

Ahmet Demirel

**Career Trajectories of Ottoman Pashas of Buda: Networks of Power,
Factionalism, and the Politics of Ethnic–Regional Solidarity**

Thesis submitted to the Department of Historical Studies,
Central European University Private University, Vienna, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies.

Central European University Private University

Vienna

May 2025

I, the undersigned, **Ahmet Demirel**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Late Antique, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Vienna, 28 May 2025

Signature

Abstract

Focusing on the career trajectories of the Ottoman governors-general of Buda and the concept of ethnic–regional (*cins*) solidarity, this thesis attempts to understand how the Ottoman Empire governed its provinces and its ruling elite. This study takes a broad perspective on Ottoman administration, integrating the empire’s conception of governance, political patronage, prosopography, and social network analysis. It positions Buda as both a provincial post and one tied directly to central decision-making, vital for both war and peace. This thesis seeks to understand how the Ottoman ruling elite built power and advanced their careers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Examining Buda helps answer key questions: What were the career paths of its governors-general? Did the career trajectories change during wartime? How did powerful factions, such as the Bosnian Sokolovićs and Albanian Köprülüs, affect the decisions on who was to go to Buda through ethnic or regional affiliations? Did the Ottoman state follow a systematic appointment pattern, or did political shifts in Istanbul and/or Ottoman Hungary affect patterns? To address these questions, this thesis uses prosopography and social network analysis (SNA), with data visualizations generated through UCINET and NetDraw. A closer examination of the career paths of the individuals who governed Buda in the late sixteenth century offers valuable insight into the factional rivalries and elite power struggles that shaped the Ottoman imperial system. Through the lens of this key borderland post, this thesis explores the rise of the Bosnian Sokollu faction and its consolidation of influence through the concept of ethnic–regional solidarity, as well as its confrontation with a competing Albanian faction led by Koca Sinan Pasha. These rivalries, rooted in shared regional, linguistic, and political affinities, reveal the deeper dynamics of patronage, solidarity, and competition that structured Ottoman elite politics during this period.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to sincerely thank my advisors, Robyn Dora Radway, Günhan Börekçi, and Tijana Krstić, for their care and hard work on me. I am grateful to Robyn for being always available and supporting me the whole time. It was truly a privilege to be your student and to benefit from your thoughtful guidance for two years. Sayın Robyn Hocam, if it were not for you, I could not have achieved what I have, if anything. *Köszönöm!* Sayın Günhan Hocam, I am at a loss for words to adequately express my gratitude for everything you have done for me. I am glad that I can entitle myself *Günhan Hocalu* (I would say it is way better than being Köprülü, Sokollu, or Kızıl Ahmedlü); I learned a lot from you both as a prospective academic and a person. *Teşekkürler!* Sayın Tijana Hocam, I am grateful for the chance to learn from you not only through your lectures, which were always thoughtful and stimulating, but also through your generous attitude and sincere guidance during the PhD application process. You have always treated me with great kindness and seriousness, something I deeply appreciate. *Hvala puno!* Although not formally my advisor, I would like to take a moment to thank Éloïse Adde, from whom I learned a great deal and who has always been kind to me. In her class *Medieval Nation*, I was introduced to an entirely new academic circle, one that not only expanded the horizons of this thesis topic but also opened up new perspectives for me as a prospective academic. *Merci beaucoup*, hocam! In addition to my advisors, I would like to extend my thanks to a few more individuals who have provided support, encouragement, and inspiration during my MA studies. I learned so much from Ercan Akyol, not just about history, but about being a good friend. Your constant support and generosity meant more than I could describe. Thank you for the conversations during breakfasts, lunch breaks, and coffee breaks, for your trust, and for simply being there for me. I would also like to thank İsmail Emre Pamuk, to whom I owe a great deal. From our Ottoman reading sessions to long talks about history, I always came away having learned something new. I am deeply grateful for the time we shared and everything I learned from him along the way. Lastly, I would like to sincerely thank Dora Ivanišević and Dunja Milenković for their inspiring language courses. Their classes taught me a great deal, not only about the languages themselves but also about how to teach in a way that is both engaging and incredibly supportive and helpful, as well as stress relieving. I learned how valuable it is to build meaningful connections with students, while also offering them a space to grow and learn.

Enjoying my time in Vienna would not have been possible without the friendships I made. Nedim, I am thankful for everything you did for me, *brate moj*, and, most importantly, I am grateful for your friendship. Berkant *ağabey*, you have always been not just a great company, but also a trusted confidant. The time I spent with you has

always been a joy. Ilya, you are and always will be my *tovarish*, and I look forward to spending time with you in the US, *insha 'Allah!* Furkan the Historian, you are good not only at Ottoman Turkish, but also at jokes and your imagination. Studying with you in the dungeons with *çay sigara* and laughter all the time, I always appreciate your friendship. Ahmet Baran, the coffee guy, the coffee you made became my life vest on campus, and also the solid ground our friendship stands on. You know what they say: *bir kahvenin kırk yıl hatırı vardır*. Lastly, and above all, I thank my girlfriend, Hanna, who was always there to help me academically and emotionally, and with whom I shared most of my time in Vienna. I am truly grateful for every moment we spent together, and I look forward, with all my heart, to making many more memories with you!

I would also like to thank my brothers sincerely, Seçkin and Emre, who were always there for me day and night. Without you *beyler*, this guy could not have made it, but you already know it!

Most importantly, I have always felt the genuine support from my family. The fact that my parents have always been supportive of me is, and will continue to be, my biggest strength and motivation. I would like to thank my father and my mother, who have always been understanding and supportive, even though, deep down, they may not have wanted me to move to Vienna and live far away from them, they stood by me unconditionally. I am also grateful to my twin sister, Elif, who has always been there for me and helped me whenever I needed *anything*. Lastly, I want to thank *moja nana*, Asiye, who never misses a day without calling me just to chat a little and to check whether I have eaten, slept, and taken care of myself properly. *Najbolja nana, Volim te nana!*

Bana tarih sevgisini aşıl原因an rahmetli dedem Zahid'in anısına...

U spomen na rahmetli djeda Zahida, koji mi je usadio ljubav prema historiji...

إِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures, Tables, or Illustrations	viii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Charting the Course: Defining the Problem, Scope, and Questions	3
1.2 Claiming Hungary: Habsburg Expansion and the Hungarian Struggle	4
1.3 Forging an Empire: From a Marginal Beylik to Hegemony over the Old World.....	7
1.4 Current State of the Art	10
1.5 Primary Sources	17
1.6 From Digital Nodes to Visual Networks: Social Network Analysis and Prosopography ..	17
1.7 The Roadmap of the Thesis	19
1.8 Beyond Buda and Ethnic–Regional Solidarity: Conclusions, Implications, and Future Questions	22
CHAPTER I	23
2 Tracing Imperial Mobility: Career Trajectories and Appointment Patterns in the Ottoman Governor-Generalship of Buda (1541–1686)	23
2.1 Fortune and Risk in Governance of a Borderland Province	26
2.2 Tracing Trajectories through Data: Sources, Scope, and Methodological Reflections.....	28
2.3 Overview of Appointments and Patterns in Ottoman Buda (1541–1686)	34
2.3.1 The First Phase: Post-Conquest Consolidation (1541–93)	37
2.3.2 Administrative Mobility in the Shadow of War (1593–1606).....	46
2.3.3 From Prestige to Exile: The Courtly Turn in Buda Appointments (1606–56)	52
2.3.4 The Köprülü Era and the Revival of Classical Imperial Norms? (1656–86).....	61
CHAPTER II.....	66
3 Forging Power Through Identity and Ethnic–Regional Solidarity: Bosnian and Albanian Factionalism in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Elite.....	66
3.1 Creating the New Ruling Elite of the Empire	66
3.1.1 The Rise of the Kuls and the Ethnic-Regional Solidarity	74
3.2 The Creation of the Bosnian Sokolović Faction.....	78

3.3	The Clash between Ethnic Factions: Bosnians of the Sokollu versus Koca Sinān's Albanians.....	78
3.3.1	The Power Struggle Between the Sokolovićs and Albanians Over Administrative Positions.....	95
3.3.2	Reading the Rivalry Through Ethnic Stereotyping as a Tool of Power.....	104
4	CONCLUSION	109
5	BIBLIOGRAPHY	118
5.1	Primary Sources	118
5.2	Secondary Sources	120

List of Figures, Tables, or Illustrations

Figure 1: Career Paths of Ottoman Pashas of Buda (1541-93).....	132
Figure 2: Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1541-93)	133
Figure 3: Final Career Steps Before Becoming Pasha of Buda (1541-93).....	134
Figure 4: Career Paths of Ottoman Pashas of Buda (1593-1606).....	135
Figure 5: Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1593-1606)	136
Figure 6: Final Career Steps Before Becoming Pasha of Buda (1593-1606).....	137
Figure 7: Career Paths of Ottoman Pashas of Buda (1606-56).....	138
Figure 8: Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1606-56)	139
Figure 9: Final Career Steps Before Becoming Pasha of Buda (1606-56).....	140
Figure 10: Career Paths of Ottoman Pashas of Buda (1656-86).....	141
Figure 11: Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1656-86)	142
Figure 12: Final Career Steps Before Becoming Pasha of Buda (1656-86).....	143
Figure 13: Sokollu faction at its peak, 1573-74.....	144
Figure 14: Sokollu Family Tree (c. 1500-1650).....	145
Figure 15: Sokollu Family Tree (c. 1500-1650).....	146

INTRODUCTION

When the fortunate pasha was informed that now late Arslan Pasha had fallen prey to the lion-clawed politics of the state, they recognized that the veil of obstacles had been lifted from the face of their hidden intentions. The thorns that had hindered their aspirations were now removed from the hem of their goals. At once, they revealed the joyful news of the appointment to the governor-generalship of Buda, a secret they had long concealed in the nest of their hearts, like a bird without a resting place, to all the dignitaries of their exalted imperial council. Regarding this hidden treasure, the imperially granted patent of appointment, it emerged from the horizon of their bosoms like the light of true dawn. From the radiant beginning of its noble tughra, both the corners of the heavens and the depths of the earthly sphere were filled with a light of joy.

- Nahîfî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1609)¹

Nahîfî Mehmed Efendi, in the biography he wrote for his patron Sokollu Muştafâ Pasha (d. 1578), an esteemed figure of sixteenth-century Ottoman politics and a prominent member of the Bosnian Sokolović faction, recounts a crucial moment with an elegant narrative style with textured prose. As a prelude to informing his readers about the appointment of his fortunate [*kām-kār*] patron to the governor-generalship of Buda, he states that the prior governor-general of Buda, Yaḥyāpaşazāde Arslan Pasha (d. 1566), fell prey to the lion-clawed politics of the state and [*Arslan Paşa ’nuñ çengāl-i şîr-i siyāsete şikār olduğundan haberdār oldılar*].²

In his verses, it appears that Nahîfî chose vocabulary such as *siyāset* (politics or capital punishment) and *şîr* (lion) for his own ends, since the word *siyāset* might refer to the politics of the state, as well as capital punishment. In the case of *şîr*, he creates an allegory considering the

¹ Nahîfî Mehmed Efendi, *Cevâhirü'l-Menâkıb*, ed. İbrahim Pazan (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2019), 399–340. “*Ol dem ki paşa-yı kām-kār merhūm Arslan Paşa ’nuñ çengāl-i şîr-i siyāsete şikār olduğundan haberdār oldılar ve çehre-i rāzdan perde-i mevānî’i dūr ve dāmen-i maşūddan hār-ı ’avāyıkı mehcūr buldılar; diyār-ı Budin paşalığınıñ haber-i meserret-eserini ki mānend-i mürğ-i lā-mekān āşiyāne-i sīnelerinde pinhān eylemişleridi, derḥāl cemî’ e ’ālîyi dīvān-ı ’ālilerine ihzār idüp ol genc-i nihānî huşuşında erzānî buyurulan berāt-ı sulṭānî mānend-i şubḥ-ı şādık ufk-ı girībānlarından şarık olmış idi ve gurre-i garrā-yı tuğrāsından zevyā-yı eflāk ve habāyā-yı kürre-i ḥāk nūr-ı sūrūrta tölmiş idi.*”

² Nahîfî Mehmed Efendi, *Cevâhirü'l-Menâkıb*, 399.

late pasha's name, Arslan, which indeed means "lion." However, in the words of Claudia Römer and Nicolas Vatin, ultimately, he was "a lion that was only a cat," just like other members of the Ottoman ruling elite in such a competitive political arena.³ Therefore, one cannot help but think that he heralds the triumph of his patron's faction over the established *uç beyi* (frontier lord) dynasty, Yaḥyāpaşazādes, and their networks of power. Within this very environment and political setting, the office of the governor-general of Buda existed for over 145 years of Ottoman rule in the region, allowing certain families and factions to consolidate their power and establish enduring roots while others perished into obscurity.

This thesis examines the career trajectories of individuals who served as *beylerbeyi* (governor-general) of Buda during Ottoman rule, spanning from the city's incorporation into the Ottoman Empire in 1541 until its capture by the Habsburgs in 1686. This introduction chapter first announces the central inquiry of the thesis, its scope, and the questions it raises to investigate. Following the definition of the problem, scope, and questions, it briefly provides a socio-political, historical context regarding the rise of two powers, namely the Ottomans and the Habsburgs, and their opposing claims in the lands of what was once Matthias Corvinus' (r. 1458–1490) mighty Kingdom of Hungary, in which Buda was arguably the most essential, prestigious, and desirable administrative unit. In the section providing the necessary historical context about two fierce rivals, this chapter also presents a concise scheme regarding the rivalry over Buda and its importance for the Ottoman administration during the Ottoman presence in the city.

Building upon the historical background, the subsequent literature review section examines the existing scholarship on the subject, analyzing key debates and perspectives concerning the

³ Claudia Römer and Nicolas Vatin, "The Lion That Was Only a Cat: Some Notes on the Last Years and the Death of Arslan Pasha, Bey of Semendire and Beylerbeyi of Buda," in *Şerefe: Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Pál Fodor, Nándor E. Kovács, and Benedek Péri (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019), 159.

career trajectories of the Ottoman pashas of Buda and their biographies and works done on other administrative units' career trajectories, together with a few notable case studies on the concept of ethnic-regional (*cins*) solidarity.⁴ In the same section, I also position and justify the thesis in the broader corpus regarding the inquiry on the career paths, biographies of Ottoman governors-general of Buda, and the concept of ethnic-regional solidarity.

After laying out the literature review and establishing the place of my thesis in the broader scholarly framework, I delve into the theoretical framework and the body of primary sources I engage with in the thesis. The thesis's explanation and presentation of methodology follow the theoretical framework and primary sources I utilize, including prosopography and digital humanities approaches, particularly social network analysis (SNA) through data visualization and software tools such as UCINET and NetDraw. Later, apart from the table of contents outlined at the outset of the thesis, I give insight into the structure of the thesis and, to some extent, the summary of the results. The last part of the introduction consists of the conclusions and implications, including questions for further studies and future research of mine.

1.1 Charting the Course: Defining the Problem, Scope, and Questions

This thesis centers around the career trajectories of the individuals up until attaining the post of the *Beylerbeylik* (governor-generalship) of Buda, from its direct integration into the Ottoman realm in 1541 to its eventual fall to the Habsburg forces in 1686. The data I deal with is extracted from archival documents, contemporary histories, and secondary literature. It starts at the beginning of

⁴ The concept of ethnic-regional (*cins*) solidarity was coined by Metin Kunt in his well-known article titled "Ethnic-Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment," published in 1974 in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. When the word *cins* is examined in Ottoman dictionaries, it means: 1- A group of entities or objects with similar main qualities and very close resemblances among them, species, and type. 2- Breed, ancestry, race. Therefore, the secondary literature dealing with the concept of ethnic-regional solidarity understands and utilizes it as the social, political, and economic solidarity among individuals who share the same (or similar) ancestral backgrounds and who hailed from lands that are not far from each other and share the same language and cultural backgrounds.

the sixteenth century, when some governors-general had prior careers before Buda was integrated into the Ottoman realm, and ends with the career trajectory of the last governor-general of Buda, Arnavud ‘Abdurrahman ‘Abdī Pasha (d. 1686). Another point that should be drawn up is the key focus of the study and the data. Although I center my thesis around the career trajectories of Ottoman Buda pashas, I mainly deal with their careers until their appointment to Buda, which means that their later promotions and/or demotions will not be discussed in depth. Addressing this gap would indeed be valuable; however, it is an endeavor beyond the scope of an MA thesis. Nevertheless, I acknowledge the importance of such a discussion and the need for a separate study on the issue, which holds great potential to shed light on the hierarchical structure of administrative units in the Ottoman Empire during the period under investigation, especially between *beylerbeyliks*. Nevertheless, the current work also addresses this to a considerable extent. I also plan to execute a side project that will engage with the post-Buda career developments of governors-general.

1.2 Claiming Hungary: Habsburg Expansion and the Hungarian Struggle

Imperial dreams rarely begin with triumph. In the case of the Habsburgs, they started with Frederick III (r. 1440–1493), an unremarkable ruler whose vision, not victories, would shape the dynasty's path to power. With the election of Frederick III as Holy Roman Emperor and King of Italy in 1452, the Habsburgs constituted one of the most tremendous dynasties in Europe, with an ambition to establish domination in the whole of Christendom. However, he was not a master in politics; his wrong political steps led to the loss of Bohemia to George of Poděbrady (r. 1458–1471) and Hungary and Croatia to Matthias Corvinus. Frederick, at least, secured a marriage alliance between his son, Maximilian (r. 1486–1519), and Mary of Burgundy (d. 1482).⁵ Through

⁵ Stephen A. Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism, and German Protestantism, 1521-1555* (Octagon Books, 1972), 3.

such well-calculated unions, the Habsburgs strategically established marital ties with politically and economically powerful families, strengthening their position in European politics. After Mary's death, Maximilian further reinforced his noble house's influence by marrying Bianca Maria Sforza (d. 1510).⁶ Similarly, to strengthen the dynasty's legitimacy and enlarge their subjugated dominions further, another initiative undertaken by Frederick was to utilize a motto, which could be used as a symbolic device. Frederick seeded the universal claims of the Habsburgs by coining and devising the motto "*Austriae est imperare orbi universo*," "all the world is subject to Austria."⁷

After the death of Frederick III in 1492, his son Maximilian I, now ruling the whole Habsburg territories solely himself, fought in the Italian Wars primarily against the Valois of France and some Italian states so that the Habsburg claims could also be utilized in Italy. Likewise, Maximilian agreed with the Dynastic Union of Castile and Aragon to conclude a marriage between his successor, Philip the Handsome (d. 1506), and Princess Joanna of Castile (d. 1555). Through this marriage and diplomatic means, the Habsburgs could have seized the Spanish crowns and pressured the Valois by confronting them in the South. Using the same expansion tools, Maximilian secured a double betrothal agreement with King Vladislaus II of Hungary (r. 1490 – 1516). Under this arrangement, his grandchildren, Mary (d. 1558) and Ferdinand (d. 1564), were to marry Vladislaus' son, Louis II (Lajos II, d. 1526), and his daughter, Anne (d. 1547), respectively. After the election of Charles V (r. 1516–1558) as the Holy Roman Emperor in 1519 by the German prince-electors, Habsburg possessions enclosed an extensive amount of land: Spanish kingdoms and their possessions in the Italian peninsula, their overseas territories in the New World, the Low Countries, Austrian realms, and the lands constituted the Holy Roman Empire. He was expected

⁶ Fischer-Galati, *Ottoman Imperialism, and German Protestantism*, 3.

⁷ Jean Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire: 1273-1700* (London: Longman, 1994).

to be a universal monarch and the “Last World Emperor.”⁸ In 1530, he was crowned by Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–1534) in San Petronia Basilica in Bologna and considered the defender of the Faith who would wage a holy war against the “Infidel Turks.”⁹ Hence, the Habsburg Empire was not far from Frederick III’s dream and motto, *Austriae est imperare orbi universo*, during the reign of Charles V.

Had Charles successfully suppressed the Lutheran movement, unified the German princes under his vision, and decisively defeated the French in the Italian Wars and the Ottomans in Hungary (1526–1541), Habsburg hegemony might have encompassed all of Europe. However, as is well known, history is not shaped by “what ifs.” Consequently, he was only partially successful in achieving his ends; he was very late in crushing the Lutheran movement and the princes who supported this new religious doctrine. He was rarely able to assemble the German princes under his tent and direct them against the enemy of the Faith, the Ottomans, and their renegade French allies. His efforts to address the depressing “Hungarian Question” and the strife created by Martin Luther’s (d. 1546) reformation in German lands paled in comparison to his struggle against the French.¹⁰ Although his forces had captured Francis I (r. 1515–1547) in Pavia in 1525 and subsequently made him sign a treaty in which the French renounced their claims in Italy, the wars between the Valois and Habsburg exploded in almost every consequent year up until the mid-sixteenth century. He was even more silent against the Ottoman threat, which was more formidable than that of the French. While Charles V struggled to assert his authority across his vast dominions, his predecessors had already laid the roots of Habsburg claims in Central Europe.

⁸ Rebekka Voss, “Charles V as Last World Emperor and Jewish Hero,” *Jewish History* 30, no. 1 (2016): 81–106.

⁹ Otto Kurz, “A Gold Helmet Made in Venice for Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent,” *Gazette des Deaux-Arts* Ann 84, no. 111 (1969): 250.

¹⁰ Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 150.

Notwithstanding Frederick III's incapacity in ruling vast territories in different parts of Europe and being an easy prey against Matthias Corvinus, he instrumentalized a Habsburg claim on the Czech and Hungarian crowns. Therefore, through the dynastic engagement via dual marriage between the Habsburgs and the Jagiellons of Hungary, the Habsburgs secured their claim to these crowns. From 1526 to the end of the seventeenth century, early modern Hungary and Croatia, stretching as a contested frontier from Slovakia to the Adriatic, became the central battleground of the enduring rivalry between the Ottomans and Habsburgs, with Buda remaining at the heart of this contest for dominance.

1.3 Routing Rivals, Forging Empire: From a Marginal *Beylik* to Hegemony over the Old World

The establishment of the Ottoman state at the dawn of the fourteenth century has drawn considerable attention and has been widely discussed. Among the well-founded theories regarding the Ottoman state's path to being a superpower in the early modern world, Halil İnalcık, Cemal Kafadar, Heath W. Lowry, Caroline Finkel, and Feridun M. Emecen came up with similar, resembling, and even corresponding theories.¹¹ It is possible to suggest that the field is in consensus on the importance of some elements regarding the establishment of the Ottoman state and its rise. The rise of the Ottoman state is understood through a mix of factors rather than a single explanation. *Ġazā'* (holy war) ideology, frontier dynamics, Byzantine and Seljuk influences, economic and social shifts, and political pragmatism all shaped the nature of the early Ottoman state. They owed their success to military conquests and their ability to adapt, secure alliances, and

¹¹ Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson Press: London, 1973).; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (California: University of California Press, 1996).; Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003).; Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire* (Basic Books: New York, 2007).; Feridun M. Emecen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş ve Yükseliş Tarihi (1300–1600)* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015).

create an ever-inclusive political system. What set them apart was their flexibility in bringing together different communities, primarily contradictory groups, such as nomadic and settled, Muslim and non-Muslim (mainly people of the book, *ehl-i kitāb*), into a functioning and adaptable state. This adaptability, inclusivity, and pragmatism were key to their ever-lasting success story, making their emergence a rich and complex process. In less than a century, the Ottomans crafted a formidable state. With the conquest of Constantinople, they laid claim to the legacy of the Roman Empire through a new imperial image, which was formulated and executed by Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481) and his ruling elite.¹²

After the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II in 1453, the Ottomans were eager to expand their control and break the domination of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Northern Balkans.¹³ Within a century after the fall of Constantinople, the Ottoman borders enclosed an area from Yemen in the South to Western Eurasian steppes in the North, from Iran in the East to Morocco in the West. Particularly after the campaigns of Selīm I (r. 1512 – 1520) against the Safavids in 1514 and subsequently against the Mamluks in 1516 and 1517, Ottoman sultans became the sovereigns of Eastern Anatolia, the Levant, the Hijaz, and a large part of the Arabian Peninsula, as well as Northern Africa. Accordingly, along with their title of *Ḳayser-i Rūm*, initially starting with Selīm I, they could instrumentalize the title of *Ḥādīmü'l Ḥaremeyni'ş-Şerīfeyn*, that is, the servant of the two sanctuaries of Islam, Mecca, and Medina.¹⁴ Consequently, with Selīm's

¹² Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1991), 4–13.; Halil İnalçık, *İki Karanın Sultanı, İki Denizin Hakanı, Kâyser-i Rūm, Fâtih Sultan Mehmed Han*, ed. Tayfun Ulaş (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2020), 227–230.

¹³ İnalçık, *İki Karanın Sultanı*, 243–250.; Göksel Baş, “Beyond Conquest: Continuity and Change on the Ottoman Western Frontier (from the Late 15th to Mid-16th Century)” (PhD diss., İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2024), 103–104.

¹⁴ Gábor Ágoston, *The Last Muslim Conquest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021), 130.; Cornell H. Fleischer, “A Mediterranean Apocalypse,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61, no. 1–2 (2018): 49.

victorious campaigns in the Middle East, he and his descendants were entitled to the defender and the hero of Islam, reinforcing the Ottoman claims for a universal empire and placing Ottomans next to their ever-growing adversary, the Habsburgs.

Likewise, though Bāyezīd II (r. 1481 – 1512) and Selīm I did not engage in comprehensive campaigns in the Northern Balkans and Central Europe, Süleymān the Magnificent, unlike his forebears, turned his face to the land of the Infidel, *dārü'l-ḥarb*. His first two campaigns, directed against Belgrade in 1521 and Rhodes in 1522, resulted in victory. Thus, the capture of Belgrade, regarded as the gateway to Central Europe, heightened the Ottoman threat to Hungary while placing them in a favorable strategic, military, and political position. Pál Fodor, by pointing out Bostān Çelebi's (d. 1570) *Süleymānnāme* and *Tevārīḥ-i Āl-i 'Osmān* written by Kemālpaşazāde Şemseddīn 'Aḥmed (d. 1534) asserts that the leading destination of the campaign of 1521 was not Belgrade but Buda, an argument supported by a substantial body of evidence.¹⁵ After careful examination, Fodor's inference is compelling. It can be argued that the Ottoman policy-makers envisaged this campaign to deliver a harsh blow to inroads on Lajos II's kingdom, which would prove decrepit in half a decade. As reflected in the Ottoman and Hungarian archive documents, Hungarian monarch Lajos II (r. 1516–1526) and magnates were deeply concerned about the incoming Ottoman threat even before the fall of Belgrade and the famous Battle of Mohács.¹⁶

Waging *antemurale Christianitatis* (Bulwark of Christendom) discourse in the German Diets, Hungarian delegations sought immediate military and monetary aid against the imminent

¹⁵ Pál Fodor, "Ottoman policy towards Hungary, 1520-1541," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45, no. 2/3 (1991): 291–292.

¹⁶ *Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-Macar İlişkileri / Török-Magyar Kapcsolatok Az Oszmán Birodalomtól Napjainkig A Levéltári Dokumentumok Tükrében* (İstanbul: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016), 13.

Ottoman threat.¹⁷ Their concern was not baseless, as proved in the Battle of Mohács in 1526 when the Ottoman army routed Hungarian forces under the control of Lajos at once and thereafter captured Buda for the first time. Although the debate over the “Hungarian Question” has been a significant contention mostly among Hungarian Ottomanists, I agree that Ottoman policy-makers contemplated annexing Hungary from the beginning, as Ferenc Szakály, Pál Fodor, and Gábor Ágoston put forth.¹⁸ The omnipresent narrative about the safe passage request by the Ottomans through the Hungarian realm was just a pretext.

The Ottoman sovereignty over Buda lasted for more than 145 years. From Buda’s integration into the *dārū’l-Īslām* (the Abode of Islam) in 1541 to its eventual loss to the Habsburgs, the city endured several futile sieges by Habsburg forces. Nevertheless, thanks to its formidable geostrategic position and the symbolic and functional importance for the Ottoman administration and military machine, the Ottomans entrenched their rule, and its fall to the enemy lands brought tragic consequences to the Ottoman war-making capacity during the Great Turkish War, as well as a great sorrow to the collective Ottoman consciousness. Consequently, the enduring rivalry between the two vast empires in the Pannonian Basin, which lasted several centuries, has provided historians a fertile ground to explore various fields of the imperial contest.

1.4 Current State of the Art

The Ottoman administrative system was neither based on a rigid bureaucracy nor a structure where local administrators had complete freedom of action. The empire had a flexible form of governance, which provided a blended institutionalized administration with networks based on

¹⁷ Emir O. Filipović, “The Key to the Gate of Christendom? The Strategic Importance of Bosnia in the Struggle against the Ottomans,” in *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures*, ed. Norman Housley (London: Routledge, 2017), 151–152.

¹⁸ Gábor Ágoston, “Information, Ideology, and Limits of Imperial Policy: Ottoman Grand Strategy in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry,” in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 94.; Fodor, “Ottoman policy towards Hungary, 1520-1541,” 291–292.

personal loyalties. Scholars such as Karen Barkey attribute Ottoman longevity to this flexibility, emphasizing how central authority was balanced with local administration.¹⁹ Drawing attention to the increasing role of bureaucracy in Ottoman administration through a case study on Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi (d. 1567) and his works, Kaya Şahin argues that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the administration became more professionalized.²⁰ Feridun M. Emecen, in the same way, points out the bureaucratic reform initiated by Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi's (d. 1567) leadership in the mid-sixteenth century, which confirms the theses put forth by Şahin.²¹ In this context, a critical question arises about the selection criteria for the pashas of Buda, which this thesis is concerned with: Were these administrators predominantly chosen for their military achievements? Or were their political and factional affiliations or administrative competence more decisive? By examining the career histories of the pashas of Buda, this thesis seeks to answer these questions and to understand how Ottoman priorities changed over time.

The Ottoman presence in Buda, and more broadly in Central Europe, has also attracted considerable attention from historians specializing in Ottoman history and those focusing on Central European and Balkan histories. Predictably, a substantial amount of study on the Ottoman past of Hungary concentrated on the rivalry between two immense powers, the Ottomans and the

¹⁹ Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994).; Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).; See also Gábor Ágoston, "A Flexible Empire: Authority and Its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers," in *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities, and Political Changes*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat and Robert W. Zens (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).; Halil İnalcık, "Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna," in *Balkanlarda İslâm: Miadı Dolmayan Umut*, Vol. 1, ed. Muhammet Savaş Kafkasyalı (Ankara: Tika Yayınları, 2016), 129–173.

²⁰ Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).; See also Bilgin Aydın, *XVI. Yüzyılda Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn ve Defter Sistemi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2017).

²¹ Feridun Emecen, "Osmanlı Divanının Ana Defter Serileri: Ahkâm-ı Mirî, Ahkâm-ı Kuyûd-ı Mühimme ve Ahkâm-ı Şikâyet," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3, no. 5 (2005): 107–139.

Habsburgs, and ranged from (new) diplomatic history²² to (new) military history²³ and from archeological and demographic studies to imperial and administrative histories.²⁴ Lately, the field has witnessed considerable work in environmental and intellectual history.²⁵

Despite all of this scholarship, there is no systematic survey of the governors-general of Buda, except for Antal Gévy's encompassing book, *A Budai Pasák*, published in 1841.²⁶ His seminal work has been instrumental in making this study possible. Though his sources are Ottoman chronicles from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he could not incorporate Ottoman archival documents since they were inaccessible at the time of his research. This thesis also utilizes archival

²² For (new) diplomatic history, see Sándor Papp, *Osmanlılar ve Macarlar: Bir Diplomatik Tarih* (Istanbul: VakıfBank Kültür Yayınları, 2023).; Sándor Papp and Gellért Ernő Marton, eds., *New Approaches to the Habsburg-Ottoman Diplomatic Relations* (Szeged: SZTE BTK, 2021).; Sándor Papp, "Peacemaking between the Ottoman Empire, the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy," in "*Buyurdum Ki....*": *The Whole World of Ottomanica and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Claudia Römer*, ed. Hülya Çelik, Yavuz Köse, and Gisela Procházka-Eisl (Leiden: Brill, 2023).; Robyn Dora Radway, "Vernacular Diplomacy in Central Europe: Statesmen and Soldiers Between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1543–1593" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2017).

²³ For (new) military history, see Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).; Caroline Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare: The Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593–1606* (Vienna: VWGÖ, 1988).; Günhan Börekçi, "A Contribution to the Military Revolution Debate: The Janissaries' Use of Volley Fire During the Long Ottoman–Habsburg War of 1593–1606 and the Problem of Origins," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 59, no. 4 (2006): 407–38.

²⁴ For archeological studies, see Adrienn Papp, *The Turkish Baths of Hungary: Archaeological Remains of the Ottoman Era* (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Régészeti Intézet, 2018).; For demographic studies, see Géza Dávid, *Studies in Demographic and Administrative History of Ottoman Hungary* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1997).; For imperial and administrative studies, see Pál Fodor, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire: The Ottomans in Central Europe – A Failed Attempt at Universal Monarchy (1390–1566)* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2015).; Pál Fodor, *The Business of State: Ottoman Finance Administration and Ruling Elites in Transition* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018).; Pál Fodor, *In Quest of the Golden Apple: Imperial Ideology, Politics, and Military Administration in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2000).; Géza Dávid, "Ottoman Administrative Strategies in Western Hungary," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994), 31–43.

²⁵ For environmental history, see András Vadas, *The Environmental Legacy of War on the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier, c. 1540–1690* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2023).; Gábor Ágoston, "Where Environmental and Frontier Studies Meet: Rivers, Forests, Marshes and Forts along the Ottoman-Habsburg Frontier in Hungary," in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, ed. A. C. S. Peacock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 57–79. For intellectual history, see Balázs Sudár, "The Ottomans and the Mental Conquest of Hungary," in *Identity and Culture in Ottoman Hungary*, ed. Pál Fodor and Pál Ács, (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2017) 55–67.; Zsuzsa Kovács, "The Library of the Müfti of Buda in the Marsili Collection, Bologna," in *Identity and Culture in Ottoman Hungary*, ed. Pál Fodor and Pál Ács (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2017), 69–119.; Paul Babinski and Jan Loop, "Looting and Learning: War and the Qur'an in European Oriental Studies," *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 9 (2024): 239–80.

²⁶ Antal Gévy, *A Budai pasák* (Vienna: Strauss, 1841). Also published in German as Anton von Gévy, "Versuch eines chronologischen Verzeichnisses der türkischen Statthalter von Ofen," *Der österreichische Geschichtsforscher* 2 (1841): 56–90.

sources from the Turkish Directorate of State Archives' Ottoman Archives, which made filling many holes in the career paths possible. Nevertheless, his cornerstone work has provided the backbone for this study. Likewise, although Gévay surveys the administrative positions held by the pashas of Buda before their arrival in the region to this study's terminal node, his work does not include any analysis of the trajectories and changes in time, which is what this thesis is concerned with.

Another work that is to be acknowledged is the book written by Sadık Müfit Bilge, *Osmanlı'nın Macaristanı*.²⁷ Bilge's comprehensive yet introductory work does not center its mission around the career trajectories and networks of power of Buda pashas. The scope of his book is rather broad and not necessarily detailed.²⁸ Although he does not delve into the offices held by the governors-general of Buda before their arrival in the region, his work still provides a valuable foundation for further research. This is because, in addition to a general survey of Ottoman Hungary, it includes valuable information about officials in Ottoman Hungary, particularly regarding their backgrounds and administrative policies during their tenure. At the same time, Bilge engages with Ottoman archival sources of various characteristics, which provide significant insight into how and through what to study Ottoman Hungary.

Another systematic, though non-extensive, study regarding the administrative careers of Buda pashas is Orhan Kılıç's comparative analysis of Buda pashas and pashas of Tımsıvar.²⁹ Although his work resembles this thesis' perspective, the article focuses on the final career steps

²⁷ Sadık Müfit Bilge, *Osmanlı'nın Macaristanı* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2010).

²⁸ In his book, he has short parts devoted to different aspects of the Ottoman administrative organization in Hungary, such as demographics, urban and rural life, economy and finance, roads and transportation network, as well as forts and military units, all which requires works on their own.

²⁹ Orhan Kılıç, "Budin ve Tımsıvar Eyaletlerinin Paşaları: Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz," *OTAM Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma Ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 46 (Spring 2019): 191–229.

before attaining the governor-generalship in Buda and Tımsıvar.³⁰ In contrast, my data tracks the complete set of administrative offices attained by pashas until their appointment to the position of governor-generalship of Buda. Furthermore, his article misidentifies, confuses, and conflates some governors-general. Besides his confusion, his analysis does not go beyond an analysis that revolves around comparing the offices in Buda and Tımsıvar. Lastly, it is hard to understand from his article the point of comparing the career paths leading to Buda and Tımsıvar because the data this thesis deals with shows that the administrative position in Buda was not the most intertwined one with that of Tımsıvar. As the first research chapter will point out, the *sanjak* and, later, *beylerbeylik* of Bosnia provided the most significant number of individuals to the rank of governor-generalship of Buda.

Apart from what could be considered extensive and non-extensive systematic surveys of the career paths of Buda pashas, several biographies, mainly concerning sixteenth-century individuals relevant to this study, have been written. To name some, Géza Dávid, Pál Fodor, Feridun M. Emecen, Claudia Römer, Nicolas Vatin, Tayyip Gökbilgin, and Burak Karakuş authored significant works both for detecting the career trajectories of the governors-general and their networks of power.³¹ From a general perspective, though the biographies written about some

³⁰ Kılıç, “Budin ve Tımsıvar Eyaletlerinin Paşaları: Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz,” 205–229. As can be seen in his charts regarding the career steps of governors-general of Buda and Tımsıvar, his analysis covers only the last administrative position acquired by pashas before their appointment to *beylerbeylik* of Buda and that of Tımsıvar.

³¹ Géza Dávid, “An Ottoman Military Career on the Hungarian Borders: Kasim Voyvoda, Bey, and Pasha,” in *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 265–97.; Pál Fodor, “Wolf on the Border: Yahyapaşaoğlu Bali Bey (?–1527), Expansion and Provincial Elite in the European Confines of the Ottoman Empire in the Early Sixteenth Century,” in *Şerefe: Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Pál Fodor, Nándor E. Kovács, and Benedek Péri (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019), 57–87.; Feridun M. Emecen, “The Demise of the Pasha: Some Remarks on the Death of Hadım Ali Pasha, Governor-General of Buda,” in *Şerefe: Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Pál Fodor, Nándor E. Kovács, and Benedek Péri (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019), 183–198.; Römer and Nicolas Vatin, “The Lion That Was Only a Cat,” 159–82.; M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, “Kara Üveys Paşa’nın Budin Beylerbeyliği (1578–1580),” *Tarih Dergisi* 3–4 (1952): 17–34.; Burak Karakuş, “Budin Beylerbeyi Sokollu Mustafa Paşa’nın Yükselişi” (MA thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2022).

pashas are invaluable, their central focus is the individuals' life-long experiences, not necessarily their career trajectories, and the questions directed by this thesis.

This thesis positions itself within this broader framework, and its story begins here. As discussed before, this thesis surveys the career trajectories of Ottoman Buda pashas from each individual's earliest administrative positions. I do trace and analyze the patterns, changes in patterns, and the grounds that facilitated the emergence and recession of common career routes. It contributes both to the existing body of data in the secondary literature and its analysis and creates a dialogue between history and digital humanities. Through an in-depth examination, this thesis points out the established operational conditions of digital tools and social network analysis in Ottoman studies.

Scholars have argued that the patronage system largely influenced career advancement within the Ottoman ruling elite, a perspective also examined and, consequently, corroborated by substantive evidence in this thesis.³² Appointments were not made solely based on merit; personal relationships, factions within the court, and the balance of political power played a fundamental role. Works authored by Cornell Fleischer, Günhan Börekçi, Baki Tezcan, Pál Fodor, and Jane Hathaway suggest that factionalism was omnipresent in Ottoman politics, especially during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that grand vizier houses, royal servitors, and military groups strengthened their influence within the state, which predictably transformed the Ottoman state-ruling practices.³³

³² Günhan Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and His Immediate Predecessors" (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2010), 161–162; Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541–1600)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 9–20.; As Cornell Fleischer coins and Günhan Börekçi confirms, by the second half of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire became an empire of clientage, or an empire of connections and networks (*intisāb imparatorluğu*), which is also related to the concept of ethnic-regional (*cins*) solidarity.

³³ Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 9–20.; Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites," 148–195.; Fodor, *The Business of State*, 51–53.; Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern*

For the pashas of Buda, this meant that their tenure was uncertain. While some pashas rose to higher positions after Buda, others fell victim to palace intrigues and were removed from their posts, were captured by the enemy, or executed by the will of the Sultan, as will be discussed in the first chapter.³⁴ To determine the degree of patronage relations that shaped the governance of Buda, this study examines whether certain families or factions were more often in the position of governor-generalship in Buda. At the same time, it analyzes the impact of external factors, such as significant wars or intra-court rivalries, on appointments to Buda. For example, did the Ottoman state send experienced military commanders to Buda in times of war? Or did political favoritism triumph over strategic necessities? A central inquiry of this thesis and my further studies is: Was factionalism around nepotism and ingroup favoritism (such as ethnic–regional solidarity) a form of corruption or a *political sine qua non* in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman establishment? Moreover, this study suggests that ethnic and regional (*cins*) solidarity played a significant role in appointing governors to administrative units. Systematically examining this concept offers a fresh and well-grounded perspective, particularly in the context of sixteenth-century Ottoman history with visualization of career paths, administrative units ruled by the Bosnian Sokolović faction, reconstruction of their extended family tree, and political networks. Considering the necessity of prosopographical studies on the Ottoman ruling elite, I believe this thesis will contribute not only to the studies on the concept of ethnic–regional solidarity and the individuals who governed Buda but also more generally and, most importantly, to the underdeveloped prosopography studies in Ottoman historiography.

World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 93–108.; Jane Hathaway, *A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003).

