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MAHMUD PASHA'S ORIGINS AND THE ANGELOVIĆ FAMILY IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE*

Abstract: The origins of Mahmud Pasha Angelović (Angeli), one of the most prominent Ottoman grand viziers, have been debated for decades and are yet to be fully established. While there is certainty about his father being a Greek belonging to the distinguished Byzantine families of the Angeloi and Philanthropenoi, there is ambiguity about his mother's origin. According to Byzantine historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles, she was Serbian, while Kritovoulos of Imbros asserts Greek lineage. Nevertheless, it is widely accepted that Mahmud Pasha was born in Serbia, specifically in the town of Novo Brdo. Drawing on new evidence from 15th- and 16th-century Ottoman sources, this paper challenges the prevailing belief that Novo Brdo was his birthplace, aims to strengthen the arguments in favour of his Byzantine-Serbian descent, and sheds light on his extended family and relatives.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Sanjak of Vučitrn, Angelos family, *nahiye* of Topolnica, medieval and early modern Balkan nobility.

Mahmud Pasha Angelović (Angelos, Angeli), the governor general of the Balkans (*beylerbeyi of Rumeli*) and Grand Vizier (1456–1468), admiral of the Ottoman fleet and governor (*sancakbeyi*) of Gelibolu (1469–1472), and later again Grand Vizier (1472–1473), was one of the most significant and powerful political figures of the Ottoman Empire. He was a great benefactor known for his public philanthropy, a patron of the literary elite, and a poet in his own right, writing under the pen name Adni.¹

* This research was supported by the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia, grant no. 1565, *Reshaping Nobility: Formation of the New Christian Elite in Ottoman Serbia (15th–18th Century)* – NOBILITY.

¹ Mahmud Pasha Angelović also made a lasting impact on collective memory. His fame continued after his execution, evolving into a cult and legend conveyed in

He was part of the group of Balkan Christian converts of noble origin who rose to the highest ranks in the Ottoman Empire and, by introducing their relatives and compatriots into the Ottoman state system, greatly facilitated the transition from Christian to Islamic rule.²

As a child, presumably in 1427, after the death of Despot Stefan Lazarević and during the Ottoman incursions into Serbia, Mahmud Pasha Angelović and his mother, along with their entourage, were captured while travelling from Novo Brdo to Smederevo. They were taken to the palace of Murad II, where his mother likely attested to his noble origin to secure him the best education and, eventually, high-ranking positions. According to the scarce and often confusing – sometimes even contradictory – accounts of his contemporaries, Mahmud Pasha was Serbian or Greek on his mother's side³ and Greek on his father's side, originating from the famous Angeloi Philanthropeni family that ruled Thessaly in the late 14th century. It is believed that he originated from the renowned mining town of Novo Brdo, although some later Ottoman authors mention Kruševac (Alacahisar) as his birthplace. Based on all the available historical sources and secondary literature, Theoharis Stavrides concluded in his influential study of Mahmud Pasha Angelović that his father, Mihailo (Michael), lived in Serbia during the 1420s, and that his grandfather was likely the Caesar Manuel Angelos Philanthropenos, who governed Thessaly around 1390–1394.⁴ Regarding Mahmud Pasha's mother, Stavrides seems rely on Laonikos Chalkokondyles, who writes that she was of Serbian origin. However, after analysing two later, not always reliable Greek sources, *Ecthesis Chronica* and *Historia Patriarchica*,⁵ which assert that George Amiroutzes, Protovestiarios of Trebizond, was Mahmud Pasha's first cousin – both were the sons of two sisters, and

Menâkıb-ı Mahmud Paşa-i Velî. The development of this legend into a work of popular literature has been explained in H. REINDL-KIEL, *The Tragedy of Power. The Fate of Grand Vezirs According to the Menakibname-i Mahmud Paşa-i Veli*, *Turcica* 35 (2003) 247–256.

