ŞEREFE STUDIES IN HONOUR OF PROF. GÉZA DÁVID ON HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

Edited by

PÁL FODOR NÁNDOR E. KOVÁCS BENEDEK PÉRI



Research Centre for the Humanities

ŞEREFE

STUDIES IN HONOUR OF PROF. GÉZA DÁVID On his seventieth birthday



Editor: Pál Fodor



Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Budapest, 2019

ŞEREFE STUDIES IN HONOUR OF PROF. GÉZA DÁVID ON HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

Edited by

PÁL FODOR, NÁNDOR E. KOVÁCS and BENEDEK PÉRI



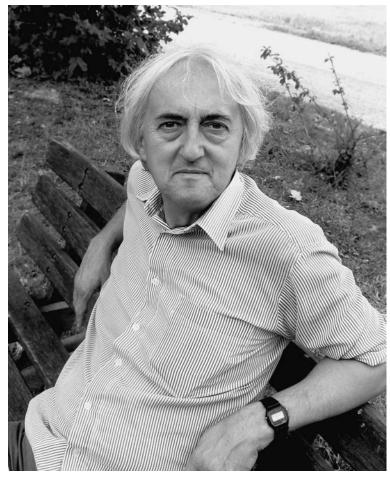
Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Budapest, 2019

 $^{\odot}$ Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019 $^{\odot}$ Authors, 2019

ISBN 978-963-416-182-0 ISSN 2630-8827

Published by the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Responsible editor: Pál Fodor Prepress preparation: Institute of History, RCH HAS Research Assistance Team; Leader: Éva Kovács Cover design: Bence Marafkó Page layout: Bence Marafkó Map: Béla Nagy Printed in Hungary by Séd Kft., Szekszárd



Géza Dávid

CONTENTS

TO GEZA DAVID ON HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY (Pál Fodor)
L'ANATOLIE PRÉ-OTTOMANE SELON UN CHOIX DE SOURCES DU XIII ^{ÈME} SIÈCLE
DAVID AND THE CHAIN MAIL: A TRADITIONAL TELMÎH ('ALLUSION') IN OTTOMAN POETRY
WOLF ON THE BORDER: YAHYAPAŞAOĞLU BALİ BEY (?–1527). EXPANSION AND PROVINCIAL ÉLITE IN THE EUROPEAN CONFINES OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY
FIRANGI, ZARBZAN, AND RUM DASTURI: THE OTTOMANS AND THE DIFFUSION OF FIREARMS IN ASIA
AFTER MOHÁCS: HOW NEWS FROM HUNGARY REACHED VENICE
TOGETHER OR SEPARATELY – FAMILY STRATEGIES AND RESILIENCE IN DIVIDED HUNGARY

NEW FINDINGS ON THE EXTENT OF THE
EARLY ESTATES OF THE BEYLERBEYIS OF BUDA
AND THE BEYS OF MOHAÇ
Éva Sz. Simon
THE LION THAT WAS ONLY A CAT:
SOME NOTES ON THE LAST YEARS AND THE DEATH
OF ARSLAN PASHA, <i>BEY</i> OF SEMENDİRE
AND BEYLERBEY! OF BUDA
Claudia Römer – Nicolas Vatin
THE DEMISE OF THE PASHA:
SOME REMARKS ON HADIM ALİ PASHA,
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL
OF BUDA'S DEATH
Feridun M. Emecen
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PROBATE INVENTORIES
FROM TOLNA TOWN
Ibolya Gerelyes
SOLDIERS OF THE SULTAN IN OTTOMAN HUNGARY:
THE TESTIMONY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS 211
Gyöngyi Kovács
AN OTTOMAN GARDEN – THE PALACE OF BEYLERBEYIS
IN BUDA
Adrienn Papp
REGULATIONS AND PRACTICE:
FICTION AND REALITY IN OTTOMAN HUNGARY
(THOUGHTS ON SOURCE CRITICISM)
Klára Hegyi
Nuuu 1 legyi

ACCOUNTS OF THE BATTLE OF MEZŐKERESZTES IN THE PINELLI COLLECTION OF THE BIBLIOTECA
AMBROSIANA IN MILAN
AYN ALİ'S TREATISE ON THE "RANKS"
THE BOSNIAN FRANCISCANS IN OTTOMAN PEST-BUDA 307 Antal Molnár
THE STORY OF MÜRTEZA PASHA
THE 1635 PETITION OF THE TATARS OF KAZANRE-EXAMINED
VON DER HEERESFOLGE FREIGESTELLTE TIMAR-INHABER IN DER ZWEITEN HÄLFTE DES 17. JAHRHUNDERTS 381 <i>Hans Georg Majer</i>
OTTOMAN TRIBUTES AND CIRCULATION OF MONEY IN THE PRINCIPALITY OF TRANSYLVANIA, 1658–1687 399 János Buza
JÁNOS FERDINAND AUER AND HIS IMPRISONMENT IN THE SEVEN TOWERS (1663–1674): A PRISONER
OF DIPLOMACY
PETITION BY REBEL HUNGARIAN NOBLES FOR COMPLETE SUBMISSION TO THE OTTOMAN PORTE (1672)