³⁴ While individuals like Sokolluzāde Lālā Mehmed Pasha (d. 1606) acquired the office of grand vizierate some time after his office in Buda, Yaḥyāpaşazāde Arslan Pasha (d. 1566) and Sokollu Muştafā Pasha (d. 1578) were killed by the Sultan's orders during their tenures. The Habsburgs killed some governors-general of Buda like Minkārkuşu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1601) in battles, whereas Dīv Süleymān Pasha (d. ?) spent some time in Habsburg captivity.

1.5 Primary Sources

This study draws on several archival document types to provide a comprehensive survey of the career routes of the pashas of Buda, primarily the *mühimme* (registers of important affairs), *ru'ūs* (official appointment registers), *sancak tevcīh* (sanjak appointment registers), and *māliyyeden müdevver defters* (registers transferred from the treasury). Contemporary chronicles, biographical works, books of conquests/holy war (*ğazavātnāme*), and biographical anthologies of Ottoman poets (*şu'arā' tezkiireleri*) are among the elements of the thesis' primary source pool. Among them, a distinguished place goes to an extensive corpus written by prolific Gelibolulu Muşafā 'Ālī (d. after late 1600), Selānikī Muşafā Efendi (d. 1600), Peçevī Ibrāhīm Efendi Alajbegović (d. 1650), and Evliyā' Çelebi (d. 1685?). In their nature, these sources possess great potential for surveying career trajectories and reconstructing power nodes, political networks, familial connections, and ethnic and regional backgrounds. Last but not least, considering the reconstructed Sokolović family tree, one of this thesis's main contributions, endowment inscriptions/documents (*vakfiyye*), are cornerstones of the rather wide-ranging primary source pool.

1.6 From Digital Nodes to Visual Networks: Social Network Analysis and Prosopography

The thesis utilizes prosopography and social network analysis (SNA) through data visualization and software tools such as UCINET, NetDraw, and ChatGPT to answer these questions. Prosopography is a method of analysis that reveals collective tendencies by considering a large group of administrators rather than individual biographies. Through this approach, the individual careers of the pashas of Buda and their prevalent career trajectories can be revealed. Likewise, a prosopographical inquiry into the governors-general of Buda and the interest groups in the late sixteenth-century Ottoman history sheds new light on their political camps, whether they belonged to a faction, and their position within their respective political cliques.

Finally, this thesis draws from social network analysis and data visualization, which utilize digital software tools, namely UCINET, NetDraw, and ChatGPT. Martin Grandjean's article explores how historians use data visualization to make complex information more accessible, illustrate ideas, help audiences explore data interactively, and/or help both the research and the researcher.³⁵ Consequently, he highlights that historians are responsible for creating clear, meaningful, and sophisticated yet accessible visualizations that genuinely serve their audience.³⁶ This is indeed what this thesis tries to achieve.

The article by Abdurrahman Atçıl and Gürzat Kami also significantly contributed to the field of data visualization in historical studies, as well as to the study of bureaucratic and administrative history and the career paths of Ottoman officials.³⁷ Just like the article written by Atçıl and Kami regarding the career paths of Ottoman chief judges (*kāẓi-i 'asker*, *kāẓ 'asker*), this thesis utilizes quantitative analysis of historical data through digital tools. Nevertheless, this thesis does not investigate the Ottoman scholar-bureaucrats (*'ulemā'*) and their career paths, as they did, but that of the military class (*'askerī*), which requires a different kind of primary source corpus. As their article demonstrates, this approach generates a convenient ground for new doors to confirm, revise, and qualify the up-to-date literature and scholarship in the field. To achieve this end, this thesis interprets its comprehensive data set through the career path visualizations generated by various software such as NetDraw and UCINET, with some data manipulations via ChatGPT. Considering the governor-generalship of Buda as the terminal station (or, more scientifically, the terminal node), it links nodes, all of which represent different administrative

³⁵ Martin Grandjean, "Data Visualization for History," in *Handbook of Digital Public History*, ed. Serge Noiret, Mark Tebeau, and Gerben Zaagsma (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2022), 291–300.

³⁶ Grandjean, "Data Visualization for History," 297–300.

³⁷ Abdurrahman Atçıl and Gürzat Kami, "Studying Professional Careers as Hierarchical Networks: A Case Study on the Careers of Chief Judges in the Ottoman Empire (1516–1622)," *Journal of Historical Network Research* 7 (2022): 1–32.

units of the early modern Ottoman Empire, to their respective counterparts according to the dataset. In doing so, it shares visual and quantitative graphs and charts, especially regarding the in-degree and out-degree values, which makes such an inquiry realizable.

To illustrate, from which positions did the pashas appointed to Buda usually come? Was there a clear pattern of appointments? Did the administrators sent to Buda in times of war have a different profile from those of peace? Did significant historical events, such as the Ottoman-Habsburg wars of 1593–1606, change the nature of appointments to Buda? How did the emergence of powerful sixteenth- and seventeenth-century political factions, such as the Bosnian Sokolovićs in the former and the Albanian Köprülüs in the latter, affect who was to attain the office in Buda? Did they enhance their power and take over control in Buda through means of ethnic and regional affiliations? Centering the questions around the governor-generalship of Buda, this thesis seeks to understand whether the Ottoman state had a systematic appointment policy for the administration of its administrative units or whether there were periodic fluctuations in the appointment pattern affected by politically formidable nodes of power in Istanbul, and/or in Ottoman Hungary.³⁸

1.7 The Roadmap of the Thesis

The first research chapter aims to identify patterns and changes in patterns in the appointment of officials and to show the factors that shaped these trajectories. By exploring these questions, this research aims to shed light on the broader dynamics of administration, political factions, and power, as well as the underlying logic of appointments within the Ottoman Empire. To execute this ambitious undertaking, this thesis studies the career trajectories of Buda pashas by

³⁸ Pál Fodor, “Who Should Obtain the Castle of Pankota (1565)? Interest Groups and Self-Promotion in the Mid-Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Political Establishment,” *Turcica* 31 (1999): 67–86. In his article, Fodor tells the story of a heated rivalry in 1565 over who should control the strategic castle of Pankota. He reveals how Ottoman officials relied less on merit and more on personal connections and backroom deals to climb the ranks. Private letters utilized in the article reveal how political families engaged in intrigues to gain power behind the scenes of the empire.

dividing the appointment data into four periods that were determined by a rationale of valent political developments:

- 1- **1541–93:** From the conquest of Buda to the outbreak of the Long Turkish War.
- 2- **1593–1606:** From the outbreak of the Long Turkish War to the Peace of Zsitvatorok.
- 3- **1606–56:** From the Peace of Zsitvatorok to the beginning of the Köprülü era.
- 4- **1656–86:** From the beginning of the Köprülü era to the fall of Buda to the Habsburgs.

Behind the rationale of examining the data in four periods lies the pragmatic reasons and an inquiry to determine the factors for apparent changes in career paths. Throughout the Ottoman administrative control over Buda in 145 years, the career trajectories of Buda changed significantly, which could only be made sense with the alterations in the centralization, practical appointments made during war times, and the clashes between various interest groups, which could be named as political factions, cliques, and parties. Even though the second proposed period (1593–1606) is significantly shorter than the others, it allows grasping the underlying mechanisms at play during war. As for the first and third periods, namely the first period being 1541–93, and the third period 1606–56, it is essential to acknowledge that they set a convenient stage for comparison, and similar terms apply to the last period, 1656–86, which is lengthwise relatively close to that of the first and the third.

Studying the career trajectories of individuals who attained office in Buda is not merely an endeavor of listing names and titles. It is about understanding how the Ottoman administrative system functioned in this strategically important and prestigious administrative unit. These pashas were not only bureaucrats or provincial administrators but also key figures who managed the political balance on the Ottoman–Habsburg border, arguably the most dynamic and vibrant front. Their careers provide essential clues about the functioning of the early modern Ottoman state:

Appointment mechanisms, the importance of ethnic–regional affiliations, the role of patronage, alterations in the political balance of power, and who was appointed to a critical position such as Buda and on what criteria, and through which networks of power. Thus, in the second research chapter, with a particular focus on the second half of the sixteenth century, I also discuss the importance of the concept of ethnic-regional (*cins*) solidarity and identity(ies), which I argue profoundly affected the political families, the factions within the Ottoman ruling elite, and, as a matter of course, the career trajectories within the upper echelons of the Ottoman ruling elite (*‘askerī*).³⁹

To conduct this pursuit, I regard the creation of the Bosnian Sokolović (Sokollu) faction in the mid-to-late sixteenth century and their clash with what I coin the Albanian faction over the governor-generalship of Buda as my case study. Important individuals whom I trace include: Yaḥyāpaşazāde Arslan Pasha (d. 1566), Sokollu Muştafâ Pasha (d. 1578), Kara Üveys Pasha (d. 1591), Sokollu Ġāzī Ferhād Pasha (d. 1590), Şōfī Sinān Pasha (d. 1615), Sinānpaşazāde Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1605), Sokolluzāde Ḥasan Pasha (d. 1602), and Sokolluzāde Lālā Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1606).

In this way, the second research chapter illustrates a well-researched study on the concept of ethnic–regional solidarity, which lacks a systematic survey and remains a relatively underexplored and less developed area in the existing scholarship. Focusing on the animosity between what I term 'the Bosnian faction' and 'the Albanian faction,' the thesis's second research chapter examines the formation of ethnic factions, their modes of operation, and their conflicts, which could be interpreted within an ethnic discursive framework.

³⁹ See footnote 4 in this chapter regarding an attempt to define the concept of ethnic–regional (*cins*) solidarity.

1.8 Beyond Buda and Ethnic–Regional Solidarity: Conclusions, Implications, and Future Questions

In sum, focusing on the career trajectories of the Ottoman governors-general of Buda, and the concept of ethnic–regional (*cins*) solidarity, this thesis attempts to understand how the Ottoman Empire governed its provinces and its ruling elite. Most of the individuals who governed Buda were once (or always) direct clients of statesmen and figures involved in power networks in Ottoman politics. Their appointments were shaped as much by the state's priorities as the political balance at court. This study takes a broader perspective on the Ottoman Empire's administrative structure, bringing together different approaches, such as the Ottoman conception of governance, the influence of political patronage, the method of prosopography, and social network analyses. It positions Buda not only as part of the broad Ottoman provincial administration but also as an administrative unit directly linked to the central decision-making processes of the Ottoman state since the office in Buda was of utmost importance both for war- and peace-making processes. As I would say, “whoever controls Buda controls the war-making mechanism of the Empire.”

From a more general perspective, this thesis aims to provide a broader understanding of the Ottoman ruling elite, their endeavor to enhance their networks and power, and career advancement mechanisms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To this end, from a broader perspective, examining the career trajectories of individuals who acquired the governor-generalship of Buda helps us understand how factionalism, power, ambition, and governance were shaped in the early modern Ottoman state. As for the future questions, I would like to direct a single and general yet profound question that requires ambitious investigation and in-depth analysis through multiple case studies: Was factionalism around nepotism and ingroup favoritism (such as ethnic–regional solidarity) a form of corruption or a *political sine qua non* in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman state-making and -ruling?

CHAPTER I

Tracing Imperial Mobility: Career Trajectories and Appointment Patterns in the Ottoman Governor-Generalship of Buda (1541–1686)

Such is the custom of this fleeting abode:
When one departs, another takes their place.

The world rolls on with highs and lows,
Joy comes first, then sorrow follows.

چنین است رسم سپنجی سرای
یکی چون رود دیگر آید بجای⁴⁰

- Firdevsī

چنین است گیتی فراز و نشیب
یکی شادمانی، دیگر با نهیب⁴¹

- Naḥīfī Mehmed Efendi

A well-known poet of the Islamic world, Firdevsī (d. 940), in his *Şāhnāme* (*The Book of Kings*), describes the fleeting world as a revolving door where one departs, and another takes their place. Acknowledging the same sentiment for the Ottoman state- and elite-ruling practices, Naḥīfī quotes Firdevsī and writes a parallel poem [*naẓīre*] to Firdevsī's couplet from *Şāhnāme*. In his parallel couplet, Naḥīfī reflects on the transient nature of the mortal world, suggesting that joy is inevitably followed by sorrow as life oscillates between highs and lows. This parallel couplet comes from his *Cevāhirü'l-Menâkıb* (*The Jewels of Virtuous Deeds*), written for his patron, Sokollu Muṣṭafâ Pasha. The quote appears as the text narrates the news about his patron's appointment to the governor-generalship of Buda, following the execution of Yaḥyâpaşazâde Arslan Pasha, as discussed briefly in the introduction chapter. Naḥīfī Mehmed Efendi's reference to Firdevsī's couplet seems a strategic choice, framing Arslan's execution as "the custom of this fleeting abode." His parallel poem to Firdevsī as *naẓīre* points to the general setting of the world around him, the Ottoman ruling elite, and the compelling and intricate appointment processes full of intrigues and factional clashes.

⁴⁰ Naḥīfī Mehmed Efendi, *Cevāhirü'l-Menâkıb*, 399.

⁴¹ Naḥīfī Mehmed Efendi, *Cevāhirü'l-Menâkıb*, 399.

This chapter examines the career paths of the Ottoman governors of Buda, asking what kinds of patterns shaped their appointments and what those patterns can tell us about the bigger forces behind their rise. By investigating how and why the career trajectories of this governor-generalship in a vital frontier *beylerbeylik* took new shapes over time, the chapter seeks to illuminate the internal mechanics of imperial administration, factional politics, and decision-making within the Ottoman Empire. Did the pashas appointed to Buda follow recognizable career routes? And when those routes changed, what factors, be it structural, political, or military, accounted for the shift? The research adopts a periodized approach to studying these appointments, dividing the data collected from archival sources, manuscripts written in the period under investigation, and the secondary literature into four segments. Each period corresponds to a significant moment of political or military transformation in the empire, suggesting that turning points in imperial history directly influenced how and why particular administrators were selected for provincial command:

- 1- 1541–93:** From the conquest of Buda to the outbreak of the Long Turkish War.
- 2- 1593–1606** From the outbreak of the Long Turkish War to the Peace of Zsitvatorok.
- 3- 1606–56:** From the Peace of Zsitvatorok to the beginning of the Köprülü era.
- 4- 1656–86:** From the beginning of the Köprülü era to the fall of Buda to the Habsburgs.

The rationale behind this segmentation is threefold: first, it allows the study to track change over time; second, it provides a convenient ground for a more focused inquiry into how specific historical contexts, wars, peace treaties, institutional shifts, and/or shifts in factional powers (such

as the reign of Köprülü) affected the nature of appointments;⁴² lastly, dividing the data into four allows the writer to both interpret and convey the digital graphs more effectively.

Such an analysis allows for further research questions to emerge at both the macro and micro levels. For example, were the officials who governed Buda right after its integration into the *dārü'l-İslām* (the Abode of Islam) in 1541 different in their bureaucratic (and/or professional) backgrounds from the governors-general of the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?⁴³ If so, did the pattern alteration of who should obtain the position in Buda occur because of the heavy centralization project of the Süleymānic regime (1520–66)?⁴⁴ Were the officials sent to Buda during times of war fundamentally different from those appointed in peacetime? Was military competence privileged in crisis years, or did political, factional, and/or ethnic and ingroup favoritism often override strategic considerations? Alongside such macro-level questions, this chapter takes seriously the micro-level dynamics of individual careers. The chapter identifies shared patterns and anomalies by tracing each Buda pasha's earliest administrative assignments and charting the positions they held before their tenure in Buda, and after, in some cases, *only if* the governor-generalship of Buda was attained more than once in their careers. As will be discussed in detail in this chapter, some individuals obtained the governor-generalship of Buda several times, which was the result of a series of promotions and demotions. Did most of these governors rise

⁴² For more insight into the Köprülü reconfiguration of the Ottoman administrative system, see Cumhur Bekar, "The Rise of the Köprülü Family: The Reconfiguration of Vizierial Power in the Seventeenth Century" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2019), 135–146.

⁴³ As this chapter discusses below, it is apparent from the career trajectories that up until the second half of the sixteenth century, the governors-general of Buda had *akıncı*-oriented backgrounds. Instead of being educated in the Ottoman center, a considerable number of governors-general in the first period, 1541–93, made their lives in the borderland, and obtained the political, economic, and social powerbase descended from their *akıncı* families, such as Yahyāpaşazādes (to illustrate Yahyāpaşazāde Küçük Bālī Pasha, Yahyāpaşazāde Mehmed Pasha, and Yahyāpaşazāde Arslan Pasha), and their clients (for example Kāsım Voyvoda/Bey/Pasha).

⁴⁴ For more information regarding the centralization project followed during the reign of Süleymān I, see Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman*, 214–243.; Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).; Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

through similar positions? Were there standard paths to Buda, or not? If there were, did these standard trajectories change in time? Such questions allow for reconstructing what might be called “career typologies” across the periods in question.

2.1 Fortune and Risk in Governance of a Borderland Province

It is not surprising that just like the governors-general of other administrative units, the pashas of Buda often occupied a precarious position. Some rose higher after serving in the office, attaining positions in central administration or other prominent provinces. Whereas some others witnessed their careers abruptly cut short, either victims of shifting court politics, prey to strong factions of the time, failed campaigns, or simply the Sultan’s disfavor.⁴⁵ To what extent did patronage networks buffer these men against failure or expose them to greater risks? Were there moments when factional rivalry or war made appointments less predictable or more volatile?

While scholars have offered essential insights into Ottoman Hungary, Buda stands out as the only province for which we have a near-complete list of governors, yet few scholars have taken a systematic look at them as a group.⁴⁶ Antal Gévay’s *A Budai Pasák*, published in 1841, was ahead of its time and forms an important starting point.⁴⁷ Drawing mainly on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman chronicles, Gévay did not have access to Ottoman archival materials, which were not publicly available during his lifetime. Another contribution comes from Orhan Kılıç, whose comparative article on the pashas of Buda and Tımsıvar shares some thematic concerns with this chapter.⁴⁸ Still, its focus is narrower, concentrating only on the final steps before a pasha’s appointment to either province. In contrast, my research traces each individual’s whole

⁴⁵ The great variety of examples will be shortly discussed below regarding the post-Buda careers of pashas.

⁴⁶ For the extensive scholarship on the Ottoman presence in Hungary, see footnotes 22–25.

⁴⁷ Antal Gévay, *A Budai pasák* (Vienna: Strauss, 1841). Also published in German as Anton von Gévay, “Versuch eines chronologischen Verzeichnisses der türkischen Statthalter von Ofen,” *Der österreichische Geschichtsforscher* 2 (1841): 56–90.

⁴⁸ Orhan Kılıç, “Budin ve Tımsıvar Eyaletlerinin Paşaları: Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz,” *OTAM Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma Ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 46 (Spring 2019): 191–229.

administrative trajectory leading up to the governor-generalship of Buda. Moreover, Kılıç's work contains several inaccuracies, including misidentified and conflated figures, and lacks clarity about the analytical purpose of comparing the paths to Buda and Tımsıvar. My findings suggest that Tımsıvar was not the most significant career precursor to Buda; instead, as will be demonstrated below, the *sanjak*, and later with its promotion to *beylerbeylik*, of Bosnia served as the most frequent last step to the governor-generalship of Buda, with thirteen instances. In addition to these broader or comparative studies, a body of biographical literature focuses primarily on sixteenth-century figures relevant to this research.⁴⁹ While these biographies are indispensable for reconstructing specific careers, their emphasis tends to be on the personal histories of the pashas rather than on systematic analysis of career patterns, which is one of the central concerns of this thesis.

The present chapter positions itself within this scholarly landscape. I begin by charting the career trajectories of the Buda governors from their earliest known administrative roles. This chapter enriches the existing secondary literature by identifying recurring pathways, disruptions, and turning points in these careers and offers a methodological contribution by bridging historical inquiry with digital tools. This integrated approach showcases the analytical potential of digital humanities and social network analysis within early modern Ottoman studies. In what follows, I begin with an overview of the dataset, sources, Scope, and methodological reflections. Later, I summarize tenure patterns, notable figures, and general trends in the appointments to the governor-generalship of Buda. I then analyze the governors-general's career trajectories across four periods through a dataset and visualized social network graphs. Each period is chosen considering its political context, changing appointment criteria, and shifting elite mobility patterns. At the same

⁴⁹ For more information regarding these works, see footnote 31.

time, at the end of each period analysis, I reflect on how these career paths illuminate broader transformations in Ottoman provincial governance and administrative logic.

2.2 Tracing Trajectories through Data: Sources, Scope, and Methodological Reflections

Methodologically, this chapter introduces digital tools to study Ottoman political and institutional history. Inspired by the article authored by Abdurrahman Atçıl and Gürzat Kami, “Studying Professional Careers as Hierarchical Networks: A Case Study on the Careers of Chief Judges in the Ottoman Empire (1516–1522),” I employ a social network analysis (SNA) through digital software such as UCINET and NetDraw, and utilize ChatGPT to manipulate the data.⁵⁰ These tools offer a new way of visualizing the links between pashas, positions, and political factions. In doing so, I contribute new empirical data and a reflection on the usefulness and limitations of digital methods in the context of early modern Ottoman studies. How can digital visualizations reveal patterns that textual analysis might miss? What are the conditions under which such tools provide meaningful insights into power structures, factional clashes, and institutional settings?

To execute the project, the data regarding the administrative units and positions obtained by individuals who, in any part of their bureaucratic careers, acquired the governor-generalship of Buda was extracted first from the secondary literature⁵¹ and then supplemented with archival sources, such as primarily the *mühimme* (registers of important affairs), *ru’ûs* (official appointment registers), *sancak tevcîh* (sanjak appointment registers), and *mâliyeden müdevver defters* (registers transferred from the treasury). Likewise, contemporary chronicles also provide considerable insight into the professional and personal biographies of the Ottoman ruling elite. Among these,

⁵⁰ Abdurrahman Atçıl and Gürzat Kami, “Studying Professional Careers as Hierarchical Networks: A Case Study on the Careers of Chief Judges in the Ottoman Empire (1516–1622),” *Journal of Historical Network Research* 7 (2022): 1–32.

⁵¹ For these secondary literature works, see footnotes 26–31.

particular prominence is given to the substantial body of work produced by the prolific Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, historians such as Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi, Peçevī İbrāhīm Efendi Alajbegović, and famous Ottoman traveler Evliyā Çelebi.⁵² Nevertheless, it should be stated that this project can be considered a work-in-progress, since it is possible to collect more data regarding the career paths of Buda pashas from archival sources such as *ru’ūs* and *mālīyeden müdevver defters*. Considering the feasibility and temporal constraints, this thesis acknowledges that the data gathered, used, and interpreted for the project are not exhaustive, nor can they be considered *entirely* complete career paths by any means; further sources and additional data may still be uncovered.

Several factors, such as the scattered nature of Ottoman archival sources and the inconsistent ways appointments were recorded, make it hard to gather and turn this information into usable data. Appointment provisions can be found in any type of Ottoman register. Another noteworthy complication to recognize is that, especially regarding the period between the Ottoman takeover of Buda in 1541 and the introduction of Ottoman registers mentioned above in the second half of the sixteenth century, studying the career trajectories of pashas who obtained the office during that period is like looking for a needle in a haystack. Similarly, in most cases, the career trajectories of individuals who obtained the office in Buda are not traceable, since they found a place for themselves in registers after their appointment to a prominent rank. Therefore, unless someone was a well-known political figure of their time or had the means to commission men of letters to record their lives, it is usually quite difficult to trace their earliest roles within the Ottoman bureaucracy. To name some examples, we have a considerable amount of data for men-at-arms

⁵² Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Künhü’l-Ahbâr: 4. Rükün*, ed. Suat Donuk, vol. 5 (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2024).; Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Nusret-nâme*, ed. Hicabi Kırlangıç (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000).; Selānikī Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikî I*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999).; İbrahim Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1866).; Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, ed. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yücel Dağlı, 10 vols. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996).

who rose to literary fame and became prominent figures in Ottoman literature, just like Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha (d. 1611), and some other individuals who obtained the position of grand vizier sometime after their tenure in Buda, just as Sokolluzāde Lālā Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1606).⁵³ Thanks to the commissioned biography written for Sokollu Muṣṭafā Pasha by Naḥīfī Meḥmed Efendi, scholars know how he was conscripted through the *devşirme* (child-levy) system and which administrative ranks he acquired until he arrived in the office in Buda.⁵⁴ For some individuals named as the pasha of Buda, such as Boşnak Muṣṭafā Pasha (d.?), and Sefer Pasha (d.), I could trace their trajectories only from the last position they held before their service in Buda.⁵⁵ The dataset cannot be fully exhaustive, considering the nature of the Ottoman record-keeping. Nevertheless, extensive work in the Ottoman archives and a close review of appointment records have produced a sufficiently representative body of data for this thesis.

Another point that should be drawn is that this thesis and the collected data revolve only around the individuals who, at some point in their careers, hold the *beylerbeylik* (governor-generalship) of Buda, which indicates that the individuals who acquired the administrative position *muḥāfızlık* (military governor) of Buda were omitted. The rationale behind this decision is that these individuals, who, predominantly during wartime, became the *muḥāfız* of Buda, were not officially governors-general of Buda, though they might have acted so. As can be exemplified through the archival sources, these *muḥāfız*s of Buda were governors-general of some other

⁵³ Claire Norton, *Plural Pasts: Power, Identity, and the Ottoman Sieges of Nagykanizsa Castle* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).; Anonymous, *Tiryākī Ḥasan Paşa Gazavâtnâmesi ve Bazı Filolojik Notlar*, ed. Ahmet Şefik Şenlik (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2017).

⁵⁴ Nahîfî Mehmed Efendi, *Cevâhirü'l-Menâkıb*, 49–100.; Karakuş, “Budın Beylerbeyi Sokollu Mustafa Paşa’nın Yükselişi,” 14–100.

⁵⁵ Both Antal Gévay’s book about the careers of Ottoman pashas of Buda and *Sicill-i Osmânî* (*The Biographical Dictionary of the Ottoman Empire*) written by Mehmed Süreyya Efendi remain silent regarding both pashas’ extensive careers. I likewise failed to trace their earlier positions within the administration through Ottoman registers.

governor-generalship.⁵⁶ Still, they were appointed to Buda as *muḥāfiẓ*s alongside specific military decisions, often arriving with troops already under their command. One of the main reasons for this practice lies in the fact that the governor-generalship of Buda was not only one of the most prestigious posts on the Ottoman–Habsburg frontier but also held immense geopolitical, economic, and symbolic importance. It is also worth noting that the *muḥāfiẓ* of Buda often became the natural successor to the governor-generalship. In several cases, individuals who first arrived in Buda as *muḥāfiẓ*s were soon promoted to the governor-general post, usually following their predecessor's dismissal, likely due to failures during a military campaign.⁵⁷

Apart from the sources that provided the information and specific critical issues concerning its collection, limitations, and scope, the material gathered from the primary source pool was compiled in Microsoft Excel to facilitate logistical organization and enable analysis using digital network software such as UCINET and NetDraw. Once the archival survey and the incorporation of the data from the secondary literature were done, I visualized individuals' career steps through the above-mentioned social network analysis software. Visualizing the administrative ranks as nodes and appointments from one node to another as edges allows for the interpretation of big data and helps detect patterns and changes in time. Nevertheless, treating appointments as data has limits and setbacks as a methodology, which I discuss below.

First of all, social network analysis treats all nodes on the same structural plane, yet in reality, positions such as the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli and the *sanjak* of Vidin were far from equal

⁵⁶ For example, during his tenure in the governor-generalship of Rumeli, Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha (d. 1611) was also assigned as the *muḥāfiẓ* of Buda, whereas the actual governor-general of Buda was Kādīzāde ‘Alī Pasha (d. 1616). See, Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asaḫ/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 77, Provision No: 210, Date: 05 Rebiūlahir 1014 (August 20, 1605); Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 22. Another example is Sokolluzāde Ḥasan Pasha (d. 1602). He was appointed to *muḥāfiẓlık* of Buda after the dismissal of Sinānpaşazade Mehmed Pasha (d. 1605), but he was not the governor-general of Buda. See, Selānikī Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selānikī I*, 304.

⁵⁷ One example being Yahyāpaşazāde Arslan Pasha, as he was appointed as the *muḥāfiẓ* of Buda first, and later to the *beylerbeylik* office of Buda.

in administrative weight.⁵⁸ In protocol and bureaucracy, governors-general (*beylerbeyis*) were superior to governors (*sancak beyis*). As a result, the relative importance of certain posts may be understated or distorted in the visual representation. Likewise, since these graphs are static images, they fail to convey the timing and duration of transitions. One cannot easily discern how long it took for someone to move from one position to another, or how quickly a pasha rose to the governorship of Buda in different periods, which is indeed essential for this thesis.

In addition to the abovementioned problems of quantification, many governors experienced pauses in their careers due to exile, temporary disgrace, or time spent outside official appointments. Pauses in the career trajectories were omnipresent, and most of the individuals who rose to the governor-generalship of Buda experienced these turbulent times in their careers. These breaks are not captured in the network, which can suggest a falsely linear or uninterrupted progression. While networks depict movement patterns between offices, they do not explain why those movements occurred. A promotion might have followed a military victory, a strategic marriage, or the support of a court faction, but such causes remain hidden in the visualized data.

As discussed above, the careers of all governors are not equally well documented. Especially from the Ottomans' takeover of Buda in 1541 to the introduction of *mühimme* registers, earlier stages in a pasha's career often remain unknown.⁵⁹ Similarly, it is hard to trace the career paths of even some seventeenth-century individuals, primarily because of scarce Ottoman documentation practices, especially if the pasha lacked prominence in politics.⁶⁰ This leads to visualizations that may unintentionally highlight the trajectories of better-documented individuals,

⁵⁸ Since its establishment as an administrative unit, the governor-generalship of Rumeli was considered one of the most prestigious and, frequently, the most prestigious governor-generalships. As archival sources and contemporary narratives indicate, governors-general of Rumeli were natural candidates for vizierate of the imperial council.

⁵⁹ *Mühimme* registers were introduced in their classical form in the 1550s. See, Emecen, "Osmanlı Divanının Ana Defter Serileri: Ahkâm-ı Mîrî, Ahkâm-ı Kuyûd-ı Mühimme ve Ahkâm-ı Şikâyet," 108–110.

⁶⁰ Among these individuals, one can talk about Boşnak Muştafâ Pasha (d. ?) and Sarı Hüseyn Pasha (d. 1683).

who were likely already prominent statesmen whose career trajectories could have been reconstructed through chronicles written during the time, while, unfortunately, underrepresenting others, who arguably had a low profile in Ottoman politics.

Although networks can reveal connections between offices, they do not expose the factional alignments or ethnic-regional (*cins*) solidarities that may have influenced appointments.⁶¹ For instance, a pasha's path to Buda might have depended more on his affiliation with the Sokollu faction in the sixteenth century, or the Köprülü household in the seventeenth century, than on any formal career trajectory, something that the graphs cannot display on their own. To reveal these dependencies, one must delve into the archival resources, as well as contemporary chronicles, which provide substantial information and significant perspective on factional clashes, solidarities created around ingroup favoritism, and personal connections and political networks of the members of the early modern Ottoman ruling elite.⁶²

Therefore, as a result, digital network analysis offers a valuable tool for organizing and interpreting vast and scattered data collected from the Ottoman archival sources and contemporary chronicles. It helps make sense of complex data and makes it easier to show larger trends and changes over time. However, as pointed out above, its clarity is not without cost. The schematic structure of such visualizations often obscures the complexity of historical reality. Appointments were shaped by institutional logic and personal patronage ties, factional rivalries, ethnic-regional solidarities, and the ever-changing political climate, as the following chapter puts forward with firm evidence. The graphs in this chapter also provide a useful starting point for the second chapter, a way to make sense of the bigger picture, not only in appointments, but also for factional clashes

⁶¹ For more insight into the concept of ethnic-regional (*cins*) solidarity, see the second chapter, and footnote 4.

⁶² The subsequent chapter attempts to address the already mentioned problems and questions, and centers on the factional clash between what it identifies as Bosnian and Albanian cliques over the governor-generalship of Buda.

and political patronage. However, to genuinely understand how elite mobility worked in the Ottoman world, we must move beyond what the visuals show. That means digging into narrative sources and going back to the archives.

2.3 Overview of Appointments and Patterns in Ottoman Buda (1541–1686)

Throughout 145 years of Ottoman administration in Buda, 68 individuals served as the governor-general of Buda, which indicates that the average tenure in office was approximately 2.13 years. Although this study identifies 68 individuals who served as the *beylerbeyi* of Buda, it should be noted that this number might slightly alter since some of the appointments are ambiguous. Ottoman archival sources and contemporary narratives do not help identify the exact number of pashas. Géza Dávid, without naming the pashas, argues that 75 individuals attained the position in Buda; whereas, Orhan Kılıç identifies 79 pashas, some of which are not evidenced.⁶³ As noted in the introduction and earlier in this chapter, this study uses Antal Gévay's work as its foundation. It identifies 68 of the 69 individuals Gévay listed through archival sources and contemporary chronicles, and has therefore included these 68 in its analysis.⁶⁴ One of the reasons behind this discrepancy regarding the number of individuals who obtained the governor-generalship of Buda is the nature of the Ottoman appointment system, where some of the individuals just did not show up because they were assigned somewhere else during their travel to Buda. The other reason is the fact that this chapter does not consider *muḥāfiẓs* of Buda as the governor-generalship of Buda,

⁶³ Géza Dávid, "Budın" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992), 348–352.; Kılıç, "Budın ve Tımsıvar Eyaletlerinin Paşaları," 195.; Gévay, *A Budai pasák*.

⁶⁴ According to Gévay, after the first tenure of Mihálıçlı 'Aḥmed Pasha (d. after 1597) in 1595, a certain 'Alī Pasha (d. ?) was appointed to the office in Buda. However, my archival research shows that this 'Alī Pasha is likely the Qāḍīzāde 'Alī Pasha (d. 1616), who attained the governor-generalship of Buda three times in the following years. In other words, if this unidentifiable 'Alī Pasha is indeed Qāḍīzāde 'Alī Pasha, then it is safe to argue that Qāḍīzāde 'Alī Pasha appointed the governor-general of Buda four times.

which requires further studies, and other works might have regarded as *muḥāfiẓs* as the governors-general of Buda.⁶⁵

Among all governors who served as the governor-general of Buda, Sokollu Muṣṭafā Pasha stands out as the longest-serving figure in a single appointment.⁶⁶ Beginning his tenure in July 1566, after the execution of Yaḥyāpaşazāde Arslan Pasha, he remained in office for over twelve uninterrupted years until his execution on 30 October 1578. As will be discussed in depth below and even more in the second chapter, his tenure's longevity can be attributed to his powerful cousin, grand vizier Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha's reign in the empire.⁶⁷ His sustained presence in such a strategically critical province marks a rare case of administrative continuity in a borderland setting often characterized by instability. Aside from Sokollu Muṣṭafā, several other governors also held notably long terms without dismissal. Close behind is Ḳāḍīzāde 'Alī Pasha (d. 1616), who returned to the position multiple times and served for a combined total of around eight years. Several others, just like Yaḥyāpaşazāde Meḥmed Pasha, Ġāzī Ḳāsım Pasha (d. after 1561?), and Güzelce Rüstem Pasha (d. 1563), also held the office for about four to five years each. To name some examples from the seventeenth century as well, Uzun İbrāhīm Pasha (d. 1683) governed for almost 5 years, and Koca Mūsā Pasha (d. 1647) for 4 years.⁶⁸ Though shorter than Sokollu Muṣṭafā's tenure, these figures represent relatively extended periods of office within the provincial

⁶⁵ For an example, see Römer and Vatin, "The Lion That Was Only a Cat," 163–164.

⁶⁶ Among other pashas of Buda, Sokollu Muṣṭafā Pasha is one of the most well-known and famous figures. See, Karakuş, "Budin Beylerbeyi Sokollu Mustafa Paşa'nın Yükselişi," 14–100.; Yasemin Altaylı, "Macarca Mektuplarıyla Budin Beylerbeyi Sokollu Mustafa Paşa (1566–1578)," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 49, no. 2 (2009): 157–71.; Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "Budin Beylerbeyi Mustafa Paşa (1566–1578)," *Belleten* 54, no. 210 (1990): 649–63.

⁶⁷ However, Sokollu Muṣṭafā Pasha's tenure's longevity cannot only be attributed to his cousin's patronage. As I will discuss in another work, archival sources indicate that he had his own ways of securing his position in Buda. One being bestowing monetary and administrative promotions to governors who were under his command and their families. To have an opinion, among other many examples, see Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asaî/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 25, Provision No: 3103, Date: 27 Şaban 982 (December 12, 1574).

⁶⁸ Both Gévay and Kılıç agree on the tenures of these figures. See, Gévay, *A Budai pasák.*; Kılıç, "Budin ve Tımsıvar Eyaletlerinin Paşaları," 195.

administration of Buda. These long tenures were not just a matter of chance; they suggest a degree of continuity in local governance and point to the political confidence these figures had in the eyes of the sultan's court, and among the ruling elite.

However, in the seventeenth century, the dataset shows that tenures were relatively shorter compared to those of the sixteenth century. Some governors-general in the seventeenth century held office for extremely brief durations, some lasting less than a month, or even just a few days. Examples include Sokolluzāde Lālā Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1606), Deli Dervīş Pasha (d. 1623), Bebr Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1623), and Nevesinli Murtaẓā Pasha (d. 1648).⁶⁹ Similarly, in later periods in the seventeenth century, short-lived appointments were seen with the tenures of Silāḥdār Ḥüseyin Pasha (d. ?), Silāḥdār Muştafā Pasha (d. 1642), and Dāmād Faẓlullāh Faẓlı Pasha (d. 1658). Their terms' brevity reflects political turbulence or rapid personnel rotations within the Ottoman administrative hierarchy during that period.

Notably, 19 different individuals held the governorship of Buda more than once, highlighting the recurring deployment of experienced officials to the province.⁷⁰ In addition to the individuals discussed above who attained the governor-generalship of Buda several times, Hezergradlı Şōfi Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1655), for instance, served as governor of Buda five separate times, cumulatively amounting to approximately 5,5 years. Kāḏizāde 'Alī Pasha, similarly, governed Buda four times, totaling more than 8 years, presumably thanks to his influential father-in-law, Kuyucu Murād Pasha (d. 1611).⁷¹ These repeated appointments suggest both Buda's

⁶⁹ Gévay, *A Budai pasák*. 20–37; Kılıç, “Budin ve Tımsıvar Eyaletlerinin Paşaları,” 197.

⁷⁰ Kılıç, “Budin ve Tımsıvar Eyaletlerinin Paşaları,” 194–195.

⁷¹ Kılıç, “Budin ve Tımsıvar Eyaletlerinin Paşaları,” 195. For more information about Kuyucu Murād Pasha, see, Ömer İşbilir, “Kuyucu Murad Paşa” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 26 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002), 507–508.

strategic significance and the imperial center's reliance on trusted, seasoned bureaucrats in securing the Ottoman borderland against the Habsburgs.

Consequently, these four periods reveal how the Ottoman administration appointed individuals to Buda and how this practice evolved. In the first phase (1541–93), appointments followed a frontier-focused and faction-based pattern. In the second period, that structure began to shift, though not wholly, as the pressures of war made Buda even more critical. The third period marked a significant change: Buda began to resemble a destination for less successful or politically out-of-favor figures, with notable exceptions. Finally, during the Köprülü era, the empire seemed to return to earlier habits, bringing back what I call the “classical imperial norms,” a model more in line with how things worked for career trajectories in the first and second periods. Last but not least, what appears to be the most prevalent pattern is that, across all four periods, personal patronage, factional alignments, and ethnic-regional solidarities (particularly among Balkan-born kul elites and later among the Caucasian *müşterā kuls*) remained central forces shaping these appointments. While structural changes and imperial policies left their mark, networks of favoritism, kinship, and shared provincial origins consistently shaped access to Buda.

2.3.1 The First Phase: Post-Conquest Consolidation (1541–93)

During the period from the Ottoman takeover of the city to the outbreak of the Long Turkish War, nineteen individuals attained the governor-generalship of Buda in 52 years, the first being Uzun Süleymān Pasha (d. 1542) and the last, Sokolluzāde Ḥasan Pasha (d. 1602).⁷² This indicates that the average tenure in office was approximately 2.73 years, which makes an average tenure of 1008 days. As noted above, the longest-serving governor-general of Buda was Sokollu Muṣṭafā Pasha,

⁷² Since the war broke out during the tenure of Sokolluzāde Ḥasan Pasha in Buda, I include his career trajectory in this period.

who held the position for over twelve years, from 1566 to 1578. The shortest-serving individual who obtained office in Buda during this period appears to be Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha (d. 1580), who served less than a year in the province because of the revolt against him in Buda.⁷³

The first period under consideration, 1541 to 1593, marks the formative decades following the Ottoman conquest of Buda, which can be considered the consolidation of Ottoman rule in the region. As the data and visualizations make clear, this period saw a fairly dynamic but still recognizable set of patterns in elite mobility, with seasoned administrators regularly moving from strategically important provinces to the post at Buda. A broader look at the data, which is illustrated by Figure 1, suggests that a typical pattern in this period was the appointment of individuals to the governor-generalship of Buda after having served as governors-general elsewhere in the empire, as was the case with pashas like Uzun Süleymān Pasha, Güzelce Rüstem Pasha, and Sokollu Ferhād Pasha, among others. It should also be stressed that not every appointee to Buda came from a previous governor-generalship post. While such appointments were frequent and appeared to create a pattern, some individuals advanced to Buda from prominent *sanjaks* instead. These examples are mainly from the earlier periods, although it is possible to trace them in the second half of the sixteenth century, too.⁷⁴ Among these, we find notable cases from the governorship of Smederevo, Herzegovina, Bosnia, and Mohács. Yet, this pattern is nuanced by a crucial institutional development: Bosnia and Mohács evolved from being *sanjaks* into *beylerbeylik* centers during this period. However, as stated in the case of Bosnia, we see transitions only from the Bosnian *sanjak*, to the governor-generalship of Buda before its formal elevation to a governor-generalship. One example is Ḥādım ‘Alī Pasha (d. 1558), who began his first term as governor of

⁷³ Römer and Vatin, “The Lion That Was Only a Cat,” 162–163.