² On this topic, see for example H. W. LOWRY, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany 2003, 115–130.

³ Laonikos Chalkokondyles asserts that his mother was Serbian, while Michael Kritovoulos writes that both of his parents were “Romans”, i.e. Greeks. CHALKOKONDYLES, *The Histories*, translated by A. KALDELLIS, vol. 2, Cambridge 2014, 261; KRITOVOULOS, translated by C. T. RIGGS, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, Princeton 1954, 88.

⁴ T. STAVRIDES, *The Sultan of Vezirs; The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453–1474)*, Leiden 2001, 76–78.

⁵ For more details, see *Ibidem*, 78–81, 87–90.

grandsons of a certain Iagaris, he appears to support the idea of her Greek origin.⁶ It is worth mentioning that Chalkokondyles also notes that Mahmud Pasha and Amiroutzes were cousins,⁷ which should not be surprising given that, when it comes to the medieval nobility, everyone seemed to be related to everyone else. Chalkokondyles, a credible and trustworthy source, does not elaborate further on their relationship, which may suggest that the close kinship between the two men is a later invention. Be that as it may, in the absence of new sources, the identity and origins of Mahmud Pasha Angeli's mother remain disputable.

In the Middle Ages, when members of the highest echelons of the Balkan nobility joined together through marriage or adoption across generations, it makes little sense to insist solely on Serbian, Greek, Albanian, or Bulgarian origins of individuals or families, especially in the absence of detailed ancestral records.⁸ Mahmud Pasha's mother was certainly a member of the highest nobility in the Serbian Despotate. It is known that her eldest son, Mihailo, held a high position at the court of Đurađ (George) Branković and Lazar Branković, serving as the Grand Voyvoda of Serbia. After Despot Lazar's death, he became a member of the tripartite regency that governed the state. However, whether she herself was Serbian on both sides cannot be definitively stated. Nevertheless, in light of new information about Mahmud Pasha's relatives, it can be concluded that the Serbian component of her heritage was certainly very strong. Namely, the oldest preserved Ottoman cadastral censuses (*tapu tahrir defters*) mention several individuals of different social status who lived and worked in the wider area of Novo Brdo and who belonged to the large Serbian-Greek Angelović/Angeli family clan. The personal names of some of them strongly suggest Serbian origins, with Serbian likely being their native and possibly the only language they spoke. This paper aims to shed light on previously unknown Pasha's relatives whose existence serves as an argument in favour of his Serbian lineage. Also, it seeks to reexamine the predominant view of Novo Brdo as his birthplace.

⁶ T. STAVRIDES, *The Sultan of Vezirs*, 90. Also see IDEM, From Byzantine Aristocracy to Ottoman Ruling Elite: Mahmud Pasha Angelović and His Christian Circle, 1458–1474, *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity 13th to 20th Centuries*, eds. C. ISOM-VERHAAREN – K. F. SCHULL, Bloomington 2016, 55–65, p. 58.

⁷ CHALKOKONDYLES, *The Histories*, 359.

⁸ The Thessalian branch of the Angelos family was already related to the Serbs. Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos, who ruled Thessaly from 1373 to ca. 1390 with the title of Caesar and who is also considered Mahmud Pasha's grandfather, married Maria Angelina Radoslava, the daughter of Serbian nobleman Radoslav Hlapen. T. STAVRIDES, *The Sultan of Vezirs*, 76.

The town of Novo Brdo, otherwise known as Novo-Monte or Neue Berghe, was the centre of the large mining region in medieval Serbia, consisting of several administrative-territorial units or counties called *zhupas*. Among them, there was a *zhupa* of Topolnica considered to be identical with Novo Brdo and its surroundings.⁹ In the early modern Serbian sources this *zhupa* is also known as *Ангелова Тополница*, i.e. Angeli's Topolnica; a 17th-century Serbian inscription mentions the monastery of Ubožac¹⁰ situated in Angeli's Topolnica (въ Ангеловѣ Тополници).¹¹ In Serbian historiography, there is no doubt that the label *Ангелова* was added either when the famous Angelović brothers, Mihailo and Mahmud, were at the peak of their power or even earlier, during the lifetime of their father Mihailo.¹² As the Topolnica *zhupa*, or Angeli's Topolnica, was seen as identical with the county of Novo Brdo, the conclusion on the town of Novo Brdo as Mahmud Pasha's birthplace seemed convincing.

