: See Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, „Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos.” *A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1559–1560, 1564–1565)*. “This Affair is of Paramount Importance”. *The Orders of the Ottoman Imperial Council Pertaining to Hungary (1559–1560, 1564–1565)* (Budapest: História, MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2009), 101, No. 140.

Ottoman Beçi/Beçey), and Beçskerek (later Hungarian Nagybeçskerek, Serbian Zrenjanin, Ottoman Beçkerek).⁵⁵ After an interval in Fehérvár (later Székesfehérvár, Ottoman Ístolni Belgrad) from 15 October 1551, to our surprise, he once again appears in Pozsega. Namely, in a firman dated 4 March 1552, the *divan* emphasized that Ulama should remain on his place of service there and guard the border zone territories in Pozsega and Bosnia.⁵⁶ Subsequently, he participated in military activities in the area⁵⁷ as he had done earlier as well. Then, the central authorities, in spite of his failure in 1548, needed his expertise during the preparations of a new war against the Shah in 1552–1553,⁵⁸ so he was dismissed.

His successor was Bali, in all likelihood the same person who had already resided in the town between 1545–1547. At least, he also came from Vidin; we learn this from the heading of the list of his *hases* amounting to 482.630 *akçe* with the date of his title-deed (*hüküm*) corresponding to 18–27 December 1552.⁵⁹ This shows a completely different composition than the one of Murad *beg's* in 1541: the revenues originate almost without exception from settlements belonging to the *sancak* of Pozsega which was typical in a regular administrative unit of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. We also learn that 392.401 *akçe* of the grand total had enriched Ulama (which does not necessarily mean that this latter had had no other prebends in Pozsega).

Bali was luckier than his earlier colleagues since he could govern his district for more than three years. Than he received Zvornik, and Bayram *beg*, arriving from Euboea, (Ottoman Agriboz), was charged with his post on 14 April 1556.⁶⁰ I cannot tell when Bayram's term ended in Pozsega,⁶¹ but it is obvious that after him a certain Halil took over his task because this latter is mentioned in an order as dead in connection with an event occurring on 25 March 1559.⁶² Veli, another significant personality of the Hungarian border zone territories followed him:⁶³ we first meet him in this position on 14 April 1559.⁶⁴ The last but one firman sent directly to him in this capacity was formulated on 17 July 1559.⁶⁵ Meanwhile he was still

⁵⁵ Emecen and Şahin, "Osmanlı taşra teşkilâtının kaynaklarından," 61 and 64.

⁵⁶ Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Koğuşlar 888, 85^v. Published by Dávid and Fodor, *Az ország ügye*, 281–83, No. 59, here 282, 283.

⁵⁷ Dávid and Fodor, *Az ország ügye, passim*.

⁵⁸ Köhbach, *Die Eroberung von Füle*, 45, note 44.

⁵⁹ Wien, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Ehemalige Konsularakademie, Krafft 284, f. 28^v–33^r.

⁶⁰ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme defteri 2, p. 56, Nos. 510 and 508, respectively.

⁶¹ The last entry in which he appears is dated 16 January, 1558. Cf. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 216a, p. 102.

⁶² Dávid and Fodor, *Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*, 17, No. 16.

⁶³ His almost full *vita* can be found in Köhbach, *Die Eroberung von Füle*, 261–64, note 246.

⁶⁴ Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A Budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása*. (Pest megye múltjából, 3.) (Budapest: Pest Megyei Levéltár, 1977), 65, No. 78.

⁶⁵ Dávid and Fodor, „Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos”, 17, No. 16.

addressed on 31 July 1559 as possessing this rank,⁶⁶ on the same day [Tütünsüz] Hüseyin, the *beg* of Szendrő was reminded to stay in this *sancak* until Bali the new administrator appears there and only then should he go to his next place of service⁶⁷ – which was Pozsega, as it turns out from an order of 3 August.⁶⁸

One year and a month later another change befell: At least on 12 September 1560 a *mühimme defteri* entry reminded the district governor of Zvornik that by collecting *sipahis* in a sufficient number without delay and putting the local *alaybegi* to command them, care should be taken of Pozsega until the subsequent *beg* happens to get there.⁶⁹ Three days later (!), on 15 September, we read in a *rüüs defteri* entry, that Hüseyin, the *beg* of Pozsega became the *lala* of *şehzade* Selim, while his former tutor, Lala Mustafa was going to replace him.⁷⁰ On 18 October, however, this latter was granted an even higher post: that of the *beglerbegi* of Temeşvár (Romanian Timișoara, Ottoman Temeşvar/Timişvar).⁷¹ With the same date of nomination, after an interval of 19 years, Arslan, the first *mirliva* returned to run affairs in Pozsega.⁷² No doubt, he found much more consolidated circumstances there than those he had experienced earlier.

We cannot tell how long he could remain here. Our next piece of information about the *beg* of our *sancak* comes from a letter by Hasan dated 4 April 1563 and sent to Johannes/Hans Lenković, *Grenzobrist* in Croatia containing typical complaints against the unfriendly activity of Miklós Zrínyi/Nikola Zrinski's "hayducks" in the frontier area.⁷³ A similar report to the Ottoman court was formulated by him and Ferhad, district governor of Začasna (Ottoman Začasna, Croatian Čazma) in May/June of the same year.⁷⁴ This latter was attached to papers forwarded by Albert de Wyss/Wijs to Ferdinand from Istanbul on 5 July 1563. The resident wrote that Hasan had been the *beg* of Füle (Slovakian Filakovo, Ottoman Filek) before taking over Pozsega.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ Dávid and Fodor, „*Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*”, 22–23, No. 22.

⁶⁷ Dávid and Fodor, „*Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*”, 17, No. 15.