ROMA ÇASARIYLA ŞEVKETLÜ PADİŞAHIMUZUN SULH [U] SALAHI OLUB – THE TWO ALİ PASHAS OF TEMEŞVAR ON THE HABSBURG, HUNGARIAN AND OTTOMAN FRONTIER AT THE TIME OF THE RÁKÓCZI WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
ESCHATOLOGY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF OTTOMAN
IMPERIAL PROPAGANDA IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY: SOME REMARKS ON THE TREATISE
OF İBRAHİM MÜTEFERRİKA
FIRES IN ISTANBUL: EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY REFLECTIONS
ON THE SULTANS' LEGITIMACY
THE SANCAK OF SEMENDIRE AND ITS GOVERNORS IN THE
SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
HUNGARIAN DIPLOMATIC ENVOYS IN CONSTANTINOPLE
DURING THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION AND WAR OF
INDEPENDENCE OF 1848–1849

NEW FINDINGS ON THE EXTENT OF THE EARLY ESTATES OF THE BEYLERBEYIS OF BUDA AND THE BEYS OF MOHAÇ

Éva Sz. Simon Hungarian National Archives, Budapest simon.eva@mnl.gov.hu

DISCOVERY OF TWO FRAGMENTARY SOURCES

In the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Turkish Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives, henceforth BOA), the volumes of the *defterhane* of the Sublime Porte are arranged in two series. The first, Tapu Tahrir Defteri (henceforth TT. d.), with about 1100 *defters*, contains the *sancak* surveys and related *timar* registers produced between 1431 and 1882. This is the larger and better-known series. The second, Bab-i Asafi Defterhane-i Amire Defterleri (henceforth A. DFE. d.), has another 851 surveys, produced in almost exactly the same period as the first. They are dated between 1453 and 1852 and are mostly fragments of *defters*, many of which are difficult to identify.¹ Some of them concern Hungary. Here, we discuss two *defter* fragments which at first sight seem valueless but have turned out to contain valuable new information on the early period of Ottoman-occupied South Transdanubia.²

This paper has been written with the support of grant number OTKA K 108919.

The map sketches were prepared by: Éva Sz. Simon, László Kollányi, Péter Kollányi.

2 BOA A. DFE. d. 33, 626.

¹ Yusuf Sarınay (ed.), Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi. İstanbul, 2010, 99.

What makes their discovery particularly welcome is that the formation and early history of Ottoman Hungary are among the most difficult subjects for Hungarian Ottomanists. From Géza Dávid's graphic and imaginative comparison of 1991, it is now well-known that "The first Buda beylerbeyis sat in Buda like spiders, ensconcing themselves in the castle with only a tiny filament connecting them to the body of the empire".³ Apart from the central sancak or liva of Buda, most of their vilayet consisted of sancaks in Balkan territory: those of Ösek (Eszék/Osijek), Semendire (Szendrő/Smederevo), İzvornik (Zvornik), Alacahisar (Kruševac) and Vulçıtrın (Vučitrn). Initially, the only transport route that connected these lands to the centre was the River Danube. When Gyula Káldy-Nagy produced his account of the subject in 1977, research findings were only beginning to appear, and he had to rely on the descriptions of Ottoman historians that were not backed up by evidence from primary sources.⁴ This shows the paucity of sources on the Ottoman rule of Hungary before 1552. There are hardly any coherent, researchable archival documents on this period except for the work of the historians and some haphazard Hungarian correspondence. There are almost no defters with abundant data of the kind that came later, such as the series of mühimme *defteris* containing the copies of decrees issued by the imperial council (*divan*) and the ruznamce defteris recording grants of estates. In the above case, the deciding evidence to support the link between the Balkan lands and Buda described in the early chronicles came from an undated list found by Géza Dávid some twenty years later.⁵

Although more and more surviving archival documents have been studied and made accessible, the situation has hardly changed. We still have hardly any knowledge of the territorial changes directly following the capture of Buda or the distribution and location of the first Ottoman revenue estates. At present, we have information from only one *ruznamce defteri* written in

³ Géza Dávid, 'A budai beglerbégek jövedelmei és birtokai a 16. században', *Keletkutatás* 1991 tavasz, 51.

⁴ Gyula Káldy-Nagy, A budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása. Budapest, 1977, 7.

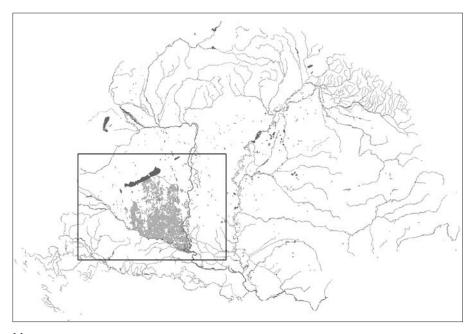
⁵ Dávid, 'A budai beglerbégek', 49. Cf. Feridun M. Emecen and İlhan Şahin, 'Osmanlı Taşra Teşkilâtının Kaynaklarından 957–958 (1550–1551) Tarihli Sancak Tevcîh Defteri', *Belgeler* 19:23 (1998) 53–121, + facs.