However, recent research shows that Novo Brdo and sixteen surrounding villages along the upper course of the Kriva Reka river belonged to a particular medieval *zhupa*, i.e. an Ottoman *nahiye* of the same name – Kriva Reka.¹³ This area was not identical with the Topolnica *zhupa/nahiye* and was not even adjacent to it.¹⁴ The *nahiye* of Kriva Reka was one of

⁹ C. J. JIREČEK, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters: Historisch-geographische Studien*, Prag 1879, 55; С. НОВАКОВИЋ, Ново Брдо и врањско Поморавље у историји српској XIV и XV века, *Годишњица Николе Чурића* 3 (1879) 263–355, p. 264 [S. NOVAKOVIĆ, Novo Brdo i vranjsko Pomoravlje u istoriji srpskoj XIV i XV veka, *Godišnjica Nikole Čurica* 3 (1879) 263–355].

¹⁰ It is located ca. 14.5 km east of Novo Brdo, near today's village of Bosce.

¹¹ И. РУВАРАЦ, Манастир Убожац, *Коло, лист за забаву и књижевност* 33 (1890) 52–53 [I. RUVARAC, Manastir Ubožac, *Kolo, list za zabavu i književnost* 33 (1890) 52–53]; Љ. СТОЈАНОВИЋ, *Стари српски записи и натписи* 1, Београд 1902, 296 [Л. СТОЈАНОВИЋ, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi* 1, Beograd 1902]; С. НОВАКОВИЋ, Манастир Убожац. Прилог к средњовековној географији српских земаља, *Глас СКА* 86 (1911) 141–150 [S. Novaković, Manastir Ubožac. Priložak k srednjovekovnoj geografiji srpskih zemalja, *Glas SKA* 86 (1911) 141–150].

¹² А. УРОШЕВИЋ, *Новобрдска Крива Река – антропогеографска испитивања*, Београд 1950, 6 [A. UROŠEVIĆ, *Novobrdska Kriva Reka – antropogeografska ispitivanja*, Beograd 1950].

¹³ Study of the 15th-century tapu tahrir defters shows that the Ottomans took over the administrative-territorial units existing at the time of their conquest, merely renaming the *zhupas* into *nahiyes* (the term *nahiye*, with its multiple meanings, fully corresponds to the Slavic term *zhupa*, which also carries various connotations).

¹⁴ On the relationship between the Topolnica county and the Kriva Reka county see Т. М. КАТИЋ, Насеља српске жупе/османске нахије Тополнице (15–

eighteen counties in the Novo Brdo mining region, belonging to the sultan's *hass*. The county of Topolnica was not a part of the sultan's *hass*, but, together with other *hass*' and non-*hass* counties, was a part of the Vučitrn Sanjak.¹⁵ According to the 15th- and 16th-century Vučitrn cadastral censuses, the Topolnica *nahiye* encompassed around 120 villages to the east and southeast of the Novo Brdo mine (see Map 1). It was probably named after the village of Topolnica (today's Toponica), located upstream from the confluence of the Kriva Reka river into the Binačka Morava river, approximately 20 km in a straight line from Novo Brdo.