⁶⁸ Dávid and Fodor, „*Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*”, 28, No. 29.

⁶⁹ Dávid and Fodor, „*Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*”, 127, No. 179.

⁷⁰ Mühimme defteri 4, p. 131, No. 1331, 1332. Cf. Şerafettin Turan, “Lala Mustafa paşa hakkında notlar ve vesikalar,” *Bellekten*, XXII/88 (1958): 556. (He comes to the same conclusion by using narrative sources: Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali and Peçevi.)

⁷¹ Mühimme defteri 4, p. 146, No. 1481. Cf. Turan, “Lala Mustafa paşa,” 556.

⁷² Mühimme defteri 4, p. 146, No. 1482.

⁷³ Petritsch, *Regesten*, 143, No. 403. (This document is preserved in the Kriegsarchiv, Vienna.)

⁷⁴ Petritsch, *Regesten*, 144, No. 405.

⁷⁵ Wien, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Türkei I. Karton 17. Konv. 4. 1563 VI–IX, 19–23. (My citations from this material are based on extracts prepared by István Fazekas. Honestly, I generally have not seen the original documents. The short summaries were made available on a CD (*Segédletek az Osztrák Állami Levéltár (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv) magyar*

Some six months have passed and a typical rotation of offices occurred: on 18 October 1563 Hasan had to go to Esztergom (Ottoman Estorgom/Östörgom), leaving his place to Bayram from Szerém while this latter *sancak* was given to Ahmed from Esztergom.⁷⁶ Though I cannot convincingly prove I am almost sure that this was Bayram's second term in Pozsega. He moved to Szerém again on 8 July 1564.⁷⁷

The first reference to the following district governor, Nasuh stems from 12 October 1564 (but his date of appointment was probably 8 July). This is a *mühimme defteri* order addressed – besides him – to Hamza, *sancakbegi* of Mohács (Ottoman Mihaç) and the kadis of Eszék, Pécs (Croatian Pečuh, Ottoman Peçuy) and Siklós (Ottoman Şikloş) instructing them to prevent abuses of the soldiers of Moszlavina (Croatian Moslavina Podravska, Ottoman Moyslavina) and Berzőce (Croatian Brezovica).⁷⁸ He was addressed some firmans in 1565 and at least one in the next year. This was dated in April 1566 and prescribed him to renew the bridge near Eszék.⁷⁹ For some months, I have no undisputable data on the *beg* in Pozsega. In an order, sent to the actual leader of the *sancak* on 20 October 1568, a certain Hüseyin is mentioned as “*mir-i sabık*” (former district governor) without indicating his place of service. From the context Nenad Moačanin logically concluded that he must be the previous administrator who, as we read in the document, had demolished certain parts of the crossing facility at Eszék.⁸⁰ However, not being absolutely sure that Hüseyin was really employed in Pozsega I omit him from Appendix 1 below.

Our next hero, Bali, had directed Szerém until 10 December 1566 when he was transposed to Pozsega. Moačanin posits that he is identical with Malkoçoğlu Bali but this is not so evident to me.⁸¹ Same or not, he must also have been an old veteran because the level of his nominal “salary” reached 560.000 *akçe*. And though a part of this sum remained outstanding what he *nolens volens* accepted, he was ready, in an almost unparalleled manner, to renounce from 41.186 *akçe* for three persons with the stipulation that the respective sums will no more figure in his diploma (*berat*); two of them were his sons and one his *kethüda*,⁸² which explains somewhat

vonatkozású irataihoz, szerk. István Fazekas, István Kenyeres, and Béla Sarusi Kiss, No place: Arcanum, no date) which, unfortunately, is a bit difficult to use. They can be found in the database “Arcanum” as well – similarly hard to handle. I am grateful to the author for giving me a raw but easily searchable version of the “manuscript”.

⁷⁶ Kámil Kepeci tasnifi 218, p. 38 (new pagination 62).

⁷⁷ Kámil Kepeci tasnifi 74, p. 85. – He must have been fond of the region, because besides Pozsega and Szerém he also crops up two or three times in Szendrő.

⁷⁸ Dávid and Fodor, „*Ez az ügy fölöttébb fontos*”, 171, No. 36.

⁷⁹ Nenad Moačanin, “Cisr-i kebir-i Ösek,” in *Veliki osječki most / The Great Osijek Bridge. Povijesni dossier i suvremena interpretacija*. Zagreb and Osijek: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku, 2014, 87-88.

⁸⁰ Moačanin, “Cisr-i kebir-i Ösek,” 91.

⁸¹ Moačanin, “Cisr-i kebir-i Ösek,” 91.

more his generosity. He could stay in Pozsega for a comparatively long time; then he changed place of service with Ali, the *beg* of Vidin on 27 July 1569. This latter was entitled to collect 430.000 *akçe* a year.⁸³ His surviving list of *bases*, however, gives – without any kind of explanation – a grand total of 442.606 *akçe*. The enumeration can be found in such a rare *icmal defteri* where three later *sancakbegis* are also shown and alterations in the composition of the district governors' income, if it happened to be lower, can be detected.⁸⁴ Its testimony fully overlaps with the pertinent entries in the centrally kept book of *ümera*, cited above. Accordingly, Mehmed from Fehérvár, Hızır⁸⁵ from Zácsna,⁸⁶ and Sinan from Szekszárd came one after the other, on 13 (or 12) May 1571, 9 July 1572, and 6 February 1574, respectively.⁸⁷ Mehmed got 463.250 *akçe*, of which a modest but fix amount originated from the *liva* of Szendrő with the stipulation that it should be always kept in his possession wherever he has a *sancak*.⁸⁸ Hızır's official *bases* – including a raise and some surplus (*ziyade*) – were 348.310 *akçe*, but for one reason or another in the relevant entry in the prebend-journal kept in Buda we see 353.610.⁸⁹ Sinan stood on an even lower grade on the revenue scale with 280.000 *akçe* but he also received some extra, which pushed the total to 298.700 *akçe*.⁹⁰ This is a sign of relatively good financial possibilities in the *sancak* at this point of time.⁹¹

Though the two sources fully harmonize, we read in an order dated on 14 February 1572 that Ali, the *beg* of Pozsega had proposed that the district governors

⁸² Maliyeden müdevver defter 563, p. 48.