⁷⁴ Examples from the earlier periods include Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha (from the Sanjak of Herzegovina to Buda) Yaḥyāpaşazāde Arslan Pasha (from the Sanjak of Semendire to Buda), and Sokollu Muştafā Pasha (from the Sanjak of Bosnia to Buda), see Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 9–11.

Buda on May 17, 1551, after serving in the Sanjak of Bosnia.⁷⁵ According to the dataset, once the Sanjak of Bosnia was elevated to a governor-generalship, no further appointments were made from Bosnia to Buda during this period. Nevertheless, since its position was elevated to a governor-generalship during this time, I refer to it as the sanjak/beylerbeylik of Bosnia. Some of these visualizations might be misleading without engaging with the archival sources themselves.

In this regard, it is essential to point out the career trajectory of Sokollu Ġāzi Ferhād Pasha and how he ended up in the governor-generalship of Buda. His last position before Buda was the governor-generalship of Şemahı, which seems like a symbolic appointment he never took up. Previously, he spent more than fifteen years in the sanjak (and later the governor-generalship) of Bosnia.⁷⁶ Therefore, his appointment to Buda was a cultivation of his devoted service in Bosnia, not in Şemahı.

The full network graph (Figure 1) reveals a relatively broad and interconnected web, clearly revolving around certain key positions. Most career movements seem to gather around a key power center, while others linger on the margins with only weak links. Such a structure indicates that although the Ottoman administrative career system allowed for variation and improvisation, there were discernible channels of appointment, and certain offices effectively functioned as feeders to the governor-generalship of Buda. It is also notable that military and fiscal roles, such as the commandership of the Janissary corps (*Yeniçeri Āğālık*) and the office of the chief treasurer (*defterdārlık*), are integrated into the broader network, despite more limited direct

⁷⁵ Emecen, “The Demise of the Pasha,” 185–186.

⁷⁶ His appointment to the governor-generalship of Şemahı, although for a short time, is a new discovery. See, Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafı/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 53, Provision No: 681, Date: 25 Zilhicce 992 (December 28, 1584).; Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafı/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 53, Provision No: 720, Date: 01 Muharrem 993 (January 3, 1585).

transitions to Buda.⁷⁷ This may suggest either a supplementary function, proving trustworthiness, the need for additional experience, and/or a foreshadowing change in the career trajectory pattern that will be discernible after the Long Turkish War. The early decades following the conquest of Buda were marked by a dynamic set of patterns in elite mobility. As the data and visualizations show, seasoned administrators were regularly selected from strategically significant regions to govern Buda. Provinces such as Bosnia, Rumeli, and Semendire featured prominently in these career pathways, with the position in Bosnia emerging as the most central node of mobility.

The degree centrality chart (Figure 2) immediately shows that the *Sanjak/Beylerbeylik* of Bosnia emerges as the most central node in this period, with a striking centrality score of 0.186. This means that Bosnia, whether as a *sanjak* or elevated to a *beylerbeylik* in 1580, appears more frequently than any other position in the total number of transitions either leading into or out of it. Bosnia's strong presence in the chart suggests it played a key role as a proving ground, likely because it is located close to Buda and was itself a harsh militarized *serhadd* full of both risks, but at the same time, career opportunities.⁷⁸ Its long-standing role as an office that might elevate the prestige of future governors-general of Buda makes sense, given how often it drew in both experienced commanders and rising figures looking to make their mark.

Similarly, the *sanjak* of Semendire (Smederevo) and the governor-generalship of Damascus score highly (0.169 and 0.136, respectively). Semendire's significance likely stems from its function as a fortified and politically strategic outpost on the Danube. Considering the high score of the *sanjak* of Semendire in the visualization, it is hardly surprising that many of the

⁷⁷ Frenk Yūsuf Pasha (d. 1590) was appointed to the governor-generalship of Buda from the *Yeniçeri Ağalık*, whereas Kara 'Üveys Pasha (d. 1591) was the *defterdār*. For more information regarding their career trajectories, see Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 34–35.

⁷⁸ For an interesting article regarding what it would require to become an administrator in Bosnia, see Fatma Kaytaz, “15–16. Yüzyıllarda Bosna Sancakbeyleri,” in *Dünden Bugüne Bosna-Hersek ve Aliya İzzetbegović: Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, ed. Zekeriya Kurşun, Ahmet Usta, and Emine Tonta Ak (İstanbul: Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi, 2018), 61–76.

career paths passing through the Sanjak of Semendire belonged to members of the Yahyāpaşazāde clan.⁷⁹ According to Mariya Kiprovska, the consecutive tenures of Yahyāpaşazādes in the sanjak of Semendire provided them with a considerable part of the Ottoman–Hungarian border.⁸⁰ As Oliver Jens Schmitt and Kiprovska illustrate, administrative units located on the Ottoman–Hungarian and later, Ottoman–Habsburg borders, such as *sanjaks* of Herzegovina, Bosnia, Semendire, and Zvornik, were convenient regions for frontier lords (*serhad beys/uç beys/akıncıs*) to implement their rule and strengthen their power through different means, such as a slavery-based economy.⁸¹ Therefore, the career trajectories of Yahyāpaşazādes who ended up in the office of the governor-generalship of Buda in particular, and some other Buda pashas who held administrative units located on the Central European borderland, were a visible and prominent pattern until the end of the second period of this study, that is, 1593–1606.

Likewise, Damascus’s appearance in the visualizations may initially appear as unexpected, considering its faraway location. However, the evidence suggests that governors-general from this eastern province were appointed to positions in the Ottoman Balkans and Central Europe that were arguably more prestigious or politically sensitive, considering their location on the *serhadd* against the enemy of the faith. This might reflect the imperial appointment system’s flexible logic rather than regional continuity. It should also be pointed out that all the Damascus scores come from the

⁷⁹ All members of the Yahyāpaşazāde family who obtained the office in Buda, Küçük Bālī (d. 1543), Mehmed Pasha (d. 1548), and, lastly, Arslan Pasha (d. 1566), served in the sanjak of Semendire sometime before their appointment to Buda.

⁸⁰ Mariya Kiprovska, “Agents of Conquest: Frontier Lords’ Extended Households as Actors in the Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans,” *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 59 (2021): 87–88.; Likewise, Göksel Baş argues that the Yahyāpaşazāde clan emerged as a new type of frontier family, which requires more inquiry, see Göksel Baş, “Beyond Conquest: Continuity and Change on the Ottoman Western Frontier (From the Late 15th to Mid-16th Century)” (PhD diss., İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2024), 82–83.

⁸¹ Oliver Jens Schmitt and Mariya Kiprovska, “Ottoman Raiders (*Akıncıs*) as a Driving Force of Early Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans and the Slavery-Based Economy,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 65, no. 4–5 (2022): 545–546.; It was not the frontier Yahyāpaşazāde clan who introduced this survival strategy, but Mihāl family long before the rise of the Yahyāpaşazādes. See, Mariya Kiprovska, “The Role of the Frontier Elites in the Ottoman State-Building Processes: A Case Study on the Mihaloğlu Family” (PhD diss., Central European University, 2024), 58–89.

later period in the dataset, with the career trajectories of Sokolluzāde Ḥasan Pasha and Sinānpaşazāde Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1605).⁸² Therefore, even if it is a pattern, it appeared in the last two decades during this period.

The number of Anatolian and Baghdadian governor-generalships that functioned as substantial administrative training grounds is noteworthy. Considering the career paths passed from the governor-generalships of Baghdad, both Uzun Süleymān Pasha and Bosnalı Ḥacı Meḥmed Pasha (d. 1557) served in this eastern office during the time of conflict with the Safavids, which justifies the office in Baghdad's position as an administrative training ground.⁸³ Given the governor-generalships of Anatolia and Baghdad's comparatively high centrality scores (0.119 and 0.102), it is possible that effective leadership in these populated and diverse provinces functioned as a kind of merit-based qualification for promotion to the Ottoman Empire's Central European borderland administrative offices, like the governor-generalship of Buda.

The third visualization for this period (Figure 3), which illustrates the final positions held before appointment to Buda, offers insight into the qualifications and experience required by the imperial center. The Beylerbeylik of Rumeli shares the most common route (three occurrences) to Buda with the Sanjak / Beylerbeylik of Bosnia to Buda, which could be considered unsurprising, as Rumeli was arguably the most prestigious and senior of the Ottoman provincial governor-generalships in the empire. Its holders often served as *quasi-vezīrs* in their own right, and a move from Rumeli to Buda likely represented a lateral strategic appointment rather than a promotion. Interestingly, transitions from the *Sanjak / Beylerbeylik* of Bosnia to Buda are equally frequent, again highlighting the administrative position's dual function as both a frontier command and a

⁸² Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 16–17.

⁸³ Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 1–8.

testing ground for higher office.⁸⁴ Transitions from Tımışvar, Anatolia, and Semendire also appear multiple times, suggesting that governors of Buda were often selected from those who had demonstrated their ability to manage either frontier conflict (Tımışvar, Semendire) or large and diverse populations (Anatolia).⁸⁵ This speaks to the nature of the governor-generalship of Buda as both a militarized and an urban post, which required a blend of administrative skills, martial leadership, and diplomatic talent. This chart also introduces several courtly or palace/center-based roles, notably the commandership of the Janissary corps (*Yeniçeri Ağalık*) and the office of the chief treasurer (*defterdârlık*), and the office of lieutenant of the *kul* troops (*Kul Kaḫyâlık*), suggesting that some appointees came not through the traditional path of provincial governance but from within the inner bureaucratic circles. Although they were less common, they were there, and this indicates a certain amount of flexibility between the borderland and the court. It can be argued that their appearance in the career trajectories likely stemmed from patronage networks and factional alliances rather than the administrative talents of those individuals. However, checking the dates of the appointments from palace-based roles, such as the appointment from the *Kul Kaḫyâlık*, comes from the early 1590s, with the appointment of Şöfî Sinân Pasha from *Kul Kaḫyâlık* to the office in Buda, which happened thanks to the patronage ties between Koca Sinân Pasha and his relative Şöfî Sinân Pasha.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ As discussed above with Sokollu Gâzi Ferhâd Pasha's career trajectory example, his last stepping stone to Buda was the governor-generalship of Şemahı, this score (three direct appointments from Bosnia to Buda) does not include his long-standing service in Bosnia, which was in fact the decisive factor in his appointment to Buda. See, Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asaḫı/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 53, Provision No: 681, Date: 25 Zilhicce 992 (December 28, 1584).; Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asaḫı/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 53, Provision No: 720, Date: 01 Muharrem 993 (January 3, 1585).

⁸⁵ See pages 45–46 and footnotes 79–81.

⁸⁶ For his appointment from *Kul Kaḫyâlık* to the governor-generalship of Buda, see Enis Karakaya, "Sinan Paşa Camii" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2019), 508–510.

What is crucial here for this period is that the year 1566, with the execution of Yaḥyāpaşazāde Arslan Pasha in August and the appointment of Sokollu Muştafâ Pasha to the governor-generalship of Buda, marked a crucial turning point in the so-called Ottoman centralization project. As briefly discussed on several occasions, the Yaḥyāpaşazāde family, being an *uç bey*-oriented family, provided several individuals to the borderland administrative units, such as Yaḥyâ Pasha (d. 1507), Yaḥyāpaşazāde Bālî Bey (d. 1527), Küçük Bālî Pasha (d. 1543), Yaḥyāpaşazāde Mehmed Pasha (d. 1548), and Ġâzî Kâsım Pasha, and lastly, Arslan Pasha.⁸⁷ Until the mid-sixteenth century, they were the “wolves” on the Hungarian and, later, Habsburg border, controlling vast land and manpower in their political household. Furthermore, many career pathways passed through Semendire, the power base of the Yaḥyāpaşazāde family.⁸⁸ However, with the increasing centralization efforts from the center, it appears that they fell from favor, which ended with the execution of Arslan Pasha in 1566.

Some contemporary narratives suggest that the grand vizier at the time, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, was deeply invested in maintaining control over the Ottoman–Habsburg borderland, and holding on to the governorship of Buda was a key part of that strategy. Therefore, he leveraged the defeat of Yaḥyāpaşazāde Arslan Pasha in front of Palota and plotted his execution. In this way, he could have assigned his cousin, Sokollu Muştafâ Pasha, to the governor-generalship of Buda, which would provide him with control of the western border and the war-making decision in the empire.⁸⁹ With the tragic end of Arslan Pasha in the Ottoman army camp at Harkány, the

⁸⁷ For more information about the members of the clan, see Fodor, “Wolf on the Border: Yahyapaşaoğlu Bali Bey.”; Dávid, “An Ottoman Military Career on the Hungarian Borders: Kasim Voyvoda, Bey, and Pasha.”; Römer and Vatin, “The Lion That Was Only a Cat.”

⁸⁸ See pages 45–46, and footnotes 80–81.

⁸⁹ Kutse Altın, “The Reconstruction of the Motives and Activities of the Last Campaign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman,” in *Altaic and Chagatay Lectures: Studies in Honour of Éva Kincses-Nagy*, ed. István Zimonyi (Szeged: University of Szeged, Department of Altaic Studies, 2021), 30.; Yasemin Altaylı, “Budin Beylerbeyi Arslan Paşa (1565–1566),” *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (OTAM)* 19 (2006): 48–50.; Yasemin Altaylı, “Macarca

Yaḥyāpaşazāde family lost much of their power and influence in the region they had long called their stronghold, the western frontier. This marked a turning point. One of the common patterns seen in the earlier part of the period, where men with *akıncı* roots and deep ties to the borderlands often rose to the post in Buda, began to fade.

Nevertheless, this did not mean that from now on the governors-general of Buda were appointed from the imperial court offices. He was replaced by Sokollu Muştafâ Pasha, who had served successfully on the Ottoman–Habsburg borderland for around 10 years, acquiring governorships of Filek, Klis, Szeged, Herzegovina, and Bosnia before his appointment to Buda.⁹⁰ The only difference was his background; in the end, he was not raised on the borderland by prominent *akıncıs*. Instead, he was a *kul* of *devşirme* origin, whose loyalty lay entirely with the sultan and, by extension, with Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, his cousin, and the sultan's *vezîr-i muṭlak*,⁹¹

During this period, the office in Buda was a desired position which led to intrigues, factional clashes, and executions, as various cases illustrate. Not only Sokollus, but also Yaḥyāpaşazāde Arslan had sought to obtain the governor-generalship of Buda. Although the imperial center officially appointed him as “the *bey* of Semendire responsible for guarding Buda,” and the actual governor-general was İskender Pasha (d. ?), Arslan started presenting himself instead as the *beylerbeyi* of Buda.⁹² In his correspondence with the Habsburgs, during his tenure as *bey* of Semendire and *muḥâfiẓ* (not *beylerbeyi*) of Buda, he referred to himself as the governor-general of Buda, which implies that he coveted the post in Buda, an office his forebearers had held

Mektuplarıyla Budin Beylerbeyi Sokollu Mustafa Paşa (1566–1578),” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 49, no. 2 (2009): 158–159.

⁹⁰ Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 11.; Karakuş, “Budın Beylerbeyi Sokollu Mustafa Paşa’nın Yükselişi,” 14–100.

⁹¹ For more information regarding the close relationship and political patronage between the two Sokollus, see Nahîfî Mehmed Efendi, *Cevâhirü'l-Menâkıb*, 142–169. Besides, the second chapter also delves into the creation of the Sokollu faction and their rise to power, which highlights the close cooperation between the Sokollu cousins.

⁹² Römer and Vatin, “The Lion That Was Only a Cat,” 163–164.; Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 10.

several times.⁹³ As Pál Fodor illustrates, in the end, he was a member of a political interest group, and obtaining the highest position in the governor-generalship of Buda meant exercising control over the key region of the Ottoman-Habsburg borderland.⁹⁴ Lastly, as will be delved more into in the second chapter, the murder of Sokollu Ġāzī Ferhād Pasha at the hands of the “Albanian riffraff” [*Arnavud u evbāş*] in Buda suggests, with contemporary narrative evidence, that Koca Sinān Pasha (d. 1596) aspired to control over the Ottoman–Habsburg frontier in his hands [*cemī‘-i eṭrāf pāşalıkları kendü müte‘allikātı eliyle zabt olunmak*].⁹⁵ All this evidence clearly indicates that during the period under consideration, the governor-generalship of Buda had a great prestige in the minds of the Ottoman ruling elite, and it was a place of clash of interest for political factions. This pattern aligns with Pál Fodor’s interpretation of Central Europe as the empire’s ideological and strategic epicenter in this period.⁹⁶ As will be explored in the following sections, the governor-generalship of Buda continued to play a key role in factional struggles during the next phase (1593–1606) before it gradually came to be seen as a post of exile.

2.3.2 Administrative Mobility in the Shadow of War (1593–1606)

Between the turbulent years of 1593 and 1606, nine individuals were appointed to the governor-general of Buda. This shows that the average tenure in the governor-generalship of Buda was 1,44 years, which is roughly half of the average tenure compared to the previous period. During this period, the empire was waging a war against the Habsburgs, a long and exhausting conflict with heavy losses for both sides.⁹⁷ Throughout, Buda remained a key military post and

⁹³ Römer and Vatin, “The Lion That Was Only a Cat,” 163–164

⁹⁴ Pál Fodor, “Who Should Obtain the Castle of Pankota (1565)? Interest Groups and Self-Promotion in the Mid-Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Political Establishment,” *Turcica* 31 (1999): 72–73.

⁹⁵ Mustafa Âlî, *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1132–1133.

⁹⁶ Pál Fodor, *The Unbearable Weight of Empire: The Ottomans in Central Europe – A Failed Attempt at Universal Monarchy (1390–1566)* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016), 13–15.

⁹⁷ Feridun Emecen, *Osmanlı Klasik Çağında Savaş* (İstanbul, Timaş Yayınları, 2015), 280–281. Pál Fodor, “Osmanlı-Avusturya Savaşları Öncesi Osmanlı Diplomasisi (1593–1606),” in *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4, ed. Kemal Çiçek,

administrative center, taking on the financial burden and coordination of the war. When we look at the career data from this period, especially the number of transitions, the central roles (Figure 5), and the final steps before the appointments to the governor-generalship of Buda (Figure 6), we see that choices for the post became more practical, more related to local experience, and shaped by the realities on the war ground.

Figure 4, which shows the full career network of the pashas of the period, clearly points to an intense concentration of movement in the western frontier provinces. Compared to the earlier period (1541–93), where career paths were more geographically spread out and harder to trace, the map for this period looks more focused, more contained, and shows shorter and more direct steps towards the governor-generalship of Buda. A tight network forms around the governor-generalships of Rumeli, Tımsıvar, Kanije, Bosnia, and Szigetvár, creating a kind of westward path that largely shapes how careers ended up with the governor-generalship of Buda, which must be related to the practical needs brought by the war.⁹⁸ Appointments from distant administrative units such as the governor-generalships of Damascus or Baghdad, which were more common in the earlier period, are no longer frequently seen, which indicates that the war on the western borderland urged the Ottoman Empire to rely more on nearby officials, creating fewer options but a practical system of appointments.⁹⁹ Administrators who already served within the western provinces, those familiar with fortress warfare, provisioning, and regional powers and circumstances, were now the

Güler Eren, and Cem Oğuz (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999), 452–55.; Contemporary Ottoman narratives also acknowledge the superiority of Habsburg troops over Ottoman cavalry during the Long Turkish War, see Ágoston, *The Last Muslim Conquest*, 12. For more information regarding the Long Turkish War, see Ágoston, *The Last Muslim Conquest*, 251–258.

⁹⁸ As can be seen in Tiryâkî Hasan Pasha's career trajectory, he served in Zvornik, Klis, Szigetvár, Požega, Szeged, Bosnia, Kanije, and Rumeli, as well as 3 times in the office in Buda. For more information regarding his biography, see Mahmut Ak, "Tiryâkî Hasan Paşa" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 41 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2012), 205–207.

⁹⁹ As delved more into in the second chapter, it appears that during the last three tenures of Koca Sinân Pasha in the grand vizierate, he showed a tendency to replace the pashas of Buda within short periods of time.

primary pool for the candidates of the governor-generalship of Buda. Moreover, outgoing appointments from Buda, particularly to Kanije (in three instances), highlight the nature of borderland deployment: a rotation of candidates through governor-generalships on the immediate frontier.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, Buda appears not simply as a terminal post but as a position that frequently changed hands.

The degree centrality rankings (Figure 5) illustrate that the top-ranked position, governor-generalship of Rumeli (0.179), remains consistent with its long-standing role as the empire's senior European province.¹⁰¹ What stands out here is that Buda was not filled by officials from the center-based administrative positions or the courtly ones, but mostly by men rising through nearby provincial roles, such as the governorship of Szigetvár, governor-generalships of Kanije, Tımişvar, Karaman, and Bosnia all share equal centrality scores of 0.143. One implication here is that the path to Buda was no longer dependent on exceptional rank or seniority but rather on regional experience and warlikeness, as was the case in the first half of the first period (with some exceptions, until 1578). These governors were familiar with the broader Hungarian front and had likely coordinated with or succeeded one another.

Further down the list, the presence of Mirahor (Master of Stables) and Küçük Mirahor (Second Master of Stables) is notable, despite having lower centrality (0.071).¹⁰² It appears that Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha and Sokolluzāde Lālā Meḥmed Pasha served as the Sultan's masters of

¹⁰⁰ These outgoing transitions from Buda to Kanije took place three times. Among these, Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha was appointed to the governor-generalship of Kanije after serving in Buda twice, and it took place once with Qāḍizāde 'Alī Pasha in September 1602. See, Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 20–22.

¹⁰¹ Examples are being Sinānpaşazade Meḥmed Pasha, Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha (twice), Sokolluzāde Lālā Meḥmed Pasha, Qāḍizāde 'Alī Pasha. It should also be noted that, although his career trajectory was included in the first period above because of the date he was appointed to the governor-generalship of Buda, Sokolluzāde Ḥasan Pasha was transferred from the governor-generalship of Rumeli to Buda in January, 1593, several months before the outbreak of the war. See, Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 16–22.

¹⁰² Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 16–22.

stables, and these ranks were their initial ranks in their careers.¹⁰³ However, as previously discussed, it is impossible to trace every individual's initial rank in the Ottoman administration system; archival sources and contemporary narratives are more telling about Tiryākī Ḥasan and Sokolluzāde Lālā Meḥmed only because one was a war hero, and the other was a member of the prominent Sokollu family, and served as the grand vizier.¹⁰⁴ That being said, these ceremonial court roles started to become more visible in the visualization compared to the previous period, which could indicate a gradual shift that would become increasingly noticeable in the following period (1606–56), as will be discussed below.

The third figure for this period (Figure 6), which visualizes the last post held before appointment to the governor-generalship of Buda, reveals a narrow and deliberate logic, similar to that of the previous period. The governor-generalship of Tımişvar, with three direct transitions, emerges as the most significant final stepping-stone. This is followed by Kanije and Rumeli (two transitions each), and finally by the governor-generalship of Bosnia, and the governorships of Silistra, Nicopolis, and the *Defterdarlık* of Buda, each with one.¹⁰⁵ What is striking is how geographically close these routes are. All posts are located immediately near Ottoman Hungary, on the very same *serḥadd*. In a general interpretation, some could even be considered extensions of Ottoman Hungary. This demonstrates a wartime strategy: the imperial center appointed men already established in close regions and local command structures rather than appointing

¹⁰³ Ak, “Tiryākī Hasan Paşa,” 205–206.; Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 16–22.

¹⁰⁴ See the subtitle “Tracing Trajectories through Data: Sources, Scope, and Methodological Reflections” in this chapter for the discussion.

¹⁰⁵ As shared above, the transitions from Kanije to Buda appears in career paths of Tiryākī Ḥasan and Kāḏizāde ‘Alī Pashas. When it comes to appointments from governorships of Nicopolis and Silistra, Gévay shares that Kāḏizāde ‘Alī Pasha was appointed from the governorship of these positions to Buda, respectively in September 1602 and October 1606, which can be supported by archival evidence as well. See, Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 22. Kılıç also agrees with Gévay, pointing out to *Tārīḥ-i Na’īmā*. See, Kılıç, “Budin ve Tımişvar Eyaletlerinin Paşaları,” 209–210.

governors-general from the center, who were not used to the conditions on the borderland and did not know much about the region.

The appearance of fiscal positions as direct feeders, such as the Defterdarlık of Buda, which Minkarkuşu Mehmed Pasha filled in (d.?) 1601, is even more telling. It suggests that logistics, taxation, and resource coordination became increasingly important during the Long Turkish War. However, this appointment strategy seems to have backfired because the enemy killed him in a battle, likely due to his lack of experience.¹⁰⁶ The *Ġazavâtnâme* (*Book of Holy Wars*) of Tiryākī Hasan Pasha suggests Ottoman armies were about to disintegrate with the death of Minkarkuşu Mehmed Pasha on the battlefield. Tiryākī Hasan Pasha had a hard time encouraging his *gâzîs* defending Kanije.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, his appointment from the office of the treasurer of Buda to the highest office in Buda requires further studies, which can shed light on the process and his factional alignments, and position in power networks.

Based on the data discussed above, I suggest that the empire responded to the war crisis not with improvisation, but by appointing those who had already proven themselves with their past experience in the governor-generalships and in the borderland. The years between 1593 and 1606

¹⁰⁶ As can be seen in the Anonymous, *Tiryākī Hasan Paşa Gazavâtnâmesi*, 196. “n’eylesün âhirü’l-emr ikisi dahı (one being the Buda pasha, Minkarkuşu Mehmed) yüzlerin çevirmeyüp anda pāk şehid oldılar el-hukmu li-llâhi’l-Jvâhidi’l-kahhâr innâ li-llâhi ve innâ ileyhi râci’ün kâfirler gâyet ferahnâk oldılar andan başların kesüp kanija altına getürüp bir süniye diküp metrislerde kodılar ve bülend âvâzlı çağırup dediler ki ey ehl-i kal’a bilün ve âgâh olun oşte yokarudaki ‘askerümüz istolni beligrâdı aldı vezirünüz yemişci hasan paşa pâdişâhun ‘askeriyle gelüp bizüm ile çok çeng eyledi âhir mehmed kethudâ dünyâda birdür ve budin beglerbegisi mehmed paşa ol ikisinin başlarıdır anları bozdük vezirünüz gücile elimüzden kurtuldi sigetvâra doğru gitdi ve yarun cümle yokaruda olan ‘askerümüz bunda gelür bundan sonra kime dayanursız size aşlâ yardım gelmez.”

¹⁰⁷ After Habsburg forces displayed the severed head of the governor-general of Buda, Minkarkuşu Mehmed Pasha, in front of the Kanije fortress, Tiryākī Hasan Pasha had to give an encouraging speech to his *gâzîs*. “ben bu kal’aya mehmed kethudâ için ve mağur kuşu mehmed paşa için kapanmadum dîn-i islâm için ki ol dîn hâkdur anun için kapandum hemân ‘izzetlû sa ‘âdetlû pâdişâhumuz hazretleri sağ olsun birisine buyurdi mehmed kethudâ oldı gâzîler dîn-i islâm yolında şâbit-kadem olmak gerekdür zîrâ dîn-i islâm çihânun rüşen çerâğıdır allâh te’âlâ celle şânuhü [gendi rüşen çerâğı] şoyundurmaya ey gâzîler taleb bizden verey allâhdur ‘azze şânuhü şimdi bilün kâfirlerin yüzine dünyâ gülmişdür ve gendüleri mağrûrlardur ammâ in-şâ’e’llâhu te’âlâ bundan sonra gülmek bize olur ağlamak anlaradur ümüdümüz budur ki şandukları başlarına gelür hiç üşenmen mu ‘cizât muhammed muştafânundur fırsat bizümdür andan buyurdi metrislerde çağırın melâ’ine cevâb vèrmenüz zîrâ sözden âşinâlık kesb olur mağlûb gâlib olur ve mâ’il olur ammâ bir kimse olsa top ile ol başları urmak gerekdür ki ola ki şuya düşürmege mümkün ola melâ’in fahurlanmaya dedi.” See, Anonymous, *Tiryākī Hasan Paşa Gazavâtnâmesi*, 201–203.

staged a clear war dynamic that shaped how elites moved between administrative units, with figures like Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha, Mihalıçlı 'Ahmed Pasha (d. after 1598), Dīv Süleymān Pasha (d. after 1600), Sokolluzāde Lālā Meḥmed Pasha, and Kāḏizāde 'Alī Pasha in the highest office in Buda, and individuals like Koca Sinān Pasha, Sokolluzāde Ḥasan Pasha and Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha (d. 1601) on the borderland with the title of commandership-in-chief.¹⁰⁸

Likewise, as discussed earlier, the governor-generalship of Buda was a desired administrative unit among the Ottoman ruling elite during this period as well. According to contemporary narratives, the start of the Long Turkish War stemmed from the factional clashes and Koca Sinān Pasha's desire to outshine his long-time rival, Serdār Ferhād Pasha (d. 1595).¹⁰⁹ Contemporary historians such as Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi, and Peçevī Ibrāhīm Efendi Alajbegović blame Koca Sinān Pasha and portray him as the one responsible for starting this for his own political ends.¹¹⁰ In the end, Serdār Ferhād Pasha had gained great prestige for his success in the eastern front against the Safavids, serving twice as commander-in-chief, and Koca Sinān needed to prove himself once again.

Nevertheless, the political rivalry between Koca Sinān and Serdār Ferhād was neither the only reason for war, nor the only factional clash that might have led to everlasting and financially and militarily burdensome war. As discussed in the second chapter, the factional clash between the Bosnian and Albanian cliques entered a new phase during the first half of the Long Turkish War. According to contemporary narratives, influential figures like grand vizier Koca Sinān Pasha, dismissing Bosnian Sokollus from the governor-generalship of Buda, leveraged his power to

¹⁰⁸ For the roles of Sokolluzāde Ḥasan Pasha and Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha as commanders-in-chief in *Engürüs*, see Erhan Afyoncu, "Sokolluzāde Hasan Paşa" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 37 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009), 366–368.; Nezihi Aykut, "Damad İbrāhīm Paşa" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 440–441.

¹⁰⁹ Ağoston, *The Last Muslim Conquest*, 250.

¹¹⁰ Kadir Purde, "Savaşın Yazımı: XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kroniklerinde Savaş Olgusuna Bakış (Uzun Savaşlar Örneğinde)" (MA thesis, İstanbul University, 2013), 12–27.

obtain the office for his son, Sinānpařazade Meřmed Pasha.¹¹¹ Hence, although war is a nasty business, it was also a socio-economic and political ladder for most in the borderlands. Not only for Sokollus and their archenemy Koca Sinān Pasha, but also for other interest groups, such as the group headed by Kuyucu Murād Pasha, sought control over Buda with his groom Ǧāđizāde ‘Alī Pasha, who kept his post in Buda without any interruption for around four years during his third tenure.¹¹² Nevertheless, further studies are required regarding the power networks of Kuyucu Murād Pasha and his clients in the empire to have a clearer picture.

All in all, the change in the pattern, though small, was that the individuals who had empire-wide careers in the earlier period were not visible in this period, with some exceptions. This is most likely explained by the reality on the ground and the wartime needs, where the imperial center favored individuals who were used to the conditions in the region and knew the enemy. The governorship of Buda, far from being a stable final point, became a changing hand post among experienced pashas who were already established on the Ottoman–Habsburg borderland. However, not only the wartime needs and realities influential were influential, but also the fact that the post in Buda also remained a desirable administrative unit among the Ottoman ruling elite, a factor that led to factional clashes over the control of the office. Hence, it is possible to draw a considerable continuity from the takeover of Buda up until the end of Ǧāđizāde ‘Alī Pasha’s administration, a long-term pattern which will be shaken entirely in the following decades.

2.3.3 From Prestige to Exile: The Courtly Turn in Buda Appointments (1606–56)

The period between the Treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606) and the beginning of the Köprülü era (1656) saw twenty-seven different individuals appointed to the governor-generalship of Buda with an

¹¹¹ Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Sâni*, 155.

¹¹² Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 24.; Kılıç, “Budın ve Tımsıvar Eyaletlerinin Pařaları,” 210.

average tenure of 1,85 years. When peace was restored between the Ottomans and Habsburgs in 1606, the governor-general of Buda was Kādizāde ‘Alī Pasha; however, since he was appointed to the office during wartime, his career trajectory is included in the prior period.¹¹³

Compared to the tighter borderland career trajectories of the earlier periods, the network visualization for this period (Figure 7) comes across as more layered and complex. What is striking is the presence of intermingling of courtly, military, and provincial offices. Nodes like the grand admiralship (*kapudan paşalık*), Kaimakam Pasha, the commandership of Janissary troops (*Yeniçeri Ağalık*), and the office of master of stables (*mirāḥūrluk*) are no longer weak nodes; they appear at the very center of the trajectories.¹¹⁴ This points to a significant structural change: Buda was no longer simply a war-post or a promotion from a regional governor-generalship, but increasingly part of a centralized “elite rotation” system, where men rotated through the imperial court, monetary posts, and high military commands before or after being assigned to Buda. However, going beyond the visualizations and delving more into the contemporary narratives, compared to previous periods, it is evident that the governor-generalship of Buda evolved from being a highly desired office to one that was considered a place of exile.

The number of Istanbulite offices suggests that the imperial center appointed not just experienced borderland administrators, but individuals with a service past with different professional backgrounds. This diversification is evident in the number of distinct paths leading into Buda: not only from Rumeli and Bosnia, as before, but dominantly from imperial court positions like the Office of the Imperial Falcon Keeper (*Samsuncubaşı*), swordbearership

¹¹³ Both the secondary literature and archival sources align with each other regarding Kādizāde ‘Alī Pasha’s participation in the peace negotiations as the *beylerbeyi* of Buda.

¹¹⁴ Nakkaş Hasan Pasha (d. 1622)’s career trajectory illustrates the importance of these nodes, except for the *kapudan paşalık*. Throughout years, he held the office of master of stables, the commandership of Janissary troops, and later, the office of the Kaimakam Pasha. See, Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 25.

(*Silāḥdār Āgālık*), vizierate of the imperial council (Kubbealtı Vezīrlık), and even the grand vizierate.¹¹⁵ If one had to sum up the appointment structure of this period in a single sentence, it might be: Buda became a post assigned to insiders of the imperial machine. The degree centrality chart (Figure 8) presents this picture. At the very top sits the commandership of the Janissary troops, with the highest centrality score of the entire period dataset (0.244).¹¹⁶ More than any other, this position reflects the importance of military loyalty and control of the palace corps in qualifying one for governor-generalship. Following closely are Kaimakam Pasha (0.220) and Beylerbeylik of Rumeli (also 0.220), confirming that imperial proxy roles (such as the office of Kaimakam Pasha) and some key governor-generalships (Rumeli) remained important stepping-stones. Equally prominent nodes are Mirahor (master of stables), Vizier of the Imperial Council, and Kapudan Pasha (Grand Admiral), each pointing out the pattern's change, from the borderland experience to the courtly-based roles. One possibility regarding the change would be that the palace, the fleet, and the council were increasingly viewed as testing grounds or endorsements for provincial leadership. On the other hand, another possible account for this change is the fact that the governor-generalship of Buda became a place of exile, and the power groups were inclined more towards sending their rivals away from the imperial center. Appointments to the governor-generalship of Buda were suitable for such political intrigues, and, indeed, many influential individuals were assigned to the office in Buda to get rid of them, as discussed further below.

Further down the chart, positions like Silahdar Agha, Grand Vizier, and Kapıcıbaşı round out a portrait of an elite that was becoming less geographically anchored and more administratively

¹¹⁵ Bayram Pasha's (d. 1638) career trajectory to the governor-generalship of Buda is illustrating in this regard. See, Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 30.

¹¹⁶ Some of the examples are the career trajectories of Nakkaş Hasan Pasha, Deli Derviş Pasha (d. 1623), and whose career trajectories included the commandership of Janissary troops. For more information regarding their career paths, see Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 25–30.; Zeren Tanındı, "Nakkaş Hasan Paşa" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 32 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2006), 329–330.; Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Bayram Paşa" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992), 266–267.

rotated. Instead of prior experience in the provinces, what seemed to matter more was how visible someone was at the imperial center, how broadly they had served, with whom they had *intisāb* connections, and whose patronage they enjoyed.¹¹⁷ However, although *intisāb* was of utmost importance during the previous periods as well, it is evident that the influence of patronage ties and power struggles *within* the highest echelons of the Ottoman ruling elite became more visible in this time period.¹¹⁸ At times, the governor-generalship of Buda even looked like a holding place, a limbo, where officials were sent when those in power were not quite sure what else to do with them.¹¹⁹

The visualization that shows the last step prior to the appointments to the governor-generalship of Buda (Figure 9) offers perhaps the most telling evidence of this transformation. The single most common direct jump was from the vizierate of the imperial council to Buda (five transitions, not including the appointment from grand vizierate, and kaimakam pashalık), followed by the swordbearership (three transitions), the grand admiralship (three transitions), and Kaimakam Pasha (two transitions). These are not governorships but court or command posts, and they reveal a very different pattern of elite circulation than in earlier periods.¹²⁰ What this means,

¹¹⁷ For more information regarding the Ottoman clientage system, see Günhan Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and His Immediate Predecessors" (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2010), 161.

¹¹⁸ According to Cornell Fleischer, it was primarily during Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's tenure in the grand vizierate when the empire became a full-fledged "*intisāb imparatorluğu*" (an empire of clientage and/or empire of connections). Nevertheless, even before the rise of Sokollu, one can argue that *intisāb* connections were of utmost importance in the career advancements of Ottoman administrative individuals. See, Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), 47.

¹¹⁹ One example is Tabanıyassı Mehmed Pasha, who were first appointed to the governor-generalship of Silistra on July 11, 1637, after his tenure in the grand vizierate. After serving in Silistra less than a year, he was assigned to Buda, a province even more faraway from the power networks in the imperial capital and court. See, Abdülkadir Özcan, "Mehmed Paşa, Tabanıyassı" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2019), 229–230.; Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 33–34.

¹²⁰ Although the admiralship of the Ottoman fleet was also a governor-generalship (Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid), considering their role and the participation in the imperial council, this office was not different than any other vizierate in the imperial center. For more information about this administrative position, see Mahmut H. Şakiroğlu, "Cezâyir-i Bahr-i Sefid" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), 500–501.

practically, is that Buda was no longer simply a product of military frontier promotion but increasingly filled by men from the core of Ottoman governance, viziers, grand admirals, and aghas close to the palace. In most cases, these individuals were unwanted people in the political spectrum of their times.

The relative drop in “traditional” administrative units that provided many pashas to Buda during previous periods, such as the governor-generalships of Rumeli (two transitions), Bosnia (one transition), and Damascus (two transitions), is even more revealing. Though still present, they now compete with courtly insiders, suggesting that the appointment logic is inclined toward power structures and networks in the imperial center, rather than one based on borderland experience. The presence of Kaimakam Pashalık, grand vizierate and the vizierate of the imperial council, in total with eight instances as last steps to Buda, also highlights an emerging pattern: elite “recycling” within the central administration, where the figures who had similar professional courtly backgrounds rotated across powerful administrative posts before being sent to borderland provinces such as the governor-generalship of Buda.

The change in the career trajectories during this period is strikingly visible in the dataset: appointments to Buda in this period increasingly came from high-ranking court positions, not just regional governor-generalships.¹²¹ Final career steps before the appointment to the governor-generalship of Buda (Figure 9), in accordance with the period’s full network graph (Figure 7), reveal a pattern: men were appointed from the courtly ranks, which suggests that the factional alliances were important in the decision-making regarding the appointments. Considering the contemporary narratives which provide insight into the factors behind these appointments, the

¹²¹ As can be seen in Figure 9, whereas courtly ranks, such as the vizierial offices, sword bearership, the office of the kaimakam pasha, the grand admiralship, and the office of master of stables provided fifteen direct appointments to the governor-generalship of Buda, governor-generalships of Rumeli, Bosnia, Tımsıvar, and Baghdad served six times as the final career steps before the appointment to the office in Buda.

apparent change in the patterns with interesting steppingstone nodes (such as the imperial council vizierate, kaimakam pashalik, and grand vizierate) indicates that the governor-generalship of Buda became an exile location for those who fell from the favor of the power holders, i.e., the Sultan or the grand vizier, or other influential figures in the capital.¹²² This shift is supported by Günhan Börekçi's analysis of central factional politics under 'Aḥmed I (r. 1603–17): appointments were increasingly managed through favor and proximity to the palace, not purely by field success.¹²³ In this light, Buda was no longer a site of elite testing but of factional placement where, at least in some examples, it served as an exile place for those unwanted elites.

To illustrate some cases regarding my argument that the governor-generalship of Buda became an exile node where those who were edged out of power were appointed, Deli Hüseyn Pasha, Tabanıyassı Mehmed Pasha, Silāhdār Muṣṭafā Pasha, and Nevesinli Murtaẓā Pasha (d. 1648) offer intriguing career trajectories. Firstly, Deli Hüseyn Pasha trained in the imperial palace school (*enderūn*) during the seventeenth century, advanced rapidly within the Ottoman administrative hierarchy. He held several high-ranking posts throughout his career, including the grand admirals and governor-generalships of Anatolia, Silistra, Bosnia, Baghdad, and finally Buda twice.¹²⁴ While serving as commander-in-chief during the siege of Crete, he was elevated to the grand vizierate. Yet, before the news of this prestigious promotion could even reach him, he was abruptly dismissed. Tabanıyassı Mehmed Pasha presents a somewhat different trajectory. After serving nearly five years as grand vizier, he was removed from the post due to failures on the eastern front against the Safavids.¹²⁵ To prevent a potential power rivalry with the newly

¹²² See the career trajectories of Deli Hüseyn Pasha, Tabanıyassı Mehmed Pasha, Silāhdār Muṣṭafā Pasha, and Nevesinli Murtaẓā Pasha (d. 1648).

¹²³ Börekçi, "Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I," 213–220.

¹²⁴ Mücteba İlgürel, "Hüseyn Paşa, Deli" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 19 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1999), 4–6.