In *tapu tahrir* defters, the Topolnica village appears under this name for the first and last time in 1455 in the defter TD 2m, with only five family households and one widow household.¹⁶ The translators of the survey in the Serbian language noted that the hamlet saw its number of taxpayers increase more than fourfold over twenty years and that it was later registered as the *Skela Topolnica (Iskele Topolnica)*, which means Pier/Port Topolnica.¹⁷ What they failed to notice, which emerges from comparison with other 15th-century registers of the Vučitrn Sanjak, is that the defter TD 2m lists only a part of the settlements in the province, while the rest are registered in other census enumerators' books compiled in the same year (1455), often by the same scribe. For example, TD 2m registers 57 Topolnica's settlements, while the book of *voynuks* – Christian soldiers in the Ottoman army, lists another 40 settlements of the *nahiye*.¹⁸ The rest of the Topolnica *nahiye*'s villages were recorded in a book or books, so far unknown. Among the settlements missing from the 1455 surveys was the village with which the Topolnica hamlet merged between the 1450s and 1470s (therefore, one cannot speak about a significant population increase in Topolnica, but about a merger with another village). The adjacent, more densely populated village that merged with Topolnica and lent its name to it was the Angeli village. Since then, the

16. век), *Baština* 64 (2024) 223–242 [T. M. KATIĆ, *Naselja srpske župe/osmanske nahije Topolnice (15–16. vek)*, *Baština* 64 (2024) 223–242].

¹⁵ For more details, see *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ T. C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul (hereafter BOA), *Tapu Tahrir defteri* (hereafter TD) 2m, 126v.

¹⁷ H. HADŽIBEGIĆ – A. HANDŽIĆ – E. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Oblast Brankovića, opširni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, Sarajevo 1972.

¹⁸ T. KATIĆ, *Војнички дефтер из 1455. године за санџаке Крушевац, Вучитрн, Призрен и вилајете Звечан, Јелеч, Рас, Сенице и Ходидед*, Београд 2020, 68–69 [T. KATIĆ, *Војнички дефтер из 1455. године за санџаке Крушевац, Вучитрн, Призрен и вилајете Звечан, Јелеч, Рас, Сенице и Ходидед*, Београд 2020].

place has been named Angeli (Angel's) Topolnica,¹⁹ not *Iskele Topolnica*, as it is misread. Along with the new, Angeli Topolnica or Angelova Topolnica,²⁰ the old names, Angeli²¹ and Angelova,²² were also used.

Undoubtedly, the Angeli village originated from the estates that members of the Byzantine Angelos family received upon their arrival in Serbia in the late 14th century or perhaps even earlier. In this village, in 1477, a certain Stepan, the son of Angeli (*Istepan veled-i Angeli*),²³ was listed among the inhabitants. In the following record, Stepan is mentioned again, this time with his son Nikola.²⁴ A certain Marko, the son of Angeli, along with his brothers Dimitrije and Đura, were also recorded in the nearby village of Đurčinci.²⁵

The name Angeli, found among the registered individuals in the *tapu tahrir* defters, always appears as a patronym. We did not encounter it as a given name Angel, either in the surveys of the Vučitrn Sanjak or in those of the neighbouring sanjaks. We therefore conclude that it is a family name or surname. Thus, none of the mentioned sons of Angeli had fathers named Angel. Instead, they were members of the large Angeli or Angelović family clan, born and residing in the village of Angeli and its surroundings. All of them were noted as owners of ordinary family landholdings on state land, i.e. *reaya*.

However, in the 1486 *tapu tahrir* defter, some members of the Angeli family of the non-*reaya* background are recorded: a *timar*-holder named Đorđe (George), the son of Angeli (*Görge veled-i Angeli*), who is explicitly listed as the son of a *sipahi* – the term associated with the medieval noble warrior at that time.²⁶ He and nine other sons of *sipahis* received a joint *timar* for subsistence. Of the nine, eight were Christians like Đorđe but were not sons of Angeli. The ninth *timar*-holder and, in fact, the primary beneficiary of the *timar* was a certain Ali, listed as a relative of Mahmud Pasha (*Ali, hiş-i Mahmud Paşa*). It is clear that Ali

¹⁹ BOA, Maliye defteri (hereafter MAD) 16, p. 60a; BOA, TD 1048, p. 630; BOA, TD 22, p. 37. In 1477 there were twenty family households, three widow households and eight bachelors (BOA, MAD 16: p. 60a).