1541–1542, some of it concerning the history of possession of the dignitaries and military officials of the *sancaks* that belonged to the *vilayet* of Buda.⁶ The picture comes into much sharper focus after 1546. Most of the earliest *sancak* surveys of the Buda *vilayet* compiled by Çandarlızade Halil Bey have survived. Of the nine *sancaks* set up between 1541–1542 and 1546, there are surviving registers from Buda, Ösek, Estergon (Esztergom), Novigrad (Nógrád), Hatvan, Mohaç (Mohács) and Şimontorna (Simontornya) in the BOA collection and those from Segedin (Szeged) are held in the Paris National Library, but those from İstolni Belgrad (Székesfehérvár) are lost.⁷ These allow the area of the *sancaks* to be clearly determined. Nonetheless, the series of records of the granting of revenue estates produced on the basis of these surveys are severely incomplete. Consequently, our knowledge of the Ottoman estate history of each region in Hungary even in the period after 1546 is somewhat haphazard.

South Transdanubia is one of the regions most poorly served by the sources.⁸ Research by Géza Dávid and Ferenc Szakály has provided the main basis for our knowledge of its early history.⁹ Their thorough investigations have established with certainty that the *sancak* of Mohaç was created before 11 March 1542. We can only guess the territorial extent of the district before 1546, however. We know almost nothing of the early Ottoman possessions that built up in the area. *Sancak* survey data for 1546, however, allow the borders of the *liva* to be drawn accurately (Map 1). In the absence of records of *timar* grants and the first *timar* registers produced on the basis of the 1546 *sancak* survey, however, we

^{BOA Maliyeden Müdevver Defteri (MAD. d.) 34. For the Hungarian-related data of the register, see Géza Dávid, 'A budai szandzsák első tímár-birtokosai',} *Keletkutatás* 1995. ősz, 111–114.
BOA TT. d. 388, 437, 410, 981, 441, 400; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Turc. Suppl. No. 76.
From the early period, only the *sancak* survey of 1546 has survived, ordered by a command sent to the district governor of Mohács in March 1545: "...the condition of the places and relations with the *reaya* must, as for the other provinces, be determined." Káldy-Nagy, *A budai szandzsák*, 10. (TSMA D. 12321, p.142.)

⁹ Ferenc Szakály, 'Az első dunántúli szandzsák és megszervezője, Kászim bég', *Keletkutatás* 1995. tavasz, 23–45; Géza Dávid, 'Kászim vojvoda, bég és pasa. I–II. rész', *Keletkutatás* 1995. ősz, 53–66; 1996. tavasz, 41–56; Géza Dávid, 'Mohács–Pécs 16. századi bégjei', in Ferenc Szakály and József Vonyó (eds.), *Pécs a törökkorban*. (Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből, 7.) Pécs, 1999, 51–87.



Map 1 The extent of the sancak of Mohaç in 1546

cannot even guess who possessed these estates, in what proportions, or how the land was distributed. That explains the special significance of the two fragments that have now come to light in the BOA for the estate history of the region, even if they give only a patchy version of the overall picture.

One of the recently-discovered source fragments (I) is not complete at its beginning and end, and its exact date is not known. The title given in the catalogue of the BOA is "Some towns and villages belonging to Şikloş (Siklós) and Kopan (Koppány) classified among the *has* estates of the district governor of Mohaç."¹⁰ The document is part of a *timar defteri*, and what survives of it covers 298 towns and villages, providing data on three estates, rather than the two mentioned in the Turkish catalogue:

¹⁰ BOA A.DFE. d. 626: Şikloş ve Kopan'a bağlı bazı varoş ve köylerde, Budin Vilayeti mir-i miran ve Mohaç mirliva haslarına ait tahrir defteri parçası.

I/1. The beginning is missing, which prevents identification of the holder unless a more detailed analysis is made. The total revenue of the estate was $474,088 \ akçes$ (pp. 1–3).

I/2. The *has* of the *beylerbeyi* of Buda, with a revenue of 496,017 *akçes* (pp. 4–17).

Since the usual revenue of the *beylerbeyi* of Buda was almost a million *akçes*, and often more than that, the amount of revenue suggests a survey of a partial *has* estate. The author of the *defter* did not, unfortunately, record the name of the governor-general.

I/3. Fragment of the has of the sancakbeyi of Mohaç (pp. 18–20).

The end of this estate register is missing, and so we do not know the total amount of its revenue. Neither does it give the name of the estate holder.