⁸³ Ibid. – Nenad Moaćanin, “Kapudánságok a bosnyák határvidéken a 16–18. században,” *Aetas* (1994, no 4): 52, speaks about him as the *kapudan* of Gradiška from 1565 and also the *beg* of Esztergom, without giving a date. I cannot prove this latter statement.

⁸⁴ Tapu defteri 486, pp. 7–10 (OTKA).

⁸⁵ Carolus Rym, who informed correctly about his previous seats (namely Akkerman before Zácsna), asserted that he was the brother-in-law (or son-in-law?) of the Crimean Han (“gener Tartarhani”). Unfortunately, I could not clarify the accuracy of this detail but I deem it worth being mentioned. *Türkei I. Karton 28. Konv. 5. 1572. VII–X, 51–64.*

⁸⁶ He was dismissed from Pozsega, because “he had been unable to get along with the people of the *sancak*, had put forward the *dirlik* of the *ağas* and the soldiers for others without any reason and his *voyvodas* [...] come into possession of *timars*.” See Mühimme defteri 25, p. 48, No. 484. – As so often, the punishment did not mean great ordeals: Hızır could continue in Szekszárd (Ottoman Seksar) from 6 February 1574, the very same day when Sinan left it for Pozsega. Ibid. p. 48, No. 482.

⁸⁷ Maliyeden müdevver defter 563, p. 48; Tapu defteri 486, p. 7.

⁸⁸ The usual formula sounded like this: “*Her kanda sancak tasarruf ederse, baslarından mahsub olmak üzere*”. Occasionally *çiftlik tarikıyla* is added before “*baslarından*”. Even in our case the extended version occurs when speaking about his allowances in Szigetvár: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Flügel 1387 (Mxt 597), f. 263^{r-v}.

⁸⁹ Flügel 1384 (Mxt 571), ff. 57^v–58^v.

⁹⁰ Flügel 1384 (Mxt 571), ff. 250^v–251^r. Cf. Tapu defteri 486, p. 7.

⁹¹ Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 123, speaks about “Nesuh” (Nasuh) as coming after Mehmed but without citing her source. My data do not seem to prove this statement.

should stay at Moszlavina since Pozsega is situated in inner territories (*iç il*) and therefore it is difficult to defend the border region from the unbelievers arriving to cause damage. The centre accepted the suggestion – it remains a question if it was really implemented and if so how long the new seat functioned in this capacity.⁹² However, I have not seen any entries where the head of the *sancak* was labelled as the *beg* of Moszlavina. Due to these uncertainties, I am hesitant to add Ali to our list; his name was perhaps misspelt by the scribe or one of his earlier, so far “forgotten” proposals was reflected upon after his departure from Pozsega in 1571. It is also noteworthy that on subsequent pages we meet Mehmed twice in the same, chronologically unsystematic (or misbound) volume.⁹³

In the new central list of *ümera*, the first appointment to Pozsega bears the date 29 January 1576.⁹⁴ Here it was remarked that its *beg*, Hasan had previously served in Nikopol (Ottoman Niğbolı, Hungarian Nikápoly). To our luck his title was indicated as *paşa* and this allows us to identify him with the Hasan who, after his first period in Pozsega in 1563, became the *beglerbegi* of Temesvár, was later dismissed from this position because of ill behaviour, worked in Szendrő for a while⁹⁵ and then passed to Nikopol.⁹⁶ Remembering Hasan’s earlier significant offices we are not surprised to hear that his nominal *hases* had amounted to 590.000⁹⁷ *akçe* by this time. He is mentioned as having departed while performing his duties at Pozsega in a firman of 17 May or 15 June 1583. The entry refers to a lawsuit between his son, Mustafa and a certain Christian woman, called Papas-zade Karin who had lent 50.000 *akçe* to the *mirliva*.⁹⁸ Knowing Hasan’s richness, this story sounds a bit queer but nothing can be brought to light about the background.

Though the list kept in Istanbul does not speak about him, Hasan’s follower must have been Mahmud beg who is alluded to twice, first on 29 September 1578⁹⁹

⁹² Mühimme defteri 18, p. 46, No. 65 (OTKA). Cf. Kazım Kürşat Yücel, *18 numaralı mühimme defteri (tablil–metin). Yüksek lisans tezi* (Istanbul: 1996). No page numbering.

⁹³ Ibid. Nos. 85 and 141.

⁹⁴ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 19.

⁹⁵ He is mentioned as possessing this position in September 1570 (Petritsch, *Regesten*, 210–211, No. 624.), in August, 1571 (*Ungrád Dávid konstantinápolyi utazásai*, ford. etc. József László Kovács. Budapest: Szépirodalmi Kiadó, 1986, 37: Pastor Franz Ömich, author of the text, was also aware of the fact that Hasan had been provincial governor of Temesvár), in January, 1572 (Petritsch, *Regesten*, 219–20, No. 654), and in May 1572 (Mühimme defteri 15, p. 83, No. 712.)

⁹⁶ My first data about him in Nikopol is from 28 November, 1575, when he received 9.866 *akçe* in the “*her kanda*” form in Szendrő. See Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Tımar ruznamçe defteri 42, part Nikopol, no page numbering.