²⁰ BOA, TD 234, p. 607; Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Tapu Arşivi, Ankara, Tapu Tahrir defteri 124, p. 64v.

²¹ BOA, TD 9, p. 31.

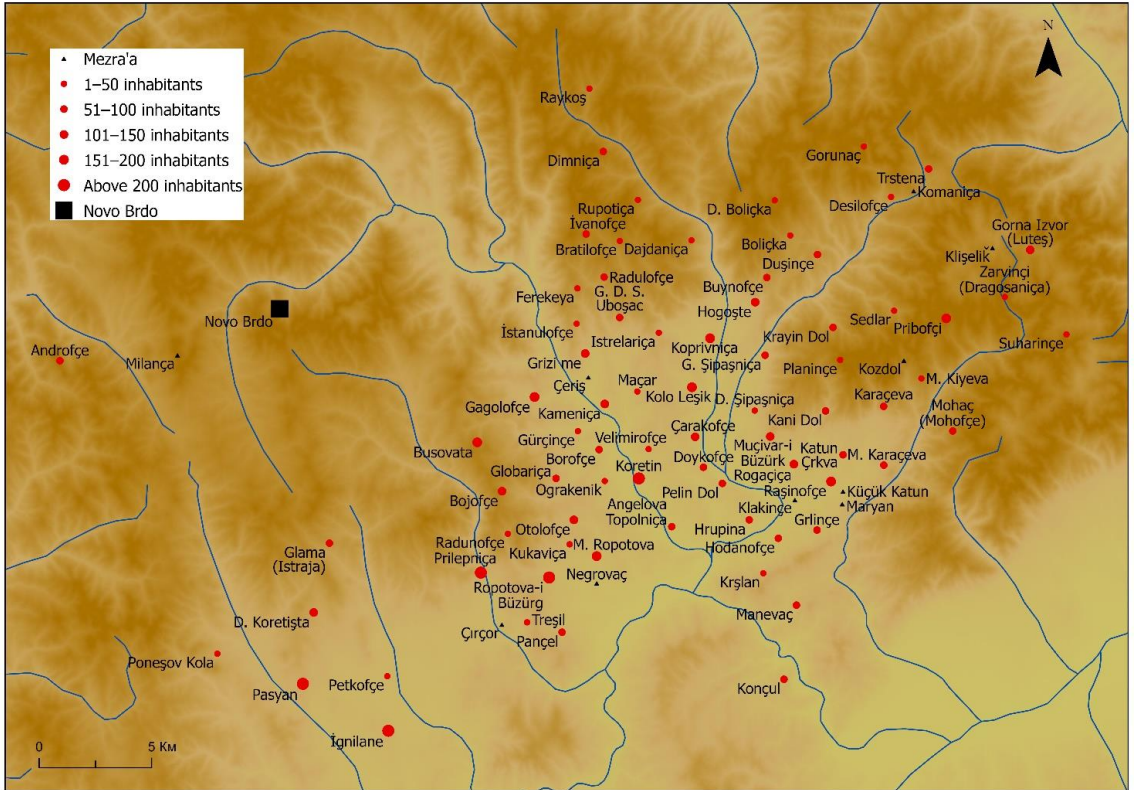
²² BOA, TD 133, p. 552; BOA, TD 167, p. 334.

²³ BOA, TD 1048, p. 630.

²⁴ BOA, TD 9, p. 31.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 91. The village of Đurčinci is today's Đurička, a forest near the village of Robovac (A. УРОШЕВИЋ, *Новобрдска Крува Река*, 104).

²⁶ BOA, TD 11, p. 213.



