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REAL ESTATE OF AHMED PASHA HERCEGOVICH IN
DUBROVNIK A SOURCE FOR PLUNDER OF THE REPUBLIC
OF DUBROVNIK

Quite recently, going through my transcripts of Dubrovnik State Archive documents, I found three firmans in which certain descendents of Duke Stepan Vukchich's son are mentioned. The transcripts have been returned to me this year from Vienna, where they were taken from the Serbian Academy of Science by Germans during the occupation.

My paper on Stepan Kosacha deals with the Duke's sons: Vladislav, Vlatko, and particularly with Stepan,¹ who converted to Islam and became Ahmet pasha Hercegovich. He had two sons: Alija and Mustafa, but it was not known whether he had any daughters. Duke Stepan Hercegovich went to Constantinople when he was almost a grown man, and became a convert to Islam. In the course of time he married one of the three daughters of Sultan Bayazid II, a sister of Sultan Selim I. I assume that, unlike his father, Duke Stepan, he could not marry more than once, or have other wives besides the Sultana. This can lead us to the conclusion that all of his children were born of the marriage with the Emperor's daughter, Sultana Fatma, or to put it in simple words that all his children were of the same mother.

Only Ch. Truhelka says, without mentioning the source of his information, that Ahmed pasha Hercegovich and his wife Sultana Fatma had a daughter married to certain Sinan, Voivode of Banjani and Ridani.² This information is not very reliable, not to mention that its source is not given at all. It is very hard to believe that nobles of the rank of Sultana Fatma would give their daughter to an unknown man from Krajina such as Sinan, Vivode of Banjani and Ridani.

Besides, as we have already said, it has not been known up to now whether they had a daughter. Now however we can confirm that they did indeed have a daughter, and that we now know her name.

¹ See Gl. Elezovich, *Turski spomenici*, SAN, book I, vol. 1, Beograd 1940, ps. 582-653.

² *Ibid*, p. 653.

In the Dubrovnik State Archive there is a firman issued in Constantinople which is dated the middle of the month of sevval hicr. 958 (Oct, 16, 1551). It is addressed to the nobles of Dubrovnik. Because it has not until now been published. We would like first to give the original text:

In tugra هو

سليمان بن سليم خان - مظفر دانا
مفاخر الامراء. الله المسجيه عمدة الكبرا الطايفة الاعيسويه دوبر. ونيك بكارى توقيع رفيع همايرن
واصل اوليجااق معلوم اولاكه
حاليا الكيراث هما سلطان - زيدت عصمتها باب سعادت مأبه شويله عرض ايلدى كه
ولايت دوبره وينيكده اتا و دده سندن اولاده مشروط باغ و او اولوب محصول هر ييل كلوب واصل
اولور ايسكن
حاليا و نديكدن اتاسنك قرنداشي اوغلى نك اوغلى ايرلادقو نام كافر كلوب ملك در ديودخل ايدوب
وقنك محصولته نقصان اولور ايش بيوردوم كه حكم شريفم سزه وصول بولدقده ذكر اولنان اولره و باعلره مذبور
كافرى دخل ايتدريميوب مذبوره سلطان ايچون ضبط ايدوب محضون كوندره سز مزبور كافر دخل ايدوب ملك
دعوان ايدر ايسه سده سعادتمه كوندوره سز كه شرعله سده سعادتمه كورله
شويله بلا سز علامت شريفه اعتماد قلا سز
تجيراً فى اواسط شوال سنة ثمانه و خمسين و تسعمانه
بتمام قسطنطينيه

The translation of the firman is as follows:

He!

Suleiman, the son of Selim Han – the eternal victor!

To the glorious leaders of the Messiah's faith, noble supports of the Jesuit community, to the nobility of Dubrovnik.⁴ When this imperial firman reaches you, let it be known that the lady (el kiras) Huma Sultana is at my sublime Doorstepn of happiness—let her virtue be even greater and that she has informed us as follows.

³ In my native country, Kosovo and Metohija, they used to say: "He has been left without anyone and anything." When they said this people would lift up their index finger, which signified alone, on his own. Here it is used figuratively with the meaning He, the only one, ie. God.

⁴ As we have seen, in the Arabic text it is *Dubravnik*, not Dubrovnik. This could be what Hercegovinian Muslims called the town of St. Blaise.

In the country of Dubrovnik there is a vineyard and a house bequeathed by a father and a grandfather. There was a regular income each year, from this estate. But an infidel called Vlatko, the son of the son of her father's brother, on his way from Venice came and said "It is my estate, my private property". In this way the income from what she had inherited was reduced.

Because of this, when my noble firman reaches you I order that the mentioned infidel be not allowed to have interest in the above-mentioned houses or vineyards,⁵ but let them be for the named Sultana. The income from this estate to be sent to her. If the previously mentioned person claims the property to be his, his legal private property, send him to my Door of happiness, where the matter will be regulated according to Sheriat law.

Let this be known to you. You can rely on my honorable seal.
Written in the middle of the month of sheval, in the year 958.

From the capital of Constantine



It is clear from the text of the given firman, that the visitor from Venice was Vlatko, the son of the nephew of the father of el-kiras Huma Sultana, who undoubtedly was a grand daughter of Duke Stepan, and a daughter of Hercegovich Ahmed pasha, who would have been brother to Vlatko's grandfather. Vlatko came to Dubrovnik and laid hands on the real estate there, on the house and the vineyard. The nobles of Dubrovnik had been paying a given amount of money to the mentioned lady, an elderly lady at the time, and a daughter of Ahmed pasha Hercegovich, who had died some 35 years before.

This Hercegovich, who at that time came from Venice, must have been, judging by his name, a grandson of Vlatko Hercegovich, but except for his name there are not many facts about him that are known to me. According to A. Ivich, he was a son of Jovan, and a grandson of Duke Vlatko, who was a son of Duke Stepan Kosača, and according to the same source he was married to Tadea, a daughter of a certain H. Belazi.⁶

According to two receipts, which were in the Archive of Dubrovnik and published by Ch. Truhelka, we came to know that Ahmed pasha

⁵ A nice example of how the scribes of the Porte changed the facts. At the beginning *one house and one vineyard* are mentioned whereas in the recapitulation these have become *houses and vineyards*.

⁶ A. Ivich, *Istorija Srba u Vojvodini*, Novi Sad, 1929, p. 131.

had two sons: Alija and Mustafa at the 29th day of rebiyülahir hicr. 984 (June, 26, 1958) which is some 60 years after the death of Ahmed pasha Hercegovich.