¹²⁵ Özcan, "Mehmed Paşa, Tabanıyassı," 229–230.

instated grand vizier, the imperial court assigned him to Silistra, a prominent but peripheral post on the Danube. Shortly thereafter, he was appointed to the governor-generalship of Buda, the empire's most north-western region, far away from the power networks of the imperial center.¹²⁶ His tenure there, however, proved brief, and he was ultimately executed in Istanbul.

More interestingly, two of these figures, Silāhdār Muṣṭafā and Nevesinli Murtaẓā Pashas, did not hold the office of the grand vizierate; however, they were the favorites of the Sultan. Silāhdār Muṣṭafā, for his part, had long served under Murād IV (r. 1623–40) as the imperial sword bearer. Thanks to his companionship and close relationship with the Sultan, he was considered one of the most influential people around Murād IV.¹²⁷ According to contemporary historian Muṣṭafā Na'imā Efendi (d. 1716), Silāhdār Muṣṭafā was so influential that he was the one who instigated the Sultan to order the execution of Tabanıyassı Mehmed Pasha in 1639. In February 1640, right after Murād passed away, Silāhdār Muṣṭafā was officially appointed to the governorship of Buda from the grand admiralty (*kapudan paşalık*), a courtly position. This indicates that with the death of Murād, the political settings changed. Silāhdār Muṣṭafā was one of the first individuals who had to go. Yet, before he could take the office in Buda, his assignment was revoked, and he never assumed the post in Ottoman Hungary, and eventually, within a year, he was executed.

Nevesinli Murtaẓā Pasha's career trajectory also exhibits many similarities.¹²⁸ Being the grand vizier Nevesinli Şālih Pasha's (d. 1647) brother, Murtaẓā held the office of master of stables,

¹²⁶ Özcan, "Mehmed Paşa, Tabanıyassı," 229–230.

¹²⁷ Na'imā Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Na'imâ (Ravzatü 'l-Hüseyn fî Hulâsati Ahbâri 'l-Hâikayn)*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), 922–926.; Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Leisure, Pleasure – and Duty: The Daily Life of Silahdar Mustafa, an Eminence Grise in the Final Years of Murad IV (1635–1640)," in *Otto Spies Memorial Lectures*, vol. 2, eds. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2016), 9.

¹²⁸ I would like to thank my supervisor and external reader, Günhan Börekçi, once again for pointing out the Bosnian Nevesinli faction and the career trajectory of Nevesinli Murtaẓā Pasha. To my knowledge, Börekçi is preparing a publication regarding the political networks of Ottoman statesmen from Nevesinje in the Ottoman Empire. Also, for his presentation abstract about the Nevesinlis, see Günhan Börekçi, "Bosnian Boys in Solidarity: Exploring Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatname as a Source for Historical Network Research in Early Modern Ottoman Studies" (paper presented at Early Modern Ottoman Studies (EMOS) Conference II, Sabancı University, Istanbul, June 27–28, 2024).

and later, he was appointed to Buda during his brother's tenure in the highest office in the empire.¹²⁹ However, with the shocking execution of his brother in the capital, he was removed from the governor-generalship of Buda, and he was summoned to the capital by his brother's rival, Hezārpāre 'Aḥmed Pasha (d. 1648). In a short time, Hezārpāre 'Aḥmed assigned Murtaẓā to the governor-generalship of Baghdad, to suppress the rebellion created by İbrāhīm Pasha, one of the closest men of the executed grand vizier, Nevesinli Şālih.¹³⁰ However, on his way to Baghdad, with the orders of the new grand vizier, Hezārpāre 'Aḥmed, Nevesinli Murtaẓā Pasha was executed.¹³¹

These shifts may relate to a broader seventeenth-century crisis in the Ottoman Empire. Scholars have argued that the Little Ice Age, which led to harsh climate in Anatolia during the seventeenth century was one of the primary causes.¹³² Environmental hardship it brought undeniably aggravated popular discontent and became one of the major factors contributing to the outbreak of the *Celālī* revolts.¹³³ The *Celālī* revolts during the seventeenth century ruined Anatolia, irreparably destroying the traditional Ottoman fiscalism, provisions, and supply chain, collapsing the rural order.¹³⁴ The collapsing rural order and the threat posed by *Celālīs* seem to have forced the imperial center to turn inward and avoid the clashes with enemies, particularly the Habsburgs and partly the Safavids. Therefore, for our purposes, since the empire avoided any large-scale clash with the Habsburgs, the change in Buda's prestige in Ottoman administrative ranks is logical. If

¹²⁹ Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 37.

¹³⁰ Feridun Emecen, "Sâlih Paşa" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2019), 461–462. Also, for more information regarding the life of Sâlih Paşa and the Nevesinli clique, see Emecen's *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* article.

¹³¹ Naïmâ, *Târih-i Na'îmâ*, vol. 3, 1115–1128.

¹³² Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 52–104.

¹³³ Oktay Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia: Amasya 1576–1643* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 89–133.

¹³⁴ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası: Celâlî İsyanları* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2025).; White, *The Climate of Rebellion*, 163 – 187.; Oğuz Cabar, *The Celali Effect in the 17th Century – Ottoman Transformation* (İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2021).

all is quiet on the western front, the governor-generalship of Buda is no longer a desirable place, since, without war, it is relatively inert, promising no future, wealth, or renown.

However, the climate change in the early modern era was not the only reason for the Ottoman seventeenth-century crisis. Although the debates around the seventeenth-century crisis are a lifelong intellectual pursuit of their own, it is widely accepted that the Ottoman Empire was transforming throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹³⁵ In his resounding work *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*, Baki Tezcan frames this broader transformation through what he terms Ottoman “proto-democratization,” where the movement from the status of the ruled (*re’āyā*) to that of the ruling elite (*‘askerī*) started to unfold in a new way, socially a *relatively* less stratified society.¹³⁶ In a sense, what we see in this period and the change in the career trajectories compared to the previous two periods, if we apply Tezcan’s term, is the “proto-democratization” of the career trajectories of Buda pashas. In early periods, the office in Buda was generally held by the seasoned borderland “wolves.” Individuals who started their careers obtaining courtly roles, such as sword bearership, did not stand much chance against their rivals, who were already governors on the borderland. But now, they are no longer weak nodes; they frequently appear at the very center of the trajectories, serve as stepping stones, and even last steps before acquiring the office in Buda.

¹³⁵ Cemal Kafadar, “The Question of Ottoman Decline,” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4, no. 1–2 (1997–1998): 30–75.; Metin Kunt, “Introduction,” in *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 37–38.; Leslie Pierce, “Changing Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire: The Early Centuries,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19, no. 1 (2004): 21–23.

¹³⁶ Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 10–13.

2.3.4 The Köprülü Era and the Revival of Classical Imperial Norms? (1656–86)

Between the start of the Köprülü era and the fall of Buda to the Habsburgs, fourteen different individuals served the Sultan as the pasha of Buda, which makes the average time spent as a governor-general of Buda around 2.14 years. The first appointee to the governor-generalship of Buda was Gürcü Kenan Pasha (d.?), and the last one was the famous Arnavud ‘Abdurrahmān ‘Abdī Pasha (d. 1686).¹³⁷ With Meḥmed IV’s (r. 1648–87) appointment of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha as grand vizier, a new political order took shape, one in which the sultan and grand vizier ruled as two strong, cooperating powers.¹³⁸ Compared to the early period, this “new” (or old, *nizām-ı kadīm*) system restored Meḥmed IV’s authority while expanding the role of the grand vizier. It was the Ottomans’ own response to political turmoil, somewhat resembling the rise of powerful ministers like Richelieu and Olivares in Europe.¹³⁹ However, it aimed more at balance than dominance by a single figure. It is apparent that with the appointment of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha to the grand vizierate, the new reconfiguration also altered the career trajectories of Buda paschas, displaying patterns that closely resembled those of the earlier periods between 1541–93 and 1593–1606.

What stands out in this period is the disappearance of as many appointments from court roles to frontier posts as in the previous period. Data visualizations show that governors-general commonly move from major provinces, such as Bosnia, Diyarbakır, and Tımişvar, to Buda, continuing a pattern seen in the first two periods. The degree centrality graph (Figure 11) confirms what the full career trajectory network (Figure 10) shows. At the very top of the list, sharing the

¹³⁷ For their career trajectories, see Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 41–52.; Abdülkadir Özcan, “Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988), 156.

¹³⁸ Cumhur Bekar, “The Ottoman Revolution of 1661: The Reconfiguration of Political Power under Mehmed IV and Köprülü Grand Viziers,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 27, no. 1 (2023): 225.

¹³⁹ Bekar, “The Ottoman Revolution of 1661,” 225.

same score of 0.235, are two key positions: the vizierate of the imperial council and the governor-generalship of Bosnia. The appointments from the imperial council and the governor-generalship of Bosnia illustrate that, during the Köprülü rule in the empire, Buda appointments were shaped by both connections at the center of imperial power and borderland experience. The re-emerging prominent role of the governor-generalship of Bosnia in the career trajectories aligns with the Köprülü's military efforts. With the consolidation of power in the empire during the Köprülü reign, the Ottomans began waging war in the west once again.¹⁴⁰ The alteration in the career trajectories compared to the previous period demonstrates how the borderland governor-generalships once again became a crucial component of the empire's broader strategies, as evident in the Köprülü grand vizier's grand northern strategy.¹⁴¹

The presence of the commandership of Janissary troops (0.196), the grand admiralship (0.137), and even the sword bearer ship (0.118) among the top positions in Figure 11 illustrates the enduring fusion between military command and administrative authority. Reading this chart with Figure 10, one sees that a handful of governors-general of Buda hold these ranks in their early careers, which arguably prepared them for the office in Buda.¹⁴² One did not necessarily need to be a seasoned tax manager or a regional strongman when they received their first professional appointments; it was enough to be trusted with men, with ships, or with proximity to the sultan. In this context, the governor-generalship of Buda became a post for individuals with military

¹⁴⁰ Until the outbreak of the Great Turkish War, the Köprülü administration waged three wars in the west: the Érsekújvár campaign (1663), the siege of Candia (1666–1669), and the Polish campaign (1672). For more information regarding these wars, see Kahraman Şakul, *Uyvar Kuşatması (1663)* (Istanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2021); Kahraman Şakul, *Kamaniçe Kuşatması (1672)* (Istanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2021).

¹⁴¹ Özgür Kolçak, "XVII. Yüzyıl Askerî Değişimi ve Osmanlılar: 1660–64 Osmanlı-Avusturya Savaşları" (PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2012), 237.; Mahmut Halef Cevrioğlu, "Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's Fortifications Along the Northern Black Sea Coast," *Istoriya–History* 31, no. 2 (2023): 119–131

¹⁴² Gürcü Kenan Pasha, Uzun İbrâhîm Pasha (d. 1683), and Arnavud 'Abdurrahmân 'Abdî Pasha served as janissary aghas in the earlier periods of their careers, which arguably prepared them for borderland administrative units in a time of war, see Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 41–52.

experience. All three of these offices were now producing figures who fit the Köprülü's renewed strategy of conquest.¹⁴³

Figure 12 is perhaps the clearest picture of the revival of the classical imperial norms. Eight separate transitions came directly from Bosnia to Buda, and four from Diyarbakır, accounting for most of the governorships during these three decades. In the case of Bosnia, the reason for this is apparent. As in earlier decades, the governor-generalship of Bosnia appears to have regained its central role as a key stepping-stone to Buda. It was the most frequently used position during this time, appearing eight times in the chart. The province's closeness to Buda and the fact that both posts were located in the unstable Habsburg frontier zone are probably the main causes of this pattern, as discussed above in different examples. The idea that a candidate's experience in Bosnia naturally prepared them for the governor-generalship of Buda appears to have been strengthened by the common borderland responsibilities and experience. Diyarbakır's case, however, is less straightforward. While the governor-generalship of Diyarbakır appears to have some regularity in the career trajectories of Buda pashas, the precise reasons for this connection remain somewhat ambiguous to me. That being said, we still don't know if this reflects something systematic in how appointments worked or if it is just a coincidence shaped by a coincidence of specific career paths, though it is unlikely. In either case, a fuller investigation into the appointments from Diyarbakır to Buda lies beyond the scope of this study.¹⁴⁴

The rise of the Köprülü family, beginning with Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's appointment as grand vizier in 1656, marked a significant shift in the way power operated within the Ottoman Empire. Previously, most top officials came through the palace system, where they were trained at the imperial palace school (*enderûn*) and promoted through established career patterns.

¹⁴³ Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 41–52.

¹⁴⁴ Is Diyarbakır a power seed of Köprülü's? Text içine ekle

However, the Köprülüs built their own household-based and empire-wide new administrative reconfiguration.¹⁴⁵ They formed personal networks, picked and promoted their own men, and found ways to influence the state without relying on palace schools or the *devşirme* system. Bekar argues that the 1661 reforms were about centralization and structuring the bureaucracy to reward loyalty and standardize promotion.¹⁴⁶ A good example of how this new configuration worked is the career trajectory of Gürcü Mehmed Pasha (d. 1665).¹⁴⁷ According to the dataset, the first professional position he acquired was the *kethüdâlık* of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha. He was, then, appointed to the governor-generalship of Diyarbakır, followed by the highest office in Aleppo, and eventually, he ended up with the governor-generalship of Buda. All these promotions were bestowed during the tenures of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha and his son Fâzıl 'Aḥmed Pasha (d. 1676). His career trajectory illustrates how, in the Köprülü era, loyal service within their household could lead to major provincial commands. Nevertheless, further studies are needed to explore the relationship between the individuals who served as governors-general of Buda during this period and the Köprülüs.

Last but not least, contemporary narratives and archival sources also indicate that being of “Westerner” descent was also crucial in the *intisâb* connections of the Köprülüs. As illustrated by Özgür Kolçak, Albanian and Bosnian troops occupied a special place in the Köprülü household, and Paul Rycaut also acknowledged this solidarity between Balkan boys.¹⁴⁸ In their households and imperial political circles, too, Köprülüs promoted and created alliances with those who shared similar ethnic–regional backgrounds with them.¹⁴⁹ Not only in their own households, but also in

¹⁴⁵ Cumhuriyet Bekar, “The Rise of the Köprülü Household: The Transformation of Patronage in the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century,” *Turkish Historical Review* 11, no. 2 (2020): 232–252.

¹⁴⁶ Bekar, “The Rise of the Köprülü Family,”

¹⁴⁷ Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 46.

¹⁴⁸ Kolçak, “XVII. Yüzyıl Askerî Değişimi ve Osmanlılar,” 145–154.

¹⁴⁹ Bekar, “The Rise of the Köprülü Household,” 242.; Özgür Kolçak, “Sâhib-i Devlet Âdemleri: 1663–1664 Osmanlı-Habsburg Savaşında Fazıl Ahmed Paşa’nın Askerî Kıtaları,” *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 58 (2013): 189–190.

empire-wide appointments, Köprülü's tended to favor their Balkan brethren over the outsiders, which was studied in detail by scholars, as I discuss further in the following chapter.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ I discuss this issue further in the second chapter.

CHAPTER II

Forging Power Through Identity and Ethnic–Regional Solidarity: Bosnian and Albanian Factionalism in Sixteenth- Century Ottoman Elite

The plain speech,
well-proportioned statures,
and their upright manners,
marked by modesty and decency,
are abundant among
the Bosnians and Croats.
- Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī¹⁵¹

Identity assignment comes at birth, as a newborn child would be identified as the child of their parents. Everyone is a child to someone, a sibling to others, a cousin and friend to some people, and, in some cases, brethren of the same faith and a member of an ethnic community. Identity creation, identity assignment, and the solidarity between people who share the same identity have long been captivating and heated issues, even before the triumph of the Industrial Revolution and the modern nations. In Ottoman historiography, Cemal Kafadar’s article-turned-book, “A Rome of One’s Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum,” pinpoints the multi-layered identities of the Ottoman elites, which were constructed by many different cultural spheres ranging from Transoxiana to Iran, from Iran to the lands of *Rūm* (the Roman Empire), and the Balkans.¹⁵²

Inspired by Kafadar and the quoted text above by Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī (d. after late 1600), who was a class- and ethnic-conscious man of pen, this chapter delves into the multi-layered

¹⁵¹ Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâ'is fî Kavâ'idî'l-Mecâlis*, ed. İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Yeniçağ Tarihi Kürsüsü (İstanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1956), 155. “*Ve Bosnalunun ve Hirvad cinsinün sâdedilleri ve mevzûn kâmetleri ve edeb ü hayâ' ile debrenür şâhib-i istikâmetleri vâfirdür.*”

¹⁵² Cemal Kafadar, “A Rome of One’s Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum,” *Muqarnas* 24, (2007).; Cemal Kafadar, *Kendine Ait Bir Roma: Diyar-ı Rum’da Kültürel Coğrafya ve Kimlik Üzerine*, trans. Fatih Özgüven (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2017).

identities of the Ottoman ruling elite, precisely the notion of ethnicity and the solidarities created around it. This chapter surveys the existing literature and arguments on political networks and patronage building, mainly focusing on the utilization of ethnic and regional identities. While various families and factions have been studied concerning the concept of ethnic–regional solidarity, surprisingly, little attention has been explicitly paid to the Sokolović (Sokollu) family and their networks, creating a significant gap in the research.¹⁵³ This family represents the first attempt to establish an empire-wide faction. With considerable evidence, I identify this network as a Bosnian faction led by Mehmed Pasha Sokolović (d. 1579) and rooted in ethnic and regional (*cins*) solidarity. The archival evidence suggests that members of the Sokollu family were committed to providing political and financial support not only to their own family members and Bosnians with whom they shared amicable relations but also to the relatives of certain Bosnian pashas with whom they were on bad terms. Could ethnic connections have influenced the Sokollu support for those Bosnians? Did the Sokollus place importance on their ethnic identity and kinship? Or was it merely a pragmatic tactic to broaden their network? And how did their marriages into families from Ottoman Bosnia play a role in this? I argue that the considerable amount of evidence from contemporary narratives and archival sources suggests that the Sokollu faction was not merely a familial network, but rather a broader power node also rooted in Bosnian-origin solidarity. It functioned as a politically cohesive group that drew strength from shared ethnic and regional ties, as well as linguistic affinities. Lastly, this chapter analyzes the clash between the

¹⁵³ Uroš Dakić, “The Sokollu Family Clan and the Politics of Vizierial Households in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century” (MA Thesis, Central European University, 2012).; Abdullah Zararsız, “Osmanlı Kroniklerinde Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Sokolović Ailesi,” *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities* 11 (2021). While Dakić’s MA thesis and Zararsız’s journal article both examine the Sokollu family, they do not provide much insight into what I refer to as the Sokollu faction. Dakić’s research relies heavily on Serbian secondary sources and overlooks Ottoman archival materials and chronicles. Zararsız, on the other hand, conducts a thorough study of Ottoman chronicles but focuses on the Sokollu family members individually without exploring any sense of ingroup favoritism and ethnic solidarity that might have contributed to their rise, which is the primary concern of this chapter.

Bosnian Sokollu faction, led by Mehmed Pasha Sokolović, and their Albanian rivals, headed by Koca Sinān Pasha (d. 1596), over control of prominent administrative units, such as the governor-generalship of Buda.

By examining contemporary chronicles and archival sources, this chapter argues that the ethnic ties and regional solidarity embraced by the Ottoman elite were not anomalies, but rather a normative part of how networks, connections, and patterns of patronage were established and how policies were shaped in the early modern Ottoman political setting. These dynamics often gave rise to factions that were not arbitrarily assembled but rather emerged organically among individuals who shared the same mother tongue and hailed from similar ethnic-regional (*cins*) backgrounds. In many cases, such bonds emerged among *devşirme*, *kul*, or enslaved individuals during the formative years of their service to the sultan and the Ottoman imperial establishment, even before they became fluent in the *lingua franca*, Turkish, within circles where they could communicate in their native language and find familiarity, establishing friendships, trust, and solidarity in a foreign imperial context.

Some fifty years ago, Metin Kunt penned his famous article, “Ethnic-Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment,” which introduced the concept of “ethnic-regional (*cins*) solidarity” to Ottoman studies with a focus mainly on the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁴ Likewise, pieces written by Jane Hathaway further studied the fascinating and potent bond among the *devşirmes* of the Balkans and within the group of *mamluks* (purchasable slaves) of the Caucasus and Eastern Anatolia in the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁵ Another contribution to the

¹⁵⁴ Metin Ibrahim Kunt, “Ethnic-Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no.3 (Jun 1974).

¹⁵⁵ Jane Hathaway, “Original Myths and Ethno-Regional Solidarity in Ottoman Egypt: An Unexpected Finding,” in *Mythical Ancestry in World Cultures, 1400-1800*, ed. Sara Trevisan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).; Jane Hathaway, “East-West Ethno-Regional Antagonism as a Defining Feature of Ottoman Administration in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Deciphering the past of an empire: Homage to Nicolas Vatin et aux humanités ottomanes*, ed. Elisabetta Borromeo, Frederic Hitzel, and Benjamin Lellouch (Leuven: Peeters, 2022).

field provided by Baki Tezcan, "Ethnicity, Race, Religion and Social Class: Ottoman Markers of Difference," highlights the multilayered and entangled identities of Ottomans to argue that the essentialization of specific identity facets (e.g., religious or ethnic) often occurred due to socio-economic or political incentives.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, Cumhur Bekar and Özgür Kolçak underscore the politics of ethnic-regional solidarity during the Köprülü regime in the latter part of the seventeenth century, particularly emphasizing their preference for recruiting Albanian and Bosnian warriors into their vizierial households.¹⁵⁷ On the same line, Michał Wasiucionek highlights the intriguing appointments of Albanian-origin in Wallachia and Moldavia during the tenure of Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha of Albanian origin (1656–61), and argues for the relevance of the ethnic-based cooperation even if the camps were from different confessional groups.¹⁵⁸ Out of the four voivode appointments Köprülü Mehmed Pasha made to Wallachia and Moldavia, three were of Albanian origin.

¹⁵⁶ Baki Tezcan, "Ethnicity, Race, Religion, and Social Class: Ottoman markers of difference," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (New York: Routledge, 2012).

¹⁵⁷ Bekar, "The Rise of the Köprülü Family," 241–242.; Kolçak, "XVII. Yüzyıl Askerî Değişimi ve Osmanlılar," 145–154.; Kolçak, "Sâhib-i Devlet Âdemleri," 198–200.; Paul Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London: John Starkey and Henry Brome, 1668), 379. "Of the *Delees*: *Delee* signifies as much as a mad fellow, or a Hector; these are the Prime *Visiers* Life-guard, and are in number from 100 to 400, more or less, according as the *Visier* is more or less rich and splendid in his Retinue; their Pay is from 12 to 15 Aspers a day; they are by Nation of *Bosna*, or *Albania*; their Habit is very ridiculous according to this Picture; they are men chosen for their great stature and stomachs; they speak big, talk of nothing but killing and adventures exploits, but in reality their heart and courage is not esteemed proportionable to their bulk and bodies: in the City they march before the *Visier* on foot, and make way for him to the *Divan*; on journies they are too heavy and lazy not to be well mounted; they have a Captain over them called the *Delibaschii*, their Arms are a Lance after the Hungarian fashion, a Sword, and Pole-Axe, and some of them carry a Pistol at their Girdle. This sort of people being naturally more faithful than the *Turks*, and more inclinable to the *Visier Kupriuli*, for being of the same Country, he maintained 2000 of them for his Guard: which was so great a curb to the *Janizaries* and the other Militia, that they were never able to execute any Conspiracy against him. The same course his Son the present *Visier* follows, and is doubtless next the Grand Signiors favour, his principal security."

¹⁵⁸ Michał Wasiucionek. "Ethnic Solidarity in the Wider Ottoman Empire Revisited: Cins and Local Political Elites in 17th-Century Moldavia and Wallachia," in *New Trends in Ottoman Studies: Papers Presented at the 20th CIEPO Symposium, Rethymno, 27 June - 1 July 2012* (Rethymno: University of Crete - Foundation for Research and Technology-Hellas – Institute for Mediterranean Studies, 2014).

Several other works also slightly touch upon the bond among individuals of the same ethnic background in the Ottoman ruling elite.¹⁵⁹ As outlined above, ethnic–regional solidarity has primarily been explored in the context of the seventeenth-century Ottoman history, leaving a significant gap regarding ethnic ties and the solidarities formed around them in the sixteenth century. Likewise, current scholarship has not gone beyond providing exciting examples from different periods and geographies. It has not identified the mechanisms that led to the creation of factions that were often built upon shared native languages and common ethnic–regional (*cins*) backgrounds. These ties were forged long before these individuals fully integrated into the Ottoman elite, often at the very moment when their first personal, social, and political networks were formed, that is, their very initial years in the Ottoman system. In this chapter, I ask *how* such factions formed and crystallized. Much existing scholarship relies on chronicles. Though I also use chronicles, I utilize archival documents as well that provide further insight into the formation of the Bosnian Sokollu faction and the ingroup favoritism they operated, even for those rival or “disliked” Bosnian pashas’ relatives who sought political and monetary support from the Sokollu brokering.

At the same time, while Kunt and Hathaway are inclined to see the picture as a more general rivalry between a “Western” faction constituted by Albanian and Bosnian *devşirme*-origin servants of the Sultan and an “Eastern” camp formed by the “Turks” and *mamluks* of Eastern Anatolia and Caucasus origin in the seventeenth century, this chapter offers an investigation of the concept of ethnic–regional solidarity in the long sixteenth century within the groups of the so-called “Western” faction, that is to say, the *kuls* who hailed from the core of the Ottoman Empire, the

¹⁵⁹ Ayelet Zoran-Rosen, “The Emergence of a Bosnian Learned Elite: A Case of Ottoman Imperial Integration,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 30, no.2 (2018): 1-30.; Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), 164–165.

Balkans, through contemporary chronicles, archival sources, endowment deeds, and gravestones.¹⁶⁰ This chapter argues that studying the concept of ethnic–regional solidarity in the sixteenth century reveals not only intriguing instances but also internal rivalries that later culminated in the arbitrarily defined “Eastern” and “Western” camps of the seventeenth century. In this sense, I argue that what is often described as a clash between “Easterners” and “Westerners” was, in many ways, a conflict between newcomers to the imperial system and those who had already secured a place within it. This chapter, therefore, avoids treating the “Western” faction, i.e., Bosnian and Albanian *kuls*, as a single, unified group.

Studying the ethnic solidarities that formed between the Ottoman ruling elite of Bosnian provenance in the sixteenth century through the clash with the Albanian faction headed by Koca Sinān Pasha provides further insight into the existing research on the notion of ethnic solidarities mentioned above. In dialogue with the scholarship, this chapter argues that focusing on the concept of ethnic–regional solidarities formed among servants who hailed from the Balkans is indicative of a broader phenomenon and enables a more nuanced discussion about newcomer Caucasians and the long–standing Ottoman elites of Balkan origin. In doing so, this chapter also provides a map illustrating the administrative power held by the Bosnian Sokollus (Figure 13), as well as an extensive Sokollu family tree (Figures 14 and 15), both of which are invaluable for assessing the Sokollu network, their kinship and marital ties with prominent families, in the context of the formation of the Bosnian Sokollu faction and its clash with the Albanian faction.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Kunt, “Ethnic-Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity,” 237–238.; Hathaway, “East-West Ethno-Regional Antagonism,” 269–273.

¹⁶¹ Figures 14 and 15 attempts to reconstruct the Sokollu family tree using the registers of imperial affairs (*mühimme*), appointment registers (*ru'ūs*), endowment deeds/inscriptions (*vakfiyye*), and contemporary chronicles. It is essential to highlight that Ottoman archival documents, registers, and contemporary chronicles do not mention any Christian members of the Sokollu family. Consequently, Serbian historians' claims regarding the so-called Serbian Patriarch Makarije Sokolović (d. 1574) and his lineage and their family connections with the Sokollu family, lacking robust documentation, have not been incorporated into this study's reconstructed Sokollu family tree. I am in the process of drafting an article on this issue. For the alleged Christian members of the Sokollu family, see Aleksandar Fotić,

3.1 Creating the New Ruling Elite of the Empire

The establishment of the Ottoman state at the dawn of the fourteenth century and its astonishing expansion in the following two centuries have long been discussed in relation to the development of Ottoman political elites. Paul Wittek, Halil İnalcık, Colin Imber, Cemal Kafadar, Heath W. Lowry, and Caroline Finkel have often developed complementary theories.¹⁶² As emphasized by nearly every one of them, the particularity of the *devşirme* system, that is, the child levy collected from the Christian subjects and Muslim Bosnians of the Sultan, is of utmost importance for understanding Ottoman dominance. Metin Kunt's argument that the Ottoman frontier elites might have introduced the child levy recruitment system should not be underestimated.¹⁶³ Attesting to its effectiveness, it became a royal prerogative.¹⁶⁴ Only the *Hānedān-ı Āl-i 'Osmān* (The House of 'Osmān) could conscript male Christian children from the Balkans. After their conversion to Islam as servants (*kuls*), they became one of the primary pillars of the Sublime Porte, that is, the imperial household (*kapu*) of the Sultan.

Hailing from the villages of the Ottoman Balkans, child levies were constituted mainly of children between seven and fifteen years old. After their conscription, they were taken to prominent Ottoman cities, such as Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa, where they were trained for military service or instructed in the palace(s). Physiognomy (*'ilm-i firāset*) played a significant role in

"Serbian Orthodox Church," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts On File, 2009), 519–20.; Dakić, "The Sokollu Family Clan," 46–47.

¹⁶² Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1956).; Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson Press: London, 1973).; Halil İnalcık, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2, (1980): 71–79.; Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481* (The Isis Press: Istanbul, 1990).; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (California: University of California Press, 1996), 17–112.; Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003).; Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire* (Basic Books: New York, 2007).

¹⁶³ Metin Kunt, "Turks in the Ottoman Imperial Palace," in *Royal Courts in the Dynastic States and Empires I*, ed. Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, and Metin Kunt (Brill: Boston, 2011): 292.

¹⁶⁴ Victor Louis Ménage, "Some notes on the *devshirme*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29, no.1 (1966): 64.

deciding which *kuls* would be assigned to which unit.¹⁶⁵ Typically, individuals designated for the prestigious infantry divisions, such as Janissaries, were prepared for military service. At the same time, the remainder of the cohort underwent training in the imperial palace school (*Enderūn*), with their education geared towards training for the *ümerā'* (military-administrative) class.¹⁶⁶ This process transformed them into the learned ruling elite of the state; thus, they were forged into genuine Ottomans in the lands of *Rūm*. Since they were separated from their roots, families, religion, and language, these children were believed to be submissive only to the Sultan himself, embracing a new identity, religion, and language.

However, was it genuinely possible for them to erase their families, pre-*devşirme* identities, and their native languages? They, indeed, oriented their obedience and submission to the Ottoman sultans; however, there is considerable evidence that they neither forgot their roots nor left behind their families and identities, which will be evidenced below. On the occasion of their graduation (*çıkma*) from the education and service in the palace, they used to be appointed to Ottoman districts (*sancak*) as governors (*sancak beyi*). This meant they acquired their own living (*dirlik*) revenues from their granted lands. Therefore, they needed to form their own households according to the size of the granted land and the income bestowed by the Sultan.¹⁶⁷ As Cornell Fleischer states, ethnic and geographical origins were among the fundamental points considered during the formation of patronage ties, households, and, hence, political factions.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Emin Lelić, *Ottoman Physiognomy ('İlm-i Firâset): A Window into the Soul of an Empire* (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2017), 67–68.; Metin Kunt, “Turks in the Ottoman Imperial Palace,” 292.

¹⁶⁶ Mehmet İpşirli, “Enderun,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 11 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), 185–187.

¹⁶⁷ Metin Kunt, “Royal and Other Households,” in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2012), 110–111.

¹⁶⁸ Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 19–20.

3.1.1 The Rise of the Kuls and the Ethnic-Regional Solidarity

The *kul* (*gūlām*/servitor), one of the fundamental institutions of the Ottoman state administration, was not introduced by the Ottoman enterprise *per se*; it was a typical institution that could be traced in Islamic states that preceded the Ottomans.¹⁶⁹ The Ottoman innovation of the *devşirme* (child-levy) system integrated the practice of recruiting children from the empire's mainly Christian subjects into the *kul* institution. The Ottoman *devşirme* system can be traced to the late fourteenth century, fully developed during the reign of Bāyezīd I (r. 1389-1402), who sought to establish a centralized empire.¹⁷⁰ Despite the error in the attribution of the *devşirme* label, paying no attention to how they were incorporated into the Ottoman enterprise, to all renegade servants of the sultan, what Heath W. Lowry terms “Byzantine and Balkan aristocracy turned viziers” shows a very different and essential part of early Ottoman state-making strategies.¹⁷¹ Instead of recruiting only peasant children through the *devşirme* system, Ottomans incorporated and “subsumed” high-ranking Christian nobles from the Byzantine and Balkan aristocracies after their gradual conquest. This was not a brand-new invention by Meḥmed the Conqueror; it was the very nature of the early Ottoman State.¹⁷²

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 into Ottoman hands, the new masters brought some of these nobles into the Ottoman administration ranks, even those who might have become the successors of their forefathers if the Ottoman invasion had proved unsuccessful. New Ottomans who descended from the Byzantine and Balkan nobility, such as the two nephews of the last Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos (d. 1453), Mesīḥ Pasha (d. 1501), and Murād

¹⁶⁹ Halil İnalçık, *Devlet-i ‘Aliyye: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar I* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009), 205-206.

¹⁷⁰ İnalçık, *Devlet-i ‘Aliyye: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar I*, 205-206.

¹⁷¹ Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, 118.

¹⁷² Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, 132-133.; Halil İnalçık, “Stefan Duşan’dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na,” in *Balkanlarda İslâm: Miadı Dolmayan Umut*, ed. Muhammet Savaş Kafkasyalı, vol. 1 (Ankara: Tika Yayınları, 2016), 129–173.

Pasha (d. 1473), as well as Albanian Dukaginzāde' Aḥmed Pasha (d. 1515), and Ḥādım 'Alī Pasha (d. 1511) who was a member of a Bosnian nobility, rose to the highest echelons of the Ottoman administration, often serving more than once as grand vizier. This shows how sultans such as Mehmed II and Bāyezīd II (r. 1481-1512) ruled practically, considering the value of these nobles for a mighty empire of diverse ethnic groups and languages. The Ottoman Empire, which relied on its old rivals' lineage to take over their positions, also showed confidence as new leaders of the Byzantine heritage, as demonstrated by their titles, such as “Emperor of the Romans” (*Pādiṣāh-ı Rûm*) and “Caesar” (*Ḳayṣer*).¹⁷³ This policy helped unite diverse communities in the Balkans as necessary; it helped the empire, showing continuity and stability in the freshly incorporated lands when the empire overgrew.

It is widely acknowledged in the scholarship that introducing the *devşirme* system and subsuming high-ranking Christian nobles from the Byzantine and Balkan aristocracies brought harsh consequences for the existing ruling elite, primarily Oghuz Turks like the Çandarlı family and earlier converts from Byzantine ranks. Creating a new pool of manpower from the Balkans to meet the state's growing needs and centralization efforts, though efficient for the House of 'Osmān, pushed non-*devşirme* servants into political strife with the newcomers. The clash between the Balkan party led by Zaġanos (d. 1469) and Şehābeddin Pashas (d. 1453) and the Çandarlı family, longtime providers of grand viziers and bureaucrats, exemplifies this shift.¹⁷⁴ Backing the wrong

¹⁷³ Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, 119.

¹⁷⁴ Even as late as the late sixteenth century, the resentment of traditional Turkic elites toward the *devşirme*-origin *kul* cadre appears in striking terms. Talīkizāde Mehmed (d. 1600), himself from the Turkic Fenārīzāde aristocratic family, likened such servitors, likely South Slavs, to trained beasts, not far removed from the sultan's hunting animals, and “formerly feral savages trained to become the Sultan's *military automata*.” See, Emin Lelić, “Clime Theory and the Question of Civilization in Talīkizāde's Writings on the Ottoman Empire,” in *Osmanlı'da ilm-i Tarih*, ed. Zahit Atçıl, Ercüment Asil, and Cemal Atabaş (Istanbul: İsar Yayınları, 2023), 98–99.; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2022), 86-95.; Halil İnalcık. *İki Karanın Sultanı, İki Denizin Hakanı, Kâysar-i Rûm, Fâtih Sultan Mehmed Han*, ed. Tayfun Ulaş (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2020), 101.

side against Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481), Çandarlı Halil Pasha lost his life after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, leading to political and economic devastation for the Çandarlı household and non-Balkan retainers in the bureaucracy.¹⁷⁵ Mehmed II's interest in the Ottoman state organization and centralization policies, reflected in his code of laws, addresses the structure and scope of government authority, officials' relationships with the sultan, their ranks and positions, promotions, salaries, retirements, and penalties.¹⁷⁶ The centralization policy of Mehmed II, primarily through his code of laws (*kānūnnāme*), marked the rise of Christian-born, newly converted renegades in Ottoman politics. In the centuries following, the Ottoman ruling class of Balkan descent, including those of Bosnian and Albanian ancestry, dominated governance. Until the late sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, Turks could not attend to high policymaking and the entourage of the Sultan on solid foundations despite some exceptions.¹⁷⁷ For example, all but the first grand vizier appointed by Süleymān the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566) hailed from the Balkans, a pattern that continued under the reigns of his son, Selīm II (r. 1566–1574), and grandson, Murād III (r. 1574–1595).

These new Muslims not only fulfilled the need for submissive manpower but also served as intermediaries. Maḥmūd Pasha Angelović (d. 1474), a member of a prominent aristocratic family of Byzantine-Serbian origin and twice grand vizier, negotiated the surrender of Bosnian King Stephen Tomašević-Kotromanić (r. 1461–1463) to Mehmed II in 1463.¹⁷⁸ The common language and political and geographical background between the grand vizier and the king might have ensured a context where some members of the ruling dynasty of the kingdom and the nobility

¹⁷⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi*, 73-93.

¹⁷⁶ Halil İnalcık, "Kanunnâme," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 24 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001), 333-337.

¹⁷⁷ Kunt, "Turks in the Ottoman Imperial Palace," 289.

¹⁷⁸ Âşıkpaşazâde Derviş Ahmed Âşıkî, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: Âşık Paşazâde Tarihi* (Istanbul: Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti, 1913), 164-166.

could have incorporated into the Ottoman political setting. In a sense, these incorporated nobility of the old Byzantine and Balkan nobilities were, at the same time, assumed the role of go-betweens in seeding Ottoman rule in the newly conquered and contested regions. Despite the unfulfilled guarantees to the king, members of the Kotromanić dynasty and Bosnian nobility, such as Ishāk Bey Kraljević (d. after 1493) and Ahmed Pasha Hercegović (d. 1517), were integrated into Ottoman governance.¹⁷⁹ By the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Bosnians had firmly established themselves in the Ottoman military-administrative bureaucracy.

Ingroup solidarity was familiar not only to Bosnians but also to the favorite of Süleymān the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566), grand vizier Pargalı İbrāhīm Pasha (d. 1536), as widely acknowledged by the second literature, who was of *Frenk* (European, most probably Italian) origin.¹⁸⁰ Hailing as a slave from a Venetian colony town in Dalmatia, Parga, he earned Süleymān's trust in his princehood.¹⁸¹ Rising to absolute power in the Empire, he became the alter ego of the Sultan. Alvise Gritti (d. 1534), the illegitimate son of the Venetian Doge Andrea Gritti (r. 1523-1538), being his primary consultant, İbrāhīm Pasha was meticulous in keeping the cooperation and peace between his master and the Serenissima. Speaking Italian to the Venetian ambassadors, he had intimate contact with the officials of Venice both in Istanbul and Venice.¹⁸² In the context of his master's fierce rivalry with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V (r. 1519-1558), the crown helmet project for the universal ruler image of Süleymān was entrusted to Venetian helmet masters, with his and Alvise Gritti's efforts.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ İnalçık, *İki Karanın Sultanı*, 236-237.

¹⁸⁰ Ebru Turan, "The Sultan's Favorite: Ibrahim Pasha and the Making of the Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Süleyman (1516-1526)" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007), 123.

¹⁸¹ Turan, "The Sultan's Favorite," 108-109.

¹⁸² Elvin Otman, "The Role of Alvise Gritti within the Ottoman Politics in the Context of the "Hungarian Question" (1526-1534)" (MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2009), 49-50.; Erhan Afyoncu, Pınar Gökpar, and Elettra Ercolino, *Venedik Elçilerinin Raporlarına Göre Kanunî ve Pargalı İbrahim Paşa* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2012), 42.

¹⁸³ Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman Hapsburg Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no.3 (1989).

Fleischer highlights that by the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was swiftly evolving into what could be termed an *İntisāb* (affiliation/connection) Empire.¹⁸⁴ A pivotal figure in this transformation was Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, whose conscription, I assume, stemmed from his affiliation with the first known member of the Sokolović family in the Ottoman service, Dīvāne (Crazy) Hüsrev Pasha (d. 1554). As elaborated below, the rapid conscription of several members of the Sokollu family within a short period may suggest a distinct pattern in the *devşirme* conscription, which could be termed "private *devşirme*." Sokollu Mehmed's efforts to extend the influence of the Bosnian Sokollu faction, comprised of his kin and other Bosnian converts, such as Ferīdūn Aḥmed Bey (d. 1583), alongside second/third generation non-*devşirme* Bosnians like Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā 'Ālī (d. after late 1600),¹⁸⁵ throughout various echelons of the state, marked the initial successful instance of the empire-wide household and connections established by the Köprülü family in the latter half of the seventeenth century. As indicated previously, this chapter considers the clash between the "Easterner" and "Westerner" factions in the seventeenth century as a rivalry between intruders and the elite already in the system. For that reason, it handles the ethnic-regional solidarity through the conflicts between ethnic-based factions *within* the "Westerner" group, that is, the *devşirme* recruits of the Sultan.

3.2 The Creation of the Bosnian Sokolović Faction

The first known member of the Sokolović family in the Ottoman service was Dīvāne (Crazy) Hüsrev Pasha, who was also the older brother of Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 1580). After climbing the administrative ranks, he arranged for his younger brother Muṣṭafā, whom he had left in their

¹⁸⁴ Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 18-20, 47.