⁹⁷ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 19.

⁹⁸ Mühimme defteri 49, p. 57, No. 203 (OTKA). Cf. Hasan Yıldız, *XLIX numaralı mühimme defteri (tablil–metin). Yüksek lisans tezi* (Istanbul: 1996), 91–92.

⁹⁹ Mühimme defteri 35, No. 664. (I am grateful to Sadık Müfit Bilge for this and the next pieces of information.)

and then on 15 March 1579 (saying about him that “he sent a letter” to the court).¹⁰⁰ At this latter date, however, he could not be active there anymore, since Ferhad, the previous beg of Füleke was appointed to Pozsega on 9 December 1578. When his diploma was made out some months later, his yearly hases reached 399.339 akçe while he had been entitled to collect 349.040 akçe in Northern Hungary.¹⁰¹

The central register is once again imperfect at this point. We only learn from other sources that after Ferhad, Iskender,¹⁰² Ulama *beg/paşa*'s son got Pozsega and died in a clash that was fought nearby on 28–29 September 1580.¹⁰³ As reported by Joachim von Sinzendorf, the Habsburg resident in Istanbul, the Sultan was extremely furious upon losing his commander and he himself had to apologize at the Grand Vizier.¹⁰⁴ The single Turkish document which I found about Iskender *beg* preserved the names of his nearest entourage, his “men” (*adamları*) who received *timars*.¹⁰⁵ Some weeks earlier than Iskender deceased, the *vilayet* of Bosnia was called to life and Pozsega became a part of it but this reorganization did not cause any modification regarding its actual leader.¹⁰⁶

Though his date of nomination remains in shadow, Iskender's successor was, in all likelihood, Mustafa. I have data concerning his activity from 27 August 1581.¹⁰⁷ It is worth mentioning that he sent a *defter* to the court in which he asked favour for 95 persons who had participated in the renovation of five fortresses in the farthest confines without financial contribution of the treasury. He itemized 8 *ziamet*-holders, 37 timariots, 20 equestrians (*faris*), and 30 *gureba* (namely individuals who had not belonged to the military) deserving the Sultan's grace recompensing their useful work.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰ Mühimme defteri 37, p. 87, No. 997.

¹⁰¹ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 19.

¹⁰² About his voracity (“*tante enim voracitatis eum fuisse, ideoque pinguem & obesum factum ferabant, vt integrum veruecem feruenti in furno coctum solus absumeret, & repetitis aliquot vicibus, vna die esitaret*”) and huge body see Isthvanfi, *Historiarum*, 557.

¹⁰³ Géza Pálffy, “Egy szlavóniai köznemesi familia két ország szolgálatában: a budróci Budor család a XV-XVIII. században,” *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 115 (2002): 943–44 and the literature cited in note 125.

¹⁰⁴ Türkei I. Karton 42. Konv. 2. 1580. VIII–IX., 281–288; Türkei I. Karton 43. Konv. 1. 1580. X–XII. und s.d., 151–160.

¹⁰⁵ Mühimme defteri 45, p. 267, No. 3193.

¹⁰⁶ Feridun Emecen, “Bosna Eyaleti,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 6 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992), 296; Hatice Oruç, “15. yüzyılda Bosna Sancağı ve idari dağılımı,” *OTAM* 18 (2005): 253, note 19. Ferhad became *beglerbegi* on 4 September (which is not very far from 23 September, postulated by Šabanović – *Bosanski pašaluk*, 78 – as *terminus ante quem* and cited widely). The relevant sentences from Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 2 were published by Metin Kunt, *Sancaktan eyalete. 1550–1650 arasında Osmanlı ümerası ve il idaresi*. (Boğaziçi Üniversitesi yayınları, 154.) (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1978), 150.

¹⁰⁷ Mühimme defteri 45, p. 145, No. 1695; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 7504, p. 121; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 241, p. 105.

¹⁰⁸ Date: 31 July–9 August 1583. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 5000. No page numbering.

On 12 May 1584 Mustafa¹⁰⁹ was moved to Klis, exchanging his place with Sinan's.¹¹⁰ After two months, on 6 July 1584 an earlier *beg* of Klis, who cannot be found in the *ümera* register relied upon here and must have been dismissed for a while, Mehmed emerges in Pozsega.¹¹¹ This *beg* was probably the addressee of a firman in November, 1584 which prescribed him, together with the district governors of Szeged (Ottoman Segedin) and Mohács, he should make the necessary steps if danger emerges in the Bosnian frontier area because this was the – otherwise quite logical – custom.¹¹²

Earlier, in Szigetvár, he got 590.138 *akçe* which is a clear sign of an advanced stage of career which we can follow considerably well for more than 25 years. We meet him first between 1562–1563 in Füleki,¹¹³ then in Arad–Gyula,¹¹⁴ after a probable interval – as we have seen – in Fehérvár, Pozsega, then again in Fehérvár, Shkodër,¹¹⁵ Delvine,¹¹⁶ Szerém,¹¹⁷ Szigetvár (Ottoman Sigetvar),¹¹⁸ Klis, Kjustendil (Ottoman Köstendil), Pozsega, Szolnok (Ottoman Solnik),¹¹⁹ Kjustendil, and Gyula in 1589.¹²⁰

¹⁰⁹ My data perhaps will help to solve at least a part of the uncertainties concerning his person as described by Hafizović, “Novi podaci o vakufu/legatu Benlu-age u Đakovu,” *Scrinia slavonica* 14 (2014): 46–47; Idem, “Lala Mustafa-paša – kliški sandžakbeg i vakif džamije u Livnu?” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 66 (2016): 99–109; Idem, *Požeski sandžak*, 45 (Here she mentions Filibeli Mustafa paša as *sancakbegi* of Pozsega which is, in all likelihood, a misunderstanding as an official of this name is only known – as far as I could check – from the 17th century (cf. Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, IV., yayına haz. Nuri Akbayar, eski yazıdan aktaran Seyit Ali Kahraman. (Tarih Vakfı Yurt yayınları, 30.) Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1996, 1194) while the respective district governors were Arslan, Hasan and Bayram in the given year.)