We may ask ourselves, if the above date is exact, why should Hercegovich's daughter appeal to the Sultan or Grand Vizier, when both her brothers Alija and Mustafa must have been alive at the time, ie. in hicr. 958? It was not usual for a woman in Turkey to go from one office to another, not to mention that the Huma had imperial blood in her veins.

However, Ibrahim Pečevija in his history, claims that Hercegovich Mustafa bey was killed as a sanjak bey (sancakbeyi) in a Turkmenian insurrection in Sivas in hicr. 932 (Oct. 18, 1525)⁷.

There is no need to emphasize that these two dates are mutually exclusive. One of them is not exact, that is why the date on the receipts should be checked once again, if they can still be found.



72 years after the death of Ahmed pasha Hercegovich his posterity died out with no issue and there was no one who could have any legal rights as his heir.

This can be seen from another firman, which should be the same as the former, in the State Archive of Dubrovnik. The Firman was sent by the Porte to the beylerbey and defterdar of the Bosnian vilayet with the date of 24 cemaziyelahir hicr. 997 (May, 10, 1589).

The original of the firman is as follows:

In tugra: هو

مراد بن سليم خان مظفر دائم

امير الامراء الكرام كبير الكبراء النخام ذو التقدر والاحترام صاحب العز والاحتشام المختص بيزيد عنايت الملك الاعلى بوسنه بكارلوكيسى - دام اقباله و قدرة ارباب اقبال عمدة اصحاب الاجلال جامع و حق الاموال عامر الفخر ايتن با حسن ال اعمال المختص بيزيد عنايت الملك السيادةين (?) خزانه عامرمك بوسنه جانب دفتردارى - دام علوه توقيع رفيع همايون واصل اوليحيق معلوم اوله كه سابقا بوسنه دفتردارى اولان سنان در سعادتكم فصاتا دفترينى كوندروب دوره ونيك قلعه سنده واقع هرسك اولرى و بعض املاكبرى هرسك اوغلى احمد باشانكدر. ديوارثرينه انتقال ايلمشيدى

ايله اولسه حالا درثهسى قالمقدمه جانب ميريدن وروحت و آنچه مي ميرى ايچون قبض ايله سز ديو فرمان اولثمين امر شريف ايله قلعه مذبوريه واريلوب دوره ونيك بكارلوكيسى قلعه نوه عتيق و قلعه جديدك يرار

⁷ *Turski spomenici* N.M, p. 653.

اختيارلرندن و هرک ولايتندن نيجه کسنه کتور ديلوب بالدفعات قضيه مزبور تعرض اولدوقده هرک اوغلي احمدپاشانک بو معقوله اولري و املاکي بزده يوقدر ذکر اولنان اولري بزکندون بنا ايدوب آيتمده و رونده کلوب مسافرخانه مزدرد و رقوم اولر داغی خرابه مشرف اولوب فروحت اولدوغی تقدیرده جزوی پره ايدر دوبره ونیک بکلری جواب ويردوکلرندن غيری ذکر اولنان قلمه لک مسلمانلری و هرک پيرلری و اختيارلری مزبور بکلرک تقویرلرینه موافق خبر و محمد دقتدار مزبور غرض ايتدوکی مقررده ديدکاري اجلدن مسفور اولری و املاک بر قرار سابق کماکان مذکور دوبره ونیک بکلرینک يدلرنده ابقا اولتق بابتده امر شريف اعلام اليمکين خصوص مزبور طقوز يوز طقسان يدي جمادی الاولینک اون بشخی کورننده عرض اولدوقده ذکر اولنان اولر و يرلر کسنه نك ملك شرعیسی دکل ایسه ینه اسلوب سابق اوزره دوبره ونیک لو اللرنده ابقا اولتق امرم اولشدر بيوردوم که حکم شريفم واردوقده بو بابتده صادر اولان امر عالیقدرم مقتضا سجه عمل ايدوب في الحقیقه ذکر اولنان اولر و يرلر کسنه نك ملك شرعیسی دکل ایسه اسلوب سابق اوزره دوبره ونیک اللرنده ابقا ایلوب من بعد بر فرده تعلل و تراخ ايتدیمیه سز شویله بلاسز و بعد النظر بو حکم همايونی دوبره ونیک لو اللرنده ابقا ايدوب علامت شريفه اعتقاد قلاسز .

تحریر آ فی الیوم الرابع عشرین شهر جمادی الاخر من شهر سنه سبع و تسعين و تسمانه

بقام

قسطنطنیه

At the back- بوسنه بکلر بکيسنه

About one third of the way down the back there are three signatures in initials of which only the separated one is legible الفقير محمد

At the very bottom there is: - . . . ۹۹۷ سنه ۳ ج . . .

The literal translation of the firman is:

He!

Murat son to Selim han – the eternal victor!

To the most noble commander of all commanders, the glorious noble above all the nobles, to the mighty, highly respected, dignified and noble favourite endowed with many gifts by God Almighty, to the Bosnian beylerbey – may his fortune last forever!

And also to the honoured among the blessed, hope of the glorious men, the just tax-collector... (Three words illegible), master Seid's favorite, to the accountant of my imperial treasury in the Bosnian lands – may his good fortune last forever.

When this high firman reaches you, be it known:

The former accountant in Bosnia, Sinan, set a book. "In Dubrovnik there are some of the Herzeg's houses as well as other real estate belonging to him. The property belonged to Ahmed pasha Hercegovich so passed to his heirs. Since there are no legal descendants of his left an imperial firman should be issued stating that his property is to be sold and the money thus obtained to become property of the state treasury.

When the firman was brought to Dubrovnik many men from the town of Stari Novi and from Novi (kala-i-cedid), many honourable old men were summoned as well as many from Herzegovina (Hersek vilayeti).

After the mentioned subject had been touched upon several times, the noblement of Dubrovnik declared:

There are no such houses belonging to Ahmed Hercegovich nor any of his real estate. The mentioned houses were built by us. Those are houses intended for guests who stay with us for a time and then go. Not to mention that the houses are in a dilapidated state. If they were to be sold they would not be worth much money.

Both the Moslems and the old men from Herzegovina agreed with this statement. They said that what the nobles of Dubrovnik had declared was true, whereas what the accountant Mehmed⁸ had said was inspired by sheer hatred. This was the reason why the mentioned houses and real estate should be left in their possession as they had been. A new imperial firman should be issued after that. The suggestion was submitted on the 15th day of the cemaziyelevvel month in 997.⁹ My order was given that the mentioned houses and real estate, if not anybody's private property, should be left in their possession, as they had been earlier.