Map 1: The *nahiye* of Topolnica

Recordings of the name of the Angeli village (1477–1544)

MAD 16 (1477 yr): Karye-i Angeli Topolnica	
TD 1048 (1477 yr): Karye-i Angeli Topolnica	
TD 9 (ca. 1481 yr): Karye-i Angeli	
TD 22 (1487 yr): Karye-i Angeli Topolnica	
TD 133 (1525 yr): Karye-i Angelova	
TD 234 (1544 yr): Karye-i Angelova Topolnica	

was a new Muslim, a member of the Angeli clan, whose Christian family name was not registered, though his kinship with the late Grand Vizier was recorded.

The identified members of the Angeli family, whether close or distant relatives of Mahmud Pasha, bear Christian names: Stepan, Nikola, Marko, Dimitri, Đorđe/Georgije, and Đura (the latter in Slavic form). None of them bore traditional Serbian/Slavic folk names, and without the family name Angeli, we could only speculate about their relationship to Mahmud Pasha, whether through his father or mother. Namely, Christian names may suggest both Greek and Slavic-speaking individuals. Given that each of them is listed as descended from Angeli, it is clear that they were his paternal relatives. However, we found another relative of Mahmud Pasha, a person who does not come from the Angeli family and bears a traditional Serbian name – Radič (*Radič veled-i Gūrašin, hīṣ-i Mahmud Paša*).²⁷

Radič, the son of Đurašin, held a very prominent social position, as in 1477, he possessed two monasteries and their estates in the Topolnica *nahiye*.²⁸ The examples of laymen holding monasteries are often found in 15th-century tapu tahrir defters. These are usually descendants of the local nobility who erected these buildings as their mausoleums and places to retire in old age. The monasteries owned by Radič were dedicated to Luke the Evangelist, a highly venerated saint among the Serbs, especially after the translation of his relics to Smederevo, the seat of the Despotate, in 1453.²⁹ The first, the Monastery of St. Luke, was located approximately 10 km northeast of the Angeli village, near the hamlet of Krajnidel,³⁰ and the second, the Monastery of Luka Crkva, was either near the village of Ropotovo, about 4–5 km west of the Angeli village or about 14 km north of it, in the vicinity of the Bratilovce village.³¹ Nine years later, the Monastery of Luka Crkva was held by a monk (*kalüger*) whose name is not mentioned.³² This unnamed monk may be the same Radič, who, like many other members of high Serbian nobility before, took monastic vows towards the end of his life. So, Radič was certainly a close relative of Mahmud Pasha, given his high position. Since he was not identified as a

²⁷ BOA, TD 1048, p. 599.

²⁸ Ibidem, pp. 576, 599.

²⁹ For more details see M. VASILJEVIĆ, Translations of Saints' Relics in the Late Medieval Central Balkans, *Balkanica* 51 (2020) 23–43, pp. 32–35.

³⁰ BOA, TD 1048, p. 599.

³¹ BOA, TD 1048, p. 576.

³² BOA, TD 11, p. 195.

descendant of Angeli, he could only be related to Mahmud Pasha through his mother. Consequently, if Radič, a Serb, was his maternal relative, Mahmud Pasha's mother must have been of Serbian origin, as stated by Chalkokondyles. We would dare to say that, bearing in mind the high rank held by her elder son at the court of the Serbian despots, she may have been in a close relationship with the Branković family, to whom the Topolnica *zhupa* belonged.

The other members of the Angeloi, found in 15th-century defters, kept their landholdings in the village of Angeli (Angelova) and its immediate surroundings. The settlement, as suggested by its name, originated from the estates of this Byzantine family, and it was, undoubtedly, the birthplace of the Angelović brothers; it is much more likely that Mihailo and Mahmud were born on the family manor rather than in the mining town of Novo Brdo.