¹¹⁰ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, pp. 19, 35, and 8. Data on p. 35 in this *defter* were cited by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, “Prof. Tayyib Okıç ve Bosna-Hersek tarihi, Bosna Eyaleti,” in *Tayyib Okıç armağanı*. Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1978, XLI.

¹¹¹ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 35.

¹¹² Musa Günay, *55 numaralı mühimme defteri. Yüksek lisans tezi* (Samsun: 1996), 58, No. 79 (p. 45 in the original).

¹¹³ Gisela Procházka-Eisl and Claudia Römer, *Osmanische Beamtenschreiben und Privatbriefe der Zeit Süleymâns des Prächtigen aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien. Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen*. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 357.) Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007, 122, No. 61.

¹¹⁴ Géza Dávid, “The *Sancakbegis* of Arad and Gyula,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XLVI (1992/93): 148–149.

¹¹⁵ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 5.

¹¹⁷ Flügel 1387 (Mxt 597), f. 263r–v.

¹¹⁸ Géza Dávid, “Török közigazgatás a városban,” in *Szigetvár története. Tanulmányok a város múltjából*, szerk. Sándor Bósze, László Ravazdi, and László Szita (Szigetvár, Szigetvár Város Önkormányzata and Szigetvári Várbaráti Kör), 2006, 124, No. 7.; Maliyeden müdevver defter 15283, pp. 302–306.

¹¹⁹ Timar ruznamçe defteri 78, part Solnik, pp. 33–34 (my pagination).

¹²⁰ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 252, p. 27.

On 5 June 1585 the *beglerbegi* of Buda was instructed in a prebend issue as a reflection upon Mehmed's letter written as the *mirliva* of Pozsega in which he repeated his request having been formulated when he was running affairs in Szigetvár during his stay there between 1581–1582.¹²¹ By this time his term in Pozsega had ended (and this fact was somehow disregarded by the court), since upon the demand of Vizier Mehmed *paşa*, Mahmud, the *beg* of Kjustendil received Pozsega on 26 May 1585¹²² and supposedly Sinan was selected to continue his activity there.¹²³

The next year brought three nominations: Mahmud was followed by Hüseyin on 9 May 1586, arriving from Szerém, then came Mustafa, having worked in Klis, on 27 July, while Hüseyin returned to Pozsega on 2 November.¹²⁴

A not very precise Ottoman chronicle from the point of view of indicating dates, states that Tiryaki Hasan had a short period in Pozsega sometimes before 19 August 1587,¹²⁵ probably around 15 March.¹²⁶ This knowledge seems to harmonize with Bartholomäus Pezzen's information of 27 September 1587, according to which Hasan *beg* was transferred back to Szigetvár and the latter's leader to Pozsega.¹²⁷ The second part of the previous sentence cannot be corroborated since Şehsüvar functioned in Szigetvár from March 1587 until the beginning of 1588.¹²⁸

Here we have another lacuna, at least I do not exactly know when Ferhad *beg* started his activity in Pozsega or who had preceded him. It is, however, clear that his term ended there on 15 December 1589 when he was sent to Pécs.¹²⁹ His post was given to Halil who had received Pécs three weeks earlier.¹³⁰ This decision was in effect also only for a short time: we see Ferhad's name again as the *mirliva* of Pozsega on 14 January 1590.¹³¹ His return did not last long, either; he is men-

¹²¹ Imre Karácson, *Török–magyar oklevéltár, 1533–1789*, szerk. Lajos Thallóczy, János Kracsári, and Gyula Szekfű (Budapest, Stephaneum Nyomda, 1914), 130, No. 161.

¹²² Gökbilgin, Prof. Tayyib Okiç, XLI, misread the name of the months; he gave *zi'l-kade* instead of *cemazi'ü-l-evvel*.

¹²³ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 244, p. 191; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 35.

¹²⁴ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 262, p. 35; for Klis p. 34 (the name is missing but the date and earlier place of service are the same what escaped Gökbilgin's attention).

¹²⁵ Osman Ünlü, *Kanije müdafaası ve Cihâd-nâme-i Hasan paşa*. (Istanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi, 2015), 170–71. Cf. Mahmut Ak, „Tiryâki Hasan paşa,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 41, (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2012), 205 (he probably relied on the same work published by Ünlü).

¹²⁶ Dávid, „Török közigazgatás a városban,” 125, No. 12.

¹²⁷ Türkei I. Karton 63. Konv. 2. 1587. IX. 2. Hälfté, 75–108.

¹²⁸ Dávid, „Török közigazgatás a városban,” 125, No. 13.

¹²⁹ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 252, p. 166. Cf. Géza Dávid, „Mohács–Pécs 16. századi bégjei,” *Pécs a törökkerban*, szerk. Ferenc Szakály (and József Vonyó). (Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből, 7.) (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 1999), 81, 84.