I order, when my firman reaches you, that the subject be treated in the light of my wish and as it has been ordered by my honour. If the mentioned property is not indeed anybody's private property it should be left in the possession of the nobles of Dubrovnik as has been the case. Let nobody deny or object to this in future.

Let this be known to you. On reading this imperial firman of mine pass it over into the hands of the nobles of Dubrovnik. You may trust my honourable seal.

Written on the 24th day of the cemaziyelahir month in 997.

From Constantinople

⁸ This is according to my transcript, although Mehmed has not been mentioned earlier in this document. He might have taken the accountant Sinan's position. Or the latter besides the name of Sinan might have had the name Mehmed, so that the former name was omitted in the firman.

⁹ i.e. 1st of April, 1589.

On the back: To the Bosnian belyerbey.

About a third of the way down the text on the back there are three signatures in the form of a seal, of which only the third is legible: Poor Mehmed.

At the very bottom there is a note: The 3rd of cemaziyelahir, 997.



From the second firman we can see that the property belonging to duke Stepan, which comprised a house and a vineyard, at last became the property of Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich. After his death it became the legal property of his heirs. Accordingly, the city of Dubrovnik paid them a certain amount of money in gold as rent. This was so until the mentioned Vlatko appeared who claimed the property to be his and tried to take it into his possession as the legal heir of Duke Stepan.

When all of Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich's heirs died out, the property was to be put on sale, since it had no owner. The money thus obtained was to be given to the government.

An investigation was undertaken, after the information obtained by the accountant Sinan, as can be seen from the second firman. The investigation proved that the property of Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich after many years of neglect and ill care became of almost no value and as such was left to the city of Dubrovnik. The city used the duke's house as an inn for guests.



However, there is yet another firman dealing most probably with the very same property of Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich, which also mentions his heirs and their dying out. The firman was granted by the Grand Vizier of Belgrade in the middle of the Ramadan month in 1014 (10th of Oct, 1606). It was addressed to the Bosnian vizier Husrev Pasha and to other sanjak rulers (sanjak beys) and qadis of the same vilayet.

This is the original of this very interesting firman:

هو

احمد بن محمد خان مظفر دانا

دستور مکرم مشیر منعم نظام العالم مدیر امور الجمهور بالکسر الثاقب متم مهام الانام بالارای الصائب
موسس بنیان الدوله و الاقبال مشید ارکان السعادة و الاجلال المحفوف بصنوف عواطف الملك الاعلی بوسنه ایاتیه
دزیرم اولان خسرو پاشا ادام الله تعالی اجلاله و مفاخر الامراء الکرام . راجع الکبراء . الفخام ذو القدر و الاحترام

المختصون بزید عنایه الملك الملام ایالت مزبورهده واقع سنجا بکلی دام عزهم و مفاخر القضاة و الحکام معادن الفضائل و الکلام ایالت مزبورهده واقع اولان قاضیلر - زید فضلم! توقيع رفیع همایون واصل اولیجیق معلوم اولاکه حالیا دیزه و نیک بکلیری الجیلری طرفندن عرض حال صونلوب ابا و اجداد عظام - م - انار الله تمالی براهینهم! زمان شریفلرندن برو کال صداقت و استقامت ایله تصرف ایده کلدو کاری دوبره و نیک ولایتلرندن قوتاوله و غروش نام ناحیه لرینه هرسک اوغلی احمد پاشانک مقصرف اولدوغی یزلرندن در - و ارثی مقصرف اولغله (TAKO!) میری یه عاید در دوبره و نیک بکلیری فضولاً تصرف ایشلردر دیو متوفی اینه خان بک کندویه سنجا اوقی اوزره اوج سنه ده یوز یوک ایچہ الترام ایدوپ برات ایتدروپ لکن مزبوران ناحیه لر ما تقدمدن دوبره و نیک بکلیرینک تصرفلرندن اولان یزلرندن اولغین مزبور اینه خانی دخل ایتدروپ خصوص مزبور طقوز یوز تارلیخنده ددم سلطان مراد خان - طاب تراه زمان شریفلرندن دیوان همایونده وزراء عظام و قاضی عسکر لوم حضورلرنده الجیلر ایله مرافعه اولوپ احوالری کور لده که مزبوران ناحیه لر اجداد اعظام زمانندن برو دوبره و نیک بکلیری ضبط و تصرف ایده کلدو کاری یزلرندن اولدوغی عرض اولدوقده عهدنامه همایون موجبجه عمل اولنه دیو خط همایونلری صادر اولوپ بو بایده هر بزیکز کزکی کبی مقید اولوپ دوبره و نیک بکلیرینک ما تقدمدن ضبط و تصرف ایده کلدو کاری مزبوران قوتاوله و غروش نام ناحیه لرینه من بعد خط همایون و عهدنامه قدیمیه مغایر بکلر بکلیر و سنجا بکلی و امنا و عمالندن و غیردن بر فردی اصلا و قطعاً دخل و تعرض ایتدروپ ابا و اجداد عظام زمان شریفلرندن برو تصرفلرندن اولان ولایتلرندن نه و جهله ضبط ایده کاششار ایسه نه اولوجهله ضبط و تصرف ایلوپ فرمان شریفم و عهدنامه همایونجه مخالف ایش اولمقدن زیاده احتیاط ایله سز دیو امر شریف و یزیلوب ذکر اولتان قوتاوله و غروش نام ناحیه لرینه وجه مشروح اوزره بلا تراع مقصرقلر ایکن حالیا درگاه معلوم متفرقلرندن حضرات کسه ذکر اولتان قوتاوله و غروش ناحیه لرین سنجا اوقی اوزره بر طریق ایله ... دخل ایشلردر - دیو وجه مشروح اوزره و یزیلان امر شریفک قاضی عسکر امضاسیله محض صورتن ابراز ایدوپ سنجا اوقی اولمقدن رفع اولتیق باینده عنایت رجا ایلدو کاری اجلدن مقدما وجه مشروح اوزره و یزیلان امر شریف موجبجه عمل اولتیق امر ایدوپ یوردوم که - و صول بولدوقده بو بایده مقدما وجه مشروح اوزره و یزیلان امر شریف موجبجه عمل ایدوپ اول امر شریف و عهدنامه همایون فحوا سنجه ذکر اولتان قوتاوله و غروش ناحیه لرینه مزبور متفرقه حضری و اغری دخل ایتدروپ ما تقدمدن تصرف ایده کلدو کاری اوزره کماکان تصرف ایتدروپ فرمان شریفم و عهدنامه همایونجه مخالف ایش اولمقدن بغایت احتیاط ایله سز -