¹⁸⁵ Although Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā 'Ālī himself does not indicate his origin in his works, there is a consensus among historians that his paternal grandfather was a child levy from Bosnia. See Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 15-16.

homeland, to be conscripted and employed in the palace.¹⁸⁶ This was one of the methods he and his close relative Sokollu Mehmed Pasha would use to expand their household in the coming years. Even though Hüsrev Pasha attained the position of the second vizier, he was removed from his office after he attacked Hādım (Eunuch) Süleymān Pasha (d. 1547) with a dagger during a discussion in the imperial council in 1544.¹⁸⁷ Subsequently, according to a historical chronicle written by Luṭfī Pasha (d. 1564), Hüsrev Pasha passed away following a hunger strike to protest this dismissal, and he was also afraid of getting poisoned.¹⁸⁸

The mysterious death of Hüsrev Pasha, however, did not bring an end to the nascent Sokollu faction. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha could climb the ranks quickly in the palace after his conscription, not later than 1519. Once he became the sword-bearer (*Silāḥdār Ağa*) of Süleymān the Magnificent, he turned his attention to his family, just like Hüsrev Pasha did in the past, which he had to leave behind in Bosnia. He instructed Aḥmed Bey, most likely a Bosnian officer in charge of collecting taxes from non-Muslim subjects in Bosnia, to bring his male family members to Istanbul.¹⁸⁹ His intention was for them to embrace Islam and serve the Sultan. Consequently, he enlisted a cohort of individuals, including his brothers, cousins, and father, into the Sultan's service.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Şerafettin Turan, "Lala Mustafa Paşa Hakkındaki Vesikalar ve Notlar," *Belleten* 22, no. 88 (1958): 552.

¹⁸⁷ Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr: 4. Rükün*, ed. Suat Donuk, vol. 5 (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2024), 356-357.

¹⁸⁸ Lütî Paşa, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, ed. Âlî Bey (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1921), 434. His anxiety about getting poisoned raises questions regarding his death. I suspect he was poisoned because contemporary chronicles focus on his fearlessness and lack of restraint and refer to him as an ambitious statesman. When he was removed from the palace earlier in his career, he did not become desperate; on the contrary, he committed banditry in the Balkans to support himself and his political career. Thanks to his connections in the capital, he was forgiven by the center through the petitions of some viziers. Therefore, given his personality and background in regaining power, I am inclined to speculate that his death was attributed to a hunger strike, potentially masking the actual cause of poisoning. Regarding his traits, see Mustafa Âlî, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr*, 356-357. "*Bî-bāk ü bî-pervā ve bî-ḥavf u ḥaşyet ü bî-müdārā olmağın.*"

¹⁸⁹ Nahîfî Mehmed Efendi, *Cevâhirü'l-Menâkıb*, ed. İbrahim Pazan (İstanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2019), 151-158.

¹⁹⁰ Dakić, "The Sokollu Family Clan," 44.

As Sokollu Mehmed climbed higher in the ranks of the empire, he increasingly used his position to place members of his own family and political circle into key roles across the state.¹⁹¹ His cousin, Sokollu Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 1578) (should not be confused with Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha, who was the brother of Hüsrev Pasha), after holding prominent offices in the imperial palace, was appointed to strategically significant administrative units in the further frontier, such as Fil'akovo, Klis, Szeged, Bosnia, and finally to the governor-generalship of Buda thanks to his power.¹⁹² His career path was followed by Sokollu (Ġāzī) Ferhād Pasha (d. 1590), another cousin of Sokollu Mehmed, in Klis, Bosnia, and Buda.¹⁹³

The monetary and political support of Mehmed to his favorite cousins, Sokollu Muṣṭafā and Ferhād, is evident in the archival documents.¹⁹⁴ In July 1560, Sokollu Mehmed requested a considerable amount of monetary promotion, twenty thousand *akçe* (silver coin), for his cousin, Sokollu Muṣṭafā Bey, who was recently appointed as the governor of Klis. The exact amount of monetary support had already been provided for Ferhād Bey. It seems from a provision sent from the capital that Sokollu Mehmed was successful in achieving his end.¹⁹⁵ Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, the influential grand vizier, consistently supported his cousins, who were his protégés, politically and financially. Under the grand vizierate of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, both Sokollu Muṣṭafā and Sokollu Ferhād held their posts for notably long periods and were granted financial increments within relatively short intervals.

¹⁹¹ Dakić, "The Sokollu Family Clan," 51.

¹⁹² In the first chapter, I use data visualization software, such as UCINET, NetDraw and ChatGPT, to detect the career paths of Ottoman Pashas of Buda. Among them, Sokollu Muṣṭafā Pasha and Ġāzī Ferhād Pasha had closely intertwined careers spanning across Ottoman Bosnia and Hungary.; Antal Gévay, *A Budai pasák* (Vienna: Strauss, 1841), 11-40.

¹⁹³ Gévay, *A Budai pasák*, 14-15.

¹⁹⁴ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asaî/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 4, Provision No: 944, Date: 06 Şevval 967 (July 30, 1560). "*Vezîr Mehmed Paşa mektûb gönderüb akrabâsından Klis sancağı 'ināyet olınan Muṣṭafā Beğe sâbık sancağbeyi Ferhād Beğe muteşarrıf olduğu oranda 'ināyet olına deyü ricā' etmeğin yirmi bin akçe teraḳḳî buyurıldı.*"

¹⁹⁵ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asaî/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 4, Provision No: 944, Date: 06 Şevval 967 (July 30, 1560).

Likewise, another prominent member of the faction, Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha, received his share of the cake during the influential tenure of his older brother Hüsrev Pasha and relative Sokollu Mehmed's office in the grand vizierate (1565-1579). Although most secondary sources portray the relationship between Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha as antagonistic, I do not fully subscribe to this established interpretation.¹⁹⁶ Considering the administrative promotions Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha received during the tenure of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the grand vizierate, I reckon that although they were not on the best of terms, they should be considered in the very same Sokolović faction, especially during the times when Koca Sinān Pasha openly showed animosity towards Bosnians. Another evidence regarding Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha's secure and acknowledged place in the Sokolović faction comes from a *mühimme* register. One of the closest individuals to the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed, Sokollu Gāzi Ferhād Bey, in December 1573, not so much after he acquired the governorship of Bosnia, appealed to the imperial center for land grants and secured it for a certain 'Alī, who was a nephew [*hemşîrezāde*] to Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha.¹⁹⁷ Hence, although Sokollu Mehmed and Lālā Muṣṭafā might not have enjoyed a great friendship, they were both Sokollus, close relatives, and considering their close kinship ties and the evidence shared, it is safe to position Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha in the Sokollu political faction as well. Nevertheless, further studies are encouraged, which could change the second-hand perception of Lālā Muṣṭafā's position in the extended Sokollu faction.

¹⁹⁶ Since the narrative about the antagonistic relationship between the two Sokollu pashas is omnipresent, I will provide only a few examples, for the sake of brevity. See, Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*.; Bekir Kütükoğlu, "Lala Mustafa Paşa," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 27 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), 73–74.; Turan, "Lala Mustafa Paşa Hakkındaki Vesikalar ve Notlar," 557–558.

¹⁹⁷ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafî/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 25, Provision No: 175, Date: 05 Ramazan 981 (December 29, 1573). "*Bosna beği Ferhād Bey mektüb gönderüb Vezir Muṣṭafā Paşa ḥazretlerinin hemşîrezādesi olub Bosna sancağında teraḳḳîleriyle on bir bin beş yüz akçe tīmāra muteşarrif olub 'Alī her vechle yarardır deyu ze 'āmete 'arz eylemeğin ze 'āmet virilmek buyurıldı.*"

As illustrated so far, it appears that members of the Sokollu family consistently supported one another over the years, a practice that eventually drew criticism for alleged nepotism. A member of the extensive Sokollu clan, though from his mother's side, Peçevî İbrâhîm Efendi Alajbegović (d. 1650), pointing out the gossip and criticism directed to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha regarding the nepotism, defends his mother's influential cousin:

He [Sokollu Mehmed] acted with perfect justice and fairness, and even his enemies could not find any fault or grounds for gossip apart from the fact that he promoted his relatives and close associates. And those he promoted were already considered worthy both in terms of their qualities and the times, something everyone, even his enemies, acknowledged anyway.¹⁹⁸

It is not surprising to read these passages from Peçevî, considering his kinship with the family and patronage ties with Sokollu Mehmed's relatives and close associates, such as Sokollu Ferhâd and Sokolluzâde Lâlâ Mehmed. However, the striking point is that he does not refute the alleged nepotism. Instead of denying it, he quietly accepts it, and he tries to show from their enemies' perspective that those who benefited were already seen as capable and deserving individuals by the standards of the time.

Not only the members of the Sokollu family (or maybe at this point, I can refer to them as a "dynasty"), but also other Bosnians constituted the Sokollu faction. Two prominent intellectual bureaucrats of Bosnian origin counted on the Sokollu family's patronage: Ferîdûn Ahmed Bey and Gelibolulu Muştafâ 'Âlî. As a member of the Bosnian Sokolović faction and a class-conscious bureaucrat, Muştafâ 'Âlî, who himself was of second or third-generation Bosnian origins, in his *Mevâ'idü'n Nefâ'is fî Kavâ'idü'l-Mecâlis* (*Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social*

¹⁹⁸ İbrahim Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Evvel* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1866), 440. "kemâl-i 'adl ü inşâf ile hareket akrabâ ve mute'allikâtın ilerü çekdiğinden gayrı a'dâ'sı dahi bir 'aybın gaybet yol bulmadı ve yine ilerü getürdiği kimesneler zâten ve zemânen lâyıf idiklerine dahi i'tirâfları mu'karrer idi."

Gatherings)¹⁹⁹ outlines the ambiance within certain governing circles of the state during the latter part of the sixteenth century:

Especially if the grand vizier in power is Bosnian, one witnesses Divan members of the same origin gaining in exalted stature day by day and accreting titles step by step. In the event that he is Albanian, good fortune shines on that group and makes possible the advancement of his relatives and friends, and occasionally the elevation of his fellow townsfolk and compatriots to high rank. It goes without saying that, given the conditions prevailing in our time, no noble and accomplished person ever becomes grand vizier without also thoroughly looking after his own kind. He promotes and warmly praises the skilled persons he finds. Now, in most nations this is the customary rule.²⁰⁰

As illustrated by the quoted text, ingroup ethnic favoritism in the Ottoman establishment was part of the political climate within the Ottoman ruling class, which relied heavily on nepotism. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's household formation and creation of "the empire of networks and connections" confirm Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's assertions. Considering the prevalence of nepotism and ethnic-regional solidarity in forming economic and socio-political networks and forging factions among the early modern Ottoman ruling elite, was corruption or a socio-political *sine qua non*? Though both possibilities have implications, the challenge requires elaborate research on various case studies, which is beyond the scope of this chapter.

Just as was the case in Pargalı İbrāhīm Pasha's intimate connections with his Venetian fellows, even if they were Christian, and Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's support for the Albanians in the Danubian principalities, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha also maintained assertive relations with non-Muslim bureaucrats of the Republic of Ragusa who shared the same ethnic heritage. Marin Držić (d. 1567), a Renaissance poet from Dubrovnik, asserts in a letter written in Italian that Sokollu

¹⁹⁹ Henceforth, *Mevā'id*.

²⁰⁰ Douglas Scott Brookes, "Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings: An Annotated Translation of Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlī's *Mevā'idü'n-Nefā'is fī Kavā'idü'l-Mecālis*" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1998), 162. See also: Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 43; 'Ālī, Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā. *Mevā'idü'n Nefā'is fī Kavā'idü'l-Mecālis*, ed. Mehmed Şeker (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1997): 320.

Mehmed Pasha shared “their” language and ethnicity.²⁰¹ According to Držić, Sokollu Mehmed recognized all Dubrovnikians due to their shared Bosnian ethnic heritage. Bureaucrats and people from the Republic of Ragusa felt no hesitation in conversing with him and considered him a friend.²⁰² Similarly, after the death of Sokollu Mehmed in 1579, Držić shares that people from the Republic of Ragusa mourned deeply upon hearing the news. They regarded his loss as the demise of a beloved friend and guardian of their community.²⁰³ Therefore, not only was Sokollu Mehmed a patron of his ethnic brethren within the Ottoman Empire, but he also favored and supported the members of his ethnicity in Dubrovnik, who shared the same language and origins, even if their faith differed from that of the Muslims.

Ayelet Zoran-Rosen’s article on the rise of the Bosnian learned elite and the integration of Bosnian territories into the Ottoman realm shares vital insights into the patronage of Bosnians from *ümerā*’ (military-administrative) class for those Bosnians who were keen on following the career of pen and Islamic sciences (*‘ilmiyye* or *‘ulemā*).²⁰⁴ With the evidence from contemporary biographical works and histories, Zoran-Rosen’s article reveals the importance of the Bosnian ruling elite both in the integration of their homelands into the Sultan’s realm and the ingroup solidarity among the well-established Bosnian military-administrative and nascent Bosnian learned classes. Like Ġāzī Hüsrev Bey (d. 1541), governors of Bosnia who were of Bosnian origins attempted to provide educational institutions such as mosques, madrasas, and almshouses in Bosnian territories, in their homeland [*vaṭan-ı aṣlī*].²⁰⁵ However, due to Islam’s late arrival in Bosnia, many young students lacked established scholar fathers to emulate or benefit from their

²⁰¹ Olga Zirojević, “Mehmed Pascha Sokolli im Lichte Jugoslawischer Quellen und Überlieferungen,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 4, no.4 (1984): 65.

²⁰² Zirojević, “Mehmed Pascha Sokolli,” 65.

²⁰³ Zirojević, “Mehmed Pascha Sokolli,” 65.

²⁰⁴ Ayelet Zoran-Rosen, “The Emergence of a Bosnian Learned Elite: A Case of Ottoman Imperial Integration,” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 30, no. 2 (2019): 182-188.

²⁰⁵ In his pieces, Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī sometimes uses the term *vaṭan-ı aṣlī* to describe people’s places of birth.

connections. Instead, they had the opportunity to join prominent Bosnian-origin households in the imperial capital, providing them with alternative connections and opportunities.²⁰⁶

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who was to enhance the Bosnian clique's power in the realm, was also enthusiastic about supporting fellow Bosnian young men in Istanbul who pursued madrasa education and successful careers in Ottoman learned men's paths. Bosnian scholars such as Molla Bedreddin Maḥmūd (d. 1568–69) and Molla Bālī Bosnevī (d. 1582) were two of the learned men whom Sokollu Mehmed took under his wings in Istanbul and became their patrons.²⁰⁷ What was Sokollu's interest in patronizing those young men with an insatiable desire for knowledge?

The aspect worth noting in a discussion about ethnic solidarity, the utilization of background by the ruling elite, and the Sokollu faction's patronage for the Bosnian scholars is the rise and subsequent suppression of Bosnian Şeyh Ḥamza Bālī Orlović (d. 1573?) and the Ḥamzevīye movement, which was branded as heretical and atheistic [*zendeḳa, ilhād ve bī-mezheblik*] by the Sunni Orthodox clergy of Istanbul.²⁰⁸ The Ḥamzevīye movement, viewed as an offshoot of the Melāmī-Bayrāmī order [*tarīkat*], garnered significant support in Bosnia, with Şeyh Ḥamza Bālī emerging as a prominent figure and the *kuṭb* (the spiritual pole) of the time.²⁰⁹ This movement ran counter to the prevailing Sunni structure of the Ottoman Empire, causing concern

²⁰⁶ Zoran-Rosen, "The Emergence of a Bosnian Learned Elite," 12–14.

²⁰⁷ Zoran-Rosen, "The Emergence of a Bosnian Learned Elite," 11.

²⁰⁸ For more information regarding Ḥamzevīs and Şeyh Ḥamza Bālī Orlović, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "XVI.-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Bayrāmī (Hamzavī) Melāmīleri ve Osmanlı Yönetimi," *Belleten* 61, no. 230 (1997): 93–110.; Hamid Algar, "Hamzaviye: A Deviant Movement in Bosnian Sufism," *Islamic Studies* 36, no. 2–3 (1997): 243–61.; Ines Aščerić-Todd, "Heretics, Atheists or Simply Undesirable? Ottoman Officials' Treatment of Melami-Bayrami Sufis and the Anatolian Kızılbaş in the Late Sixteenth Century," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 35, no. 1 (2024): 31–33.; Nihad Dostović, "Beogradski muftija Muniri Belgradi i Hamzeviye," *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* 49 (2020): 157–75.

²⁰⁹ Ocak, "XVI.-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Bayrāmī (Hamzavī) Melāmīleri ve Osmanlı Yönetimi," 99–103.; Ines Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia: Sufi Dimensions to the Formation of Bosnian Muslim Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 162.; For more information about Melāmī-Bayrāmī order, see Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931).

in Istanbul, which was increasingly orthodox and Sunni-oriented.²¹⁰ Consequently, *Şeyh'ül-Islām* (grand mufti) Ebū's-şu'ūd Efendi (d. 1574) took preemptive measures to curb this perceived heresy in Bosnia.

Eventually, in 1573 (some sources argue different dates for this execution), Şeyh Hamza was executed in Istanbul by the *fetvā* (Islamic legal opinion) issued by Ebū's-şu'ūd Efendi, and his followers faced severe persecution in Bosnia.²¹¹ The actions against those resisting the Orthodox Sunni influence in Bosnia among the Hamzevīye adherents underscore the significance of ethnic and regional background factors. Zoran-Rosen highlights that the appointment of Bosnian Molla Bālī as a judge (*kāḍī*) in Sarajevo in 1579 aimed to provide a persuasive counterforce to the Bosnian Hamzevīye followers.²¹² Additionally, Hasan Kāfī Pruščak (d. 1615), another Bosnian, was dispatched as his deputy in an endeavor to convince the Hamzevī Bosnians, famously described as “heretics tall of stature, short of mind” [*boyu uzun 'aqlı kısa mülhidler*].²¹³ Were the appointments of two Bosnian compatriots to Ottoman Bosnia to suppress the Bosnian Hamzevīye “heresy” a coincidence? The selection of these two officials by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha to root out the Hamzevīye and its popularity in Bosnia reflects the recognition within the Istanbul

²¹⁰ Archival sources and contemporary narratives suggest that the Melāmī-Bayrāmī teachings in general, and the Hamzevīye movement in particular, extended beyond personal religious practice. Their followers often regarded their leaders not only as spiritual poles (*kuṭbs*), but in some cases, despite later denials, even as *mehdīs* (Messianic figures) destined to restore justice during periods of upheaval, thereby challenging the Sultan's authority. An interesting contribution comes from Cahit Telci in this regard, where he shows that Hamzevī followers had a state-like political and institutional structure, appointing *sulṭān* (a certain Mehmed b. Hasan), *vezīr* (a certain Hüseyin Āğā), *defterdār* (a certain Memī b. İskender), and *kāz'asker* (a certain 'Alī Hōca) among themselves. See, Cahit Telci, “Hamza Bali ve Hamzavilere Dair,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 46 (1997): 115–129. Another example comes from Ahmet Yaşar Ocak about the political thought of Melāmī-Bayrāmīs, but this time regarding Oğlan Şeyh 'İsmā'īl Ma'sūḳī (d. 1539), who was one of the *kuṭbs* of the order and was executed before Hamza Bālī's *irşād* (act of showing the true path), see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, “Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devrinde Osmanlı Resmi Düşüncesine Karşı Bir Tepki Hareketi: Oğlan Şeyh İsmail-i Maşukî,” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 10 (1990): 49–59.

²¹¹ Muhamed Hadžijahić and Adem Handžić, “O progonu Hamzevića u Bosni 1573. godine,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 20–21 (1974): 51–70. Thanks to Hadžijahić and Handžić's meticulous study on *mühimme* registers regarding Hamza Bālī's arrest, trial and, finally, execution in Istanbul, the most likely date of his execution appears to be June 1573.

²¹² Zoran-Rosen, “The Emergence of a Bosnian Learned Elite,” 17–20.

²¹³ Ocak, “XVI.-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Bayrāmî (Hamzavî) Melâmîleri ve Osmanlı Yönetimi,” 100.

administration of the effectiveness of leveraging ethnic backgrounds and shared native language in local politics. Therefore, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, being the Bosnian scholars' patron and utilizing them, aimed at suppressing the "heresy" in Bosnia to solidify his faction's empire-wide rule in the capital. In other words, he cultivated his share of his patron-client relationship with the Bosnian scholars he promoted over time sometime in the past.

Bosnian poets skilled in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian also received their share from the Sokollu family's patronage. To illustrate, Muḥammed Karamusić Nihadija (d. 1587) was one of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's friends, who composed epigraphs (*kitābe*) about the famous Višegrad bridge commissioned by the Bosnian grand vizier, the Sokolović family *türbe* (mausoleum) in Eyüp, the tomb of Mehmed Pasha's son Kāsım Pasha Sokolović (d. 1573), and the tomb of Mehmed Pasha's daughter Sokolluzāde Şāfiye Hanımsultān.²¹⁴ In addition to Nihadija, Maḥmūd Arşi Novopazarac (d. 1570) authored several panegyrics for the Sokollu grand vizier, commemorating his piety, generosity, and battlefield valor, which in exchange, sought patronage from the influential Bosnian who was, according to Novopazarac, "the protector of the people of the pen."²¹⁵ Last but not least, an intriguing case is Dervīş Pasha Bajezidagić (d. 1603), an Ottoman statesman who owed his reputation to his talent with the pen and his verses. Peçevî İbrāhīm Efendi Alajbegović argues that his real name was Ḥasan, which can also be supported by archival evidence.²¹⁶ Still, he became famous for his piety, which led to a reputation that ultimately replaced

²¹⁴ Adnan Kadrić, "Tajanstveni Nihadi: pjesnik hronograma na mostu Mehmed-paše Sokolovića u Višegradu," *Beharistan* 16 (2011): 29–49.

²¹⁵ Adnan Kadrić, "Univerzalni poetski identitet Mehmed-paše Sokolovića u kasidi Mahmuda Aršija Novopazarca," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 66 (2017): 15–16.

²¹⁶ İbrahim Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Sâni* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1866), 134.; Mahmut Ak, "Derviş Paşa, Bosnevi" in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994), 196–197.; Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, İbnülemin Tasnifi, Dahiliye (İE. DH): 6 - 597 Date: 25 Zilkade 1011 (May 6, 1603). "Sâbık Kıbrıs Beylerbeyisi Ca'fer Paşa eğer Gelibolu yanlarına gelmiş ise Bosna Beylerbeyisi Ḥasan Paşa'yı geçürmeğe mu'avenet eyleyesiz deyü emr-i şerîf buyuruldu."

his given name with Dervîş. Bosnian secondary sources have drawn a line between him and Sokollus, pointing out the fact that he was the son of a certain Bajezid Agha of Mostar, a prominent local figure, implying that Sokollus might have conscripted him for the palace service through private *devşirme*.²¹⁷ Being a pupil of the famous Bosnian scholar–commentator ‘Aḥmed Sūdī Bosnevī (d. 1599?), he wrote poems, including panegyrics for the towns of Mostar and Sarajevo.²¹⁸ Although it is possible to speculate on a possible “patron-client relationship” between Sokollus and Dervîş and, hence, Sūdī Bosnevī, it remains a hypothesis that requires deeper investigation.

Likewise, Sokollu’s patronage was more expansive than his support for young Bosnians who came to Istanbul to seek education, and poets. Emine Fetvacı argues that Sokollu was the first to explore the potential of histories, particularly illustrated ones, as a means of personal and political propaganda.²¹⁹ He used these works to emphasize his contributions to the Ottoman Empire and strengthen his position as a robust figure in the Empire’s administration.²²⁰ He was keen on prominently representing his role in books about the sultans he served, which were created around the figure of the ideal grand vizier. Therefore, not only the scholars from Bosnia and court historians but also non-court historians and relatively humble bureaucrats such as Gelibolulu Muştafâ ‘Âlî, Peçevî İbrâhîm Efendi Alajbegović, Selânikî Muştafâ Efendi (d. 1600), and some others, enjoyed the Sokollu faction’s patronage, which they heavily reflected on their works regarding the struggle against the Albanians. As we will see below in the contemporary histories written by Gelibolulu Muştafâ ‘Âlî, Peçevî İbrâhîm Efendi Alajbegović, Selânikî Muştafâ Efendi, and some others, the histories written by Sokollu protégés served not only as artistic artifacts but

²¹⁷ Kadrić, Adnan. “Dervîş-paşa Bajezidagić i njegovo djelo ‘Zübdetü’l-eşâr.”” *Analî Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* 14 (2007): 87.

²¹⁸ Marijana Mišević, “Writing Slavic in the Arabic Script: Literacy and Multilingualism in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2022), 504.

²¹⁹ Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 101-105.

²²⁰ Fetvacı, *Picturing History*, 102-103.

also as means of shaping discourse on ethnicities, creating and legitimizing hierarchies between ethnicities, and vilifying the enemy, in this context, the Albanian clique headed by Koca Sinān Pasha.

In the context of the creation of the Sokollu faction, it is also equally important to point out the endeavor to construct familial bonds through matrimonial marriages with other prominent families, such as the Boljanić, Memibegović, and Alajbegović families from Ottoman Bosnia and beyond. Building upon the secondary literature, the prosopographic Sokollu family tree I reconstructed through archival sources, such as the registers of imperial affairs (*mühimme*), appointment registers (*ru'ūs*), endowment deeds/inscriptions (*vakfiyye*), and contemporary chronicles, displays that unless with the Ottoman dynasty and the family of Kānşu Ġavrī (d. 1516), the second to the last Mamluk Sultan, Sokollus made marriage matches with families from Ottoman Bosnia and the surrounding region, or within the family (See Figures 14 and 15).²²¹ To strengthen the Sokollu influence in Herzegovina, presumably with Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's arrangement, his sister, Šemsa, married Sinān Bey Boljanić (d. 1582), a prominent member of the old Bosnian gentry or the nobility, the Boljanić family.²²² Following one such old Bosnian noble family's integration into the Sokollu family tree allowed for the faction's further power seed in Bosnia and provided influential members for the Bosnian network, such as Hüseyin Pasha Boljanić (d. 1595). Sinān Bey Boljanić served as the governor of Herzegovina for fifteen years, and his brother, Hüseyin Pasha Boljanić, owing to Mehmed Pasha, climbed the ranks of imperial governance and ended up with the governor-generalship of significant Ottoman provinces, such as

²²¹ Figures 14 and 15 attempts to reconstruct the Sokollu family tree using the registers of imperial affairs (*mühimme*), appointment registers (*ru'ūs*), endowment deeds/inscriptions (*vakfiyye*), and contemporary chronicles.

²²² Behija Zlatar and Enes Pelidija, "Prilog Kulturnoj Istoriji Pljevalja Osmanskom Perioda - Zadužbine Husein-paše Boljanića," *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 34 (1985): 116.; Radovan Samardžić, *Ideje za srpsku istoriju* (Belgrade: Jugoslavijapublik, 1989), 97.

Diyarbakir, Egypt, and Bosnia.²²³ Marriages between the Sokollus and Memibegović and Alajbegović families provided the same fortune for these families' members, and, in return, these connections added more power to the Sokollus. Ġāzī Memī Bey (d. 1593) married a sister of Sokolluzāde Lālā Mehmed Pasha, and it appears that their children, both Sarhōş İbrāhīm Pasha Memibegović (d. before 1650 or after 1663) and his son Yakovalı Hasan Pasha Memibegović (d. after 1665), adapted and highlighted the Sokolović heritage in their correspondence.²²⁴ Considering the glamorous prestige of being a Sokollu even in the seventeenth century, it is not hard to comprehend why both father and son identified themselves with the maternal forefathers and relatives primarily in their correspondence with the outlanders.²²⁵

While searching for the members of the Sokollu faction in the Directorate of Turkish State Archives, I discovered various documents regarding the monetary and political support of Sokollu Ferhād and Sokollu Muṣṭafā Pashas for the relatives of previous grand viziers of Bosnian origin, such as Rüstem Pasha (d. 1561) and Semiz 'Alī Pasha (d. 1565).²²⁶ These documents are from the

²²³ Muṣṭafā 'Ālī refers to him as Pertev Hüseyn Paşa, though archival sources and secondary literature indicate his name only as Hüseyn. It is also interesting that Muṣṭafā 'Ālī argues that he was from Prača (Praça), Herzegovina, just like Semiz 'Alī Pasha, also both being *potur*. There might be a possible connection between the Boljanić family and the family of Semiz 'Alī Pasha which requires further studies. See, Mustafa Ālī, *Künhü'l-Ahbār*, 733. “*Herseklüdür [.....] giderek Mehmed Paşa-yı Tavîl iltifâtıyla mîr-i mîrân dahı oldu. [.....] Mevlidi olan Pıraça nâm kaşabada câmi' yapmışdur.*”

²²⁴ Balázs Sudár, “Tko je bio Hasan-Paša Jakovalı?,” *Scrinia Slavonica* 9 (2009): 397–401.

²²⁵ Among some other prominent families and/or “dynasties,” descendants of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and the Sokolluzāde “dynasty” enjoyed a prestigious place in Ottomans' minds. For the discussions among the Ottoman ruling elite regarding a possible alternative to the *Hānedān-ı Āl-i 'Osmān* (The House of 'Osmān), see Feridun M. Emecen, “Osmanlı Hanedanına Alternatif Arayışlar Üzerine Bazı Örnekler ve Mülâhazalar,” *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 6 (2001): 63–76.

²²⁶ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafî/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 15, Provision No: 67, Date: 17 Muharrem 979 (June 11, 1571). “*Budun Beğlerbeğisi Ferhād Bey mektüb gönderüb merhūm Rüstem Paşa akrabāsından Klis Sancağında dokuz bin akçe tîmârdan ma'zûl olan Naşüh Bosna'nın kâdîmî ocak erlerinden ve yararlarından olub maḥalli 'ināyetidir deyu Klis ifrâzından ricâ' itmeğîn bin akçe terakkî ile Klis ifrâzından buyruldu.*”; Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafî/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 25, Provision No: 2763, Date: 08 Recep 982 (October 24, 1574). “*Bosna Sancağı beyi Ferhād Bey mektüb gönderüb livā'-i mezbûrda elli beş bin beş yüz akçe ze'āmete mutesarrîf olub 'Alī Paşa'nın karındaşı oğlu Mehmed'in oğlu olub elinde beş bin akçe tîmāra emr-i şerîfi olan Bekir'e babası ze'āmetinden ihtiyār ile on bin akçalığı verilüb diğer oğlu 'Ömer'e dahı kânûn üzre tîmār ricâ'sı 'arz itmeğîn beş bin terakkî ile babası tîmârından on bin birine dahi ibtidâ'dan yedi bin akçe tîmār buyuruldu.*”

registers of important affairs (*mühimme*), and one is for a certain Naşūh Bosna, who is labeled as a relative of late Rüstem Pasha [*merhūm Rüstem Paşa akrabāsından*]. In this example, the text refers to Sokollu Ferhād Bey, who was then the governor of Bosnia, as the governor-general of Buda.²²⁷ This is likely due to the clerk mistaking Sokollu Muştafā Pasha for his cousin, Sokollu Ferhād. The intriguing part is that seemingly, Naşūh Bosna was dismissed from his assigned lands [*tīmārdan ma‘zūl olan*]; nevertheless, one of the most important members of the Sokollu faction, Muştafā, vouching for his valiance, secured his position in the governorship of Klis in June 1571. Later, in October 1574, Sokollu Ferhād Bey, as the governor of Bosnia, appealed for the promotion of the grandnephews of Semiz ‘Alī Pasha, namely Bekir and ‘Ömer, and the nephews were granted the promotion.²²⁸ Apart from that, Sokollu Ferhād Bey once again employed his political influence on behalf of Bekir and ‘Ömer’s father, a certain Mehmed, and arranged for the necessary imperial authorization for Mehmed’s pilgrimage to Mecca.²²⁹

Strikingly, the intriguing issue is that Rüstem and Semiz ‘Alī were not on good terms with Sokollus in the capital during their tenure in the grand vizierate. Contemporary chronicles unanimously report the intrigues and plots of Rüstem Pasha, which induced the famous fight during the Imperial Council where the second vizier Dīvāne Hüsrev Pasha Sokolović pulled out a dagger on the grand vizier Hādım Süleymān Pasha (d. 1547). Upon hearing the fight between his viziers, Sultan Süleymān expelled both from the Imperial Council, and Rüstem achieved his end,

²²⁷ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafî/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 15, Provision No: 67, Date: 17 Muharrem 979 (June 11, 1571).

²²⁸ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafî/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 25, Provision No: 2763, Date: 08 Recep 982 (October 24, 1574).

²²⁹ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafî/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 25, Provision No: 2722, Date: 3 Recep 982 (October 19, 1574). “*Bosna beyi Ferhād Bey mektüb gönderüb merhūm ‘Alī Paşa’nın karındaşı oğlu olub Bosna sancağında elli beş bin beş yüz akçe ze‘āmete muteşarrif Mehmed hācc-ı şerīfe niyyet etdüğün bildirmeğün buyurıldı.*”

becoming the grand vizier of the Ottoman Empire.²³⁰ As discussed above, Dīvāne Hüsrev Pasha died within some weeks after his dismissal from the Imperial Council, which raises questions on the possibility that he might have been poisoned. As a fresh appointee to the grand vizierate, Rüstem assigned Muştafâ Bey, brother of Dīvāne Hüsrev Pasha, to the governorship of a very remote and insignificant unit, the *sanjak* of Safed, to eliminate him from ascending in administrative ranks.²³¹

Similarly, Naḥîfî Meḥmed Efendi (d. 1609), in his *Cevâhirü'l-Menâkıb* (*The Jewels of Virtuous Deeds*), which was dedicated to Sokollu Muştafâ Pasha of Buda, narrates the feud between his patron Muştafâ Pasha and grand vizier Semiz 'Alî Pasha.²³² Interesting point is that because of the benevolent monetary and political support bestowed by “borderland Sokollus,” it appears from archival evidence that Sokollu Muştafâ Pasha’s petitions for promotion eventually underwent investigation. He was ordered not to issue promotion petitions [*terakḳî tezkires*] for individuals who had neither participated in military campaigns nor undertaken any meaningful service, but were instead remaining idle at home [*evlerinde yaturken ve seferde ve hizmette bulunmak değil iken*].²³³ Another register, which is rarely encountered, especially for the sixteenth century, confirms that the promotions granted by Sokollu Muştafâ Pasha were subject to

²³⁰ Mustafa Âlî, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr* 356–357.

²³¹ Turan, “Lala Mustafa Paşa Hakkındaki Vesikalar ve Notlar,” 553.

²³² Naḥîfî, *Cevâhirü'l-Menâkıb*, 237, 290–292.; Burak Karakuş, “Budin Beylerbeyi Sokollu Mustafa Paşa’nın Yükselişi” (MA Thesis, İstanbul University, 2022), 67.

²³³ Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafî/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 27, Provision No: 642, Date: 18 Zilkade 983 (February 18, 1576). “*Budun muhâfazasında olan Vezîr Muştafâ Paşa ḥazretlerine ḥükm ki erbâb-ı tîmârdan ba’zıları kendü evlerinde yaturken ve seferde ve hizmette bulunmak değil iken tezkiren ile ziyâde terakḳî verildiği eelden buyurdum ki vuşûl buldukda mîn ba’d bir hizmette veya yoldaşlıkda bulunmayub kendü evlerinde olanlara tezkiren ile ziyâde ‘arż idüb anun gibi yoldaşlık idüb tezkirede ziyâde virilmek lazım geldikde dahı tezkiren ile zu’amâ’ ve sipâhîye binden ziyâde terakḳî tevcîh ve ‘arż itmeyesin.*”

inspection.²³⁴ This particular register records the appointments [*tevcîhs*] made by the Pasha to his men and is dated on June 7, 1583, approximately eight months before the *mühimme* provision cited above.

The financial and political backing offered by members of the Sokollu faction to the relatives of less-favored Bosnian grand viziers occurred between June 1571 and October 1574, notably sometime after the deaths of Rüstem and Semiz ‘Alī Pashas. At first glance, this decision comes across as quite surprising and contradictory to the very interests of the Sokollu faction. After all, why would the Sokollus support the relatives of the pashas they had rivaled? Was it because of ethnic ties, or was it just a strategy to make their faction stronger? To fully understand this, further research is needed on how these factions engaged with the local elites of their homelands, specifically, the relatives of Bosnian pashas who were outside and even antagonistic to the expansive Sokollu network. However, I hypothesize and suggest that this interaction was part of the Sokollu faction’s broader strategy to expand its power in Ottoman Bosnia, which also highlights the importance of ethnic–regional solidarity in the “grand Sokollu strategy.”

On this account of the Sokollu support for the relatives of unfavorable Bosnian pashas, although not entirely homogeneous and having some rivals of Bosnian origin, such as Rüstem and Semiz ‘Alī Pashas, I argue that the Sokollu faction was not only populated by the members of the Sokolović family but also, in general, a Bosnian faction.²³⁵ During my archival research on the Sokollu family for this chapter, I also read a considerable number of documents regarding Semiz ‘Alī Pasha’s promotions for his relatives and other Bosnians, which suggests that leveraging ethnic–regional backgrounds and building political and economic power through ingroup

²³⁴ However, I have not yet received photographs of this register, which is not available on the Turkish Directorate of State Archives' website. Once I gain access to it, I intend to examine its contents and incorporate the findings into this study.

²³⁵ See, Mustafa Âlî, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr*, 734–735.

favoritism was not unique to the Sokollus. I am in the process of drafting an article on Semiz ‘Alī Pasha’s power network and promotions for his ethnic brethren. An intriguing example is Maḥmūd Pasha (d. ?), an example also related to the “grand Sokollu strategy.” According to Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, Maḥmūd Pasha of Bosnian origin [*Bosneviyyü’l-aşl*] was first supported by Semiz ‘Alī and achieved the rank of *mīr-livā* (governor, *sancak beyi*). Later, when Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha was trusted with the grand vizierate, though Sokollus had not enjoyed the best relationship with Semiz ‘Alī and his clique, Maḥmūd Pasha continued receiving promotions and monetary support, and eventually became a governor-general of Egypt, one of the most prestigious administrative units in the empire, during the Sokollu rule in the empire.²³⁶ This indicates that Sokollu’s rise benefited even those Bosnians not fully aligned with his “inner Sokollu circle.”

The submission of Ottoman ruling elite of Bosnian origin who did not have any blood connection and/or family ties to the Sokollu, such as Maḥmūd Pasha and the family members and clients of Bosnian pashas who did not share amicable relations with the Sokollu individuals, into the Sokollu power network, also strengthened Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha’s rule in the capital as the grand vizier. Considering Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s account of Maḥmūd Pasha’s affiliation to the Bosnian Sokollu rule in the empire, there is a strong possibility that Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha consolidated his political power and generated financial gain through this web of patronage [*tuḥaf u tefārīḳ ile Meḥemmed Paşa-yı Tavīl’i ve sâ’ir ekābiri toyurdu*].²³⁷ The example of Maḥmūd Pasha and his affiliation, first with the former grand vizier Semiz ‘Alī Pasha and later with the Sokollu grand vizier Meḥmed Pasha, and the instances of Sokollu support for Rüstem and Semiz ‘Alī’s clients highlight the significance of ethnic and regional solidarity within the Ottoman bureaucracy,

²³⁶ See, Mustafa Âlī, *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 734.

²³⁷ See, Mustafa Âlī, *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 734.

specifically in the rise of Sokollus. More broadly, this case offers valuable insight into how power nodes within the Ottoman system emerged, evolved, and maintained their influence over time.

Therefore, evidence from contemporary primary sources mentioning Sokollu Mehmed and Ottoman ruling elite of Bosnian origin indicates that the Sokollus devised a strategy, drawing on their shared ethnic–regional backgrounds, to establish a power network, i.e. a node or faction, that could be easily identified as Bosnian (though not very strictly exclusive) within the Ottoman imperial class.²³⁸ Through the grand Sokollu strategy with all the familial connections, marriages, alliances, and affiliations discussed above, it appears that the Sokollu faction in the mid-1570s was an empire-wide clique that manifested itself from Buda to Istanbul, Istanbul to Diyarbekir, and Diyarbekir to Egypt (See Figure 13).²³⁹

3.3 The Clash between Ethnic Factions: Bosnians of the Sokollu versus Koca Sinān’s Albanians

Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, in his *Mevā’id*, shares his perception of ethnicities in Istanbul and among the imperial ruling elite. When it comes to Albanians, his disdain becomes remarkable:

To expect good manners and dignity from anyone of Albanian stock, to entertain the hope of fidelity from the impure Kurds, is the same as telling a hen who is cackling while laying eggs to stop cackling. Or it is the same as imploring a burglar or robber, “Don’t kill me!”²⁴⁰

The subsequent passage in the manuscript shifts focus to individuals of his same ethnic background after discussing his thoughts on Russian concubines, Cossack prisoners, and enslaved Africans traded in Ottoman markets. He indicates that plenty of Bosnians and Croats in the capital are pure-

²³⁸ Brookes, “Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings,” 162.

²³⁹ See Figures 13, 14, and 15. Figure 13 shows the administrative units governed by members of what I coin as the Sokollu faction in 1573 and 1574, which I consider the peak of the faction’s power. Figure 14 and 15 attempts to reconstruct the Sokollu family tree using the registers of imperial affairs (*mühimme*), appointment registers (*ru’ūs*), endowment deeds/inscriptions (*vakfiyye*), and contemporary chronicles.