¹³⁰ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 252, p. 145.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

tioned as former district governor at the end of September, 1590 and as “late” in early June 1591.¹³²

One single reference can be found in my collection on Ali *beg*, speaking about a *timar* grant registered on his initiative on 30 November 1592.¹³³ Austrian documents know about Ramazan *beg*, who arrived at Pozsega around 3 June 1593 and died in the battle of Sziszek (Croatian Sisak) on 22 June.¹³⁴ Finally, Bahtiyar’s name is preserved in firmans from 1594–1595 issued as a result of his recommendations submitted as the *mirliva* of the administrative unit under scrutiny.¹³⁵

Somewhat surprisingly archival sources seem to be mute on the *sancakbegis* of Pozsega for the rest of the century, or – more likely – I was careless while consulting them. Chronicles are not very promising, either. It is difficult to judge how far Hafizović’s hints about Ibrahim *beg* in 1597 and Hasan *beg* in 1598 are correct because no proof is offered by her.¹³⁶

Though I have pointed out elsewhere that the *sancak* of Pozsega belonged to the short lived *vilayet* of Szigetvár from approximately July 1595 (or somewhat earlier) until its suppression, this fact should be repeated here.¹³⁷ It is more widely known that after the capturing of Kanizsa in 1600, three districts, Pécs, Pozsega, and Szigetvár were attached to the new province established there.¹³⁸

CONCLUSION

We could identify 44 (+ 2 uncertain) *sancakbegis* in the *sancak* of Pozsega between 1538 and 1598. This means that the chief administrators here were changed very often. Within the period January 1538 and September 1590 documents show 41 *mirlivas* serving altogether some 540 months while we have no or incomplete data for approximately 90 months. This means that the average term of a district governor in Požega in the 16th century was not much more than 13 months, shorter than in other regions of Ottoman Hungary. It is another question that several officials were appointed more than once to this very same place. Though occasion-

¹³² Maliyeden müdevver defter 15567, pp. 89 and 162, respectively.

¹³³ Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 253, p. 4.

¹³⁴ Leopold Toifl, “Das Jahr 1593 als Vorspiel des Dreizehnjährigen Türkenkrieges,” *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 100 (2009): 146 (misspelt as Rachmatin), 149 (the author does not comment the difference in spelling).

¹³⁵ Maliyeden müdevver defter 15567, pp. 176 and 195.

¹³⁶ Hafizović, *Požeški sandžak*, 123.

¹³⁷ Géza Dávid, “Ottoman Administrative Strategies in Western Hungary,” in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. by Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul: The Isis Press), 1994, 39.

¹³⁸ Cf. Nenad Moačanin, “Verwaltungsgeschichte Mittelslawoniens als Bestandteil des eyâlets Kanizsa,” *Zalai Múzeum* 4 (1992): 73–75; Dávid, “Ottoman Administrative Strategies,” 41–42.

ally it is not easy to decide if namesakes are identical persons or not, in other cases there is no doubt about it. It would be crucial to figure out if the four Balis are one or two individuals since they “reigned” in Pozsega altogether 111 months and with this length – if he is the same *beg* throughout – he would be the first among his colleagues. Otherwise Arslan would hold the record with a bit more than six years. His is, otherwise the longest duration of one single period of service with 45 months right when the district was established. If we add Murad’s 39 months, a 7 year period results which must have been decisive for the future of the administrative unit discussed. On the other hand, more than twenty appointment terms lasted less than one year; it is remarkable that after 1578 nobody could sit longer than 12 months in Pozsega. Among them Lala Hüseyin enjoyed the shortest the Sultan’s grace: he “possessed” the office in question only for three days. But we can doubt effective work in the case of all those who had to say goodbye to their post in Pozsega before 3 months or so. Some of our people were or became local potentates, the Yahyapaşa family and the Eastern lords were comparatively highly represented, especially at the beginning. Later the background is not always clear, but the fact that the income of *begs* of Pozsega often amounted to high sums evidently shows that the *sancak* had a special place in the area. (Out of the 17 instances when the *mirliva*’s *hases* were detailed or only their total was given we find 3 men with 6–700.000, 4 with 5–600.000, 3 with 4–500.000, 5 with 3–400.000 and only 2 with 2–300.000 *akçe* annual “wage”. We should not forget, however, that occasionally they are the same individuals.) The composition of the high-ranking officials’ prebends significantly altered with the passing of time; initially most revenue-sources originated from territories outside the *sancak*, later there were almost no such examples (except for the “*ber kanda*” parts). Depending on their actual stage of career, 7 (in 1574), 10 (in 1572), 16 (in 1570) or 25 (in 1552) *nahiyes* contributed to the sum the given person was granted by the state. District governors of Pozsega were generally relocated within Rumelia, later also Bosnia (Klis playing an outstanding role from the point of view of where to come from and where to go to): from 26 merely 2 *begs* came from far away corners of the Empire and just 1 single from the court. This fact can be explained by the region’s being in the *serhat* (border zone area) where experience, talent and/or local knowledge counted somewhat more than in core territories where a novice could also perform his duty well.

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APPENDIX 1

*The sancakbegis of Pozsega in the 16th century*¹³⁹

Name	Beginnig	End of service	Duration	Previous place of service	Amount of <i>hases</i> (<i>akçe</i>)
Arslan	beginning of 1538 (?)	18 September 1541	45 months?	?	210.114
Murad	18 September 1541	End of 1544, beginning of 1545?	39 months?	Klis	345.000
Bali	22 January 1545	25 March 1547	26 months	Vidin	300.000
Ulama	25 March 1547	20 March 1548	1 year	Bosna	500.000
Mehmed Han	10 December 1549	11 January 1550	1 month	?	700.000
Yahya	11 January 1550	19 May 1550	4 months	?	?
Ahmed	19 May 1550	14 September 1550	4 months	Egypt	300.000
Ulama 2nd time	14 September 1550	10 October 1551	13 months	Karaman	600.000
Mehmed Han 2nd time	10 October 1551	around 4 March 1552	6 months	Zvornik	700.000
Ulama 3rd time	around 4 March 1552	before 18–27 December 1552	9 months	Fehérvár	?
Bali 2nd time	before 18–27 December 1552	14 April 1556	40 months	Vidin	482.630
Bayram	14 April 1556	around January 1558	20 months?	Euboea	?
Halil	around January 1558	before 25 March 1559	15 months	?	?
Veli	before 14 April 1559	around 17 July 1559	4 months	Fehérvár?	?
Hüseyin	around 17 July 1559	around 3 August 1559	less than a month	Szendrő	?
Bali 3rd time??	around 3 August 1559	around 12 September 1560	13 months?	?	?
Hüseyin	around 12 September 1560	15 September 1560	3 days	?	?
Lala Mustafa	15 September 1560	18 October 1560	1 month	Istanbul	?
Arslan 2nd time	18 October 1560	before 4 April 1563	29 months	Mohács-Pécs	?
Hasan	before 4 April 1563	18 October 1563	7 months (?)	Füleki	?