That the Angeloi were attached to the Topolnica county, and not to the Kriva Reka county and Novo Brdo, is testified by the presence of their relatives here and not elsewhere decades later. Also, some church buildings, believed to date from the middle or second half of the 14th century, located near the Angeli village, through their architectural style, iconography, and names, indicate a strong presence of Greeks in this area. The first is the Monastery of St. Nicholas (known today as the “Tamnica” church), located about 9 km north of the Angeli village, currently in ruins. It was built on the foundations of an old Byzantine basilica. The identity of its ktetor is unknown; the preserved parts of a portrait of the noble patron depict a man in a richly adorned red robe with a gold circlet on his head – the insignias reserved for the holder of titles: Despot, Sebastokrator, or Caesar.³³ Among the known Serbian high dignitaries of the 14th century with these titles, no one can be connected with the Topolnica county. One might then speculate: could it have been one of the Caesars from the Angelos family who rebuilt this church?

The second building is a church dedicated to the saint with the Greek name *Yorgi* instead of the Slavic *Đorđe* or *Georgije*.³⁴ The Church *Isveti Yorgi* (Saint George) is unique in this regard in the Vučitrn and neighbouring sanjaks. It is located north of the village of Prilepnica,

³³ Д. ВОЈВОДИЋ – Д. ПАВЛОВИЋ, Црква „Тамница“ код Ајновца у позном средњем веку, *Косовско-метохијски зборник* 6 (2015) 9–63, pp. 37–48 [D. VOJVODIĆ – D. PAVLOVIĆ, Crkva „Tamnica“ kod Ajnovca u poznom srednjem veку, *Kosovsko-metohijski zbornik* 6 (2015) 9–63].

³⁴ The name *Yorgi* is also common among Rumanians (*Iorga*) and Bulgarians (*Йорго, Йоргома, Йоргата*).

about 8 km west of the Angeli village, or about 12 km from Novo Brdo. All the tapu tahrir defters of the 15th century record it as *Isveti Yorgi*,³⁵ and only in the census from the first half of the 16th century, when we no longer find individuals with the family name Angeli, was it listed as Saint Georgije/Đorđe.³⁶ The Church of Saint Yorgi, if not erected by someone who spoke Greek, was certainly attended and named by a congregation whose mother tongue was Greek.

In addition to the Thessalian branch of Angeloi, at least three other aristocratic Byzantine families lived in the multi-ethnic mining region of Novo Brdo in the 15th century, according to current knowledge. These were the Kantakuzenous, Vranas and Rhosotas, who all resided in Novo Brdo and were heavily involved in financial and mining activities. Kalojan Rusota (Caloiani Rhosotas), a lessee of the customs of Novo Brdo, took part in the production and trade of silver in the first decade of the 15th century at the latest. He built a smeltery approximately 15 km southwest of Novo Brdo, which became the nucleus of a new rural settlement but did not last long after he died in 1438.³⁷ Janja (Yani, John) Kantakuzenous, “the lord of Novo Brdo”, as mentioned in Ragusan sources, together with Yorgi Vranas, Toma Katakouzenos of Serres and a certain Palaiologos of Istanbul, was a lessee of all Serbian gold and silver mines in 1468 and later in 1474. He was executed in Istanbul, together with his entire family, in 1477.³⁸ Besides being the lessees of Serbian mines, the Vranas built a smeltery 33 km south of Novo Brdo around which a village was formed. It still exists today under the name of Vrna-vokolo (Vërnakollë).³⁹

Unlike the Greek aristocrats in Novo Brdo, the members of the Angeli Serbian-Greek family clan were not involved in commercial and mining ventures – at least, there is no information about it. They were tied to their estates in Angeli's Topolnica, and, as members of the highest Serbian military and land nobility, they aspired to the highest state offices, whether in the Serbian Despotate or the Ottoman Empire. After the

³⁵ For example, in BOA, MAD 16, p. 58 r; BOA, TD 1048, p. 617; BOA, TD 11, p. 9.

³⁶ BOA, TD 133, p. 590.