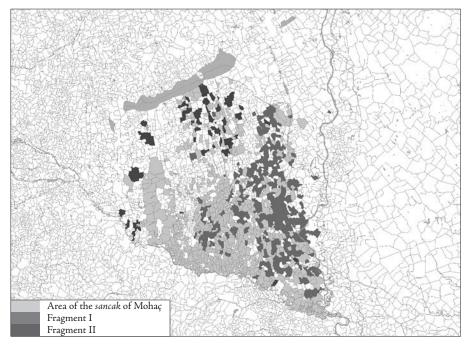
The name and date of the second *defter* fragment (II) causes even greater confusion. The catalogue of the BOA describes it merely as "a section of a *tahrir defteri* of villages connected to Szigetvár". Szigetvár came into Ottoman control only in 1566, but the *defter* includes an instruction written in different hand, and with a date. This is the first half of the month of Şevval in the 954th year of Hijra, the period 14–23 November 1547.¹¹ The surviving fragment of the record includes the names of only 59 towns and villages, all on a single estate:

II/1. Estate of an unknown owner with a total revenue of $435,000 \ akçes$ (pp. 1–4).

To render the details of the two surveys meaningful, we must first determine the time when their figures were produced. The Ottoman Database being built up in the Hungarian National Archives provides a means of interpreting and analysing the data contained in the newly-discovered *defter* fragments.¹² A search of data on each of the towns and villages in the documents reveals that the content of both fragments corresponds to that of the *timar defteri* associated with the *sancak* of Mohaç survey of 1546. The amounts of tax paid by these towns and villages given in the two *defter* fragments agree exactly with

11 BOA A.DFE. d. 33. Sigetvar (Zigetvar)'a bağlı köylerin tahrir defteri parçası.

12 The database is being produced with the support of grant number OTKA K 108919 by Klára Hegyi, Gábor Demeter, Éva Sz. Simon and Balázs Sudár.



Мар 2

Sources of the 1547 timar defteri of the sancak of Mohaç

those given in the *sancak* survey used as a control material. The two newlydiscovered fragments were thus certainly made between the date of writing of the 1546 *sancak* survey and the date given in Fragment II, mid-November 1547.¹³ Consequently, the mention of Szigetvár in the latterly-applied title seems unwarranted, since that town came under Ottoman control in 1566. The towns and villages in the *defter* fragments belong to the area of the *sancak* of Mohaç, and when plotted on the map, may be seen to have been bounded to

13 Data on the carrying out of the census is contained in a command of 16 January 1545 sent to Kasım, district governor of Mohács: Budun beğlerbeğisinden senün sancağına mal-i miri cemine adam geldükde senün dahi vukufun ve marifetün olmak..." Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, "Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való." A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1544–1545, 1552). Budapest, 2005, 45: No. 25. the north by Lake Balaton and the *sancaks* of Buda and Şimontorna, to the east by the Danube, to the south by the Dráva and to the west by the line of Hungarian forts Bélavár–Babócsa–Segesd–Marcali–Kéthely.

ESTATE HOLDERS AND THEIR LANDS

More thorough scrutiny of the *defter* clearly reveals the owner of each estate. The first villages covered in Fragment I (Danóc, 29,640 *akçes*; Vörösmart, 81,831 *akçes*; and Laskó, 42,240 *akçes*) had become sultan's revenue estates in 1544, before the first *sancak* survey, having previously belonged to the District Governor Kasım of Mohaç. At that time, they formed part of the *kaza* of Baranavar (Baranyavár).¹⁴ Laskó was continuously included in the sultan's *has*, even in 1570,¹⁵ and for this reason, and with reference to the regular content and structure of the *timar defteris*,¹⁶ we may reasonably conclude that it was already an imperial *has* estate in 1547.¹⁷ The first domain of Fragment I thus contains the villages of the *sancak* of Mohaç which had remained in the sultan's possession, with total revenue of 474,088 *akçes*.

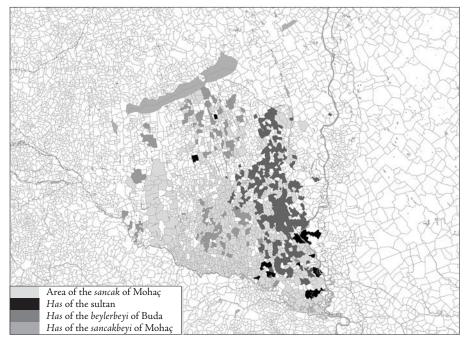
The governor-general of Buda had *has* estates in the *sancak* of Mohaç of approximately similar extent in 1547. In his 1991 work, Géza Dávid examined

14 On 13 January 1545: Budin defterdarına [bir hüküm ki:] Tolna kazasına tabi Eten ve Batasek nam varoşlar, Fat ve Şak nam kariyeler ve Baranavar kazasına tabi Nana ve Laşkova ve Danofça ve Fereşmarta nam varoşlar ve Mohaç kazasına tabi Bata ve nefs-i Mohaç ve Şarviz ködeprüsi [recte: köprüsi] mahsuli ve dalyanlar bundan akdem sene dokuzyüz elli rebüi'l-ahirinün yiğirmi dokuzuncı güninde vaki olan ağustos evvelinden kıdvetü'l-ümerai'l-kiram Mohaç sancağı beği Kasım dame izzuhu tahvilinden hassa-i hümayunuma ilhak olunub..." Dávid and Fodor, "Az ország ügye", 33, 35: Nos. 16, 17.