شویله بلا سز علامت شریفه اعتماد قلاسز تحریر آفی اواسط شهر رمضان المبارک سنه اربع عشره و الف

بمدينه

بلقرا

At the back there is a signature and illegibly. علی

At the back, at the very top there is the address:

بو سنه بکلر بکلی وزیر خسرو پاشایه و ایالت مزبورهده واقع سنجا بکلیرینه و قاضیلر

There is a verified transcript of this firman which in the original says:

طبق اصله المطاع نعمة (الفقير) مصطفى ويس القاضي ببلغراد المحروسه - عفيم

Under the verification there is a seal, but the inscription above it is illegible.

The translation of the verification is:

A true copy of the original, written by Mustafa Vejs (Vejsi), the qadi of Belgrade — So pardon them (God)!

The literary translation of this firman is as follows:

He!

The sign of imperial tugra and in it:

Ahmed, the son of Mehmed khan¹⁰ — the eternal victor!

To the noble representative, glorious leader, law of the world, with clever thinking endowed the manager of public affairs, to the unerring completer of important worldly affairs, founder of the base of the empire and happiness, to the one who put up the pillars of fortune and to whom God Almighty gives signs, to my vizier in the Bosnian vilayet, to Husrev Pasha-let God Almighty make his glory last forever!

And also to the glorious commanders, supports of the great nobles, to the mighty and dignified, to the favourites endowed with good nature by God Almighty, to the sanjakbeys in the mentioned vilayet, let their honour last forever!

And also to the noble qadis and judges, the sources of virtues and eloquence, to the existing qadis in the mentioned vilayet — let their virtues multiply!

When this firman of high rank reaches you, be it known, that a petition has been submitted by Dubrovnik. Since the age of my honourable parents and grandparents — so let the God almighty enlighten their proofs! With perfect sincerity they have claimed Konavle and Gruž to belong to Dubrovnik. The late Ejne khan used to say. The nobles of Dubrovnik without asking laid their hands on these lands in spite to the fact that they belonged to Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich. Since the mentioned land was given him to govern, it should now belong to the governmental treasury (miri) He turned the mentioned districts (nahiye) into a sanjak, the rental fee of which was a hundred loads of aspras for three years. He succeeded in gaining a berat as well.

But the mentioned property had earlier belonged to Dubrovnik. The mentioned Ejne khan was not to interfere. The subject was mentioned

¹⁰ Ahmed I, A son of Mehmed III, was born on the 12th of cumad. II in 998 (i.e. on the 18th of April, 1590). He came to the throne at the age of 14, that is after the 18th of April, 1604. He died on the 22nd of the month of zilkade in 1026 (i.e. on the 21st of November, 1617). See Enzyklopaedie des Islam, V. I, p. 196, Ahmed I.

in 900¹¹ during the reign of my honourable grandfather sultan Murat khan¹² — may he rest in peace! — at the court and in the presence of grand viziers it was to be solved. The whole matter was investigated thoroughly.

It was established that the mentioned property, since the time of my great ancestors belonged to the noblemen of Dubrovnik and that it was at their disposal. When it was proved to have been so the imperial edicts were given.

Each of you should advocate this subject as is only proper. Since it has been the property of the noblemen of Dubrovnik for many years and they could dispose of it as they wished, you are to take care that no longer beylerbeys, sanjakbeys, emins or any others should in any way contrary to the imperial edicts claim Konavle or Gruž as their property. It should be as it was in the age of my honourable parents and grandfathers.

And you are to take particular care not to do anything against my honourable firman and my holy book. Orders have been given accordingly. They have every right to claim the above mentioned Konavle and Gruž.

The state of affairs being as it is, one of the muteferiks (muteferri-ka)¹³ at my court, Hizir by name, expressed his aspirations towards Konavle and Gruž. His intention was to turn them into his sanjak. When in the way previously described, the transcript of my honourable firman was produced and when he was asked to cancel the forming of a sanjak, I ordered this subject to be treated as it was formerly stated and according to my honourable firmans.

I order you, when the firman reaches you, to act according to the honourable order and the letter. Do not allow the mentioned muteferik Hizir (?) or others to interfere when Kovale or Gruž are in question. They should be left in the hands of those who have long since possessed them.

You must be very careful not to act against my firman and the imperial letter.

So be it known. Have trust in my honourable seal.

Written in the middle of the Ramadan month, in 1014.

From the city of Belgrade.

On the back one signature in the form of initials (illegible) and:
Alia.

¹¹ Died on the 2nd of October in 1494, acc. to our calendar.

¹² Murat III, son of Selim II, came to the throne on 5 cemaziyelevvel 983 (31 December 1575) and reigned until his death on 8 cemaziyelevvel 1003 (20 January 1591). In Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. III, p. 788.

¹³ Concerning the profession of muteferik see *Glas*, SAN, No. 96, Dept. of Social Science, Beograd, 1949, p. 92.

At the back, at the very top-the address: To Husrev Pasha, Bosnian beylerbey, to all sanjakbeys and qadis in the mentioned vilayet.

In the same folder there is also a verified copy of the same firman. The verification is in the right-hand margin: A true copy of the original. Written by Mustafa Vejis, a quadi in Godprotected Belgrade – may God forgive me!

The inscription on the seal is illegible.

The folder containing the documents bears a note in Italian written afterwards by The Office of Dubrovnik.

No. 13. Comand-to di S. Ahmete I ad istanza dei SS-i Am-bri diretto al passa di Bossina ordina che Haine Han (qvale pretendeva che Grusc e Conali fosse suo sangiacco come sua eredita) non debba in verun conto pretendere cosa di sorte alcuna, essendo quelle terre già dall' antichità dell' attinenza ragusea.

Egira 1024 (so!)

Era V. 1614 (so!)



The citizens of Dubrovnik had a great deal of trouble with Duke Stepan and his sons, and in particular with his Islamic descendant's. They had to play all sorts of taxes until the last of them died.

We can see from the last firman but one that the legal heirs of Ahmed pasha Hercegovich finally died out before the 10th of May, 1589 (24th of cemaziyelahir, 997).