²⁴⁰ Douglas Brookes, “On Servants and Slaves, Mustafa Ālī, d. 1600,” in *The Ottoman World: A Cultural History Reader, 1450–1700*, ed. Hakan T. Karateke and Helga Anetshofer (California: University of California Press, 2021), 84.; Mustafa Ālī, *Mevā’idü’n-Nefā’is*, 155.

hearted, well-proportioned, polite, modest, and conduct themselves honestly.²⁴¹ It is significant, therefore, that Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, one of the most ardent advocates of *Rūmī* identity within the Ottoman ruling elite, differentiated between favorable and unfavorable groups within the *Rūmī* identity. Notably, both the identities he discusses and the distinctions he draws are rooted in ethnicity. His prominent patrons being members of the Sokollu faction, his disdain for Albanians likely stemmed both from his position within the Bosnian clique and the widely accepted belief among historians that his grandfather was of Bosnian *kul* origin, a heritage he seemingly embraced without explicitly acknowledging it.²⁴²

What appears to me is that the clash between the two camps, Bosnians led by the Sokollu and Koca Sinān Pasha’s Albanians, commenced decades before Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī completed his *Mevā’id* in 1600. Most likely, it was the civil war between Süleymān’s two princes, Selīm (r. 1566-1574) and Bāyezīd (d. 1561), that increased the tension between Sokolovićs and Koca Sinān Pasha. The months following the Battle of Konya between princes in 1559 witnessed the execution of Ayās Pasha (d. 1559), governor of Erzurum and older brother of Sinān the Albanian. Being the *lālā* (tutor) of Prince Selīm, Muṣṭafā Pasha Sokolović was assigned to seize the rebellious prince who had taken refuge in the district of Erzurum. Even though Ayās Pasha was tasked with surrendering the prince to the advancing troops, understanding that he was in no power to stand against him, he attempted to persuade the sultan to pardon him, which was a futile political enterprise.²⁴³ Nonetheless, before acting for this purpose, the governors-general of the surrounding provinces arrived in Erzurum. Still, they could not find the rebel prince, who was to take refuge in the realm of the Safavids.²⁴⁴ Due to his disobedience to the imperial edict of Sultan Süleymān, he

²⁴¹ Brookes, “On Servants and Slaves,” 85.

²⁴² Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 15-16.

²⁴³ Şerafettin Turan, *Kanunî'nin Oğlu Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1961), 124.

²⁴⁴ Turan, *Kanunî'nin Oğlu Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası*, 125.

was condemned to death and executed for aiding the prince's escape when Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha arrived. Therefore, it is safe to argue that the incoming brutal rivalry between the Bosnians and Albanians commenced in Erzurum in 1559, if not before.

*Nüzhet-i Esrārü'l-Ahyār der-Aḥbār-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar (Pleasures of the Secrets of Auspicious Men from the News of the Szigetvár Campaign)*²⁴⁵ written by Ferīdūn Aḥmed Bey, who himself was of Bosnian origin and private secretary of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, was completed around 1570. It provides valuable insight into the civil war between princes and the following months. It seems from his book that until the 1570s, most members of the Sokollu faction, except for Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha, were not particularly concerned about the Albanian faction and did not harbor hatred against them, because there is no reference either to Koca Sinān Pasha or to Albanians in *Nüzhet*. Despite tensions between Koca Sinān Pasha and Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha during the preparations for the Yemen Campaign in Egypt in the late 1560s, Sokollu Mehmed, though Lālā Muṣṭafā was a vital member of the Bosnian faction and his close relative, did not support him.²⁴⁶ The conflict between the two Sokollus is also exaggerated by a contemporary observer from the German House in Constantinople, Stephan Gerlach (d. 1546-1612).²⁴⁷

Additionally, Ferīdūn Aḥmed, in his book mentioned above, asserts that Ayās Pasha, the Albanian who was executed by Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha in 1559, was unjustly put to death.²⁴⁸ At the same time, Ayās Pasha's Albanian origin is not specified in *Nüzhet*. However, almost every other

²⁴⁵ Henceforth, *Nüzhet*.

²⁴⁶ Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, 48-51.

²⁴⁷ Stephan Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, ed. Samuel Gerlach (Frankfurt am Main: Johann-David Zünners, 1674), 130. As discussed above, and in light of some archival evidence, I strongly think that Lālā Muṣṭafā and Sokollu Mehmed Pashas should be considered in the same faction, which we can name the Sokollu clique. Despite the rumors about their rivalry, archival material and the promotions Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha acquired during the grand vizierate of Sokollu Mehmed indicate that whether they had a great relationship or not, they were members of the same political circle.

²⁴⁸ Feridun Ahmed Bey, *Nüzhet-i Esrārü'l-Ahyār der-Aḥbār-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, ed. H. Ahmet Arslantürk and Günhan Börekçi (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2012), 235-240, (131b-137a).

contemporary chronicle written around or after the late 1570s, whether of pro-Bosnian or pro-Albanian stance, perceived his origin as necessary information to be shared. Therefore, it is possible that the Sokollu faction was divided on their attitude toward Sinān Pasha and his Albanian clique. Yet, making the same claim for the Albanian faction is not easy. As all indications suggest, Koca Sinān Pasha's grudge probably began immediately after his older brother's execution. After the unpleasant incident, problems emerged whenever Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha had to be in close association with him, just like his visit to Egypt when Sinān was the governor-general, dispatching to Yemen in 1568, and their clash over the Caucasian Campaign against the Safavids in 1578.²⁴⁹

The execution of Sokollu Muṣṭafā Pasha of Buda in 1578, the assassination of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in 1579, and lastly, Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha's death in 1580 brought considerable destruction to the Sokollu faction.²⁵⁰ After these losses, the loathing of Sinān Pasha, the Albanian, started to be shared by all the members of the Bosnian clique. Peçevî İbrāhîm Efendi Alajbegović, in his history, sheds light on the rivalry between the Sokollu faction and the Albanians and describes Koca Sinān Pasha's traits as a self-admiring [*hōd-fürüş*], self-centered [*hōd-bin*], old man full of arrogance [*pîr-i kibr*] and stubborn Albanian [*Arnavud-ı 'anūd*], who hates Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha.²⁵¹ He adds that Koca Sinān used to fear Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and could not boast himself around him. Nevertheless, after Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's passing, Koca Sinān's acts of defamation intensified significantly [*merhūmdan sonra hōd dili uzadı*].²⁵² Losing three vastly

²⁴⁹ Mustafa Âli, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr*, 651–662.; Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli, *Nusret-nâme*, ed. Hicabi Kırlangıç (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000).; Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî* I, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999), 127-130.

²⁵⁰ Interestingly, some 20th-century Bosnian historians argue that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha might have been assassinated by a *Hamzevî dervîş*, which indeed aligns with the narratives of contemporary Ottoman chronicles. See, Muhamed Hadžijahić, "Udio hamzevija u atentatu na Mehmed-pašu Sokolovića," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 5 (1955): 325–330. Nevertheless, we do not have any concrete evidence, making it only an educated speculation.

²⁵¹ Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Evvel*, 62.; Kadir Akıllı, "Peçevî Tarihi (184b-281a Metin, Dizin, Özel Adlar Sözlüğü)" (MA Thesis, Marmara University, 2008), 89.

²⁵² Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Evvel*, 63. Akıllı, "Peçevî Tarihi," 90.

influential viziers in two years made the Sokollu faction vulnerable, both against the Albanian faction and the Manisa (Saruhan) clique, which consisted of the princely entourage of Sultan Murād III (r. 1574-1595).²⁵³

3.3.1 The Power Struggle Between the Sokolovićs and Albanians Over Administrative Positions

Koca Sinān Pasha now seized every opportunity to openly display his animosity toward the Bosnians, attempting to exploit it whenever possible. He struck his most conspicuous and insolent blow in 1590, during his second office in the grand vizierate, targeting Sokollu Ferhād Pasha, who was serving the Sultan as the governor-general of Buda.²⁵⁴ Comprehending the importance of holding the frontier governor-generalships in hand, such as Buda in the West and Baghdad in the East, which was vital in deciding on war or peace and thus wielding the authority of war-making, Sinān Pasha instigated his fellows, primarily Albanians, and orchestrated a plot to have Sokollu Ferhād Pasha killed.

Gelibolulu Muşţafā ‘Ālī provides thorough details regarding this topic in his *magnum opus*, *Kūnhü’l-Aḥbār* (*Essence of History*). Apart from being a protégé of the Sokollu patrons, and his mind that his beloved patrons, mainly Lālā Muşţafā Pasha and Sokollu Ferhād Pasha, were slandered and attacked by Albanians, Gelibolulu Muşţafā ‘Ālī’s works are of the utmost importance because of his awareness and emphasis on ethnicities, which can be traced throughout his whole corpus. Likewise, though always writing in an outspoken, harsh, and critical tone, his *Kūnhü’l-Aḥbār*, completed shortly before his death, provides very detailed information regarding his perception of Albanians. Thus, centering his works sheds light on an apparent sight of ethnic solidarities, as well as clashes and stereotypes among the Ottomans.

²⁵³ Metin Kunt, “Devlet, Pâdişâh Kapısı ve Şehzâde Kapıları,” *Yeni Türkiye* 31, (2000): 396-399.

²⁵⁴ Mustafa Âlî. *Kūnhü’l-Aḥbār*, 1132–1133.

According to Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, “although his previous patron, Sokollu Ferhād Pasha lacked certain administrative refinements and was sometimes seen as self-serving, he nonetheless stood out for his ambition and visible efforts toward justice. His tenure combined confident leadership with a sense of unpredictability, and while not without its controversies, he became a memorable figure on the borderland, where he remained actively engaged with the *serḥad gāzīs*.”²⁵⁵ However, Beyza-furūṣ Sinān Pasha, who was Albanian and a relative to the Grand Vizier Koca Sinān Pasha, was coveting the office of the governor-generalship of Buda. Craving for complete control of Buda, and the Ottoman–Habsburg frontier in the Albanian hands [*cemī’-i eṭrāf pāṣalıkları kendü müte’allikātı eliyle zābt olunmak*], one day, Grand Vizier Koca Sinān Pasha devised a plan and summoned a military officer [‘*azebler ağası*] from Buda, Rıdṽān Çavuş, and asked him in secret: “The *potur* (a derogatory term for Bosnian converts), who happens to be your governor-general, is (still) alive?”²⁵⁶ Knowing the intention of the grand vizier, Rıdṽān Çavuş’s response further provokes the Grand Vizier against the Bosnian Ferhād Pasha.²⁵⁷ Now fully convinced that Rıdṽān also hates Sokollu Ferhād, Koca Sinān Pasha asks: “Isn’t there someone among you with a solid wrist who can send him a rifle hazelnut (musket ball) [*tüfeng funduğı*]? With that wound, he will turn his face from this world [to the other].”²⁵⁸ Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī asserts that after this conversation, Rıdṽān Çavuş was dispatched to Buda, with the letters written by Koca Sinān Pasha seeking to tempt [*iğvā*] his fellows: Memī Bey, the Albanian, Governor of Esztergom, ‘Alī Bey, Governor of Hatvan, Meḥmed, a military bureaucrat in Buda. Following the provocation of Koca Sinān Pasha, Rıdṽān Çavuş staged a revolt in Buda by informing the Albanian riffraff [*Arnavud u evbāş*]

²⁵⁵ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1132–1133.

²⁵⁶ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1132. For more information regarding the term *potur* see Emin Lelić, “Predstave o Bosancima/Bošnjacima u ranonovovjekovnoj osmanskoj etnografiji,” *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 71 (2022): 135–161.; Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 59–63.

²⁵⁷ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1133.

²⁵⁸ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1133.

of the city about the wish of Sinān Pasha, where they killed Sokollu Ferhād Pasha. Our author and Hasan Beyzāde states that following Ferhād Pasha's demise at the hands of rebels, Beyza-furūş Sinān Pasha, who was Albanian and had a kinship relation, most likely marital, to the Albanian Grand Vizier, assumed the position of governor-general in Buda.²⁵⁹

Muṣṭafā 'Ālī points out the corruption of the newly appointed governor-general, Albanian Beyza-furūş Sinān Pasha, emphasizing that during his earlier service to the state, he targeted the honor and dignity of the sultanate [*'ırz u nāmūs-ı salṭanat*] by robbing the protected subjects of the sultan [*reaya*].²⁶⁰ All these harsh critiques and offenses put on the Albanian faction by Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, I would suggest, were closely related to Beyza-furūş Sinān Pasha's ethnic favoritism and nepotism, as he and his ethnic brethren, along with his relatives, according to Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, were unleashed upon the Muslim community like venomous scorpions [*mūzī vü 'afārīt cinsinden olan eḳārībī 'aḳārīb*].²⁶¹ Hence, as will be discussed in greater detail below, Muṣṭafā 'Ālī's eagerness to draw a connection between being Albanian and traits such as corruption and depravity is readily apparent. This tendency should be interpreted within the broader context of his faction's political struggle against the Albanian faction, a fight given not only in bureaucratic scenes but also in literary pieces.

Muṣṭafā 'Ālī points out, once again, the hatred harbored for Bosnians by Koca Sinān Pasha. The argument is made that, during the campaign against the Habsburgs in 1593, Meḥmed, the Agha of Janissaries, who built a reputation thanks to his valiance during the siege of Tata, was dismissed by the grand vizier without any valid reason and solely because he was of Bosnian

²⁵⁹ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü'l-Ahbâr*, 1133.; Gévay, *A Budai Pasák*, 15.

²⁶⁰ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü'l-Ahbâr*, 1136.

²⁶¹ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü'l-Ahbâr*, 1136.

origin.²⁶² Not surprisingly, this Mehmed was a member of the Sokolović family. According to Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, hearing the dismissal of Mehmed Agha from the commandership of the Janissaries, Murād III cursed Sinān Pasha because up until that time, the decision on the appointments of Janissary commanders was up to the Sultan’s will and mandate.²⁶³ Unfortunately, we do not have extensive scholarship on Mehmed, who would later be called Sokolluzāde Lālā Mehmed Pasha and promoted to the grand vizierate, except that he was a relative of the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Nevertheless, Stephan Gerlach, in his diary, mentions a relative (nephew) of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who was a fresh convert from Bosnia in March 1577.²⁶⁴ Considering the age and the possible appointments of Mehmed the Nephew, it is likely that this “tall” and “handsome” Bosnian was Sokolluzāde Mehmed, whom Koca Sinān Pasha dismissed. Yemişçi Hasan of Albanian origin replaced him, of course, with the will of Sinān the Albanian.²⁶⁵

Contemporary chronicles of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century indicate that the conflicts between Bosnian and Albanian factions within the ruling class persisted into the early 1600s, which extended into Ottoman Hungary. In his history, Selānikī Muṣṭafā Efendi notes that after the poor service of Sinānpaṣazāde Mehmed Pasha (d. 1605), son of Sinān Pasha, the Albanian, as governor-general of Buda, the position was given to Sokolluzāde Hasan Pasha (d. 1602), son of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.²⁶⁶ Let us shift our focus to the historical account authored by Peçevī. Notably, being a Sokolović from his mother’s side and spending most of his life in Ottoman Hungary, his narrative highlights a rivalry between the heirs of the founders of two factions,

²⁶² Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1164. “*Yeñiçeri Ağası Mehemmed Ağa Bosnevî olmağın bilā-sebebe ‘azl olındı.*” “*Janissary Agha Mehmed was dismissed without any reason because he was Bosnian.*”

²⁶³ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1164.

²⁶⁴ Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 318. “*Heut hab ich unter unser Pforten gesehen einen langen ansehnlichen Mann / auß Bosnia / des Mehemet Bassen Vetter / der erst vor 2.3. Monden ein Türck worden. Seine Freunde kommen offti zu ihm / und besuche ihn / haben sicher Gelaid / wer ein Christ bleiben wil / der bleibet es.*”

²⁶⁵ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1116. “*Āğalığı yine Arnavud zümresinden Yemişçi Hasan Ağa’ya münāsib görüldi.*” “*Yemişçi Hasan Ağa, from the Albanian ranks, was found suitable for the appointment.*”

²⁶⁶ Selānikî, *Tarih-i Selānikî I*, 301.

specifically Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Koca Sinan Pasha. According to his account, Mehmed Pasha, the son of Sinan Pasha, tried to emulate Hasan Pasha, the son of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, which was clearly a futile attempt.²⁶⁷

Selânikî, in his history, shares that shortly before Koca Sinan Pasha was reappointed to the grand vizierate in 1593, Siyâvuş Pasha (d. 1602) dismissed Sinan's son, Mehmed, and honored Sokolluzâde Hasan with the governor-generalship of Buda, with the rank of vizierate.²⁶⁸ Hailing from Nagykanizsa, Siyâvuş was appointed as the head commander of the Janissary troops during the tenure of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. At the same time, he was on good terms with Lâlâ Muştafâ Pasha Sokolović, with whom Koca Sinan cherished enmity.²⁶⁹ Soon after the appointment of Sokolluzâde Hasan Pasha to Buda, Koca Sinan was brought to the grand vizierate by Murâd III. With the outbreak of the Long Turkish War (1593-1606), Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha forwarded the governor-general of Buda, Sokolluzâde Hasan, who was in an absolute affiliation [*intisâb-ı küllî*] with Siyâvuş Pasha, to the very frontlines against the Habsburgs.²⁷⁰ Putting Sokolluzâde Hasan's head in the lion's mouth, according to Muştafâ 'Âlî, Sinan Pasha did not help Hasan because he lacked the courage to do so, pointing out his cowardice [*muḥannes*], while informing Istanbul about his own and his son Mehmed's valiance on the frontlines.²⁷¹

Soon after his encampment in Belgrade to wait for the campaign season, Sinan Pasha reappointed his son to the governor-generalship of Buda. This time, Sokolluzâde Hasan Pasha was assigned to the governor-generalship of Rumelia, arguably a less significant administrative position during wartime against the Habsburgs. An additional intriguing insight regarding the

²⁶⁷ Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Evvel*, 31; Akıllı, "Peçevî Tarihi," 54-55.

²⁶⁸ Selânikî, *Tarih-i Selânikî* I, 304.

²⁶⁹ Mahmut Ak, "Siyavuş Paşa, Kanijeli," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 37 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009), 311-313.

²⁷⁰ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü'l-Ahbâr*, 1144.

²⁷¹ Zararsız, "Osmanlı Kroniklerinde Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Sokolovic Ailesi," 343.

rivalry comes from Peçevî. According to him, during the siege of Komárom in 1594 by Sokolluzāde Ḥasan Pasha, Sinān Pasha took the command from him and granted it to his son, Meḥmed, presumably to promote Meḥmed's authority and prominence, and the siege ended in failure.²⁷² However, the public perceived him as feeble no matter what because Albanian Meḥmed Pasha used to imitate [*taḳlīd*] Bosnian Ḥasan Pasha but lacked his valiance and courage on the battlefield.²⁷³ Peçevî extensively points out Meḥmed Pasha's failures on various fronts and portrays him as a poor military leader. In the end, despite the backing of palace women [*Sulṭān 'Aḥmed merḥūmun vālidesi iltimāsiyla*], Sinān Pasha's son Meḥmed Pasha prepared his tragic fate due to his incompetence and lack of knowledge, leading to his execution in 1605.²⁷⁴ In contrast, his lifelong rival, Sokolluzāde Ḥasan Pasha, was killed by *Celālī* rebels in Anatolia and was honored with the title of martyr [*ṣehīd*].

3.3.2 Reading the Rivalry Through Ethnic Stereotyping as a Tool of Power

Jane Hathaway demonstrates that Ottomans had strict stereotypes for ethnic groups; however, these stereotypes were mostly considerably negative if the group was perceived as rival or adversary, as in the case of the "loathsome Circassian" [*çerkes-i nā-kes*] during the struggle against the Mamluk Sultanate.²⁷⁵ These negative *clichés* were also shared by sultans, as Hathaway indicates Selīm I's (r. 1512–20) mocking Khayrbāy (d. 1522), a renegade of Circassian provenance who defected from the Mamluks to the Ottomans.²⁷⁶ Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebi (d. 1567), who was the custodian of the ever-enlarging Ottoman bureaucracy as the chancellor (*nişancı*) for many

²⁷² Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Sâni*, 155.

²⁷³ Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Evvel*, 31.; Akıllı, "Peçevî Tarihi," 55.

²⁷⁴ Peçevî, *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Evvel*, 31.; Akıllı, "Peçevî Tarihi," 55.

²⁷⁵ Jane Hathaway, "Circassian Mamluks in Ottoman Egypt and Istanbul, ca. 1500-1730: The Eastern Alternative," in *Disliking Others: Loathing, Hostility, and Distrust in Premodern Ottoman Lands*, ed. Hakan T. Karateke, H. Erdem Cipa, and Helga Anetshofer (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018), 24.

²⁷⁶ Hathaway, "Circassian Mamluks in Ottoman Egypt and Istanbul," 26.

years, expressed similar sentiments about Circassians in his pieces, suggesting that such perspectives were widely held, possibly even endorsed and solidified by the imperial center.²⁷⁷

An analysis of Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s *Mevā’id* reveals that for Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī and his patrons, Kurds, Russians, Cossacks, Africans, and Circassians had a poor reputation among the *kul* and learned elite circles. Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s works give the impression that it was not an uphill battle to create a vile stereotype for the rival group, in our context, the enemy of the Bosnian faction. Yet, it is essential to acknowledge that Albanians encountered comparable prejudices within the Ottoman Empire before the emergence of Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s pieces. Hailing from mountainous geography, Albanians were mostly considered unruly, disobedient, and witless, which was also related to the popularity of physiognomy among the Ottomans.²⁷⁸ An Albanian feudal lord, Gjergj Kastrioti (1405-1468), widely known as Skanderbeg, who initially vowed allegiance to the Ottomans but later reneged, posed a constant solid challenge to Mehmed II with his rebellion, which lasted for years. His negative legacy remained in most Ottoman chronicles, and the public widely knew him as an Albanian. The Albanian uprisings, continuing until 1537, which Süleymān I was successful in restraining, likely contributed significantly to the development of this stereotype.²⁷⁹ Another instance illustrating this stereotype is found in Benjamin Lellouch’s article. He points out that Ḥā’in Aḥmed Pasha (d. 1524), despite being a vizier of Turkish descent from Anatolia, came to be labeled as Albanian when he rebelled against Ottoman authority in Egypt.²⁸⁰ The damaged

²⁷⁷ *Tabakātü’l-memâlik ve derecâtü’l-mesâlik*, Istanbul, Istanbul University Library, Rare Books Section, MS 5997, F 22a.; Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleymān: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

²⁷⁸ Uğur Bayraktar, “Bir Terim Olarak ‘Arnavut’: 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Düşünce Dünyasında Arnavutlar,” *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi* 11, no. 1 (July 2022):1–38.; In this regard, these two works are of utmost importance for understanding climate theory and physiognomy in the Ottoman context, see Lelić, Ottoman Physiognomy (*‘Ilm-i Firâset*), 225–240.; Lelić, “Climate Theory and the Question of Civilization,” 94–100.

²⁷⁹ Rhoads Murphey, “Süleyman I and the Conquest of Hungary: Ottoman Manifest Destiny or a Delayed Reaction to Charles V’s Universalist Vision,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 5, no.3 (2001).

²⁸⁰ Benjamin Lellouch, “Hain Ahmed Paşa (m. 1524) et sa famille,” *Turcica* 52, (2021).

reputation of the Albanian community in politics among the Ottoman ruling elite persisted until the dissolution of the Empire in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.²⁸¹

Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī utilized this contemporary disrepute quite professionally in expressing his hatred against Koca Sinān Pasha and his Albanian clique in their fight against the Bosnian faction. On the very same line as the disobedient label of Albanians, Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī names Koca Sinān, the despicable/condemned Albanian individual [*zemīmü’l-vücūd-ı Arnavud*],²⁸² one who awakens unrest [*fitne-bīdār*], stubborn vizier [*vezīr-i ‘anūd*], and inconsiderate [*nā-tedbīr*] and his fellows wicked and malevolent [*eşirrā’*] as well as Albanian [*Arnavud*], in which one would think that he wages this word as an insult.²⁸³ It was, indeed, an insult for, according to him, Albanians were “a despicable group known for their inherent treachery and such grave corruptions stemming from their creation.”²⁸⁴ Describing the values of “filthy Albanian kind” [*cins-i murdār*]²⁸⁵ in handling the state affairs as ignominy, unchastity [*terk-i nāmūs*],²⁸⁶ deceptions and turmoil [*mekr ü fitne*],²⁸⁷ Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī blames Koca Sinān Pasha and his fellow Albanians for the troublesome atmosphere that the Ottoman Empire went through in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. He criticizes the grand vizier’s steps in the Long Turkish War (1593-1606) and curses his policies. Considering the stance taken by Selānikī, Peçevī, and Ḥasan Beyzāde, Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī is not the only one who put the knife in Koca Sinān Pasha during the Long Turkish War.²⁸⁸ Thus, although Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī singles out Bosnians, Croats, Albanians, and Hungarians in the service of the Sultan compared to those

²⁸¹ Bayraktar, “Bir Terim Olarak ‘Arnavut,” 1–5.

²⁸² Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 653.

²⁸³ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1262–1265.

²⁸⁴ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 98. “*hâ’in ü müfsid-i teberdâr, evbâşân-ı nâ-üstüvâr ki ekşeri Arnavud nāmındaki kavm-ı ‘anūd zümre-i zemīmesinden ve hıyānet-i cibilliyelerinin ol maķūle fesādāt-ı zamīme-i ‘amīmesinden idi.*”

²⁸⁵ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1243.

²⁸⁶ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1140.

²⁸⁷ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1132.

²⁸⁸ Purde, “Savaşın Yazımı,” 12–13.

from Anatolia and the rest of the Empire, he asserts fixed hierarchies of power among *devşirmes* as well by stereotyping Albanians with turmoil, stubbornness, and disgrace.

It seems that after the execution of Serdār Ferhād Pasha, who himself was of Albanian origin but had positive relations with the Bosnian faction, in 1595, due to the intrigues of Koca Sinān Pasha, Muştafā ‘Ālī’s hatred reached its peak. This time, he coined Sinān Pasha everlasting trouble [*dā’im belā*], anti-Christ [*deccal*], satan [*seytān*], and devil [*gūl*].²⁸⁹ Heralding the death of Sinān Paşa in 1596, he allegorically associated him with monarchs of Ancient Egypt, Pharaohs, an arrogant, selfish, treacherous, cruel, and despotic image in the Islamic culture. Vilifying him as a treacherous troublemaker of the obstinate Albanian kind who was like Pharaoh, the guide of misguidance [*Fir‘avn -ı dālālet-rehber gibi*], as good news [*müjde*] to his readers, he states that the god made Sinān Pasha’s grave the gateway of fire (*āteş kapısı*), a pit of disaster worse than hell [*çāh-ı ‘avān*], and he descended to the lowest depths and fell into filth.²⁹⁰ It is also striking that before ending his magnum opus with the thrilling news, that is, both the death of the Albanian and the appointment of Bosnian [*Bosnaviyyü’l-aşl*] Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha (d. 1601), who was of mannerly [*mü’eddebü’n-nesl*] and magnanimous reputation [*kerīmü’ş-şān*] origin, to the grand vizierate, he remarks that only Albanians mourned for the death of Sinān Pasha.²⁹¹ Sinān Pasha is described as a vile [*pelīd*], untrustworthy [*nā-merd*], treacherous/coward [*muḥannes*], and scoundrel man of ill character [*bed-ḥiṣāl-i merd-i gidi*], who messed with the tolerant, modest, and gentle people (scholars) [*dil ehlini çevirüp şīşlere kebāb itmek*].²⁹²

All in all, did Muştafā ‘Ālī’s condemnation of Albanians stem only from the fact that his patrons were Sokollus and he was of third-generation Bosnian origin? The stereotyping and

²⁸⁹ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1262–63.

²⁹⁰ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1262–63.

²⁹¹ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1262–1266.

²⁹² Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 1262–1264.

vilification of ethnic groups within the Ottoman Empire, as seen in the writings of Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī and others, highlight not only the social and political hierarchies within the Ottoman society but also how such biases were used to serve political and factional agendas.²⁹³ Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s harsh criticisms of Koca Sinān Pasha and his Albanian fellows offer a striking example of ethnic prejudice while also demonstrating how rhetoric was utilized in rivalries among the ruling elite. The focus on Albanians, often linked to rebellion and disobedience, reflects a pattern of excuses used to discredit political opponents and reinforce the perceived moral and intellectual superiority of one’s own group, in this case, the Bosnians for Sokollus and their protégés. Why is there no Albanian equivalent to Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī, someone who stereotyped Bosnians within the Ottoman ruling elite? Could it be that the Albanian faction was less inclined to support scholars in the way Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī criticized figures like Koca Sinān Pasha? Or was it simply because Ottoman society favored Bosnians over Albanians? If so, how did the preference for Bosnians and bias against Albanians manifest in daily life among the tax-paying flock (*re‘āyā*) and, even more strikingly, among the periphery, for example, in Ottoman Bosnia and Albania? It is still an open question whether this kind of rhetoric came from real hostility, was used as a political tactic, or echoed broader stereotypes that were widely accepted at the time. Either way, through various examples, it points to the need for a closer look at how identity and power worked together in the Ottoman administrative and cultural world. I believe Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī’s extensive body of work holds significant potential for addressing these questions, especially when compared with other contemporary writings.

²⁹³ Hakan T. Karateke, H. Erdem Çıpa, and Helga Anetshofer, eds., *Disliking Others: Loathing, Hostility, and Distrust in Premodern Ottoman Lands* (Brighton, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2018), 17.

CONCLUSION

This thesis, which delves more deeply into the changes in career trajectory patterns of the governors-general of Buda, employs prosopography and digital humanities approaches, particularly social network analysis (SNA), using data visualization and software tools such as UCINET and NetDraw. With the data visualizations and charts used throughout the study and a close reading of archival material and contemporary narratives, it is apparent that the career paths of those appointed as governors of Buda between 1541 and 1686 reveal shifting patterns in how and why these individuals were selected. In the earlier decades (1541–93), Buda often marked the peak of a seasoned frontier commander’s career. These individuals usually had already served as provincial governors-general in nearby regions like Bosnia, Rumelia, and other governorships within Ottoman Hungary. Appointments typically followed a linear progression through Balkan *sanjaks*, sometimes preceded by offices in Mohács or Tımişvar, which functioned as preparatory zones for high borderland command. Individuals such as Yaḥyāpaşazāde Küçük Bālī Pasha (d. 1543), Yaḥyāpaşazāde Meḥmed Pasha, Güzelce Rüstem Pasha, Yaḥyāpaşazāde Arslan Pasha, and borderland Sokollus such as Sokollu Muştafā, and Sokollu Ġāzi Ferhād Pasha (d. 1590) exemplify this path: steady elevation through western borderlands into the key northern frontier post.²⁹⁴ As illustrated in each period with examples, it appears that in the first period between 1541–93, the governor-generalship of Buda was considered a prestigious administrative unit where individuals who obtained it were generally crucial members of influential factions, such as Yaḥyāpaşazādes, Sokollus, and Murād III’s (r. 1574–95) princely Saruhan clique.

²⁹⁴ Delving more into their career trajectories, one can see that they ascended to the highest office in Buda through the *serḥadd* governorships, such as Bosnia, Klis, Szeged, Herzegovina, and Semendire, as which is discussed in the first chapter.

The Long Turkish War (1593–1606) marked a relative shift in the ongoing struggle between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs, and regarding the career trajectories that led officials to the highest office in Buda.²⁹⁵ The crisis and unpredictability of long-term military operations in Ottoman Hungary against the Habsburgs led to increased rotations and a greater need for personnel who had enough financial and military experience. Some pashas cycled through Buda more than once, often oscillating between it and the governor-generalship of Rumeli or going back and forth between frontier and capital service. I argue that the governor-generalship of Buda was still a considerably desired administrative unit during the Long Turkish War, primarily because of its proximity to the theater of war against the Habsburgs. The appointments made during the grand vizierate of Koca Sinān Pasha point out that the Albanian faction was keen on controlling the administrative units in Ottoman Hungary in general, and the governor-generalship of Buda in particular, as also discussed in the second chapter. Therefore, for the first two periods, the appointments to Buda took place in an environment where the rule was the survival of the fittest and the politically strongest.

During the mid-seventeenth century (1606–56), a notable pattern emerges where Buda became more closely tied to imperial centrality: many governors had previous experience as court officials (such as *emir-i āhūrluk* (*imrahor*), *silāhdārlik*, or *kapıcıbaşılik*) and, in some examples, returned to the capital as viziers.²⁹⁶ Nevertheless, from the restoration of peace between the two rivals in 1606 until the establishment of Köprülü rule in the empire, I argue that the governor-generalship of Buda became an office of exile, or a less significant position where unproven administrators were appointed. A substantial amount of evidence from the career trajectories of

²⁹⁵ Ágoston, *The Last Muslim Conquest: The Ottoman Empire and Its Wars in Europe*, 12.

²⁹⁶ Among them, Silāhdār Hüseyin Pasha (d. ?) was appointed to Buda from sword-bearership (*silāhdārlik*), whereas Naşūhpāşazāde Hüseyin Pasha (d. ?) and İpşir Muştafā Pasha (d. 1655) were *imrahors* prior to their office in Buda. At the same time, Şūfī Mehmed Pasha (d. 1655) became *kāymakām* first, and then the vizier of the imperial council.

individuals during this period indicates that what is considered the seventeenth-century crisis affected the decision-making on who should obtain the office in Buda. It was not just that some were appointed to Buda right after serving as grand viziers; it is also possible to see some examples of former grand viziers, who had lost that most powerful office but remained politically influential, being sent to Buda afterward. Among several figures who stand out due to the distinctiveness of their trajectories, Deli Hüseyn Pasha, Tabanıyassı Mehmed Pasha, and Silāhdār Muṣṭafā Pasha offer particularly notable cases, which were discussed further regarding my argument that the governor-generalship of Buda became something of an exile, a place where high-ranking officials were sent, not necessarily to reward them, but rather to remove them from the political center in Istanbul. Their appointments reflect conscious efforts to distance these figures from the power networks and shifting alliances at the imperial center and the palace. One of the reasons behind this alteration in the career trajectories of the Buda pashas is the seventeenth-century crisis. In a sense, the political realities and power balances in the imperial court seem to prevail over the practical realities of the *serḥadd* and its demand for martial experience and local familiarity.

During the Köprülü regime in the empire, it is evident that what I coin as “the revival of classical imperial norms” in appointments marked this period. In contrast to the earlier period, where primarily courtly ceremonial offices were the stepping stones to the governor-generalship of Buda, the Köprülü regime reinstated the appointment patterns I detect mainly in the first period, and partially in the second period as well. Apparently, all of the governors-general of this period served as governors-general prior to their office in Buda, and these governor-generalships mainly were the ones located on the *serḥadd*.²⁹⁷ Consequently, across these four periods, we can see how individuals were appointed to Buda kept changing. In the first phase (1541–93), appointments

²⁹⁷ These administrative units were governor-generalships of Bosnia, Eger, Tımsıvar, Podolia, and Diyarbakır.

followed a frontier-focused and faction-based pattern. In the second period, that structure began to shift, though not wholly, as the pressures of war made Buda even more critical. The third period marked a bigger change: Buda started to look more like a place where less successful or politically out-of-favor figures were sent, with notable exceptions. Finally, during the Köprülü era, the empire seemed to return to earlier habits, bringing back what I call the “classical imperial norms,” a model more in line with how things worked for the career trajectories in the first and the second period.

What appears as the most prevalent pattern is that across all four periods, personal patronage, factional alignments, and ethnic-regional solidarities (particularly among Balkan-born *kul* elites and later among the Caucasian *müşterā kuls*) remained central forces shaping these appointments. While structural changes and imperial policies left their mark, networks of favoritism, kinship, and shared provincial origins consistently shaped access to Buda, as illustrated by a case study in the second chapter.

As exemplified through the Bosnian Sokolović family and their extensive networks, it is evident that ethnic and regional solidarity played a crucial role in shaping the Ottoman administrative elite. The provided case study of this thesis, the careers of the Sokollu family members and their political strategies, explores how identity and ethnicity politics influenced imperial policymaking, appointments, and faction clashes through various means in the sixteenth century. Some key examples include the Sokollu family’s patronage of Bosnian learned men and bureaucrats and their marriage strategy with prominent families from Bosnia. Through a prosopographic study, this thesis offers an extensive family tree of the Sokollu family roughly between 1500 and 1650, vital for discussing political networks, factions, and ethnic-regional solidarity. With a close analysis of primary sources, contemporary chronicles, and archival records, this research directs attention from the seventeenth century, which has been focused on so far by

historians, to the sixteenth century, providing new insights into how ethnic ties and factions shaped the empire's power structures. This thesis also addresses the gap in the sixteenth century, and using chronicles and archival documents, it sheds light on the Sokollu faction and its role in Ottoman power dynamics.

The rise of the Sokolović family in the Ottoman administration through a particular kind of *devşirme*, as this paper coins “private *devşirme*,” and their rivalry with other factions, illustrates that the Ottoman administrative elite was far from monolithic. Instead, it was a complex web of rival, and in some cases, antagonistic networks tied to shared regional and ethnic identities in some or most cases. The numerous examples I have presented and analyzed in this study highlight that these networks were crucial in promoting individual statesmen and carving out powerful factions. Hence, they were significantly influenced by factional alliances and also affected the imperial politics. It should be noted that even though Sokollu Mehmed Pasha has already received significant and valuable scholarly attention, the powerful link between ethnic-based solidarity and political influence achieved through his Bosnian factions' networks has long been overlooked. My examination of the Sokolović faction's interactions with other groups, particularly the Albanian faction led by Koca Sinān Pasha, uncovers the dynamics of identities, loyalties, and rivalries around the ethnic-regional origins and ethnic stereotyping within the Ottoman elite. These interactions display a stage where ethnicity was a source of solidarity and a weapon of exclusion by imagined “others.”

Contemporary narratives voice the ferocious clash between the Bosnian and Albanian factions. Writers such as Ferīdūn Aḥmed Bey, Gelibolulu Muṣṭafā 'Ālī, Peçevī Ibrāhīm Efendi Alajbegović, and Naḥīfī Mehmed Efendi, Ḥasan Beyzāde' Aḥmed, protégés of the vast Sokollu faction, masterfully backed up their patron and some even utilized stereotypes and rhetoric to

strengthen the Sokollu against the Albanians and vilify those who attacked their patrons. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha became the “virtual/spiritual sultan” [*padişāh-ı ma‘nevī*] and “the possessor of majesty and felicity” [*şāhib-i devlet ü sa‘ādet*].²⁹⁸ In contrast, Koca Sinān Pasha was a despicable/condemned [*zemīmü’l-vücūd-ı Arnavud*] and stubborn Albanian [*Arnavud-ı ‘anūd*]. At the same time, their depictions of Bosnians as “pure-hearted,” “well-proportioned,” “polite,” “modest,” and “honest-behaving” and of Albanians as “a despicable group known for their inherent treachery and such grave corruptions stemming from their creation” reflect more than personal biases, they expose the broader socio-political hierarchies and narratives embedded in Ottoman power struggles, which lasted until the sunset of the Empire.²⁹⁹ Through a close analysis of these works, this thesis sheds light on how ethnicity intermingles with the politics of factionalism and the construction of cultural and stereotypical hierarchies.

The Sokolović faction’s strategic use of patronage of their compatriots and ability to build empire-wide connections were of utmost significance to their influence. From Istanbul to the empire’s frontiers in the West, East, and South, the faction was keen on navigating imperial politics at its peak, as illustrated in Figure 13. Their support for fellow Bosnian scholars, suppression of heretical movements in the region, and sponsorship of learned individuals highlight how they utilized identity and regional ties to consolidate their power and legitimacy both in the center and the periphery, in this case, Bosnia, *vaṭan-ı aṣlī*, the place where they hailed from. This thesis argues that patronage and identity politics norms were integral to forming factions and appointing key officials, particularly in strategically essential provinces such as Buda, the furthest governor-generalship of the abode of Islam.

²⁹⁸ Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 353. and Feridun Ahmed Bey, *Nüzhet-i Esrārü’l-Ahyār der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 32.

²⁹⁹ Brookes, “Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social, 217. And Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü’l-Ahbâr*, 98.

The rivalry between the Sokolović and Albanian factions also illuminates broader debates about identity and power in the Ottoman Empire. It challenges the common historiographical focus on "Western" versus "Eastern" factions by revealing the intricate divisions within the so-called "Western" group. It considers the clash between the "Easterner" and "Westerner" factions in the seventeenth century as a rivalry between intruders and the elite already in the system, like the clash between Balkan *devşirmes* and old Oghuz Turk aristocracy in the fifteenth century. For that reason, it handles ethnic-regional solidarity through conflicts between ethnic-based factions within the "Westerner" group, that is, the *devşirme* recruits of the Sultan.

This thesis also delves into the career paths and factional struggles of the sixteenth century, shedding light on how identities were shaped, used, and disputed within the Ottoman world. As pointed out above, the governor-generalship of Buda was a focal point for the clash between the Bosnian faction and the Albanian, exemplifying the broader political struggle. Based on the findings of my study, I want to underscore that the empire should be understood as a dynamic space where local and regional identities interact with imperial goals. These interactions created a complicated mix of collaboration, rivalry, and tension with the rival faction(s). The rivalry between the Sokolović faction and that of the Albanian clique headed by Koca Sinān Pasha offers an intriguing example of this complexity. They rose to prominence through what could be considered the "private *devşirme*" system. They held onto their roots in Ottoman Bosnia while also carving out prominent roles, and sometimes the most prominent ones, like grand vizierate, in the imperial center. This shows how closely linked regional loyalties and central authority could be among the Ottoman *devşirme* ruling elite.

Considering potential research for the future, it would be fascinating to run a statistical analysis on the makeup of the Sokollu households, especially to better understand the ethnic

profiles of the Bosnian pashas' entourages and households. We already know from solid evidence that the Sokollu circle often backed fellow Bosnian officials, scholars, and bureaucrats. But this raises a deeper question: were their own households mostly Bosnian too? And if so, what does that tell us? If not, why not? What kind of strategy shaped how they built their households? At the same time, the Sokollu family's interaction with the local elites in Ottoman Bosnia provides a suitable ground for discussing the concept of ethnic-regional solidarity, as I discussed shortly in this thesis too. How did they engage with elite families in Ottoman Bosnia, such as the Hercegović and Ġāzī Hüsrev Bey's families of Bosnian origin? Likewise, their tenure in office witnessed the rise of families of "foreign" origin to Ottoman Bosnia, such as the Čengić family and Ulama Pasha's clan of Anatolian/Turcoman provenance. How did Sokollus, implementing their power also in Ottoman Bosnia, perceive the existence of these families in their homeland [*vaṭan-ı aṣlī*]? These questions have the potential for further studies regarding political families, their factional networks, and the concept of ethnic-regional solidarity.