15 BOA TT d. 550 p.182.

16 The *timar defteris* were arranged by value of the estate types in the *sancak*, in descending order. They started with the old and new lands of the sultanic *has*, followed by the lands of the *beylerbeyi*, the *hases* and part-*hases* of the *mirlivas* of the district and of other *sancaks*, the *ziamet* lands of high-ranking persons in military service, the *sipahis' timar* lands and the collective (salary) *timars* of the garrison troops.

17 In 1545, Ahmed Bey of İstolni Belgrad asserted his right to the estates and seized their revenue. According to the sultan's command, however, they remained treasury estates. Dávid and Fodor, "*Az ország ügye*", 36–37.



Map 3

The has estates of the sultan, beylerbeyi and sancakbeyi in the sancak of Mohaç (1547)

the size the estates possessed by the *beylerbeyis* of Buda.¹⁸ He established that the Buda officials did not hold estates north of the Danube–Dráva line before May 1543. By 1547, the *beylerbeyi* had an income from the *sancak* of Buda of 199,156 *akçes*. Without the *timar defteris*, however, we cannot know exactly how much income he had from the other *sancaks*. The recently-discovered register tells us that in 1547, the *beylerbeyi* of Buda had the income from 233 towns and villages lying in a broad band of the area between the River Dráva and the southern border of the *sancak* of Buda, from the north-south course of the Danube to the east end of Lake Balaton. After 1547, we can therefore be sure that the third *beylerbeyi* of Buda, yahyapaşazade Mehmed (1543–1548), held lands in South Transdanubia, providing him with 496,017 *akçes*, nearly

18 Dávid, 'A budai beglerbégek', 49–64.

fifty per cent of his total income. This new data also proves that after the first *sancak* survey, the income of the Buda dignitaries no longer, or only to a very small extent, came from Balkan lands. To extend the metaphor: The spider started to weave his cross-fibres, and could close in on his prey.

The third part of Fragment I contains a partial record of the domain belonging to the *sancakbeyi* of Mohaç. After the *liva* was set up, its first *bey* was Kasım (1542?–1547).¹⁹ From the rigid rules governing the granting of Ottoman estates, we may safely infer that the places mentioned in the fragment belonged to his domain. Until now, we have only known of Kasım's *vakıfs*, and we had no knowledge of his official pay as a *sancakbeyi*. The (fractional) income of 115,509 *akçes* stated here and the geographical position of the towns and villages representing the income are very useful pieces of information. The income of the *beys* of Mohaç at this time, however, must have been about four times that amount. This implies that the majority of the domain is missing from the record. The Fragment II *defter* comes to our aid in reconstructing the missing parts.

Although Fragment II has exactly the same structure as the Mohaç *timar defteri* identified in Fragment I, we cannot state with complete certainty that Fragment II is the continuation of the *timar defteri*, because we cannot conclusively demonstrate that it was written by the same hand. It may be a copy, made for some reason on the basis of the *timar defteri*. Simultaneity is proved only by the identity of the data of the settlements with that in the 1546 register of the *sancak* of Mohaç. The proposition that the document is not a detached section of the original *timar defteri* would imply the need to seek an explanation for it being rewritten.

Fragment II comprises only the final part of the register of a domain. The towns and villages listed in the fragment still belonged to the *sancak* of Mohaç in 1546, but formed part of the *sancak* of Kopan after the 1552 surveys. Eleven towns entered at the end of the record are given only with estimated tax figures. Taken together, the places registered in the surviving fragment contributed 103,429 *akçes* of the 435,000-*akçe* total income from the domain, which means that about three quarters of the surveyed domain is missing from the register.

¹⁹ For his biography, see Szakály, 'Az első dunántúli szandzsák', 23–45; Dávid, 'Kászim vojvoda', 53–66.

Judging from contemporary incomes, this total amount must have been the income of a major sancak leader. Consequently, the owner of the domain registered in the fragment may reasonably be identified as a bey of Mohaç who was in position between 1546 and 1552, because the income of the Şimontorna beys in the area was much lower at this time, and the sancak of Kopan had not yet been established.²⁰ Possession by the *sancakbeyi* seems to be borne out by an entry made in another hand at the top of the last page of the manuscript, claiming that the estates for which estimated tax was entered (ber vech-i tahmin) were assigned to the has of the sancakbeyi. Now that there was peace with the "giaours", it had been commanded that these should not be given to anyone, but entered into the *defter*.²¹ An aid to identifying the *mirliva* who held the domain is a reference in the text to the making of peace. Although the entry was made between 14 and 23 November 1547, the peace was ratified the same year, by the Hungarian side on 16 August and by the Ottoman side on 14 October.²² The survey of the domain must have been taken at least before the Ottoman ratification. The last reference to Kasım's holding his position in Mohaç dates from 23 July 1547.23 Subsequently, sometime before his appointment as *beylerbeyi* of Buda on 25 December 1547,²⁴ he was relocated to İstolni Belgrad. His successor was Derviş, who had been promoted from Danube kapudan to be the founder of the sancak of Segedin and at that time was relocated from being bey of the sancak of Istolni Belgrad. As persons important enough to be assigned to found sancaks, both Kasım and Derviş had remuneration approaching half a million akces, and so we cannot determine with certainty whose income this sum of 435,000 constituted. The fact that there could

22 Papp Sándor, 'Kárrendezési kísérletek a hódoltságban az 1547. évi békekötés után', *Keletkutatás* 1996. ősz–2002. tavasz, 144.