The citizens of Dubrovnik must have been undoubtedly glad and greatly relieved when this happened. They may have hoped that they were likely not to pay taxes any longer, but they were wrong.

All of sudden a certain Eine khan appeared who in Dubrovnik books was registered as: Ene chan, Ene can or Enecano, or even as Hain han. He Was a Turk who in the firman of the 10th of January 1606 (middle of ramazan 1014) was mentioned as deceased. In the Turkish original his name is written in Arabic so that his name could be read both as Eine and Ajne han. Quite by chance we came to know that this name was pronounced as Eine in the XV century at the Porte in Constantinople. This was the only pronounciation. In a firman in Turkish, which is preserved in the State Archives of Dubrovnik, dating from the beginning of the rebiyulevvel month 890 (i.e. the 18th of March) a salt pan renter in Herceg Novi is mentioned. Khan was added to his name, but he had the right to the title of bey. Only a month later the Porte sent the same firman to Dubrovnik written also in Serbian, in Cyrillic. Among other things men-

tioned there is also: "Eine -bey who holds in rent the salt-pan in Herceg Novi is to report to the Porte".¹⁴

The same *amaldar* is mentioned in another firman dating from the 4th of November, 1485.¹⁵

It is, however, very unlikely, that Eine bey from the XV century was the same person mentioned in the firman dating from the beginning of the XVII century and who was referred to as deceased.

However, according to the firman, Eine khan bey started the dispute with Dubrovnik in 900 (2nd of October, 1494). In this case we could say that it was the same person. But that the year given in the firman is undoubtedly unfounded can be seen from the words: *husuu-i-mezbur dokuz yuz tarihinde dedem sultan Murad han... zaman-i-seriflerinde*, i.e. "at the time of my honourable grandfather Murat khan".

When we know that these were the words of sultan Ahmet I, the son of Sultan Mehmed III, who was the son of Sultan Murat III, then the year 900 is impossible. Sultan Murat III, the son of Sultan Selim II came to the throne on the 27th of the *saban* month, 983 (31st of December 1585) and reigned until his death on 8th of *cemaziyelevvel*, 1003 (i.e. 20th of January 1591). Due to someone's fault the words *doksan sekiz* were omitted in the firman. Thus the year 900 appeared instead of 998. The year 900 has nothing to do with Sultan Murat III who was born on the 5th day of *cemaziyelevvel* month in 953 (4th July, 1546).

We have another reason for supposing that the given year was wrong. In the State Archives of Dubrovnik there are a series of books of rough drafts, *Letter et Commis di Levante*. There are no less than 26 letters on the same subject. They are mostly in the form of instructions addressed to various envoys in Constantinople, at Bosnian pasha, in Belgrade within the period of one year (from 9th March 1590 to the 13th April, 1591).¹⁶ From them we can see that Eine khan, Ene khan, was engaged in a lawsuit with the state of Dubrovnik not in the year 900 but in the years 998 and 999. These instructions do not, however, give the slightest hint that there had previously been any kind of legal procedure.

According to the fact given there is no doubt that the year as given in the firman, 900, is not correct.

This, however, is not the only mistake in the firman. In the sixth line of the original it says: *Varisi mütesarrif olmagla mirye aid dir*. i.e. "since his heir is a pretendant (to the mentioned property) it should belong to the state", instead of "since there are no legal heirs it should belong to the state". Whether on purpose or not, the scribes of the Porte

¹⁴ Gl. Elezović, *Turski spomenici*, book I, vol. 1, p. 198., sect. 8 and p. 199, sect. 5.

¹⁵ *Ibid* p. 204, sect. 3.

¹⁶ Dr Jov. Radonić, *Dubrovačka akta i povelje*, book II, vol. 2, Beograd 1938, pages 519 – 582.

used to make mistakes in the most important places in firmans. Dubrovnik envoys as well as their dragoman did not pay due attention to this, but accepted the documents mistakes and all. They did not ask the mistakes to be corrected.

Carelessness and ignorance began to invade not only Turkey but the State office of Dubrovnik as well, at this time.

On 23rd May, 1590, the Dubrovnik envoys in Constantinople, Mikijel Goce and Lucijan Kaboga, wrote to the Duke and Senate of Dubrovnik that Eine khan had reported to the Porte that the Republic of Dubrovnik had remained in debt to Ahmed pasha Hercegović to the amount of 150.000 coins in gold (ducats). This was the rent for 150 years (1000 ducats per year), for the period since Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich's death. Dubrovnik, of course, opposed this lie. They disagreed with the statement that they had been paying 1000 ducats per year for Konavle and Gruž, but they did not turn their envoys' attention to the false statement that 150 years had elapsed since Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich's death. Why did they not? Because even they in Dubrovnik had lost all records and did not know any more when Ahmed Pasha had died. Now we know that Hercegovich died only a few days after 20th July, 1517 (in recep 923) which was only 73 years before 1590, not 150 as Eine khan falsely reported to the Porte in Constantinople.¹⁷

Dubrovnik fell into the toils of a great plot through this attempt of Eine Khan's to obtain the two most important parishes, Konavle and Gruž, and to form a separate sanjak, under the requirement to pay the Porte 100 loads of aspras or 10,000.000 aspras, i.e., 100.000 aspras per load.^{17a}

It is not clear whether the initial idea of founding an independant sanjak, which was to encircle Dubrovnik completely on the land side and to cut it off from Herzegovina reducing it almost to the city walls, was the idea of Eine khan or whether it was the plan of greedy Sinan Pasha,¹⁸

¹⁷ Jov. Radonić, op. cit., p. 534, vr. 6. ... Che noi siamo restati debitori ad Achmatt bassa Cherezgouich di 150 milla ducati per 150 anni da che è morto, essendogli stati soliti pagare noi per 1000 al anno, cosa che è falsissima et sfacciatissima bugia, como ben sapete

^{17a} L. R. Veselinović should have explained what a load meant, when speaking about aspras. In his treatise, *Arsenije III Crnojević*, a special edition SAN, Beograd, 1949, p. 14, sect. 40.

If it is true that the Turks in 1683. took by force from the monastery at Krušedol 12 loads of aspras then they must have taken 12 x 100.000 aspras. It is very difficult to say how much it was okas or kilos.

When the first Turkish gold coin was minted it had the value of 40 aspras or 40 drams in silver. Later aspras became smaller and smaller, less heavy and containing less and less silver. A 17th-century writer says of them that they were as small as "a hen's eye". At the time when the Turks might have robbed Krušedol monastery, aspras were so small and with so small a content of silver that it was necessary to count out more than 400 aspras per one ducat, which means that one aspra weighed only 1/10 dram.