¹³⁹ After submitting the final version of my article I found one more *beg* of Pozsega. He was Malkoç and appointed on 5 November 1558 from Bosna while his predecessor, Halil became the district governor of Nikopol four days earlier (Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 216, p. 18.) Consequently 45 (+ 2 uncertain) *sancakbeyis* could be identified. My observation (“or another Malkoç, however, was never the *beg* of Pozsega”) in note 41 needs partial revision. I am grateful to Prof. Kursar for his accepting this addition.

Bayram 2nd time	18 October 1563	8 July 1564	9 months	Szerém	?
Nasuh	8 July 1564 (?)	10 December 1566	28 months	?	?
Bali 4th time??	10 December 1566	27 July 1569	32 months	Szerém	560.000
Ali	27 July 1569	12/13 May 1571	21 months	Vidin	442.606
Mehmed	12/13 May 1571	9 July 1572	14 months	Fehérvár	463.250
Hızır	9 July 1572	6 February 1574	19 months	Začasna	353.610
Sinan	6 February 1574	29 January 1576	24 months	Szekszárd	298.700
Hasan 2nd time	29 January 1576	before 29 September 1578	?	Nikopol	590.000
Mahmud	before 29 September 1578	9 December 1578	?	?	?
Ferhad	9 December 1578	?	11 months??	Fülek	399.339
Iskender	?	28–29 September 1580	11 months??	?	?
Mustafa	?	12 May 1584	?	?	?
Sinan	12 May 1584	6 July 1584	2 months	Klis	?
Mehmed 2nd time	6 July 1584	26 May 1585	11 months	Klis	590.138
Mahmud	26 May 1585	9 May 1586	11 months	Kjustendil	?
Hüseyin	9 May 1586	27 July 1586	3 months	Szerém	?
Mustafa 2nd time	27 July 1586	2 November 1586	3 months	Klis	?
Hüseyin 2nd time	2 November 1586	March (?) 1587	4 months (?)	Klis	?
Tiryaki Hasan	March (?) 1587	September (?) 1587	6 months (?)	Szigetvár	?
Ferhad 2nd time	?	15 December 1589	?	?	?
Halil	15 December 1589	around 14 January 1590	1 month	Pécs	?
Ferhad 3rd time	around 14 January 1590	before end of September 1590	9 months?	?	?
Ali	?	active before 30 November 1592	?	?	?
Ramazan	around 3 June 1593	22 June 1593	?	?	?
Bahtiyar	?	active before 1594	?	?	?
Ibrahim (?)	?	1597	?	?	?
Hasan (?)	?	1598	?	?	?

APPENDIX 2

The sancakbegis of Pozsega in the 17th century

Once I collected them, I add a list of 17th century “*sancakbegis*” in Pozsega, but in a shortened form. It should not be forgotten that the *liva* often lost its real administrative character because it was granted as *arpalık* to provincial governors in or out of office, which practice was typical for the period. The dates indicated are sometimes exact, in other cases approximate or refer merely to a *terminus ante quem*.

Mustafa paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Kanizsa (later Hungarian Nagykanizsa, Ottoman Kanije), before April, 1602. Tımar ruznamçe defteri 259, p. 561; possessing the *sancak* as a *beglerbeglik*, second half of April, 1603, *Osmanlı tarihine âid belgeler: telhisler (1597–1607)*. Hazırlayan: Cengiz Orhonlu. (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1511.) İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1970, 56, No. 65, 58-59 No. 68, 61, No. 71.

Mehmed, former *beglerbegi* of Bosnia, July 1603. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 149, f. 18^r.

Hasan, February, 1604. Ibid. f. 63^r.

Hızır, the *kapucubaşı* of the late [Lala Mehmed?], beginning of October, 1605. *Tarih-i Peçevî*. II. No place, no date, 307.

Mehmed, 1612. Türki I. Karton 94. Konv. 2. 1612.V–VII., 177. (Undated Croatian letter of “Posseski Mehmed Begh”.)

Nuri, 1616-1622? (?). Nenad Moaçanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690*. (The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage 35.) Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006, 135. I could not check the validity of this piece of information. The period seems unusually long and disputable since we have Ibrahim from June, 1617.¹⁴⁰

Ibrahim, June, 1617. Tımar ruznamçe defteri 377, p. 22; June 1618, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 71, p. 645.

Hasan (or Hüseyin?) paşa, in the form of *arpalık*, 27 October–24 November 1631. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 266, f. 16^r.

Mustafa paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Bosnia, in the form of *arpalık*, 26 June, 1633, prolonged on 24 March, 1635. Ibid.

Mehmed paşa, former *beglerbegi* of --- (left open), in the form of *arpalık*, 20–29 January, 1636. Ibid.

Sarhoş Ibrahim paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Bosnia, 3 January, 1637. Ibid.