23 BOA Kamil Kepeci tasnifi (KK d.) 208, p. 172, quoted by Dávid, 'Kászim vojvoda', 61.

24 BOA A RSK d. 1452, p. 28, quoted by Géza Dávid, 'Az első szegedi bég, Dervis életpályája', *Aetas* 14:4 (1999) 8.

²⁰ Dávid Géza, A simontornyai szandzsák a 16. században. Budapest, 1982, 27.

²¹ İşbu elli bin akçe ... timarlar ber vech-i tahmin mirlivaya has kayd olunmuş imiş. Haliya küffar-i haksar ile barışıklık olmağın kimesneye verilmesin diye emr olunub deftere kayd olunmak buyurulmağın... ("These 50,000-akçe timars, by estimate, were entered into the mirliva's has. Now that there is peace with the giaours, a command has been given not to give them to anyone. Their entry into the defter is commanded.")

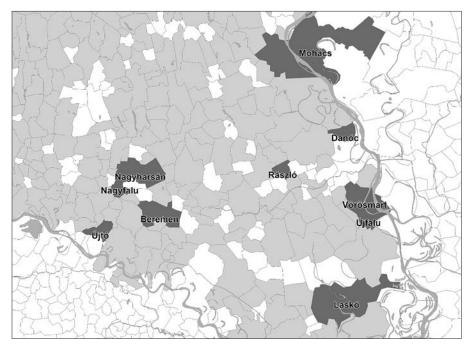
hardly have been any difference between their incomes, however, permits the inference that the domain may have been owned by both of them, almost unchanged. The dates make it most probable that the reason for the new survey was the change of places at the head of the *sancaks* of Mohaç and İstolni Belgrad, when the areas whose tax was estimated were detached from the new *bey*'s domain. No evidence to substantiate this hypothesis, however, has yet come to light. All we can say with certainty is that after 1546, the income of the *bey* of Mohaç in his own *sancak* was 435,000 *akçes*.

ESTATES AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

I he leaders of the Ottoman Empire used two methods in parallel as they advanced into the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary. The first, military conquest, involving the capture of Hungarian fortresses, was mainly conducted in campaigns. The second was mainly applied in the intervals between campaigns and during periods of peace. It was largely an administrative method. In these cases, unconquered territories were included in the *tahrir defteris* and assigned as revenue-bearing estates, thus motivating the leading persons and military officers of the *sancak* to tax the area and ultimately to widen the strategic operating area of the Ottoman Empire. The second method can mainly be traced through the abundant sources from the period following 1552.²⁵ The two source fragments described above prove that the tactic was being applied right from the start.

The fragments allow us to determine the location of three of the domains established on the land of the *sancak* of Mohaç, which was re-surveyed in 1546: the extension of the *has* estates of the sultan, the *beylerbeyi* and the *sancakbeyi* of Mohaç (Map 3). No data has survived on the income of the *sipahis*, the garrisons or the other officials. The domains in question lay in bands of varying width and density and were entered into the register in geographical order, from east to west, from the Danube to the border of the Kingdom of Hungary.

25 Éva Sz. Simon, 'Névlegesen birtokolt szandzsákbégi hászok a 16. századi oszmán terjeszkedés szolgálatában, *Századok* 141:6 (2007) 1351–1406.



Map 4 Sultanic hases in the sancak of Mohaç in 1547 26

The towns that lay closest to the principal military, supply and trade route, the Danube, remained in the possession of the sultan. The towns and villages that can be identified for the domain in the fragment include Mohács, Danóc, Vörösmart and Laskó, which lay along the Danube; Beremen and Nagyharsány, which lay on the approach route of the Dráva crossings; and six villages and a farm assigned to Siklós, Harsány and Koppány.²⁷ Since the *defter* is incomplete, we know nothing about the villages that provided twenty per cent of the estate

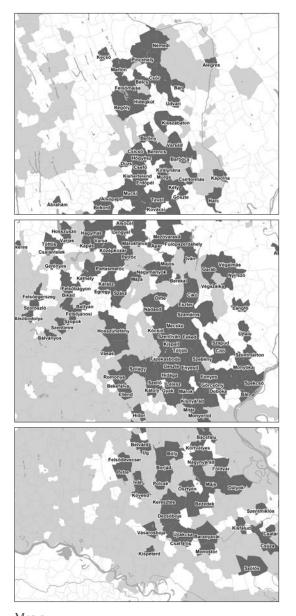
²⁶ The map does not include the villages in the north that were to be part of the *sancak* of Kopan: Aszaló, Déshida and Zics.