All in all, the rise of the Bosnian Sokolovićs and their growing rivalry with the Albanian faction, which seems to have taken off right after the Battle of Konya in 1559, if not earlier, shows just how important ethnic and regional ties were when it came to shaping people's careers and the broader dynamics of power within the empire. As examined above, the clash between the Bosnian and Albanian factions over prominent administrative units such as the governor-generalship of Buda, which was also affected by ethnic considerations, affected the career trajectories of the statesmen from both camps. This thesis helps us see the Ottoman administrative world and its factional landscape in a new light. It also points to new ways of considering the identity and power in the Ottoman context, and how identity and power came together in early modern imperial settings, offering a closer look at how political elites took shape and how governance, and

appointments to administrative units such as the governor-generalship of Buda actually worked on the ground.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

5.1 Primary Sources

- Anonymous. *Tiryâkî Hasan Paşa Gazavât-nâmesi ve Bazı Filolojik Notlar*. Edited by Ahmet Şefik Şenlik. Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2017.
- Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türk-Macar İlişkileri / Török-Magyar Kapcsolatok Az Oszmán Birodalomtól Napjainkig a Levéltári Dokumentumok Tükrében*. Istanbul: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2016.
- Akıllı, Kadir. "Peçevî Tarihi (184b-281a Metin, Dizin, Özel Adlar Sözlüğü)." MA Thesis, Marmara University, 2008.
- Bey, Feridun Ahmed. *Nüzhet-i Esrârü'l-Ahyâr der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigervar: Sultan Süleyman'ın Son Seferi*. Edited by H. Ahmet Arslantürk and Günhan Börekçi. İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2012.
- Brookes, Douglas Scott. "Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings: an Annotated Translation of Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli's *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâ'is fî Kavâ'idü'l-Mecâlis*." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1998.
- Derviş Ahmed, Âşıkpaşazâde. *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: Âşık Paşazâde Tarihi*. Istanbul: Maârif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti, 1913.
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafi/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 4, Provision No: 944, Date: 06 Şevval 967 (July 30, 1560).
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafi/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 15, Provision No: 67, Date: 17 Muharrem 979 (June 11, 1571).
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafi/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 25, Provision No: 175, Date: 05 Ramazan 981 (December 29, 1573).
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafi/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 25, Provision No: 2722, Date: 03 Recep 982 (October 19, 1574).
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafi/Divan-ı Hümayun Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 25, Provision No: 2763, Date: 08 Recep 982 (October 24, 1574).

- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafi/Divan-ı Hümayun
Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 25, Provision No: 3103,
Date: 27 Şaban 982 (December 12, 1574).
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafi/Divan-ı Hümayun
Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 27, Provision No: 642, Date:
18 Zilkade 983 (February 18, 1576).
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafi/Divan-ı Hümayun
Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 53, Provision No: 681, Date:
25 Zilhicce 992 (December 28, 1584).
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, Bab-ı Asafi/Divan-ı Hümayun
Sicilleri/Mühimme Defterleri, Mühimme Register No: 53, Provision No: 720, Date:
01 Muharrem 993 (January 3, 1585).
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi, İbnülemin Tasnifi, Dahiliye (İE. DH): 6 – 597
Date: 25 Zilkade 1011 (May 6, 1603).
- Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî. *Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâ'is fî Kavâ'idî'l-Mecâlis*. Edited by İstanbul
Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Yeniçağ Tarihi Kürsüsü. İstanbul: Osman Yalçın
Matbaası, 1956.
- Gelibolulu, Mustafa Âlî. *Mevâ'idü'n Nefâ'is fî Kavâ'idî'l-Mecâlis*. Edited by Mehmed
Şeker. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1997.
- Gelibolulu, Mustafa Âlî. *Nusret-nâme*. Edited by Hicabi Kırılancıç. Ankara: Türk Tarih
Kurumu, 2000.
- Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî. *Künhü'l-Ahbâr: 4. Rükün*. Edited by Suat Donuk. Vol. 5. İstanbul:
Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, 2024.
- Gerlach, Stephan. *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, edited by Samuel Gerlach.
Frankfurt am Main: Johann-David Zünners, 1674.
- Hasan Beyzade, Ahmed Paşa. *Hasan Bey-Zâde Târîhi*, edited by Şevki Nezihi Aykut.
Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2004.
- Lütfi Paşa. *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, edited by Âlî Bey. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1921.
- Nahîfî, Mehmed Efendi, *Cevâhirü'l-Menâkıb*. Edited by İbrahim Pazan. İstanbul: Türkiye
Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2019.
- Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi. *Târih-i Na'imâ (Ravzatü 'l-Hüseyn fî Hulâsati Ahbâri 'l-Hâikayn)*.
Edited by Mehmet İpşirli. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007.

Peçevî, İbrahim. *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Evvel*. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1866.

Peçevî, İbrahim. *Tarih-i Peçevî: Cild-i Sâni*. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1866.

Rycaut, Paul. *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. London: Printed for Charles Brome, at the Gun, at the West-End of St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1686.

Selânikî, Mustafa Efendi. *Tarih-i Selânikî I-II*. Edited by Mehmet İpşirli. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999.

Mustafa Çelebi, Celâlzâde. *Tabakâtü'l-memâlik ve derecâtü'l-mesâlik*. Istanbul. Istanbul University Library, Rare Books Section. MS 5997.

5.2 Secondary Sources

Abou-El-Haj, Rifaat Ali. "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households 1683-1703: A Preliminary Report." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94, no.4 (1974): 438-447.

Afyoncu, Erhan. "Sokolluzâde Hasan Paşa." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 37, 366–368. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009.

Afyoncu, Erhan. *Venedik Elçi Raporlarına Göre Kanunî ve Pargalı İbrahim Paşa*. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2012.

Ágoston, Gábor. "A Flexible Empire: Authority and Its Limits on the Ottoman Frontiers." In *Ottoman Borderlands: Issues, Personalities, and Political Changes*, edited by Kemal H. Karpat and Robert W. Zens, 15–31. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.

Ágoston, Gábor. *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Ágoston, Gábor. "Information, Ideology, and Limits of Imperial Policy: Ottoman Grand Strategy in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry." In *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, edited by Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman, 75–103. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Ágoston, Gábor. *The Last Muslim Conquest*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021.

Ágoston, Gábor. "Where Environmental and Frontier Studies Meet: Rivers, Forests, Marshes and Forts along the Ottoman-Habsburg Frontier in Hungary." In *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, edited by A. C. S. Peacock, 57–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Ak, Mahmut. "Derviş Paşa, Bosnevî." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 9. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994.

- Ak, Mahmut. “Siyavuş Paşa, Kanijeli.” In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 37. Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009.
- Ak, Mahmut. “Tiryâkî Hasan Paşa.” In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 41, 205–207. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2012.
- Akdağ, Mustafa. *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası: Celâlî İsyanları*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2025.
- Algar, Hamid. “Hamzaviye: A Deviant Movement in Bosnian Sufism.” *Islamic Studies* 36, no. 2–3 (1997): 243–61.
- Altaylı, Yasemin. “Budin Beylerbeyi Arslan Paşa (1565–1566).” *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi (OTAM)* 19 (2006): 33–51.
- Altaylı, Yasemin. “Macarca Mektuplarıyla Budin Beylerbeyi Sokollu Mustafa Paşa (1566–1578).” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 49, no. 2 (2009): 157–71.
- Altın, Kutse. “The Reconstruction of the Motives and Activities of the Last Campaign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman.” In *Altaic and Chagatay Lectures: Studies in Honour of Éva Kincses-Nagy*, edited by István Zimonyi, 21–41. Szeged: University of Szeged, Department of Altaic Studies, 2021.
- Aščerić-Todd, Ines. *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia: Sufi Dimensions to the Formation of Bosnian Muslim Society*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Aščerić-Todd, Ines. “Heretics, Atheists or Simply Undesirable? Ottoman Officials’ Treatment of Melami-Bayrami Sufis and the Anatolian Kızılbaş in the Late Sixteenth Century.” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 35, no. 1 (2024): 19–35.
- Atçıl, Abdurrahman, and Gürzat Kami. “Studying Professional Careers as Hierarchical Networks: A Case Study on the Careers of Chief Judges in the Ottoman Empire (1516–1622).” *Journal of Historical Network Research* 7 (2022): 1–32.
- Aydın, Bilgin. *XVI. Yüzyılda Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn ve Defter Sistemi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2017.
- Babinski, Paul, and Jan Loop. “Looting and Learning: War and the Qur’an in European Oriental Studies.” *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 9 (2024): 239–80.
- Barkey, Karen. *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Barkey, Karen. *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- Baş, Göksel. "Beyond Conquest: Continuity and Change on the Ottoman Western Frontier (from the Late 15th to Mid-16th Century)." PhD diss., İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2024.
- Bayraktar, Uğur. "Bir Terim Olarak "Arnavut": 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Düşünce Dünyasında Arnavutlar." *Balkan Araştırma Enstitüsü Dergisi* 11, no. 1 (July 2022): 1-38.
- Bekar, Cumhur. "The Ottoman Revolution of 1661: The Reconfiguration of Political Power under Mehmed IV and Köprülü Grand Viziers." *Journal of Early Modern History* 27, no. 3 (2023): 224–253.
- Bekar, Cumhur. "The Rise of the Köprülü Family: The Reconfiguration of Vizierial Power in the Seventeenth Century." PhD diss., Leiden University, 2019.
- Bekar, Cumhur. "The Rise of the Köprülü Household: The Transformation of Patronage in the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century." *Turkish Historical Review* 11, no. 2–3 (2020): 229–256.
- Bérenger, Jean. *A History of the Habsburg Empire: 1273–1700*. London: Longman, 1994.
- Bilge, Sadık Müfit. *Osmanlı'nın Macaristanı*. Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2010.
- Börekçi, Günhan. "A Contribution to the Military Revolution Debate: The Janissaries' Use of Volley Fire During the Long Ottoman–Habsburg War of 1593–1606 and the Problem of Origins." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 59, no. 4 (2006): 407–38.
- Börekçi, Günhan. "Bosnian Boys in Solidarity: Exploring Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatname as a Source for Historical Network Research in Early Modern Ottoman Studies." Paper presented at *Early Modern Ottoman Studies (EMOS) Conference II*, Sabancı University, Istanbul, June 27–28, 2024.
- Börekçi, Günhan. "Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and His Immediate Predecessors." PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2010.
- Brookes, Douglas. "On Servants and Slaves, Mustafa Âli, d. 1600." In *The Ottoman World: A Cultural History Reader, 1450–1700*, edited by Hakan T. Karateke and Helga Anetshofer, 78–85. California: University of California Press, 2021.
- Cevrioğlu, Mahmut Halef. "Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha's Fortifications Along the Northern Black Sea Coast." *Istoriya–History* 31, no. 2 (2023): 119–131.
- Dakić, Uroš. "The Sokollu Family Clan and the Politics of Vizierial Households in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century." MA Thesis, Central European University, 2012.
- Dávid, Géza. "An Ottoman Military Career on the Hungarian Borders: Kasim Voyvoda, Bey, and Pasha." In *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe*, edited by Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, 265–97. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

- Dávid, Géza. "Budin." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6, 348–352. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992.
- Dávid, Géza. "Macaristan'da Yönetici Osmanlı Aileleri." *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmaları ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (OTAM)* 38, (Fall, 2015): 13–30.
- Dávid, Géza. "Ottoman Administrative Strategies in Western Hungary." In *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, edited by Colin Heywood and Colin Imber, 31–43. Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994.
- Dávid, Géza. *Studies in Demographic and Administrative History of Ottoman Hungary*. Istanbul: Isis Press, 1997.
- Dostović, Nihad. "Beogradski muftija Munîrî Belgrādî i Hamzevije." *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* 49 (2020): 157–75.
- Emecen, Feridun M. "Osmanlı Divanının Ana Defter Serileri: Ahkâm-ı Mîrî, Ahkâm-ı Kuyûd-ı Mühimme ve Ahkâm-ı Şikâyet." *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3, no. 5 (2005): 107–139.
- Emecen, Feridun M. "Osmanlı Hanedanına Alternatif Arayışlar Üzerine Bazı Örnekler ve Mülâhazalar." *İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 6 (2001): 63–76.
- Emecen, Feridun. *Osmanlı Klasik Çağında Savaş*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2015.
- Emecen, Feridun. "Sâlih Paşa." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 461–462. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2019.
- Emecen, Feridun M. "The Demise of the Pasha: Some Remarks on the Death of Hadım Ali Pasha, Governor-General of Buda." In *Şeref: Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Pál Fodor, Nándor E. Kovács, and Benedek Péri, 183–198. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019.
- Fetvacı, Emine. *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Filipović, Emir O. "The Key to the Gate of Christendom? The Strategic Importance of Bosnia in the Struggle against the Ottomans." In *The Crusade in the Fifteenth Century: Converging and Competing Cultures*, edited by Norman Housley, 151–168. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Filipović, Emir O. "Some Notes on Hersekzade Ahmed Pasha and His Relationship with Yavuz Sultan Selim." In *Yavuz Sultan Selim ve Dönemi Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı / The Symposium on Yavuz Sultan Selim and His Era Proceedings Book (4–6 November 2021)*, 300–317. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2024.
- Finkel, Caroline. *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire*. Basic Books: New York, 2007.

- Finkel, Caroline. *The Administration of Warfare: The Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593–1606*. Vienna: VWGÖ, 1988.
- Fischer-Galati, Stephen A. *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism, 1521–1555*. New York: Octagon Books, 1972.
- Fleischer, Cornell H. “A Mediterranean Apocalypse.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 61, no. 1–2 (2018): 49–73.
- Fleischer, Cornell. *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âlî (1541-1600)*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Fodor, Pál. *In Quest of the Golden Apple: Imperial Ideology, Politics, and Military Administration in the Ottoman Empire*. Istanbul: Isis Press, 2000.
- Fodor, Pál. “Osmanlı-Avusturya Savaşları Öncesi Osmanlı Diplomasisi (1593–1606).” In *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4, edited by Kemal Çiçek, Güler Eren, and Cem Oğuz, 452–55. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999.
- Fodor, Pál. “Ottoman Policy towards Hungary, 1520–1541.” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 45, no. 2/3 (1991): 291–319.
- Fodor, Pál. *The Business of State: Ottoman Finance Administration and Ruling Elites in Transition*. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2018.
- Fodor, Pál. *The Unbearable Weight of Empire: The Ottomans in Central Europe – A Failed Attempt at Universal Monarchy (1390–1566)*. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2015.
- Fodor, Pál. “Who Should Obtain the Castle of Pankota (1565)? Interest Groups and Self-Promotion in the Mid-Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Political Establishment.” *Turcica* 31 (1999): 67–86.
- Fodor, Pál. “Wolf on the Border: Yahyapaşaoğlu Bali Bey (?–1527).” In *Şerefe: Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Pál Fodor, Nándor E. Kovács, and Benedek Péri, 57–87. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2019.
- Fotić, Aleksandar. “Serbian Orthodox Church.” In *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters, 519–20. New York: Facts On File, 2009.
- Gévay, Antal. *A Budai Pasák*. Vienna: Strauss, 1841.
- Gévay, Anton von. “Versuch eines chronologischen Verzeichnisses der türkischen Statthalter von Ofen.” *Der österreichische Geschichtsforscher* 2 (1841): 56–90.
- Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib. “Kara Üveys Paşa’nın Budin Beylerbeyliği (1578–1580).” *Tarih Dergisi* 3–4 (1952): 17–34.

- Gölpınarlı, Abdülbâki. *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*. Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931.
- Grandjean, Martin. "Data Visualization for History." In *Handbook of Digital Public History*, edited by Serge Noiret, Mark Tebeau, and Gerben Zaagsma, 291–300. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2022.
- Hadžijahić, Muhamed, and Adem Handžić. "O progonu Hamzevija u Bosni 1573. godine." *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 20–21 (1974): 51–70.
- Hadžijahić, Muhamed. "Udio hamzevija u atentatu na Mehmed-pašu Sokolovića." *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 5 (1955): 325–330.
- Halaçoğlu, Yusuf. "Bayram Paşa." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5, 266–267. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992.
- Hathaway, Jane. *A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- Hathaway, Jane. "Circassian Mamluks in Ottoman Egypt and Istanbul, ca. 1500-1730: The Eastern Alternative." In *Disliking Others: Loathing, Hostility, and Distrust in Premodern Ottoman Lands*, edited by Hakan T. Karateke, H. Erdem Cipa, and Helga Anetshofer, 22-42. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018.
- Hathaway, Jane. "Origin Myths and Ethno-Regional Solidarity in Ottoman Egypt: An Unexpected Finding." In *Mythical Ancestry in World Culture, 1400-1800*, edited by Sara Trevisan, 35-56. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.
- Hathaway, Jane. "East-West Ethno-Regional Antagonism as a Defining Feature of Ottoman Administration in the Seventeenth Century." In *Dechiffrer le passe d'un empire: Hommage a Nicolas Vatin et aux humanites ottomanes*, edited by Elisabetta Borromeo, Frederic Hitzel, and Benjamin Lellouch, 269-279. Leuven: Peeters, 2022.
- Imber, Colin. *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*. The Isis Press: Istanbul, 1990.
- İlgürel, Mücteba. "Hüseyin Paşa, Deli." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 19, 4–6. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1999.
- İnalcık, Halil. *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*. Weidenfeld and Nicholson Press: London, 1973.
- İnalcık, Halil. "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State." *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2, (1980): 71–79.
- İnalcık, Halil. "Kanunnâme." *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 24, 333–337. Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001.

- İnalcık, Halil. *Devlet-i 'Aliyye: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar I*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2009.
- İnalcık, Halil. *İki Karanın Sultanı, İki Denizin Hakını, Kâyser-i Rûm, Fâtih Sultan Mehmed Han*, edited by Tayfun Ulaş. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2020.
- İnalcık, Halil. "Stefan Dušan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na." In *Balkanlarda İslâm: Miadı Dolmayan Umut*, edited by Muhammet Savaş Kafkasyalı, Vol. 1. 129-173. Ankara: Tika Yayınları, 2016.
- İpşirli, Mehmet. "Enderun." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi 11*. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995.
- İşbilir, Ömer. "Kuyucu Murad Paşa." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 26, 507–508. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2002.
- Kadrić, Adnan. "Derviş-paşa Bajezidagić i njegovo djelo 'Zübdetü'l-eşâr,'" *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke* 14 (2007): 87–109.
- Kadrić, Adnan. "Tajanstveni Nihadi: pjesnik hronograma na mostu Mehmed-paše Sokolovića u Višegradu." *Beharistan* 16 (2011): 29–49.
- Kadrić, Adnan. "Univerzalni poetski identitet Mehmed-paše Sokolovića u kasidi Mahmuda Aršija Novopazarca." *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 66 (2017): 9–24.
- Kafadar, Cemal. "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum." *Muqarnas* 24, (2007): 7-25.
- Kafadar, Cemal. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. California: University of California Press, 1996.
- Kafadar, Cemal. *Kendine Ait Bir Roma: Diyar-ı Rum'da Kültürel Coğrafya ve Kimlik Üzerine*. Translated by Fatih Özgüven. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2017.
- Kafadar, Cemal. "The Question of Ottoman Decline." *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4, no. 1–2 (1997–1998): 30–75.
- Káldy-Nagy, Gyula. "Budin Beylerbeyi Mustafa Paşa (1566–1578)." *Belleten* 54, no. 210 (1990): 649–63.
- Karakuş, Burak. "Budin Beylerbeyi Sokollu Mustafa Paşa'nın Yükselişi." MA Thesis, İstanbul University, 2022.
- Kaytaç, Fatma. "15–16. Yüzyıllarda Bosna Sancakbeyleri." In *Dünden Bugüne Bosna-Hersek ve Aliya İzzetbegoviç: Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, edited by

Zekeriya Kurşun, Ahmet Usta, and Emine Tonta Ak, 61–76. İstanbul: Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Üniversitesi, 2018.

Kılıç, Orhan. “Budin ve Tımişvar Eyaletlerinin Paşaları: Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz.” *OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 46 (Spring 2019): 191–229.

Kiprovskaya, Mariya. “Agents of Conquest: Frontier Lords’ Extended Households as Actors in the Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans.” *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 59 (2021): 79–104.

Kiprovskaya, Mariya. “The Role of the Frontier Elites in the Ottoman State-Building Processes: A Case Study on the Mihaloğlu Family.” PhD diss., Central European University, 2024.

Kolçak, Özgür. “Sâhib-i Devlet Âdemleri: 1663–1664 Osmanlı-Habsburg Savaşında Fazıl Ahmed Paşa’nın Askerî Kıtaları.” *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 58 (2013): 1–34.

Kolçak, Özgür. “XVII. Yüzyıl Askerî Değişimi ve Osmanlılar: 1660–64 Osmanlı-Avusturya Savaşları.” PhD diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2012.

Kovács, Zsuzsa. “The Library of the Müfti of Buda in the Marsili Collection, Bologna.” In *Identity and Culture in Ottoman Hungary*, edited by Pál Fodor and Pál Ács, 69–119. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2017.

Kunt, Metin. “Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no.3 (Jun, 1974): 233–239.

Kunt, Metin. “Devlet, Pâdişâh Kapısı ve Şehzâde Kapıları.” *Yeni Türkiye* 31, (2000): 393–399.

Kunt, Metin. “Introduction.” In *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, edited by Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead, 33–39. London and New York: Longman, 1995.

Kunt, Metin. “Turks in the Ottoman Imperial Palace.” In *Royal Courts in the Dynastic States and Empires I*, edited by Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, and Metin Kunt, 289–312. Brill: Boston, 2011.

Kunt, Metin. “Royal and Other Households.” In *The Ottoman World*, edited by Christine Woodhead, 103–115. London: Routledge, 2012.

Kütükoğlu, Bekir. “Lala Mustafa Paşa.” In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 27, 73–74. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003.

- Lelić, Emin. "Clime Theory and the Question of Civilization in Talikzade's Writings on the Ottoman Empire." In *Osmanlı'da ilm-i Tarih*, edited by Zahit Atçıl, Ercüment Asil, and Cemal Atabaş, 91-102. İstanbul: İsar Yayınları, 2023.
- Lelić, Emin. *Ottoman Physiognomy ('Ilm-i Firâset): A Window into the Soul of an Empire*. PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2017.
- Lelić, Emin. "Predstave o Bosancima/Bošnjacima u ranonovovjekovnoj osmanskoj etnografiji." *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 71 (2022): 135–161.
- Lellouch, Benjamin. "Hain Ahmed Paşa (m. 1524) et sa Famille." *Turcica* 52, (2021): 63-102.
- Lowry, Heath W. *Hersekzade Ahmed Paşa: An Ottoman Statesman's Career & Pious Endowments*. İstanbul: Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi, 2011.
- Lowry, Heath W. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- Malcolm, Noel. *Bosnia: A Short History*. New York: New York University Press, 1996.
- Ménage, Victor Louis. "Some Notes on the Devshirme." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 29, no.1 (1966): 64-78.
- Mišević, Marijana. "Writing Slavic in the Arabic Script: Literacy and Multilingualism in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire." PhD diss., Harvard University, 2022.
- Murphey, Rhoads. "Süleyman I and the Conquest of Hungary: Ottoman Manifest Destiny or a Delayed Reaction to Charles V's Universalist Vision." *Journal of Early Modern History* 5, no.3 (2001): 197-221.
- Necipoğlu, Gülru. *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1991.
- Necipoğlu, Gülru. "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman Hapsburg Papal Rivalry." *The Art Bulletin* 71, no.3 (1989): 401-427.
- Necipoğlu, Gülru. *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*. London: Reaktion Books, 2005.
- Norton, Claire. *Plural Pasts: Power, Identity, and the Ottoman Sieges of Nagykanizsa Castle*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2017.
- Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. "Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devrinde Osmanlı Resmi Düşüncesine

Karşı Bir Tepki Hareketi: Oğlan Şeyh İsmail-i Maşukî.” *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 10 (1990): 49–59.

Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar. “XVI.-XVII. Yüzyıllarda Bayrâmî (Hamzavî) Melâmîleri ve Osmanlı Yönetimi.” *Belleten* 61, no. 230 (1997): 93–110.

Özel, Oktay. *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia: Amasya 1576–1643*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Özcan, Abdülkadir. “Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa.” In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, 156. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988.

Özcan, Abdülkadir. “Mehmed Paşa, Tabanıyassı.” In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 229–230. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2019.

Schmitt, Oliver Jens, and Mariya Kiprovska. “Ottoman Raiders (Akıncıs) as a Driving Force of Early Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans and the Slavery-Based Economy.” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 65, no. 4–5 (2022): 497–582.

Otman, Elvin. “The Role of Alvise Gritti within the Ottoman Politics in the Context of the “Hungarian Question” (1526-1534).” MA Thesis, Bilkent University, 2009.

Papp, Adrienn. *The Turkish Baths of Hungary: Archaeological Remains of the Ottoman Era*. Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Régészeti Intézet, 2018.

Papp, Sándor. *Osmanlılar ve Macarlar: Bir Diplomatik Tarih*. İstanbul: Vakıf Bank Kültür Yayınları, 2023.

Papp, Sándor. “Peacemaking between the Ottoman Empire, the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy.” In “*Buyurdum Ki....*”: *The Whole World of Ottomanica and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Claudia Römer*, edited by Hülya Çelik, Yavuz Köse, and Gisela Procházka-Eisl, 239–269. Leiden: Brill, 2023.

Pedani, Maria Pia. “Safiye’s Household and Venetian Diplomacy.” *Turcica* 32, (2000): 9–32.

Peirce, Leslie. “Changing Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire: The Early Centuries.” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19, no. 1 (2004): 6–28.

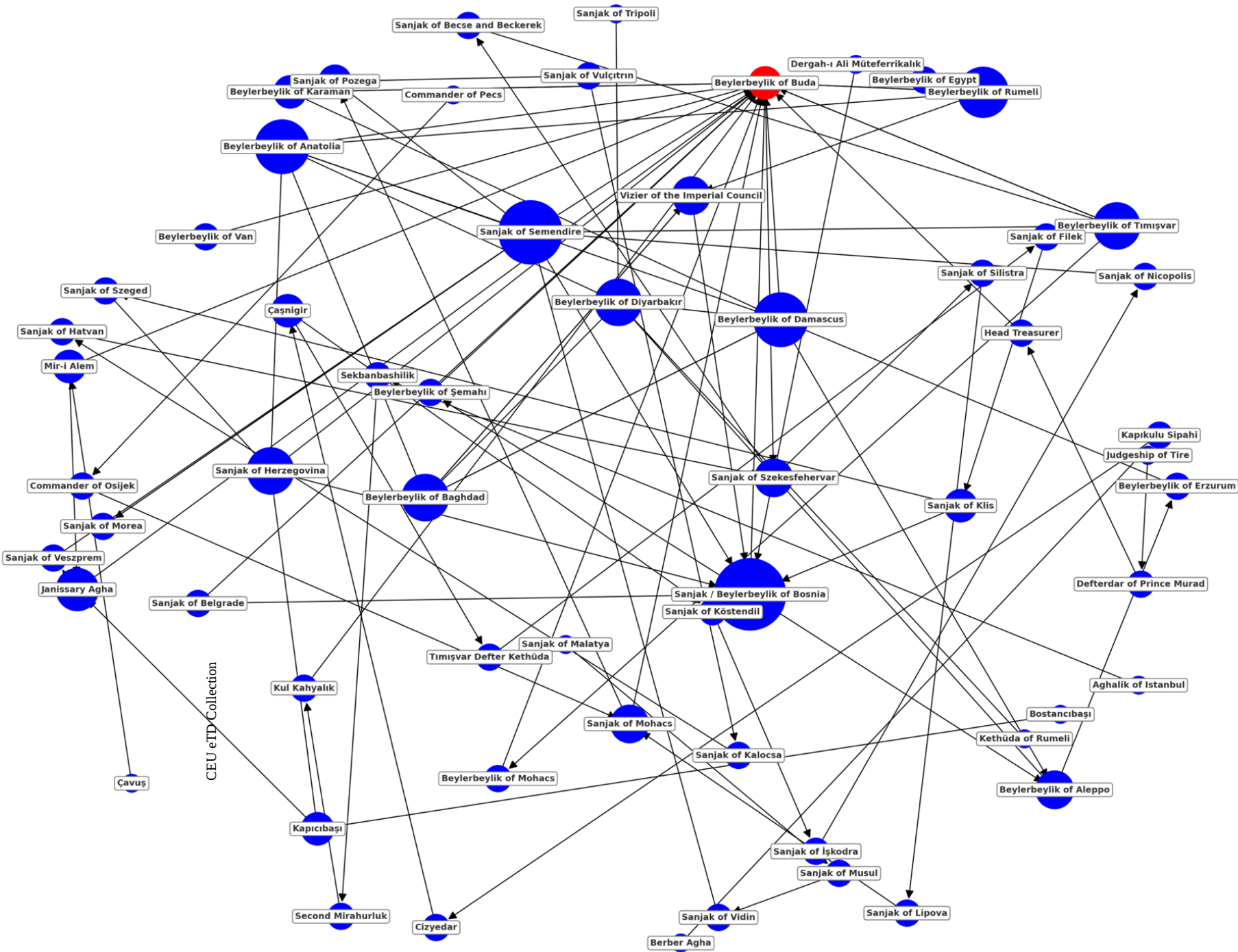
Purde, Kadir. “Savaşın Yazımı: XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kroniklerinde Savaş Olgusuna Bakış (Uzun Savaşlar Örneğinde).” MA Thesis, İstanbul University, 2013.

Radway, Robyn Dora. “Vernacular Diplomacy in Central Europe: Statesmen and Soldiers Between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, 1543–1593.” PhD diss., Princeton University, 2017.

- Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. "Leisure, Pleasure – and Duty: The Daily Life of Silahdar Mustafa, an Eminence Grise in the Final Years of Murad IV (1635–1640)." In *Otto Spies Memorial Lectures*, vol. 2, edited by Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen, 5–21. Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2016.
- Römer, Claudia, and Nicolas Vatin. "The Lion That Was Only a Cat: Some Notes on the Last Years and the Death of Arslan Pasha, Bey of Semendire and Beylerbeyi of Buda." In *Şerefe: Studies in Honour of Prof. Géza Dávid on His Seventieth Birthday*, edited by Pál Fodor, Nándor E. Kovács, and Benedek Péri, 159–82. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2019.
- Samardžić, Radovan. *Ideje za srpsku istoriju*. Belgrade: Jugoslavijapublik, 1989.
- Sudár, Balázs. "The Ottomans and the Mental Conquest of Hungary." In *Identity and Culture in Ottoman Hungary*, edited by Pál Fodor and Pál Ács, 55–67. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2017.
- Sudár, Balázs. "Tko je bio Hasan-Paša Jakovalı?." *Scrinia Slavonica* 9, (2009): 398–406.
- Süreyya, Mehmed. *Sicill-i Osmanî*. Edited by Nuri Akbayar. Transcribed from the Ottoman script by Seyit Ali Kahraman. 5 vols. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996.
- Şahin, Kaya. *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Şakiroğlu, Mahmut H. "Cezâyir-i Bahr-i Sefid." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7, 500–501. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993.
- Şakul, Kahraman. *Kamaniçe Kuşatması (1672)*. Istanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2021.
- Şakul, Kahraman. *Uyvar Kuşatması (1663)*. Istanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2021.
- Tanırdı, Zeren. "Nakkaş Hasan Paşa." In *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 32, 329–330. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2006.
- Telci, Cahit. "Hamza Bali ve Hamzavilere Dair." *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 46 (1997): 115–129.
- Tezcan, Baki. "Ethnicity, Race, Religion, and Social Class: Ottoman markers of difference." In *The Ottoman World*, edited by Christine Woodhead, 159–179. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Tezcan, Baki. *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

- Turan, Ebru. "The Sultan's Favorite: İbrahim Pasha and the Making of the Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Süleyman (1516-1526)." PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007.
- Turan, Şerafettin. "Lala Mustafa Paşa Hakkındaki Vesikalar ve Notlar." *Belleten* 22, no. 88 (1958): 551-593.
- Turan, Şerafettin. *Kanunî'nin Oğlu Şehzâde Bayezid Vak'ası*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1961.
- Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı. *Çandarlı Vezir Ailesi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2022.
- Voss, Rebekka. "Charles V as Last World Emperor and Jewish Hero," *Jewish History* 30, no.1 (2016): 81-106.
- Wasiucioneck, Michal. "Ethnic Solidarity in the Wider Ottoman Empire Revisited: Cins and Local Political Elites in 17th-Century Moldavia and Wallachia." In *New Trends in Ottoman Studies: Papers Presented at the 20th CIEPO Symposium, Rethymno, 27 June - 1 July 2012*, 232-245. Rethymno: University of Crete - Foundation for Research and Technology-Hellas – Institute for Mediterranean Studies, 2014.
- White, Sam. *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Witteck, Paul. *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1956.
- Zararsız, Abdullah. "Osmanlı Kroniklerinde Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Sokolovic Ailesi." *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities* 11, (2021): 321-354.
- Zlatar, Behija, and Enes Pelidija. "Prilog Kulturnoj Istoriji Pljevalja Osmanskom Perioda - Zadužbine Husein-paše Boljanića." *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 34 (1985): 115-128.
- Zirojević, Olga. "Mehmed Pascha Sokolli im Lichte Jugoslawischer Quellen und Überlieferungen." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 4, no.4 (1984): 55-67.
- Zoran-Rosen, Ayelet. "The Emergence of a Bosnian Learned Elite: A Case of Ottoman Imperial Integration." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 30, no.2 (May 2019): 176-204.

Career Paths of Ottoman Pashas of Buda (1541 - 1593)
From the Ottoman Conquest of Buda in 1541 to the Outbreak of the Long Turkish War in 1593



Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1541-1593)

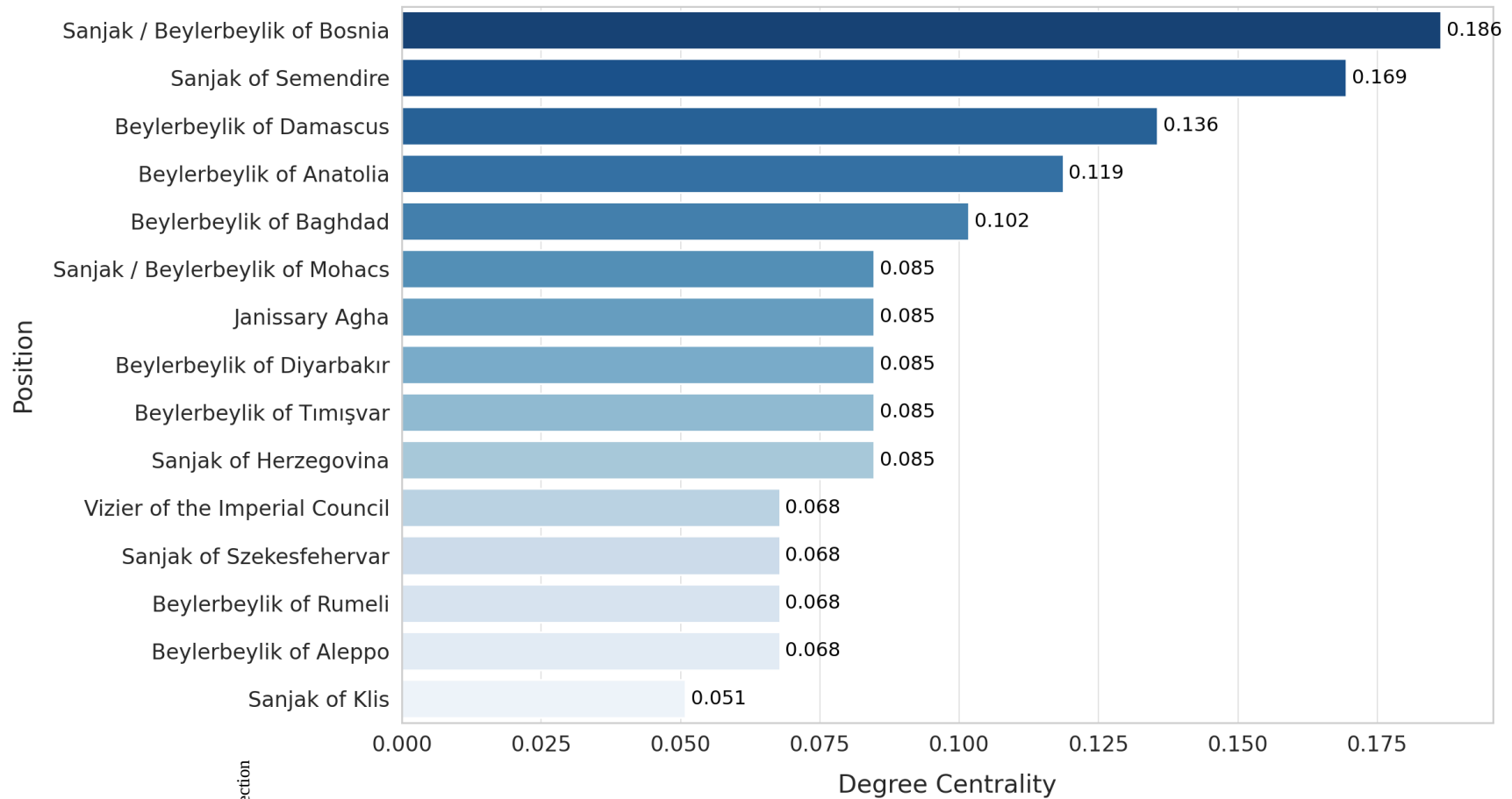
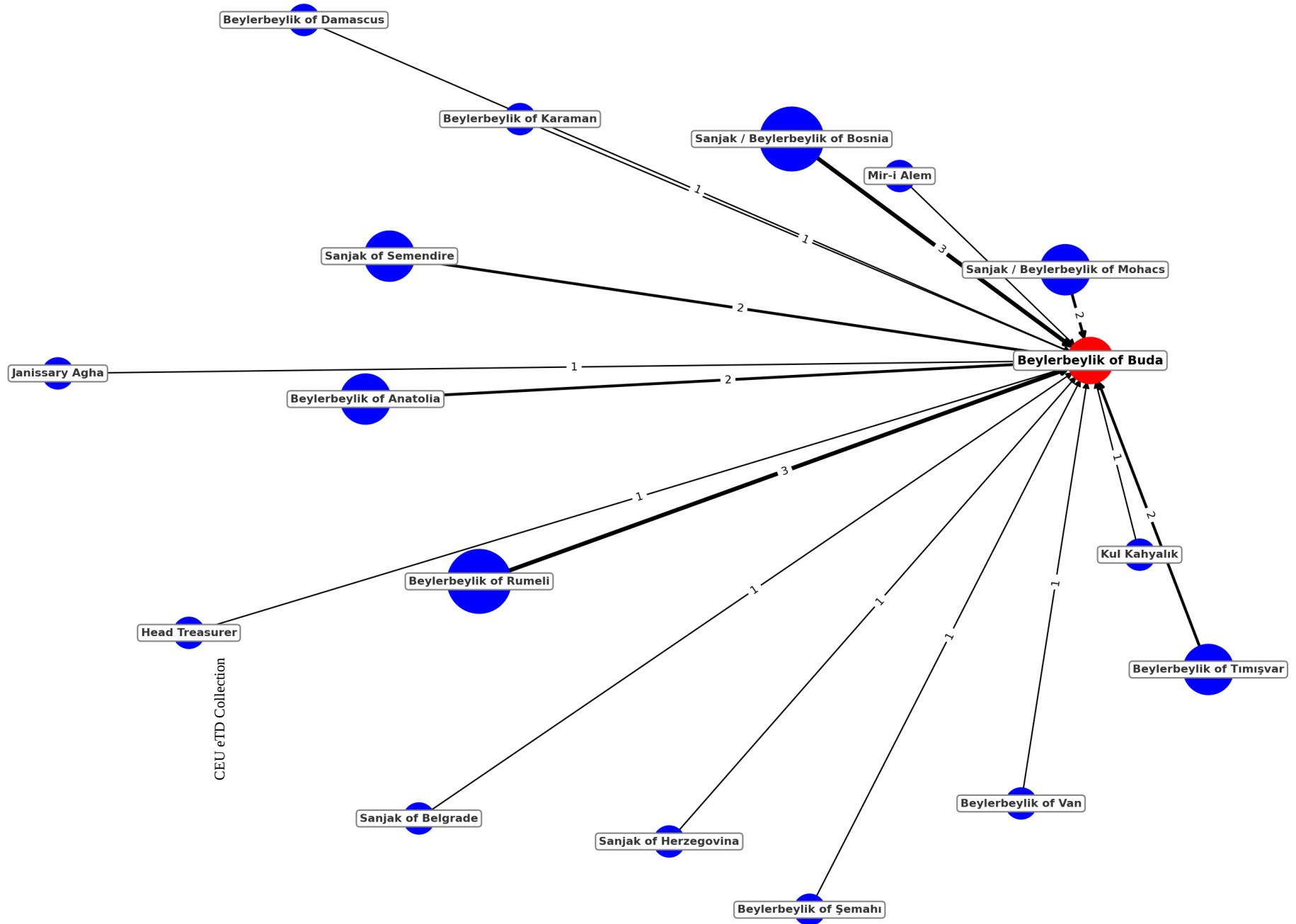