³⁷ For more details, see T. KATIĆ, Топионице – језгра нових насеља у рударским областима Вучитрнског санџака (15–16. век), *Историјски часопис* 73 (2024) 129–150, pp. 143–144 [T. KATIĆ, Topionice – jezgra novih naselja u rudarskim oblastima Vučitrnskog sandžaka (15–16. vek), *Istorijski časopis* 73 (2024) 129–150].

³⁸ T. STAVRIDES, *The Sultan of Vezirs*, 91–92.

³⁹ T. KATIĆ, Топионице – језгра нових насеља, 144.

careers of the Angelović brothers came to an end, the family name did not last long. From the first half of the 16th century, the tapu tahrir defters no longer recorded a single Angeli or a relative of Mahmud Pasha. However, their village – Angelova Topolnica, continues to exist to this day, although it no longer carries the epithet Angelova, which has since been lost.

Татјана Катић

**ПОРЕКЛО МАХМУД-ПАШЕ И ПОРОДИЦА АНЂЕЛОВИЋ
У СВЕТЛУ НОВИХ СВЕДОЧАНСТАВА**

Резиме

О пореклу Махмуд-паше Анђеловића, великог везира Османског царства (1456–1468; 1472–1473), деценијама се пише у историјској науци. Отац му је, несумњиво, био Грк; звао се Михаило и потицао је из чувене византијске фамилије Анђела и Филантропена, која је управљала Тесалијом крајем XIV века а по губитку власти се доселила у Србију. Порекло мајке мање је извесно будући да о њему савременици дају противуречне исказе: Халкокондил тврди да је била Српкиња док је Критовул сматра Гркињом. И док су у историографији различити ставови заступљени о томе да ли је Махмуд-паша био грчко-српског или само грчког порекла, јединствено мишљење влада о Новом Брду као месту његовог рођења и раног детињства.

Овај рад, на темељу османских извора из XV и XVI века, указује на данас ишчезло село Анђела, у непосредној близини савременог места Топоница (општина Косовска Каменица), као место рођења Махмуд-паше. Анђелово/Ангелово село или, краће, Анђели/Ангели било је насеље формирано око земљишних поседа ове византијске породице. Између 50-их и 70-их година XV века село Анђела спојило се са суседном Тополницом и од тада се јединствено насеље у османским дефтерима региструје као Ангелова/Ангела Тополница, или само Ангелова односно Ангели. Насеље је припадало некадашњој српској жупи Тополници односно истоименој османској нахији, која није покривала целокупно подручје новобрдске Криве Реке, како се уобичајено мисли. Нахија Тополница обухватала је само доњи ток Криве Реке; на југозападу је сезала до Гњилана, укључујући и Гњилане с околином а на североистоку се пружала до близу Врања.

У селима у непосредној близини Анђеловог села, и дуже од века након смрти Махмуд-паше и његовог брата Михаила Анђеловића, живели су чланови фамилије Анђеловић. Неки од њих су у дефтерима регистровани као раја, односно наследни притежаваоци имања на државној земљи, а други као племићки синови, односно спахијски синови, који уживају тимаре. Сви они уз лично име носе и породично име Ангели. Поред чланова породице Ангели, Махмуд-пашиних рођака по оцу, у дефтерима XV века срећемо и пашине рођаке који не носе породично име Ангели. На пример, извесног Радича сина Турашина, који је несумњиво припадао високој српској властели будући да је 1477. године поседовао два манастира; оба су била посвећена светом Луки и налазила су се на мање од два сата хода од Анђеловог села. Овај Радич је, извесно, био Махмуд-пашин рођак по мајчиној линији а његово лично име, преузето из српског народног ономастикона а не хришћанског календара, снажно сугерише да је Махмуд-пашина мајка заиста била српског а не грчког порекла. Могуће да је била у блиској вези с породицом Бранковић којој је Тополница припадала пре османског освајања.

Кључне речи: Османско Царство, Вучитрнски санџак, породица Анђела, нахија Тополница, средњовековно и рано нововековно балканско племство.

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