²⁷ Nagyfalu, later Siklósnagyfalu, lay at the crossroads of two major routes. It was on the road from Siklós to Beremend, and the road from Harsány that led through Szentmárton and the Dráva crossing Szomorréve. Márta Font, *Siklós középkori története*. Accessed 3 October 2018: http://tancsics.skisiklos.hu/doc/hh/forras2.pdf.

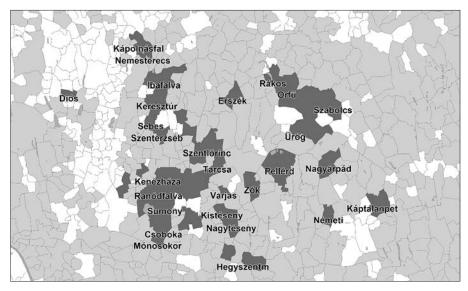
revenue. The census of the known villages covers gate tax, market duties and tolls, bearing out the thesis that the internal, easily-accessible, economically valuable areas of occupied Hungary remained in possession of the treasury.²⁸ In this initial period, however, the proportion of income of villages in the sancak of Mohaç reserved for the treasury was still relatively modest. The tax from the places remaining in the sultan's possession accounted for only 16.5 per cent of the total revenue of the sancak of Mohaç. This figure was lower by a factor of three or more than the corresponding figures (from later dates) in the sancak of Buda (66.4% in 1559 and 77.8% in 1580), but was greater than the figure for the frontier sancak of Sigetvar, established in the 1570s (4.4% in 1570).²⁹ Although the collectable revenue of 474,088 akçes was always lower than the revenues that could be collected for the sultan in the sancak of Buda (1,116,270 akces in 1546), it greatly exceeded the revenue of places that remained in the sultan's possession in the northern and eastern sancaks of the vilayet, Novigrad (13,518 akçes) and Hatvan (130,845 akçes). Mohaç was thus the second most remunerative Hungarian *liva* in the 1540s.

²⁸ Klára Hegyi, Török berendezkedés Magyarországon. Budapest, 1995, 63.

²⁹ The total revenue of the *sancak* was 2,864,034 *akçes*, of which 474,088 *akçes* was the portion of the sultan's *hases*. The revenue from the places included in the fragment was 382,497 *akçes*. BOA TT. d. 441; BOA A. DFE 33, 626.



 $Map\ 5$ Has estates of the beylerbey! of Buda in the sancak of Mohaç in 1547



Map 6 Estates of the sancakbeyi of Mohaç around Szigetvár (1)

The registers show that the governor-general of Buda was due 496,017 *akçe* from the area of the *sancak* of Mohaç.³⁰ That means that his share of the total revenue of the *sancak* was only slightly greater than that of the sultan. To obtain the same sum as was due to the treasury, however, Yahyapaşazade Mehmed had to extract tax from about ten times as many towns and villages. The average tax from the villages retained by the sultan was nearly 30,000 *akçes*, compared with only 2,100 *akçes* from those assigned to the *beylerbeyi*. The treasury thus skimmed the cream here as it did in the *sancak* of Buda. Surviving registers show that the *beylerbeyi* of Buda was denied almost anything from his own *sancak*, where he had an income of merely 199,156 *akçes*. Income from the remote *sancak* of Semendire made up only part of the deficiency. Lands were sought for him in Mohaç, and although they were not wealthy, they were at least apparently dependable. He never had to put up

³⁰ The total sum in tax from all towns and villages was 503,974 *akçes*.

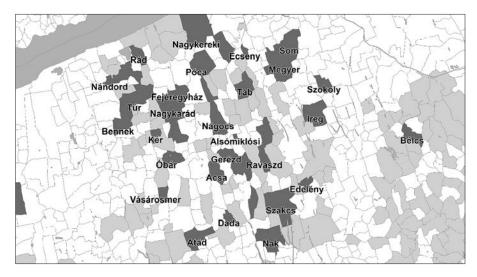
with the trouble of border areas.³¹ His lands stretched continuously up to Şimontorna and probably even further, but there are no sources to prove this conjecture.

The defter fragments give us information of about fifty per cent of the estates of the sancak of Mohaç. The revenues came from three distinct blocks. The first is that of *defter* section I/3. The places listed there lay in the area of the nahiyes of Peçuy (Pécs) and Senlörinç (Szentlőrinc), to the west of the beylerbeyi's has estates, and included three towns: Pécs, captured in 1543 and serving from then on as the residence of the bey, and Pellérd and Szentlőrinc, which lay on the road from Pécs to Szigetvár. There were also forty-five villages and a deserted village (Kisárpád, possessed as a vakıf).³² Their average tax was 2,357 akces, somewhat more than the average revenue from the estates of the beylerbeyi of Buda. The revenue from these towns and villages clearly served as the bey's income, but in addition to this economic purpose, subsequent events show that they also had a strategic role. The places belonging to this administrative unit, as can be immediately seen from the map of the sancak, already surrounded the Hungarian-held town of Szigetvár in 1547. By the time of the new survey in 1552, Szigetvár had been completely sealed off. The Hungarian-held town and castle was caught in the pincers of the sancak of Mohaç and the newly-created sancak of Görösgal (Görösgal). The district governor's estates lying along the road from the sancak capital of Peçuy to the most important objective of expansion, Szigetvár, remained in this new defter, serving preparations for attack and defence, their residents securing the marching route and monitoring any Hungarian movements towards Ottomanheld areas.