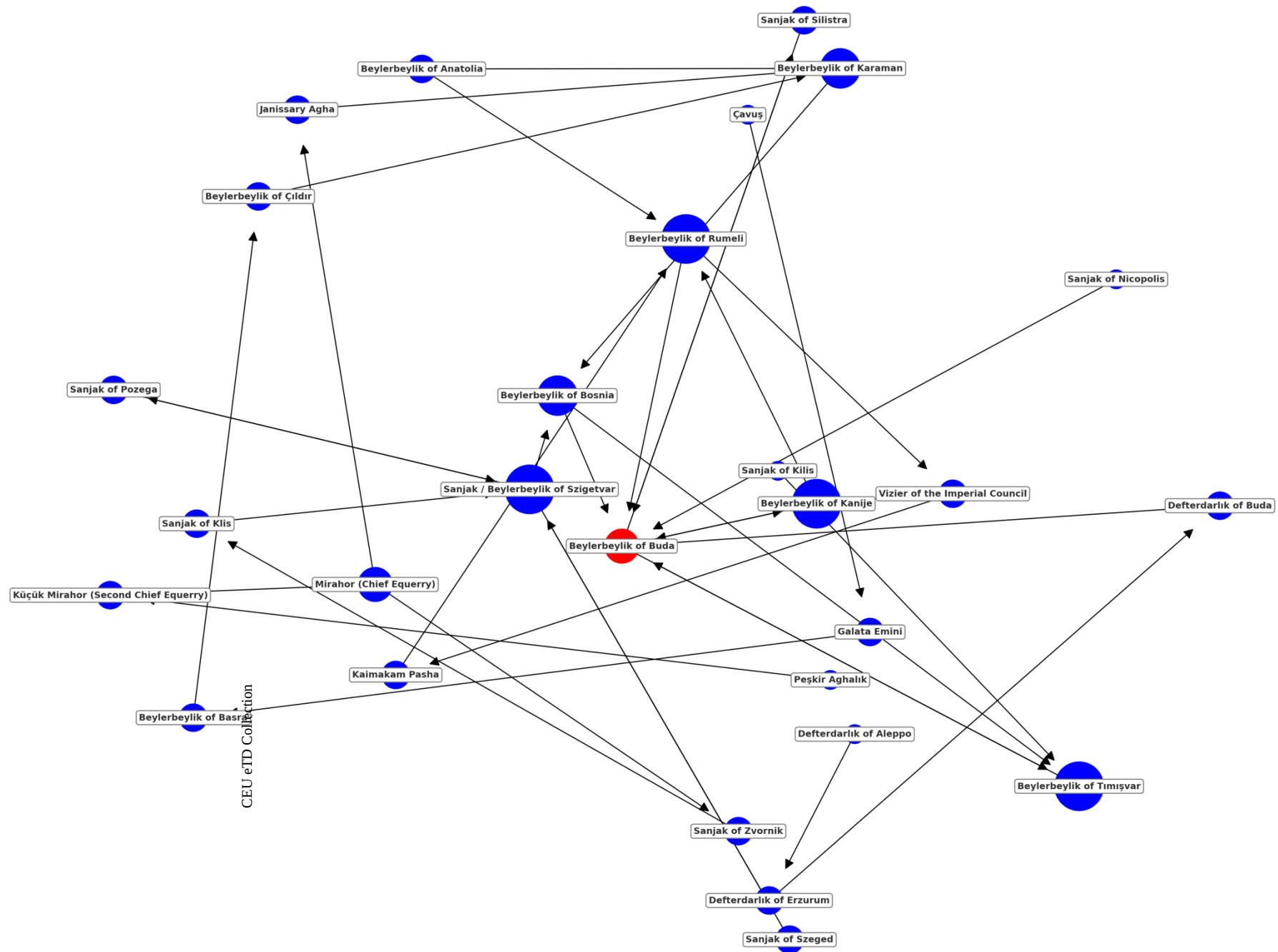
Figure 2: Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1541-93)

Final Career Steps Before Becoming Pasha of Buda (1541 - 1593)



Career Paths of Ottoman Pashas of Buda (1593 - 1606)

From the Beginning of the Long Turkish War in 1593 to the Treaty of Zsitvatorok in 1606



Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1593-1606)

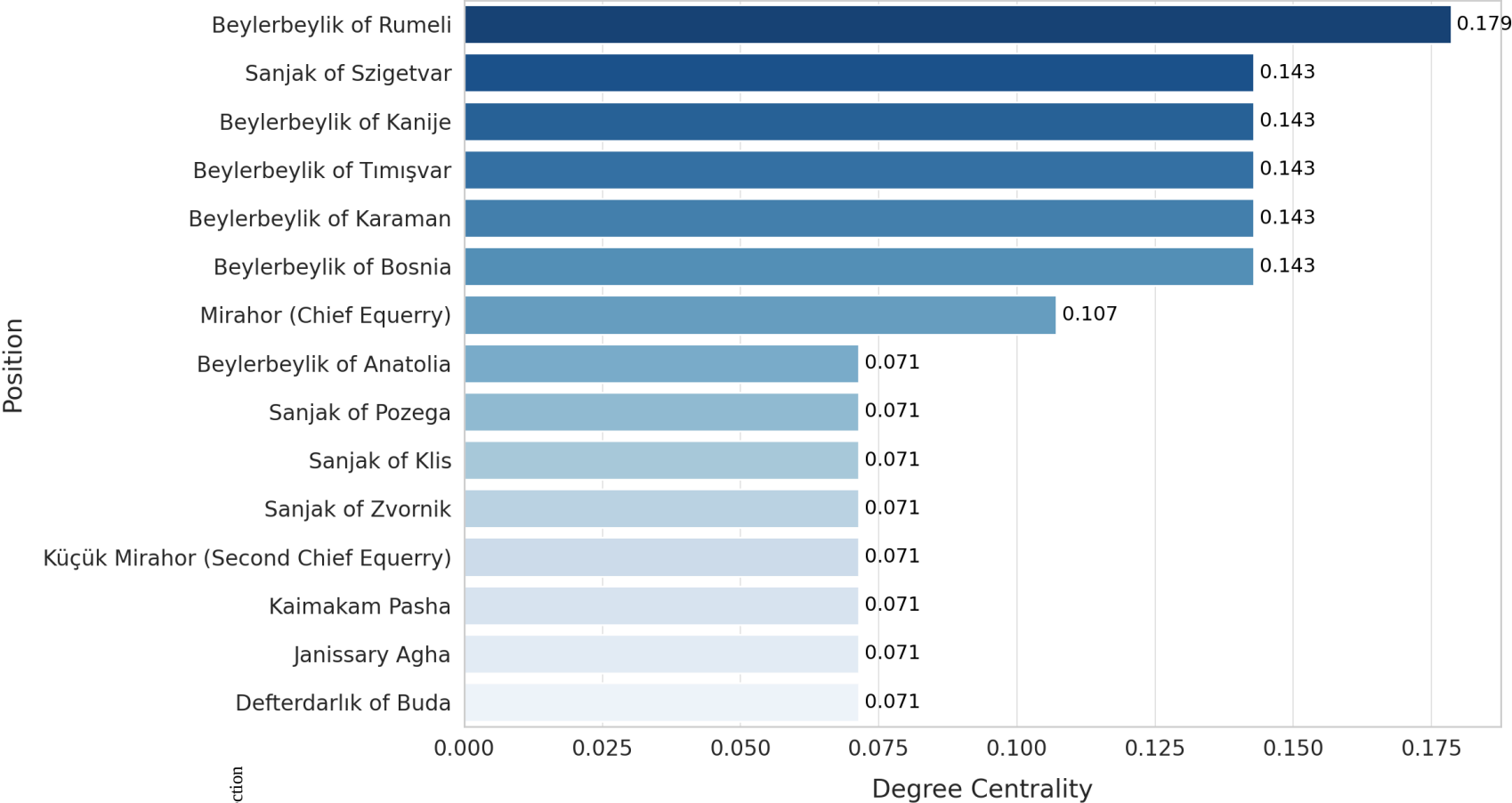
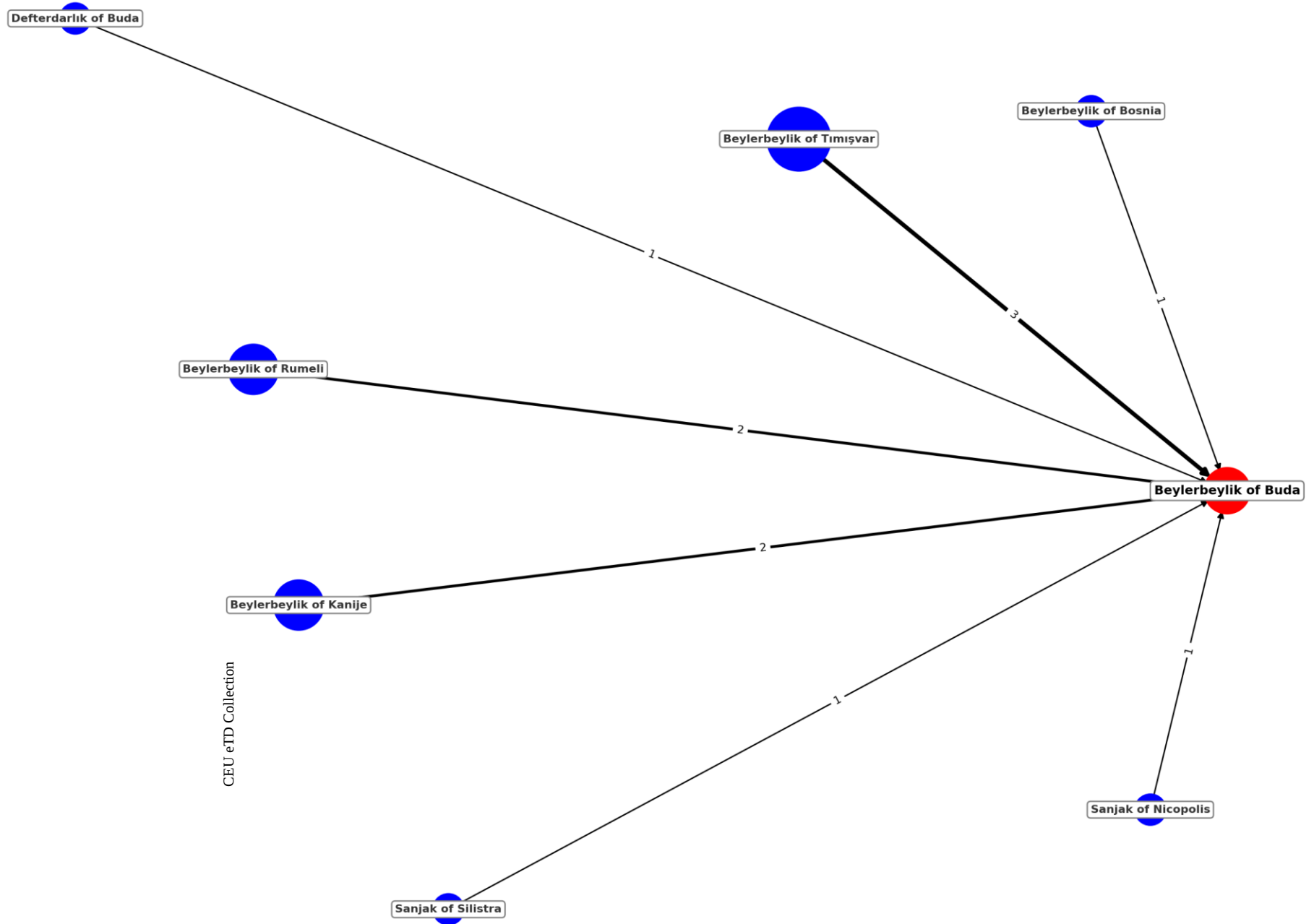
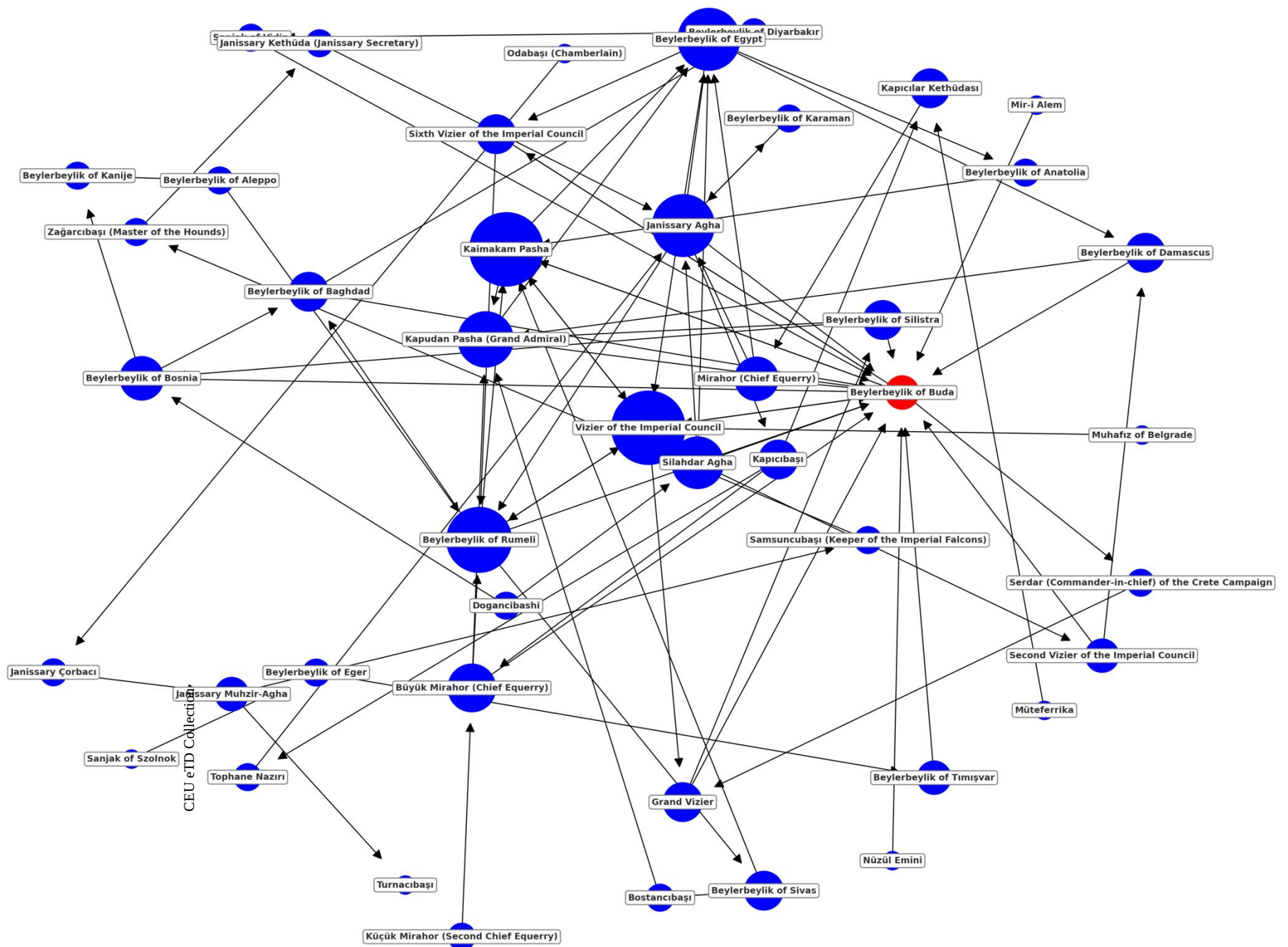


Figure 5: Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1593-1606)

Final Career Steps Before Becoming Pasha of Buda (1593 - 1606)



CELL eTD Collection



Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1606-1656)

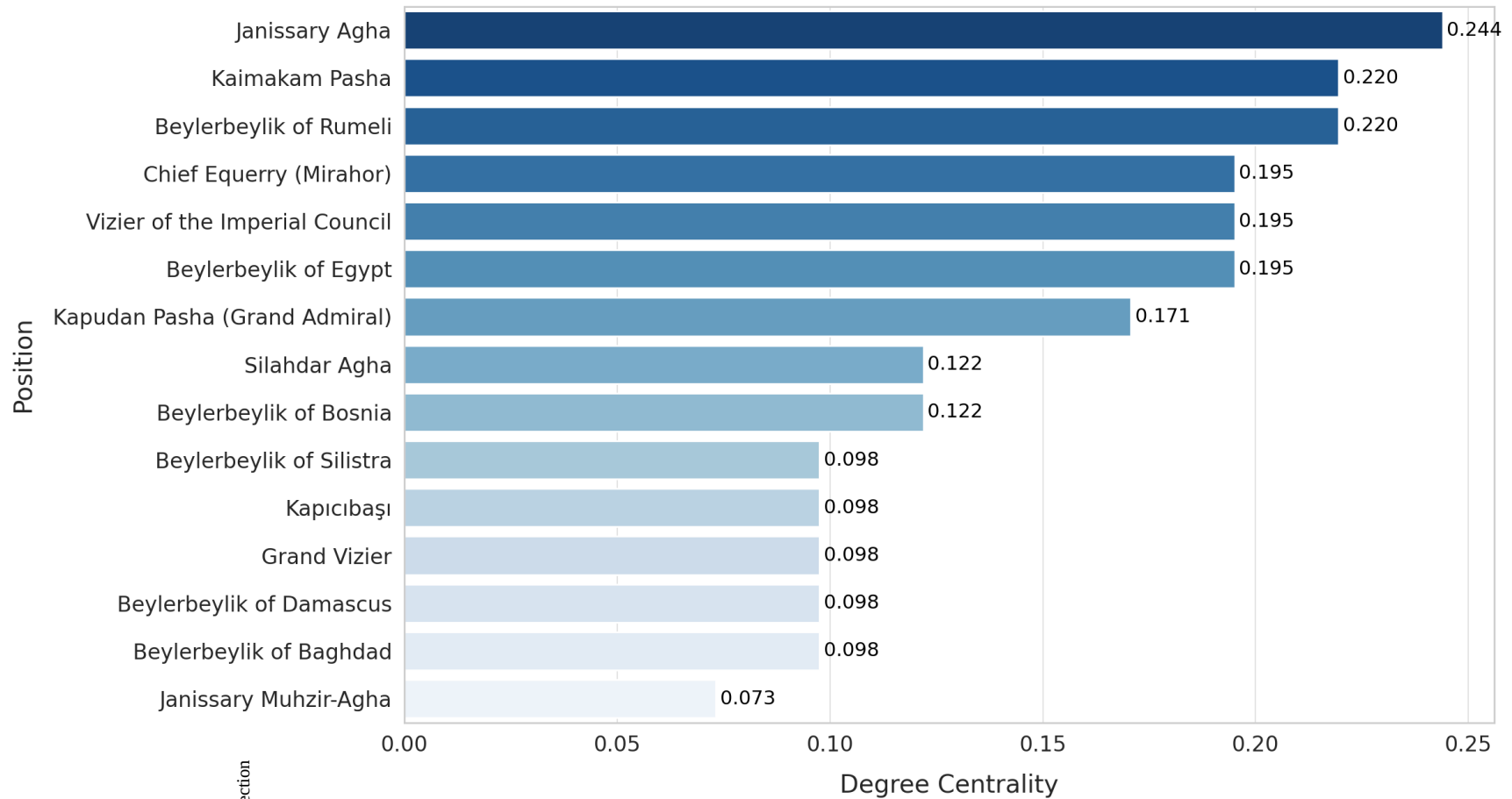
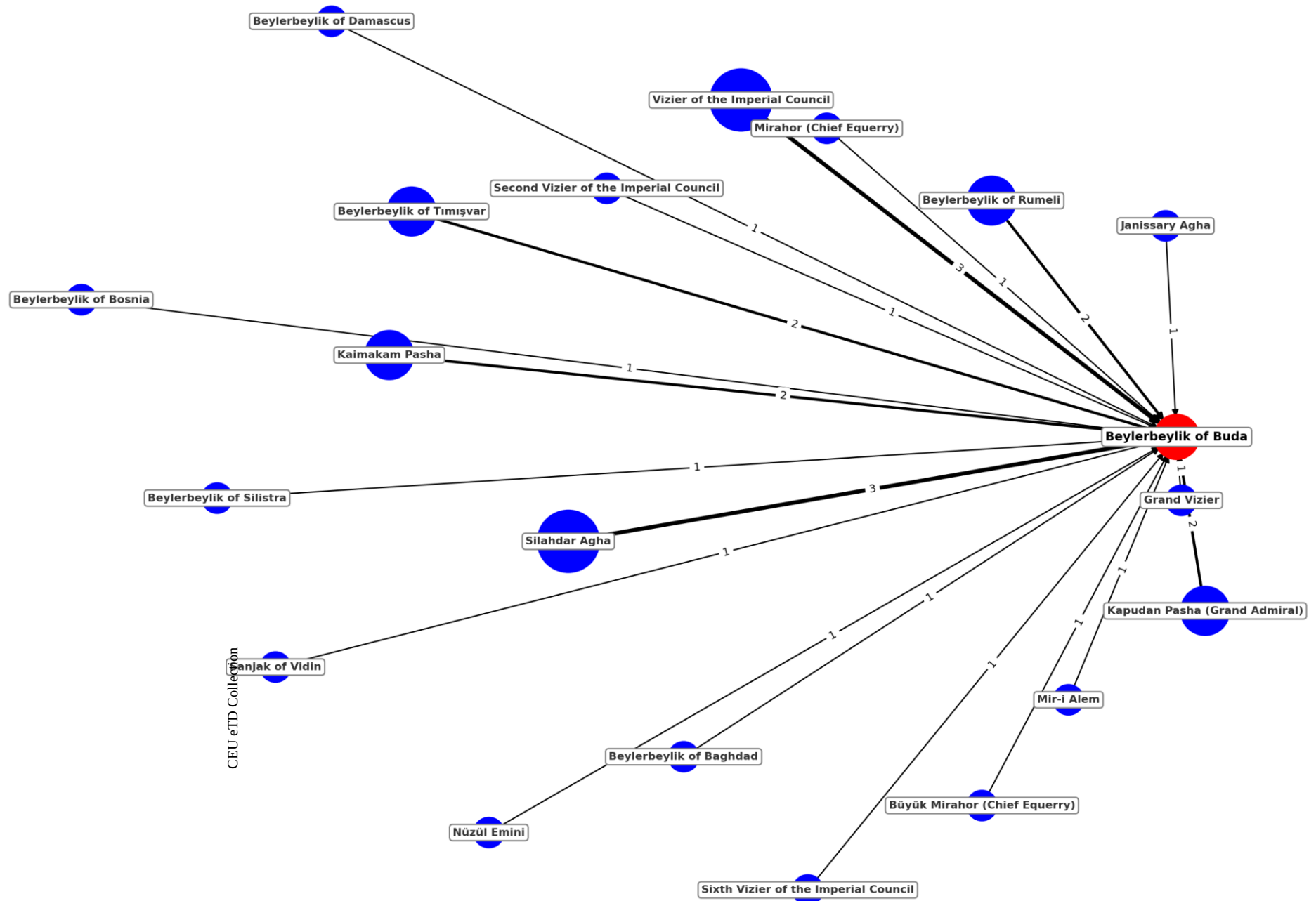
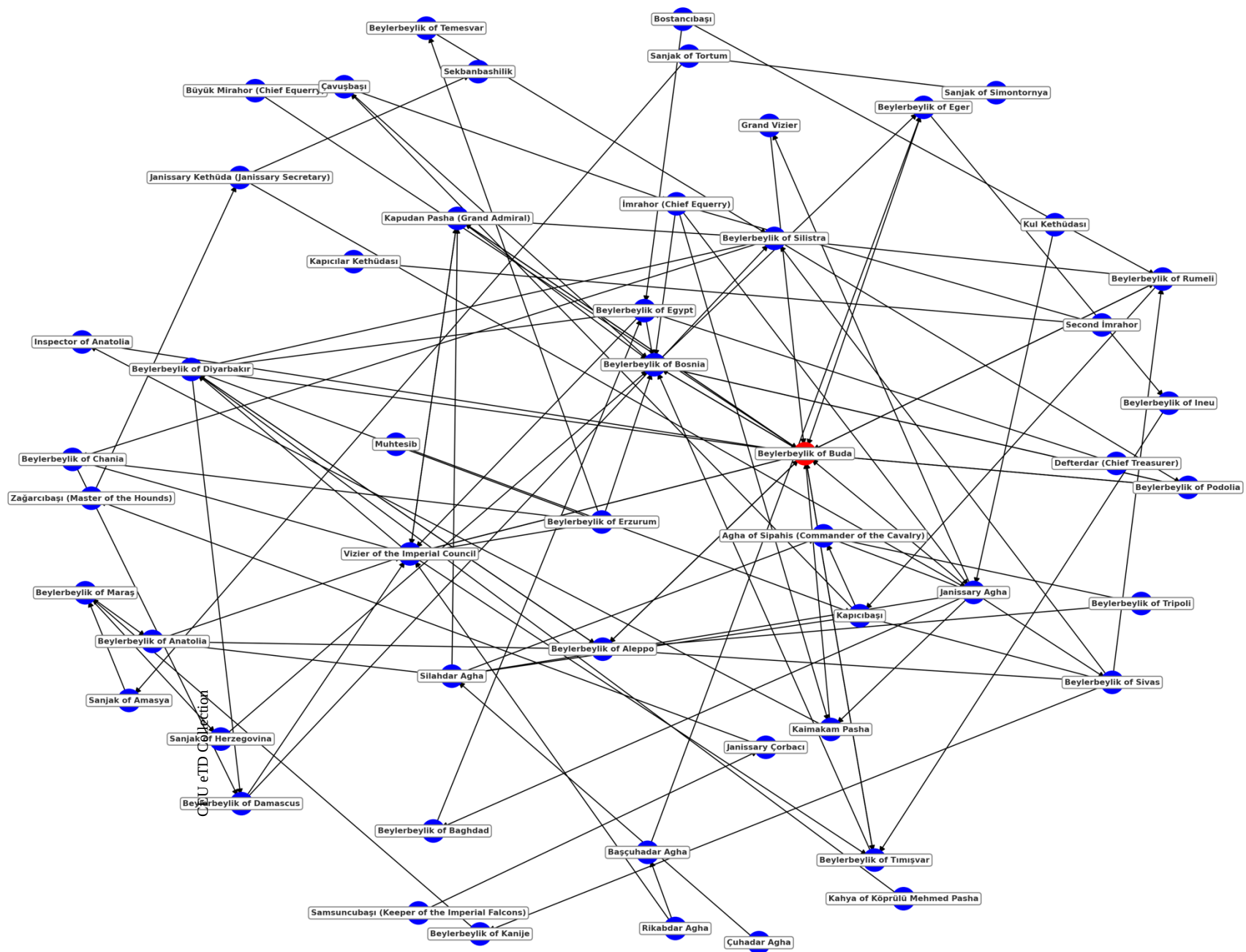


Figure 8: Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1606-56)

Final Career Steps Before Becoming Pasha of Buda (1606 - 1656)



Career Paths of Ottoman Pashas of Buda (1656 - 1686) From the Beginning of the Köprülü Era to the Fall of Buda to the Habsburgs in 1686



Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1656-1686)

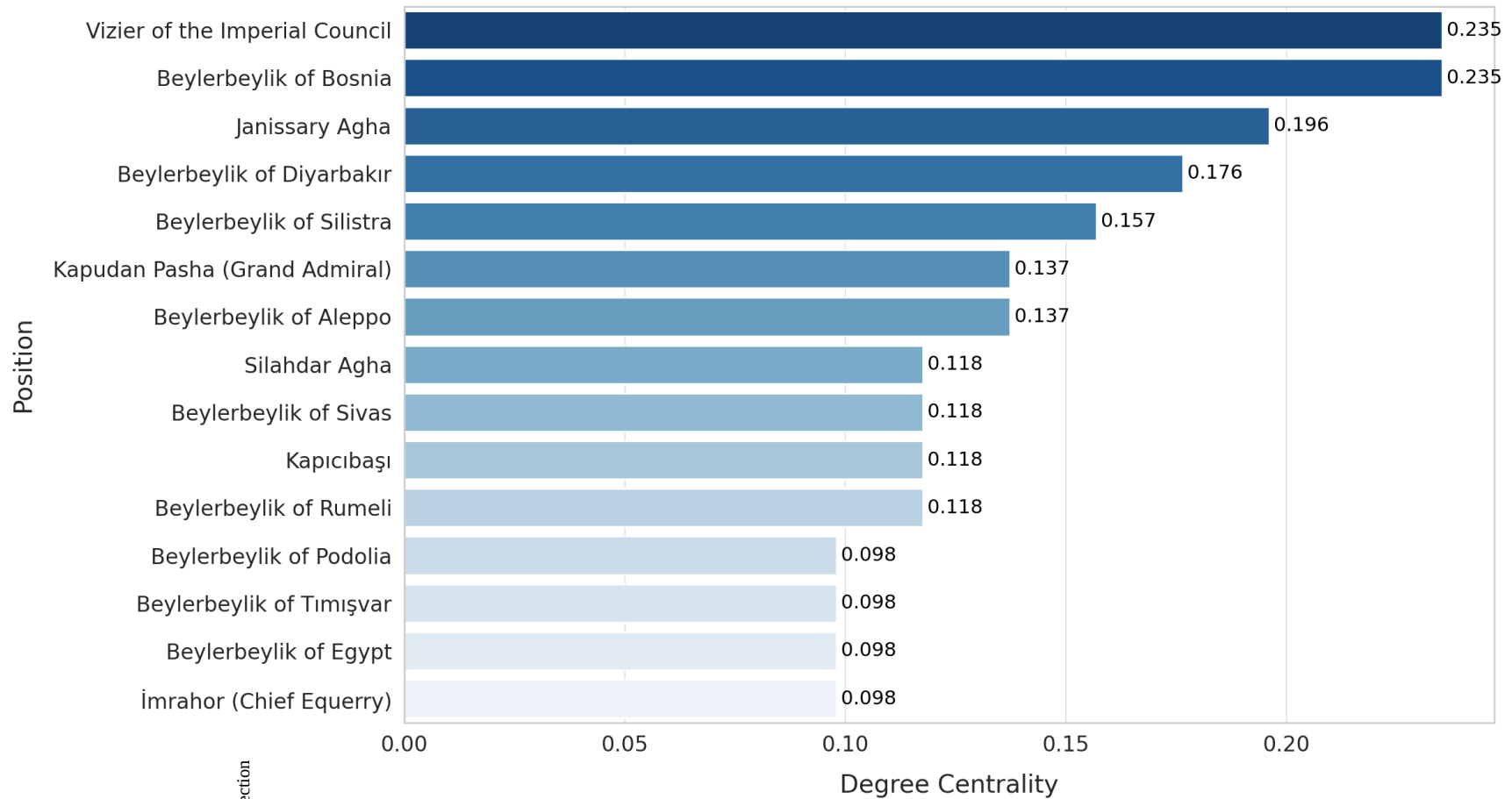
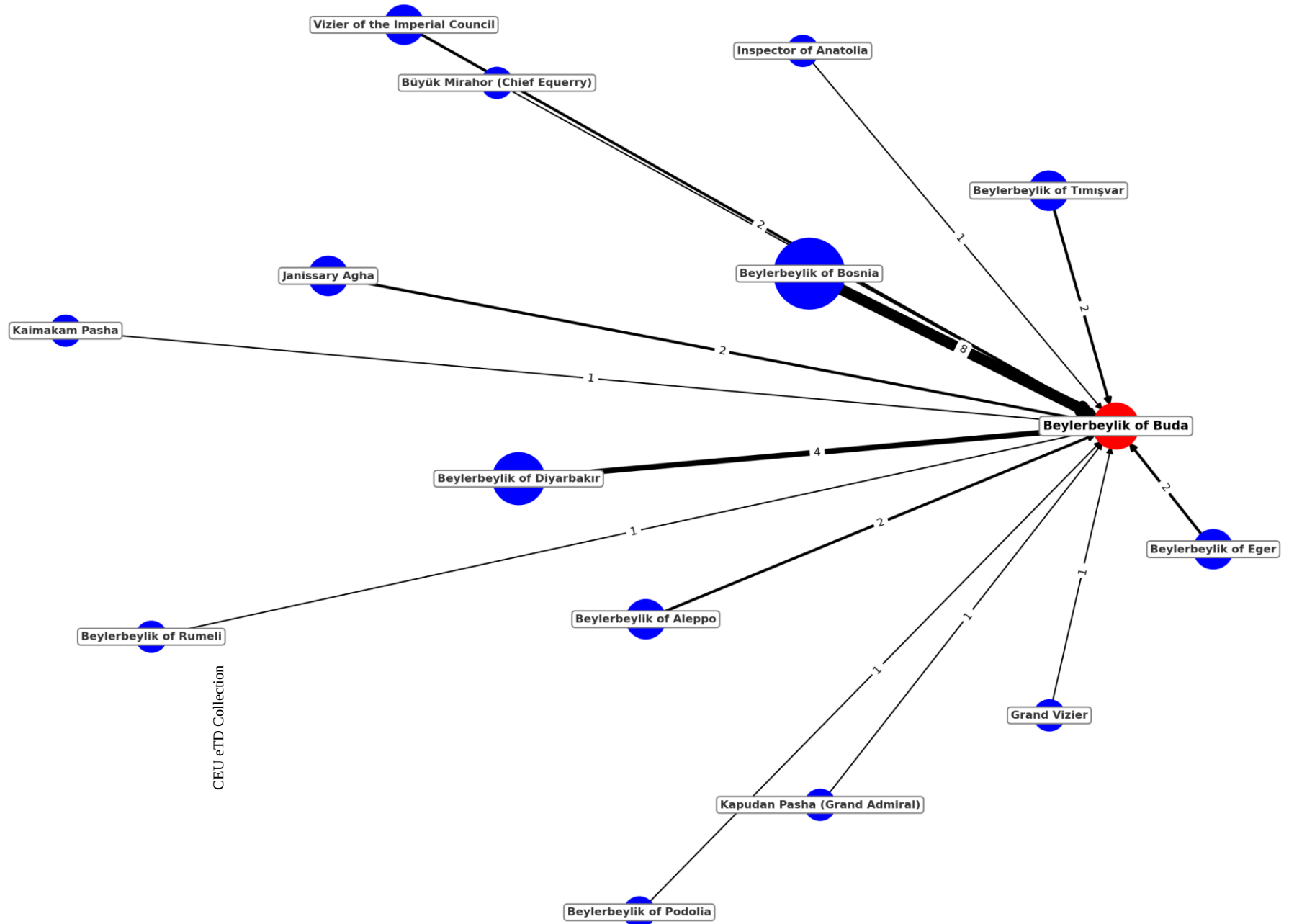


Figure 11: Top 15 Positions by Degree Centrality (1656-86)

Final Career Steps Before Becoming Pasha of Buda (1656 - 1686)



The Sokollu faction at its peak, 1573-1574.

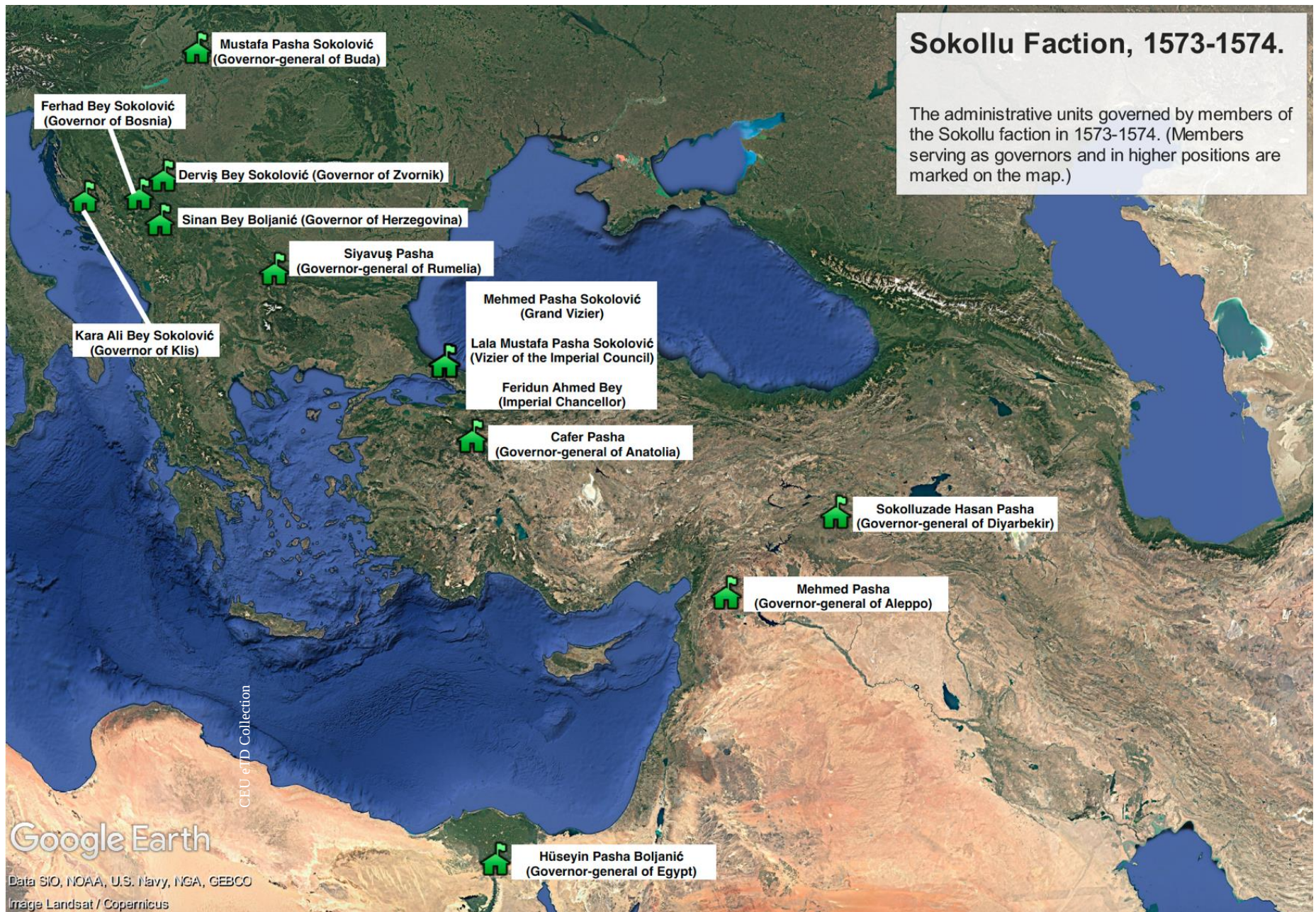
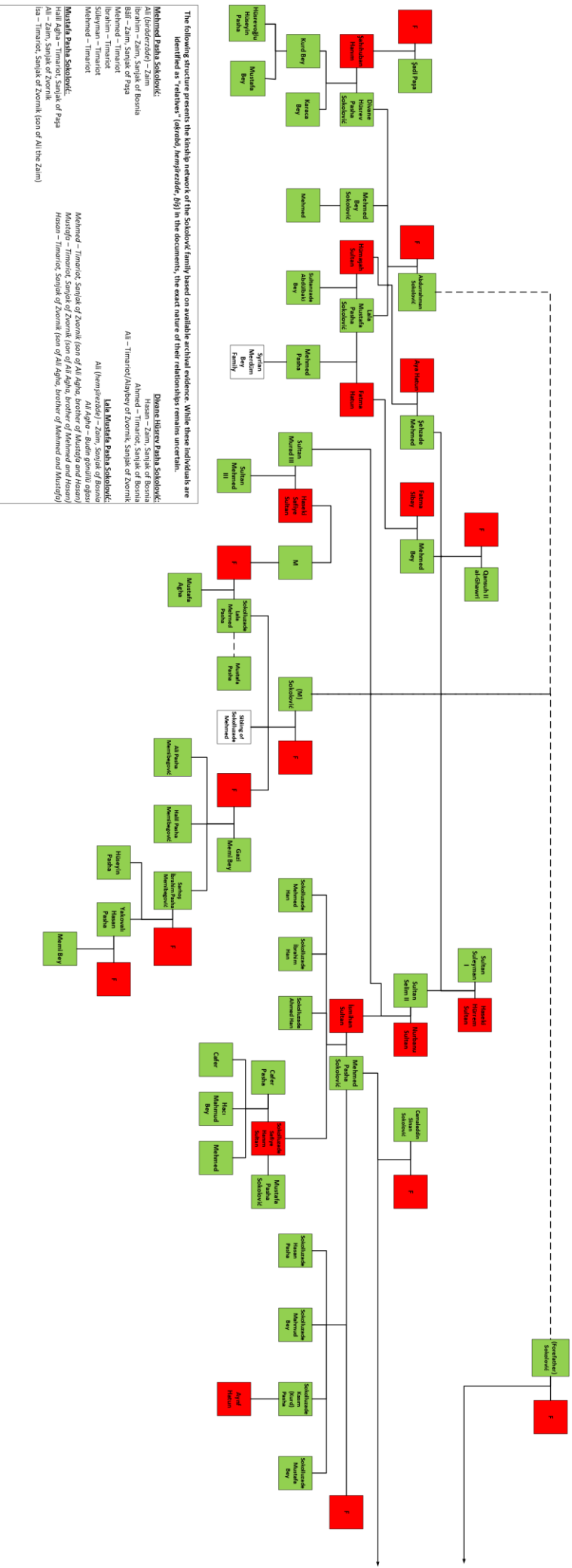


Figure 13: Sokollu faction at its peak, 1573-74.

(c. 1500-1650)



(c. 1500-1650)

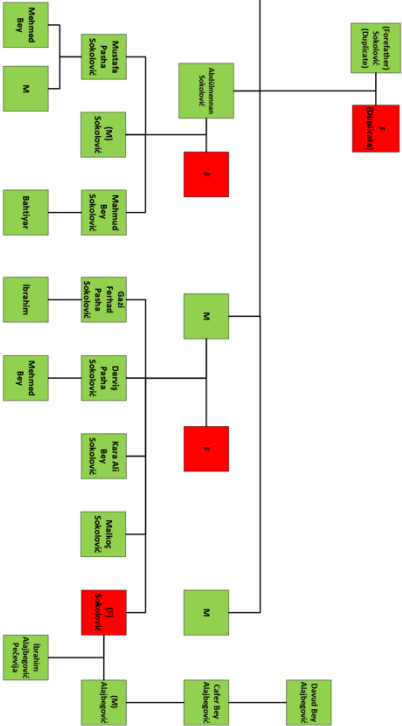


Figure 15: Sokollu Family Tree (c. 1500-1650)