¹⁸ Jov. Radonić, op. cit., p. 524, sect. 4 thinks that on 9th June, 1590 Sinan, called Cikala a Genovese, was Grand Vizier. He also states that Sinan was Grand Vizier several times

in which Eine khan was to be merely a tool in his hands. In any case he must have been supported by the Grand Vizier, owing to whom he was appointed Sanjak bey of the district which consisted of the Dubrovnik lands.

I have already mentioned what someone in the Archives of Dubrovnik wrote on the cover of the firman: That the same Eine khan considered the sanjak, comprising Konavle and Gruž, to be his as "Come sua eredita".

during the reigns of Murat III and Muhammed III and that he was appointed Grand Vizier for the third time during the period between 29th January, 1593, and 16th February, 1595. According to J. Radonić Sinan died on 3rd April, 1596. I do not know what were the sources of his information. It is however, certain that Sinan Pasha mentioned in our document, was not Cigale zade, but Kodja Sinan Pasha or Sinan Pasha the Conquerer of Yemen (*fatih-i Yemen*), although he only established Turkish power there, others had conquered it before him. He must be the Sinan pasha mentioned in our records although the years are not correct:

So that it should be known when the Turks burnt Saint Sava, the archbishop of Serbia and maritime land in Belgrade. The vizier in charge, sinan Pasha went to meet the army (Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srp. zap. i nat. /Old Serbian records and birth registries/* book I, No. 876, 941).

Sinan Pasha Čikala (Çigala zade) was from Genoa as well. Before he was converted to Islam his name is thought to have been Scipion. During the reign of Sultan Suleiman II he was taken to the court where he was a silahdar (a swordcarrier), and later a janissary aga. During the reigns of Sultans Selim II and Murat III he was no longer the court. He was given very important commissions outside the court. He was appointed Grand Vizier for his great services in the conquest of Jegra by Sultan Mehmed III in 1005 (1596/7) and on the recommendation of the famous Turkish historian Sadedin hodja, who was Sheik-ul-islam at the time. He retained the position only for 40 days, then he was dismissed. He died in 1014 (19th May, 1605) (S. Sami, *Kamus – ül-alam*, book III, s.v. Çigale zade, Istanbul, 1308/1891, p. 1822).

So much for this Sinan, Italian by birth. The life story of so-called Kodja Sinan Pasha is completely different. He is said to have been Albanian by origin. He may not have started the whole argument about the foundation of a new sanjak which was to comprise Konavle and Gruž, but he certainly, supported and protected the machinations of Eine khan, an ex-director of customs in Belgrade.

The reason for giving the most important data in his life is not just because he was from Debar or from somewhere in that region but because he was attributed with having given the order to burn the relics of Saint Sava.

II Kodja *Sinan Pasha* or *Sinan Pasha, Conqueror of Yemen*. – He was brought to Constantinople by those who took away Christian children as tribute (*devsirme*). He was selected to serve at the court during the reign of sultan Suleiman II, who was known as the Legislator. At the court he reached the position of a *çaşnegir* basha (Persian *çaşnigir* – the one who tries the meal, at the Turkish court this was the name of an officer whose duty it was to try first any dish prepared for the Sultan.)

Afterwards he became bey of various sanjaks: in Malatia, Kastamonia, Gaza, Syrian Tripolis, Halep and Erzerum. He was a governor of Egypt from where he went to Yemen. There he managed to establish a solid basis for Turkish government and obtained the nickname Conqueror of Yemen. In 980 (14th May, 1572) he became a member of the government, a so-called Kube vizier, sixth in order. In the campaign against Tunisia in 1574, he was chief commander of the Turkish army. His army conquered La Goleta (Halk-ul-vad), since when Tunisia remained firmly in the hands of the Turks. He became Grand Vizier for the first time on 14th recep, 988 (25th August, 1580). He took over the position of Ahmed Pasha. On the 20th day of the zilkade month in 990 (5th December

This, perhaps, may have made people think that he had some of the Duke's blood in his veins. This, however, cannot be proved either by what is written in the firman or in other contemporary documents. Eine khan only declared that Konavli and Gruže were the property of Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich, but he did not claim to be his heir. He only declared that the mentioned regions, since they had no owner, should belong to the governmental treasury. He held them in rent as an independent sanjak for a period of three years for a hundred loads of aspras. The nature of his relationship with Ahmed Pasha and his descendents can not be seen in any of the documents.

1582) he was dismissed by the Sultan and banished to Dimotika and then to Malkara. With the help of ladies at the court and a present of 100.000 ducats he managed to escape exile and to become the Sultan's deputy in Damascus.

After the fall from power of grand vizier Sijavuš pasha, in the month of cemaziyelahir 997 (17th April, 1589) he took for the second time the leading position in the Sultan's government. He became enormously rich.

On 11th sevval, 999 (2nd of August, 1591) Sinan pasha fell again into disgrace and was again exiled to Malkara. It was not until 25th of rebiyülahir, 1001 (29th January, 1593) that, after a janissaries' riot, he became Grand Vizier for the third time.

This time he went to war in the west, in Hungary. In spring 1593, he was a serdar of the Turkish army against Hungary. He conquered Polata. In 1002 (27th of September, 1593) he conquered the town of Janok. The following winter he spent with his army in Belgrade but a month after the death of Sultan Murat III, when Mehmed III was given the throne 6th of cemaziyelahir, 1003 (16th February, 1595), he had to return the sadrazam seal to the Sultan. Again he found himself in Malkara, but this time he was only for short without office. On 29th sevval, 1003 (7th July, 1595) he was given the position of Grand Vizier the position which had been earlier held by his relative Ferhad Pasha, and was ordered to take the army to Vlaška. But in this campaign his army was panicstricken and seriously defeated. He lost Gran. His son, Mehmed pasha, who was a Rumelian beylerbey, was extremely inactive in this campaign. This was the reason why he was for the fourth time dismissed from the position of Grand Vizier.

On the 16th of rebiyeleवल 1004 (19th November 1595) he had to go to Malkara again. Since great vizier lala Mehmed pasha who was given his position died three days after his nomination, old Sinan pasha was summoned again and became great vizier for the fifth time. He was very old at the time. When he died, on the 4th of şaban 1004 (3rd of April 1596) he was more than 90.