The other domain of the *beys* of Mohaç is the subject of the survey register that partially survives in Fragment II. Its towns and villages clearly presage the area and structure of the later *sancak* of Kopan, leaving the later *nahiye* centres

³¹ For other methods devised to make up for the deficiencies in the revenue of the *beyler*beyis of Buda, see Dávid, 'A budai beglerbégek', 50: note 7; Sz. Simon, 'Névlegesen birtokolt', 1355–1356.

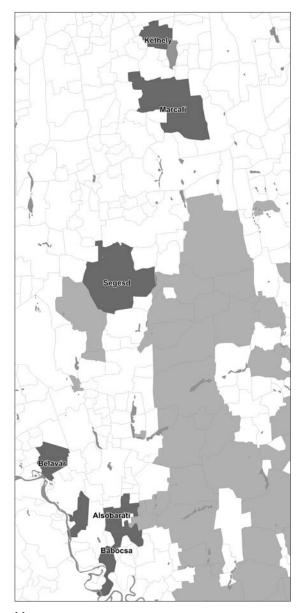
³² We know that "Kasım Bey of the above mentioned *liva*" acquired the deserted village of Kisárpád "for payment of its tithe", which amounted to 100 *akçes*, after paying its *tapu* tax. Dávid, 'Kászim vojvoda', 65.



Map 7 Estates of the sancakbeyi of Mohaç in the area of the later sancak of Kopan (2)

and their immediate surroundings in the *bey*'s possession. It was essential to extract tax from these places in order to set up the new administrative unit. The average tax of the three towns (Nagykarád, Köröshegy and Szakcs) and forty-six villages was hardly more than 1000 *akçes*. This modest sum – a kind of gesture to the inhabitants – served to stabilize Ottoman rule. The task of the *sancakbeyi* in this area was clearly to spread Ottoman administration into a new area, which culminated in the establishment of the *sancak* of Kopan in 1552.

The third block comprised Hungarian fortresses and towns bordering on the kingdom (Babócsa, Bélavár, Segesd, Marcali and Kéthely) and six villages around them. Their revenue was estimated at 50,000 *akçes*. They had not yet been assessed or recorded in the *sancak* survey and were appended to the *bey*'s estates as off-*defter* items. Although the likelihood of taxing Hungarian fortress towns was somewhat small, the average revenue per settlement in the block was 4,545 *akçes*, well in excess of the average for the places assigned to the *sancakbeyi* and the *beylerbeyi*. This unrealistically high sum could only have meant that the objective here, too, was strategic. The task, however, was different from that observed in the previous block. It was not to organise a new



Map 8 Estates of the sancakbeyi of Mohaç on the Hungarian defensive line $\left(3\right)$

NEW FINDINGS ON THE EXTENT OF THE EARLY ESTATES

administrative unit but merely to make preparations for one. The arrangement put financial pressure on the bey: He would lose out on great sums if he did not have the area plundered, intimidating and subordinating its Hungarian inhabitants, or at least extracting intelligence from them. We thus see in the case of the third block the marking out of lands claimed by the Ottomans and marked out for extraction of tax. The strategy was successful, although some time was to pass before it bore fruit. After 1552, some of the places belonging to the third block came into the possession of Derya Bey of Simontorna (1553?-1554), who directed the raids south of Lake Balaton to enclose Szigetvár. Babócsa, in the southwest corner of the liva of Mohaç, was first detached as the new sancak centre in 1555, after a combined attack on the area that prepared for the following year's siege of Szigetvár. A nahiye centre was established in the northern town of Marcali in 1565, and after the capture of Szigetvár, when the surrounding small castles surrendered to the Ottoman army and the area was made into the sancak of Sigetvar, two others were established, in Babócsa and Segesd. The estates of the beys of Mohaç started to extend in the western direction in 1552, taking no trouble with the Hungarian fortresses left behind, and the next targets were the crossing points at Kanizsa Castle, some 80 km away, and places along the River Mura, identifying new territorial claims to serve the strategic objectives of the Ottoman military command.

This book is dedicated to Prof. Géza Dávid, the renowned Hungarian Ottomanist on his seventieth birthday. His books, papers and text publications are of first-magnitude significance for the understanding of the administrative system, demographics and economic history of the Ottoman Empire and, specifically, Ottoman Hungary. His friends and colleagues from Hungary and abroad gathered to present him with a *Festschrift*. It is intended as more than an expression of respect – an encouragement for work that remains to be done in the coming years for the benefit of all of us.