Mustafa paşa, possessing formerly Karahisar-i Şarkî in the form of *arpalık*, 18 December, 1640. Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Moaçanin, *Town and Country*, 136, speaks of a certain Kulaksız Ali bey/paşa without time indication.

Mehmed, the brother of Silihdar paşa, former *sancakbegi* of Jerusalem (Kuds-i Şerif), 24 December (?), 1640. He was appointed because Mustafa had not accepted Pozsega. Ibid.

Rızvan paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Eger (Ottoman Egri, Egre), in the form of *arpalık*, 21 December, 1641. Ibid; Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, A-RSK-d 1512, p. 38.

Hasan paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Temesvár, 28. July, 1643. A-RSK-d 1512, p. 38.

Dilaver paşa, dismissed (*mazul*) from the *sancak* of Klis, 24 January, 1644. Ibid.

Ismail, former *baş kapuci başı*, 4 July, 1644. Ibid.

Hüseyn paşa, who had formerly possessed in the form of *arpalık* the *sancak* of Herzegovina (Ottoman Hersek), 8 August, 1644. Ibid.

Mustafa (Turahan oğlu), dismissed (*mazul*) from the *sancak* of Kjustendil, 19 October, 1645, prolonged on 7 January, 1646. Ibid.

Memi (or Muhyi ?), dismissed (*mazul*) from the *sancak* of Kruševac (Ottoman Alaca Hisar), 4 April, 1646. Ibid.

Mustafa (Davud paşazade), 25 September, 1646, prolonged 4–13 July, 1647. Ibid.

Hasan, former *bostancıbaşı*, 4 October, 1647, received the rank of Kanizsa. 16 October, 1647. Ibid.

Mustafa, former *sancakbegi* of ? (I cannot read/identify), 8 October, 1650. A-RSK-d 1522, p. 32. (OTKA); prolonged 12. July 1651. Ibid., p. 111,

Bektaş, anew, he was confirmed on the intervention of his predecessor, Mustafa. (This implies that earlier he had already served in Pozsega.) 20 July, 1651. Ibid, p. 114.

Mehmed, from among the *müteferrikas* of the court. 8 November, 1651. A-RSK-d 1524, p. 80. (OTKA)

Ali, the *alaybegi* of Pozsega, from among the *ziamet*-holders, 17 July, 1652, A-RSK-d, 1526, p. 22. (OTKA)

Ibrahim paşa, 16 June, 1653. A-RSK-d, 1526, p. 180.

Muharrem, former *beg* of Pozsega receives Fehérvár. 23 October, 1654. A-RSK-d, 1526, p. 262.

Musli, confirmed on the intervention of Buda, 11 July, 1654. A-RSK-d, 1526, p. 312. (I did not find any reference on his appointment, the last being that of Ibrahim paşa's (see above).

Mehmed, probably an earlier *beg* of Pozsega, 8 June, 1655. A-RSK-d 1529, p. 52. (OTKA)

Hasan paşa, former *beglerbegi* of Kanizsa, as *arpalık*, 3 October, 1655. A-RSK-d 1529, p. 119.

Ak Yaka Mustafa, from among the *sipahis*, 23 June, 1656. A-RSK-d 1529, p. 265.

Mustafa, former *kapuçular kethüdası*, 6 October, 1656. A-RSK-d 1531, p. 2. (OTKA)

Ibrahim *paşa*, before 17 April, 1660. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 434, p. 12.

Ibrahim *paşa*, former *beglerbegi* of Eger, in the form of *arpalık*, from 26 September, 1660. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi 434, p. 12.

Mustafa, *paşa, vezir*, in the form of *arpalık*, active July 1661. Lajos Fekete, *A hódoltság török levéltári forrásai nyomában*. Szerk. Géza Dávid. (Budapest Oriental Reprints. Series A 6. Editors: E. Schütz.–É. Apor). Budapest: Kőrösi Csoma Társaság and Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1993, 223, No. 20.

Hasan, *paşa*, in the form of *arpalık*, active June, 1663. Fekete, *A hódoltság török*, 237, No. 73.

Bekir (?), *mutasarrıf* of Pozsega, active July, 1663. Fekete, *A hódoltság török*, 242, No. 91.

Kaplan Mustafa (?), *paşa, vezir*, active February, 1664. Fekete, *A hódoltság török*, 260, Nos. 149, 150.

Fındık Mustafa *paşa*. 1684. Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa, *Silahdar tarihi*. II. Istanbul: 1928, 183.

Osman *paşa*. 1684. ("Early in 1684 he performed badly in the defense of the approaches to Buda and was demoted to the commonplace rank of *sancakbegi* of Pozsega." Colin Heywood, *Bosnia Under Ottoman Rule, 1463-1800*. In: *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*. Ed. by Mark Pinson. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1994, 38. He went to Eger in c. May, 1685. *Silahdar tarihi*, II. 199.

Osmanpaşaoğlu Ahmed *paşa, vezir*, from c. May, 1685 until 27 November, 1685. Silahdar, *Silahdar tarihi*, II. 199; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Bağdat 174, f. 41^r.

Fındık Mustafa *paşa*, until 17 December, 1686. Kanizsa. Silahdar, *Silahdar tarihi*, II. 261.

Ibrahim *paşa*. 1687. Asmir Hasičić, *Slavonija u sastavu osmanskog carstva*. (*Diplomski rad*.) Sarajevo, 2004, 37. (https://issuu.com/mesicbooks/docs/hasii_asmir_-_slavonija_u_sastavu_o) (The author cites Ive Mažuran's *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 1998, 259.)

Yeni Zaim, 1691. Moačanin, *Town and Country*, 136: "perhaps the last *sancakbeyi*". I could not check the validity of this piece of information. The name sounds queer.