He was buried in a mausoleum (turbe) which he himself erected in Sedefçiler in Constantinople.

As we have seen he was Grand Vizier five times and he governed the Turkish empire altogether for 7 years.

The big mosque of Sinan Pasha in Prizren is not his memorial. Our Sinan Pasha is thought to be the founder of the small town of Kačanik in the gorge of the same name, on the river Lepenac. In 1003 (beginning of 16th September, 1594) he built there a small fortress, a large inn (han) of solid material and a mosque with a high and spear-like minaret. He gave generous endowments to all his charitable foundations for their further maintenance (S. Sami, *Kamus-ut-alam*, book IV, Istanbul, 1311 (1894), p. 2635 s.v. *Sinan*; *Enzyklopaedie des Islam*, V. B. IV, p. 464, s.v. *Sinan*, *III Kodja Sinan pasha i Evliya celebî Seyahatnamesi*, book V. p. 552).

In the firman of 24th cemaziyelahir, 997 (10th May, 1589) it is explicitly stated that there were no more legal heirs of Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich. According to this Eine khan had no legal kinship with Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich.

Even the citizens of Dubrovnik knew very little about him. They wrote in a letter to their envoys who were to take the tax collection from Ploče to Constantinople: "a certain Eine khan, a former director of customs in Belgrade, has been given an imperial berat (edict). We have been informed about this from various quarters, and quite recently also by our merchants. According to this edict our regions of Konavle and Gruž were taken by him under rent for a period of three years. He paid the Sultan a certain amount of aspras, according to our information 100 loads. Having paid this he took it under rent under the name of the Sanjak of Konavle and Gruž."¹⁹

There are no other facts in the letters and instructions which Dubrovnik sent to its envoys except for the fact that Eine khan, besides the berat, was also given 6 other firmans concerning the same bargain. The envoys of Dubrovnik succeeded in buying copies of the firmans. On 9th June, 1590 the Duke confirmed the receipt: "You have sent us 6 copies of six firmans given to Ene han by which the Sanjak of Konavle was founded."²⁰

As we have already said, people tend to forget events easily. When finally and at great expense Dubrovnik succeeded in bringing the whole matter to the court in Constantinople and in having it heard before the viziers and kadiasker, the envoys of Dubrovnik were asked to produce proofs that the mentioned regions had been at the disposal of the Republic of Dubrovnik. They were not able to find the letters nor the contracts with Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror and with his son, Sultan Bayazid II. In a letter of 15th December, 1590 Dubrovnik informed its mission: "The two contracts: with Sultan Mehmed and with Sultan Bayazid could not be found in spite of all our endeavours. Therefore do not ask for them any more."²¹

After turning the senate and the duke's palace upside down, on 29th December, 1590 they found and urgently sent to their envoys four copies of the contracts with the former Sultans: "Two with the former Sultan Selim, one in Turkish and one in Serbian, a copy of the contract with Sultan Suleiman and finally a copy of the contract with Sultan Se-

¹⁹ Dr Jov. Radonić, op. cit. p. 519/28.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 525, vr. 20.

²¹ Ibid, p. 574, vr. 33.

lim, father of the present Turkish emperor. The fifth copy, with the present emperor, is in your hands."²² The contract with Mehmed II and with his son, Bayazid II. "in spite of all our endeavours could not be found".²³

Since they could not find the two old contracts, the nobles of Dubrovnik instructed their envoys what arguments to produce at the divan. "You will have to manage as best you can when speaking about the facts which might have been in the papers you asked to be sent to you but which could not be found. You may say that our palace has been twice burned and that we keep all papers and documents there, and nowhere else."²⁴

A year was spent on this case and the city of Dubrovnik spent even greater amount of ducats than their annual taxes to Constantinople.

At first they thought it a not very serious matter and they hoped to succeed without spending much money, but they soon realised that the attack was an extremely serious one against which they could defend themselves only by making considerable sacrifices.

In a letter of 9th June, 1590 the Duke wrote to his envoys in Constantinople: "In case the firman can not be made invalid for 2.000 sequins you may spend twice that amount. If necessary, you may spend up to 5.000 sequins. If the bargain can not be transacted with less money we agree that you pay the additional amount to Sinan Pasha and his father, the defterdar and the others."²⁵

After a few days they had to add another 500 sequins to the already doubled amount. Even that large amount of money was not enough to bribe the Turks. Therefore another letter followed on 4th July, 1590: „If you become certain that there is no way of annulling the berat and firmans given to Eynehan, because those on whom the whole matter depends will not be satisfied with the amount of 5500 ducats, you may in this case, spend 8.000 ducats-sequins."²⁶

In order to gain the favour of the Pasha, the envoy of Dubrovnik was instructed and given permission to spend an additional 3.000 talers, besides the previously mentioned presents. "Le possiate promettere in tut-

²² Ibid, vr. 30.

²³ Ibid, p. 575/8 vr. 2. Per molta diligenza usata non le habiamo potuto trouare.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 575. It seems that the two documents had indeed been lost since they could not be found even later on. I, myself, could not find them although I have carefully gone through all the papers, page by page, in The Archives of Dubrovnik. However, both the contracts with Sultan Selim I have been preserved. Those interested may find them in my paper *Turski spomenici*, book I, vol I, No. 154, p. 572. In these contracts with Selim the contracts with Sultans Mehmed II and Bayazid II are mentioned as well. This provides us with information that they were not in the Duke's palace in Dubrovnik even in 1590.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 526, vr. 8.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 546, vr. 25.

to fino alla somma di tallari tre milla, compresi li sudetti drappi mandatoui”²⁷

On 8th November, 1590 the Duke and the senate of Dubrovnik wrote to their envoys in Constantinople authorizing them to spend 8.500 sequins in order to free the two envoys imprisoned by Eine khan and in order to stop him claiming their land — “We have authorized you to spend 8.500 ducats-sequins, besides other presents with which you are familiar, in order to free them and to free us from plots and taxes.”²⁸

Finally, the envoys informed the Duke and the senate in their letter of 16th March, 1591, that they had won the case against Eine khan. Dubrovnik congratulated them recommending them to ensure the imperial certificate and to try to annihilate all written evidence concerning the Sanjak of Konavle and Gruž. There is no doubt that the envoys got the certificate in the form of a firman. I, however, have not noticed it among the Turkish documents. I must admit that I was not looking for it especially.

Not many years afterwards Dubrovnik encountered what they had dreaded. As can be seen according to the last firman, which we have included in this paper, not more than 15 years elapsed after the cause had been argued at the court, when a muteferik named Hizir appeared. Eynehan had been dead for a long time when this court officer came into possession of the berat, presumably in the same way as Eine khan, which titled him Sanjakbey of Konavle and Gruž “formerly the property of Ahmed Pasha Hercegovich”.

The way in which Dubrovnik dealt with this treat is not known to me. But the last firman shows that they succeeded in again annulling the forming of a sanjak out of the Dubrovnik territories of Konavle and Gruž.

R e z i m e

NEKRETNÁ DOBRÁ AHMED-PAŠE HERCEGOVIĆA U DUBROVNIKU IZVOR ZA PLJAČKU DUBROVAČKE REPUBLIKE

U ovom radu autor na osnovu podataka do kojih je došao proučavanjem tri fermána, jedan iz 1551., drugi iz 1589. i treći iz 1606 god., prati borbu potomaka za pravo na raspolaganje nekretnim dobrima Ahmed-paše Hercegovića. Na osnovu ranijih autorovih rasprava, zna se da je Ah-

²⁷ Ibid, p. 559, vr. 4.

²⁸ Ibid, ps. 571–572. “...ui habbimo dato libertà di poter spender et per la loro liberatione et per la liberatione nostra di garbugli en auance di Enečano ducati-zechini 8.500, oltra li altri doni che uoi sapeti”.

med-paša Hercegović sin hercega Stepana Vukčića. Kao mladić primio je islam i u braku sa kćerkom sultana Bajazida II imao je dva sina: Aliju i Mustafa. U fermanu iz 1551. pominje se i izvjesna el kiras Huma-sultan, koja se javlja kao uživalac zakupnine na neka dobra Ahmed-paše u Dubrovniku. Autor na osnovu ovog podatka zaključuje da je dotična el kiras Huma-sultan kćerka Ahmed-paše Hercegovića, za koju historiografija nije znala. Kao nasljednik pomenutih dobara u ovom fermanu pominje se i izvjesni Vlatko, unuk Ahmed-pašinog brata Vlatka Vukčića. Međutim, ovim fermanom mu se odbija pravo na nasljedstvo.

Kako su 73 godine poslije smrti Ahmed-paše Hercegovića umrli i posljednji nasljednici, fermanom iz 1589 god. njegove nekretnine, koje su se sastojale od nekoliko kuća i vinograda u samom Dubrovniku, i zemljišnih posjeda u nahijama Konavle i Gruž, u njegovom zaleđu, date su na korišćenje dubrovačkoj vlasteli.

Treći ferman iz 1606. god. govori o sporu između izvjesnog Ejne-hana i dubrovačke vlastele oko pomenutih dobara. Ejne-han se javlja kao zakupnik ovih dobara u trogodišnjem iznosu od 100 tovara aspri. Svoje pravo na ove posjede Dubrovnik potkrepljuje fermanom iz 1589 godine.

U vezi ovog Ejne-hana autor daje jednu interesantnu pretpostavku. Pošto je nedvojbeno utvrdio da Ejne-han nije u srodstvu sa Ahmed-pašom Hercegovićem, a javlja se kao zakupnik njegovih dobara, nameće se jedna misao. Nije li taj Ejne-han zakupljujući ova dobra i pokušajem da od njih obrazuje samostalan sandžak, želio da Dubrovnik sa kopnene strane sasvim opaše, odnosno da ga odsiječe od njegovog zaleđa, ili je to bio plan velikog vezira Sinan-paše, a Ejne-han samo oruđe u njegovim rukama? Međutim, jedno je jasno. Ejne-han je sigurno uživao naklonost velikog vezira jer je dobio berat o postavljanju za sandžakbega od „dubrovačke zemlje načinjenog sandžaka”.

Ovaj ferman iz 1606 god. u stvari poništava obrazovanje sandžaka od dubrovačkih župa Konavla i Gruža, a pominje i nekog Hizira, dvorskog službenika, kao pretendenta na ovaj sandžak.

S u m m a r y

AHMED-PAŠA HERCEGOVIĆ'S REAL ESTATES IN DUBROVNIK SUBJECT TO PLUNDER BY THE DUBROVNIK REPUBLIC

In this paper the author follows, on the basis of the three firmans examined (from 1551, 1589 and 1606), the struggle of descendants for the right to dispose of Ahmed-pasha Hercegović's real estates. From the earlier paper of the same author we have learnt that Ahmed-pasha Hercegović was the son of Herceg Stjepan Vukčić. As a young man he converted to Islam and married the daughter of Sultan Bajazid II with whom he had two sons

— Alija and Mustafa. The firman of 1551 mentions a certain el kiras Huma-sultan, who appears to be the rent holder of some Ahmed-pasha's estates in Dubrovnik. On the basis of this datum the author concludes that el kiras Huma-sultan was Ahmed-pasha Hercegović's daughter who has been unknown to historiography so far. The firman in question also mentions Vlatko, grandson of Ahmed-pasha's brother Vlatko Vukčić, as one of the heirs. However, this firman deprives him of the right to inheritance.

73 years after Ahmed-pasha Hercegović's death his last heirs were also dead so that by the firman from 1589 his real estates, consisting of several houses and vineyards in Dubrovnik and some land in the nahiyas of Konavle and Gruž in the rear of Dubrovnik, were given to be used by the Dubrovnik authorities.

The third firman, the one from 1606, deals with the dispute between a certain Eynehan and the Dubrovnik nobles concerning the mentioned estates. Eynehan appears as the renter of these estates for the rent of 100 loads of *aspras* (type of coin) for three years. Dubrovnik backs up its right to these estates by the firman from 1589.

The author gives an interesting supposition concerning the mentioned Eynehan. Since he has ascertained that Eynehan was not in blood kinship with Ahmed-pasha Hercegović and since he appears as the renter of his estates, the author came to an assumption — did not Eynehan, renting these estates and trying to form a separate sanjak, want to encircle Dubrovnik from land, in other words cut it from its rear, or was it only the plan of the grand Vizier Sinan-pasha, Eynehan being only a tool in his hands? Anyway, one thing at least is evident — Eynehan undoubtedly was in favor of the Grand Vizier for he obtained his *berat* which assigned him the sanjakbey of the "sanjak made of Dubrovnik land".

This firman from 1606 as a matter of fact cancels the formation of a sanjak out of Dubrovnik regions Konavle and Gruž and it also mentions a Hizir, court official as an aspirant to this sanjak.